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S N O I R O N S

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HISTORICAL
MEMMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE

OF
Dr. *Samuel Clarke*.

BEING
A SUPPLEMENT to Dr. *Sykes's*
and Bishop *Hoadley's* ACCOUNTS.

Including certain MEMMOIRS of several of
Dr. CLARKE's Friends.

By *WILLIAM WHISTON*, M. A.
Sometime Professor of the Mathematicks in the
University of *Cambridge*.

Ne quid falsi dicere audeat;
Ne quid veri non audeat.

Thou shalt not accept Persons when thou reprovest for Sin: But do as Elijah and Micaiah did to Ahab; and Ebedmelech the Ethiopian did to Zedekiah; and Nathan to David; and John to Herod. Constitut. VII. 10.

The Second Edition, Corrected.

L O N D O N :

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HISTORICAL
MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE
OF
Dr. SAMUEL CLARKE.



INCE *Dr. Sykes* has lately published, in the *Present State of the Republick of Letters*, for the Month of *July* 1729. an ELOGIUM, as he truly calls his Paper, of *Dr. Samuel Clarke*; since *Bishop Hoadley* has just now published, as a Preface to *Dr. Clarke's Sermons*, another and larger ELOGIUM, as he might have called his Account of *Dr. Clarke's Life, Writings, and Character*: Since *Mr. Emlyn* published, *A. D.* 1718. a faithful Ac-

count of his Prosecution 1703. on account of the printing his Discovery of Part of the old Christian Faith in *Ireland*: As I had also published a large and full Account of my later Discoveries, and the Prosecutions and Expulsion I thereupon underwent in *England*, *A. D.* 1711; as did both Mr. *Pearce* of *Exeter*, and Mr. *Tomkins* of *Newington*, *A. D.* 1719. publish the Accounts of their Ejection at that Time by their Congregations, for the like Cause; while Dr. *Clarke*, who was deeply concern'd in those Discoveries, and was like to have been censured by the Convocation, *A. D.* 1714. for publishing the same, seem'd to endeavour, as much as possible, to conceal his own History, which yet is equally due to the Publick with the rest: And since both these *Elogia* upon him after his Death, touch but very imperfectly on the same History, I, who knew Dr. *Clarke*, his Character, Writings, and Conduct, long before Dr. *Sykes*, and much more authentickly, in many Points, than either Dr. *Sykes*, or Bishop *Hoadley*, and, in some Points, better than his own Brother, Dean *Clarke*; being very desirous that a full and faithful Account of those Transactions, those important Transactions concerning true Religion, wherein Dr. *Clarke*, and myself, with other common friends, have been long and deeply concerned, may be faithfully transmitted to Posterity, could not but think it a Duty incumbent on me, to add to the *Elogia* or *Panegyricks* before-mentioned, these HISTORICAL MEMOIRS; and those, as near as may be, digested according to the Order of Time; and this with such Faithfulness and Impartiality, such Openness and Simplicity as those important Concerns do require.

About the Year 1697, while I was Chaplain to Dr. *John Moor*, then Bishop of *Norwich*, I met at one of the Coffee-houses in the *Market-Place* of *Norwich*, a young Man, to me then wholly unknown; his Name was *Clarke*; Pupil to that eminent and careful Tutor, Mr. *Ellis*, of *Gonvil* and *Caius* College in *Cambridge*. Mr. *Clarke* knew me so far at the University, I being about eight Years elder than himself, and so far knew the Nature and Success of my Studies, as to enter into a Conversation with me about that System of *Cartesian* Philosophy, his Tutor had put him to translate; I mean *Robault's Physicks*; and to ask my Opinion about the Fitness of such a Translation.

ON. I well remember the Answer I made him; that
 “ Since the Youth of the Univerſity muſt have, at pre-
 “ ſent, ſome Syſtem of Natural Philoſophy for their Stu-
 “ dies and Exerciſes; and ſince the true Syſtem of Sir
 “ *Iſaac Newton* was not yet made eaſy enough for that
 “ Purpoſe; it was not improper, for their Sakes, yet to
 “ tranſlate and uſe the Syſtem of *Robault*, [who was e-
 “ ſteemed the beſt Expoſitor of *Des Cartes*,] but that as
 “ ſoon as Sir *Iſaac Newton*’s Philoſophy came to be bet-
 “ ter known, that only ought to be taught, and the o-
 “ ther dropp’d.” Which laſt part of my Advice, by the
 way, has not been follow’d, as it ought to have been, in
 that Univerſity: But, as Biſhop *Hoadley* * truly obſerves,
Dr. Clarke’s *Robault* is ſtill the principal Book for the
 young Students there. Though ſuch an Obſervation be
 no way to the Honour of the Tutors in that Univerſity:
 who in reading *Robault*, do only read a *Philoſophical Ro-
 mance* to their Pupils, almoſt perpetually contradicted by
 the better Notes thereto belonging. And certainly, to
 uſe *Carteſian* fictitious Hypotheſes at this time of Day, af-
 ter the principal Parts of Sir *Iſaac Newton*’s certain Syſ-
 tem have been made eaſy enough for the Underſtand-
 ing of ordinary Mathematicians, is like the continuing to
 eat old *Acorns*, after the Diſcovery of new *Wheat*, for
 the Food of Mankind. However, upon this Occaſion,
Mr. Clarke and I fell into a Diſcourſe about the wonder-
 ful Diſcoveries made in Sir *Iſaac Newton*’s Philoſophy.
 And the Reſult of that Diſcourſe was, that I was greatly
 ſurpriz’d, that ſo young a Man as *Mr. Clarke* then was,
 not much, I think, above twenty-two Years of Age,
 ſhould know ſo much of thoſe ſublime Diſcoveries which
 were then almoſt a Secret to all, but to a few particular
 Mathematicians. Nor did I remember above one or
 two, at the moſt, whom I had then met with, that ſeem-
 ed to know ſo much of that Philoſophy, as *Mr. Clarke*.
 Of which Converſation I gave an Account to my Patron,
 the Biſhop, as ſoon as I was returned to the Palace: And
 farther told him what I had learned, that the young Man’s
 Father was an Alderman of that City: Whoſe moſt ex-
 cellent Character alſo was ſoon known, and which Cha-
 racter recommended him ſo to the Citizens of *Norwich*,

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that

that they chose him without, nay, against his own Inclination, to represent them in Parliament. Bishop *Moor*, who ought to have that Justice done his Memory, that he was ever ambitious of being, and of being esteemed a Patron of Learning, and learned Men, immediately desired me to invite Alderman *Clarke* and his Son to the Palace, to see me: Taking Care, at the same Time, that they should be handsomely entertain'd by me there. They were by me both invited, and they both came down to the Palace together accordingly. And then it was that I had the Opportunity of first introducing Mr. *Clarke* into the Bishop's Acquaintance: which proved the happy Occasion of that great Favour and Friendship which was ever afterward shewed him by the Bishop; which he highly deserved at his Hands; and which procured him at first *St. Bennet's Paul's Wharf*, and at last to be made both Chaplain to Queen *Anne*, and Rector of *St. James's*.

The next Year, *A. D.* 1698, my Patron, the Bishop, gave me the Living of *Lowestoft*, a Market Town by the Sea-side in *Suffolk*, with the neighbouring Village of *Kessingland* annexed to it. This Preferment made it fit for me to resign the Place of Chaplain; which though the Bishop had not given me leave to do before, when I offered to do it, on account of my ill Health, and long Absence; yet did he a little afterward consent to it, on account, I suppose, of his Choice of so acceptable a Person for my Successor, as Mr. *Clarke*; who now was near 24 Years of Age, and so would soon be capable of Priests Orders; which want of Age, till now, was the Occasion of my retaining the Place of Chaplain somewhat longer than otherwise I should have done. Accordingly Mr. *Clarke* was admitted as his Chaplain in my stead, and that I suppose about the end of 1698, or the beginning of 1699: In which Post he continued for several Years. Bishop *Hoadley* says *almost twelve: to Bishop *Moor's* great Satisfaction; in intimate Friendship with me; and generally and greatly beloved and esteemed by those that knew him.

One strange Incident happened at *Lowestoft*, when Mr. *Clarke* came once thither to see me; which he and I never forgot: and it ought to be mention'd here for publick In-

Information. We went together aboard one of the small trading Ships belonging to that Town: and as we were on Ship-board, we took notice of two of the Seamen that were jointly lifting up a Vessel out of the *Hold*: When another Seaman that stood by, clapp'd one of them on his Shoulder, and asked him, Why he did not turn his Face away? (for he was looking down as if he would see what he and his Fellow were lifting out of the *Hold*, as well as join'd in *lifting* it up.) Upon which he turned his Face away; but continued to assist in lifting it up notwithstanding. The Meaning of which we soon understood to be this; that he would be obliged to swear, he saw nothing taken out of the *Hold*; not that he took nothing out of it. This, it seems, is the Consequence of our multiplying Oaths on every trifling Occasion! And this, it seems, is a Seaman's Salvo for such errant Perjury!

In the Year 1699 came out Mr. Clarke's first theological Work, or *Three Practical Essays on Baptism, Confirmation, and Repentance: containing Instructions for a holy Life; with earnest Exhortations, especially to young Persons, drawn from the Consideration of the Severity of the Discipline of the Primitive Church.* This I esteem the most serious Treatise that he ever wrote; and one that, with a little Correction, will be still very useful in all Christian Families. And I venture to say, the judicious Sagacity, as well as Christian Temper of Mr. Clarke in his Youth, are most eminently shewn therein. And I well remember, that I once told him, with that Christian Freedom which he always allow'd me; and that after he had been long at St. James's and about the Court; that "I doubt-
" ed he was not now so serious and good a Christian as
" he had been *in the Days of Hermas.*" This he readily understood to mean the Time when he wrote these three *Practical Essays*, where he had very often quoted that excellent but despised Book of *Primitive Christianity, The Shepherd of Hermas.* See Pag. 27, 62, 147, 148, 153, 163, 199, 216, 230, 236, 237. of the first Edition.

After this, *A. D.* 1704, and 1705, Mr. Clarke preached, and soon after published his sixteen Sermons at Mr. Boyle's Lecture, in two Volumes; containing "Discourses
" concerning the Being and Attributes of God; the Obligations of Natural Religion; and the Truth and Cer-

“tainty of the Christian Revelation.” And I have been informed, that Dr *Smalridge* said, of one or both of those Volumes; “It was the best Book on those Subjects that had been written in any Language.” When Mr. *Clarke* brought me his Book, it was the first Volume, I suppose; I was in my Garden over against St. *Peter’s* Colledge in *Cambridge*, where I then lived. Now I perceiv’d that in these Sermons he had dealt a great deal in abstract and metaphysick Reasonings. I therefore asked him how he ventur’d into such Subtilties, which I never durst meddle with? And shewing him a Nettle, or the like contemptible Weed in my Garden, I told him, “That Weed contained better Arguments for the Being and Attributes of God than all his Metaphysicks.” Mr. *Clarke* confess’d it to be so; but alledg’d for himself, “That since such Philosophers as *Hobbs* and *Spinoza* had made use of those kind of Subtilties against; he thought proper to shew that the like way of Reasoning might be made better use of on the Side of Religion.” Which Reason or Excuse I allow’d not to be inconsiderable. As to my self, I confess I have long esteem’d such kind of Arguments as the most Subtile, but the least satisfactory of all others whatsoever.

And my own Opinion is, that perhaps *Angels* or some of the Orders of rational Beings superior to them, may be able to reason a great way *a Priori*, as it is called, and from Metaphysicks, to their own and others Satisfaction; but I do not perceive that we *Men*, in our present imperfect State, can do so. But of this more hereafter. Accordingly I intend to say no more of Dr. *Clarke’s* Metaphysical Works. *Quæ supra nos nihil ad nos.*

About this Time, or not much later it was, that I discovered my Friend Mr. *Clarke* had been looking into the Primitive Writers, and began to suspect, that the *Athanasian* Doctrine of the Trinity was not the Doctrine of those early Ages; which I had not then any particular Knowledge of: As a Sermon of mine preach’d upon Christmas Day about 1704, at great St. *Bartholomew’s*, if now extant, would Witness. Whether Mr. *Newton* had given Mr. *Clarke* yet any Intimations of that Nature; for he knew it long before this Time; or whether it arose from

from some Enquiries of his own, I do not directly know; though I incline to the latter.

This only I remember to have heard him say, that
 “ He never read the *Athanasian* Creed in his Parish, at
 “ or near *Norwich*, but once, and that was only by Mi-
 “ stake, at a Time when it was not appointed by the
 “ Rubrick.”

However, it was not long after this, that I perused *Du Pin's* Account of the Writings of the three first Centuries; whence I soon found strong Reasons for the like Suspicion against the *Athanasian* Doctrine; and perceived that Mr. *Clarke* was not mistaken in that Matter. And in truth, the Reasons of such Suspicion are every where so plain before, and even at the Council of *Nice*, that I can hardly believe that Dr. *Waterland* himself, when he first read those early Writers, let his Biass have been never so strong to the contrary, could wholly escape such a Suspicion; as 'tis plain neither Bishop *Bull* nor Dr. *Grabe* did escape it. Nor was it so late as this, I suppose, that I met with the Account of a private Tutor to a Nobleman in *King's* College, whose Name I have forgot, that was at first inclinable to *Socinianism*, but upon a Conference with Mr. *Newton*, returned much more inclined to what has been of late called *Arianism*.

In the Year 1706, Mr. *Clarke* translated Sir *Isaac Newton's* *Opticks* into elegant *Latin*; which was a Thing so acceptable to him, that, as the Doctor informed Mr. *Jackson*, Sir *Isaac* gave him for it no less a Sum than 500*l.* (the Doctor having then five Children) or 100*l.* for each Child.

About the Year 1707, or 1708, Mr. *Clarke* heard that I was writing a Dissertation to prove, that “ Our Blef-
 “ fed Saviour had several Brethren and Sisters properly so
 “ called; *i. e.* the Children of his reputed Father *Joseph*,
 “ and of his true Mother the *Virgin Mary*.” Upon which he wrote me a Letter to suppress it; not on account of its being false; which I do not remember he then insisted on, though he had formerly done it in his Comment on *Matth. i. 25.* but that the common Opinion might go on undisturbed, and might keep that Possession it had obtain'd. But such sort of Motives being of no Weight with me, in Comparison with the Discovery
 very

very and Propagation of Truth; and with the through Understanding the Sacred Writings; I went on and perfected that Dissertation, and published it in my *Sermons and Essays*, A. D. 1709, pag. 182,—196. Nor has any of the learned, that I know of, pretended to answer it to this Day.

About the same Time, or not much earlier it was, that Alderman *Clarke*, and his Son Mr. *Clarke*, saw a very curious Sight in Astronomy; which I do not know that any others before them ever saw. It was this; they happened to be viewing *Saturn's* Ring at *Norwich*, with a Telescope of seventeen Foot long; when, without any previous Thought or Expectation of such a Thing, as Mr. *Clarke* assured me, they both distinctly saw a fixed Star between the Ring and the Body of that Planet; which is sure Evidence that the Ring is properly distinct from the Planet, and at some Distance from it; which though *believed*, could hardly be *demonstrated* before.

In the Year 1708, after I had read over the two first Centuries of the Church, and found that the *Eusebian*, or commonly called *Arian* Doctrine was, for the main, the Doctrine of those Ages, and had made an Index to those ancient Testimonies; which Index, or its rude Draught, I have still by me; “ I went to *London*, as the Words are “ in my *Historical Preface* pag. 6, 7. on purpose to shew “ my Papers to, and converse with some worthy and “ learned Persons of my Acquaintance there; who, as I “ knew, did already shrewdly suspect, if not know, that “ part at least of the common Notions now current, were “ ungrounded and false; and were willing to examine and “ be assured what were really the genuine Doctrines of “ Christianity in these Matters.” I did not then name the Persons meant; but I name them now. They were Dr. *Bradford*, Mr. *Benjamin Hoadley*, Mr. *Clarke*, and Mr. *Sy-dal*. And at their Recommendation it was, that I took that great Pains of transcribing the Testimonies themselves at Large, which I there give an Account of.

In the beginning of the Year 1709, I sent a Copy of my MS. fourth Volume, or *Account of the Primitive Faith concerning the Trinity and Incarnation*, to Dr. *Sharp*, then Archbishop of *York*; that very good, that very honest Man; that excellent Preacher, and great Friend to Mr.

Clarke

Clarke and my self. I intended Mr. *Clarke* should peruse it, in its Passage to the Archbishop. I knew his Thoughts upon the Merits of the Cause pretty well; and at the same Time, I knew how cautious and timerous he was as to their appearing in Publick. Upon which Occasion I find among my own Papers, this Copy of a Letter to him, which I here set down *Verbatim*.

My Dear Friend, Camb. about Jan. 15. 1708-9.

I Have herewith sent a Copy of my Papers design'd for the Archbishop of *York*, that they may pass through your Hands first; and that you may then send them as design'd. I believe you are afraid to read them, for fear they should disturb your worldly Designs. I am heartily sorry for it, and fear that you have sacrific'd part of that honest Christian Spirit, which you had in the Days of St. *Hermas*, to worldly Esteem and Preferment. If you persist in that Resolution, not to examine till you are preferr'd, I verily believe you will have very little Comfort in your Preferment, and will one Day sadly repent it; as plainly suppressing Conscience, and deserting the sacred Truths of God, out of worldly Considerations; when your acting honestly and boldly would highly promote the desir'd Reformation. Nor will such a Desertion of God's Truths be a small Offence another Day, whatever you may think now. Above all, act openly, advise with Sir *Isaac Newton*; and, if you can do it with a safe Conscience in that Sense, declare at the time of Subscription, that you sign them as Articles of Peace, which you will never oppose by Preaching or Writing, and no farther. Though I think at this Time, you cannot honestly do so neither. If you venture against Conscience, this shall be my Compurgator, as having warned you, and will be your Accuser another Day. I am

Your sincere Friend and Brother,

WILL. WHISTON.

In

In the Year 1709, not very long after Mr. *Clarke* was made Rector of St. *James's*, came on that Act for his Doctor's Degree in the Divinity Schools at *Cambridge*, which is so celebrated, and very justly celebrated in * Bishop *Hoadley's* Account. When, if I may use the Words of an unknown Admirer of Dr. *Clarke*, who was there, "Every Creature present was rap't up into Silence and Astonishment, and thought the Performance truly admirable." The Words of Dr. *Clarke's* Questions were, 1. *Nullum Fidei Christianæ Dogma, in S. Scripturis Traditum, est Rectæ Rationi dissentaneum.* 2. *Sine Actionum Humanarum Libertate nulla potest esse Religio:* That *The Christian Religion contained nothing contrary to Reason:* And that *All Religion supposes the Freedom of human Actions.* I was then Professor of the Mathematicks in that University; and having by that time satisfy'd my self that what was of late called *Arianism*, but ought to be rather call'd *Eusebianism*, was for certain no other than Primitive Christianity; and resolv'd at all Hazards openly to profess the same; and knowing that Mr. *Clarke's* Opinions in that Point generally tended the same way; and that, by Consequence he could not, with perfect Truth and Sincerity, sign the *Athanasian* Parts of the XXXIX Articles; (which XXXIX Articles yet, to our Shame be it spoken, are still made absolutely necessary for every Degree in our Universities, whether of *Divinity, Law, or Physick*;) I was concern'd that he should think of taking his Degree; which was rather a Thing of Shew and Ornament, than any way necessary to his Pastoral Duty; and dissuaded him from it. And when I could not prevail on that Head, I, with the utmost Earnestness, press'd him at least to declare openly, and if it might be, in Writing also, in what Sense he subscribed the suspected Articles; that so he might be sure to preserve, at least, some Degree of Sincerity, and a clear Conscience. I could not prevail on this Head neither. He told me that Professor *James*, who suspected him of an Inclination to *Herrtical Pravity*, said to him, upon his subscribing the XXXIX Articles, "He hoped he would not go from his Subscription." The Doctor reply'd, "He could promise nothing as to Futurity, and could only answer for his present Sentiments."

* Pag. 20, 21, 22.

“ ments.” He also told me farther, that “ He deter-
 “ mined some Time or other, when he had more accu-
 “ rately examin’d the Doctrin of the Trinity, to publish
 “ to the World, in what Sense he intended his Subscrip-
 “ tion to the *Athanasian* Articles, and his Compliance
 “ with the *Athanasian* Forms of Worship; and if that
 “ Sense should be legally condemned in Convocation, he
 “ would, in that Case, take no Advantage of the Law;
 “ but freely resign his Living, and retire.” Which in-
 deed seem’d ever to me to be his firm Resolution. Ac-
 cordingly I have been inform’d, that he once bought an
 House in his own Parish, whither he intended to retire,
 in case the Convocation should make such a Determina-
 tion against him; tho’ long after his Escape from them, he
 afterwards sold it again. And this Resolution of his for a
 Resignation, I verily believe he would have kept, in case
 of such a legal Determination. And whether he did not
 allude to this Resolution, when he afterwards wrote to the
 Convocation, as we shall see hereafter, that “ If he should
 “ write any Thing afterwards about the Trinity, contrary
 “ to the Doctrin of the Church of *England*; he did
 “ willingly submit himself to any such Censure as his Su-
 “ periors should think fit to pass on him,” may deserve to
 be considered. For otherwise there is little or no Meaning
 in a voluntary *Submission* to what the Law forces a Man to
submit to.

In the Course of this Act, where I was present, Pro-
 fessor *James*, who knew of the Intimacy of *Dr. Clarke* and
 me; knew also that I was a profess’d *Eusebian*; and sus-
 pected *Dr. Clarke* to be a latent one; digress’d from one
 of the Doctor’s Questions, and press’d him hard to con-
 demn one of the Opinions I had just then published in
 my *Sermons* and *Essays*; which Book he held in his Hand
 when he was in the Chair. I suppose it might be this,
 that * “ Our Saviour had no human Soul; but that the
 “ divine Λόγος or *Word* suppli’d its Place.” This was
 done in such a rude, indecent, and almost profane Man-
 ner, as occasion’d the following Tetrastick, which was pro-
 duc’d by *Dr. Bentley*, when *Dr. Clarke* and I supp’d with
 him that very Evening,

* *Pag.* 216, 217.

Tūne Mathematicum, mal: false Jacobe, laceffis,

Hiftrio dum ringis ferium habere virum?

Ludis tu Chriflum, DOMINUMQUE, DEUMQUE Profeflus :
Ille colit DOMINUM, quem negat efle DEUM. [fumum]

Which I have feen thus tranflated,

And doft thou, James, with aukward Keennefs mark
Whifton, and scoffing fret at ferious Clarke?

Thou jeft'ft on Chrif, thy LORD, and GOD fupreme;

Whifton adores him LORD; but fears him GOD to name.

However, Dr. *Clarke*, who, I believe, had not then particularly examined that Point, did prudently avoid either the Approbation or Condemnation of it. Yet have I undoubted Evidence that he long afterward came into it, upon a farther Examination; though I think he ever avoided, according to his ufual Caution, to declare publickly that his Approbation, even upon the moft preffing Applications. Which is one great Instance of that *impene- trable Secrecy* which Dr. *Sykes* * juftly notes to have been in him upon feveral Occafions. However, what fmall Effect Dr. *James's* violent Introduction of me into Dr. *Clarke's* Act had againft me, take in my own former Words in the *Hiſtorical Preface*, as follows: ‡ “ I fay nothing of
“ the Rudeneſs offered, and the Imputation intended to
“ be laid upon me at Dr. *Clarke's* remarkable Act in the
“ Divinity Schools; becauſe the unfair Procedure on the
“ one Side, and the prudent Caution on the other, did
“ ſo wholly prevent any Diſgrace to me thereby, that af-
“ ter the Heats which were then excited, were a little
“ over, and the Univerſity began to conſider better of it,
“ all ſuch Attempts turn'd rather to my Advantage.

Biſhop *Hoadley* obſerves one thing almoſt peculiar to Dr. *Clarke*; I mean this, that || *the firſt Strokes of Know- ledge in ſome of its Branches ſeem'd to be little leſs than natural to him*; but he gives no Example to ſupport his Obſervation. I can give a remarkable one, to ſupply that Defect; and this from his own Mouth; communicated to me many Years ago: and probably upon ſome of our
early

2

* Pag. 63.

‡ Pag. 92.

|| Pag. 3.

early Conversations. It was this: one of his Parents asked him when he was very young, Whether God could do every thing? He answered, Yes. He was asked again, Whether God could do one particular Thing, could tell a Lie? He answered, No. And he understood the Question to suppose that this was the only thing that God could not do: Nor durst he say, so young was he then, he thought there was any thing else which God could not do: While yet he well remembered, he had even then a clear Conviction in his own Mind, that there was one other thing which God could not do, *viz.* that he could not *annihilate* that *Space* which was in the Room wherein they were. Which Impossibility now appears even in Sir *Isaac Newton's* own Philosophy.

In the same Year 1709, I translated the *Apostolical Constitutions* into *English*: and because my own Studies had been chiefly upon *Things*, and had rendred me incapable of being also a Critick in *Words* or *Languages*, I desired my great Friend and great Critick Dr. *Clarke* to revise it: which he was so kind as to agree to. We read a great Part of it over together; as he corrected the rest by himself, and sent me the Corrections: some or all which I have now by me, under his own Hand. I perceived their Contents made then a very great Impression upon him: Tho' he seemed, I know not how, to have suffered some part of that Impression gradually to wear off afterward. When he had revised and corrected the whole, and found about ten or twelve Places which he hesitated about, he recommended it to me to go to our great and common Friend Dr. *Smalridge*, (with whom my Acquaintance commenced about the same time it did with Dr. *Clarke*, if not a little sooner,) for the last Correction of those more difficult Places: Who as he was a very great Admirer of the Book itself, so was he pleased to examine and correct my Version of it as to every one of those Places. These were the two Persons intimated, but not named by me on this Account in the *Advertisement* to the first of my four Volumes of *Primitive Christianit^y Reviv'd*: where I justly call * Dr. *Clarke*, one excellently skilld in such Matters, and an accurate Hand; and Dr. *Smalridge*, a very learned and judicious Person. But to proceed,

October

* Pag. 2, 4.

October 30. 1710. I was banished the University of Cambridge.

In March 1711, soon after the Publication of my *Historical Preface*, the Convocation fell upon me with great fury. Of all which Proceedings both of the University and Convocation, I soon gave the World distinct Accounts: which now make the two Appendices to that *Historical Preface*, when it was prefix'd before my four Volumes of *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*. Which Accounts were never contradicted: and to which Accounts I refer the inquisitive Reader.

The reason of mentioning the Convocation here is, that, during its sitting it was, that some of Dr. *Clarke's* and my Friends were endeavouring to procure Hands to a Petition to the Convocation, that instead of this Way of Violence and Persecution, they would take the way of Peace and Examination, and would make a publick *Review* of the Churches Doctrine about the Trinity, in order to set the Minds of Men right and easy in so important a Point. I find a Form of such a Petition among my Papers, drawn up by a common Friend of Dr. *Clarke's* and my self; and its general Design highly approved of by us both. It is perhaps too prolix. However, I here give it the Reader *Verbatim*, with this only Intimation, that the Convocation was soon grown too hot and too violent to permit it to be either subscrib'd or presented.

To the most Reverend Father in God Thomas Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, President of the Convocation, the following Representation is with all Humility and Submission offered.

May it please your Grace,

“ **W**HEREAS it is too evident and visible to all serious
 “ Christians, that the Church of Christ is miserably
 “ rent, and more than ordinarily divided into several
 “ Sects and Parties, whereby great Offences are pretended
 “ to be either taken or given; and that Unity of Faith,
 “ and Bond of Peace, which should distinguish Christians
 “ from the rest of the profane World, is very much weakened
 “ and impaired, to the great Scandal of our holy
 “ Reli-

“ Religion, and to the manifest Increase of all sorts of
“ Licentiousness and Immorality.

“ And whereas through the several Disputes and Con-
“ troversies that have of late arisen among good and learn-
“ ed Men, concerning the true Scripture-Doctrine of the
“ Holy Trinity, the Enemy of Mankind hath been busy
“ to increase the Number of Infidels, Deists, and all sorts
“ of Hereticks, that oppose themselves to the Interest of
“ Christ's Religion.

“ And again, Whereas it is to be lamented that through
“ the Ambiguity of many Expressions yet remaining in
“ the Articles and Liturgy of our holy and reformed
“ Church, many of our most learned Divines in their ex-
“ pounding the Church's Doctrine relating to the Holy
“ Trinity, have been tempted to say Things much fa-
“ vouring *Tritheism* on the one Hand, and *Sabellianism*
“ on the other; whereby the Minds of Men have been
“ very much perplexed and distracted in the most solemn
“ Acts of religious Worship, to the great Hindrance and
“ Decay of true Piety and Godliness.

“ Upon all these Considerations, We who are sensibly
“ touch'd with the present *Schisms* and *Divisions*, and upon
“ no other Motive whatsoever, but the promoting the Glory
“ and Honour of Almighty God, and the retrieving a primi-
“ tive Spirit of Christianity among us by Union and
“ Love, do with the utmost Submission and Deference to
“ the Authority of our Superiors, most humbly beg Leave
“ to represent to your Grace, the present Necessity we ap-
“ prehend there is of a serious Review of the Articles and
“ Liturgy of our Church: The way and manner where-
“ of we do not presume to dictate; but do leave it to
“ the Learning, Piety, and godly Wisdom of your Grace,
“ and the rest of the Lords the Bishops: Not doubting
“ but that the united Councils of so many learned Per-
“ sons of known Holiness and Integrity, will procure it
“ to be done in such a manner, as that all Occasion of
“ Offence may be cut off, the Minds of all sincere Chri-
“ stians made easy, the Interest and Welfare of the Chri-
“ stian Religion, by sound Doctrine and holy Discipline,
“ maintained, according to the divine Will revealed to us
“ in the holy Scripture, and thereby the Honour of Al-

“ mighty God propagated and preserved amongst us. All
 “ which is the earnest and sincere Desire of us,

May it please your GRACE,

Your GRACE's most Obedient,

And most Humble Servants.

But besides this long Form, I find among my Papers a Specimen of another very short one, without any Names, but corrected by Dr. *Clarke's* own Hand, in these Words:

“ We whose Names are hereunto subscribed, having
 “ read some Parts of Mr. *Whiston's* Papers, and particu-
 “ larly of his *Account of the Primitive Faith*, do hereby de-
 “ clare, That we find therein some [many] Passages, both
 “ of Scripture and the Primitive Writers of such Impor-
 “ tance, that we cannot but think them highly worthy
 “ the serious and publick Consideration of all learned Men
 “ in the Christian Church.

The same Year 1711, I published my four Volumes of *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*. A little after which, I was sent for to Mr. *Benjamin Hoadley's*, who was then Rector of *St. Peter's Poor*, and my particular Friend; where I found himself; his Brother, Mr. *John Hoadley*; together with Mr. *Craig*, Mr. *William*, and Mr. *Gilbert Burnet*, and Dr. *Clarke*; whether there were any others present, I do not certainly remember. The principal Reason of sending for me was, to discourse about the Authority of the *Apostolical Constitutions*. For as to my *Account of the Primitive Faith, about the Trinity and Incarnation*, the Company did not seem much dissatisfied with it. Upon my coming, the Discourse soon began on the Subject of the Constitutions. Mr. *Craig* was the first that spake, and he seemed greatly concern'd at the Rules in the Constitutions about *Fasting*; and he fear'd they would extend to such as could not, on account of their Health, admit of even such a small degree of Mortification. I replied, that I knew of no such Rules there; and that it was particularly said of the Pra-

Office of Fasting, — or as every one is able *. Which directly supposes no such Rigor was intended, as might impair the Health of any. After this, Mr. *Benjamin Hoadley* spake his Mind; “ That without entring into the Dispute, whether the Constitutions were really Genuine and Apostolical, or not, he was for receiving them, as much better than what was already in the Church.” I cannot say the same of Mr. *John Hoadley*, who then, and ever since, has shew’d a great Aversion to their Admission, and indeed to the Admission of any old proper Christian Rules and Discipline at all; and he has always esteem’d me as one desirous of bringing *Persecution* into the Church, by my Endeavours for the Restoration of that *Discipline*.

But when Dr. *Clarke* came to declare his Opinion, who was, beyond Compare, the best Judge of those I then convers’d with; it was this, that “ He would not argue with me, whether these Constitutions were really written by *Clement* in the Days of the Apostles, as I asserted, or not: For if they should be suppos’d written a good deal later, from the Practices and Settlements of the Churches founded by the Apostles, [which Hypothesis he seem’d to favour,] yet since they plainly contain the Rules which the second and third Centuries of the Church observ’d, they were so much elder, and more authentic than what is in the present Churches, that he was also for receiving them.” I told him, that if he would be entirely honest in his Concessions, he ought to add, that “ Those second and third Centuries observ’d these Rules, not as established by later Church Authority, but as derived from the Apostles themselves.” He readily agreed it to be so. And if any think even the former part of this Concession too liberal, he need but read Mr. *Peter King’s* excellent *Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity and Worship of the Primitive Church*, written before he had ever read these Constitutions, and while his Education among the Dissenters had naturally given him some Averseness to not a few Things contained in them; where yet he will soon see the main part of Dr. *Clarke’s* Concession, undeniably confirm’d from the other Records of the three first Centuries.

* L. V. c. 19.

Upon this Occasion I shall take Leave to add some other Concessions of learned Men, as to the *Antiquity* of those eight Books of Apostolical Constitutions; for as to their *Contents* in general, they are hardly less attested to, than are the Contents of the known Books of the New Testament.

As to what Assistance I had in my own Enquiries into these Constitutions, I name but one Person here, as being by far the Principal, Mr. *Richard Allin*, Fellow of *Sidney College* in *Cambridge*; and must now inform the Reader, that he is that * “ Learned Friend, to whose honest, impartial and laborious Assistance and Sagacity, I, in one Place, own my self to be too deeply indebted, to be ever able to make a suitable Return.” And that he it is also whom I elsewhere mean, when I mention “ the great, the laborious, the honest and the constant Assistance of a † learned and pious Friend in my Discoveries about these Constitutions.

The learned Dr. *Grabe* (whose Dread of the *Arian* Passages affrighted him from owning the whole as really Apostolical) would fain persuade us they were put together later by some *Arian*, out of the *Didascalies* of *Clement*, *Ignatius*, and other Apostolical Men, without producing any proper Evidence in the World for such an Hypothesis. Yet did he freely own, both in Conversation, and in Print, (in his learned Notes on the first Apology of *Justin Martyr*) that the admirable Liturgy of the Church of the *Gentiles* in the eighth Book, was really Apostolical. See *Clem.* and *Iren.* Vindication of the *Constitut. Suppl.* Page 3—25.

Our great Mr. *Mead* || supposes the Constitutions as ancient as *Tertullian*; i. e. written either at the end of the second, or beginning of the third Century.

That very great Man Dr. *Barrow*, often quotes the Apostolical Constitutions and Canons, in his Discourse against the *Pope's* Supremacy; and that still as Ancient, may as Contemporary with the first Fathers, or early in the second Century. See Page 81, 90, 111, 164.

Our learned Bishop ‡ “ *Bull* esteems its Liturgy among the most undoubted ancient Liturgies, and as earlier
“ than

* *Histor. Pref. Pag. 13.* † *Prim. Christ. Reviv'd, Vol. III. Pag. 6.* || *Op. Pag. 419.* ‡ *Corruption of e Church of Rome, Pag. 27. Op. Sect. ii. §. 6. Of Angels.*

“ than the Council of *Nice* ;” or, in other Words, he elsewhere affirms, that “ the *Clementine* Liturgy is by the Learned on all Hands confess’d to be very ancient, and to contain the Order of Worship observ’d in the Eastern Churches before the Times of *Constantine* .

The very learned * *Renaudot* , in his highly valuable Account of the ancient Oriental Liturgies, confesses the *Constitution Liturgy* to be the oldest of them all, and at least about the Age of the Council of *Nice* ; nay, rather a great deal earlier than that † Council. [*Aliquot seculis scissionem Ecclesie per Jacobitas antecedentes.*]

Grotius || himself, speaking of the *Apostolical Canons* , (which seem to be in general *Extracts* from, and are still the *last Chapter* of the *Apostolical Constitutions*) thinks them probably to have been collected at the end of the second Century.

Our excellent Bishop *Beveridge* , who has largely written upon these *Apostolical Canons* , and fully prov’d they were the *Ecclesiastical Rules* by which the Churches were governed in the second and third Centuries, supposes them made by Councils of Bishops in those Ages ; and frequently proves they were made by such Councils and Bishops, from Manuscripts and Testimonies, which say they were made by the Apostles. See my third Volume of *Primitive Christianity Reviv’d* , Page 83—96.

N. B. Though *Grotius* and Bishop *Beveridge* did not fully see it, yet the 85th Canon of the Apostles, in all Copies and Versions, reckoning the eight Books of *Constitutions* among the *Canonical Books* of the *New Testament* , if the *Canons* be *Authentick* , the *Constitutions* must be so too.

Our very learned Mr. *Wasse* also, Rector of *Aynho* in *Northamptonshire* , who has gone deeper into the Examination of such Matters than most of the Learned here, has more than once acknowledg’d to me, that they are not later than the former part of the second Century. As they cannot certainly be, because that very *Hellenistical Stile* or *Language* , wherein they are undeniably written , was lost by the middle of that Century, and never after reviv’d among Christians to this Day. The same Mr. *Wasse* also, at the end of the Preface to his *Reform’d Devotions* , printed at *Oxford* , A. D. 1719, recommends it

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to

* *Differt. I. Pag. 5, 10.*
1 *Tim. iii.*

† *II. Pag. iii*

|| *In*

to the Church of *England* to improve and correct her own Common-Prayer-Book by this *Constitution Liturgy*. His Words are these; "By the finest Passages in the *Jewish* Prayers, ancient and modern, (which he had set down before) it is certain, the Liturgy of the Constitutions is vastly preferable to them; and I cannot but wish our excellent Common-Prayer were perfected from it: That for the *Consecration of the Elements in the Holy Sacrament* particularly."

Give me leave also to add, That that truly learned and good Man, Mr. *Billers*, once Fellow of St. *John's* College, and publick Orator of that University, as I have been certainly informed, did, soon after my Banishment from that University, set himself throughly to examine those Constitutions. What the Result was, because Mr. *Billers* fell into a state of Melancholy and Disorder of Body some Years before his Death, and his Papers were judg'd too imperfect to appear, I cannot certainly learn. However, from that Account I had concerning his Examination, it seem'd to me that he was of my Opinion, and judg'd the Constitutions genuine. This Account I had from Mr. *Thomas Baker*, our great and common Friend, still alive, and resident in St. *John's* College. Now these two Persons, Mr. *Billers* and Mr. *Baker*, were among those that I most familiarly convers'd with at *Cambridge*, all the while I was examining the Primitive Faith, and the Apostolical Constitutions. The mention of whom puts me naturally in mind of two Sayings of Mr. *Billers* to me in those Days: The one was, that he feared our *English Divines* would not be able to answer me about the Trinity, but that he hoped some of the *Foreign Divines* would be able to do it. The other was, that he expected the Church would first yield me up the [supreme] *Divinity of the Holy Ghost*, before they yielded up that of the *Son*; which considering the small, the very small Pretences there are either in Scripture or Antiquity, for that *supreme Divinity of the Holy Ghost*, was no other than a most just and equitable Expectation; though it has not hitherto been comply'd with by the Church. And the Reader is farther to take Notice, that it was Mr. *Baker* whom I particularly meant in my *Historical Preface*, where I say, "When I began to speak of *Arianism* to some Friends, and freely to declare my Thoughts about the Doctrine
" of

“ of the Trinity, I was immediately made sensible what
“ a Noise, and Buffle, and Odium, and perhaps Persecu-
“ tion I should raise against my self, if I ventured to talk
“ and print at that Rate; and how I and my Family would
“ probably be ruin’d by such a Procedure.” And the in-
timate Friendship Mr. *Billers* and Mr. *Baker* had then with
me, by degrees became so visible, that it occasion’d a Re-
port, as if they were both of my Opinion; as appears by
Mr. *Baker*’s Letter to me, dated from *Cambridge, Novem-
ber 29.* [1710.] whose Words are these: “ — Dr. O.
“ makes a Noise in the Coffee-houses, that you had given
“ out that Mr. *Billers* and I were of your Opinions;
“ which though I do not believe, having always reserv’d
“ my self till I saw the Strength of what could be said in
“ your Books, and the Answers; yet it makes as much
“ Noise as if it were true.” I am,

Dear SIR,

Your Obedient Humble Servant,

*Mr. Billers presents you
with his Service.*

THOMAS BAKER.

Nor could I well avoid mentioning two such excellent Persons as Mr. *Billers* and Mr. *Baker*, by way of Honour to my self, and Commendation to them; as two of those my Friends who stood last and longest by me; and, as far as they could, diverted or stopp’d the Prosecution against me at the University. But this is too great a Digression. I return

To the Antiquity and Genuineness of the Apostolical Constitutions, and to Dr. *Clarke*’s Opinion afterwards about them. As to which Matter, I perceived, by discoursing with him, that upon the Publication of the famous Fragment of *Irenæus*, concerning certain Contents of the *second Constitutions of the Apostles* by the learned * *Pfaffius*, and afterwards by my self; he was greatly moved, and knew not well how that Citation could be made by *Ire-
neus,*

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neus,

* *St. Clem. and St. Iren. Vindication of the Constitut. Pag. 19—26.*

næus, unless he had seen the eighth Book of the *Apostolical Constitutions*. As I have heard that Dr. *Hare* attempted to avoid the said Evidence, by supposing this *Irenæus* to be some later *Irenæus*, and not the old Bishop of *Lyons*; contrary to the Evidence produc'd by * *Pfaffius*, who discovered those Fragments.

I have also been inform'd, that Dr. *Clarke* was so far moved with that *Principal Observation* I afterwards made ||, that " All the Citations made out of the Old and New Testament, in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, were made according to the original Copies, as they stood before the *Jews* corrupted them in the Days of *Barchocab*, about the end of the first, or beginning of the second Century; and as they have never since stood among Christians;" as to allow that this Observation would prove those Parts of the *Constitutions* genuine; though he cared not to allow the other Parts of the same *Constitutions* to be genuine with them. This last Account, I think, I had from Dr. *Rundle*, a common Friend of Dr. *Clarke* and my self, who was once with me a zealous Promoter of *Primitive Christianity*, and, if I do not greatly mistake, one that was then strongly inclin'd to believe the *Apostolical Constitutions* genuine. If he thinks them now to be otherwise, he is at Liberty to give his Reasons. In the mean time, if he would use those great Revenues of the Church which he now enjoys, for the promoting that *Primitive Christianity* which he knows to be contained in them, and for which, before he had those Revenues, he was so zealous, he would not repent it another Day. This Evasion of Dr. *Clarke's* made me soon look over those *Constitutions*, to see how many of their Chapters would be found genuine by this Rule. And they were no fewer, by my Catalogue then made, than fifteen of the second Book, two of the third, four of the fourth, thirteen of the fifth, eleven of the sixth, twelve of the seventh, and eight of the eighth; sixty five in all. Now if there be any one truly learned Man besides Dr. *Clarke*, that shall allow all these Parts of the *Constitutions* genuine, and deny or doubt of the Genuineness of the rest, I shall greatly marvel.

I con-

* *Ubi prius & Supplem. Pag. 1, 2.*
 Old Testament, *Appendix. Pag. 116—130.*

|| *Essay on the*

I conclude this Digression at present with my own Words, used to Mr. *Anthony Collins*, in the * *Proposals for printing my Authentick Records*, which include two other Concessions relating to the Constitutions. Mr. *Collins* had asserted, that “the Apostolical Constitutions were manifestly a forg’d modern Book.” To which I replied, “Yet have I given, as I verily believe, || an *unanswerable*, I am sure an hitherto *unanswered Demonstration*, that those Constitutions were written in the first Century. I can also assure this Author, that one of the most learned and excellent Persons in this Nation, since dead, when it was propos’d at the first Publication of my four Volumes, that somebody ought to be employ’d to prove against me, that that Book was spurious; made this Reply, He took that to be an hard Thing to do. As also, that a Brother Unbeliever of this Author’s, of greater Sagacity than himself, though now dead, was so moved by the same first Evidence, that he confess’d I had proved that Book genuine: And thence he inferr’d, that Jesus Christ presum’d to give so great Authority to the Clergy, that he was justly put to Death by the Roman Governor.” And I now add, that by one of the most learned and excellent Persons in this Nation, whom I there describe, I meant no other than Dr. *Sma’ridge*; of which Saying of his more hereafter. Though I do not even now think fit to name the other. But to return from this very long Digression.

About this Time, or before the Publication of Dr. *Clarke’s Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, there was a Message sent him from the Lord *Godolphin*, and some others of Queen *Anne’s* late Ministers, that “The Affairs of the Publick were with Difficulty then kept in the Hands of those that were at all for Liberty; that it was therefore an unseasonable Time for the Publication of a Book that would make a great Noise and Disturbance; and that therefore they desired him to forbear, ’till a fitter Opportunity should offer it self.” Which Message Dr. *Clarke* had no Regard to; but went on, according to the Dictates of his own Conscience, with the Publication of his Book notwithstanding. This History, which I have from undoubted Authority, but which I never heard of ’till

* At the end the Lit. Accomp. of Scripture Proph. Pag. 3.
|| Essay on the Old Testament, Append. Pag. 116—138.

'till very lately, affords us one of the greatest Instances of Dr. *Clarke's* Christian Courage and Sincerity, of all other. And this History puts me naturally in mind of a kind of parallel Message sent me a few Years earlier to *Cambridge*, by Dr. *Cannon*, from the same Lord *Godolphin*, in order to put a stop to the Publication of my *Account of the Primitive Faith, concerning the Trinity and Incarnation*. I well remember the Answer I then made, that "If we
 " must never set about a Reformation in Church Affairs,
 " 'till a Lord Treasurer sends us word 'tis a proper Time, I
 " believed it would be long enough before that Time
 " would come; and that I should have no regard to the Lord
 " Treasurer's Opinion in that Point at all." To which the Reader will easily suppose I refer, when in my first Letter to the two Archbishops, I had these Words: *Historical Preface, Pag. 18*, "I am aware that several Political or Prudential Considerations may be alledg'd against either doing this *at all*, or at least the doing it *now*. But then,
 " if the sacred Truths of God must be always suppress'd,
 " and dangerous Corruptions never enquir'd into, 'till the
 " Politicians of this World should say it were a proper
 " Time to examine and correct them, I doubt it would be
 " long enough e'er such Examination and Correction could
 " be expected in any Case." And I confess I take it, that upon this Refusal, and the consequent Progress I made in those Enquiries, it was, that under the Ministry of the same Lord *Godolphin*, Queen *Anne* thus express'd herself to her Parliament, *April 5. 1710*. That "She could
 " heartily wish that Men would study to be quiet, and
 " do their own Business, rather than busy themselves in
 " *reviving* Questions and Disputes of a very high Nature;
 " and which must be with an ill Intention; since they
 " could only tend to foment, but not to heal our Divisions and Animosities." Which Words I always took to concern me, and to be a Reflection on my *reviving* what has been call'd *Arianism*, in Opposition to the Lord *Godolphin's* Opinion at that Time.

May 16. 1712, I wrote the following Letter to Dr. *Clarke*, of which I find a Copy among my Papers. The Contents of which will sufficiently discover the Occasion.

Dear

Dear SIR, May 16. one a Clock, 1712.

I Heartily thank you for your Book, because it will be of mighty Use for the Restoration of old Christianity; but I am beyond Measure sorry for some Things in it, on your Account. For so visibly betraying your Resolution to comply with any Thing, rather than break with the Church, nay, even as to the *Athanasian* Creed it self; for your Condemnation of *Arianism* in gross, without Distinction; and particularly for your avoiding the Doctrine or Expression that Christ was *created*, and the owning, as it were, his *eternal Generation*; when you know that Eternity was before his Generation: So that I think this Book will lie heavy upon you at the great Day. Take care that your Regard to the Peace of the Church may be Apology sufficient for you then. You have not so much as own'd, as I see, that you will not use the *Athanasian* Creed, as you ought most certainly to have done. In short, your unsincere Excuses and Palliations for that Creed, and the like Things in the Church, are so visible, that this Book will utterly sink your Reputation with the honest, while it will get you no Interest, perhaps not Safety among others. However, correct Pag. 182. Line 7. *brought into the World by the Father before all Ages*, since 'tis a manifest Blunder. I lament that * *ἀμαρτία ὑμείρων*, which you cannot get clear of, and which I cannot but, with the utmost Regret, see. I send this before I have read one quarter of your Book, on account of your Blunder, that it might be still corrected: And am,

Most affectionately yours,

WILL. WHISTON.

This Letter shews, that at this very Time it was that Dr. Clarke, in Pursuance of his former Resolution to explain the Sense in which he had signed the *Athanasian* Clauses in the XXXIX Articles, and had submitted to the Use of the *Athanasian* Forms in the Liturgy; as well as to lay before the World the entire Result of his Enquiries about the Doctrine of the Trinity, published his famous *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*; a Book which

made

* [Heb. xii. 1.]

made a very great Impression upon not a few that read it. Concerning which, what my real Thoughts were upon its entire Perusal at that Time, I shall take Leave to give the World largely and authentickly: I mean by Republishing those OBSERVATIONS, I then printed, as the *first Appendix* to the fifth Volume of my *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*; having been first communicated to himself in Manuscript: Noting withal, that I now omit the fifth and sixth Observations, about the *Creation* or *Coeternity* of Christ, with the large Collection of Testimonies upon those Subjects under the sixth, as being too long, too remote from my present Design, and having been more than once published elsewhere, particularly in my Debates with the Earl of *Nottingham*, with great Improvements. Noting farther, that the short Apology for *Dr. Clarke*, contained there under the third Observation, are the Doctor's own Words, by him given to me, and allow'd to be by me inserted in that Place, with my own Answer to them. And noting in the last Place, that what I say there so fully and warily under the eighth Observation, against the Doctor's forc'd and unnatural Expositions of certain Parts of our present Creeds and Liturgy, is only meant against those Parts of the Doctor's last Chapter, as it stood in his first Edition; but the main Parts of which have been by him very wisely and honestly dropp'd in the second Edition; though without that publick Declaration of his *Repentance*, which I think he ought to have made upon so important an Occasion: Of which more hereafter.

OBSERVATIONS on *Dr. Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity.*

WITH how great Pleasure and Satisfaction I must have read this most remarkable Book concerning the *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, every one that is at all acquainted with me, or my writings, will easily suppose; since it contains, *for the main*, those very Christian Doctrines which I have so very earnestly recommended to all Christians, especially to all Protestant Churches, and that in great Part from the same original Evidence, and on the same sacred Authority. And I cannot but look upon it as a most happy Omen of the Fall of Error and

Antichristianism among us, that so Learned, Judicious, and Eminent a Person as *Dr. Clarke*, has so openly, and with such undeniable Strength of Reason and Evidence, confirmed much the greatest Part of what I have so long and so zealously been contending for: And this without the *direct Contradiction* of almost any one thing that I have asserted. Yet because I cannot approve or some Things in this noble Work; and do really believe that the Doctor's Notions, as here deliver'd, are in some degree short of the original Christian Doctrines, and some Practices here allow'd more different from the original Christian Duties; and because so great an Authority as *Dr. Clarke's* may have too much Influence on many, to make them avoid the owning and observing some plain Truths and Laws of the Gospel, as they were honestly receiv'd and observed in the first Ages; I shall take the Liberty, where I still see Reason to differ from him, without the least Breach of Friendship, to tell him and the World my Mind with the utmost Freedom: That so either he may own his mistake, and come entirely up to the Doctrines and Duties of Christianity as I have propos'd them; or that I may have a better Opinion of his Notions and consequent Practices, if they appear not disagreeable to our old and undefil'd Religion; as upon Conviction I am most ready to have. Being ever satisfied when I see the real, entire, genuine Doctrines and Practices of the Gospel, and not any human Notions and Decrees, prevail among Mankind. Now in this Case I shall comprize what I have to say to *Dr. Clarke* under the Observations following. I Observe,

I. That here sometimes appears, especially in the second Parr, to be a visible Byass induig'd of representing the Christian Doctrines and Practices, as near as possible in a prudential way; in Language not most exact, but most inoffensive; in Terms not most authentick, but most agreeable to the present Settlements; with the Omission of such original Expressions at least, if not Notions, as are not likely to go down so well in this Age: Here are also in the last Part all the most plausible Pleas and Apologies made for the Articles, Creeds, and Forms now in the Church of *England*: Here are Practices endeavour'd to be *excus'd*, if not justified, when no direct Warrant can be pretended. In short, here seems to be such an Account of

of the Christian Faith and Worship, as is too much intermix'd with the unwarrantable Additions now in the Church; even where there is not the least sacred or primitive Authority for them. Now if all this had been done by a Party-man, writing for any particular Church; if it had been done by a profess'd Writer on these Matters of Controversy; how great a Man soever otherwise, I should not have been surpriz'd. But to be done by one so very sensible of the Impositions of that Sort of Writers, of so solid a Judgment, and so great Skill in the Bible, and the rest of the original Books of our Religion, in a matter which he owns to be so sacred, and where we are not to receive him that teaches not only *any other Gospel*, but even * *any thing besides what the Apostles taught* in such matters, and this in a Design of giving the Church an Account of the *New Testament Faith*; and in a Book entituled, *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, seems to me not so perfectly agreeable to the very Nature of his Undertaking, nor to be the way of an impartial Representation.

There are already Writers enow for every Party, who have represented the Doctrines and Duties of Christianity in a way but too agreeable to their own Notions, and in Words but too agreeable to their own Settlements. And I had my self Temptation enough, in the drawing up my *Account of the Primitive Faith*, to induce me to make it as easy and inoffensive as possible, nay to persuade me, to omit those Words and Expressions that would not easily now pass in the World, and that were likely to expose me to the Displeasure of those in Authority, and perhaps to Persecution also. Yet was I so fully sensible of the indispensable Obligation I was under of representing every thing as it really was, and of exactly keeping to the original Notions, Language, and Expressions of Christianity, that I was not, I bless God, in the least byass'd by any of those Temptations; nor did once, to my Knowledge, at all corrupt or misrepresent the Doctrines of the Gospel, or its Practices, on any such occasion: which I own has been a constant Foundation of Comfort to me under all the Opposition and Difficulties I have met with. I wish Dr. Clarke and all other Writers may ever take the same Care, on the like occasions: that so nothing may be at any

* Gal. i. 8.

any time either said or omitted on such sacred and important Subjects, out of any other regards, but those to real Truth, Sincerity, and Christianity. I Observe

II. That the Doctor fully asserts, † that the *Scripture*, or the known open publick Books of the New Testament, are the real and only *Rule of Truth* amongst Christians; and that the original *Creed* it self was therefore to be believ'd, because it expressed the Sense of *Scripture* only, and was an Extract out of the same; nay, and that *Irenæus* in particular has that Doctrine. This I affirm to be entirely false in fact, and without the least ground that I ever saw in Antiquity; and particularly contrary to the express Doctrine of *Irenæus*. And I insist upon it, that, on the other hand, the *Traditionary Doctrines*, the *Traditionary Creed*, and the *Traditionary Preaching of the Apostles*, which are either authentickly now preserv'd in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, or no where, or however the Scriptures as interpreted according to them, were ever in the first Times own'd the only certain Foundations of the Christian Settlements; and that the Articles of Faith contained in the original Creed were not extracted from the Scriptures, but were of more sacred Authority; were probably earlier than any of the Books of our New Testament; and were look'd on as immediately deriv'd from Heaven, or from our Saviour himself, after he had been in Heaven: All which has been already prov'd in my *Essay on the Apostolical Constitutions*. And I beg of the Doctor to give me but one single Proof of this his Assertion of so great Importance, in any of the most early Ages of the Church. Without which he cannot but know that any Man's or Churches modern Opinions are of no Authority at all. But this is not a proper Place to enlarge on that Matter. I Observe

III. That the great Latitude Dr. *Clarke* allows, * that every Person may reasonably agree to modern Forms, under a Protestant Settlement, which owns the Scripture as the Rule of Faith, *whenever he can in any Sense at all reconcile them with Scripture*, if it be with a Declaration how he reconciles them; even tho' it be in a Sense which is own'd to be plainly forc'd and unnatural; seems to me not justifiable, but contradictory to the direct Meaning and Design of those Forms; and of the most pernicious

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† *Introduct.* p. 4. &c.

* *Pag.* 20. &c.

consequence in all parallel Cases. Nor do I see at this rate, that the same Liberty can be wholly deny'd to a Protestant, as to the Popish Doctrines and Practices; since there also 'tis suppos'd that those Forms are intended to oblige Men to nothing but what is agreeable to Christianity. If to this Observation the Doctor should reply, that complying with the Church of *Rome*, and joining with a Protestant Church in the manner and with the Declarations he does, are quite different Things on these two Accounts, (1.) Because the Church of *Rome* will not permit any of her Members to make any such *Declaration* concerning her Doctrines, but positively insists upon every one's *implicit* Submission to them, in the Sense that Church and her Councils receive them, without examining them by the Rule of Scripture; And (2.) Because many of the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, such as the Invocation of the *Virgin Mary*, and of Saints, &c. with the Worship of Images, can in *no Sense* be reconciled, but are directly contrary to it, as setting up other Mediators instead of Christ, and teaching Men to apply to such Beings as have no *Power* or *Dominion* over them; whereas the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, and so of the whole Trinity as used in the Church of *England*; some of the most suspicious of all the Things allow'd by him; may be understood (and *declar'd*) to be only a desiring him to bestow those Gifts upon us, in Subordination to the Father and the Son, which we are sure from Scripture it is his *proper Office*, and *in his Power* to distribute: If I say the Doctor shall make this Reply, I must answer, (1.) That I doubt our Church does not properly allow her Members to make any such Declarations as is here intimated, but expects their Submission in that Sense she and her Synods have impos'd her Doctrines and Devotions; and tho' it be not under the Notion of *implicit Faith*, and *without Examination*, yet as acquiescing in her Judgment, interpreting the Scripture according to her Articles and Creeds, and submitting to her *Authority in Controversies of Faith*. (2.) That there are even in the Church of *Rome* few or no such Doctrines or Practices, but Persons well dispos'd to it can in *some Sense* or *other* reconcile them with Scripture; or at least think they can; which is here almost the same Case; without dreaming of setting up *other Mediators* instead of Christ, or doubting of some Degree

Degree of Power and Authority in the Beings so invocated. So that if we, without all sacred or even primitive Command or Example, may follow our Church in the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, and so of the whole Trinity, from some uncertain Reasonings of our own, I do not see how we can condemn the Papists for following their own Church in the Invocation of Angels, nay hardly in that of *Saints* also, and of the *Virgin Mary* her self. Nor can any Explications of Forms directly against the known Sense of Words, and of the Imposers, be other than *Protestatio contra factum*, and so wholly unjustifiable; Nor indeed, if this were somewhat tolerable in some particular Cases of small moment, can it be at all so in the most sacred Articles and Offices of Religion. If this way be allowable, ^d *then is the Offence of the Cross ceased*; then the Martyrs have commonly lost their Lives without sufficient Cause; and those *Jews* who would dye rather than eat Swines Flesh, and those Christians that would suffer the like Punishment rather than cast a little Incense on the Heathen Altars, were very unfortunate, as having suffered without necessity. What will become of all Oaths, Promises, and Securities among Men, if the plain, real Truth and Meaning of Words be no longer the Measure of what we are to profess, assert, or practise; but every one may, if he do but openly declare it, put his own strained Interpretation, as he pleases, upon them? Especially if this be to be allow'd in the most sacred matters of all, the signing Articles of Faith, the making solemn Confessions of the same, and the offering up publick Prayers, Praises, and Doxologies to the great God, in the solemn Assemblies of his Worship? This, I own, I dare not do, at the Peril of my Salvation: And if I can no way be permitted to enjoy the Benefit of Christ's holy Ordinances in publick, without what I own would be in my self gross Insincerity and Prevarication, I shall, I believe, think it my Duty to aim to enjoy that Benefit some other way: whatever *Odium* or Suffering I may bring upon my self thereby. I Observe

IV. That Dr. *Clarke* asserts, ^e that there are the *greatest Things* spoken of, and the *highest Titles* ascribed to the Son of God in Scripture; even such as include *All Divine Powers*, excepting absolute *Supremacy and Independence*;

^d Gal. v. 11.

^e P. 293.

dency; and accordingly, among the Particulars, he sets down his ^f *Knowledge of all things*, without making any Exception. Now this Assertion, as it stands here, I take to be perfectly indefensible; and that if the *greatest Things* spoken of Christ, and the *highest Titles* given to him, be but taken with all the other Passages speaking of his Inferiority, Subordination, Generation, Creation, Dependance, Submission, Obedience, Prayers, Praises, lesser Power, lesser Knowledge, lesser Goodness, and the Series and Scope of every place be attended to, it will most evidently appear, that the Proposition is entirely false in fact; and that on the contrary, these very *Great Things* and *High Titles*, which are really such, if compared with the vastly inferior State of all the subordinate Creatures, especially of Mankind, which were all made and are governed by his Ministration; and with the diminishing Representation of them in Scripture, are yet *Small Things* and *Mean Titles*, if they be compared with the most exalted State, Perfections and Attributes of the One, Supreme, Eternal, Immortal, and Invisible God of the Universe; as they are every-where represented in the same Scriptures. And for the Truth of this I do here fairly Appeal, not only to my own, but even to Dr. *Clarke's* ^g Collections of the several Texts relating to these Points; and put it to every honest Christian's Conscience, whether what I here say be not certainly true. Nor can Dr. *Clarke*, who fully owns that the very Being, and Attributes, and Powers of the Son were deriv'd from the Father *freely* and *voluntarily*, have any Foundation for this Supposition, that those Powers and Attributes include *all Divine Powers, excepting absolute Supremacy and Independency*: Since God must only have communicated them according to his own good Pleasure, and so in what Degrees and at what Times he pleased, but not otherwise; which last Observation also highly deserves the careful Consideration of every Christian. I said above, that only, *as it stands here*, this Assertion is indefensible; meaning that it appears to me that in the full Sense the Words bear, 'tis not very agreeable to the rest of Dr. *Clarke's* Doctrine in many other Parts of his Book, especially in those places above refer'd to. Accordingly

^f P. 299. ^g Compare pt. 2. §. 1. --- 11. particularly §. 10. with §. 12. - - 18. & 24. --- 27. & 34. --- 38.

cordingly I hope, that when he comes to reconsider these Words, he will see reason to alter them and to own some other *Things* and *Titles* to belong to God the Father, in distinction from God the Son, besides those of *absolute Supremacy and Independency*. I Observe

VII. That Dr. *Clarke's* ^a nice Observations, that the *metaphysick manner* of the Son and Spirit's *Generation* or *Creation* by the Father are not defin'd in Scripture, and so not to be explained by us, are of no great weight; since the like metaphysick manner of the *Eternity* of the Father, or of the *Creation* of the ordinary Creatures, or indeed of any thing else, is not set down there. So that as we can thence tell that God has ever existed; and the ordinary Creatures have not, without such Definitions; so may we know that the Son is not coeternal with the Father, nor the Spirit strictly coeval with either the Father or the Son, from the obvious Passages therein, and in the oldest Authors relating to them, without the Expectation of such Definitions. I am content that my Christian Faith be set down in plain obvious Words, as it is; and do not mightily desire nice metaphysick Definitions; or if I did, I find by the most antient *Recognitions*, and *Eunomius* from them, that the Opinions of the Moderns are contrary to those earliest Traditions in the Church of Christ, which are delivered in Philosophick Language to us.

Nor is there the least antient Authority for any proper *Eternity* of the Holy Ghost; nor indeed for any other Doctrine, as to his Origin, but that he was the ^c principal of those Beings, which God the Father *made* by the Ministrations of his Son: and when Dr. *Clarke* seems to depend on the Text in the Hebrews, ^d αἰώνιος πνεῦμα; *Eternal Spirit*, while he acknowledges, that several Copies have there εἰς πνεῦμα; *Holy Spirit*, (Dr. *Mills* reckons about a dozen) and knows that the Word αἰώνιος does not properly signify *Eternal* in our modern Sense neither; I can only wonder at his Procedure, without being able to give any tolerable account of it. No more than I can give a good account, why the modern

C 2

Word

^a P. 272. &c. P. 290. &c.

^b P. 290. &c. §. 2, 3, 15.

^c See *Account of the Primitive Faith Artic. XIX.*

^d P. 200. *Heb.* ix. 14.

Word *subordinate* to the Father is only put into his 34th Section ^e or Proposition, when so many of the Texts and Testimonies alludg'd for the Proof of it, do plainly shew, that he is *lesser* than, and *inferior* to the Father also. I Observe,

VIII. That Dr. *Clarke's* last Chapter ^f is so evidently forc'd, and unnatural; especially as to the Expositions belonging to the Third and Fourth Petitions in the Litany, to the *Athanasian* Creed, and the proper Preface for Trinity Sunday, that I know not how with Decency to express my real Thoughts about it. I am sure 'tis very shocking to honest and unbiass'd Minds, unmov'd by the Temptations of this World, or the modern Authority of Churches; and what I durst not have written for any Consideration whatsoever. This I am afraid will but encourage many to go on in the Use of those unjustifiable Forms, which they cannot believe to be true, even without any such open Declaration of their real meaning in them, as the Doctor has been so honest as to make ^g here to the World; and perhaps will encourage some of the Governors of the Church in their still opposing a Reformation; since they have, as they may think, now got so great an Authority for the Palliating and Excusing, tho' not for Justifying the Continuance of such Impositions. And I am afraid that the *Invocation* of the Holy Ghost, without all Authority from God the Father, the One and only Supreme God, and Lord, and Governor of all, and whose Will and Command is the proper Foundation of all Invocation to the Son himself, to whom alone he appears to have communicated such Power, and Authority, and Attributes, as render him an Object fit for the same, will at last appear to be not only not supported by Scripture, but a direct Breach of the very first Commandment, and of abundance more of the Divine Laws, both in the Old and New Testament, to the same purpose. However, that I may at once act, if possible, inoffensively my self; and yet not be wanting to my duty of ^h *not hating my Brethren in my heart*, but of *rebuking them*, and *not suffering sin upon them*, or *bearing sin for them*, I shall here present to Dr. *Clarke*. and thereby to all such other good Men, as see no small Part of the Errors and Corruptions of

^e P. 304. &c.

^f P. 415. &c.

^g *Introduct.* p. 24, 25.

^h *Levit.* xix. 17.

of this nature in the Church, but yet too far comply with them; some of the most remarkable Texts of Scripture relating to our Duty in such Circumstances; and shall beg of them, tho' perhaps they will not vouchsafe to hear me in this case, yet that they will hear the Holy Spirit of God himself, speaking by the Mouth of the sacred Writers of the Old and New Testament.

Thou ⁱ shalt not follow a multitude to do evil.

Thou ^k shalt Worship no other God: for the Lord, whose Name is Jealous, is a jealous God.

I ^l will be sanctified in all them that come nigh me; and before all the People I will be glorified.

Behold, ^m to obey is better than sacrifice; and to hearken, than the fat of lambs.

And ⁿ *Nathan* said to *David*, Thou art the Man.

The ^o Integrity of the upright shall guide them; but the Perverseness of Transgressors shall destroy them.

The ^p righteousness of the perfect shall direct his way; but the wicked shall fall by his own wickedness.

The ^q righteousness of the upright shall deliver them; but transgressors shall be taken in their own naughtiness.

The ^r Preacher sought to find out acceptable words; and that which was written was upright, even words of truth.

To ^s this Man will I look, even to him that is poor, and of a contrite Spirit, and trembleth at my word.

Thou ^t shalt go to all that I shall send thee; and whatsoever I command thee, thou shalt speak. Be not afraid of their faces; for I am with thee, to deliver thee, saith the Lord

Thou ^u therefore gird up thy loins, and arise, and speak unto them all that I command thee; be not dismayed at their faces, lest I confound thee before them.

And ^w thou, Son of Man, be not afraid of them; neither be afraid of their words; tho' briars and thorns be with thee, and thou dost dwell among scorpions; be not afraid of their words, nor be dismayed at their looks, tho' they be a rebellious house. And thou shalt speak my

C 3

words

ⁱ *Exod.* xxiii. 2. ^k xxxiv. 14. ^l *Levit.* x. 3.

^m *1 Sam.* xv. 22. ⁿ *2 Sam.* xii. 7. ^o *Prov.* xi. 3.

^p *v.* 5. ^q *v.* 6. ^r *Eccl.* xii. 10.

^s *Isa.* lxvi. 2. ^t *Jerem.* i. 7, 8. ^u *v.* 17.

^w *Ezek.* ii. 6, 7, 8.

Words unto them; whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear; for they are most rebellious. But thou, Son of Man, hear what I say unto thee; Be not thou rebellious, like that rebellious House.

Son of ^x Man, I have made thee a Watchman unto the House of *Israel*; therefore hear the Word at my Mouth, and give them Warning from me.

If ^y the Watchman see the Sword come, and blow not the Trumpet, and the People be not warned; if the Sword come, and take any Person from among them, he is taken away in his Iniquity; but his Blood will I require at the Watchman's Hand, &c. See XXXIV. I. &c.

Now ^z when *Daniel* knew that the Writing was signed, he went into his House; and his Windows being open in his Chamber toward *Jerusalem*, he kneeled upon his Knees three times a Day, and Prayed, and gave Thanks before his God, as he did aforetime.

My ^a People are destroyed for lack of Knowledge; because thou hast rejected Knowledge, I will also reject thee, that thou shalt be no Priest to me. Seeing thou hast forgotten the Law of thy God, I will also forget thy Children.

The ^b Priest's Lips should keep Knowledge; and they should seek the Law at his Mouth; for he is the Messenger of the Lord of Hosts.

Whosoever ^c therefore shall break one of these least Commandments, and shall teach Men so, he shall be called the least in the Kingdom of Heaven.

What ^d I tell you in Darkness, that speak ye in Light; and what ye hear in the Ear, that preach ye upon the House-tops. And fear not them which kill the Body, but are not able to kill the Soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both Body and Soul in Hell.

Whosoever ^e shall confess me before Men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in Heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before Men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in Heaven.

Then ^f said Jesus unto his Disciples, If any Man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his Cross and follow me. For whosoever will save his Life shall

^x Ezek. iii. 17.

^y xxxiii. 6, &c.

^z Dan. vi. 10.

^a Hof. iv. 6.

^b Mal. ii. 7.

^c Matth. v. 19.

^d x. 27, 28.

^e Verse 32, 33.

^f xvi. 24, 25.

shall lose it; and whosoever will lose his Life for my Sake shall find it.

Whether ^g it be right in the Sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye. For we cannot but speak the Things which we have seen and heard.

And ^h now, Lord, behold their Threatnings; and grant unto thy Servants, that with all Boldness they may speak thy Word.

And ⁱ when they had prayed——they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and spake the Word of God with Boldness.

And ^k when they had called the Apostles and beaten them, they commanded that they should not speak in the Name of Jesus; and let them go. And they departed from the Presence of the Council; rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer Shame for his Name. And daily in the Temple, and in every House, they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ.

I ^l take you to Record this Day, that I am pure from the Blood of all Men. For I have not shunned to declare unto you all the Counsel of God. Take heed therefore unto your selves, and to all the Flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you Overseers, to feed the Church of the Lord which he hath purchased with his own Blood, &c.

He ^m that doubteth is damned if he eat, because he eateth not of Faith; for whatsoever is not of Faith is Sin.

It ⁿ is required in Stewards, that a Man be found faithful.

Our ^o Rejoicing is this, the Testimony of our Conscience, that in Simplicity, and godly Sincerity; not with fleshly Wisdom, but by the Grace of God, we have had our Conversation in the World.

We ^p are not as many which corrupt the word of God; but as of Sincerity, but as of God, in the Sight of God, speak we in Christ.

We ^q have renounced the hidden Things of Dishonesty; not walking in Craftiness; nor handling the word of God deceitfully; but by Manifestation of the Truth, commending

C 4

^g Acts iv. 19, 20. ^h Verse 29. ⁱ Verse 31. ^k Verse 40, 41, 42. ^l xx 26, 27, 28, &c. ^m Rom. xiv. 23.
ⁿ 1 Cor. iv. 2. ^o 2 Cor. i. 12. ^p ii. 17. ^q iv. 2.

mending our selves to every Man's Conscience in the sight of God.

I end these few Observations with the excellent Words of our Church; in which I am sure we shall all heartily join :

Blessed^r Lord, who hast caused all Holy Scriptures to be written for our Learning; Grant that we may in such wise hear them, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them, that by Patience, and Comfort of thy Holy Word, we may embrace, and ever hold fast the blessed Hope of everlasting Life, which thou hast given us in our Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

Almighty^s God, by whose Providence thy Servant John Baptist was wonderfully born, and sent to prepare the way of thy Son our Saviour, by preaching of Repentance; make us so to follow his Doctrine and holy Life, that we may truly repent according to his preaching, and after his Example constantly speak the Truth, boldly rebvke Vice, and patiently suffer for the truth's Sake, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

So far out of those OBSERVATIONS.

Nor ought I here to suppress the Mention of those frequent and vehement Admonitions I gave Dr. Clarke [and not him only;] to act sincerely, openly, and boldly in the Declaration of his true Opinions, and in the consequent Practices, according to the exact Doctrines and Duties of Primitive Christianity; and the like frequent Representations I made to him, [and not to him only] of the Danger he might incur hereafter, by his too insincere, over-cautious, and over-timorous way of speaking, writing and acting, in Points of the highest Consequence; which as he always heard with Patience and Temper, so was he not a little moved by them. His general Answer was by this Question, Who are those that act better than I do? Very few of which I could ever name to him; though I did not think that a sufficient Excuse. ^r *Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not be unpunished.* And indeed he still proceeded, after all those Admonitions, in a cautious and

^r *Collect^r for the second Sunday in Advent.*

Midsummer Day.

^s *Collect for*

Prcc. xi. 21. xvi. 5.

and close way of speaking, writing and acting, or rather of not speaking, not writing, and not acting what I thought he ought to have spoken, written and acted; and this in Cases where Christian Plainness, and Opposition to vulgar Errors and Vices, seem'd to be evidently his Duty; and this, as appeared to me, without any clear Satisfaction in point of Conscience, that he did entirely as he ought to do. He also seem'd so much more to have set his Heart upon correcting a few of the grossest *Athanasian* Corruptions, that greatly disgust'd him, than upon a thorough Reformation of Modern *Antichristianism*, upon the Original Foot of Christianity; which, and which alone I had entirely set my Heart upon; that the Intimacy of our Friendship gradually diminish'd, and our Conversations were gradually less frequent and less acceptable to one another, than of old they had been; though in Reality that Friendship was never dissolv'd. And I must be allow'd to say, and to say it with the utmost Grief, that I have long looked on the great Coldness of Dr. Clarke, and the perfect Indifference of the Lord Chancellor King, as to such a thorough Reformation of the Church upon an Apostolical Foundation, to have been the *principal Hindrances* of any such Designs for that Reformation. But to proceed.

About this Year 1712, I suppose it was, that Dr. Smalridge had a Conference with Dr. Clarke about the Doctrine of the Trinity, at *Tho. Cartwright's* Esq; at *Aynho* in *Northamptonshire*: A Place where afterwards I had also a Conference with Dr. Lupton, upon the same Subject: A Place where such serious Conferences about Points of Religion, and about Points of Learning, with the kindest Treatment of all good Scholars and good Christians, were not infrequent; and at which Persons of Honour, and Members of the University of Oxford were often present; and a Place where the Honourable Mrs. Cartwright was never absent, nor unconcern'd at such Conferences. The Conference between Dr. Smalridge and Dr. Clarke was propos'd by the former, in order to the Conviction of the latter. And if any Person in *England* was able to convince upon that Head, it must have been Dr. Smalridge; who had fully consider'd my Fourth Volume, and was a thorough Master of those original Books of Christianity whence the Arguments were to be taken; and who want-

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ed no Sagacity nor Good-will to enforce them. However, he failed of Success; and, on the contrary, the Company were generally satisfied that the Evidence on Dr. *Clarke's* Side was greatly superior to the other. And whether Dr. *Smalridge* did not himself somewhat feel it, I cannot certainly tell. So far I think will appear hereafter, that, excepting his Condemnation of the gross *Arians*, whom neither Dr. *Clarke* nor I ever supported, he after this, chose rather to refer to others who had managed the *Athanasian* Cause, than ever to enter directly into its Vindication. Nor did he escape the Suspicion of being himself inclinable to what has been of late called *Arianism*; especially at *Oxford*; as will hereafter appear.

A. D. 1713, I published *The Liturgy of the Church of England, reduc'd nearer to the Primitive Standard*; and before it was publish'd "I procured from many of my "learned and pious Friends of several Persuasions," as I informed the Reader in its Preface, "no small Assistance "in order to its Correction, Improvement, and inoffen- "sive Reception among all good Men." Among the principal of which Friends, I now inform the Reader, were Dr. *Smalridge* and Dr. *Clarke*; who both gave me their Corrections accordingly; and who both, I believe, would have been thoroughly satisfied, if it had been admitted and used by the Church.

About the same Year 1713, A Conference was held at my House with Mr. *Lacy*, and several others of our modern Prophets; wherein I gave them my Reasons, why, upon Supposition of their Agitations and Impulses being *Supernatural*, I thought they were *evil* and not *good* Spirits that were the Authors of those Agitations and Impulses. The Heads of the Reasons I insisted on are still preserv'd. The Occasion of the mention of it here is this; that Dr. *Clarke* and Mr. *Ditton* were particularly invited to be present and assisting; but that, as Mr. *Ditton* came not till the middle of the Conference, so did not Dr. *Clarke* come to it at all; though I think he had once a Conference with some of them another Time, when I was not present.

This Year 1713, I suppose it was also, that Dr. *Clarke*, in order to avoid the reading of the *proper Preface* for *Trinity* Sunday at his own Church, omitted the usual Communion on that Day, to the great Discontent of those

those Persons which expected to receive it. This made no small Noise; and when I came to know of it, I was greatly displeas'd with his Conduct; that he should prefer the Disappointment of so many Christian Communicants, to the Omission of a single Collect, so directly contrary to Primitive Christianity. The Mention of which Collect puts me naturally in mind of a Distress I was my self once in, about that very Collect, when I administred the Communion for my Brother *Daniel* at *Horse-beath* in *Cambridgeshire* on *Trinity* Sunday, about six Years before. At which Time, before I was well aware, I was got into that *proper Preface*. But as I was reading the same, I found it contained what I did not believe, about the *absolute Equality* of the three Divine Persons. Upon which I went no farther in that Preface, but brake off abruptly in the midst, and proceeded to the following Parts of the Communion Service, without any farther Notice or Disturbance whatsoever. Nor was it probably any thing else that gave the immediate Occasion to *Dr. Clarke's* Dismission from being one of *Queen Anne's* Chaplains in Ordinary, as he was 'till that Time, than the Clamour which this his Omission of the Communion on *Trinity* Sunday, with its known Occasion, did excite.

The next Year, 1714, the Convocation fell upon *Dr. Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*. The most authentick Account of which Matter we have in that *Apolo- gy for Dr. Clarke* which was published this Year by a worthy Clergyman in the Country, a common Friend of *Dr. Clarke's* and mine; and contained true Copies of the Original Papers relating to the Proceedings of the Convocation and *Dr. Clarke*, communicated by the Doctor, and occasion'd by our Friend's first Letter to him; which is that *Numb. 7*. It would be too tedious to set down here, *The Lower House's Complaint*; *The Bishops Answer*; *The Bishops Message, directing an Extract of Particulars*; *The Extract of Particulars*; with *Dr. Clarke's Reply to that Extract*; which may all be seen in that *Apolo- gy*. But then it could not be thought other than a Desertion of plain Truth, and a concealing Things that ought not to be conceal'd, if I should pretend to write *Historical Memoirs* of the Life of *Dr. Clarke*, and omit those other Authentick Papers about the Convocation, which are of the greatest Consequence to his Conduct and Character. So far I can say, that I was not

at all consulted at the Time, nor privy to these Affairs; nor was I therefore able to put any stop to the Delivery of that *New Declaration* of his Belief of a sort of *Eternity* of the Son and Spirit, which made such a Noise, and was commonly supposed not consistent with his other Principles, and was by many esteem'd a Recantation of them. The Delivery of this *New Declaration*, I have heard him long afterward stile a *foolish Thing*. The Occasions of which, I think, besides the sinister Motives of human Caution and human Fear, were these two: First, his own Metaphysick Opinion, which he constantly and vigorously maintain'd, and of which the Reader has a soft Intimation in his own Words in this *Appendix*, p. 7. *in calce*, was this; That any Creature whatsoever *might possibly* have been *Coeternal* with its Creator. See the amazing Subtilty of a great Metaphysician! and contradictory to his own natural Notion, express'd in the eighth Sermon of his first Volume, *Page 173*. where the Doctor justly affirms, that "He who made all Things, could not but be before the Things that he made." And secondly, that Bishop *Smalridge*, whose Opinion was chiefly regarded, had dropp'd some Words beforehand, that "As to other of Dr. *Clarke's* Metaphysical Notions about the Trinity, he did not think it necessary to proceed to their Condemnation; provided he could but [truly] declare, he believed the [real] *Eternity* of the Son of God:" Which accordingly he *appear'd* to do by the Paper, *Numb. 6*. And endeavour'd to explain, or vindicate himself from having thereby *recanted* his former Doctrine, by the Paper *Numb. 9*. Although I perceive that last Paper, which was privately shewn to particular Bishops, and among them to Bishop *Smalridge*, was never taken any publick Notice of by either House of Convocation. It is also to be remembred, that this *New Declaration* of Dr. *Clarke's*, which included his Belief of a sort of *Coeternity* of the Son and Spirit, and was by many supposed to be a kind of *Recantation* of his former Doctrine, though it seems it was not so designed, was by him made, contrary to the wiser Advice of Dr. *Bradford*, with whom he consulted; who would have had him rather transcribe some such Parts of his own Books, as came nearest to the common Doctrine, and send them to the Convocation, as so far a Declaration of his Faith; which would have been a

Method

Method of Proceeding both more honest, and more unexceptionable. And I believe there is a great deal of Truth and Force in the wording this Account of Dr. Clarke's laying his *New suspicious Declaration* before the Bishops, in the *Apology*, out of which I am going to print it; I mean these, Page 44. Dr. Clarke (*it seems*) was PREVAIL'D UPON. I think the true Point was, SAVE THY SELF AND US. Both which were obtain'd by the Delivery of the aforementioned *New Declaration*. As to my self, when I was in the like Straits with a former Convocation, the Reader may see the sincere and open *Letter* I wrote to them, and that not without the Advice of Dr. Clarke, in the *second Appendix* to my *Historical Preface*, Page 10—14. and elsewhere; and may compare it with Dr. Clarke's *New Declaration*. He may also observe on the Comparison, and on the Comparison of the Success of both Methods, how much downright *Honesty*, in such Points, is better than all worldly *Policy* whatsoever. Nor was Dr. Smalridge wanting in giving Intimations of his good Intentions then towards my Deliverance, by declaring openly, upon the reading that my *Letter* in a Committee, "That it would be harder to come at me now than before." And by declaring openly in Convocation, "that it was his private Opinion that I should be heard before I was censur'd," against the Current of the House. So that as Dr. Smalridge in some Measure assisted my Escape from that Convocation, so was Bishop Smalridge the principal Occasion of Dr. Clarke's Escape from the other.

Apology, Page 44 — 64.

"After this, there appearing, in almost the whole Upper House, a great Disposition to prevent Dissentions and Divisions, by coming to a Temper in this Matter; Dr. Clarke (*it seems*) was prevail'd upon to lay before them the following Paper.

Numb. VI. *A Paper laid by Dr. CLARKE before the Bishops*, July 2. 1714.

I. MY Opinion is, That the Son of God was eternally begotten by the eternal incomprehensible Power and Will of the Father; and that the Holy Spirit

rit was likewise eternally derived from the Father, by or through the Son, according to the eternal incomprehensible *Power* and *Will* of the Father.

2. Before my Book, intituled, *The Scripture-Doctrine*, &c. was publish'd, I did indeed preach two or three Sermons upon this Subject; but since the Book was publish'd I have never preached upon this Subject: And (because I think it not fair to propose particular Opinions, where there is not Liberty of answering,) I am willing to promise (as indeed I intended) not to preach any more upon this Subject.

3. I do not *intend* to write any more concerning the Doctrine of the *Trinity*. But if I shall fail herein, and write any Thing hereafter, upon this Subject, contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, I do hereby willingly submit my self to any such Censure as my Superiors shall think fit to pass upon me.

4. And whereas it has been confidently reported, That the *Athanasian Creed*, and the third and fourth Petitions in the *Litany* have been omitted in my Church by my Direction, I do hereby declare, That the third and fourth Petitions in the *Litany* have never been omitted at all, as far as I know; and that the *Athanasian Creed* was never omitted at eleven a-Clock Prayers, but at early Prayers only, for brevity Sake, at the Discretion of the Curate, and not by my Appointment.

5. As to my private Conversation, I am not conscious to my self that I have given any just Occasion for those Reports which have been spread concerning me, with relation to this Controversy.

I am sorry that what I sincerely intended for the Honour and Glory of God, and so to explain this great Mystery, as to avoid the Heresies in *both* Extremes, should have given any Offence to this *Synod*, and particularly to my Lords the Bishops. I hope my Behaviour for the time to come, with Relation hereunto, will be such, as to prevent any future Complaints against me.

Numb. VII. *A Letter to Dr. CLARKE, occasioned by the foregoing Paper.*

To the Reverend Dr. Clarke, Rector of St. James's Westminster.

Reverend SIR,

THE Paper you was pleased to deliver in to the Bishops, and have since published, has occasioned a real and sensible Grief to my self, as well as the rest of your Friends hereabouts. Not that we think it contains (what your Enemies would have it thought) a real *Retraction* of any thing you had before said; but because it is so very like a Retraction, and yet is not such; and seems to be penn'd with a plain Intention only to ward off Persecution. Besides, you had hitherto discreetly avoided those modern Terms, *eternally begotten*, and *eternal Generation*, upon Account of their ambiguous Meaning: Whereas in this Paper you express your Belief of them in an unlimited Sense; as if you thought the Word *eternal* signified the same thing in the *highest Sense*, when apply'd to the Generation of the Son, and Procession of the *Holy Ghost*, as when apply'd to the *Power* and *Will* of the Father. If so, the whole Cause would be given up. For though the Generation of the *Son* and Procession of the *Holy Ghost* may in a Sense be said to be *eternal*, as they were *περὶ πάντων* and *περὶ αἰώνων*; yet what is this to the absolute Eternity of a Self-existent Being? *Novatian's* Expression is very remarkable: *Pater illum præcedit; quod necesse est prior sit, qua Pater sit; Quoniam antecedit necesse est cum qui habet Originem, ille qui Originem nescit.* In the *highest* and most proper Sense of the Words, *eternal Generation* implies a manifest Contradiction. To say something that has a *double Entendre* to stop the Rage of Persecution, and to please the Orthodox, how natural is it to make use of that Method? But whether that be not corrupt Nature, I am loth to say; because I know not my own Frailty, and indeed none of us know our own Strength and Courage till we come to be try'd.

I am not able to think what I could say or do for so valuable a Thing as the *Peace of the Church*, which certainly is greatly to be regarded: But there is a *false* No-
tion

tion of Peace, which would have effectually put a Stop to the REFORMATION, had the Cry of it been then regarded. Good Sir, suppose the Report had been true, that you had directed or connived at the Omission of *Athanasius's* Creed, it had been no way to your Disreputation; for then you had acted but agreeable to your Principles: For I could tell you of many, many others besides my self, that would not for all the World have it thought that they *liked* that Creed, though they have never express'd their Dislike in Print.

Pardon me, Sir, that I am thus free with you; did not your Learning and Virtues render you so exceedingly valuable to me, I should not take so much Pains as I do to clear your Reputation. And the Freedom I use, is chiefly with this View; that you will please to let me have the Favour of something under your hand, that may be a better Apology than any I can at present think of. For I will suppose that you are yet that Good and Great Man I always took you to be. And though you *seem* to me to have weakned your *Scripture Doctrine*; yet I cannot forbear telling you, 'tis what I would not willingly part with for half the *Vatican*.

We hear of a *Second Paper* you delivered to the Bishop of *London*, more explanatory of your Sentiments and Conduct than the first; a Sight of which would be *acceptable* to us. I shall give you no further Trouble at present. Only I hope you will do me the Justice to believe that I am,

Reverend SIR,

Your most affectionate Brother,

and Humble Servant.

Numb. VIII. Part of a Letter from Dr. CLARKE, in Answer to the foregoing.

— MY Intention in the first Paragraph of the Paper you are so much disturbed at, was not to assert any thing different from what I had before written; but only to show, that I did not in any of my Books teach

teach (as had by many been industriously reported) the Doctrine of *Arius*, [*viz.* that the Son of God was a Creature, made out of nothing, just before the beginning of this World;] but that he was begotten eternally, that is, without any Limitation of Time, [*ἀρχόνως, πρὸ χρόνων αἰώνων, πρῶτον αἰώνων, πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων,*] in the incomprehensible Duration of the Father's Eternity: Not by absolute Necessity of Nature, (which infers Self-existence and Independency,) but by the Power and by the Will of the Father: So that the *Father alone* is, and is to be honoured, as being the Supreme Original and Lord of All, himself *without Original*. See *Scripture Doctrine*, Pag. 431; *Reply to Mr. Nelson*, Pag. 113; and *Answer to the Author of some Considerations*, Pag. 226, 227.

And the like is to be understood *respectively*, concerning the *Holy Spirit*.

Wherefore if any Writer in this Controversy shall, at any time from the Word *Eternal*, infer (as you seem to fear) *unoriginate, necessary, or independent Existence*; I did *then* and do still declare, that, in *that* Sense, I think the Word can only be applied to the Father.

The Intention of the second Paragraph, was not to signify that I would, in my Preaching, explain Scripture otherwise than I had formerly done; but that having already sufficiently expressed my Opinion in my *Writings*, I was willing for the future to refer to *those Writings* in Matters abstract and controversial, and confine my *Preaching* to the Parts that immediately relate to Practice.

In the third Paragraph, (as I *then* declared) I did not *oblige* my self never to write any more upon this Subject, but only expressed my *Intention* (as I had before done at the Conclusion of my *Answer to the Author of some Considerations*, &c.) to acquiesce in what I had already written, as containing a sufficient Explication of my Opinion, unless any new Adversary should give Occasion for further Controversy: In which Case, what should hereafter be published, I was willing to leave to the Judgment of my Superiors, whether it deserved Censure or no.

In the fourth Paragraph, I did not mean to give any Occasion of judging, that I had at all altered the Opinion I had expressed in my *Scripture-Doctrine*, Pag. 454 — 461, concerning the *Litany*; and Pag. 446 — 454, concerning the *Athanasian Creed*: (Of which the Great and

Pious Archbishop *Tillotson*, in a Letter dated at *Lambeth*, October 23, 1694, thus speaks; “*The Account given of Athanasius’s Creed, seems to me [saith he] no wise satisfactory; I wish we were well rid of it:”*) But some of my Lords the Bishops having received Information of a *Fact* which was *wholly false*, I did not think it reasonable to suffer my self to lie under any Prejudice upon Account of a Matter altogether without Ground.

The 5th and last Paragraph was occasioned by an *unjust* Report industriously spread, that I had in private Conversation spoken Things, with relation to this Controversy, tending to diminish the Honour of Christian Religion: For which Report, you will easily believe, there never was given the least Ground. _____

“ After the Paper, which was the Occasion of the two foregoing Letters, had been laid before the Upper-House; *Dr. Clarke*, it seems, being apprehensive, that if it should be published *separately*, (as has since hap- pen’d,) without any true Account of the preceding and following Circumstances, it might be liable to be misunderstood in some Particulars; caused the following *Explanation* to be presented to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of *London*, the next Time the Upper-House met.”

Numb. IX. A Paper delivered to the Bishop of London, July 5th, 1714.

May it please your Lordships,

WHereas the Paper laid before your Lordships on *Friday* last, was, through Haste and want of Time, not drawn up with sufficient Exactness; some Things therein being not so fully express’d as they might have been; and others expressed in such a manner, as may be liable to be misunderstood, as not explaining with sufficient Clearness and Distinctness my whole Thoughts to your Lordships upon the Subject therein contained: And whereas, if my present Meaning in any part of it should *now* be misunderstood, I may hereafter be thought not to have fully and sincerely opened my self to your Lordships; I do

humbly and with all Submission, beg Leave to take this immediate Opportunity of representing to your Lordships, that I think my self indispensibly obliged in Conscience, to lay before your Lordships the following *Explanations* of the aforesaid Paper, *viz.*

That whereas I declared in that Paper my Opinion to be, that *the Son was eternally begotten, by the eternal incomprehensible Power and Will of the Father: And that the Holy Spirit, &c.* I did not mean thereby to *Retract* any Thing I had written; but to declare that the Opinion set forth at Large in the Book entituled, *The Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity*, and in the *Defenses of it*; is, that *the Son was eternally begotten, by the eternal incomprehensible Power and Will, &c.* Which Words, [*the eternal incomprehensible Power and Will of the Father,*] I desire may be so understood, as to signify that *God the Father alone* is, and is to be honoured, as being, *ἀναίτιος* and *παράτιος*, the Original of All, himself without Original.

And whereas I declared I did not *intend to write any more concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity: But if I should fail herein, and write any thing hereafter, &c.* I desire it may be so understood, as not to preclude my self in point of Conscience from a Liberty of making any inoffensive Corrections in my former Books, if they shall come to another Edition: Or from *vindicating* my self from any Misrepresentations or Aspersions, which may possibly *hereafter* be cast upon me on the Occasion of this Controversy; but only to signify, that I have no *present Intention* of writing any new Book; and that, if hereafter I shall at any time write any thing which your Lordships shall judge worthy of Censure, I shall readily submit to such Censure.

Numb. X. *The RESOLUTION of the Upper-House, (after the Delivery of the foregoing Explanation to the Bishop of London,) July 5. 1714.*

WE having received a Paper subscribed by Dr. Clarke, containing a Declaration of his Opinion concerning the Eternity of the Son and Holy Spirit, together with an Account of his Conduct for the Time past, and Intentions for the Time to come; which Paper we have ordered to be entered in the Acts of this House, and to be com-

municated to the Lower-House, do think fit to proceed no farther upon the Extract laid before us by the Lower-House.

Numb. XI. The RESOLUTION of the Lower-House of Convocation, July 7.

R*esolved*, That it is the Opinion of this House, that the Paper subscribed by *Dr. Clarke*, and communicated by the Bishops to the Lower-House on the 5th Instant, doth not contain in it any Recantation of the Heretical Assertions, and other offensive Passages, complained of by this House in their Representation, and afterwards produced in their Extract out of the Books published by that Author; nor doth give such Satisfaction for the great Scandal occasioned by the said Books, as ought to put a stop to any further Examination and Censure thereof. So far out of the *Apology*.

Thus ended this unhappy Affair. Unhappy to *Dr. Clarke's* own Conscience; unhappy to his best Friends; and above all unhappy as to its consequence in relation to the Opinion the Unbelievers were hereupon willing to entertain of him, as if he had prevaricated all along in his former Writings for Christianity. I shall mention here one Example, which I long ago, with great concern, inform'd him of, and it was the Declaration of that sagacious Unbeliever, already hinted at, but not named, *pag. 40.* that "As for *Dr. Clarke*, he and other observing Infidels, his Brethren, did think, both from his Life and Writings, that he had really believ'd Christianity; that is, till the Convocation fell upon him. But since his prevaricating Behaviour at that time of Trial, they concluded he did not believe it". Now tho' this Conclusion were much too hasty, and *Dr. Clarke* did by degrees recover part of his former Character; he was so far dissatisfied with what he had done, that he left out of his Second Edition that third part which defended or excus'd his former Subscriptions and Practices; he refused to take any Preferment that requir'd a new Subscription; nay, he refused a Lay Employment of 1200 *l.* or 1500 *l.* a Year, because it was not agreeable to his Spiritual Cure: all which

which will appear hereafter: and by such very good Evidence appear'd in earnest to believe the Christian Religion to his Death: yet I cannot but say, what I believe I added when I told him of this Scandal, "That I would not have given the like occasion of Offence for all the World".
 * *Wo unto the world because of offences; for it must needs be that offences come: But wo unto that man by whom the offence cometh.*

In the Years 1715, 1716, 1717. *A Society for Promoting Primitive Christianity* met Weekly at the *Primitive Library* at my House in *Cross-street Hatton-Garden*; composed commonly of about 10 or 12 honest, and some of them learned Men, of several Persuasions in Christianity; and to which Christians of all Persuasions were equally admitted. This is here mentioned, because Sir *Peter King*, Dr. *Hare*, Mr. *Benj. Hoadley*, and Dr. *Clarke* were particularly invited; tho' they none of them ever came. However, Sir *Peter King*, as well as Dr. *Clarke*, were by me consulted upon particular occasions, or particular difficulties occurring in our Examination. And the Minutes of this Society were sometimes carried to *Aynho*, to Mr. *Cartwright* and his Lady and Mr. *Wasse*, who were all very ready to hear what Progress we made: and where the Discoveries therein contain'd had sometimes a great effect, as to the Determination of the genuine Records of old Christianity. This Society, with only one Interruption, continued two Years: and what its Designs and Procedure were, will best appear by our printed *Rules*; which after great Debates and long Consideration were agreed upon; which we really endeavoured to be governed by; and which I shall here insert *Verbatim*.

A Society for Promoting PRIMITIVE
CHRISTIANITY.

I. *The Designs of the Society.*

THE Society, proposing to it self, as much as possible, to lay aside the Prejudices of Education and Temper, and whatever may hinder them from the Discovery of the Truth, Designs,

* Matth. viii 7.

1. The Impartial Discovery of the true genuine Christian Religion, both as to Faith and Practice, as it was at first settled by Christ and his Apostles; and that as abstracted from all Party Notions, and Human Determinations

2. The Rejection of such Modern Opinions, and Philosophical Notions, as are unsupported by the Christian Revelation; and the Determination of the several Points by Text and Testimonies out of the Original Records of Christianity.

3. The consequent Uniting of all Christians in One Faith, Worship, Discipline, and Government, according to the Will of Christ; and in the strictest Bonds of mutual Love and Affection one towards another: With the Propagation of the true Christian Religion throughout the World.

II. *The general Rules of the Society.*

1. To begin and end every Solemn Meeting with some short but fervent Prayers to God, through Christ, for the Assistance of his Good Spirit, and for the Divine Blessing on all the Religious Designs and Endeavours of the Society: which Prayers are to be used by a Clergyman, if any such be present, or else by the Chairman.

2. To lay aside all Levity, and behave our selves with that Gravity and Seriousness which becomes so important Designs.

3. To invite all good Christians, of what Persuasion or Denomination soever, to these Societies.

4. To treat one another with Respect and Affection; and to avoid all severe Reflections upon one anothers Persons or Opinions, however different our Sentiments may be.

5. In all Doctrines and Duties of Consequence, to prefer the undoubted and original Language and Practices of the Apostolical Age, before those of later and bare human Introduction.

6. To keep a Correspondence by Letter with other such Religious Societies; and to assist them, and desire their mutual Assistance in the promoting the common Interests of Christianity.

7. Not

7. Not to intermeddle with any other Matters which are foreign to the proper Designs of the Society.

III. *The particular Orders of the Society.*

1. That the Society meet at the Primitive Library in *Cross-street Hatton-Garden*, every *Friday*; so as to enter upon Business exactly at five a-Clock in the Afternoon, and to continue together till Seven.

2. That the Prayers to be used be taken out of the publick *Liturgy* of the Church of *England*, and be those six Collects that are hereafter enumerated; but that if any do scruple to join with the rest in those Forms, it be left to them to beg the Divine Blessing on the Societies Endeavours in such other Manner, or at such other Times as they shall think fit.

3. That a Chairman be chosen every Calendary Month, by the Consent and Vote of the Major Part of the Society; and that such Election, if disputed, shall be determined by Balloting; and that on an equal Division the Chairman's Vote prevail.

4. That the Chairman keep good Orders; prevent Heats, and Speaking too long, or too warmly; propose the Question to be debated, with the Arguments and Replies, and compare their Force together; direct the Secretary in drawing up the Minutes of the Debates, and of the Resolutions thereupon: and that in general he take care that all the Rules and Orders agreed on be punctually observed.

5. That a Secretary be also chosen as before, and altered as the Society shall think fit

6. That the Secretary attend at every Meeting of the Society; minute down the Question debated, the Arguments *pro* and *contra*, with the Resolutions of the Society thereupon; keep a Correspondence with other Societies, and the absent Members of this; send them the Minutes of our Proceedings; communicate Letters; read the Minutes; and all according to the Direction of the Society; and that he procure Necessaries for the Society, to be reimburs'd by a Quarterly Contribution of the Members.

7. That all Members be admitted, after a due Enquiry into their Character, by the Consent of the Majority, as before.

8. That the Minutes of the last Debate shall be read over every Meeting, before the Society proceed farther.

9. That none speak out of their Turn or Order, which is that beginning from the Right Hand of the Chairman; according to which every one is to place himself as he comes in, without any Regard to Precedence.

10. That every Member may, in his Turn or Order, propose any other Question to be debated; but that that Question shall be chosen as the Subject of Debate, which shall be determined by the Majority, as before.

11. That the Question to be debated shall be agreed on at least a Fortnight before-hand; that so Time may be allow'd for every one to prepare himself to speak to it, and for its Communication to the absent Members also.

12. That only one Member speak at a Time, and that as briefly as may be; still directing his Speech to the Chairman; and that in Matters of Fact he always have his Proofs ready, from the Original Authors he relies on, for the Satisfaction of the Society.

13. That every considerable Argument advanced in order, be in order strengthened by such as are able, 'till its full Force appear; and 'till the Chairman be enabled to propose it, with its utmost Advantage to the Society.

14. That then Time be given for any Reply that may be made, in order to the first Argument; and that Reply be strengthened, in order, after the same manner; 'till the Chairman be enabled to propose it also, with its utmost Advantage: And this still for the compleat Dispatch, and minuting down of one Argument and Reply, before the Society proceeds to the Consideration of another.

15. That every Member have a Copy of all the Orders of the Society given him.

16. That no Persons be occasionally admitted, but such as are known to some of the Society.

17. That no Orders be repealed, nor new ones established, but by the Consent of the Majority at three Meetings successively.

IV. *Things Recommended by the Society to all its Members.*

1. That they resolve to speak and act according to the Light of their own Consciences, and let no worldly Motives prevail with them, to prevaricate with any of the Sacred Truths and Duties of the Gospel; that by *doing God's Will*, so far as they are satisfied of it, they may be better dispos'd to receive his Truths, and *to know of other Doctrines and Duties, whether they be of God or not.*

2. That they be willing and ready upon all fitting Occasions, openly to recommend and encourage the Pious and Christian Designs of these Societies among Mankind.

3. That in their own private Devotions they pray to Almighty God for a Blessing on the Consultations, Enquiries and Endeavours of these Societies; in order to the Restoration and Propagation of Primitive Truth, Piety and Christianity in the World.

V. *The Collects at present used by the Society.*

At the Beginning.] Collects for *Whitsunday*, for *Simon and Jude*; and the Fourth after the *Communion*.

At the End.] Part of the Collect for all Conditions of Men; that for the Second Sunday in *Advent*; and the Third for *Good-Friday*.

VI. *The Evidence which the Society intends to go by.*

The Society, supposing the proper Use of Reason in judging of Evidence offer'd, admits,

1. In the highest Degree, those known Books of the Old and New Testament, which appear to have been ever receiv'd by the *Jewish* and *Christian* Church, without any considerable Dispute or Contradiction.

2. In the next Degree, those known Books of the Old and New Testament which appear to have been more generally receiv'd; though some had considerable Doubts about them.

3. In the next Degree, those Books not now receiv'd; which appear to have been read in the most early Ages, in the *Jewish* Synagogues or *Christian* Churches; or at least
to

to have been Written by the known Companions of the Apostles.

4. In the next Degree, all other Ancient Records, Remains, Traditions, Constitutions and Canons, deriv'd from the Apostolical Age; so far as the Arguments for their genuine Truth, Antiquity and Authority shall recommend them.

5. In the last Degree, the Primitive Writers and Councils, especially those of the three first Centuries; according to the different Degrees of their Antiquity and Credibility.

VII. *The Rules and Measures the Society intends to be govern'd by in the Use of that Evidence.*

1. To prefer what the Ancients speak of, as the common Faith or Practice of Christians in general, before what they deliver as their own or others particular Opinions or Customs.

2. To prefer what the Ancients deliver in plain Words, before what is gathered from them by Consequences only.

3. To distinguish every-where, as far as possible, the Doctrines of Christianity themselves, from the Philosophy of some Christians about them.

4. As to *Time*, to prefer what appears constantly to have obtain'd in the first Ages, above what may be directly trac'd to its later Original.

5. As to *Place*, To prefer what appears generally or universally to have then obtain'd, before what can be discovered in some Parts only.

6. To take care that no modern Distinctions may set aside plain Testimonies of Antiquity.

7. To determine every Question by superior Evidence, so far as it appears to the Society.

Our *Chairmen* were three: The first Dr. *Jobu Gale*, from *July 3d. 1715*, when we first met, 'till *Feb. 10. 1715*. The second was Mr. *Arthur Onslow*, from *Feb. 17. 1715*, 'till *December 28. 1716*. The third was Mr. *Thomas Emlyn*, from *January 4. 1716*, 'till *June 28. 1717*, which was the last Day of our Meeting. And I my self officiated all the while as their *Secretary*. Nor have the Minutes
of

of this Society been preserv'd with less Exactness, perhaps, than those of any Court in this Kingdom; as I take them to be of greater Consequence than any of them. And as soon as the Thoughts of Men are turned from their present Disputes, and Parties, and Follies, it will certainly be very fit to publish those Minutes themselves; and to attempt to revive the same Society, for the common Benefit of Truth and true Religion, and for the Restoration of Primitive Christianity among us.

N. B. I shall take Leave, upon this Occasion, to repeat here that solemn Wish a *fifth* Time, which I have in vain repeated *four* times already, and that in the same Words, and with the same Sincerity as formerly.

“ O that I might live to see that happy Day here in
 “ *Great-Britain*, when publick Authority, Ecclesiastical
 “ and Secular, should depute a Committee of Learned,
 “ Impartial and Pious Men, with this Commission, That
 “ they diligently, freely, and honestly examine her pre-
 “ sent Constitution in all its Parts; and bring in an un-
 “ byass'd and unprejudic'd Account of her Defects and
 “ Aberrations, whether in Doctrine, Worship, or Disci-
 “ pline, of all Sorts, from the Primitive Standard; in or-
 “ der to their effectual Correction and Reformation. Then
 “ would our *Sion* be indeed a *Praise in the Earth*; the
 “ Darling and Pattern of all the other Protestant Churches
 “ in the World; and by such an illustrious Precedent
 “ would effectually recommend the like Reformation to
 “ all the other Churches: and so become the Foundation
 “ and Center of their Unity, Love and Peace, and there-
 “ by most effectually * *hasten the coming of that Glorious*
 “ *Day of God*, when, according to our Lord's most sure
 “ Promise, and that of the Father also, *We look for New*
 “ *Heavens and a New Earth*; a new and better State of
 “ the Church here on Earth; † *wherein Righteousness will*
 “ *dwell, 'till it end in the glorious Millennium, the King-*
 “ *dom of our Lord, advanc'd to its highest Perfection,*
 “ and spread over the Face of the whole World, 'till the
 “ Consummation of all Things! Serm. and Essay, *Pag.*
 280, 281. Reasons against the Court of *Delegates*, *Pag.*
 11, 12. Address to Princes, *Pag.* 71, 72. *Henley's Letters*,
Pag. 32.

About

* 2 *Pet.* iii. 12.

† *Verse* 13.

About the Year 1717, I wrote a small Paper, not yet published, containing very briefly the Reasons of what I had eight Years before declared to be my Opinion in the *Sermons and Essays*, Page 220, 221. *against* the proper Eternity of the Torments of Hell. And I think I may venture to add, upon the Credit of what I discovered of the Opinions of Sir *Isaac Newton* and Dr. *Clarke*, that they were both of the same Sentiments. Nay, Dr. *Clarke* thought that “ few or no thinking Men were really of “ different Sentiments in that Matter.” And as to my self, to speak my Mind freely, I have many Years thought, that the common Opinion in this Matter, if it were for certain a real part of Christianity, would be a more insuperable Objection against it, than any or all the present Objections of Unbelievers put together.

About the Year 1718, Dr. *Clarke* attempted a *small* Alteration for his Parish of St. *James's*, in a Case where I had attempted a *great* one long before for the Charity Schools at *Cambridge*; I mean in the Forms of *Doxology* of the singing *Psalms*: * which as they are not *establisbed* by any legal Authority, Ecclesiastical or Civil, seemed within the Care of the present Stewards of the Charity Schools, and of the present Incumbents of Parishes. Dr. *Clarke's* Alteration I think was this; *To God, through Christ, his Son, our Lord, All Glory be.* Which is the most undoubted old Christian Form that is now extant in the Church; and is the most usual Form at the ends of the Prayers and Thanksgivings in our own publick Liturgy. This I esteem one of Dr. *Clarke's* most Christian Attempts towards somewhat of Reformation, upon the Primitive Foot, that he ever ventured upon. But this Attempt was so highly resented by Bishop *Robinson*, that it produc'd a most flagrant Clause, in a Letter which he then wrote to the Incumbents of his Diocese, to caution them against using it. Which *Old Form*, the Bishop, in the Simplicity of his Heart, seemed to think a *New Form of Doxology.* This Letter occasion'd several Pamphlets on both Sides; two of which I was the Author of: To which I must refer the inquisitive Reader. Nor need I add, that the Bishop, in way of *Modern Authority*, was quite too hard for Dr. *Clarke*, in way of *Primitive Christianity*,

About

* Histor. Pref. Page 128. 132.

About this Time it was, that Mr. *Lechmere*, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, presented Dr. *Clarke* to the Mastership of *Wingstan's* Hospital in *Leicester*. Which requiring no *Athanasian* Subscription, nor *Athanasian* Creed, nor *Athanasian* Worship, was a piece of Preference very acceptable to him; as it is now to his and my great Friend Mr. *Jackson*, who succeeds him on the very same Accounts. Where, in the Words of his Successor Mr. *Jackson*, "Dr. *Clarke*, as often as he came to *Leicester*, Read the Prayers of his Chapel for me, and "preach'd every *Sunday* at *St. Martin's* Church for me or "the Vicar; and left a Legacy of an 100*l.* to the poor "Inhabitants of the Town of *Leicester*, which has been "paid by his Widow."

The next Year, 1719, Dr. *Clarke* desired me to write a *Commentary on the first Epistle of St. John*; which Request I comply'd with; and extended it to all his three Epistles. He also at another time recommended to me to write against the Genuineness of that famous Text in the first Epistle of *St. John*, *Chap. v. 7.* concerning the *Three that bear record in Heaven*, which he knew I believed to be an Interpolation. But as we both knew that Sir *Isaac Newton* had written such a Dissertation already, and I was then engag'd in other Pursuits, I excused my self at that Time; and we both agreed to recommend that Matter to Mr. *Emlyn*; which Work he undertook, and performed with great Impartiality and Accuracy. This Treatise, as I have been inform'd, was alluded to by Dr. *Bentley* in his own famous Lecture at *Cambridge* soon afterward, when he stood Candidate for the Chair of *Regius Professor* of Divinity; wherein he also entirely gave up that Text, and publicly prov'd it to be Spurious. I have been also informed, that when Dr. *Waterland* was asked "whether Dr. *Bentley's* Arguments did not convince him;" he replied, "No; for he was convinc'd before." Nor does the Doctor, I think, ever quote that Text as genuine in any of his Writings. Which in so zealous and warm a *Trinitarian* deserves to be taken great Notice of, as a singular Instance of Honesty and Impartiality.

In the same Year 1719, several of us who did not believe the *Athanasian* Doctrine, designed to petition the Parliament for a *Toleration*. Dr. *Clarke* was among the prin-

principal Persons consulted, and among those that most heartily wish'd good Success to our Design. Upon this Occasion we drew up and printed a Paper, to be given among the Members of Parliament. This Attempt was soon complain'd of and oppos'd, and is mention'd with Disgust by the Lord *Nottingham*. See his Book against me, *Page 3, 4. 159.* and my Reply, *Page 76.* and so it soon fell. The Paper it self having not been, I think, elsewhere published entire, I shall here reprint it, and desire Dr. *Waterland* and his Antagonist Dr. *Sykes*, and indeed any Clergyman that signs or uses these Church Forms, to lay their Hands upon their Hearts, and honestly declare, whether *any one of them* does *bonâ fide* believe what they *all* have Subscrib'd, and *almost all* use, as it here follows *Verbatim*.

WHereas in an Act of Parliament 1^o *Gul. & Mar.* for exempting Protestant Dissenters. &c. from diverse Penalties, &c. there are several Restrictions and Limitations, by which many of his Majesty's peaceable Protestant Subjects are still left incapable of receiving the Benefit of such Exemption, &c. Therefore for the quieting the Minds of all such his Majesty's good Protestant Subjects, be it enacted, &c. That every Protestant Dissenter from the Church of *England* by Law established, who shall make and subscribe the Declaration against Popery, and take the Oaths in the said Act mentioned; and who shall, instead of any other Declarations and Subscriptions therein required, declare and subscribe his unfeigned Assent to, and his Belief of the Holy *Christian* Religion, as contained in the Scriptures of the *Old* and *New* Testament, and in the *Creed* commonly called the *Apostles Creed*, shall have the full Benefit of the said Exemptions, as if he had made all the Declarations and Subscriptions therein hitherto required; any Thing in the aforesaid Act, or in any other Act to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

N. B. No Preachers or Teachers, except Quakers, are at present tolerated by Law in *England*, without subscribing the following Propositions.

Out of the XXXIX Articles.

Article I. **T**HERE is but one living, and true God, everlasting, without Body, Parts, or Passions, of infinite Power, Wisdom, and Goodness, the Maker and Preserver of all Things both visible and invisible. *And in Unity of this Godhead there be three Persons of one Substance, Power, and Eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.*

II. The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God; of one Substance with the Father, took Man's Nature in the Womb of the blessed Virgin, of her Substance; so that two whole and perfect Natures, that is to say, the God-head and Manhood were joyn'd together in one Person, never to be divided; whereof is one Christ very God and very Man, who truly suffer'd, was crucified, dead and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a Sacrifice not only for Original Guilt, but also for actual Sins of Men.

V. The Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one Substance, Majesty, and Glory with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

VIII. The three Cceeds, Nice Creed, Athanasius's Creed, and that which is commonly call'd the Apostles Creed, ought thoroughly to be receiv'd and believ'd, for they may be proved by most certain Warrants of holy Scripture.

IX. Original Sin ——— in every Person born into this World, deserveth God's Wrath and Damnation.

XIII. Works done before the Grace of Christ, and the Inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God; ——— we doubt not but they have the Nature of Sin.

XVII. Predestination to Life, is the everlasting Purpose of God, whereby (before the Foundations of the World were laid) he hath constantly Decreed by his Counsel, secret to us, to deliver from Curse and Damnation, those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of Mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting Salvation, as Vessels made to Honour. Wherefore they which be endued with so excellent a Benefit of God, be called according to God's Purpose by his Spirit working in due Season: They through Grace obey the Calling: They be justified freely: They be made Sons of God by Adoption:

tion: They be made like the Image of his only begotten Son Jesus Christ: They walk religiously in good Works: and at length, by God's Mercy, they attain to everlasting Felicity.

As the Godly Consideration of Predestination and our Election in Christ, is full of sweet, and pleasant, and unspeakable Comfort to Godly Persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the Works of the Flesh, and their earthly Members, and drawing up their Mind to high and heavenly Things: as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their Faith of eternal Salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their Love towards God: So, for curious and carnal Persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their Eyes the Sentence of God's Predestination, is a most dangerous Downfal, whereby the Devil doth thrust them either into Desperation, or into Wretchedness of most unclean Living; no less perilous than Desperation.

N. B. Instead of the thirty nine Articles, the Quakers are by Law required, among other Things, to sign the following Profession.

I A. B. Profess Faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, One God blessed for evermore.

N. B. In the 8th Article foregoing, it is affirmed that the *Athanasian Creed* is *Athanasius's*; which the Learned agree, and which Dr. *Waterland* has fully and learnedly prov'd not to be so. And it is there affirmed, among other Things, that that Creed ought thoroughly to be receiv'd and believ'd, because it may be prov'd by most certain Warrants of Holy Scriptures.

Some Part of the *Athanasian Creed* here follows.

Whosoever will be saved, before all Things it is necessary that he hold the Catholick Faith.

Which Faith, except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.

And the Catholick Faith is this: That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity.

— But

——— *But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one: the Glory equal, the Majesty co-eternal.*

Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost

The Father uncreate, the Son uncreate, and the Holy Ghost uncreate.

The Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible, and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible.

The Father eternal, the Son eternal, and the Holy Ghost eternal.

And yet there are not three Eternals, but one Eternal.

As also there are not three incomprehensibles, nor three uncreated. But one uncreated, and one incomprehensible.

So likewise the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty, and the Holy Ghost Almighty;

And yet they are not three Almighties, but one Almighty.

So the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God;

And yet they are not three Gods, but one God.

So likewise the Father is Lord, the Son Lord, and the Holy Ghost Lord;

And yet not three Lords, but one Lord.

——— *And in this Trinity none is afore, or after other; no one is greater or less than another;*

But the whole three Persons are co-eternal together, and co-equal.

So that in all Things, as is aforesaid, the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped.

He therefore that will be saved must thus think of the Trinity.

——— *This is the Catholick Faith: which except a Man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.*

*A. D. 1719 came out Dr. Clarke's Second Edition of his Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, with proper Emendations and Corrections. What was here most remarkable was this; I give it the Reader in the Words of Dr. Waterland; that * "The most offensive Passage of the "Introduction relating to Subscription, [viz. 'Tis plain "that every Person may reasonably agree to Modern Forms,*

E

"wher-

* Arian Subscription, pag. 5, 6.

“ whenever he can in any sense at all reconcile them with
 “ Scripture;] was left out: and besides that, all those
 “ strange and unaccountable Interpretations of the *Atha-*
 “ *nasian* Creed, &c. (which had appeared in the first
 “ Edition) were also prudently omitted. — tho’ he did
 “ not strike out every Clause that looked that way; [and
 “ used] great Reserve and Caution in not telling the
 “ World plainly that he had changed his Mind: —
 “ which [Change of Mind] must appear more for the
 “ Doctor’s Honour, (with all Men of Sense,) than per-
 “ sisting in an Error”. In all which I agree with Dr.
Waterland: and would recommend it to him to imi-
 tate, nay to outdo Dr. Clarke: I mean, in no more vindicating or signing the *Calvinist* Articles: which he himself does not much more believe than the other believed the *Athanasian*. But *Non videmus id manticae quod in tergo est*.

However, it will be very proper on this Occasion to give a particular Account of Dr. Clarke’s and some of his Friends late Conduct about this their Subscription to *Athanasian* Articles, Use of *Athanasian* Creeds, and Compliance with *Athanasian* Forms of Worship. As to Mr. *Emlyn* and my self, we have ever not only retain’d our own Integrity in this Case, but taken care to afford no Suspicion upon us of any such Prevarication. Insomuch that Dr. *Waterland* justly quotes my Opinion at large against his Adversary Dr. *Sykes*, in his *Supplement * to the Case of Arian Subscription*; as the Words are set down above out of my *Observations † on Dr. Clarke’s Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*.

As to Dr. Clarke’s Conduct, since the *Second Edition* of his Book, it has been, tho’ not open and publick enough, yet, for the main, more and more in the way of Honesty, and against such sort of Prevarications. Mr. *Emlyn*, Mr. *Jackson*, and my self, have many Years known from his own Mouth, that he has never encouraged those that consulted him to subscribe, and that he had been long greatly inclin’d to meddle no more in that way himself. And I have of late met with undeniable Evidence, besides what Intimation is given by Bishop || *Hoadley*, from what he has said to three of his most intimate Friends, and of the most unquestionable Probity, the Master of the *Rolls*,
 Mr.

* Page 72. -- 75. † Pag. 49--53. supra. || Pag. 47, 48.

Mr. *Emlyn*, and Mr. *Jackson*, that for some Years before he died, he perpetually refused all, even the greatest Preferments, which required the same Subscription: And he let both his *bighest*, and his *most intimate* Friends know, that he would take no sort of Preferment which required it.

As to his and my great Friend, Mr. *Jackson's* Conduct about such Subscription, it is indeed very true, that *A. D.* 1721, when he was disturb'd and prosecuted on Suspicion of Arianism at *Leicester*, he was about writing against Dr. *Waterland's* *Arian Subscription*; and that in the way both of an *Apology* for such Subscriptions, and of *Recrimination* upon Dr. *Waterland's* and the Churches own Prevarication in signing other Articles which themselves did not really believe. Insisting that he, and others of his *Eusebian* Opinions, might as innocently sign *Athanasian* Articles, without being *Athanasians*; as Dr. *Waterland*, and the Church, without being *Calvinists*, do sign *Calvinist* Articles. When I heard this News, and met with what I took to be Mr. *Jackson's* Vindication of such Subscriptions, I wrote Mr. *Jackson* a Letter to dissuade him from what I thought so wicked, and so foolish an Attempt: A Copy of which I have not preserv'd. Take his Answer to it in his own Words, out of his Letter to me, dated [from *Leicester*] *November 4. 1721*, which I have by me.

— “ You are mistaken in having read my Vindication
 “ against Dr *W_____*'s Arian Subscription: I have not
 “ yet published any Answer to it. [It was Dr. *Syke's* *Case*
 “ of *Subscription* that I had read, which, being without a
 “ Name, I then thought to have been Mr. *Jackson's*.]
 “ When I do, I shall consider fully the *Athanasian* Creed,
 “ and the *Antenicene* Language, for the Ground of my
 “ Sense of the Church Forms. I think I can not only
 “ retort upon Dr. *W_____*, but hope to shew, that
 “ though there are Difficulties in point of Subscription,
 “ which I deny not, yet that, all things consider'd, I
 “ may consistently with *Honesty* subscribe. As I do
 “ assure you there is no Man to whom I more desire to
 “ approve my self, as an *honest* Man, than to you, of
 “ whose entire *Honesty* I have the greatest Opinion, so
 “ I hope you will not find Reason to condemn me. And
 “ if after I have given my Reasons for Subscription, I

“ can be shewn that those Reasons are not good, or will
 “ not excuse my Subscription from Prevarication, I shall
 “ be sorry for having already subscrib’d, and shall think
 “ my self bound in Duty and Conscience to subscribe no
 “ more, not for the whole World.”

To this I find a Copy of my Reply, which was as follows *Verbatim*.

London, November 9. 1721.

Dear SIR,

“ THE Receipt of yours of the 4th Instant gives me
 “ no small Uneasiness, since I find thereby that the
 “ Subscription to, and Use of even the grossest and most
 “ notorious Corruption now in our Church, I mean the
 “ *Athanasian Creed* itself, is to be excus’d and apologiz’d
 “ for by you; which almost all the sober *Athanasians* are
 “ greatly asham’d of; and which is frequently omitted by
 “ themselves, as unwarrantable and unchristian. If you
 “ had not appear’d in Publick in this Controversy, this
 “ Procedure would have been even then very unjustifi-
 “ able; but as you have, it is absolutely absurd and into-
 “ lerable. Nor do I think this Procedure of yours only
 “ wicked in point of Conscience, but foolish in point of
 “ Prudence also. After your new Subscription, Monthly
 “ Assents and Consents, and such an Apology, you will
 “ for certain be contemptible to the *Athanasians*, despis’d
 “ and affronted at *Leicester*, and very coldly receiv’d by
 “ those sincere and honest Christian Friends that supported
 “ me in my Troubles, and brought me so through them,
 “ that I think I am now somewhat richer than if I had
 “ been Professor at *Cambridge* to this Day. Mr. *Emlyn*,
 “ and my self, have begun and carried on this glorious
 “ Design of a Reformation, without the least Thought
 “ of tricking and prevaricating in such sacred Matters.
 “ Dr. *Clarke* and you come in the third and fourth Place:
 “ We deny not, with greater Learning; but in such a
 “ way, that there is great Reason to fear the Design
 “ will be ruin’d by your worldly Politicks, and Prevarica-
 “ tion. What your Guilt will be, if so it prove, I need
 “ not say. Nor would I have a small part of it charge-
 “ able on me at the great Day for all the World. Not
 “ to mention the Danger of not only hindring the Le-
 “ gislature from giving us any farther Relief, as Men of
 “ Probity

“ Probity and Conscience, but of provoking it to make
 “ new Laws against us, as Knaves and Villains. Consider
 “ what *Daniel* did, when even his Life was at Stake, vi.
 “ 10—13. and old *Eleazar*, when he might have ef-
 “ caped much greater Punishment by much less Prevari-
 “ cation than you can, *2 Macc.* vi. 18—31. And re-
 “ member you were seasonably put in mind of all this by
 “ your Friend. However, if you do resolve to go through
 “ this dangerous Business, I beg of you at the very time
 “ openly, and under your Hand, to declare in what Sense
 “ you mean every dubious Article or Promise, that you
 “ may at least avoid the Imputation of Popish *Equivoca-
 “ tion and mental Reservation*, in such important Matters;
 “ which is the least, I think, that an honest Man can
 “ possibly do in your Case: Which I earnestly, but in
 “ vain, exhorted *Dr. Clarke* to do, when he took his
 “ Doctor’s Degree at *Cambridge*: and which the present
 “ Bishop of *Coventry and Litchfield* was permitted to do
 “ in open Court, when he took the Association many
 “ Years ago. If not, I entreat you to use some other
 “ Friend to assist you in your Management; for I shall
 “ go with so unwilling and uneasy a Mind about it, as
 “ may be to your Disadvantage, and cannot be to my
 “ Satisfaction. You are now come to the great Tryal of
 “ your Integrity; I pray God direct your Resolution.
 “ [Integrity is vastly preferable to Orthodoxy.] I con-
 “ clude with the Words of *Jesus*, the Father of *Sirach*,
 “ *strive for the Truth unto Death, and the Lord shall fight
 “ for thee*, *Eccclus.* iv. 28. BE HONEST.”

Yours sincerely,

WILL. WHISTON.

My Dissuasions however being afterwards, upon one
 Motive or another, seconded by *Dr. Clarke* and *Mr.*
Emlyn, *Mr. Jackson* at length yielded, and dropp’d that
 Design to all our Satisfaction. since which time *Mr.*
Jackson has fully recovered his Integrity, *as to such Sub-
 scriptions*, and that soon after this Letter was written. For
 it appears from some of his Letters to me, and particularly
 from a Letter of his to *Mr. Emlyn*, dated *October 27.*

1722, which I have seen, that he was at that time almost resolv'd to subscribe the XXXIX Articles no more. His Words are these; " If the XXXVIth Canon extends to " *Prebendaries*, I shall have a Difficulty upon me; being " not [upon late and mature Consideration of every " Particular subscrib'd,] fully satisfy'd of the Lawfulness " of subscribing ——— I own of late, I have not " thought of any Living, till the Point of Subscription is " more clear to me. I also own I cannot subscribe, but " with such a Latitude as is hard to be admitted." Accordingly he not very long after that lost the Hopes he had of a Prebend of *Salisbury*, on Account of his Refusal of Subscription; which yet is not, I perceive, the only Preferment he has lost on the same Account. And this Loss of that Prebend is so remarkable, and lies so much at the Door of Bishop *Hoadley*, the Writer of *Dr. Clarke's* Life, and in which I find he acted contrary to *Dr. Clarke's* Opinion, that 'tis very fit the Publick should know it on this occasion. The Matter lay thus; 'Tis not, it seems, at all clear in our Law, that Subscription is a Qualification necessary for holding a Prebend. Mr. *Jackson's* private Prebend of *Wberwell* did not at all require it; no more than *Dr. Clarke's* and his Hospital at *Leicester*. The Bishop of *Sarum* also was sollicit'd by *Dr. Clarke*, that Mr. *Jackson* might have one of his Prebends; and Mr. *Jackson* was ready to accept it, provided he would not require Subscription; being willing to run the hazard of the Law, in case his Title should be call'd in Question. *Dr. Clarke* also informed him, that it did not appear that Prebends requir'd Subscription. However, the Bishop did not shew any readiness to admit him without Subscription. How consistent this was with his own Notion of *Liberty of Conscience*, or with that *Christian Freedom*, of which he has always appear'd the strongest Advocate, I do not well understand. And since I have now procur'd Mr. *Jackson's* own authentick Account of this Refusal of a Prebend of *Salisbury* by the Bishop, I shall give it the Reader *Verbatim*.

[*Leicester*,]

[Leicester,] June 20. 1730.

I Was abroad when yours came hither, and received it at my return Home the other Day.—— The Case of my not being made a Prebendary of *Sarum*, was, my refusing to comply with the Bishop's Demand (made by Dr. Clarke,) of *Subscription*. I never talked with the Bishop my self about it; but Dr. Clarke did several times; and told me more than once, that the Bishop would give me a Prebend on the Terms of Subscription, but not otherwise. Dr. Sykes told me to the same Purpose, when I was last at *London*. Dr. Clarke had (as he told me) urg'd the Bishop, that the Law did not require *Subscription* (which I thought might have prevailed with him, who had written against *Impositions*;) but the Bishop's Answer was, that all others subscrib'd, and it would not look well in his Books to admit one without Subscription; though he could not say that the Law required it. This is the true State of my Case, as I had Information from Dr. Clarke.

However, since the Affair of that Prebend, Mr. Jackson has always refus'd to make any such Subscription. And I can my self assure the Publick, that I have several Years certainly known That his Resolution, from his own Mouth, even upon the Supposition that he should by such Refusal be rendred incapable of any farther Preferment in the Church. And I must needs do Mr. Jackson this farther Justice, as to profess, that had he been left to himself, and his own Thoughts all along, and not been overborn by his Regards to Dr. Clarke, to his Persuasions, Example, Emendations, and cautious Management, I believe he would have more readily discover'd, and more openly profess'd some Parts of what he is now satisfied was the original Christian Doctrine, and earlier resolv'd upon the true and open Confession of the same, than he really did.

As for Dr. Sykes, another of Dr. Clarke's Friends and mine, he is, I think, the only Person that has ventur'd in distinct Papers, of late, to support such Subscription: And he very unhappily, *A. D.* 1721, wrote for the Lawfulness of *Subscription*, in the Pamphlet already intimated, against Dr. Waterland. And *A. D.* 1722, reply'd to Dr. Waterland's Supplement against him: That is,

he has twice endeavour'd to *wash a Blackmore white*. And he has in these last seven or eight Years, twice shew'd his Belief of his own Palliations and Excuses, or his Ability to conquer the Scruples which naturally arise on those Occasions; I mean for his Prebend of *Sarum*, and for his Deanary of *Burien*. He confesses in his * *Elogium* upon Dr. *Clarke*, that "the Doctor's Scruples" about Subscription were very great," without knowing it seems, that he was resolv'd some Years before his Death, to subscribe no more. In which honest Resolution, I hope, this his great Admirer will follow him, and timely repent of those two Pamphlets, which he formerly wrote to encourage himself, and others of the Clergy, † *To leave the Paths of Uprightness, to walk in the ways of Darkness*; or, to sign and use what they do not, they cannot really believe to be true and right; to the great Scandal of Religion, the Reproach of that sacred Function to which they belong, and to the spreading of Infidelity and Profaneness in the World. O my Soul, come not thou into their Secrets! To their Assembly, mine Honour, be not thou united! Nor has the present Lord Chancellor, nor Bishop *Hoadley*, nor Bishop *Hare*, nor any other of the great Advocates for *Liberty* about the Court, or in Parliament, made the least Motion all this while, that I know of, for this *true Christian Liberty*; I mean the easing the Consciences of those honest Clergymen, who groan under the Burden of the present Impositions in *Athanasian* Creeds, *Athanasian* Forms of Prayer and Doxology, and *Athanasian* and *Calvinist* Articles of Faith.

But then, How otherwise great and good Men, even such as Mr. *Chillingworth* himself, who is with some of our Divines, of a kind of *Apostolical Authority*, come ever to *satisfy*, or rather to *fancy* they do *satisfy* their Consciences, in going on from Generation to Generation, in such *Athanasian* and *Calvinist* Subscriptions and Practices, is an hard, very hard Thing to account for. And that I may see how much this sort of *Apostolical Authority*, join'd to the strongest Reasons, will weigh, I shall give the Reader an entire Letter of Mr. *Chillingworth's*, written at a Time when his Conscience started at the very Thoughts of Subscription, as it occurs in his Life. The Contents of which Letter, of which very moving, very Christian Letter,

* Pag. 63.

† Prov. ii. 13.

Letter, deserve the most serious Consideration. It was written *To the Right Worshipful, and his much Honour'd Friend Dr. Sheldon*, [afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*] and dated from *Tew*, September 21. 1635.

Good Dr. Sheldon,

“ I Do here send you news, as unto my best friend,
 “ of a great and happy victory, which at length
 “ with extream difficultie I have scarcely obtained over
 “ the only enemie that can hurt me, that is, my self.
 “ Sir, so it is, that though I am in debt to your selfe
 “ and others of my friends above twenty pounds more
 “ than I know how to pay: though I am in want of
 “ many conveniences; though in great danger of falling
 “ into a chronical infirmitie of my body; though in ano-
 “ ther thing, which you perhaps guesse at what it is, but
 “ I will not tell you, which would make me more joy-
 “ full of preferment than all these (if I could come ho-
 “ nestly by it;) though money come to me from my
 “ father’s purse like blood from his veins, or from his
 “ heart; though I am very sensible that I have been too
 “ long already an unprofitable burden to my Lord, and
 “ must not still continue so; though my refusing prefer-
 “ ment may perhaps (which fear, I assure you, does
 “ much afflict me) be injurious to my friends and inti-
 “ mate acquaintance, and prejudicial to them in the way
 “ of theirs; though conscience of my own good intenu-
 “ on and desire, suggests unto me many flattering hopes
 “ of great possibility of doing God and his Church ser-
 “ vice, if I had that preferment which I may fairly hope
 “ for; though I may justly fear, that by refusing those
 “ preferments which I sought for, I shall gain the repura-
 “ tion of weaknesse and levity, and incur their displea-
 “ sure, whose good opinion of me, next to God’s fa-
 “ vour, and my own good opinion of my self, I do e-
 “ steeem and desire above all things; though all these and
 “ many other *terribiles visu formæ* have represented them-
 “ selves to my imagination in the most hideous manner
 “ that may be; yet I am at length firmly and unmovea-
 “ bly resolved, if I can have no preferment without *Sub-*
 “ *scription*, that I neither can, nor will have any.

“ For

“ For this resolution I have but one reason against a
 “ thousand temptations to the contrary, but it is ἐν μέγα,
 “ against which if all the little reasons in the world were
 “ put in the ballance, they would be lighter than vanity.
 “ In brief, this it is; as long as I keep that modest and
 “ humble assurance of God’s love and favour which I
 “ now enjoy, and wherein I hope I shall be daily more
 “ and more confirmed; so long, in despite of all the world,
 “ I may and shall and will be happy. But if I once lose
 “ this; though all the world should conspire to make me
 “ happy, I shall and must be extremely miserable. Now
 “ this inestimable jewel, if I subscribe (without such a
 “ Declaration as will make the Subscription no Subscrip-
 “ tion,) I shall wittingly and willingly and deliberately
 “ throw away. For though I am very well persuaded of
 “ you and my other friends, who do so with a full per-
 “ suasion that you may do it lawfully; yet the case stands
 “ so with me, and I can see no Remedy but for ever it
 “ will do so, that if I subscribe, I subscribe my own
 “ Damnation. For though I do verily believe the Church
 “ of *England* a true member of the Church; that she
 “ wants nothing necessary to salvation, and holds nothing
 “ repugnant to it; and had thought that to think so, had
 “ sufficiently qualified me for a Subscription; yet now I
 “ plainly see, if I will not juggle with my Conscience,
 “ and play with God almighty, I must forbear.

“ For, to say nothing of other things, which I have so
 “ well consider’d as not to be in state to sign them, and
 “ yet not so well as to declare my self against them; two
 “ points there are, wherein I am fully resolved, and there-
 “ fore care not who knows my mind. One is, that to
 “ say the fourth Commandment is a Law of God apper-
 “ taining to Christians, is false and unlawfull; the other,
 “ that the damning sentences in *St. Athanasius’s* Creed
 “ (as we are made to subscribe it) are most false, and
 “ also in a high degree presumptuous and schismatical.
 “ And therefore I can neither subscribe that these things
 “ are agreeable to the word of God, seeing I believe they
 “ are certainly repugnant to it; nor that the whole *Com-
 “ mon-Prayer* is lawful to be used, seeing I believe these
 “ parts of it certainly unlawful; nor promise that *I my
 “ self will use it*, seeing I never intend either to read
 “ these

“ these things which I have now excepted against, or to
 “ say Amen to them.

“ I shall not need to intreat you, not to be offended
 “ with me for this my most honest, and (as I verily be-
 “ lieve) most wise Resolution; hoping rather, you will
 “ do your endeavour, that I may neither be honest at so
 “ dear a rate, as the losse of preferment, nor buy pre-
 “ ferment at so much dearer a rate, the losse of ho-
 “ nesty.

“ I think my selfe happy that it pleased God, when I
 “ was resolv'd to venture upon a Subscription without
 “ full assurance of the lawfulness of it, to cast in my
 “ way two unexpected impediments to divert me from
 “ accomplishing my resolution. For I profess unto you,
 “ since I entertained it, I have never enjoyed quiet day
 “ nor night, 'till now that I have rid my self of it again;
 “ and I plainly perceive, that if I had swallowed this Pill,
 “ howsoever guilded over with glosses and reservations,
 “ and wrapt up in conserves of good intentions and pur-
 “ poses; yet it would never have agreed nor stay'd with
 “ me, but I would have cast it up again, and with it
 “ whatsoever preferment I should have gain'd with it as
 “ the wages of unrighteousness; which would have been
 “ a great injury to you, and to my Lord Keeper; where-
 “ as now, *res est integra*; and he will not loose the gift of
 “ any preferment by bestowing it on me, nor have any
 “ engagement to Mr. Andrews for me.

“ But however his wish had succeeded in case I had
 “ then subscribed, I thank God, I am now so resolv'd,
 “ that I will never do that while I am living and in health,
 “ which I would not do if I were dying; and this I am
 “ sure I would not do. I would never do any thing for
 “ preferment, which I would not do but for preferment;
 “ and this, I am sure, I should not do. I will never un-
 “ dervalue the happiness which God's love brings to me
 “ with it, as to put it to the least adventure in the world,
 “ for the gaining of any worldly happiness. I remem-
 “ ber very well, *Querite primum regnum Dei, & cetera*
 “ *omnia adjicientur tibi*: and therefore whenever I make
 “ such a preposterous choice, I will give you leave to
 “ think I am out of my wits, or do not believe in God,
 “ or at least am so unreasonable as to do a thing in
 “ hope

“ hope I shall be forry for it afterwards, and wish it undone.

“ It cannot be avoided, but my Lord of *Canterbury* must come to know this my resolution, and, I think, the sooner the better. Let me entreat you to acquaint him with it, (if you think it expedient,) and let me hear from you as soon as possibly you can. But when you write, I pray remember, that my foregoing preferment (in this state wherein I am) is grief enough to me; and do not you add to it, by being angry with me for doing that, which I must do or be miserable. I am your most loving and true Servant, &c. See Mr. *Chillingworth's* Life, Page 86—98.

In the same Year 1721, I wrote, and soon after published, a *Chronological Table*, from the beginning of the World till Dr. *Prideaux* began his *Connection of the Old and New Testament*, and to compleat Bishop *Lloyd* and Bishop *Cumberland's* most learned Designs of that Nature. The Reason why I mention it here is this, that I was desirous, by the means of Dr. *Clarke*, who was most intimate with him, to obtain Sir *Isaac Newton's* Opinion and Corrections; who I knew had gone deep into that Study. But I could not compass the same. And indeed since the Publication of Sir *Isaac Newton's* *Chronology*, I am satisfied we went upon Foundations so vastly different, that I should probably have received little Advantage from his Perusal; as every one will easily judge, that reads my *Confutation* of that *Chronology*. Nor did I ever desire Dr. *Clarke's* own Corrections in Chronology. Of which Science, and those that in good Measure depend upon it; such as the judging of the Characters of Time, in order to determine whether Authors be really as ancient as they pretend to be, and the Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies, he seemed to me to have the least *Taste* that I ever met with in any great Man whomsoever. Nor could Dr. *Clarke* be at all compar'd with Bishop *Smalridge* as to Sagacity in Things of this Nature, though in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy he was far his Superior. As to metaphysical Learning, if it may be called Learning, Dr. *Clarke* was vastly superior to Bishop *Smalridge*. Whose Freedom yet from the Delusions of that sort of Learning, I reckon among those Advantages of the Bishop which

which rendred him a more sagacious and impartial Judge than *Dr. Clarke*, what the plain ancientest Testimonies of Christian Antiquity have, without any metaphysick Language, delivered to us, as the genuine Doctrines and Duties of Christianity. 'Tis true, Bishop *Smalridge's* Regard to modern Church Authority; his Dread of the ill Consequences of discovering so great and lasting Errors in the Church; the Situation he was in at *Oxford* and in Convocation; with his Suspicion of the Harsh Politicians and Unbelievers would turn such Discoveries to, instead of uniting with good Men to correct the Errors themselves, would not permit him to exert those very great Talents which God had given him for the Discovery and Restoration of *True Primitive Christianity*; which *True Primitive Christianity* yet Bishop *Smalridge*, as I have long thought, was not otherwise less able to discover, and at the Bottom, not less willing to promote, than any other learned Man that ever I was acquainted with. Nor do I believe that *Dr. Clarke* considerably differed from me in my Opinion of him. But of Bishop *Smalridge*, that truly learned and judicious Man, that excellent Preacher, vigilant Pastor, and most useful Governor of a College, with his Behaviour and Opinions; more hereafter. To whose Memory, and Friendship to *Dr. Clarke* and me, which lasted 'till his Death, I could not but endeavour to do Justice upon this Occasion. But to proceed:

About the Year 1723, I revis'd, and improv'd, and corrected a former Proposal I had intended to make, for
 " Printing at the Charge of the Publick, an Edition of
 " all the Primitive Fathers before the middle of the fourth
 " Century, to be transmitted as Parochial Libraries, to
 " all Posterity." This GRAND PROPOSAL of mine began to be communicated to the Learned about this Time, and had been several Years ago made Publick, had not Mr. *Collins's Grounds and Reasons* interrupted my Designs, and turned my Thoughts towards the *Examination and Vindication*, instead of the *Discovery and Propagation* of Primitive Christianity, as my later Treatises shew. However, I hope Providence will e'er long bring on such a Time, and such a Situation of Affairs, when that most useful Design may be reviv'd with better Prospect of Success. This is here mentioned particularly on Account of *Dr. Clarke*, who was intended for one of the Editors;
 and

and the Book recommended to him was *Irenæus*, an Author I knew he was very fond of, and well versed in: To which Recommendation, when I inform'd him of it, he seem'd not much averse. And here I shall take Leave to mention another learned Friend of mine, who was early let into this Design, appear'd very hearty in it, and was intended for an Editor also; I mean Dr *Nathanael Marshall*, lately deceas'd. This Dr. *Marshall*, somewhat like Dr. *Clarke*, published his excellent and most serious Book *Of the Penitential Discipline of the Primitive Church*, when he was comparatively young, or *A. D* 1714. *Cyprian* was the Book now recommended to him. Which excellent Author he had with great Skill and Purity of Language, formerly translated, or rather Paraphras'd in the *English* Tongue. My Acquaintance with Dr. *Marshall* was during the last ten or twelve Years of his Life. He seem'd to me one of the most able, most judicious, and most diligent Preachers that I had met with; and had not very many among us more skilful or sagacious in Christian Antiquity. He was also to be mentioned here, as one of Dr. *Clarke's* latest Acquaintance; and of whom I know he had a good Opinion. And had not a large Family; too great an Inclination to rise in the Church; and his too great Regard to modern Church Authority byas'd him, he would, I believe, have been *third*, if not *second*, to Bishop *Smalridge*, in discovering and promoting Primitive Christianity. However, so far I knew of his Mind, touching our modern Disputes, that he had refus'd to preach the *Lady Moyer's* Sermons about the Trinity; that he looked upon many Original Parts of the * Constitutions as exceeding ancient, and upon the *Constitution Liturgy*, as by far the best and most authentick extant, and had little Regard to all the rest that pretended to Antiquity. And I believe I may venture to say farther, that if *1 John* v. 7. || had been left out of the Text, and put in the Margin; and if the *Athanasian Creed* had been intirely left out of our Common-Prayer-Book, he would have made no Complaints about them: Though he had by no Means such a disinterested Christian Courage, as directly to propose such Alterations. However, I must be allow'd to set down here, from one of his Sermons on *Phil.* ii. 7. *Who thought*
it

* See his Penitent Discip. Page 67.

|| See his *Cyprian*, Page 100.

it no Robbery to be equal with God; this Passage, which Mr. *Emlyn* took great Notice of; that “As to the present Translation of this Text, he could not justify it. That though he did not love to go out of the common Road, yet where Truth appeared to him to be out of that Road, he could not, he durst not but follow it.” And to add out of his Preface to his *English Cyprian* one very honest Concession of his, that is very valuable also. Which is this; † “It is the Glory of our *English Church*, says Dr. *Marshall*, and what she often boasts of, that she is the *nearest* of any now in the Christian World, to the Primitive Model. It is not, I presume, denied that she might be nearer still. AND IF HER GLORY BE GREAT FOR BEING SO NEAR, IT WOULD CERTAINLY BE GREATER IF SHE WERE YET NEARER.”

And now I am speaking of Dr. *Marshall*, I cannot but digress so far out of my Way, as to relate a Passage between him and Dr. *Waterland*, (the grand Antagonist of Dr. *Clarke*, Mr. *Jackson*, and Dr. *Sykes*; indeed one of the *most Learned*, and, as I am willing to hope, the *last learned* Supporter of the *Athanasian Heresy* among us;) which Passage I had from Dr. *Marshall* himself. Some Years ago there passed certain Letters between Dr. *Waterland* and Dr. *Marshall*, concerning the former’s Metaphysical Scheme of the Trinity: Which Metaphysical Solutions Dr. *Marshall* did not readily come into. He shewed me the Letters between them. All that I remember of the Dispute is this, that Dr. *Marshall* once thought he had caught Dr. *Waterland* in a Metaphysical Absurdity. Upon which I said to Dr. *Marshall*, “That is impossible; a new Distinction always sets a Metaphysician clear.” In a little Time I met Dr. *Marshall*, who said to me, after he had received Dr. *Waterland*’s Answer, “He is got out, Mr. *Whiston*; he is got out [of the Absurdity.]

And perhaps it will not be here improper, by way of Caution, to take Notice of the pernicious Consequence such Metaphysical Subtilties have sometimes had, even against common Sense, and common Experience; as in the Cases of those three famous Men, Monsieur *Leibnitz*, Mr. *Lock*, and Mr. *Berkley*. The first of which was by
Dr.

* Page 12.

Dr. *Clarke* pressed so hard, from Matter of Fact, known Laws of Motion, and the Discoveries of Sir *Isaac Newton*, (who heartily assisted the Doctor) I mean in those Letters, which by the Means of her present Majesty, then Princess of *Wales*, to her own great Honour, and the great Advantage of the Publick, pass'd between them, and were afterward printed; that he was forc'd to have Recourſe to Metaphyſick Subtilties, and to a *Pre-establiſh'd Harmony of Things*, in his own Imagination; which he ſtiles a *ſuperior Reason*: 'till it was ſoon ſeen, that Monſieur *Leibnitz's ſuperior Reason* ſerved to little elſe, but to confirm the great *Superiority* of Experience, and Mathematicks, above all ſuch Metaphyſical Subtilties whatſoever. And I confeſs I look upon theſe Letters of Dr. *Clarke*, as among the moſt uſeful of his Performances in Natural Philoſophy. And as to the Hand her preſent Majesty, then Princess of *Wales*, had in that Debate, I ſhall give it in the Words of Mr. *Jackson*, from Dr. *Clarke's* own Mouth. "I have, ſays he, heard the Doctor ſay, that " ſhe underſtood what Answers were to be given to " *Leibnitz's* Arguments, before he drew up his Reply to " them, as well as he himſelf did." To which Mr. *Jackson* adds, that " He had often heard him ſpeak with " Admiration of the Queen's marvellous Sagacity and " Judgment, in the ſeveral Parts of that difficult Con- " troverſy." He adds farther, that he heard Sir *Isaac Newton* alſo once pleaſantly tell the Doctor, that " He " had broke *Leibnitz's* Heart with his Reply to him."

As to the ſecond Perſon named, Mr. *Lock*, who had entred deeper into Metaphyſick Reasoning, and perhaps with better Succeſs than any before him: He was however at length driven into ſuch great Diſtreſs, by Profeſſor *Limborch's* famous Metaphyſical Argument againſt *human Liberty*, that he honeſtly confeſs'd he could not answer it. I have heard Dr. *Clarke* ſay, he thought himſelf could not answer it; though that he ever did publiſh ſuch Answer, I do not know. However, Mr. *Lock* had ſo much good Senſe, as to believe he was a *free Creature*, on the Credit of his own Experience, let Metaphyſick Difficulties be never ſo inſuperable; as all wiſe Men will ever do.

And as to the third Perſon named, Mr. *Berkley*, he publiſh'd, *A. D.* 1710, at *Dublin*, this Metaphyſick Notion, that *Matter* was *not a real Thing*; nay, that the
common

common Opinion of its *Reality* was groundless, if not ridiculous. He was pleas'd to send *Dr. Clarke* and my self each of us a Book. After we had both perus'd it, I went to *Dr. Clarke*, and discours'd with him about it, to this Effect: "That I [being not a Metaphysician] was
" not able to answer *Mr. Berkley's* [subtile] *Premises*;
" though I did not at all believe his [absurd] *Conclusion*.
" I therefore desir'd that he, who was deep in such Sub-
" tilities, but did not appear to believe *Mr. Berkley's* Con-
" clusion, would answer him:" Which Task he declined. I speak not these Things with any Intention to reproach either *Mr. Lock* or *Dean Berkley*. The former of which, on account of other of his Works, and in particular of his excellent Commentaries on several of *St. Paul's* Epistles, I greatly esteem. And I own the latter's great Abilities in other Parts of Learning; and to his noble Design of settling a College in or near the *West-Indies*, for the Instruction of the Natives in Civil Arts, and in the Principles of Christianity, I heartily wish all possible Success. 'Tis the pretended Metaphysick Science it self, (deriv'd from the sceptical Disputes of the *Greek* Philosophers,) not those particular great Men who have been unhappily impos'd on by it, that I complain of. Accordingly, when the famous *Milton* had a mind to represent the vain Reasoning of wicked Spirits in *Hades*, he describes it by their endless Train of Metaphysicks, thus:

*Others apart sat on a Hill retir'd,
In Thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high
Of Providence, Foreknowledge, Will and Fate;
Fix'd Fate, Free-will, Foreknowledge absolute,
And found no end in wandring Mazes lost.*

Paradise Lost, Lib. II. v. 557---561.

A. D. 1725, *Dr. Clarke* published a *Discourse against Mr. Collins, on the Prophecies of the Old Testament*. Wherein, besides some very good Observations at the Beginning, and others exceeding good at the Conclusion;
F there

there seem'd to me so many weak Things about the Middle, particularly about the *double Sense of Prophecies*, and Sir *Isaac Newton's Hypothesis of Daniel's LXX Weeks*; which Dr. *Clarke* adopts here for his own, without any Intimation of the real Author; that I was oblig'd to publish *Observations* upon them, in my *Supplement to the Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies*, Pag 9—19. whereto I refer the Reader; and to which he never made any Reply.

N. B. Having here occasion to mention the Book of *Daniel*, the Reader will give me leave to observe, that all the Infidels that I have met with, ancient or modern, agree, that if the Book of *Daniel* be genuine, and was written under the last *Babylonian*, and first *Persian* Kings, there is no Possibility of denying him to have been a true Prophet of God; and his Book to be the strongest Attestation both to the *Jewish* and *Christian* Revelations. Now I have formerly observ'd, that the Antiquity of *Daniel* is supported by the Prophet * *Ezekiel*, by the Prophet *Esdras*, by the *Septuagint* Version, by *Jaddus* the High-Priest in the Days of *Alexander the Great*, by *Eleazar*, an ancient Priest in the Days of *Ptolemy Philopator*, and by *Mattathias* the Father of the *Maccabees*, all earlier than the Death of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; after which yet *Porphyry*, and the other Unbelievers, are forced to suppose it to have been written. Only one great Objection is rais'd against all this Evidence, *viz.* that the Author of the Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, when he celebrates † the other eminent *Jewish* Heroes, and particularly their Prophets, entirely omits this *Daniel*, and him alone, of all those Prophets, *Ecclus* xlv —l. Now to pass by what our learned and excellent Bishop *Chandler* ‖, or others, or even I my self, have formerly said, by way of Apology in this Case, I shall venture now to deny the Fact it self, and to assure the Reader, that I verily believe the Author did here originally mention *Daniel*, as well as the rest of the *Jewish* Prophets: Nay, that part of what he said of him, still remains in our present *Greek* Copies, and modern

* *Lit. Accompl. of Prop.* page 49. — 53. Authent. Records, page 1, 106, 107.

† *Ecclus.* xlviii. 22. xlix. 6—10.

‖ *Vind of Defence*, Vol. I. page 80. — 86.

modern Versions. It is evident the natural Place for *Daniel* was, in the Days of the Author of *Ecclesiasticus*, and is still in our common Bibles, between *Ezekiel* * and the twelve Minor Prophets. It is also true, that the remaining Copies of this Book greatly differ from one another, and are very imperfect and disordered, as Bishop *Chandler* has fully observ'd, and proved. Now here, after the mention of *Ezekiel*, Verse 8. as he that † saw the glorious Vision which was shewed him upon the Chariot of the Cherubim, there follows this Clause, *Καὶ γὰρ ἐμνήσθη τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐν ὄμβρῳ*. For even he made mention of the Enemies in Rain. Where does *Ezekiel* make mention of the Enemies in Rain? Or what Sense is there in that Assertion? *Καὶ ἠγάπησε τὰς ἐνδυνόνας ὁδούς*. And he did Good, in *Grotius's* Paraphrase, He foretold good Things, to those that walked uprightly. How is this at all peculiar to *Ezekiel*? And what is the meaning of the Introduction to these Clauses, *Καὶ γὰρ*, for even? Since there is not the least Connection between what goes before, and what follows in the present Context. Here is therefore evidently a Defect in those Copies; which indeed is in part supplied in this very Place, both in the *Syriack* and *Arabick* Versions. The *Syriack* || says, He said also of Job, that all his Ways were Righteousness: And the *Arabick*, He also said of Job the just, that his ways were innocent and pious. Which Citation of *Ezekiel*, by the Author of *Ecclesiasticus*, we know belongs to *Ezek. xiv. 14, 16, 18, 20*. Though these three Men, Noah, Daniel and Job were in it, they shall deliver neither Son nor Daughter, they shall deliver but their own Souls by their Righteousness. This Citation renders it highly improbable that the same Author should omit *Daniel*, who had not omitted either * *Noah* or *Job*. Accordingly, what follows in our present original *Greek*, and later Versions, seems to me evidently to belong to no other than to *Daniel*: I mean, if we correct that strange and absurd Reading, *ἐν ὄμβρῳ*, in Rain, for the plain and true Reading, *ἐν ὀνειρέῳ*, in a Dream, or Vision. See how small the Difference is,

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* *Ecclus. xlix. 8, 9, 10.*

† *Ezek. i. and x.*

|| See Bishop *Chandler* as above.

* *Ecclus. xliv. 17, 18. xlix. 11.*

Ε Ν Ο Μ Β Ρ Ω,
Ε Ν Ο Ν Ε Ι Ρ Ω,

when part of the old Text will run thus: — *For even he [Daniel] made mention of the Enemies in a Dream or Vision: and did good, [foretold good things,] to those that walked uprightly.* Which Characters exactly agree to *Daniel*: who in his famous *Dream or Vision*, Chap. vii. foretold what the Enemies of God's People would attempt against them: as also what Happiness God would bestow on his own People at length. Which last is also peculiarly a true Description of the Prophet *Daniel*, who, as *Josephus* observes, distinctly from the other Prophets, * *αγαθῶν ἐγένετο προφήτης, foretold good things.* 'Tis a little strange, that so obvious an Emendation should escape the Criticks till this Day. Its Importance will excuse this Digression.

A. D. 1727, Upon the Death of *Sir Isaac Newton*, *Dr. Clarke* was offer'd by the Court the Place he possess'd, of *Master of the Mint*, worth, *communibus annis*, 1200*l.* or 1500*l.* a Year. Upon this Offer the Doctor advis'd with his Friends, and particularly with *Mr. Emlyn* and myself, about accepting or refusing it. We were both heartily against his Acceptance, as what he wanted not; as what was entirely remote from his Profession, and would hinder the Success of his Ministry. To which I added, as my principal Reason against it, that such Refusal would shew that he was *in Earnest* in Religion; the Satisfaction about which would have more Effect on the Infidels of this Age, than the most plausible Sermons or Writings whatsoever. *Dr. Clarke* was himself generally of the same Opinion with us, and could never thoroughly reconcile himself to this *secular Preferment*. It must be taken Notice of also, to the Honour of *Mrs. Clarke*, that she never set her Heart upon the Advantages this Place would naturally produce to her Family, but left the Doctor at full Liberty to act as his own Inclination and Conscience should direct him. Whereupon, after no small Consideration, he absolutely refus'd it. Nor do I give Credit to those Surmises, as if *Mr. Conduit*, who succeeded, was obliged to give the Doctor privately an annual share of his Profits, or what was equivalent thereto; with this only Abatement,

* *Antiq. l. x. Cap. ult.*

Abatement, that Mr. *Conduit* did actually give 1000*l.* to void a Place among the *King's Writers*, which Place was freely bestowed on a Son of the Doctor's, who could not otherwise be so well provided for, after himself had refused the former much greater Place. The Acceptance of which latter Place for his Son, in these Circumstances, no sober Person, I suppose, will think to be blameworthy. And as for the Doctor's own Refusal of the former improper Preferment, though entirely omitted by Dr. *Sykes*, and almost entirely by Bishop *Hoadley*, I take it to be one of the most glorious Actions of his Life, and to afford undeniable Conviction, that he was really *in Earnest* in his Religion.

And indeed, if the Reader will pardon a short, and not unseasonable Digression, it is clearly my Opinion, that
 “ ’Till our Defenders of Christianity do more than they
 “ have most of them hitherto done, as to affording the
 “ World this Conviction, that they are really *in Earnest*
 “ themselves; particularly, ’till our Bishops leave off pro-
 “ curing *Commendams*, and heaping up Riches and Pre-
 “ ferments on themselves, their Relations and Favourites:
 “ Nay, ’till they correct their *Non-Residence*, ’till they leave
 “ the Court, the Parliament, and their Politicks, and go
 “ down to their several Dioceses, and there labour in the
 “ Vineyard of Christ, instead of standing the most part of
 “ the Day idle at the Metropolis: They may write what
 “ learned *Vindications* and *Pastoral Letters* they please, the
 “ observing Unbelievers will not be satisfied they are *in*
 “ *Earnest*, and, by Consequence, will be little moved by
 “ all their Arguments and Exhortations”

And here I cannot but wonder, How Bishop * *Hoadley* can himself so distinctly take Notice, to the Honour of Dr. *Clarke*, that he was almost constantly resident upon his Cure, without the bitterest Reflection on his own different Conduct. Since every body acquainted with him knows, that since he has been Bishop of *Hereford* and *Salisbury*, he has not only, like some other Bishops, been much the greatest part of his Time at *London*; but that during the six Years Time he was Bishop of *Bangor*, and pass'd through the entire *Bangorian Controversy*, he went beyond the Example of other Bishops, and never once set his Foot within the Diocese of *Bangor*. The Bishop may also please to remember, that when he had absented

himself from his Diocese three or four of those Years, and I had proportionably withdrawn my self from my wonted Acquaintance with him, I sent him a friendly, very gentle Admonition to this Effect; "That I desired to receive from him a Letter under his own Hand, dated at *Bangor*." To which Message he returned me this Answer, by the same Hand that carried it: That "He should be glad to see me at *Bangor* the next Year:" Whither yet he did not go that Year, nor any other. I beg of him, that he will consider what the Apostles have ordained in their thirty-seventh, and thirty-eighth Canons, which belong to such gross Negligence; viz. that, "If any Bishop that is ordain'd does not undertake his Office, nor take Care of the People committed to him, he is to be suspended until he does undertake it. And in like manner as to a Presbyter, and a Deacon." And that "a Bishop or Presbyter, who takes no Care of the Clergy or People, and does not instruct them in Piety, is to be separated; and if he continue in his Negligence, is to be deprived."

About the same Year 1727, Dr. *Clarke* was incautiously betrayed into a great Mistake: There was a very ignorant Person who had no Degree at the University, and whose infamous Character is well known in the *North*, that at Court contracted some small Acquaintance with Dr. *Clarke*; and having obtained a Family Presentation to a Living in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, of near 400*l.* a Year, procured Dr. *Clarke's* Hand to a *Commendamus*, or Testimonial for Holy Orders; whose Hand, when the late Bishop of *Durham*, (who had ever a great Esteem for Dr. *Clarke*,) saw at the bottom of his Testimonial, he was prevail'd upon to precipitate both his Ordination and his Institution, without the Allowance of sufficient Time for writing to Dr. *Clarke*, and receiving an Answer from him. As to the Name of the Person, I shall use the Christian Words of *Ignatius*, when he once omitted the Name of the old Hereticks, against whom he cautions the Church of * *Smyrna*: "As for his Name, I thought it not fitting at this time to write it: And may I have no occasion to name him until he repent." But as to the Case it self, it is so flagrant, as deserves the great Notice of the Publick, and the deep Repentance of all concern'd; as I perceive

* Ad Smyrn, §. 5:

ceive it was one of the Things that Dr. *Clarke* was heartily sorry for to his dying Day. † *Lay Hands suddenly on no Man, neither be Partaker of other Mens Sins: Keep thy self pure.*

It may not be amiss here to take Notice of that Christian Law for the Marriage of the Clergy *but once*, which is now so frequently broken by Protestants, and gives the Papists a great Handle against them, as observing no Rules for restraining their Inclinations of that Kind. I say, the Protestants do allow their Clergy, not only to marry more than once, but to act as Clergymen after such second Marriages, without the least Permission under the Gospel for so doing. Now though the Law of Christianity be plain, not only from some Copies of those Laws of || *Moses*, which oblige Christians; but from the present New Testament, the Apostolical Constitutions, and the known Interpretation and Practice of the four first Centuries, that Bishops, Priests and Deacons, are allow'd to marry *but once*; yet am not I sure but they might marry a *second* time without Reproach, if they voluntarily *degraded* themselves, and *reduc'd* themselves among the * Laity; in whom second Marriages were not condemned; though I confess I do not remember one Example of such voluntary *Degradation* and *Reduction* in all Christian Antiquity. I am confident our great Men are, with † *Grotius*, too good Criticks, and know Christian Antiquity too well, to pretend that St. || *Paul's* Ordinances, that a Bishop, a Priest, and a Deacon, must be the *Husband of but one Wife*, signifies but *one Wife at a Time*; as some of our weaker Authors are willing to interpret it. Nor was this Constitution so severe then as the Moderns imagine; for almost all the Bishops ‡ were originally fifty Years of Age e'er they were ordain'd. The next Order seem to have been in general considerably above fifty; which their very Name *Presbyters*, i. e. *Elders* of the Parish or Diocese, directly signifies. And as for the Deacons, they were, by Parity of Reason, to be suppos'd between thirty and forty; which Ages for these three Orders, when we once restore, the Objections of the Moderns against this Law will

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come

† 1 Tim. v. 22. || See Horeb Covenant, Page 87, 88.
 * See Constitut. iii. 1. † In 1 Tim. iii. 2. Respons. ad
 Consult Cassand. Pag. 44. || 1 Tim. iii 2, 12. Tit. i. 6.
 ‡ Constitut. ii. 1.

come to little. I mention this here, because I had once a Discourse with Dr. *Clarke* upon this Head, who looked upon that latter Interpretation as ridiculous. Nor had he any thing else to alledge for the modern Protestant Practice, but that this Command might be suppos'd peculiar to the first Ages of Christianity: Which yet I dare say was a Secret to all those *first Ages of Christianity*; which, so far as I have observ'd, always esteem'd every Law of the Gospel to belong equally to all under the Gospel, from the first 'till the second Coming of Christ, our Legislator.

About the beginning of the Year 1729, Dr. *Clarke* published his celebrated twelve former Books of *Homer's Iliads*; which he was so kind as to give me, even after I had been very free with him in my Expostulations, as to his seeming thereby to desert the Studies of his own Profession, and prefer profane Authors; and this at a Time when there was particular Occasion for the most able of the Clergy to engage in divine Studies. However, when I perceived that the Pains he had taken about *Homer*, were when he was much younger, and the Notes rather transcrib'd than made new, I was less uneasy at his Procedure. However, as I heartily wish that the present *Difficulties and Discouragements to the Study of the Scriptures*, so acutely represented by Dr. *Hare*, were taken away; so do I think no such *Difficulties* ought to *Discourage* great and good Men among the Clergy, from bending their own Studies to their own Profession: especially in its present Circumstances. And I venture to add this, that if once such as these would be themselves *in Earnest* in Christianity, and would *in Earnest* fall to this great Work, the *Collinses*, the *Tindals*, the *Tolands*, and the *Woolstons*, would soon become contemptible; and the Religion of our blessed Saviour, now at so low an Ebb, would soon flourish and spread it self over the World. To observe such Laymen as *Grotius*, and *Newton*, and *Lock*, laying out their noblest Talents in sacred Studies; while such Clergymen as Dr. *Bentley*, and Bishop *Hare*, to name no others at present, have been, in the Words of Sir *Isaac Newton*, fighting with one another *about a Playbook* [*Terrence.*] This is a Reproach upon them, their holy Religion, and holy Function plainly intolerable.

At the latter end of the same Year 1729, came out Dr *Clarke's* posthumous *Exposition of the Church Catechism*, which I have not yet read; nor indeed have I any mind to read either that, or any modern Catechisms or Expositions of them. They being of no Use to me, who am wholly intent upon the earliest Ages of the Gospel, and most Primitive Christianity only. Besides which general Reason, I have another, which is to me not inconsiderable, that my own Brother, Mr. *Daniel Whiston*, did about A. D. 1717, draw up, from the known Scriptures, and the Apostolical Constitutions, a truly *Primitive Catechism*; which when I had my self review'd and improv'd, was published as written by a *Presbyter of the Church of England*, A. D. 1718. And till the Ancient *Διδασχὴ τῶν Ἀποστόλων*, or *Doctrine of the Apostles*, which seems to have been in the Nature of an *Apostolical Catechism*, be recovered, I intend to make use of no other Catechism whatsoever.

However, I having heard that Dr. *Waterland* complains of two Things in that Catechism, *viz.* that Dr. *Clarke* intimates, the Son is not himself to be *properly Worshipped* or *Invocated*; and that he puts a slight upon the *Positive Institutions* of Religion; I can so far vindicate the Doctor, that I never; in all my Conversations with him, found any Occasion to suspect him in either of those Points; nor do I find that in any of his former Writings he has dropt any Expressions of such Natures, nor did he drop any part of what he had formerly advanc'd for the Worship of the Son, in the Second Edition of his *Scripture Doctrine*. His old Temptation was the contrary way, as to the Worship of the Son and Spirit; I mean rather to comply with modern Worship too far, than the contrary. Mr. *Emlyn* also assures me, that he had heard him say, that that *subordinate* Worship and Invocation of the Son, which Mr. *Emlyn* had vindicated in a distinct Treatise, was by Dr. *Clarke* own'd to be proved by him *to a Demonstration*. And as to any Disregard to *positive Duties*, or divine Institutions; I mean this when they are consider'd in their proper Place, and not reduc'd to an *Opus Operatum*. or bare Ceremony, or are to serve *instead* of true inward Christian Piety, Charity, and Morality, but as *subservient* to them all, I never observ'd Dr. *Clarke* to shew the least Disregard to them. Nor do I perceive he has given just Occasion of Complaint

plaint on this Head, even in this Catechism. And as to the higher positive Institutions, Dr. Clarke's long regard to one of the lesser ritual Precepts of Christianity, and this in general little regarded, I mean *Abstinence from Blood, and from things strangled*, that is, in the Latitude I have explain'd it in my *Horeb Covenant*, Page 66, 70, 71. will certainly and strongly contradict any such Suspicion upon him. As to the Complaint that I have heard made on occasion of some Words dropp'd in this Catechism, that *possibly* good Men *may* enjoy Happiness in the intermediate State between their Death and Resurrection; as if such an intermediate State of Happiness were *uncertain*, and the Soul *might* sleep 'till the Resurrection; I never heard Dr. Clarke mention this Suspicion in any of our Conversations: Nor do I take it to be the Result of any Opinions or Enquiries of his own: Nay, it is certain on the contrary, not only from his Confutation of Mr. *Dodwell's* natural Mortality of the Soul, and its Defenses, but from a particular Sermon in the Volume published in his Lifetime; which was a Funeral Sermon on *2 Cor. v. 8.* preach'd *October 11. 1709*, that he was then clear and plain against any such Sleep of the Soul. Nay, he there proves, both from Scripture and Antiquity, "That the State of
 " Separation is not only not a State of Insensibility, but
 " to good Men a State of great Happiness; although that
 " Happiness be by no means equal to the Happiness
 " which those good Men shall be possess'd of after the
 " Resurrection." Which Doctrines were certainly those of our Saviour, of his Apostles, and of all the ancient Catholick Writers of Antiquity.

But if any blame me for not my self reading such Books as Dr. Clarke's *Exposition of the Church Catechism*, &c. I must inform them, that since the principal Intention of my Life has long been to do whatever I can to restore the Faith, the Worship, the Practice, and the Discipline which Christ by his Apostles left to his Church, without the least regard to any modern Opinions and Parties that contradict them; the reading of such modern Expositions would be rather an Hindrance to my Design, as capable of giving me an insensible Bias towards some Party Notion or another; which I ought entirely to avoid. In which Procedure I can justify my self by the Sentiments of the great Dr. *Smalridge*. The Occasion

was

was this. Before the Publication of my Four Volumes, when Dr. *Gastrel* and I were once debating at Dr. *Smalridge's* about the Doctrine of the Trinity, Dr. *Gastrel* was alledging somewhat that he had formerly said upon that Subject in a Pamphlet of his own. I replied, that "I must beg Dr. *Gastrel's* Pardon for not having read his Book. That had I had a mind to know Dr. *Gastrel's* Opinion, I would certainly have read Dr. *Gastrel's* Book: But that since I had no mind to know any Modern's Opinion upon that Head, but only the Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, with that of their next Companions and Successors, I had no mind to read any but the Primitive Books themselves." Whereupon Dr. *Smalridge* rejoin'd, "Mr. *Whiston*, you are in the right."

Some time before Dr. *Clarke* died, Dr. *Sykes* persuaded him to leave out of the future Editions * of his *Boyle's Lectures*, that famous Passage in *Phlegon* of an Eclipse of the Sun, and an Earthquake, which was cited by him, and has been generally cited by others of the Learned, as an Attestation to the supernatural Eclipse of the Sun and the Earthquake at our Saviour's Passion, mentioned by the Evangelists. When I came to enquire of Dr. *Sykes* his Reasons for such his Persuasion of Dr. *Clarke*, I found it was only a *Supposal*, that some natural Solar Eclipse or other might be fitted to some Earthquake in *Bithynia*; at which Place alone *Phlegon* spake of the Effects of his Earthquake. Upon this, being greatly displeas'd with him for going upon a *Supposal* in a Thing that was capable of Certainty; I took the Pains to calculate, by my *Copernicus*, all the natural Eclipses of the Sun that could happen in any Year that *Phlegon* could mean. And I found that no Natural Eclipse of the Sun could possibly happen, so as to suit his Description, but only that *Supernatural* one at the Passion, which exactly agreed to it. This was fit to be mentioned here, not only to prevent any such Alteration in Dr. *Clarke's* Sermons, (which Alteration how he came to be persuaded to make upon such a groundless Suggestion I cannot imagine;) but also on account of the Consequence of those and the like Calculations of Eclipses to my self. For it was this pretended Correction that was one Occasion of some of the noblest and most important Discoveries that I ever made in Astronomy and

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* Page 273. Edit. 5.

Chronology; concerning which I must at present appeal to the Auditors of my late *Astronomical Lectures*, 'till I have Leisure and am disposed to digest and publish those Discoveries. I only here hint at their principal Contents; *viz.* That none of the Astronomical Characters of Chronology now preserv'd reach earlier than about 500 Years after the Flood, in the Sacred Chronology; that this Sacred Chronology is however to be taken from the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, *Septuagint Version*, and *Josephus*; and not from our *Masorete Copy*; which last Chronology several of those ancient Astronomical Characters do plainly contradict: That the *Chinese Annals*, when determined by the *Julian Year* of $365\frac{1}{4}$ Days since the *Olympiads* began; and by the old Year of 360 Days before that Time; and when at their Beginning they are reduc'd 500 Years later than they now stand, perfectly agree with the Astronomical Characters, and the before-mentioned Sacred Chronology, but not otherwise. That the Prophet *Amos* was the first that ever foretold Eclipses of the Sun, and an Earthquake; and the Prophet *Isaiab* the second: And that he not only foretold an Eclipse of the Sun, an Eclipse of the Moon, and an Earthquake, but an *Occultation* of Stars by the Moon; and that *Jeremiah* foretold the Eclipse of the Sun at our Saviour's Passion, all which exactly came to pass accordingly: That *Thales* foretold his famous Eclipse, not by Astronomy, which could not be done 'till above 400 Years after his Time, but rather by learning it from the *Jews* in *Egypt*, who had it from the Prophet *Isaiab*: That the grand *intermediate Branches* in every one of the four Monarchies were immediately preceded by great Eclipses of the Sun; and their *Endings* by great Eclipses of the Moon; all visible in the same Monarchies. And that accordingly, 1736, the grand Period of the ten Kingdoms, or of the last State of the *Roman Monarchy*, will be peculiarly remarkable for such great Eclipses of the Moon. All which Discoveries are of the utmost Importance, and by me *demonstrated* all along from Astronomical Calculations.

I conclude this my Account of Dr. *Clarke* with an honest and judicious Letter sent me by a Clergyman wholly unknown to me, which is dated *April 18. 1726*. And tho' when the Author was ill, he seems to have given
me

me leave to use his Name publickly; yet since he is recovered, and I have no farther leave from him to use it, I chuse rather to suppress it; as also the Name of the Place whence it was first written. The Letter contains the free Sentiments of an upright Examiner, concerning Dr. *Clarke's* and my Doctrines. And the Result being no way for his worldly Interest, there is not the least reason to suspect the Author's Integrity in the Declaration of those his Sentiments.

April 18. 1726.

SIR,

“ THE Zeal which you express in all your Writings
“ for Truth, makes me hope that you will excuse
“ this Trouble from a Person utterly unknown to you.
“ I am Curate to a Parish near this Place, and have always
“ liv'd very obscurely and privately; so that I cannot have
“ the Vanity to imagine that my Opinion can be of great
“ weight with any in Points of Controversy: Yet I think
“ I ought to leave behind me a Testimony of the Result
“ of my Searches. Being very desirous to know on which
“ side Truth was in several Points warmly debated of
“ late, I furnished my self with the most early Christian
“ Writers, and upon searching into them as well as into
“ the Scriptures, I found that the true antient Doctrine
“ of the Trinity is the same, or very nearly the same with
“ that which you and Dr. *Clarke* have lately maintain'd.
“ Particularly, I do find that the Primitive Writers, as well
“ as the Scriptures, do declare,

“ That the One and only true God, is God the Fa-
“ ther.

“ That the Son is truly and properly Subordinate and
“ Subject to God the Father, and that his Divinity is
“ communicated to him by God the Father.

“ The Ancients do acknowledge the Generation of
“ the Son to have been by the voluntary and free Act
“ of the Father.

“ Almost all the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers, speaking of the
“ Son, do use the Word *created*. But they seem not to
“ derive him from nothing, but from the Substance of
“ the Father.

“ Several

“ Several of them do teach, that the Son did from
 “ Beginningless Eternity exist in the Father, as his internal
 “ Word, Wisdom or Reason; and that before the be-
 “ ginning of the World he was generated or created, and
 “ that by him the Father did create all Things; which
 “ last Particular is undoubtedly the Doctrine of Scripture,
 “ and of all the ancient Writers.

“ They do acknowledge the Son to have been after
 “ his Generation a Person truly and properly distinct from
 “ the Father, but I cannot find that they do acknowledge
 “ he was so before his Generation; or that any of them
 “ do own two Generations of the Son antecedent to his
 “ Incarnation.

“ Some of them do speak of an Union and Commu-
 “ nion of Substance; particularly *Tertullian*, and perhaps
 “ *Athenagoras* and *Ignatius*, [the lesser I mean, whom
 “ I do think the true] though they do not speak in ex-
 “ press Terms, may mean the same Thing.

“ According to the *Ante-Nicene* Writers, the Worship
 “ to be paid to the Son, is what *Dr. Clarke* calls a Se-
 “ condary or Mediatorial Worship; and in this they seem
 “ to me to accord with the Scriptures. They do seldom,
 “ the earliest of them do never use the Word God to
 “ signify more Persons than one.

“ They do seldom or never expressly stile the Holy
 “ Ghost God. Neither is there any express Precept, nor
 “ certain Warrant in the holy Scriptures, or in any Apo-
 “ stolical Writer, for praying or ascribing Glory to
 “ him.

“ I do think likewise that your Opinion that the *Logos*
 “ did become truly passible, and was in Christ what the
 “ *Pneuma* is in other Men, is most agreeable to the Ex-
 “ pressions of the *Ante-Nicene* Writers, as well as of
 “ Scripture.

“ I am very sorry that I have not publickly declared
 “ my Opinion in these Points before, as I think I ought
 “ to have done. I am now in a low, and as I think a
 “ declining Condition, tho’ my Physicians tell me I am
 “ out of Danger. If I die, this Testimony can do no
 “ hurt; If I live, I shall gladly spend the remainder of
 “ my

“ my days in doing what Service I am able to God’s true
 “ Religion. Pray Sir, pardon this Scrawl. I am,

SIR,

Your most humble, &c.

*I would have transcrib’d this
 fairer, but my Illness does
 not permit me. Pray, SIR,
 let me have a Share in
 your Prayers.*

I have now finished my own *Historical Memoirs* of Dr. Clarke: and must, in justice to the Publick, correct some Mistakes which Dr. Sykes and Bishop Hoadley have run into concerning him. Not meaning in general that they are *false Accounts*, either as to Dr. Clarke’s Character, or Writings; but that they are not always done with such Care, Caution, and Accuracy, as they ought to have been.

Dr. Sykes still speaks, as if * Dr. Clarke’s Philosophy was his own, or of his own Invention: when it was generally no other than Sir *Isaac Newton’s* Philosophy; tho’ frequently applied by Dr. Clarke, with great Sagacity, and to excellent purposes, upon many Occasions. He also speaks as if it were peculiar to Dr. Clarke, † to “ see
 “ clearly that if all things were push’d on by Fate and
 “ Necessity, there could be no such thing as personal
 “ Merit or Demerit in intelligent Beings”: Whereas I believe that has been the common Notion of every Man from *Adam* till this day.

As to the *Unity of God*, and Dr. Clarke’s great Argument for it *à Priori*, as it is called; which is here mightily celebrated; ‡ I, who derive my Notions of this kind only *à Posteriori*, am, I believe, as fully satisfied of the *Unity of God*, as either Dr. Clarke or Dr. Sykes themselves: and indeed am entirely of the Mind of the Apostles in their Constitutions, || that *’tis a Law inserted by God in the Nature of all Men, That there is only One God in Heaven*
and

* Page 54, &c.

‡ Page 56, 57, 58.

† Page 54.

|| Constitut. VI. 20.

and on Earth. And to this *Law of Nature*, all the *Phænomena of Nature* do, I think, agree, without a single Exception.

Dr. *Sykes* supposes that * “ Dr. *Clarke* had taken much
 “ Pains in the Study of the Prophetical Writings, espe-
 “ cially those of the New Testament.” This is News to
 me indeed: who never knew any thing of these *great*
Pains of Dr. *Clarke* in that Study. I believe he had read
 Mr. *Mead*'s and my Books on the Prophecies, and assent-
 ed to a great deal of what he read there: But he did ne-
 ver himself, that I know of, enter deeper into any such
 Enquiries. Nor had he any Talent that way; as I have
 noted already. His Talents indeed were very great, but
 did not extend to all Parts of Learning; as indeed the
 Talents of few or none do. 'Tis very true also, that he
 used frequently to hear Sir *Isaac Newton* interpret Scri-
 pture Prophecies; to whose superior Authority, tho' so great
 a Man himself, he used entirely to submit. And he did
 I believe sometimes speak of such Interpretations without
 telling their true Author. This was the Case in his In-
 terpretation of *Daniel's 70 Weeks*, as I have already ob-
 served †; and this is the very Case of that particular ||
 “ Expression of his Fears, that the Face of *Protestantism*
 “ would once more be covered by as foul a Corruption
 “ as ever was that of *Popery*, before the happy Liberty
 “ and Light of the Gospel should take place”. Which
 Dr. *Sykes* here ascribes to Dr. *Clarke*; while yet I verily
 believe, or rather know, it was only a Conjecture of Sir
Isaac Newton's, and I think a Conjecture not well ground-
 ed neither. Of which Matters, see my *Supplement* to the
Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies, page 16---
 19. Where tho' I then verily believed, or rather knew
 such Interpretations to be originally not Dr. *Clarke's*, but
 Sir *Isaac Newton's*; yet since Dr. *Clarke* had published
 them in his own Book, and his own Name, and was not,
 I perceiv'd, willing the true Author should be known in
 his Life-time, I confuted them as Dr. *Clarke's* Interpre-
 tations, without a Syllable of Sir *Isaac Newton*. When
 Sir *Isaac's* own great work upon the *Scripture Prophecies* is
 published; which we expected this Summer; what I now
 say will more plainly appear to be true. However, it is
 not impossible that such a Notion of a long future cor-
 rupt

* Page 64.

† Page 82. prius.

|| Page 64.

rupt State of the Church soon coming on, according to the Scripture Prophecies, might be one Discouragement to Sir *Isaac Newton's* and Dr. *Clarke's* making publick Attempts for the Restoration of Primitive Christianity: as I confess my Expectation of the near Approach of the Conclusion of the corrupt State, and by Consequence of the Commencement of the State when Primitive Christianity is, by those Prophecies, to be restored, greatly encourages me to labour for its Restoration.

As to Bishop *Hoadley's* Accounts, tho' much larger than Dr. *Sykes's*, yet are they much more carefully written, and with fewer Mistakes: and abating for that Encomiastick and Panegyrick way of Writing, common to them both, which of course represents great and good Men as *Angels*, is not considerably wide from the Truth, either as to Dr. *Clarke's* Life, Writings, or Character. For *exacuisi* the Bishop * ought I believe, to have set down *exercuisi*; and it ought to be added, that the Professor said, " Now he might well retire and leave the Chair, since one so able to fill it appear'd among them;" which I distinctly remember. But as to what the Bishop says concerning the *Doctrine of the Trinity*; † as if it were in itself, or in the New Testament, and the earliest *Catholick* Writers of Christianity, a *difficult Question*; and that honest Enquirers after Truth may differ upon such Subjects; and that thence we ought not to be *positive about determining any one Sense* of the ancient Passages; I no way agree to it. Modern Writers of Controversy, who are fond of Modern Hypotheses, and very desirous the later Ages of the Church be not found in too gross Mistakes, may think there is great difficulty here. As for my self, I have more than once or twice perused the earliest of those original Sacred and Primitive Records, without the least Regard to the Moderns. And I do not find any more Difficulty in these, than in the other fundamental *Doctrines* of Christianity. Nay, I do not much doubt, if Christian Learning continue in *Christendom*, but the *Athanasian Heresy* will gradually sink out of the learned World, in like manner as the other ancienter Heresies have long ago sunk out of it. Nor is it other than a great Reproach upon the Religion of our Saviour, to suppose, that the very *Baptismal Fundamentals* of that Religion, concerning our

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Belief

* Page 22.

† Page 24, 25.

Belief in the *Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*, should be left in so dark a State of Uncertainty, as this Supposal amounts to. Nor indeed, to speak my Mind freely, do I believe that the Bishop is in such a Condition of *Doubt* and *Difficulty* himself about those Points, as his Words suffer his Readers to imagine concerning him.

Whether the Bishop was sufficiently inform'd of Dr. *Clarke's* Notions at the Time of his Acceptance of *St. James's*, I much doubt. His Words are these; “* Dr. *Clarke* was happy in that Station in which it had pleased God to fix him, before the Reasons which hindred him from seeking after, or accepting certain farther Promotions, took Place:” Which the Reader may now compare with my Accounts of that Matter.

When the Bishop says, that “ || The *Charity* of Dr. *Clarke's* Assistance and Beneficence was as extensive as the Circumstances of his Family would prudently admit: And afterwards, That he had not in him the — love of Riches strong enough to make him uneasy for any Thing more, than what afforded him and his Family a decent Appearance and Place in Life:” This may be true in the Bishop's Opinion; who with many of his Brethren, by twice changing his Bishoprick for a better, contrary to an † Apostolical Canon, and by raising an Estate out of his Ecclesiastical Revenues, contrary, as we shall see presently, both to the Apostolical Constitutions and Canons, seems to be of Opinion, that the *Circumstances* of Bishops and Presbyters Families ought to be not small, and their *decent Appearance in Life* very great, under Christianity. Nor do I pretend that the Bishop is singular in those his Opinions. The Behaviour of most of his and my Brethren, I mean Bishops and Presbyters, makes it too evident, that whatever Sentiments they may have *in Theory*, or may *Preach* out of the Pulpit, yet is their *Notion for Practice* with the Bishop in these Matters. However, let us hear some better Judges in these Points; I mean the Apostle *Paul*, writing to his Bishop *Timothy*; with the rest of the Apostles, in their Constitutions, writing to all their Bishops. *Having Food and Raiment*, says the Apostle *Paul* to *Timothy*, || *Let us be therewith content. But they that will be rich fall into Temptation, and a Snare,*
and

* Page 47, 48.

|| Pag. 45.

† Can. 14.

|| 1 Tim. vi. 8—11.

and into many foolish and hurtful Lusts, which drown Men in Destruction and Perdition. For the Love of Money is the Root of all Evil; which while some coveted after, they have erred from the Faith, and pierced themselves through with many Sorrows. But thou, O Man of God, flee these Things!

“ Bishops, say the rest of the * Apostles, ought to be
 “ not vainly expensive, not Lovers of Delicacies, not ex-
 “ travagant, using the Gifts of God as good Stewards ap-
 “ pointed over them, and those who will be required by
 “ God to give an Account of the same. Let the Bishop
 “ esteem such Food and Raiment sufficient as suits Ne-
 “ cessity and Decency. Let him make use of the Lord’s
 “ Goods, [but] moderately, for † *the Labourer is worthy*
 “ *of his Reward.* Let him not be luxurious in Diet, or
 “ fond of idle Furniture, but contented with so much
 “ alone as is necessary to his Sustenance. Let him use
 “ those Tents and First-fruits which are given according
 “ to the Command of God, as a Man of God. As also, let
 “ him dispense in a right manner the Free-will Offerings which
 “ are brought in on account of the Poor, the Orphans, the
 “ Widows, the Afflicted, and Strangers in Distress; as
 “ having that God for the Examiner of his Accounts,
 “ who has committed this Disposal to him. Distribute
 “ to all those in Want with Righteousness, and your selves
 “ use the Things which belong to the Lord, but do not
 “ abuse them; eating of them, but not eating them all
 “ up by your selves; communicate with those that are in
 “ Want; and thereby shew your selves unblameable be-
 “ fore God. For if you shall consume them by your
 “ selves, you will be reproached by God, who says to
 “ such unsatiable People, who alone devour all, || *Ye eat*
 “ *up the Milk, and cloath your selves with the Wool.* And
 “ in another Passage, ‡ *Must you alone live upon the Earth?*
 “ Upon which Account you are commanded in the Law,
 “ * *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self.* Now we
 “ say these Things, not as if you might not partake of the
 “ Fruits of your Labours, for ’tis written, † *Thou shalt*
 “ *not muzzle the Mouth of the Ox which treadeth out the*
 “ *Corn;*

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* Constitut. ii. 24, 25.

|| Ezek. xxxiv. 3.

* Levit. xix. 18.

† Luc. x. 7.

‡ Isaiah v. 8.

† Deut. xxv. 4.

“ *Corn*; but that you should do it with Moderation and
 “ Righteousness. As therefore the Ox that labours in the
 “ Threshing-floor without a Muzzle, eats indeed, but
 “ does not eat all up; so do you, who *labour* in the
 “ Threshing-floor, that is, in the Church of God, eat of
 “ the Church, &c.” See also *Can. Apost.* 5, 39, 40, 41,
 59, and 76. which are too long to be here transcrib'd.

And now, if any think I break in upon the Rules of Generosity and Friendship, in preserving such Observations and Memoirs as are sometimes in Diminution of the Character of so great, and in general so good a Man, and for many Years so great and good a Friend of mine, as Dr. *Clarke*, I shall venture to Reply; That what I have here publickly said of him, [or of other common Friends] is not near so much as I used all along to say to themselves in private; that what I then said, and now write, was, and is sincerely intended, not for their Reproach, but Amendment, and for the Correction of the Errors and Faults complain'd of. In which I am sure my earnest Endeavours to keep them *innocent*, is an Instance of truer Friendship than all the Compliments and *Elogiums* of others: That the Doctor is, I believe, now in a Place where no Flattery nor Falsification, nor even Concealments of his Mistakes is desired by him; nor will such Arts do him any good there: that no Man can justly lay Claim to more or better Reputation than he really deserves: That unravelling such Errors, even of the Dead, especially in Points of this publick and important Nature, may be greatly for the Caution and Benefit of the Living: That the greatest Part of the Christian World have not the same Opinion of Dr. *Clarke* with his particular Friends; among whom my plain and impartial Accounts will perhaps do him more Justice and Kindness than the Elogiums or Panegyricks of others: That, however, History ought to be written truly, and to represent Things and Persons as they really were; lest instead of *instructing*, we do rather *impose upon* Mankind: And lastly, and principally, that the Lives of the greatest and best Men among the *Hebrews*, are always represented by the Sacred Penmen, after this plain and sincere Manner; and include their Faults and Failures, as well as their Virtues and Excellencies, and this through the whole Bible: Whose unbiass'd
 Impartiality

Impartiality and Sincerity therefore, I have endeavour'd to imitate in these *Historical Memoirs*. Nor did St. Paul's Plainness and Boldness in * *witstanding St. Peter to the Face*, and *before all the Company*, because he was to be *blamed*, mentioned in his Epistle to the *Galatians*, at all hinder St. Peter from styling † *St. Paul, his beloved Brother*; and from acknowledging the *Wisdom given to him by God*, and appearing in *all his Epistles*.

N. B. It will not be here improper to add two farther Passages, which may serve for a Vindication of my self, as to the great Freedoms I have taken with Dr. *Clarke*, and some common Friends, both formerly, and in this Paper; the *one* in the honest and emphatical Words of Bishop *Burnet*, concerning the great Archbishop *Usber*, which I have long taken Notice of my self, as they occur in his Life of the excellent Bishop *Bedell*. The *other*, in the honest and remarkable Discourse of Dr. *Clarke* himself, in in his own second Sermon lately published concerning the *Unity of God*; which Discourse of Dr. *Clarke's* is not by any means improper also in way of such Vindication.

The Words of Bishop *Burnet* are these: page 85---88.

No Man, says Bishop *Burnet*, was more sensible of the Abuses of the Court called the *Spiritual Court*, than Archbishop *Usber* was; no Man knew the Beginning and Progress of them better, nor was more touched with the ill Effects of them: And, together with his great and vast Learning, no Man had a better Soul, and a more Apostolical Mind. In his Conversation he expressed the true Simplicity of a Christian: For Passion, Pride, Self-Will, or the Love of the World, seem'd not to be so much as in his Nature. So that he had all the Innocence of the Dove in him. He had a way of gaining Peoples Hearts, and of touching their Consciences, that look'd like somewhat of the Apostolical Age reviv'd. He spent much of his Time in those two best Exercises, secret Prayer, and dealing with other Peoples Consciences, either in his Sermons or private Discourses; and what remained he dedicated to his Studies: In which those many Vo-

G 3

lumes

* Gal. ii. 11, &c.

† 2 Pet. iii. 15, 16.

lumes that came from him, shewed a most amazing Diligence and Exactness, joined with great Judgment. So that he was certainly one of the greatest and best Men that the Age, or perhaps the World has produced. But no Man is entirely perfect; he was not made for the governing part of his Function. He had too gentle a Soul to manage that rough Work of reforming Abuses: And therefore he left things as he found them. He hoped a time of Reformation would come: He saw the Necessity of cutting off many Abuses; and confessed that the tolerating those abominable Corruptions that the Canonists had brought in, was such a Stain upon a Church, that in all other Respects was the best reformed in the World, that he apprehended it would bring a Curse and Ruin upon the whole Constitution. But though he prayed for a more favourable Conjunction, and would have concurred in a joint Reformation of these Things very heartily; yet he did not bestir himself suitably to the Obligations that lay on him for carrying it on. And it is very likely that this sat heavy on his Thoughts when he came to die; for he prayed often, and with great Humility, that God would forgive him his Sins of Omission, and his Failings in his Duty. It was not without great Uneasiness to me that I overcome my self so far, as to say any Thing that may diminish the Character of so extraordinary a Man, who in other Things was beyond any Man of his Time, but in this only he fell beneath himself: And those that upon all other Accounts loved and admired him, lamented this Defect in him; which was the only Allay that seemed left, and without which he would have been held, perhaps, in more Veneration than was fitting. His Physician Dr. *Bootius*, that was a *Dutchman*, said truly of him, *If our Primate of Armagh were as exact a Disciplinarian, as he is eminent in searching Antiquity, defending the Truth, and preaching the Gospel, he might without doubt deserve to be made the chief Churchman of Christendom.* But this was necessary to be told, since History is to be writ impartially; and I ought to be forgiven for taxing his Memory a little; for I was never so tempted in any Thing that I ever writ, to disguise the Truth, as upon this Occasion.

Dr. *Clarke's* Words are these :

* *Secondly*

* *Secondly*, The *worshipping the Lord our God*, as it denotes primarily that *internal* Regard we are to bear towards him in the Affections of our Minds, so it implies likewise, in the *next* Place, our making suitable *Confession* with our *Mouths*, Rom. x. 10. *With the Heart Man believeth unto Righteousness, and with the Mouth Confession is made unto Salvation.* For 'tis our Duty not only to have a constant Sense of God upon our own *Minds* but to *honour* him also *before Men*, and to promote the Knowledge of *Him* and his *Truth* in the World. And this Obligation includes *many* Particulars. The first and most obvious, is our Obligation to *make Profession* of the *True Religion*, how detrimental soever such Profession may prove to our present temporal Interest. This is the Foundation of all the Reproaches and Persecutions which the best and most virtuous Men have in all Ages, and in all Nations, suffered upon Account of their adhering to the Cause of Truth and Righteousness. *Whosoever*, says our Saviour, *shall confess me before Men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in Heaven: But whosoever shall deny me before Men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in Heaven*, Matth. x. 32. And still more distinctly, *Mark* viii. 38. *Whosoever shall be ashamed of me, and of my Words, in this adulterous and sinful Generation, of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he cometh in the Glory of his Father, with the Holy Angels.* This therefore is the first and principal Instance of *confessing God* with our *Mouths*: The making constant *Profession* of the true Doctrine of Religion, how much soever we may possibly suffer thereby in our temporal Interest. Nor need I here to have added the Word *possible*; since indeed it can scarce possibly be otherwise, but that Mens stedfastly adhering to what is true and right, will always be more or less hurtful to their temporal Interest. For though *in the general* the Profession of Christian Religion does not now expose Men to Persecution, as in the Apostles Days; but on the contrary, Christianity is in some Countries publickly supported and encouraged: yet in the *particular* Circumstances of Life, such is the Ignorance and Superstition, such the Prejudices, Passions and Animosities of Men; that whosoever will not suffer himself to be swayed according to the Customs of a corrupt Age, by other Arguments than those of Truth and Right, will

certainly lose very many Advantages; and perhaps be despised and ill spoken of for so doing: *Yea and all that will live godly in Christ Jesus*, says the Apostle, shall suffer Persecution, 2 Tim. iii. 12. Next therefore to the Profession of true Religion in general, there is farther implied in this Duty of confessing God with our Mouths, an Obligation not to be ashamed of Truth and Right, of Virtue and Goodness, in all particular Cases wherein they may happen to be contested. St. Paul, as he declared in general, that he was not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, Rom. i. 16. so when in a particular Circumstance he judged St. Peter to have departed from the Simplicity of the Gospel, he withstood him to the Face, Gal. ii. 11. And 'tis accordingly excellent Advice which is given by the Son of Sirach, Eccles. iv. 20. *Beware of Evil, and be not ashamed, when it concerns thy Soul: For there is a Shame that bringeth Sin, and there is a Shame which is Glory and Grace: Accept no Person against thy Soul, and let not the Reverence of any Man cause thee to fall: Refrain not to speak when there is Occasion to do Good; strive for the Truth unto Death, and the Lord shall fight for thee.*

Thus far Dr. Clarke.

However, if any of Dr. Clarke's Relations or Friends think I am too severe upon him all along, I shall be so fair as to set down his great Friend, Mr. Jackson's Apology for him in his own Words, out of his Letter to me of May 16. whence I have transcribed a few other Clauses already; and leave the Reader to judge for himself. " I think you may, says Mr. Jackson, (I doubt not but you will do it with Tenderness) mention the Doctor's Infirmary, in not having Courage enough to set forward a Reformation. The Reasons of which seem to me to have been, First, His natural over-great Coolness and Caution of Temper: Secondly, His great Experience of Men; by which he saw, that political Considerations prevail'd so far over even many of those who were of the same Sentiments with him, and of whom he had a good Opinion, as to make them disguise their real Opinion and Persuasion, and comply with the Bigotry and Iniquity of the Times, that the Doctor thought he must have almost walked alone in any Steps towards a Reformation. He had the Heart and Will of the Queen, and of a few learned and great Men on his Side;

“ Side; but there were too many of those, both Clergy
 “ and Laity, in high Places and Power, who, he knew,
 “ would discourage any Attempts he should make to re-
 “ store Primitive Christianity. This Consideration, I know,
 “ often grieved his honest Mind. And I have often heard
 “ him express great Concern on that Account; and blame
 “ some of even his great Friends on that Score. And
 “ this made him even dread a Situation in the Church,
 “ wherein he had no hopes of being able to do that Good
 “ to Religion, which might justly be expected he should
 “ endeavour to do, &c.

I conclude with Dr *Clarke's* Character drawn long ago by the masterly Hand of the Author of *Difficulties and Discouragements which attend the Study of the Scripture, in the way of private Judgment*, whom all conclude to be Dr. *Hare*. To which Character, with such Abatements as the foregoing Memoirs will make necessary, I fully agree.

“ Dr. *Clarke* is a Man who has *all the good Qualities*
 “ that can meet together, to recommend him. He is
 “ possess'd of *all the Parts of Learning* that are valuable
 “ in a Clergyman, in a Degree that few possess any *single*
 “ *one*. He has joined to a good Skill in *the three learned*
 “ *Languages*, a great Compass of the best *Philosophy* and
 “ *Mathematicks*, as appears by his *Latin Works*: And his
 “ *English* ones are such a Proof of his own *Piety*, and of
 “ his *Knowledge in Divinity*, and have done so much *Ser-*
 “ *vice to Religion*, as would make any other Man, that
 “ was not under the Suspicion of *Heresy*, secure of the
 “ Friendship and Esteem of all good Churchmen, espe-
 “ cially of the Clergy. And to all this *Piety* and
 “ *Learning*, and the good Use that has been made of it,
 “ is added a *Temper* happy beyond Expression: A sweet,
 “ easy, modest, inoffensive, obliging Behaviour, adorn all
 “ his Actions; and no Passion, Vanity, Insolence, or O-
 “ stentation, appear either in what he writes or says: And
 “ yet these Faults are often incident to the best Men,
 “ in the Freedom of Conversation, and in writing against
 “ impertinent and unreasonable Adversaries, especially such
 “ as strike at the Foundations of Virtue and Religion. This
 “ is the *Learning*, this the *Temper* of the Man, whose
 “ *Study of the Scriptures* has betrayed him into a *Suspicion*
 “ of some Heretical Opinions.”

Nov. 19. 1730.

WILL. WHISTON.
 A P P E N-



APPENDIX.

SINCE Dr. *Clarke's* and my common Friend Bishop *Smalridge* has been often mentioned in these Memoirs; and had indeed no small Hand in those important Matters there related; I shall take Leave to add part of a Sermon of his on *Trinity-Sunday*, published in his large Volume; with his own Letter to me on the first Publication of my four Volumes, now by me; with part of another Letter of his to Bishop *Trelawney*, to vindicate himself from the Imputation of *Arianism*, which fell into my Hands long ago. To all which I shall join the Reflexions I made upon the first Sight of this last Letter, with one or two more since added.

Dr. SMALRIDGE'S XXXIII^d Sermon, Page 348,
preach'd on Trinity-Sunday.

— It must be own'd that the Doctrine of the Trinity, as it is propos'd in our Articles, our Liturgy, and our Creeds, is not in so many Words taught us in the Holy Scriptures. What we profess in our Prayers, we no where read in Scripture, that the one God the one Lord is not one only Person, but three Persons in one Substance. There is no such Text in Scripture as this, that the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity is to be Worshipp'd: No one of the inspir'd Writers hath expressly affirmed, that in the Trinity none is afore or after other, none is greater or less than another; but the whole three Persons are coeternal together and coequal: But although these Truths are not read in Scripture, yet they may easily, regularly, and undeniably be inferr'd from Scripture. If indeed it can be shewn that these Inferences are wrong, they may safely be rejected, but they ought not to be rejected for no other Reason but this, that they are not plain Assertions of Scripture, but bare Infe-

Inferences from it. These Truths, though they are not in Scripture delivered in the same Terms, yet are there delivered in other Terms of the same Import and Signification. There would be no Necessity of our using any other Language but that which the Scripture hath us'd, had not *Hereticks* put a wrong Sense upon the Words of Scripture, which is repugnant to other Passages of Scripture. Our Saviour saith in Scripture, * *That he and the Father are one*; this Unity the *Heretick* understands not of an Unity of Nature, but of Consent, they are both one, saith he, because they agree together: We declare therefore our Belief of their being one, not only in Consent, for so we our selves also may be one with God, but in Nature, lest we should derogate from the eternal Godhead of the Son, which is in other Scriptures expressly declar'd. We do not therefore add any thing by those Terms which we make use of to that which the Scripture hath taught, but we vindicate the true Sense of Scripture from the false Glosses of Deceivers.

I have not Time now to prove, that every thing which we believe and teach, concerning the Trinity, may be easily infer'd from the Scriptures; that hath been done frequently and irrefragably by ancient and modern Writers, &c.

Dr. Smalridge's LETTER to me.

SIR,

I Did not send for the † Books sooner, because I had rather have them Bound, than in Sheets. I pray God the Publication of them may not do that Disservice to our Holy Religion, which I am persuaded you are far from intending. It seems to me much more likely that Unbelievers should thereby be strengthened in their Infidelity, than that those whom you suppose mistaken should be induc'd to reform the Opinions which you take to be Erroneous. There is one Suffrage of our Litany, in which you will heartily join with us, *That it may please*
God

* John x. 30. † My four Volumes of *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*, then just published.

God to bring into the way of Truth, all such as have erred and are deceived. This is the earnest Prayer of

Your faithful Friend and Servant,

Nov. 22d, [1711.]

GEORGE SMALRIDGE.

Bishop Smalridge to the Bishop of Winchester.

Christ Church, Oxon,

Sept. 23. 1719.

My very good LORD,

A MONG the many Proofs your Lordship has given me of your Favour and Friendship to me, none could be greater or more obliging, than the generous Concern you have shewn for my injured Reputation; and I am very much surprized to hear that I should be suspected of *Arianism*, having never given, as I know of, the least Ground for such Suspicion: I have from the Chair, (while I supply'd Dr. *Janes's* Place,) from the Pulpit, when I have preached at the new Chapel; and here at *Oxon*, on *Christmas* Day was *Twelvemonth*; and on the same Day at Court, when I was Almoner, the first *Christmas* after the King's Accession; and in Convocation, when a Censure passed on Mr. *Whiston's* Doctrines, (whilst I was Presbyter, and a Member of the Lower House) and upon all other proper Occasions, express'd my Sentiments about the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour, in Opposition both to the *Socinians* and *Arians*. I did on *Sunday* last ordain some Clergymen, and I examined them particularly as to the Points controverted betwixt the Catholick Church and the *Arians*, and said what to me seem'd proper to confirm them in the Catholick Faith, and to arm them against the Objections usually brought by the *Arians*. I have read over more than once, and as well as I was able, have considered Dr. *Waterland's* late Book, and have in Conversation signified my Approbation of it, and recommended it to my Friends, as a substantial Vindication of received Doctrines, and Confutation of *Arianism*.

Trelawney, Nov. 16. 1719.

This is a true Copy of part of the Bishop of *Bristol's* Letter to me; and without going deeper into it, as a sufficient

ficient Vindication of him from the damnable, but thriving Heresy of *Arianism*.

Witness my Hand,

JONATHAN WINCHESTER.

N. B. Whether Bishop *Smalridge* meant by *Arianism* the *Eusebian* Doctrine of late reviv'd, is not here expressly said. But why the Bishop of *Winchester* should suppress those Parts of Bishop *Smalridge's* Letter, which declar'd the Regard he had for some Persons, not of the *Athanasian* Opinion; and his little Approbation of at least the damnatory Sentences in the *Athanasian Creed*, which my Lord *Nottingham* inform'd me were in that Letter, I do not well understand.

WILL. WHISTON.

N. B. When in my second *Appendix* to the *Historical Preface*, Page 33, 34, 35. I said, That Proposition from the Upper House of Convocation, which condemns as Heresy my affirming, that *The One God of the Christians was not the three Persons taken together, but God the Father only*, was own'd not to be Heretical by more than one of the Lower House; I meant, by Dr. *Smalridge* and Dr. *Cannon*; and when I add, that one of them accordingly entred his Protestation against its Condemnation as Heretical, I meant Dr. *Cannon*.

N. B. Bishop *Smalridge* seem'd always to me readily enough to give up the *Athanasian Creed*: Only he loved to put it upon another Foot than I should have done; I mean, that it should be given up to the *Clamours of the Dissenters*, who still made its damnatory Sentences an Objection against Conformity with the Church of *England*. I was also inform'd by an Eye-witness, Sir *Robert Clarke*, that when he was once at *Bristol* Cathedral, on an *Athanasian Creed* Day, and not believing that Creed himself, had nothing else to do but to watch Bishop *Smalridge's* Behaviour, he took Notice that He did not repeat that Creed any more than himself.

Upon

Upon my committing my fourth Volume in *MS.* to Dr. *Smalridge* before it was printed, he was pleased to peruse it with great Care, and to confess “ That I had therein acted very uprightly; that my Quotations were fair and just; that whereas a Friend of his had suggested to him that he thought I had omitted some Passages in Antiquity that seemed to make against me, he, upon Comparison, found that I had not omitted them; but that they were all in my Papers; that he had met with a farther Suggestion from another Person, that still some such Passages were omitted.” I made Answer, that if he pleased to send me any such Collection of Passages, I would certainly insert them into my Book; which Collection yet I never receiv’d from him. He confessed to me, “ that I had proved, that so far as our present Records go, the Holy Ghost was not called *God*, nor *Invocated* in the three first Centuries; though he thought *Basil* had given good Reasons why we might venture farther. Upon which I reply’d, that had Dr. *Alix* or Dr. *Grabe* told me so, I could have believ’d them; because I took them to have greater Learning than Judgment: But Dr. *Smalridge*, said I, God has given you greater Judgment than to think that any Man has Power to alter such Sacred Laws of the Gospel, and then give good Reasons why they have altered them”. To which I think he made no Reply. And about the same Time that he had my *MSS* Papers, I once went down to him, and desir’d him to go with me to the late Archbishop of *York*, Dr. *Sharp*, in order to try whether we could not find out some way for a fair Examination of my Papers before they were printed, which I earnestly endeavoured. He reply’d, “ That there was nothing to be said against Examination, nothing to be said against it;” and he accordingly went along with me to the Archbishop’s House in *Petty-France Westminster* immediately. But the Archbishop not happening to be at Home, there were no farther Steps taken at that Time. Some time after the Publication of the then Bishop of *Bangor*’s famous Sermon, and about the Time of the Publication of my *Scripture Politicks*, I waited upon Bishop *Smalridge*, and among other Things, desired that his Lordship, of whom both Parties had so good an Opinion, would do something to bring us out of that Disorder

order in which we then were, and particularly that “ He
 “ would please to write a little Book, to recommend a
 “ fair and impartial Review of Christian Antiquity to the
 “ World, in order to the Correction of such Errors and
 “ Practices as might have crept into the Church since the
 “ first Settlement of Christianity; which Recommenda-
 “ tion from him, would, I believ’d, have a very good
 “ Effect.” His Lordship’s Answer, as near as I can re-
 member the Words, and that with great Emotion of
 Mind and Body, was this: “ Mr. *Whiston*, I dare not ex-
 “ amine; I dare not examine. For if we should ex-
 “ mine, and find that you are in the Right, the Church
 “ has then been in an Error so many hundred Years!”
 —I asked him, “ How he could say so, and still be a
 “ Protestant.” He replied, “ Yes he could.” This I tes-
 tify under my Hand,

June 14. 1722.

WILL. WHISTON.

P. S. When Mr. *Anderson*, now Rector of *Lutterworth*
 in *Leicestershire*, was once in Company with the late
 Archbishop *Sharp* and Dr. *Smalridge*; and the Archbishop,
 or some other in Company, said, somebody must be ap-
 pointed to prove, against Mr. *Whiston*, that the *Apostolical*
Constitutions were spurious, Dr. *Smalridge* made Answer,
 “ That he took that to be an hard Thing to do.” This
 Mr. *Anderson* himself informed me of.

WILL. WHISTON.





*A Catalogue of the WORKS of the Reverend
Dr. SAMUEL CLARKE, in the order of
Time in which they were published.*

I. **J**ACOBI Rohaulti Physica, &c. Translated from the *French* into *Latin*, with large Annotations. In 8vo. first published in 1697. Of this there have been already *four* Editions, in every one of which Improvements have been made, especially in the last, 1718.

II. Three Practical Essays on Baptism, Confirmation, and Repentance, &c. 1699. *Four* Editions of this have been Printed.

III. Some Reflexions on that part of a Book called *Amyntor*, which relates to the Writings of the Primitive Fathers, and the Canon of the New Testament. A small Tract first published 1699, without a Name; and since added to Dr. Clarke's Letter to Mr. Dodwell, &c.

IV. A Paraphrase on the Four Evangelists, with Critical Notes, &c. That on St. *Matthew* was first published, 1701. A Second Volume on St. *Mark* and St. *Luke* followed in 1702; and after this a Third Volume on St. *John*. They were soon all reprinted together, in two Volumes, 8vo. A *Fourth* Edition has been lately published.

V. A Discourse concerning the Being and Attributes of GOD; the Obligations of Natural Religion; and the Truth and Certainty of the Christian Revelation, &c. These were the Sermons he preached at Mr. *Boyle's* Lecture, 1704, 1705. They were printed in two distinct Volumes. The Former in 1705. The Latter in 1706. Since that, they have been printed all together in One Volume, and have pass'd thro' several Editions. In the 4th and 5th Editions were added several Letters to Dr. *Clarke*, from a Gentleman, relating to the first Part of this Book, with the *Doctor's* Answers. In the 6th and 7th Editions were added, A Discourse concerning the Connexion of the Prophecies, &c. And an Answer to a Seventh Letter concerning the Argument *à Priori*.

VI. A Letter to Mr *Dodwell* — about the Immortality of the Soul, and the Judgment of the Fathers, &c. first printed in 1706. After this soon followed *Four Defences* of it, in *four* several Letters to the Author of the *Remarks* on the forementioned Letter. They are all printed together in

A Catalogue of the WORKS, &c.

in a fifth Edition: And the Answer to *Amyntor*, added to them

VII. *Isaaci Newtoni Optice*. This is a Translation of Sir *Isaac Newton's Opticks*, from the *English* into *Latin*: first published in 4to. 1706. Afterwards in 8vo. 1719.

VIII. *C. Julii Cæsaris quæ extant, &c.* 1712. This is a very Pompous and Beautiful Edition, in *Folio*, of *Cæsar's Commentaries*, accurately compared with the best *MSS.* and illustrated with the Doctor's Notes. This Book was afterwards reprinted, for common Use, in 8vo. 1720.

IX. *The Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity*, in three Parts, &c. In 8vo. First published in 1712. Afterwards, there was a Second Edition, with some Alterations, in 1719.

X. Three short Papers, occasioned by the Complaint of the Lower House of Convocation against the Foremention'd Book: *viz.* A Reply to the Extract of Particulars made by the Lower-house; A Paper laid before the Bishops: A Paper delivered to the Bishop of *London*: All printed in a little Piece called an *Apology for Dr. Clarke*, 1710. Together with Part of a Letter from him to a Friend.

XI. A Letter to the Reverend Dr. *Wells*, in Answer to his Remarks upon the foregoing Treatise, 1714. †

XII. A Reply to the Objections of *Robert Nelson, Esq;* and an Anonymous Writer; being a Commentary on forty Texts: Together with an Answer to the Remarks of [Bp. *Gastrel*] the Author of some Considerations upon the Trinity, &c. 1714. †

XIII. Dr. *Clarke's* Answers to three Letters writ to him by a Clergyman concerning his Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity; published, together with the Letters, by that Clergyman himself, 1714.

XIV. A Collection of Papers which passed between the late learned Mr. *Leibnitz* and Dr. *Clarke*, relating to the Principles of Natural Philosophy and Religion; To which are added, Letters from *Cambridge* to Dr. *Clarke*, concerning Liberty and Necessity, with the Doctor's Answers: And, Remarks upon a Book entitled, *A Philosophical Enquiry concerning Human Liberty*, 1717. 8vo.

XV. A Letter to the late Reverend Mr. *R. M.* [*Mayo*] concerning his plain Scripture-Argument.

XVI. A Letter to the Author of a Book, entitled, *The True Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity*, continued and vindicated; Recommended first by Mr. *Nelson*, and since by Dr. *Waterland*. These two little pieces were published, 1719. at the End of a Tract of another Author, entitled, *The modest Plea*.

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XVII. *The Modest Plea, &c.* continued: Or, A Brief and Diffinēt Answer to Dr. *Waterland's* Queries relating to the Doctrine of the Trinity, 1720.

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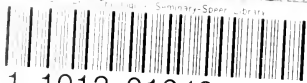
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