



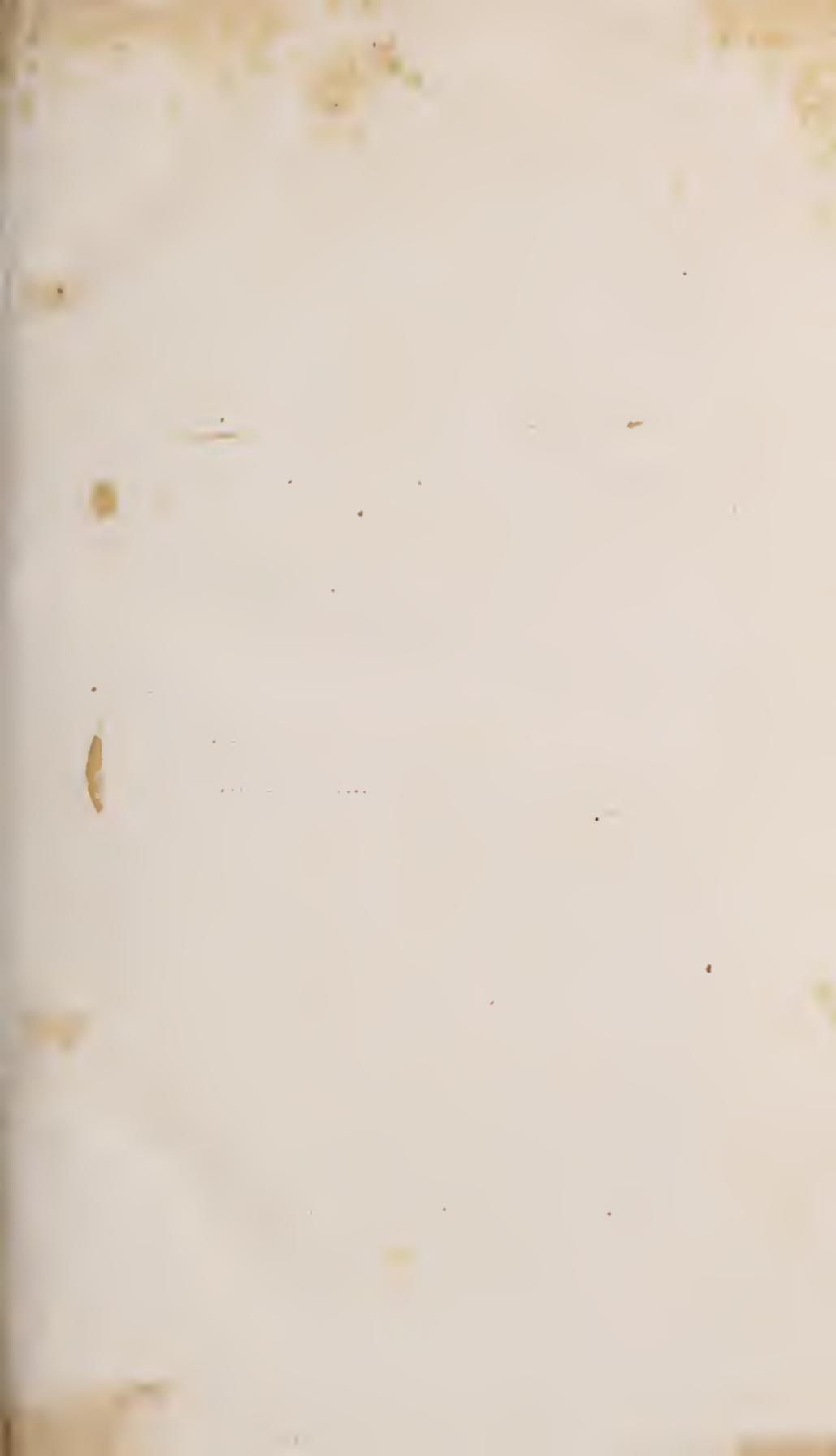
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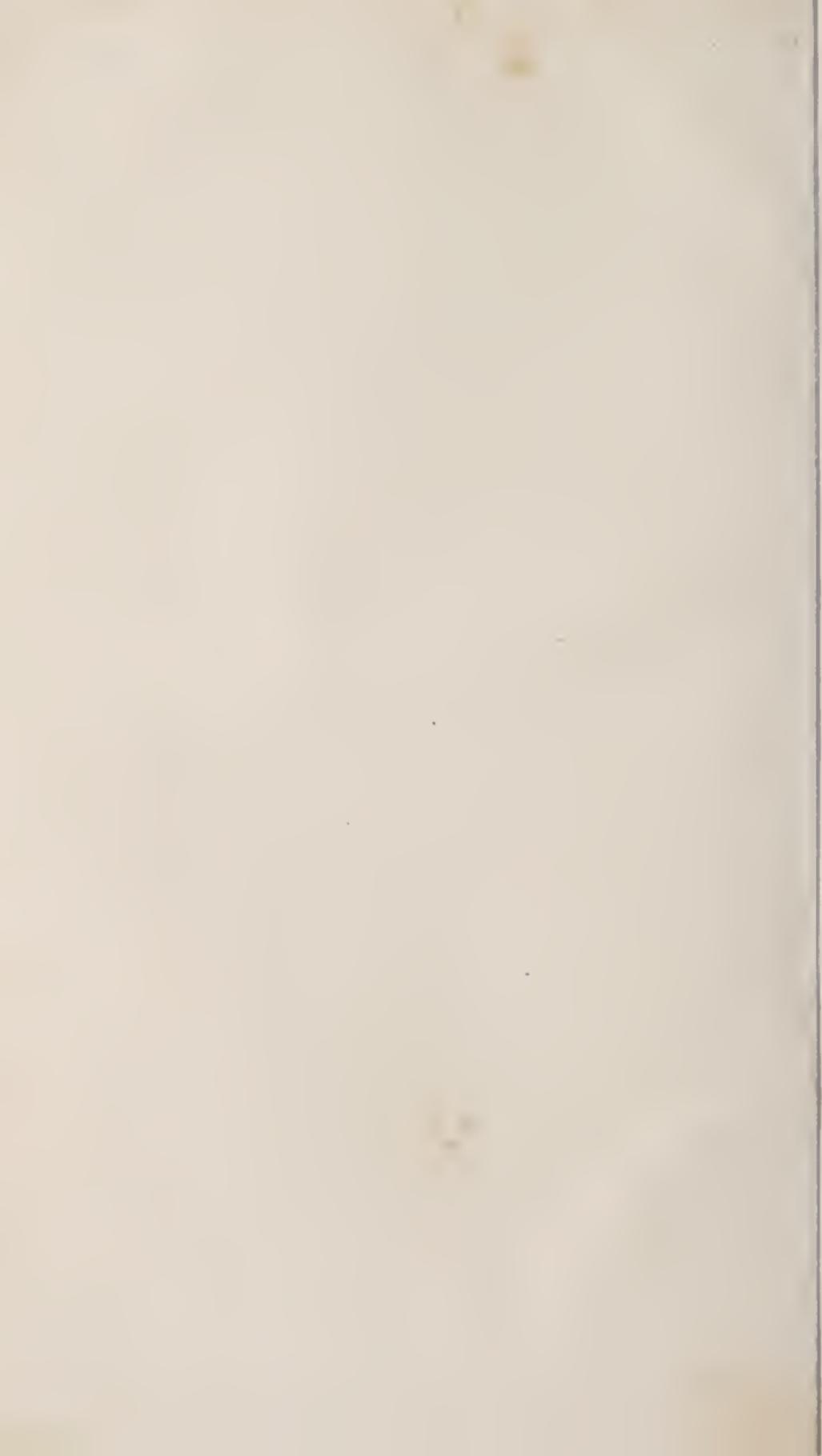








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THE
WORKS
OF THE REVEREND
THOMAS TOWNSON, D. D.

LATE ARCHDEACON OF RICHMOND;
ONE OF THE RECTORS OF MALPAS, CHESHIRE;
AND SOMETIME FELLOW OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN
COLLEGE, OXFORD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED
AN ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR,
WITH AN INTRODUCTION TO THE DISCOURSES
ON THE GOSPELS,
AND A SERMON ON THE QUOTATIONS IN THE OLD
TESTAMENT,

BY

RALPH CHURTON, M. A.

ARCHDEACON OF ST DAVID'S,
RECTOR OF MIDDLETON CHENEY, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE,
AND LATE FELLOW OF BRASEN NOSE COLLEGE, OXFORD.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

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A
DISCOURSE
ON THE
EVANGELICAL HISTORY,
FROM THE
INTERMENT TO THE ASCENSION
OF
OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST.

THE SECOND EDITION.



He is not here, but is Risen. Luke XXIV. 6.

Baire sc.

IMPRIMATUR.

JOHAN. COOKE, VICE-CAN.

C. C. C.

Oxon. Maii 5^{to}. 1792.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND
WILLIAM LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER,

THE FOLLOWING WORK,

INTRUSTED TO THE CARE OF THE EDITOR

BY ONE OF THE LATEST ACTS

OF AN AUTHOR EMINENT FOR

GENIUS, LEARNING, VIRTUE, AND PIETY,

IS INSCRIBED

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S FAITHFUL AND

AFFECTIONATE HUMBLE SERVANT,

JOHN LOVEDAY.

Nov. 1, 1792.

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INTRODUCTION,

THE chief difficulties that occur in the Evangelical History of the Lord Jesus from his death to his ascension are found in the morning of his resurrection. The events related of it fell within a short space of time; and were either nearly coincident, or quickly successive to each other. They are told briefly and but in part by the Evangelists, with few notes of time or order in one Gospel relative to another. No wonder then that learned men have judged variously of their connection, and have pursued different methods of reducing them into one narrative. Many of them have succeeded so far, as to show by a very probable arrangement, that the Gospels are wholly reconcileable with each other.

This is an important point; yet what may suffice to prove that there are no characters of disagreement in the facts recorded may not quite satisfy us that they are altogether rightly methodized. But in matters of such moment the mind must feel a certain content, and even edification, in tracing out the real order in which high Providence disposed them. And this we may hope is not unattainable by diligent inquiry, and a devout attention to the letter and spirit of the Gospels.

O Thou, that art the way and the truth and the life, who by thy Spirit didst enable the Evangelists to compose their Gospels with perfect truth and sanctity, give thy blessing to these endeavours of thy unworthy servant to explain a part of their holy writings. "O let thy scriptures be my pure delight; let me not be deceived in them, neither let me deceive by them."¹ Amen, Lord Jesus, Amen.

Mary Magdalene is mentioned by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. John, as going early to the sepulchre on the first day of the week. St. Mark joins two others with her; Mary the mother of James, and Salome the mother of Zebedee's children. He names these three; and his context will not allow us to suppose that there was any other person of their party. St. Luke, who speaks of a greater number of women going to the sepulchre, has so guarded his account of them as not to include the three just mentioned: and what is said by him of their vision and behaviour at the sepulchre is totally unlike any thing that is related of the two Marias and Salome. If these things can be made appear evident, from a comparison of the Evangelists, we must then in justice to them consider the women as going to the sepulchre in a less and larger company.

The first, I believe, that regularly pursued this plan, was the late Mr. West in his "Observations on the History and Evidence of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ." It is no small pleasure to me to tread nearly in the steps of one, for whose character, moral as well as literary, I have a high respect; and to whom I esteem our part of the Christian world greatly indebted for standing forth with equal zeal

¹ The words of St. Augustin in his Confessions, quoted by the Translators of our English Bible towards the conclusion of their very learned Preface.

and

and ability an advocate for the cause the most interesting to mankind, the cause of Christianity. His work, when it was published, had considerable influence: and the excellent remarks and dissertations with which it abounds, I hope, will make it long regarded.

For the readier comprehension of the order here observed, I shall prefix a summary of it: in which it does not seem necessary to refer to particular texts. They may be seen at large in the Harmony that follows it, and easily found under the corresponding sections.

Summary Account of the following Sections.

SECTION I. FRIDAY EVENING.

Our Lord's disciples and the women that had followed him from Galilee were not absent from his crucifixion. "They stood beholding afar off."

Only his Virgin Mother, Mary her sister mother of James and Joses, and Mary Magdalene, with the disciple whom Jesus loved, and to whose protection he then recommended his mother, are mentioned as venturing to approach his cross.

But when Joseph of Arimathea had obtained leave from Pilate to inter the body, the Galilean women in general followed it to the sepulchre, and saw where and how it was laid. They then hastened to the city, to purchase and prepare spices that evening, for anointing it as soon as might conveniently be done after the Sabbath; which, as beginning about sun-set, was then coming on. But Mary

Magdalene and the other Mary, two of those who had been standing by his cross, did not depart with the rest. They continued "sitting over against the tomb."

SECTION II. SATURDAY.

Towards the close of this day, which was the Jewish Sabbath, the chief priests and Pharisees with Pilate's permission set a guard upon the sepulchre, which was to secure it till the end of the third day.

The same evening, when the Sabbath was over, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary, who had lost their opportunity before, bought their share of spices, with the concurrence of a third, Salome the mother of Zebedee's children; who had probably been engaged the foregoing evening in attending and supporting the mother of our Lord; whom he had recommended to the protection of her son, the beloved disciple.

SECTION III. SUNDAY MORNING.

Very early the next morning, and probably before the time settled for opening the sepulchre, these three women hastened to visit it by themselves.

The two Maries set out before it was day-light, I presume because they lodged further from the sepulchre than Salome; whom they called upon to accompany them: and while they were on their way an angel descended, and rolled away the stone that closed the entrance of the tomb; and Christ arose.

The guard, terrified at the sight of the angel, retired from the sepulchre as he approached it, and, when

when they were a little recovered from their consternation, quitted the garden in which it stood.

The women arrived when the soldiers were gone, and at the rising of the sun. On drawing near to the sepulchre they perceived that the stone was rolled away; and Mary Magdalene, concluding that the body was removed, hurried back to tell Peter and John.

When she was gone, the other Mary and Salome came to a resolution of examining more exactly; and ventured into the sepulchre: in the first part of which, it being divided into two, they beheld an angel sitting on the right side; who bid them not be afraid, assured them that Jesus was risen from the dead, and sent a message to his apostles by them. Having heard his speech, they hastened out of the sepulchre, and to a distance from it, with fear and great joy.

Soon after came Peter and John; and having inspected the tomb, without seeing the angel, or speaking to the women that had seen him, departed.

SECTION IV. SUNDAY MORNING.

Mary Magdalene followed, as fast as she was able, and, when they went away, staid behind, weeping at the sepulchre; then, after a little pause, stooped down, and looked into the tomb; where two angels were sitting, who asked her why she wept; to whose question having returned an answer expressive of her anxiety about the body of her Lord, she drew back and saw him standing by her, but at first did not perceive who he was. He quickly made himself known to her, and sent a message to his apostles by her.

SECTION V. SUNDAY MORNING.

Mary Magdalene, in going to communicate her happy intelligence to them, fell in again with her two friends, the other Mary and Salome. In their way Christ met them, and bid them, All hail. He then permitted them to embrace his feet, and repeated the substance of the message to the apostles, which the angel, seen in the sepulchre, had delivered to the two latter.

While these things were doing, a party of the guard came into the city to the chief priests; by whom, and a council of the elders called together, they were instructed what report they should spread on this occasion.

SECTION VI.

REMAINING TRANSACTIONS OF SUNDAY MORNING.

Another company of women, at the head of whom was Joanna, came now to the sepulchre. Some of these had been ready to set out early for it. But while they were collecting their whole party, and proceeding slowly in waiting for each other, the time, which they had probably agreed on for meeting there to anoint the body, might be a little past. They therefore expressed no wonder, as had the former party, at seeing the tomb open. Their surprize was, when they had entered and searched it, uot to find the body of the Lord Jesus; when two Angels stood by them, and assured them that he was risen, and reminded them of a prophecy concerning his own death and resurrection, which they had heard him utter in Galilee. The women recollected the prophecy, and
went

went and reported "all these things unto the Eleven, and to all the rest."

Other evidences of the Lord's resurrection had been laid before them by the two Mariés and Salome; but to little purpose. So strong were their prejudices, that the words of the women seemed to them as idle tales.

Yet St. Peter was so struck with their accounts, that he ran again to the sepulchre, to see if he could there behold the angels, of whom they had spoken.

SECTION VII.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON AND EVENING.

It is not said in what time of this day our Lord appeared to St. Peter; but it was probably after Cleopas and his companion were set out from Jerusalem. These two were joined on the road by a stranger, whom they discovered at Emmaus to be the Lord himself. On this discovery they hastened back to Jerusalem to the apostles assembled privately with some others of the disciples; and found them in possession of the fact respecting St. Peter. They then began to relate their own story, when the Lord himself stood in the midst of them, and having composed their minds alarmed at his appearance, and having satisfied their doubts, left them full of joy that they had seen the Lord.

SECTION VIII.

THE SIX DAYS FOLLOWING THAT OF THE RESURRECTION.

It is not recorded that our Lord showed himself to any of his disciples during this interval. He
seems

seems to have left them to the testimony of those who had seen him: and They endeavoured to persuade their brethren of the reality of his resurrection, but without working a thorough conviction in their minds. Among those, who had been absent when he appeared on Sunday night, was St. Thomas; who spoke his own and the sentiments of others in declaring, that nothing short of ocular demonstration could clear up his doubts.

SECTION IX.

THE OCTAVE OF THE RESURRECTION.

On this day the apostles were assembled, probably in the same place, plainly at Jerusalem, and with others of the disciples; when the Lord came to them as before, the door being again fastened, and reproved them, at least in addressing himself to St. Thomas, "for their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen him after he was risen." St. Thomas with all humility confessed his offence: and no more difficulty remained with him and those of the company who were in the same situation.

It is likely that our Lord now appointed the time and place in Galilee, where they should see him again.

SECTION X.

THE TIME IN WHICH THE DISCIPLES WERE IN GALILEE.

The apostles then left Jerusalem, and went into Galilee; and it seems as if they were allowed to communicate the design of their going to many of
the

the followers of Christ; and that a multitude of them resorted to the mountain in Galilee, where he had promised to meet them. As soon as they beheld him, they paid their adoration to him. Some however that had not seen him before, and then saw him at some distance, were not without their doubts of his bodily presence. But he graciously came and conversed with them, and satisfied all, that it was He himself, risen from the dead. He then declared, that all power was given unto him in heaven and in earth.

SECTION XI.

THE DISCIPLES STILL IN GALILEE.

Before the disciples quitted Galilee, our Lord again showed himself to seven of them by the lake of Tiberias. He there signified in what manner St. Peter should die, and that St. John should long survive.

SECTION XII.

FROM THE RETURN OF THE DISCIPLES TO JERUSALEM TO THE ASCENSION.

The disciples went back to Jerusalem, earlier I presume than was necessary to prepare for the feast of Pentecost; Acts xx. 16. and that therefore they went by a divine direction.

While they were assembled there, Christ instructed them in the things pertaining to the kingdom of God; and when the fortieth day, including that of his resurrection, was come, he led them out as far as to Bethany; and he lifted up his hands and blessed them; and, while he blessed them, he was parted from
from

from them and carried up into heaven, and sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high.

The disciples having paid their adoration to him, returned to Jerusalem with great joy, and passed their time in the temple, praising and blessing God, and preparing their hearts for the promised descent of the Holy Spirit upon them; who was to enable them to go forth and preach the glad tidings of salvation successfully to Jews, Samaritans, and Gentiles.

Such is the method, in which the part of the sacred history, with which we are here concerned, is laid down. The Texts containing it now follow, with a collateral Paraphrase: and these will be succeeded by Observations, either to explain facts, or justify the order in which they are disposed. In the Paraphrase and succeeding Observations the liberty will be taken, in a few instances, of departing a little from our very valuable Translation, where it is of some consequence that the Original should be somewhat more literally rendered.

HARMONY AND PARAPHRASE
OF THE
EVANGELICAL HISTORY
FROM THE
INTERMENT TO THE ASCENSION
OF OUR LORD
JESUS CHRIST.

IN TWELVE SECTIONS.

SECTION I.

THE PREPARATION,

OR

FRIDAY EVENING.

THE chief acquaintance of our Lord, who had followed him to mount Calvary, remained afar off, beholding his crucifixion and the signs and wonders attending it: as did also many women that had come up with him to Jerusalem; some of whom had ministered unto him of their substance both in Galilee, Luke viii. 2. and in his progress to the city: among whom were Mary Magdalene, Mary the sister of our Lord's mother, wife of Cleopas, called also Alpheus, and mother of James the less and Joses, and Salome mother of James and John, the sons of Zebedee.

His friends in general stood lamenting at a distance. But a few of them were induced by the power of affection and grief to approach very near to his cross. These were his Virgin Mother, her sister Mary wife of Cleopas, Mary Magdalene, and John, one of his Apostles.

When

Matth. xxvii.

Mark xv.

Luke xxiii.

John xix.

55. And many women were there (beholding afar off) which followed Jesus from Galilee, ministering unto him.

56. Among which was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of Zebedee's children.

40. There were also women looking on afar off; among whom was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James the

Jess, and of Joses, and Salome;

41. Who also, when he was in Galilee, followed him, and ministered unto him; and many other women which came up with him unto Jerusalem.

49. And all his acquaintance, and the women that followed him from Galilee, stood afar off, beholding these things.

25. Now there stood by the cross of Jesus, his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene.

When Jesus therefore, looking down from the cross, saw his mother and the disciple standing by whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold thy son. Then saith he to the disciple, Behold thy mother: behave to her now and at all times with filial kindness and duty. And from that hour that disciple, leading her away from that sad and awful scene, took her to his own home, attended by his mother Salome, one of those "which stood beholding these things;" with whom leaving her for the present, to yield her all possible support, "while the sword was piercing through her soul," he himself returned to his attendance by the cross. See John xix. 35.

Our Lord having expired on the cross on the Preparation or day before the Sabbath, about the ninth hour, when the early evening began, Heaven stirred up the spirit of a rich man, an honourable counselor, to take care of his most holy body.

This man was Joseph of Arimathea, a Jewish city a good and just man, and one who had not consented to their late proceedings. For he himself waited for the kingdom of God, and was a disciple of Jesus, through secretly for fear of the Jews.

Yet now he went in boldly to Pilate, and besought him that he might take away the body of Jesus.

Pilate at first thought it strange that he should be so soon dead; and calling unto him the Centurion, he asked him whether, as Joseph represented the matter, he had been any while dead; and, being satisfied by the Centurion that he really had been so some time, he commanded the body to be delivered to Joseph.

He

Matth. xxvii.	Mark xv.	Luke xxiii.	John xix.
			<p>26. When Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold thy son!</p> <p>27. Then saith he to the disciple, Behold thy mother! And from that hour that disciple took her unto his own home.</p>
<p>57. When the even was come, there came a rich man of Arimathea, named Joseph, who also himself was Jesus' disciple.</p>	<p>42. And now when the even was come, (because it was the preparation, that is the day before the sabbath,)</p> <p>43. Joseph of Arimathea, an honourable counsellor, which also waited for the kingdom of God,</p>	<p>50. And behold, there was a man named Joseph, a counsellor; and he was a good man, and a just:</p> <p>51. (The same had not consented to the counsel and deed of them) he was of Arimathea, a city of the Jews (who also himself waited for the kingdom of God).</p>	<p>38. And after this, Joseph of Arimathea (being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews)</p>
<p>58. He went to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus. Then Pilate commanded the body to be delivered.</p>	<p>came and went in boldly unto Pilate, and craved the body of Jesus.</p> <p>44 And Pilate marvelled if he were already dead: and calling unto him the centurion, he asked him whether he had been any while dead.</p> <p>45. And when he knew it of the centurion, he gave the body to Joseph.</p>	<p>52. This man went unto Pilate; and begged the body of Jesus.</p>	<p>besought Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus:</p> <p>and Pilate gave him leave.</p>

He went therefore, and without delay took down the body of Jesus, and wrapped it in a robe of fine linen, which he had purchased.

There came also Nicodemus (who at first came to Jesus by night) and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight.

Then they took the body of Jesus to a place of sepulture, and wrapped it in linen bandages with the spices, as is the manner of the Jews of rank to prepare for interment. His grave was appointed with the wicked; but with the rich man was his tomb. Isai. liii. 9. Bishop Lowth's Translation.

Now in the place where he was crucified was a garden, and in the garden a sepulchre belonging to Joseph, which he had caused to be hewn out of the rock; a new sepulchre, in which no one had ever yet been laid, consisting of a tomb and court before it.

This sepulchre being nigh at hand, they laid the body of Jesus in it, because it was the Jews' preparation, and the sabbath drew on. Joseph having rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre departed¹.

And the women also, that came with him from Galilee, followed after and beheld the sepulchre, and where and how his body was laid.

And most of them then returned in haste and prepared spices and ointments before the sabbath came on, on which they rested according to the commandment.

But Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Joses staid behind, and sat weeping over against the tomb.

¹ See Index under Sepulchre; a quotation from Gori.

Matth. xxvii.	Mark xv.	Luke xxiii.	John xix.
59. And when Joseph had taken the body, he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth,	46. And he bought fine linen, and took him down, and wrapped him in the linen,	53. And he took it down, and wrapped it in linen,	He came therefore, and took the body of Jesus. 39. And there came also Nicodemus (which at the first came to Jesus by night) and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight.
60. And laid it in his own new tomb, which he had hewn out in the rock: and he rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre, and departed.	and laid him in a sepulchre, which was hewn out of a rock, and rolled a stone unto the door of the sepulchre.	and laid it in a sepulchre that was hewn in stone, wherein never man before was laid.	40. Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury. 41. Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid.
61. And there was Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, sitting over against the sepulchre.	47. And Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of Joseph, beheld where he was laid.	54. And that day was the preparation, and the sabbath drew on.	42. There laid they Jesus therefore, because of the Jews' preparation day, for the sepulchre was not at hand: 55. And the women also, which came with him from Galilee, followed after, and beheld the sepulchre, and how his body was laid. 56. And they returned, and prepared spices and ointments; and rested the sabbath-day, according to the commandment.

SECTION II.

SATURDAY, TOWARDS THE CONCLUSION
OF THE SABBATH.

On the next day that followed the day of the preparation, and which was consequently the second day of our Lord's interment, the chief priests and Pharisees came together unto Pilate, saying, Sir, we remember that that deceiver, who was yesterday crucified, declared while he was living, that he would rise again the third day. We intreat you therefore to command that the sepulchre, in which you have permitted his friends to deposit him, may be well secured till this third day is past; lest his disciples should come by night and steal away his body, and then tell the people that he has verified his prediction, and is risen from the dead: in which case the last deceit will be worse than any that has preceded.

Pilate answered them, Ye have a guard of our soldiers. Take as many of them as are requisite, and make the place as sure as you can.

Having thus obtained leave from the governor, they ordered a sufficient number of soldiers to the sepulchre: and then repairing thither, and satisfying themselves that the body was in it, they secured the sepulchre with a guard, and set a seal upon the stone that closed the door of it; all which was managed so secretly, that the disciples of Christ had no suspicion of it.

SATURDAY,

Matth. xxvii.

Mark.

Luke.

John.

62. Now the next day that followed the day of the preparation, the chief priests and Pharisees came together unto Pilate,

63. Saying, Sir, we remember that that deceiver said, while he was yet alive, After three days I will rise again: ¹

64. Command therefore that the sepulchre be made sure until the third day; lest his disciples come by night, and steal him away, and say unto the people, He is risen from the dead: So the last error shall be worse than the first.

65. Pilate said unto them, Ye have a watch: go your way, make it as sure as ye can.

66. So they went and made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone, and setting a watch.

¹ See Index of Texts.

SATURDAY, WHEN THE SABBATH WAS OVER,
AND THE FIRST DAY OF THE WEEK BEGAN.

Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, the mother of James and Joses, sat too long by the tomb of their Lord, and Salome was too much engaged in another act of duty to him, to procure any spices before the sabbath commenced; but as soon as it was over on Saturday evening they joined together in purchasing their share of sweet spices, that they might be ready next morning to go and anoint his body, in concurrence with other pious women, who had on Friday evening prepared unguents for the same purpose.

SECTION III.

FIRST DAY OF THE WEEK, EASTER MORNING.

Mary Magdalene was not certain whether the body of her Lord was to continue or not in the sepulchre of Joseph, and was anxious that, wherever it was to rest, it should be treated with all imaginable respect.

When therefore, the sabbath being past¹, it began to dawn towards the first day of the week, but was yet not light, she and the other Mary set out, and taking Salome with them, went, in the first instance, to see the sepulchre, and next, when the time suited, to anoint the body.

¹ See Index of Texts; Matth. xxviii. 1.

But

Matth. xviii.

Mark xvi.

Luke.

John xx.

1. And when the sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, had bought sweet spices, that they might come and anoint him.

1. In the end of the sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary to see the sepulchre.

2. And very early in the morning, the first day of the week, they came unto the sepulchre

1. The first day of the week cometh Mary Magdalene early when it was yet dark, unto the sepulchre,

But soon after they set out, behold, there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven; and, being come down into the garden, near enough to the sepulchre to be seen by the soldiers that guarded it, advanced slowly towards it, to give them a little time to retire from before him. And he came and rolled away the stone from the door; and the Holy One of God arose, in a manner which no one of the Evangelists offers to describe.

The countenance of the angel was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow; and for fear of him they who watched did quake, and became as dead men.

That the entrance into the court of the sepulchre might not be obstructed, and the door of the tomb might be open to view, the angel rolled the stone on one side, and there sat upon it.

As soon as the consternation of the guards was a little abated, they were glad to flee from so majestic and terrifying a presence, and quitted the garden.

The sun was rising when the women drew near to the sepulchre. They then reflected on the great size of the stone that closed the tomb; and, expressing rather a wish than any immediate hope of assistance, said among themselves, Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre?

But when they were so nigh that they could see into the court, they saw that the door-way of the tomb was open; the stone being removed from its place.

Alarmed at this they stop short; and Mary Magdalene, surmising that the body was taken away, and
without

Matth. xxviii.

2. And behold, there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it.

3. His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow:

4. And for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men.

Mark xvi.

at the rising of the sun.

3. And they said among themselves, Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre?

4. (And when they looked, they saw that the stone was rolled away) for it was very great.

Luke.

John xx.

and seeth the stone taken away from the sepulchre.

without staying to inquire further, runs to inform some of the apostles; leaving her two friends to watch by the sepulchre till her return.

They after a little pause, urged by their anxiety to know more about the body, ventured into the sepulchre: but they had scarce set foot within the court of it, when they saw an angel, under the appearance of a young man clothed with a long white garment, sitting upon the stone on the right side. And they were affrighted.

But the angel encouraging them said, Fear not ye; for I know that ye seek Jesus of Nazareth, who hath been crucified; he is not here; for he is risen, as he foretold: come forward and view the place where the Lord was laid. The women showing no disposition to advance nearer to the tomb, he added, Yet in this do as I order you. Go quickly to his disciples, and tell them that he is risen from the dead, and deliver a message to them and to Peter in these words: "Behold he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him, as he said unto you." Observe that I have told you what you are to say to them.

As soon as the angel paused, the two women gladly embraced his order of going quickly. They fled out of the sepulchre with fear and great joy; but, their fear at first overpowering their joy, they were not able to tell as yet, to those whom they saw of their friends, what glorious tidings they had heard; not having courage to stop or speak. So great were their terror and amazement.

Mary Magdalene, being come to Simon Peter and to the other disciple whom Jesus loved, saith unto them, in the name of her company, They have taken
away

Matth. xxviii.	Mark xvi.	Luke.	John xx.
5. And the angel answered and said unto the women, Fear not ye: for I know that ye seek Jesus, which was crucified.	5. And entering into the sepulchre, they saw a young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment; and they were affrighted.		2. Then she runneth,
6. He is not here: for he is risen, as he said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay.	6. And he saith unto them, Be not affrighted: ye seek Jesus of Nazareth, which was crucified: he is risen; he is not here: behold the place where they laid him.		
7. And go quickly, and tell his disciples, that he is risen from the dead: And behold, he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him: lo, I have told you.	7. But go your way, tell his disciples and Peter, that he goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see him, as he said unto you.		
8. And they departed quickly from the sepulchre ¹ , with fear and great joy ² ; and did run to bring his disciples word,	8. And they went out quickly, and fled from the sepulchre; for they trembled and were amazed: neither said they any thing to any man; for they were afraid.		and cometh to Simon Peter, and to the other disciple whom Jesus loved, and saith unto them, They have taken away

¹ ² See Index of Texts.

away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him.

Peter and John, hearing this, set out with all speed for the sepulchre. At first they ran both together. But the eagerness and activity of John soon carried him before Peter, and he came first to the sepulchre. And he, stooping down and looking into the tomb, saw the linen clothes or rollers lying without the body; but did not go in. Peter arrived quickly after; and, entering the tomb without hesitation, saw the linen clothes disposed in an orderly manner, and the napkin, that had been about the head, not lying with the linen clothes, but folded up, as by one who had done it at his leisure, and placed in another part of the tomb. Then went in also that other disciple who came first to the tomb; and, when he reflected on these things, faith in the resurrection of his Lord dawned in his breast, arising purely from thoughts occasioned by the circumstances before him: for as yet they did not comprehend the meaning of the scriptures, which signify that Christ should rise from the dead.

SECTION IV.

EASTER MORNING.

The disciples then went away again unto their own home. Mary Magdalene came back to the sepulchre, following Peter and John as fast as she was able. If she found them there, or met them on their return, they had no intelligence to communicate to her that might relieve her anxiety. She therefore stood without the door of the tomb, but near
it,

Matth.

Mark.

Luke.

John xx.

the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him.

3. Peter therefore went forth, and that other disciple, and came to the sepulchre.

4. So they ran both together; and the other disciple did out-run Peter, and came first to the sepulchre.

5. And he stooping down, and looking in, saw the linen clothes lying; yet went he not in.

6. Then cometh Simon Peter following him, and went into the sepulchre, and seeth the linen clothes lie;

7. And the napkin that was about his head, not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself.

8. Then went in also that other disciple, which came first to the sepulchre, and he saw, and believed.

9. For as yet they knew not the scripture, that he must rise again from the dead.

10. Then the disciples went away again unto their own home.

11. But Mary stood without at the sepulchre,

it, weeping. And as she wept, she stooped and looked into it; and saw two angels in white, sitting, the one at the head, the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain. They said unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? She answered, Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him. Reverence obliged her to return an answer to their question; but, possessed as her mind was with the object of her grief, their appearance quickly struck her as of "Forms excelling human;" and, withdrawing her eyes from the tomb, she turned herself back, and saw Jesus standing, but knew not that it was Jesus. He saith unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? Whom seekest thou? She, supposing him to be the gardener, saith unto him, Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away. Jesus saith unto her, Mary. At this sound of his usual voice she turned herself, and saith unto him, Rabboni; which is to say, Master; and then threw herself down to embrace his feet. Jesus saith unto her, Detain me not now¹: the time of my ascension to my father is not yet: but go and say to my brethren in my name, what I spoke to them in substance when we were last together, I ascend to my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God. See John xiv. 28. xvi. 28.

SECTION V.

EASTER MORNING.

Christ having risen from the grave in the early part of the morning, on the first day of the week,

¹ See Index of Texts; John xx. 17.

showed

Matth.

Mark xvi.

Luke.

John xx.

weeping: and as she wept, she stooped down and looked into the sepulchre,

12. And seeth two angels in white, sitting, the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain.

13. And they say unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? She saith unto them, Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him.

14. And when she had thus said, she turned herself back, and saw Jesus standing, and knew not that it was Jesus.

15. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? whom seekest thou? She, supposing him to be the gardener, saith unto him, Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away.

16. Jesus saith unto her, Mary. She turned herself, and saith unto him, Rabboni; which is to say, Master.

17. Jesus saith unto her, Touch me not: for I am not yet ascended to my Father: but go to my brethren, and say

9. Now when Jesus was risen early, the first day

showed himself first to Mary Magdalene, whom he had dispossessed of seven demons.

He showed himself soon after to the other Mary and Salome. They had fled out of the sepulchre under impressions of terror at the sight of the angel. But his aspect and voice were full of benignity, and his tidings were blessed; and, as soon as they had power to make this reflection, serenity and joy gained the ascendant in their breasts. They then began to think of Mary Magdalene, who had parted from them with such sad apprehensions on both sides. Knowing that she had returned to the sepulchre, they became desirous of relating their own adventures to her, and of learning what hers had been. They therefore either waited near the gate of the garden, or went back part of the way, till they saw her hastening on that happy errand to the disciples, on which they were going; and the joyful meeting of the three dear friends was quickly crowned with greater felicity.

For, as they were going to tell the apostles what things they had heard and seen, Jesus himself met them, saying, All hail. And they came, and, as he graciously permitted them, held him by the feet, and worshipped him.

But, as their joy was not without trembling, Jesus said unto them, Be not afraid. Then repeating part of the angel's message to the apostles, with the endearing substitution of BRETHREN for DISCIPLES, he said, Go and tell my brethren that they go into Galilee; and there, as I promised them when we were last together, they shall see me.

While

Matth. xxviii.

Mark xvi.

Luke.

John xx.

of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom he had cast seven devils.

unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God.

18. Mary Magdalene came and told¹ the disciples that she had seen the Lord, and that he had spoken these things unto her.

9. And as they went to tell his disciples, behold, Jesus met them, saying, All hail. And they came and held him by the feet, and worshipped him.

10. Then said Jesus unto them, Be not afraid: go tell my brethren, that they go into Galilee, and there shall they see me.

¹ See Index of Texts.

While these three women were hastening towards the apostles, the soldiers, who had retired from the sepulchre and garden, repaired, part to their superior officers, and part into the city to the chief priests, to exculpate themselves for having abandoned their post, by a plain recital of all the things that had there happened to them.

The chief priests, having detained the soldiers, called in haste a council of the elders, in which it was determined to make no complaint nor testify any dissatisfaction at the conduct of the guard; but on the contrary to offer them a large sum of money, on condition they would spread abroad a rumour that the disciples of Jesus had come by night and taken an opportunity to steal away his body, while they were all fallen asleep. But because this was to confess themselves guilty of a capital offence, they had a further promise, that, if it should come to the ears of the governor, means would be found to pacify him and save them harmless.

The soldiers accepted the terms proposed by the council, and did as they were instructed. And the report, which they were thus hired to propagate, still passes current among the Jews.

SECTION VI.

EASTER MORNING.

But to return to the history of the faithful women. Besides the three of whom we have been speaking, there was another Galilean company; who having prepared spices on Friday evening, and rested the sabbath

Matth. xxviii.

Mark.

Luke.

John.

11. Now when they were going, behold, some of the watch came into the city, and shewed unto the chief priests all the things that were done.

12. And when they were assembled with the elders, and had taken counsel, they gave large money unto the soldiers,

13. Saying, Say ye, His disciples came by night, and stole him away while we slept.

14. And if this come to the governor's ears, we will persuade him, and secure you.

15. So they took the money, and did as they were taught: and this saying is commonly reported among the Jews until this day.

sabbath according to the commandment, were up at a very early hour on the first day of the week, in order to fulfil their pious intentions of anointing the body.

The chief of these was Joanna wife of Chuza Herod's steward. But with her and her Galilean associates there were also some women of Jerusalem; whether actuated with the same devotion towards our Lord, or engaged by the others as better versed in the practice of anointing the dead.

The delays incident to the assembling of a large company from different parts of the city, and the slowness of their progress with the spices which they carried, occasioned them, notwithstanding the vigilance of some, to come so much later to the sepulchre than the other Three, that these were out of sight before they reached it.

On their arrival they found the stone rolled away from the tomb; but expressed no such surprize at the sight as the others had done; supposing it possible that some of their acquaintance might have been before them and gotten it removed.

But when they had entered in and examined the tomb, and found not the body of the Lord Jesus, nor any of their friends near to explain the matter, then indeed they were in great perplexity and concern. When, behold, two angels, in the form of men, stood by them in shining garments.

And as they were afraid, and bowed their faces in awe and reverence to the ground, the angels said to them, Why seek ye the living among the dead? This they said as in gentle reproof of their coming to seek for Christ in the tomb at a time when he had already showed

Matth.

Mark.

Luke xxiv.

John.

1. Now, upon the first day of the week, very early in the morning, they came unto the sepulchre, bringing the spices which they had prepared, and certain others with them.

2. And they found the stone rolled away from the sepulchre.

3. And they entered in, and found not the body of the Lord Jesus.

4. And it came to pass as they were much perplexed thereabout, behold, two men stood by them in shining garments:

5. And as they were afraid, and bowed down their faces to the earth, they said unto them, Why seek ye the living among the dead?

showed or was now showing himself conqueror of the grave to some of their companions. The angels added, He is not here, but is risen: and, finding these women less alarmed than those to whom the Resurrection had been first announced, said further,

Remember how he spake unto you while he was yet in Galilee, saying, The Son of man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again.

This prediction of our Lord had been uttered a considerable time before, and was then little understood; yet the women were collected enough to remember his words, and now to comprehend their meaning.

The message to the apostles having been sent by others, and by this time delivered, or ready to be delivered, the angels spoke no more. And the women, retiring with gladness and composure from the sepulchre, reported all the particulars of their vision to the Eleven, and, as they had opportunity, to all the residue of the disciples.

It was Mary Magdalene,

and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James, and other women with them, one of whom was Salome, that told these things unto the apostles; that is, laid before them the assurances and proofs they had jointly or severally received, that Christ was risen from the dead in his crucified body.

But

Matth.

Mark xvi.

Luke xxiv.

John.

6. He is not here, but is risen.

Remember how he spake unto you, when he was yet in Galilee,

7. Saying, The son of man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again.

8. And they remembered his words,

9. And returned from the sepulchre, and told all these things unto the eleven, and to all the rest.

10. It was Mary Magdalene,

10. And she went and told them that had been with him, as they mourned and wept.

and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James, and other women that were with them, which told these things unto the apostles.

But their words seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not; but still mourned and wept for the loss of their Lord, and their hopes in him as the Redeemer of Israel thus defeated.

Yet the women all averring that angels had appeared and spoken to them in the sepulchre, it had such effect on St. Peter that he arose and ran thither a second time to see whether he could verify that part of their evidence by a sight of these angels. To this end no more was now necessary than to stoop down and look into the tomb. But the angels who had showed themselves unto the women having disappeared, he beheld only the linen clothes lying; and departed, wondering in himself at that which was come to pass, and unable to reconcile it with his own notions.

SECTION VII.

AFTERNOON AND EVENING OF THE FIRST DAY OF THE WEEK, OR OF EASTER SUNDAY.

St. Peter was the first of the men, as we infer from St. Paul and St. Luke, by whom our Lord was seen after his resurrection. No particulars are given us of this appearance; but if it preceded all others to the men, it must have been before our Lord joined the two disciples going to Emmaus. It was probably after they left Jerusalem; it being evident that they knew nothing of it till their return.

Our Lord having showed himself to an apostle, discovered himself next to two of his disciples, that
seem

Matth.

Mark xvi.

Luke xxiv.

John.

11. And they, when they had heard that he was alive, and had been seen of her, believed not.

11. And their words seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not.

12. Then arose Peter, and ran unto the sepulchre; and stooping down, he beheld the linen clothes laid by themselves, and departed, wondering in himself at that which was come to pass.

1 Cor. xv. 4, 5.

And that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the scriptures:

And that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve.

34. The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon.

seem not to have been of the Eleven. It is certain that Cleopas was not; and he only is mentioned by name, as if he were the more considerable person. To Mary Magdalene Christ seemed, at first sight, as the gardener: to these he appeared in another form, as a stranger going from the city.

They had set out from Jerusalem, disconsolate like the rest, and were walking towards Emmaus, a village at the distance of about seven miles and a half from the city.

And in going they talked together of the life and doctrine and works of Jesus, so answerable to the glory of the Messiah; of his disgraceful death so little consistent with that character; and of the strange and improbable accounts given by the women of his return to life in his former body.

While they were thus conversing and reasoning, still leaning to the desponding side, Jesus himself, as one who had also come from the city, drew near and walked with them.

But his secret influence held their eyes from discerning him; that they might more freely open their thoughts to him, and he might have the more scope for instructing them.

And he said to them, May I know the subject of the conversation, in which you are so earnest, and with which you seem so deeply affected?

And one of them, whose name was Cleopas, made answer and said, Are you alone so great a stranger in Jerusalem, as not to know the things that have lately happened there, and from which you might well imagine the occasion of our grief?

And

Matth,

Mark xvi.

Luke xxiv.

John.

12. After that, he appeared in another form unto two of them, as they walked, and went into the country.

13. And behold, two of them went that same day to a village called Emmaus, which was from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs.

14. And they talked together of all these things which had happened.

15. And it came to pass, that while they communed together, and reasoned, Jesus himself drew near, and went with them.

16. But their eyes were holden, that they should not know him.

17. And he said unto them, What manner of communications are these that ye have one to another; as ye walk and are sad?

18. And the one of them whose name was Cleopas, answering, said unto him, Art thou only a stranger in Jerusalem, and hast not known the things which are come to pass there in these days?

1 And he said unto them, What things? They answered, The things that relate to Jesus of Nazareth, who was a prophet, mighty in deed and word before God and all the people;

And that the chief priests and our rulers have notwithstanding delivered him to be condemned to death, and by the power of the governor have crucified him:

But we, who were constant witnesses of his life and miracles, were persuaded, till this sad event took place, that he was the promised Redeemer of Israel. Nor is this the only source of our perplexity and distress. To-day is the third day since these things were done:

And this day certain women of our company, who were early at the sepulchre in which his body had been laid, have astonished and confounded our minds with their reports:

For not having found his body there, they came to us telling it; and also that they had seen a vision of angels, who assured them that he was alive¹:

Upon which some of those who associate with us went to the sepulchre, and with respect to the absence of the body found it to be so as the women had said. But they met with no angels there; and Him they did not see.

Thus they seem tacitly to have allowed the whole of the women's report to have been, that they had beheld not only angels, but our Lord himself.

And whether they would have proceeded or not to mention this also, Christ, who had suffered them to

¹ See Bp. Pearce's Commentary on the place. show

Matth.

Mark.

Luke xxiv.

John.

19. And he said unto them. What things? And they said unto him, Concerning Jesus of Nazareth, which was a prophet mighty in deed and word, before God, and all the people:

20. And how the chief priests and our rulers delivered him to be condemned to death, and have crucified him.

21. But we trusted that it had been he, which should have redeemed Israel. And beside all this, to-day is the third day since these things were done.

22. Yea, and certain women also of our company made us astonished, which were early at the sepulchre:

23. And when they found not his body, they came, saying, that they had also seen a vision of angels, which said that he was alive.

24. And certain of them which were with us, went to the sepulchre, and found it even so as the women had said: but him they saw not.

show their unbelief, but did not need their information, then interposed,

And said, O inconsiderate, and slow of heart to believe what the prophets, in various times and manners, have spoken on this subject!

Was it not necessary for the fulfilling of the counsel of God, declared in their prophecies, that Christ should have suffered these things, and through sufferings should enter into his glory?

And, taking occasion from the question he had proposed, he explained to them, from Moses and all the succeeding prophets, the scriptures in which he himself is predicted and foreshown.

During this conversation they drew near to the place at Enimaus to which they were going: and there being an appearance in his gesture as if he would there take leave of them and go on, they pressed him to abide with them that night; observing that it was hastening towards sun-set, and but little of the day remained.

And he yielded to them, and turned in with them, to their destined place of abode.

In this house a repast being prepared for them, our Lord acting as the master of the family, and according to his usual manner while he lived among them, took bread, and having pronounced a benediction on it brake and gave it to them.

At that instant the veil was removed from their eyes; and they saw clearly, that the stranger who had been instructing them, and whom they had hospitably entertained, was no other than Christ himself. But he, not staying then to receive the effusions of
their

Matth.

Mark.

Luke xxiv.

John.

25. Then he said unto them, O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken!

26. Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory?

27. And beginning at Moses, and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself.

28. And they drew nigh unto the village, whither they went: and he made as though he would have gone further.

29. But they constrained him, saying, Abide with us: for it is toward evening, and the day is far spent. And he went in to tarry with them.

30. And it came to pass, as he sat at meat with them, he took bread, and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them.

31. And their eyes were opened, and they knew him; and he vanished out of their sight.

their joy and veneration, withdrew himself immediately from their sight.

And they said one to another, How strange is it that we should not make this discovery sooner? For did we not feel ourselves affected with a certain heavenly delight, and did not our hearts burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the scriptures?

Let us hasten to comfort our friends, and make them sharers in our joy. And they rose up the same hour and returned to Jerusalem.

On their arrival, when it was now night, they found the apostles and some of their friends with them, met together in a private manner for fear of the Jews, and for the same reason with the doors bolted :

Among whom they had no sooner gained admittance, than they were saluted with this voice of the company : The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon Peter.

After this joyful salutation they began to relate the things which had happened to themselves in going to Emmaus ; and that he became known to them in the act of breaking bread.

While they were giving this account, the doors opening and closing again spontaneously, Jesus himself came and stood in the midst of them, and said to them, Peace be unto you.

But they who had not seen him till then, persuaded as they thought themselves of the truth of his resurrection, were surprised into their former doubts ; and, supposing that they saw a spirit, were terrified and affrighted.

He

Matth.

Mark.

Luke xxiv.

John xx.

32. And they said one to another, Did not our heart burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the scriptures?

33. And they rose up the same hour, and returned to Jerusalem, and found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them,

34. Saying, The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon.

35. And they told what things were done in the way, and how he was known of them in breaking of bread.

36. And as they thus spake, Jesus himself stood in the midst of them, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you.

37. But they were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they had seen a spirit.

19. Then the same day at evening, being the first day of the week, when the doors were shut where the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews,

came Jesus and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you.

He with a gracious look and voice said to them, Why are ye so troubled at the sight of me ; and why do vain apprehensions arise in your hearts ?

Behold my hands and my feet, and be satisfied that it is I myself. Handle me, and be convinced that a true substantial body is before you ; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.

Having said this, he showed them his hands and feet, through which the nails had gone, and his side pierced with the spear.

But while their exultation, at beholding him restored to them from the grave, was such that they doubted of its reality, to give further proof of his bodily presence he said, Have you here any meat ?

And they gave him a piece of a broiled fish and of a honeycomb.

And he took it and did eat before them.

Then was the joy of the disciples complete, when they were thus satisfied that they beheld the Lord himself.

Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you. As my Father hath sent me, so send I you.

And, not to take leave of them without tokens of his sanctifying influence, and some view of the authority with which he even now invested them, having said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost.

Whose soever sins ye remit in my name, they are remitted unto them ; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.

Matth.

Mark.

Luke xxiv.

John xx.

38. And he said unto them, Why are ye troubled? and why do thoughts arise in your hearts?

39. Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself. Handle me, and see: for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.

40. And when he had thus spoken, he shewed them his hands and his feet.

41. And while they yet believed not for joy, and wondered he said unto them, Have ye here any meat?

42. And they gave him a piece of a broiled fish, and of an honeycomb.

43. And he took it, and did eat before them.

20. And when he had so said, he shewed unto them his hands and his side:

Then were the disciples glad, when they saw the Lord.

21. Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you. As my father hath sent me, even so send I you.

22. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost:

23. Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.

SECTION VIII.

THE DAYS BETWEEN THE FIRST DAY OF THIS
WEEK AND THE FIRST OF THE SUBSEQUENT,

OR

BETWEEN EASTER-DAY AND THE SUNDAY
FOLLOWING.

This memorable day being over, Cleopas and his companion were not remiss on the next and succeeding days to inform the residue in what manner they had seen the Lord, and how long he had conversed with them. Nor were the others, who with them had seen him on the evening of his resurrection, less zealous to maintain the certainty of it among their friends. But their success was not altogether such as they had reason to expect. There were who continued in their incredulity; and among them an apostle.

Thomas, called Didymus, one of the Twelve, was not with them when our Lord appeared among them.

They therefore, and the others who were present on that occasion, assured him with one voice that they had undoubtedly seen the Lord. But he insisting positively that they could have seen only a spirit, which they must have mistaken for a real body, replied further in these terms, Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I shall not believe.

SEC-

Matth.

Mark xvi.

Luke.

John xx.

13. And they
went and told it
unto the residue :

neither believed
they them.

24. But Tho-
mas, one of the
twelve, called Di-
dymus, was not
with them when
Jesus came.

25. The other
disciples therefore
said unto him,
We have seen the
Lord. But he said
unto them, Ex-
cept I shall see in
his hands the print
of the nails, and
put my finger in-
to the print of
the nails, and
thrust my hand
into his side, I
will not believe.

SECTION IX.

THE FIRST DAY OF THE FIRST WEEK AFTER
THE RESURRECTION.

Our Lord seems to have left his disciples, both those who had and those who had not seen him, to their own reflections and converse with each other for six days.

But after that time he vouchsafed them another visit.

On the octave of his resurrection his apostles, Thomas being then with them, and other disciples, were again assembled with the same precaution of fastening the doors; when Jesus came and stood in the midst, as they sat at meat, and with his former salutation said, Peace be unto you.

Then directing his speech to Thomas, and showing that he was well acquainted with his incredulity and mode of expressing it, he said to him, Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side: and be not faithless, but believing.

Thomas staid not probably to make the offered scrutiny. He felt conviction: and with warmth of devotion answered, My Lord, and my God; "I am abundantly convinced: Thou art indeed my Lord, the very same that was crucified; and I acknowledge thy almighty power in having triumphed over death, and adore thee as my God¹."

¹ Dr. Clarke's Paraphrase on the place.

Matth.

Mark xvi.

Luke.

John xx.

14. Afterward
he appeared unto
the eleven,

as they sat at
meat,

26. And after
eight days, again
his disciples were
within, and Tho-
mas with them.
Then came Jesus,
the doors being
shut, and stood
in the midst, and
said, Peace be un-
to you.

27. Then saith
he to Thomas,
Reach hither thy
finger, and behold
my hands; and
reach hither thy
hand, and thrust
it into my side:
and be not faith-
less, but believ-
ing.

28. And Tho-
mas answered and
said unto him,
My Lord and my
God.

Jesus saith unto him, in words that touched the rest of the incredulous, Thomas, because thou hast seen me thou hast believed: blessed are those of my disciples, who, not having seen me themselves, have believed on the testimony of faithful witnesses.

Thus did our Lord mildly upbraid them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them who had seen him after he was risen.

SECTION X.

THE APPEARANCE OF CHRIST IN GALILEE, PROMISED BEFORE HIS DEATH, AND ON THE MORNING OF HIS RESURRECTION.

Christ had not yet showed himself to all his disciples: and they who had not had this happiness were to be blessed with the sight of him: for which purpose a time and place were appointed where they might assemble without fear of the rulers at Jerusalem, and behold him with greater advantage.

Then the eleven apostles left the city and went into Galilee, to a certain mountain, where Jesus, probably at his late interview with them, had appointed to meet them and those who were worthy to have notice of the appointment, whether inhabitants of Judea or Galilee.

And when they beheld him, first at some distance, all felt awe at his appearance, and bowing down worshipped him. But there were some of the company who, not having seen him till then since his resurrection, had their doubts of his bodily presence.

For

Matth. xxviii.

Mark xvi.

Luke.

John xx.

and upbraided them with their unbelief, and hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen him after he was risen.

29. Jesus saith unto him, Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.

16. Then the eleven disciples went away into Galilee, into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them.

17. And when they saw him, they worshipped him: but some doubted.

For their entire satisfaction he came near¹ and conversed with them. And that they might be excited to trust in him, no more under the dominion of death, but ever living to protect and reward his faithful; and yet might not be instigated by zeal or ambition, as they still expected the restitution of the kingdom to Israel, to act in his cause of their own accord, but might repose themselves on him to order all things in due time and manner; he declared to them the plenitude of his power and authority, saying

All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.

SECTION XI.

THE DISCIPLES STILL IN GALILEE.

After these things, and when our Lord had now appeared to one or more or the whole body of his disciples, he was pleased to show himself to a certain number of them at the sea of Tiberias, which the other evangelists call the sea or lake of Galilee. And that he might at the same time signify his care and providence over them, and the success with which he would crown their future ministry pursued as he directed, he showed himself to them with these circumstances :

The rest of the disciples having retired for a while to their several homes, there were still together Simon Peter, and Thomas called Didymus, and

¹ See Index of Texts; Matth. xxviii. 18.

Nathanael

Matth. xxviii.	Mark.	Luke.	John xxi.
<p>18. And Jesus came, and spake unto them,</p>			
<p>saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.</p>			
			<p>1. After these things Jesus shewed himself again to the disciples at the sea of Tiberias; and on this wise shewed he himself:</p>
			<p>2. There were together Simon Peter, and Thomas called Didymus, and</p>

Nathanael of Cana in Galilee, and the sons of Zebedee, James and John, and two other of the disciples.

Simon Peter says to these, I will go a fishing. They answer him, We will go with thee; and immediately they all set out and went aboard a small vessel; but caught nothing during the whole night.

And at the very first dawn of day, Jesus stood on the shore opposite to their vessel; the disciples not discerning who he was; and calling to them, said, Young men, have you any thing eatable on board? Their answer was, No.

He saith to them, Throw the net on the right side of the vessel, and there ye will have better success. They cast therefore, and such was the difference between this and their former attempts, that now they were not able to draw up the net for the multitude of fishes inclosed in it.

The disciple whom Jesus loved, struck with this unexpected success, and calling to mind what he had seen once before, Luke v. 4—6. says to Peter, It is undoubtedly the Lord, whose directions we have been following. Simon Peter, satisfied of the truth of this remark, made haste to gird about him his fisher's coat, that he might present himself to his Lord in the most decent dress that his situation allowed; and casting himself into the sea swam to land. The other disciples came in the vessel which was then about a hundred yards from the shore, dragging the net after them with the fishes in it.

When they were landed, they saw on the shore a fire of coals, and fish lying on the coals, and bread ready provided.

Jesus

Matth.

Mark.

Luke.

John xxi.

Nathanael of Cana in Galilee, and the sons of Zebedee, and two other of his disciples.

3. Simon Peter saith unto them, I go a fishing. They say unto him, We also go with thee. They went forth, and entered into a ship immediately; and that night they caught nothing.

4. But when the morning was now come, Jesus stood on the shore: but the disciples knew not that it was Jesus.

5. Then Jesus saith unto them, Children, have ye any meat? They answered him, No.

6. And he said unto them, Cast the net on the right side of the ship, and ye shall find. They cast therefore, and now they were not able to draw it for the multitude of fishes.

7. Therefore that disciple whom Jesus loved saith unto Peter, It is the Lord. Now when Simon Peter heard that it was the Lord, he girt his fisher's coat unto him (for he was naked) and did cast himself into the sea.

8. And the other disciples came in a little ship (for they were not far from land, but as it were two hundred cubits) dragging the net with fishes.

9. As soon then as they were come to land, they saw a fire of coals there, and fish laid thereon, and bread.

Jesus calls to them, Bring some of the fish that ye have taken. Now Simon Peter had returned on board the vessel; and with his assistance the net being drawn on shore was found to contain a hundred fifty and three large fishes: yet notwithstanding their number and weight it did not break.

Jesus saith unto them, Come and take your morning refreshment; and with this encouragement they drew nearer to the fire of coals, while he was standing opposite, at a little distance from it. If it were now light enough to distinguish his features, yet reverence forbade them to raise their eyes to look on him, or to ask who he was, well assured that he was no other than the Lord. Jesus therefore cometh up to them, as they were standing at the fire of coals, and taking of the bread and fish distributes them to the company in his usual manner.

This is now a third time that Jesus showed himself to his disciples after that he was risen from the dead; not absolutely the third time, but the third recorded in this Gospel.

Their repast being ended, Jesus says to Peter standing by him at a little distance from the company, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these love me? Peter modestly answers, Certainly, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my lambs. Repeating the question, he says, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? Peter returns the same modest answer, Certainly, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my sheep. Jesus says to him the third time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?
Peter,

Matth.

Mark.

Luke.

John xxi.

10. Jesus saith unto them, Bring of the fish which ye have now caught.

11. Simon Peter went up, and drew the net to land full of great fishes, an hundred and fifty and three: and for all there were so many: yet was not the net broken.

12. Jesus saith unto them, Come and dine. And none of the disciples durst ask him, Who art thou? knowing that it was the Lord.

13. Jesus then cometh, and taketh bread, and giveth them, and fish likewise.

14. This is now the third time that Jesus shewed himself to his disciples, after that he was risen from the dead.

15. So when they had dined, Jesus saith to Simon Peter, Simon son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord: thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my lambs.

16. He saith to him again the second time, Simon son of Jonas, lovest thou me? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord: thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my sheep.

17. He saith unto him the third time, Simon son of Jonas, lovest thou me?

Peter, grieved at the remembrance of his late denials, to which he supposed the same question thrice put to him alluded, yet conscious of the sincerity of his heart, answered, Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee. Jesus saith unto him, Feed my sheep.

Our Lord having thus impressed upon the mind of St. Peter, that love of him was to be shown to him in the members of his mystical body, and by care and watchfulness over his flock, then prepares him to expect and “endure hardship as a faithful soldier of Jesus Christ;” and says, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, when thou wast young, thou girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldest: but when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not. This he said foresignifying by what kind of death his faithful apostle should glorify God: and having thus spoken he said to him, Follow me.

Peter, who was hereafter to follow his Lord to a death upon the cross, now followed his steps, observing him to move on a little. But turning about he saw the disciple also following whom Jesus loved; who also had leaned on his breast at the late paschal supper, and had said, Lord, who is he that betrayeth thee? Peter seeing him follow said to Jesus, Lord, and how shall this man close his life? Jesus answered, If it is my will that he continue on earth till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me.

This saying gave rise to an opinion that prevailed among the brethren, that that disciple should not taste death, but, with those who shall be found
alive

Matth.

Mark.

Luke.

John xxi.

Peter was grieved, because he said unto him the third time, Lovest thou me? And he said unto him, Lord, thou knowest all things: thou knowest that I love thee. Jesus saith unto him, Feed my sheep.

18. Verily, verily, I say unto thee, When thou wast young, thou girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldest: but when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not.

19. This spake he, signifying by what death he should glorify God. And when he had spoken this, he saith unto him, Follow me.

20. Then Peter turning about seeth the disciple whom Jesus loved following; (which also leaned on his breast at supper, and said, Lord, which is he that betrayeth thee?)

21. Peter seeing him saith to Jesus, Lord, and what shall this man do?

22. Jesus saith unto him, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me.

23. Then went this saying abroad among the brethren, that that disciple should not die:

alive at the coming of Christ, be changed. But this was grounded on a misapprehension of the words of Christ; for neither did he say, that he meant his last coming, to judgement; nor, whatever advent he had in view, did he promise that St. John should survive to behold it: he only said, If it is my will that he continue on earth till I come, what is that to thee?

This is the disciple who having had the strongest proofs, that the evidence of his senses and the demonstration of the Spirit may yield, concerning the Word of God that was made flesh and dwelt among us, and having borne testimony to this Word through a course of various trials in a long life, hath now committed these things to writing: and the church of God is assured that his testimony, and that which he has written of these things attested by him, are true.

SECTION XII.

INSTRUCTIONS OF CHRIST TO HIS DISCIPLES
AFTER THEIR RETURN TO JERUSALEM;
AND HIS ASCENSION.

Our Lord said to his disciples, The things that ye have seen accomplished in me are the very things, which, as I taught you while I was yet with you, were of necessity to come to pass, in order to fulfil all that my Father had preordained and caused to be written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning me.

At

Matth.

Mark.

Luke xxiv.

John xxi.

yet Jesus said not unto him, He shall not die: but, if I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?

24. This is the disciple which testifieth of these things, and wrote these things: and we know that his testimony is true.

44. And he said unto them, These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning me.

At the same time he opened and enlightened their minds by the concurring influence of his Holy Spirit, that they might understand the scriptures which he was expounding to them.

And he said, Thus, as you see, it hath been written by appointment of Heaven; and therefore thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day:

And that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem:

And ye are my chosen witnesses of these things; of my doctrine, precepts, and works; of my sufferings, resurrection, and exaltation.

Go ye therefore; and, having first preached the Gospel to the house of Israel, proclaim it throughout the world, and teach it to every nation and person that will hear it;

Instructing them to turn from their idols and vanities to the true God; and baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;

Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you to believe and do. He that believeth with a true faith, Jew or Gentile, shall be saved: but he that rejecteth the Gospel shall be condemned:

And behold, I shortly send upon you the gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit promised by the Father in the Beloved.

And these signs of his presence shall accompany my faithful: In my name they shall cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues;

They

Matth. xxviii.	Mark xvi.	Luke xxiv.	John.
19. Go ye therefore and teach all nations,	15. And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.	<p>45. Then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the scriptures,</p> <p>46. And said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day :</p> <p>47. And that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.</p> <p>48. And ye are witnesses of these things.</p>	
baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ;			
20. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you :	16. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved ; but he that believeth not shall be damned.		
	17. And these signs shall follow them that believe ; In my name shall they cast out devils ; they shall speak with new tongues ;	49. And behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you :	

They shall take up serpents; and, if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover :

But go not again from Jerusalem, till ye shall be endued from on high with this power to fulfil your mission :

And if the extraordinary gifts and graces that will be bestowed upon you, having answered their purpose, shall cease, yet my care over my faithful, and my blessing upon them, shall never fail. Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. Amen.

Christ, having conversed with his disciples from time to time for forty days, during which he spoke to them of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God, Acts i. 3.

At the end of those days assembled them together: and led them out to that part of mount Olivet, which is in the district of Bethany; and there lifted up his hands and blessed them.

And, while he was blessing them, he was parted from them; and, a cloud receiving him out of their sight, he was carried up into heaven; and sat on the right hand of God.

Upon which, having paid their adoration to him, they returned to Jerusalem with great joy :

And there, according to his late injunction, humbly waiting for the promise of the Father, and the baptism of the Holy Spirit, they employed their time in frequenting the temple, and in praising and blessing God.

But

Matth. xxviii.	Mark xvi.	Luke xxiv.	John.
And lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen.	18. They shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.	but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high.	
	19. So then, after the Lord had spoken unto them,	50. And he led them out as far as to Bethany, and he lifted up his hands, and blessed them.	
	he was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God.	51. And it came to pass, while he blessed them, he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven.	
		52. And they worshipped him, and returned to Jerusalem with great joy:	
		53. And were continually in the temple, praising and blessing God. Amen.	

But, having received power by the Holy Spirit coming upon them, in due time they went forth, and preached Christ unto the uttermost parts of the earth; the Lord working with them, and confirming the word, which he enabled and emboldened them to declare, by signs following. Amen.

The Lord Jesus did many miracles in the presence of his disciples, and after his passion showed himself alive to them by many infallible proofs, that are not recorded in the book of the Gospels. But out of his innumerable works, an accurate detail of which would oppress the minds of readers in general, these have been selected and written by eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, that on sure grounds ye might believe that Jesus is the promised Messiah, the Son of God in such a sense as no created being can be; and that believing in him as the one Mediator between God and man ye might have life through his name.

Matth.

Mark xvi.

Luke.

John xx.

20. And they went forth and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following. Amen.

30. And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book:

31. But these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through his name.

xxi.

25. And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written. Amen.



OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

TWELVE PRECEDING SECTIONS.

OBSERVATIONS

ON

SECTION I.

AND

THE TRANSACTIONS OF FRIDAY EVENING.

THE women named in this part of the Gospels, besides the Virgin Mother of our Lord, are these :

Mary Magdalene, whose name occurs in all the Gospels, and except John xix. 25. is constantly mentioned first :

Mary the mother of James the less and Joses, supposed to be Mary the wife of Cleopas, the sister of our Lord's mother, John xix. 25. and, if so, the Evangelists all speak of her :

Salome, the mother of Zebedee's children ; compare Matth. xxvii. 56. with Mark xv. 40. St. Mark only has given us her name :

Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, mentioned by St. Luke only, viii. 3. and xxiv. 10.

The

The blessed Virgin Mother of Christ having been recommended by him, while she stood by his cross, to the protection of St. John, the mother of this his beloved disciple seems pointed out by that recommendation as the proper person to attend and support her in the extremity of her grief, and to be with her at his abode, when he had conducted her thither : and it is further probable that Salome bore this part in the melancholy offices of that evening, because St. Matthew mentions only the two Mariés, with whom she is usually joined, as sitting over against the tomb after the interment : St. Mark also mentions only these two on that occasion : whence we presume that she was not with them when they followed the body to the sepulchre. The readiness and zeal which she showed, in acting with them in every instance of paying honour to their Lord, may assure us that she would not have deserted them in this, unless she had been equally engaged in testifying her duty to him by attending his disconsolate mother ; who, according to Mons. Toinard and other able harmonists, was led away from the cross just as the darkness began at the sixth hour, or noon.

St. Matthew and St. Mark say that Joseph of Arimathea went to Pilate to beg the body of Jesus “ when the even was come ¹,” probably very soon after our Lord expired on the cross ; which was about three in the afternoon. A Jewish evening was reckoned from about that time, and lasted a considerable while after the sun was down. The term by which an evening of such extent is expressed by three of the Evangelists is Opsia. In St. Luke it does not occur. He describes the earlier part of their evening by some periphrasis, and the division of it that

¹ Mat th. xxvii. 57. Mark xv. 42.

began at sun-set by its proper name among the Greeks, *Hespera* ¹.

“The words of St. Luke concerning Joseph of Arimathea, ‘The same had not consented to the counsel and deed of them²,’ leave no doubt in my mind that he was a member of the great Sanhedrim; and I think the same thing is intimated in the title given him by St. Mark of an ‘honourable counsellor’.”

Jo. Christopher Wolfius on Mark xv. 43.

When Joseph had begged the body of Jesus, he took it down from the cross, and wrapped it in a fine linen cloth, which St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, call in the original *Sindon*: Matth. xxvii. 59. Mark xv. 46. Luke xxiii. 53. It was a fine loose vestment; a different thing from the linen which St. John terms *Othonia* ³. St. Augustin dwells particularly on the difference between them ⁴. As the soldiers had stript our Lord of his raiment, and crucified him naked, except about the waist, his body was received from the cross into the *Sindon*. But the *Othonia* were bandages or rollers, in which it was wound when it was laid in the sepulchre; where the *Sindon*, unless it was converted into them, seems not to have been left. St. John mentions no more than the “linen clothes,” the *Othonia*, and “the night-cap that had been about his head,” as lying in the tomb, when he and St. Peter examined it, John xx. 5, 6, 7.

¹ Index of Texts; Luke xxiv. 29.

² xxiii. 51.

³ Professor Ward's Dissertations on the Sacred Scriptures, Vol. I. Dissert. xxxv. p. 145.

⁴ Consent of the Evangelists, B.iii.

The form of the sepulchre merits our consideration; without a general idea of which, the things that are related of the women at it, and the appearances of the angels to them, cannot be distinctly understood.

The Rabbins prescribe that a Hebrew sepulchre should have a court before it, through which you are to pass to the door that leads into the cave or proper place of sepulture. They direct the court to be made six cubits, or nine feet square ¹.

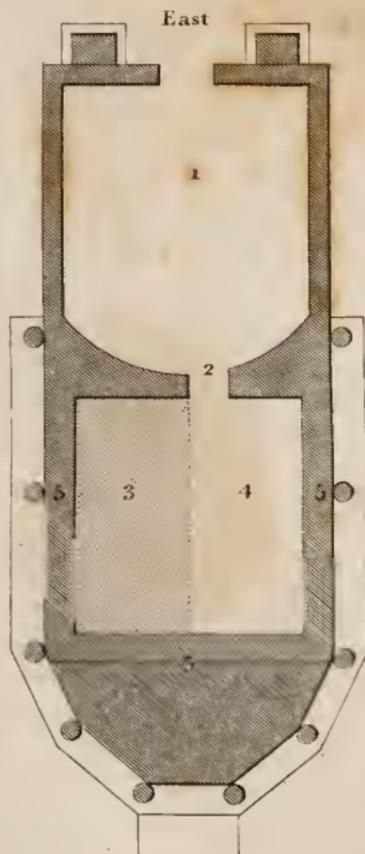
There is an area or portico of the prescribed dimensions before that which is now called the holy sepulchre ²; and which seems not ill intitled to the name which it has long borne. For though in the reign of the emperor Adrian the sepulchre of Christ was buried under a vast mount of earth, and on this mount was set up an object of pagan worship in despite to the Christians; yet the place was pointed out to them by these very signs of idolatry standing over it: and when this mountain of earth, with all that had been erected over it, was, about two centuries after, cleared away by order of Constantine the great, then, as Eusebius expresses it, "the cave, the holy of holies, obtained a similitude of our Saviour's resurrection ³:" which words allude not only to the burial and resurrection of the blessed body that had lain in this sepulchre, but also to the form of the Jewish sanctuary. For the title of holy of holies given to the cave imports, that it had a holy place before it, and was divided in two, like the sanctuary. It is therefore an indirect testimony of Eusebius, a native of Palestine where he lived many years, concerning the platform of our Lord's sepulchre.

¹ Nicolai de Sepulehris Hebraeorum, Lib. iii. cap. xi. p. 178.

² Sandys' Travels, p. 129.

³ See Index of Persons, &c.

*Plan of the
Holy Sepulchre,
According to
Cotovius & Sandys.*



- 1 *The Area, or Portico, Six Cubits, or nine feet in the Square part.*
- 2 *Door way into the Cave, or Tomb, three feet high from the floor by two wide.*
- 3 *North side of the Tomb, where the body of Christ is supposed to have lien. over which space is a Table, by way of Altar, that goes the whole length of the Tomb, and occupies rather more than half its breadth. The Tomb is about eight feet long, and seven wide.*
- 4 *The other part of the Tomb, where three or four may stand or kneel.*
- 5 *The Rock, cased with Marble, within and without; and adorned with ten pillars without.*



A magnificent temple was then built over it ; and much of the rock without was cut away, to make room for decorations around : as is related by Cyril of Jerusalem¹, who had been deacon under Macarius ; in the time of whose episcopate the decorations were made. The inside of the cave is cased with marble : and a marble table is placed over the part where the body of Christ is supposed to have lain. The table, raised about three feet from the ground, extends the whole length of the cave, and takes up full half of its breadth². It is now used as an altar ; and its width would make it necessary to protect one end of it, by contracting the side of the doorway, upon which it abutted. This entrance seems to have been originally a square aperture of three feet, and in the middle of the division between the cave and portico. It is now but two feet wide, and nearer to one side than the other. Possibly this also was done while Macarius was bishop.

Since that time the city of Jerusalem and the temple of the holy sepulchre have undergone various fates. “ Yet notwithstanding these changes and revolutions, it is highly probable that a faithful tradition has always been preserved of the several places, that were consecrated as it were by some remarkable transaction relating to our Saviour and his apostles³.” And if the sepulchre of Christ was found in the days of Constantine, no local memorial of him seems to have had a fairer chance of not being lost ever since. The temple built over it may have been laid in ruins : but the sepulchre had still its signatures, by which it might be discovered within the compass of those ruins.

¹ See Index of Persons, &c.

² Sandys' Travels, p. 130.

³ Dr. Shaw's Travels, p. 334.

We have read what Eusebius intimates concerning our Lord's sepulchre: let us now examine the form of it by the Evangelists. St. Matthew tells us that the angel "rolled back the stone from the door and sat upon it¹;" St. Mark, that the women saw this angel, or "young man clothed in a long white garment²," sitting on the right side. But they did not perceive him till they were entered into the sepulchre. He had therefore not rolled the stone out of it, but to one side of it: yet he had rolled it from the door. The door therefore was in a partition that divided the sepulchre in two; and the whole of the inward division was not visible to those who stood in the outer. The angel said to the women, "Come, see the place where the Lord lay³." They were therefore standing where they did not command a sight of that place: yet they were within the sepulchre; for as soon as he had finished his speech to them, "They went out quickly and fled from the sepulchre⁴." So St. Mark says; and so also St. Matthew, rightly understood. For his words, "They departed quickly from the sepulchre⁵," mean evidently, They departed quickly out of the sepulchre; as the same mode of expression is translated in other passages.

Thus the real, as the reputed, sepulchre consisted of a place of sepulture, and an inclosed court or area: as did often the sepulchres of the Greeks⁶.

The Sepulchre is called in the original *Mnema* or *Mnemeion* by all the Evangelists. But St. Matthew has besides another word on this occasion, in the

¹ xxviii. 2.

² xvi. 5.

³ Matth. xxviii. 6.

⁴ Mark xvi. 8.

⁵ Matth. xxviii. 8. See Index of Texts.

⁶ See under Sepulchre in Potter.

Greek Taphos. And his use of this word carries such marks of discrimination; and he is so little apt to deal in a variety of terms, when one will precisely answer his intent; that it may justly be concluded he here employs two, because one of them does sometimes express his meaning more exactly than the other, and that they are distinct in his acceptation of them, as much as with us a church and its chancel. What was in the Taphos was within the Mnemeion: but what was in the Mnemeion was not therefore within the Taphos. The Jewish rulers, who would take what they judged the most certain measures to retain the body of Christ in their possession, requested a guard for the Taphos¹. The Taphos they secured by sealing the stone². The two Marias sat over against the Taphos on Friday evening³. The women went to visit the Taphos, as the great object of their care, early on Sunday morning⁴. In this therefore the body had been laid. But because they had not been in it when they saw the angel, and as soon as he had done speaking to them fled away, they are said to have “departed quickly out of the Mnemeion⁵.” Now if the two words are of different application in St. Matthew, it is plain there was a difference in the places to which they are applied. And this may be added to the proofs that the sepulchre was divided into two parts; of which the outer and inner were not made for the same purpose. Agreeable to this is St. Augustin’s account of this sepulchre, as will be seen in the sequel. And in the same manner are the form of the sepulchre, and the place of the angel sitting upon the stone, represented by Dr. Whitby in his Notes on Mark xvi. in answer to Objection the second.

¹ Matth. xxvii. 64.² Ib. 66.³ Ib. 61.⁴ xxviii. 1.⁵ Ib. 8.

In depositing the body of our Lord, Joseph of Arimathea was attended by Nicodemus; who, notwithstanding the scandal of the cross, still considered Jesus as a prophet come from God; and, being desirous of testifying a high reverence for him, brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes to the sepulchre, about an hundred pound weight. These seem to have been dry spices¹; with which, or rather with a part of which, they wound the body in the linen rollers.

The antient usage of the Jews, at grand funerals, was to lay the corpse in a bed filled with sweet odours and spices; 2 Chron. xvi. 14. which, or a part of which, were burned when it was buried; Ib. and xxi. 19. and Jeremiah xxxiv. 5. The same custom seems to have continued among them in the days of our Saviour. At the funeral of Aristobulus the young high priest a great quantity of spices was provided by Herod the great². And when his own body was carried forth to the sepulchre, in the close of a pompous procession followed five hundred of his domestics bearing spices³. As his body was already prepared and adorned for burial, his son Archelaus must have designed the spices either to be deposited in the vault, or burned at the interment, or for both uses.

“ If we may believe what the Jews say in Juchasin, when Gamaliel (at whose feet St. Paul sat) the son of Simeon, the grand child of Hillel, was buried, Onkelos burnt seventy pounds of frankincense upon his sepulchre.” Patrick on 2 Chron. xvi. 14. The bishop gives no credit to the story. But, whether true or not, it shows the opinion of the

¹ See Index of Texts; John xix. 39.

² Josephus, Antiquities, B. xv. C. iii. § 4.

³ Ib. Jewish War, B. i. C. xxxiii. § 9.

Jews who related it, that the custom of burning spices at funerals continued among them in the age of Gamaliel, and was not confined to royal personages.

Whatever was the use of the myrrh and aloes which Nicodemus brought, they could not be designed for the anointing of the body. The Galilean women who "followed after, and beheld the sepulchre and how his body was laid," must certainly have known what had been done, and yet were extremely solicitous to prepare unguents and spices, that they might go and anoint him.

By the peculiar disposition of Heaven our Lord suffered on a day succeeded immediately by the Jewish sabbath, and in a place where an honourable disciple of his had a sepulchre near, so lately hewn in the rock, that no one had ever been laid in it. These things decided at once where the body should be deposited, when leave to dispose of it had been obtained by Joseph. His own new sepulchre was nigh at hand. Had it been at a distance, the case would have been altered. The followers of our Lord would have been inclined to carry his body first to the house of some friend; where, they would naturally suppose, they could perform the ceremonies previous to interment with more honourable tokens of respect. But while they had been studying to complete them with order and decorum, the sabbath would have come on: and then wherever the body was, it must have remained till that day of rest was over, and the third was begun, on which he was to rise from the dead. A providential concurrence of circumstances compelled them to take it directly from the cross to a place that best suited the great event of

the third day : and where in the mean while the Jewish rulers had access to it, and before the beginning of that day set a guard upon it, as a testimony against themselves.

Again : What was requisite to fulfil the scripture, "With the rich man was his tomb¹," was ordained to be done, and no more. The concluding ceremonies not needful, and, though piously intended, perhaps improper in this high and singular instance, were prevented by the intervening of the sabbath.

It is plain that the obsequies were considered as unfinished, not only from the zeal of the women to procure spices, but from the words of St. John literally translated : "Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to prepare and adorn for burial," xix. 40. The Jews are the Jews of rank and opulence²; and the word, which we render to bury, has the same meaning here, as where it occurs again in the original, Matth. xxvi. 12. "For in that she hath poured this ointment on my body, she did it for my burial;" that is, she hath done it to prepare and adorn my body for burial³.

The incompleteness of the funeral solemnities was an incitement to some of the devout women to set out so very soon on the first day of the week "to see the tomb." When it could be opened, and their friends were assembled, they were provided to join in anointing the body. But their first object was to

¹ Bishop Lowth's Translation of Isaiah liii. 9.

² See Grotius on John vii. 11. See Index of Texts; John xix. 40.

³ See Index of Texts; John xix. 40.

be early on the spot ; and to see and be satisfied, that whatever was done should be done in a manner answerable to their pious and affectionate reverence for their Lord.

By thus hastening to the sepulchre they became quickly acquainted with the angel's glad tidings : which was a blessing to themselves, and an advantage to the disciples. For though they treated the words of the women " as idle tales," yet the intelligence had an effect upon their minds, Luke xxiv. 22. and when the proof was brought home to them by our Lord's appearance to them the same day, they were prepared to see him with less surprize and perturbation, and therefore to be more clearly convinced of the reality of his resurrection.

But to return to Friday evening. The Galilean women who had attended the body of our Lord to the sepulchre, and seen how it was laid, then went back to the city to prepare spices and ointments before the commencement of the sabbath, that they might be ready for use on the morning after it. To prepare these spices was probably little more than to purchase them, according to a remark of Dr. Lardner¹ : for in so populous a city as Jerusalem, where there was a constant and often a sudden demand for them, they would be sold ready compounded. Short therefore as the time was before the sabbath began, it would be sufficient for this purpose. And that the women did so employ it is manifest from St. Luke, whose words literally translated run thus :

¹ Lardner's Observations on Dr. Macknight's Harmony of the four Gospels, so far as it relates to the History of our Saviour's Resurrection. Lond. 1764. 4to. p. 19.

And

And women also which came with him from Galilee followed after, and beheld the sepulchre and how his body was laid; and, being returned, prepared spices and ointments. And they rested indeed the sabbath day according to the commandment, but on the first day of the week, very early in the morning, they went unto the sepulchre, carrying the spices which they had prepared.

Luke xxiii. 55, 56. xxiv. 1.

On which words Grotius observes, that nothing can be clearer than it is from Luke, that the spices were purchased by these women on the evening before the sabbath, and not after it.

But this, which is so clear of the Galilean women in general, is to be understood with an exception of three of them; Salome, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James. It is probable, as hath been shown, that Salome was not in the procession to the sepulchre; and it is no less probable that the two Maries did not quit it with the other Galilean women. St. Matthew says, "And when Joseph had taken the body, he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, and laid it in his own new sepulchre, which he had hewn out in the rock; and he rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre, and departed. And [or But] Mary Magdalene was there, and the other Mary, sitting over against the tomb," xxvii. 59, 60, 61. The words seem to imply an opposition between the departing of Joseph, and the abiding of the two women; and that this sitting over against the tomb was subsequent to the closing of it with a great stone. This solemn act could not force them away from the object of their grief.

They

They still lingered as near to it as they could, sitting on the ground. And in this posture of mourning they continued, till reverence for the sabbath obliged them to retire. But it was then too late to buy spices, or transact any business that evening. This seems a natural account of their delay to prepare their contingent of spices. However, the fact is certain, as we shall see presently, that they purchased none till the sabbath was past.

OBSERVATIONS

ON

SECTION II.

AND

THE TRANSACTIONS OF SATURDAY.

ST. Matthew, from whom we had only learnt hitherto that the death of our Lord was at the time of the passover, informs us xxvii. 62. on what day of the week he suffered, by calling the next to it "the day that followed the day of the Preparation." The day that followed the Preparation was the Sabbath; and it has been accounted a difficulty with some that he does not entitle it by its proper name. But we may presume he did not esteem a Jewish sabbath more worthy of notice than the day of Christ's crucifixion; of which he has thus given us the date with more certainty. At the season of the passover there might be a sabbath that was not a seventh day¹. But the Parasceve or Preparation was become as settled a name for the sixth day of the week, as Friday is with us. At the same time he adheres to the Euphemism, the usual moderation of his language. To have said that the chief priests

¹ Beza on Luke vi. 1. Ainsworth on Lev. xix. 3. Sir Isaac Newton on Daniel, p. 162. Dr. Whitby also on Matth. xxviii. 1. supposes two sabbaths in this paschal week.

and

and Pharisees went to Pilate to transact such business with him on the sabbath day might have looked like a design of charging them with a breach of their own principles. This is not the style of St. Matthew. When he is to show in preference to whom Barabbas was saved from dying, he does not say that Barabbas was a murderer or a robber; he calls him only "a notable prisoner," xxvii. 16. Actions recorded by him, that are great and good, are related simply, and left to speak for themselves: and when they are of an opposite character, so much only is told of them as cannot be omitted.

The tomb in which the body of Christ was deposited was "a new sepulchre," "wherein never man before was laid." There was therefore but one body to be examined; a body that might be distinguished without difficulty or doubt from every other fresh corpse: from others lately dead by bearing the recent marks of crucifixion; and from the two crucified thieves, whose legs were broken, by having all its bones entire, John xix. 32, 33. By these circumstances the rulers that went to the sepulchre might assure themselves, that they found there the very body which they wished to guard for a time. And it is evident they were satisfied that it was in the sepulchre. They themselves allowed thus much by the report which they instructed the soldiers to spread the day following, "Say ye, His disciples came by night and stole him away, while we slept," Matth. xxviii. 13. For this report carried a plain acknowledgement that the body had been in their custody.

It was not necessary to the views of the Jewish rulers to set a guard upon the sepulchre till towards the close of the second day. The prediction of our Lord was, that he would rise again the third day; and till it was approaching, they would give themselves

selves no concern about his body. The absence of it from the tomb before the commencement of that day would rather falsify the prediction than show the truth of it. They therefore repaired thither a little before the beginning of the third day; and having inspected the tomb, and sealed the stone that closed the way into it, left the place in the custody of the guard. The sealing of the stone was designed by them to prevent any collusion between the soldiers and the friends of Christ. But it answered another purpose which they little intended: it secured the most holy body from the wanton insults of these soldiers, if any of them had been tempted to open and enter a tomb full of odours.

It is probable the rulers wished to keep the affair of the guard a secret during that night: but, whether by design or accident, it certainly remained so to the followers of our Lord. The going of the women by themselves to the tomb the next morning, without the least apprehension, as their conduct shows, of meeting with any impediment, except from the stone that closed it, is a proof that they knew nothing of the soldiers: which might easily happen to them at that conjuncture. During the passover there was a continual throng and bustle of multitudes, who resorted to Jerusalem from all countries: and to prevent tumults among them, guards were stationed in proper places and regularly relieved¹. At such a season the marching of a band of soldiers was no great object of attention and inquiry; and least of all to the disciples of Christ, absorbed in grief, and seeking, as much as possible, to hide and indulge their melancholy in retirement.

The Sabbath being over on Saturday evening, Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome,

¹ Josephus, Antiquities, B. xx. C. v. § 3.

hastened

hastened to prepare spices for the next morning. Grotius thought it clear from St. Luke, whose words were lately quoted, that the women prepared spices before the Sabbath began. It was as clear to Lucas Brugensis, that they bought them when it was past. He rests his opinion on the words of St. Mark¹; which let us now hear in a translation as literal as may be: "And Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Joses beheld where he was laid. And when the sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, bought sweet spices that they might go and anoint him." xv. 47. xvi. 1.

Any tolerable judge of the original, that had no hypothesis to serve, would determine from the turn of this sentence, that "They bought," not "They had bought," was the intended sense of it. "They bought" [emerunt] is the rendering of the antient Latin, called the Vulgate; which was strenuously defended by a learned critic, early in the last century, as the just grammatical rendering: and his vindication of it was the more remarkable, as he was disposed to think "They had bought" more agreeable to historical truth². But the history requires no forced construction. No more is necessary than to interpret St. Luke, whose words are indefinite, of the Galilean women in general; St. Mark of those only whom he names. And till it has been proved necessary that all the women should purchase their spices at the same time, this is a fairer treatment of the Evangelists than to say either that St. Luke meant Saturday evening, when he plainly described the evening before, or St. Mark Friday, when he spoke as plainly of the evening after, the Sabbath.

¹ Lucas Brugensis on Luke xxiii. 56.

² Johannis Boisii Veteris interpretis cum Beza aliisque recentioribus Collatio; on Mark xvi. 1.

O B S E R V A T I O N S

ON

SECTION III.

AND

THE EARLIER TRANSACTIONS OF SUNDAY
MORNING.

IT was stated in Section the first, and shown in the Observations upon it, that on Friday evening the two Maries did not retire with the other Galilean women from the sepulchre, but staid by it as long as religiously they might; and that probably Salome was not present at the interment, engaged in another office of piety towards her Lord. It was shown under the last Section that these three women jointly purchased spices for the anointing of the body; and that they purchased them on Saturday evening. On both occasions they acted without the concurrence of the other women: which is some presumption that they did not join them in going to the sepulchre the next morning. But the full proof that the women went thither in two companies, and that the less consisted only of Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome, will be seen to most advantage, when several things relating to each

each party have been first considered. At present we must take the liberty of disposing matters as if this proof were already made.

St. Matthew, who had noted the piety of the two Marias in sitting by the tomb on Friday evening, takes no notice that they made any preparations on Saturday evening. On resuming their story on Sunday morning, he says only that they set out very early to see the sepulchre; and, in haste to introduce the angel descending to roll away the stone, he does not even stay to inform us that Salome made a third in their party.

St. Mark mentions this instance of the devotion of these three women towards their Lord, that they carefully provided spices for the anointing of his body. But even he does not say that they took these spices along with them. And it falls in more exactly with St. Matthew's account to suppose they did not.

They were to proceed from Salome's house¹. But in going from it they were to part with the Virgin Mother of Christ; and when they imagined they were about to perform the last office to his body, they might wish, out of tenderness to her, to keep their preparations for this mournful task out of her sight; and might privately order their spices to follow in due time, while they went on "to see the sepulchre."

Our Translators, who here speak of the women as *coming* to the sepulchre, do in several texts render the same word of the original to *go*²; and of this

¹ See the map of Jerusalem, and what relates to this matter, in Observations on Sect. VI.

² See Index of Texts; Matth. xxviii. 1.

double meaning of it a learned and accurate critic, Erasmus Schnidius, gives instances from the most approved Greek authors; to which many more might be added, were it needful in so plain a case. He translates Matth. xxviii. 1. "As it began to dawn towards the first day of the week, *went* Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to see the sepulchre." The same sense he gives to the word, Luke xxiv. 1. and John xx. 1. and in this he is justified by St. Mark; with whom "Early-in-the-morning" (in Greek one word) is synonymous to the fourth watch, consisting of the three hours immediately before the rising of the sun, and ending at it. So he uses the word, xiii. 35. "Ye know not when the master of the house cometh, at even, or at midnight, or at the cock-crowing, or in the morning:" where the last word is the same in the original that is here rendered "Early-in-the-morning¹." Nor does he, nor I believe any writer of the New Testament, ever apply it to a part of the day that does not fall within these limits. Now he speaks of Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome, as arriving at the sepulchre at the rising of the sun². With him therefore "very Early-in-the-morning" cannot mean the time at which they came thither; it can only signify when they *went* from their respective homes. And thus we must understand the same term in the corresponding places of the other Evangelists.

The proper sense of "Early-in-the-morning" determines pretty nearly at what time our Lord arose from the dead. St. Mark says that he rose "early;" that is, "Early-in-the-morning." But the women set out "very Early-in-the-morning;" and therefore before he was risen: and when they came to the se-

¹ See Index of Texts; Mark xvi. 2.

² Ibid.

pulchre at the rising of the sun, they found it open. He rose therefore in the interim between their setting out and their arrival. And in this time the resurrection is placed by St. Matthew.

Some, who contend it was much sooner, point the words of St. Mark in this manner :

“ Now when Jesus was risen, early the first day of the week he appeared first to Mary Magdalene.”
xvi. 9.

They refer the word “ early ” to the time, not of his resurrection, but of his appearance to Mary Magdalene.

“ Early,” in this ninth verse, is the same word that is translated in verse the second, “ Early-in-the-morning:” and, if we have rightly explained it as used by St. Mark, it denotes a time of the day that must have expired before Mary Magdalene saw the Lord. She got to the sepulchre at the rising of the sun; seeing it open she ran to fetch Peter and John; and, following them back, staid after they had examined the tomb and were gone again. She still kept weeping for some little time before the Lord discovered himself to her. While all this was doing, the sun must have been up some little time¹; and consequently our Lord did not appear to her “ Early-in-the-morning.” The common punctuation of the sentence must therefore stand; which is not only more natural, but yields a more important sense. In this view it points out the day of the week, and the time of day, when Christ rose from the dead. And who does not wish rather to be assured of these dates, than to know precisely the time when he appeared first to

¹ See Index of Texts; Mark xvi. 2.

Mary Magdalene? We may conclude that St. Mark designed to inform us of that, which was of the greater consequence to the christian world; and may dismiss the other construction with the censure past upon it by a learned author: "There is no good reason, and much less any necessity, for it ¹."

3. St. Matthew says of the angel, that having descended from heaven "He came and rolled back the stone from the door:" which seems to intimate that he came down into the garden at some little distance from the sepulchre, and then advanced slowly and majestically towards it ², that he might give the soldiers, who would look upon him as a divinity, an opportunity of retiring from before him. In rolling the stone from the door, he rolled it not directly forward, but obliquely to one side of the sepulchral court: for when the women approached it, they saw quickly that the tomb was open. The aperture of it was therefore not intercepted from their view by this large stone: and when they entered the court they beheld the angel sitting; that is, sitting upon the stone: "on the right side."

4. In the angel there appeared such dignity and terror, that the soldiers "did shake, and" for a while "became as dead men." As soon as they had recovered themselves a little, and saw the angel still at the sepulchre, they would undoubtedly hasten away from his presence, and quit the garden. It is not to be inferred from the words of the angel to the women, "Fear not ye," that they were still there, when these words were spoken. YE and such pronouns, according to the genius of the Greek lan-

¹ Suiceri Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus; under the word Ἀνάστασις. p. 311.

² See Index of Texts; Matth. xviii. 2.

gnage, generally imply a contradistinction, but not always between persons or parties both present¹. St. Chrysostom, who should have understood the force of his own language, places it between the women and the crucifiers of Christ: "It is not for you to fear but for those who crucified him²." Not the least intimation is given, that the women were alarmed at an appearance of armed men in approaching the sepulchre. But it is said, that while they were going from it, "some of the watch came into the city, and showed unto the chief priests all the things that were done;" Matth. xxviii. 11. which words import, that while the women were going to inform the apostles, the soldiers were coming, or already come, into the city to the chief priests; and must therefore have left the sepulchre some time. The appearance of the angel was quickly followed by the resurrection of Christ; and this it has been shown was while the women were on their way to the sepulchre.

5. When the three women named by St. Mark, and who, as we must assume for the present, were the whole party which he is speaking of, drew near, "they said among themselves, Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre?" xvi. 3. The words seem expressive of a passionate wish under the form of a question; as a speech of David, 2 Sam. xxiii. 15. "Who will give me to drink?" is understood and translated, "Oh that some one would give me to drink of the water of the well of Bethlehem!"³ They had set out early to visit the tomb, and no doubt to indulge themselves in weeping by it, till their friends arrived. If they could compass

¹ See Index of Texts; Matth. xxviii. 5.

² Chrysostom on Matth. xxviii. 5. p. 546. Ed. Savil.

³ See Index of Texts.

to enter it, and mourn over the body of their Lord, it would be a still higher gratification of their sorrow; and to express a desire of this sad satisfaction, however small their immediate hope of attaining it might be, was natural in those whose affection and grief were so great. On approaching, "They saw that the stone was rolled away," as St. Mark expresses it, xvi. 4. and as the words of St. John concerning Mary Magdalene may be translated, "She seeth that the stone was taken away from the sepulchre¹." This she and her friends might perceive, if the entrance into the court and that into the tomb were nearly opposite, without seeing the stone itself, or the angel sitting upon it, though he should have exerted no power to render himself a while invisible.

Mary Magdalene, alarmed at seeing the tomb open, and thence concluding that the body had been removed, ran to inform St. Peter and St. John; and she ran by herself; John xx. 2.

If her two companions had gone with her, being under the same uncertainty, and feeling the same anxiety about the body, they would undoubtedly have come back with her; and then she and they continuing together must have been informed of Christ's resurrection by the same means and at the same time. But she first knew that he was risen by his appearing to her; Mark xvi. 9. John xx. 14. they from the angel whom they saw in the sepulchre; Matth. xxviii. 6. Mark xvi. 6. whom if she also had seen, she could not presently after have complained with tears in her eyes "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him;" John xx. 13. or have said to Christ himself, while she thought him to be the gardener,

¹ See Index of Texts; John xx. 1.

"Sir,

“ Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away ;” Ib. 15. These speeches show, that she had then had no intelligence that he was risen. It was therefore in her absence from her friends that they saw the angel ; and since he gave the women the first notice of the resurrection, they had seen him before her return to the sepulchre. This appears further, because the two apostles came thither and went home again without knowing any thing of the angel or his tidings, and therefore had not conversed with the women to whom he showed himself. They were already gone and fled away to some distance, when the two apostles got to the sepulchre ; and that was before Mary Magdalene’s return to it.

In this manner therefore the events fell out. When Mary Magdalene ran to St. Peter and St. John, her two companions staid at the sepulchre to keep watch by it till she should return with assistance to examine further. But their suspense grew painful to them ; and solicitude to know whether the body was really removed, or not, overcame their dread of going into the sepulchre by themselves. They ventured into it, saw the angel who assured them that Christ was risen, and then hurried away. When they were gone, came the two apostles, entered and inspected the tomb, and went home again. Mary Magdalene, who had returned to the sepulchre as fast as she was able to follow them, continued there weeping for the absence of the body, till our Lord turned her sorrow into joy by manifesting himself to her.

St. Matthew, without mention of Salome, speaks only of the two Maries as going to the sepulchre ; and it may be asked, would his words have been “ And the angel answered and said unto the women,” if only one of the women named by him was then present ?

present? This I think needs not stumble us, if we attend to his manner of relating facts; how much he often omits that is not essential to his main design; the circumstances conducive to which he selects with a masterly but sparing hand. The announcing of the resurrection to the women, and through them to the disciples, was the same whether Mary Magdalene was present or not to hear the angel declare it. The proof to herself and her testimony to others were still good, that Christ was risen with his real body, if she saw him with the other women, and was permitted to embrace his feet. And that this was the case I think St. Matthew gives us to understand. What was peculiar to her was separable from his great subject, and, if I may so call it, an Episode that could not be introduced without trespassing on that brevity, which he, and, I may add, St. Mark, prescribed to themselves. Alluding therefore to circumstances which his plan did not allow him to recite, he said, and said with strict verity, "The angel answered and said unto the women;" two of them being then present,

St. Mark tells us, that the women in fleeing from the sepulchre "trembled and were amazed; neither said they any thing to any men;" xvi. 8. Doubtless he had his eye upon some disciples of Christ whom they passed in this manner; but he does not intimate who they were. Mr. West is of opinion¹, and his opinion well considered appears to be founded in truth, that they were St. Peter and St. John running to the sepulchre, and followed by Mary Magdalene. It is not necessary to suppose that the two women met these their friends directly. If they were a little wide of them, yet so as to see them, it is sufficient. Now if there was any cover of trees or shrubs that

¹ West on the Resurrection, p. 171.

was nigh, the frightened women would naturally take that way, in order to be out of sight of the sepulchre as soon as possible. The shortest path to it would be the object of the others. The two parties were hurrying contrary ways, and for different reasons alike unwilling to be delayed. In these circumstances the two women might catch a transient sight of their friends, without presence of mind or courage to call and speak to them. We must suppose them to have been still in their devious and shaded track, when the two apostles returned home.

Mr. West observes, that St. Mark seems to apologize for the silence of these women by ascribing it to their fright and confusion. But their silence had needed no excuse: unless they had seen some of those to whom the angel had charged them to tell without delay, and to St. Peter in particular, what they had seen and heard.

OBSERVATIONS

ON

SECTION IV.

AND

THE EARLY TRANSACTIONS OF SUNDAY MORNING.

IN the Observations on the last Section an argument was founded on this circumstance relating to Mary Magdalene, That she ran to the two apostles, without having seen the angel in the sepulchre, or being in the least informed that Christ was risen. It was also supposed that she was by herself, when our Lord first discovered himself to her. But this ground, on which a plain reader of the Gospels would allow us to proceed as safe footing, is to be made good against expositors of eminence.

They hold, that Mary Magdalene and the women that accompanied her to the sepulchre went into it together; that they there saw the angel or angels who assured them that Christ was risen; that they went thence in a body to the two apostles, and then by the mouth of Mary Magdalene made this complaint to them, "They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him."

On

On this statement of the matter the women did not believe that the person whom they saw in the sepulchre was more than man, or that his words deserved to be credited.

But is this consistent with the gospel accounts of them? which are, that on entering the sepulchre they saw a young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment, and were affrighted; that, as soon as he had done speaking to them, they fled out of the sepulchre trembling and amazed; and departing with fear and great joy did run to bring the apostles word. Whence was their great fear, but because they were satisfied that they had been standing in the presence of an angel? or if we may ascribe their fear to their surprise, at the unexpected sight of a person in the sepulchre, whoever he might be, yet whence was their great joy? This could arise only from a persuasion that what had been declared to them was true, and that, "the Lord was risen indeed." This is the word meant by St. Matthew, as the passage evinces: when speaking of the women who had fled from the sepulchre he says, "And they did run to bring his disciples word," Matth. xxviii. 8. Their fear was transient; their joy kept improving; and it is not possible that they should express it to St. Peter, St. John, or any other of the apostles, by saying, "They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him." This is the language not of gladness, but of sorrow; and when Mary Magdalene used it, we must account for it, either by admitting that she had not been with her friends in the sepulchre when they saw the angel, or else by supposing that the effects of the same vision on her and them were surprisingly different. But if we observe her behaviour in two instances nearly allied to this, we shall perceive that she was as discerning as they
they

they, and to the full as composed; and therefore as little likely to have been distrustful and incredulous, if she had been present when the angel appeared to them.

The two instances are these :

“ Mary stood without at the sepulchre, weeping; and as she wept, she stooped down, and looked into the sepulchre, and seeth two angels in white, sitting, the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain. And they say unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? She saith unto them, Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him. And when she had thus said, she turned herself back.” John, xx. 11—14.

We have no reason to imagine that these angels were a more striking sight than the angel sitting on the right side. Yet she, who is supposed to have disregarded him, discerned instantly, notwithstanding her flowing tears, what *these* were; as her behaviour to them shows. She answers their question respectfully; and then, not thinking it permitted to gaze upon them, withdraws her eyes, and turns herself back with that awe and reverence, which made the other women soon after “bow down their faces to the earth,” when two angels stood by them in shining garments¹.

Again :

“ And when she had thus said, she turned herself back, and saw Jesus standing, and knew

¹ Luke xxiv. 5.

not that it was Jesus. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? whom seekest thou? She, supposing him to be the gardener, saith unto him, Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away. Jesus saith unto her, Mary. She turneth herself and saith unto him, Rabboni; which is to say, Master. Jesus saith unto her, Touch me not¹; for I am not yet ascended to my Father: but go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend to my Father and to your Father, and to my God and your God.

Mary Magdalene came and told the disciples, that she had seen the Lord, and that he had spoken these things unto her." John xx. 14—18.

When our Lord, on the evening of the same day, stood in the midst of his disciples, who then acknowledged that "He was risen indeed and had appeared unto Simon," they were nevertheless terrified and affrighted, and supposed they had seen a spirit². But as soon as he addressed himself to Mary Magdalene with his usual voice, she recognized him as restored to life, and fell down with joy and transport to embrace his feet; and then hastened away with full assurance of belief to inform the apostles. And hence we may fairly judge, that if she had seen the angel in the sepulchre with her friends, she would have harboured no doubt of his dignity and truth.

The scheme which we have been considering resting on the supposed incredulity of the women, and this charge against them being done away by the best authority, we abide by our late reasonings con-

¹ See Index of Texts, ver. 17.

² Luke xxiv. 37.

cerning them. Several other difficulties with which that scheme is embarrassed are thus escaped. Where for instance would it allow us to place the appearance of Christ to the women when he met them, saying, All hail? It was surely after they had gone together to the two apostles, complaining that the body of the Lord was taken away: and yet, as it is fixed by St. Matthew, it was not long after they were got out of the sepulchre and going on with great joy. Shall we then, to adjust matters to this description, send them into the sepulchre a second time? and while we do not admit them to have believed what the angel had there told them, shall we suppose them, on entering it again, to have been filled with great joy in believing what no one then told them? To say the truth, the expedient of making the same women go twice into the sepulchre is not countenanced by the Gospels. No one of them hints at any such thing, or suggests a reason why they who had seen the angel, and believed his words, should return in "seek the living among the dead."

But was Mary Magdalene alone when our Lord first appeared to her? The question seems answered as soon as we consider the place and time of the appearance. The place was close by the sepulchre: the time, when her female friends and after them the two apostles were gone away; and when there is no reason to imagine, that any one of those, to whom Christ saw fit to manifest himself, was left on the spot but she only.

But let us once more bring in view a passage of St. Mark:

"Now when Jesus was risen early the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magda-

Magdalene, out of whom he had cast seven devils." xvi. 9.

This looks like a plain proposition. But there are of the learned who regard it as one of those passages, of which the seeming is not the real sense. The meaning, they say, is, that the first in order of the appearances of Christ was that at which Mary Magdalene was present; but not, that she only was present at it, for that other women were with her: and that this may be held very consistently with St. Mark; it being an allowed rule of interpretation, that the Evangelist who names but few persons does not therefore exclude more.

But, in applying this rule to any particular case, we ought to have some warranty of the Gospels for enlarging the number specified, if we would be considered as explaining not making the history.

If St. John mentions only Mary Magdalene as going early on Sunday morning to the sepulchre, we may safely say, that others went with her; because we have the authority of St. Mark. But by what Evangelist are we supported in affirming, that others were with her, when our Lord first appeared to her? St. Matthew, as we shall see presently, says nothing concerning this appearance. St. Luke does not speak of any one of his appearances to the women: and on the face of St. John's narrative we naturally conclude, that he is describing an appearance to Mary Magdalene alone. But if we will not admit this to be sufficient proof that she was then by herself, let St. Mark be allowed to interpret his own meaning by his context:

He mentions three women by name, out of the company of Galilean women, that beheld the crucifixion

fixion on Friday. He speaks of the same three as buying spices together on Saturday evening, and as going to the sepulchre together on Sunday morning. But after a few verses relating to the events at the sepulchre, he suppresses the names of two of them, and tells us, that, when Jesus was risen early the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene; and he adds a circumstance that he had omitted in naming her three times before, that it was the Mary out of whom our Lord had cast seven devils. Why are our eyes here directed to one only, to whom Christ had been especially gracious? St. John's silence concerning the women that went with her to the sepulchre is no parallel case. He had never mentioned them. St. Mark, having mentioned them, then suddenly drops their names. The Evangelist who names few, may not exclude more: but he who names a number, and then, discontinuing the names of all but one, relates a circumstance of that one in which she received the highest honour, does in just construction appropriate this honour to her.

We may now assign a probable reason, why St. John takes no notice of the other women. He purposed to relate certain events, at which they were not present; and if he had said that they went with Mary Magdalene to the sepulchre, it had been requisite to show by what means she and they came to be separated. This would have been a digression from his intended subject, which would have left less room in a short narrative to dwell on some interesting particulars, not recorded in any preceding Gospel.

It remains to be proved, that St. Matthew does not speak of the appearance of Christ mentioned by St. John. If there was only one to the women, as they

they seem to think whom we are opposing, Mary Magdalene could not have seen it by herself. But if there were two, we might presume even on this circumstance, that she was alone at the former; the history of the resurrection showing it to be not probable, that our Lord appeared twice to the very same company within so short a space.

Now St. Matthew says, that the women having fled out of the sepulchre with fear and great joy, and running to bring the disciples word, were met by our Lord; who permitted them to embrace his feet, and sent a message to his apostles by them¹:

St. John, that Mary Magdalene having withdrawn her eyes from looking into the tomb, and turning herself, saw Jesus standing by her; who quickly made himself known to her, and sent a message to the apostles by her also².

In St. Matthew, the women certainly met him at some distance from the sepulchre. In St. John, Mary Magdalene beheld him close by the tomb. They were rejoicing, she weeping. He discovered himself to her, and addressed himself to them, in very different manners; and the messages, which he sent to his apostles by her and them, were totally distinct. These circumstances draw such a line of discrimination betwixt the two appearances, that they could scarcely be more plainly distinguished.

Of these two appearances St. John describes evidently that, which St. Mark had called the first and mentioned very briefly. The other had been related with its circumstances by St. Matthew. And what-

¹ Matth. xxviii. 8—10.

² John xx. 14—18.

ever had been so related was very rarely repeated by St. John. In the beginning of the Observations on the next Section will be found a probable proof, that he purposely broke off the story of Mary Magdalene, as soon as he came to the point of time when St. Matthew resumed it. He had therefore been speaking of an appearance prior to that in St. Matthew: and every view of the subject assures us, that it was an appearance to Mary Magdalene only.

As she was not with her two friends when they beheld the angel in the sepulchre, nor they with her when she saw the Lord close by it; the evidences of his resurrection, which she and they laid before the apostles, were in this respect quite distinct from each other: the use of which remark will be more fully seen when we come to discuss a difficulty resulting from Luke xxiv. 10.

St. John says of himself, that, on his arrival at the sepulchre, "He stooping down saw the linen clothes lying¹." He says soon after of Mary Magdalene, "As she wept, she stooped down and looked into the sepulchre²." If the sepulchre of Christ was the same, or of the same structure, as that which has long been reputed his sepulchre, it was necessary to stoop down in order to look into the cave or inner part of it; for the lintel of the door-way is but three feet above the level of the pavement. After St. Peter had been in the cave, St. John went in also, and says, "And he saw, and believed³." He tells us what he saw: "The linen clothes lying, and the napkin that had been about his head not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself⁴." But what did he believe? Some say,

¹ John xx. 5.

³ Ib. 8.

² Ib. 11.

⁴ Ib. 6, 7.

He believed what Mary Magdalene had told him, that the body had been taken away. But if this was the amount of his belief, there was little occasion to speak of it. The cave was a small room, examined with one glance of the eye. And he, who had affirmed that he saw the body was not in it, would not enforce but rather weaken his evidence, if he added that he believed that the body was not in it.

This cannot be St. John's meaning. Besides St. Peter was equally persuaded of the absence of the body: and yet he speaks only of himself as believing; which implies that he entertained a belief, which he had no reason for thinking then common to them both.

May we not then imagine, that the state of the tomb gave occasion to a train of ideas in his mind, not altogether unsimilar to this?—

“If men have taken away the body of my Lord, what has been their character or design? Would a friend, whose business was dispatch, have wasted his precious moments with laying things in such order? Would an insulting foe have left such marks of decency and respect? May I not hope this is the hand, not of man, but of God? For what has He been whose body we find not in a sepulchre? We beheld his glory, in life, in words, in works, such as eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father. The Father himself declared of him at his baptism, and again in the holy mount, when I was with him, ‘This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.’ Is he not then the Holy One, who is not to see corruption? Is he not the King of Israel, who is to have all his enemies put under his feet? and can the grave then retain its victory over him? If we have not discerned in
Moses,

Moses, in the Psalms, or in the Prophets, that he was to taste of death before he entered into his glory; yet he himself assured us, as I now well recollect, and that but three nights ago, that he should quickly be smitten and rise again. Our Shepherd has been smitten as he predicted. Signs in heaven above and in earth beneath spoke his decease. Must not then his prediction be completed? It is much easier for me to believe that He, who raised Lazarus from death, is no longer under its dominion, than that his word can pass away, to the truth and power of which the Father hath ever set his seal.”—

Though as yet they understood not the scriptures, that he must rise again from the dead; yet, amidst the reflections of a sanctified mind upon past and present circumstances, the day-star, as it seems, arose in the heart of the beloved disciple¹; and he became intitled to the blessing of those, “who have not seen, and yet have believed.”

¹ See West on the Resurrection, p. 280, 281.

OBSERVATIONS

ON

SECTION V.

AND

THE TRANSACTIONS OF SUNDAY MORNING.

ON the morning of the resurrection our Lord showed himself first to Mary Magdalene, and next to her two friends. Was she again with them at this second appearance? In maintaining that she was present at it we are countenanced by St. Matthew, and, I think, by St. John. Both Evangelists speak in similar terms of nearly the same point of time; when the women were going to the apostles to assure them, though by different evidence, that Christ was risen.

St. Matthew had said, "They were going to tell [to report] to the disciples." xxviii. 9.

St. John says, "Mary Magdalene cometh to tell [to report] to the disciples." xx. 18¹.

¹ See Index of Texts.

This is the literal and just translation of his words. He speaks of her, not as arrived among them, but as on her way to them; and then ends abruptly all that he says of her: as if to signify, on his plan of supplying not repeating, that he here returns the history of Mary Magdalene, which he had kept a while disparted, into the course of St. Matthew's narration, and consigns it over to him. But this implies, that beyond the point at which St. John stops short, something is related of her by St. Matthew; and this can only be, that she was one of those, whom Christ met as they were going to the disciples, and to whom he said, All hail!

The Gospels leave us not without means of accounting for her reunion with her two companions, by showing us the friendship, exalted by devotion to their heavenly Lord, that subsisted among them. When the other Mary and Salome were got to some distance from the sight of the angel, the fear that had agitated their minds subsided; and his blessed tidings filled them with joy. He had bid them go quickly and tell the disciples. But it was no disobedience to his command to think of their dear friend, who could not be far from them, and to wish first to see her. If she still continued sorrowing and lamenting, what comfort and delight could they administer to her! If a like vision had been vouchsafed her, they would be curious to hear it, that they might join in reciprocal congratulations on so glorious an event, and then go to the apostles with their concurrent evidence of it. They were certain that she was returned to the sepulchre, and must be then either at it, or between it and the place where they were. Strange therefore it had been, if such interesting motives had not induced them to wait a few minutes, or go back a little to look after her. I have no doubt that they were soon made happy in
meeting

meeting her; their gracious Lord so ordering, that her superior firmness might enable them to meet him with more composure, and that her example in falling down to embrace his feet might encourage them to do the same, and so receive conviction of the reality of his resurrection.

2. Two messages were to be delivered to the apostles by these women. The first was that of the angel by the other Mary and Salome :

“Go quickly and tell his disciples [and Peter,] that he is risen from the dead: and behold, he goeth before you into Galilee. There shall ye see him, as he said unto you.” Matth. xxviii. 7. Mark xvi. 7.

Which was thus confirmed by our Lord, when he showed himself to the women. He had no occasion to repeat that he was risen; but graciously substituted BRETHREN for DISCIPLES: “Go tell my brethren that they go into Galilee; and there shall they see me.” Matth. xxviii. 10. He did not think proper to encourage them with hopes of an earlier sight of him: that some trial might be made of their faith, and it might appear how far they would submit their vain reasonings to the express testimony of eye-witnesses confirming their evidence by a token from himself: for such was the message to them about seeing him in Galilee; as will appear by looking back to a late conference between him and them :

“Then saith Jesus unto them, All ye shall be offended because of me this night: for it is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad.

But after I am risen again, I will go before you into Galilee.

Peter answered and said unto him, 'Though all men shall be offended because of thee, yet will I never be offended.

Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, that this night, before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice." Matth. xxvi. 31—34.

When our Lord said, "After I am risen again, I will go before you into Galilee," he assured his apostles not only of his own resurrection, but of their safety during his sufferings and lying in the grave: for in the promise, that he would go before them into Galilee, is implied that they should be free to follow him. The words spoken to them on the night before his passion, tended to support their drooping spirits, when all support was, and would be, wanted. The same words sent in a message on the morning of his resurrection were a sign to them of the reality of that great event. They had been spoken to them when only themselves were with him; from which time no one joined them till he was apprehended in the garden; and then so sad a scene ensued, and his death left them in such deep despair, that they had no heart to think, much less to tell, of such future expectations from him. We may therefore be morally certain, that the promise, "After I am risen again, I will go before you into Galilee," had never yet been mentioned by any of them, but remained a secret between the speaker and hearers. How then came the women into possession of the secret; and who put words into their mouths, with such direct and full reference to it:

"Behold

“Behold he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him, *as he said unto you?*” A message sent to the apostles, that was so circumstanced, was a clear token to them from Christ himself, that it was his message. If they did not attend to it as such, the fault was not that of the gracious Sender.

When the angel said to the women, “Go your way, tell his disciples,” he added the name of St. Peter, “Tell his disciples and Peter¹.” We have seen in the passage cited above from Matth. xxvi. 31—34. that a part of it concerned him more than the rest in foretelling his three denials. After he had been guilty of these, the mention of his name in particular was an instance of grace and kindness to him, signifying that he had not however forfeited the favour of his Lord. At the same time it had an aptitude, in connection with the message that contained it, to remind him of the prophecy concerning himself, and to put him on reflecting, whether the same Lord, who had so surely predicted the fall of his apostle, might not have foretold his own resurrection with as much certainty.

The second message was that of Christ himself by Mary Magdalene :

“Go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God.” John xx. 17.

Here is a plain reference to a discourse of his, in which he opened to his eleven apostles a view of the divine œconomy with regard to himself; that it was expedient for them that he should go away; and that

¹ Mark xvi. 7.

he should leave the world, and go to the Father. As this declaration made a great impression on their minds at the time, (see John xvi. 29, 30.) it would more readily recur to their memories. The discourse was held after his last paschal supper; and Mary Magdalene could not have the least idea of it, but from Christ or them. With Christ she had no opportunity of conversing between the delivery of the discourse and his passion; and They, for the reasons before offered, were no doubt conscious to themselves, that they had not opened their mouths on the subject. The words therefore concerning the ascending of Christ to his Father were her vouchers to them, that she had seen the Lord, and that he had spoken these things unto her.

Each of the two messages, appealing to the minds of the apostles, in matters to which no one on earth was privy but themselves, offered evidence to them distinct from the testimony of the women, that Christ was risen.

3. We have already considered the time, when the guards retired from the garden, and a part of them came into the city to the chief priests and elders to inform them of their ill success at the sepulchre. In consequence of this report they were hired to propagate a story, that, it seems, gained credit with many of the Jews; which must have been because these Many were determined to believe it. Else it required no great sagacity to discern, that the authors and abettors of it were conscious of its untruth.

The rulers of Israel had the day before petitioned Pilate for a guard upon the sepulchre, "lest his disciples should come by night, and steal him away,
and

and say unto the people, He is risen from the dead ; in which case the last delusion would be worse than the first ¹." The theft, from which such danger was apprehended, the story supposes to have been committed ; and committed by the disciples of Christ ² : who continued, high Providence so ordering, eight days at least in Jerusalem after the charge had been brought against them. Why then were they not taken into custody? to do which there wanted not a disposition in these rulers, as they showed soon after, Acts iv. 1—3. A separate and prudent examination of the accused would have bidden fair to discover the truth ; and to make no such inquiry into it betrayed a dread of bringing it to light.

And why else was no complaint of the soldiers and their officers laid before the governor? Unless they could have cleared themselves, he might have punished them for the sake of discipline : at least the prosecutors would have showed themselves in earnest, that they held the men guilty, and wished to have an example made of them. Herod Agrippa believing, or desiring the people to believe, that St. Peter had escaped out of prison by connivance or negligence of the keepers, commanded that they should be put to death ³. The chief priests and Pharisees were not less zealous than Herod, that the public should think the guard had not done their duty : yet no step was taken to have them punished.

The guards, where their life and honour are at stake, frankly acknowledge their offence, and pub-

¹ Matth. xxvii. 62—66.

² Ib. xxviii. 11—15.

³ Acts xii. 19.

lish to the world, that they had disgraced themselves and their profession by sleeping on duty. Do men do such things without assurances of protection and recompence? The proceedings of both rulers and soldiers vouch for the Evangelist, that his account of them is true ¹.

¹ The reader, who desires to see this point excellently argued more at large, may consult Mr. West on the Resurrection, p. 363—368.

OBSERVATIONS

ON

SECTION VI.

AND

THE REMAINING EVENTS RECORDED OF SUNDAY
MORNING : WITH A DEFENCE OF THE
ORDER HITHERTO OBSERVED.

MEANWHILE another set of women, according to the plan here pursued, arrived at the sepulchre. Mary Magdalene was the chief person of the first party ; Joanna, wife of Chuza Herod's steward, whom St. Luke places next to her, of the second. This was a more numerous company. The Galilean women were many that stood beholding the crucifixion ; and they followed after, when our Lord was taken from the cross to be interred, and beheld the sepulchre and how his body was laid ; and they returned, and prepared spices and ointments.—“ And upon the first day of the week—they came unto the sepulchre, bringing the spices which they had prepared ; and certain others with them¹ ;” that is, certain women of Jerusalem, either led by the like spirit of devotion to Christ, or called in to assist with their greater skill in the practice of anointing the dead.

¹ See Index of Texts ; Luke xxiv. 1.

At present let us inquire when this larger company, supposing there were two, arrived at the sepulchre; whether between the two visits of Mary Magdalene to it, or after the second. For the following reasons their arrival seems rightly placed after she left the sepulchre the second time :

It is certain that no one was there earlier than she was ; and therefore they who did not accompany her, but made a distinct visit thither, and, as the case requires, neither saw her nor her friends, nor were seen by them, must have come during her absence. Her first absence was when she ran to tell Peter and John : but then she left the other Mary and Salome behind ; who went into the sepulchre, and saw and heard the angel. When they were fled away, came the two apostles ; and these were followed by Mary Magdalene returning. The time therefore between the departure of the other Mary and Salome from the sepulchre, and the coming of John and Peter to it, seems too short an interval for the arrival and departure of the other women in such manner, that both parties might keep clear of all sight of each other. And the more we prolong this interval, the less probable we make it that Mary Magdalene, after she had seen the Lord, should have rejoined her two friends, when he showed himself to them also. And yet it appears so much the sense of St. Matthew, and I think of St. John; that she was then with them, that it is a point by which we ought to abide, unless there are cogent reasons to the contrary. As I am not aware of any such, I espouse the opinion which seems the most likely : that Mary Magdalene was gone the second time from the sepulchre, before Joanna and her company got to it.

What

What more is to be remarked concerning this second company will meet us in the ensuing disquisition concerning the truth of the order hitherto pursued.

Though several things have been observed in the course of this work, that strongly favour the division of the women into two companies, yet they will not be admitted as adequate proofs of the fact. It is time therefore that we allege the proper evidences of it; which for the sake of method and clearness shall be reduced under certain heads:

§ 1. St. Mark's account of the women, that went to the sepulchre on the morning of the resurrection, does in just construction exclude all but those whom he names.

He speaks of these women, or some of them, in the five following places:

“There were also women looking on afar off: among whom was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James the less and of Joses, and Salome.” xv. 40.

“And Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Joses beheld where he was laid.” Ib. 47.

“And when the sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, bought sweet spices, that they might go and anoint him.” xvi. 1.

“And very early in the morning, the first day of the week, they came unto the sepulchre, at the rising of the sun.” Ib. 2.

“Now

“ Now when Jesus was risen early the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene.” Ib. 9.

On comparing these passages we find that St. Mark first selects three from the whole company of Galilean women ; next drops the name of one of them ; then resumes it, and unites the three together on two occasions ; and lastly singles out one of them. Till a more natural reason is assigned for separating these three women from the whole company, and then such care in noting on what occasions they were, or were not, together, I must regard it as a strict adherence to the reality of facts ; that only the two Maries are named at the sepulchre, because, when others departed, they only staid by it ; that only these two and Salome are mentioned as buying spices when the sabbath was past, because the other Galilean women went and bought them before it began ; that only Mary Magdalene is named as first seeing Christ, because no one was with her when she first saw him ; and in the instance under consideration that the Three only are named as going to the sepulchre, because no other person was with them. Their question among themselves gives much countenance to this argument : “ Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre ?” Mark xvi. 3. Would this question have been asked, if all the Galilean women, “ and certain others with them,” had been there ? Surely the united exertions of such a company would have been equal to the task ; and the idea of its difficulty arose from the smallness of the party present ¹.

This interpretation of St. Mark is perfectly consistent with St. Luke. For,

¹ See West on the Resurrection, p. 62, 63.

§ 2. St. Luke's account does not include the women named by St. Mark. It bears tokens of being the description of an entirely distinct company.

In speaking of the women that attended the body of Christ from the cross to the sepulchre, St. Luke does not say, "THE women also which came with him from Galilee," but, as we shall find if we consult the original, "And women also which came with him from Galilee," xxiii. 55. as if intending to comprehend only the majority, not the whole company of these women, in his subsequent account of them; nor at present does he mention any one of them by name. He speaks of them as follows :

"And women also, which came with him from Galilee, followed after, and beheld the sepulchre and how his body was laid : and they returned and prepared spices and ointments ; and rested the sabbath day according to the commandment." xxiii. 55, 56.

And all that he says of them, for the first nine verses of the next chapter, is limited to those who had thus acted together on Friday evening ; that is, Those whom he describes as returning and preparing spices as soon as they had beheld how his body was laid, and as resting the sabbath-day according to the commandment : the same and no other Galilean women he describes as going on the first day of the week very early to the sepulchre, and seeing and hearing all that is related to the end of this paragraph of nine verses.

Now since Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome, did not return and prepare spices with these women on Friday, but on that and the ensuing evening acted by themselves, they appear to be not comprehended in the company which St. Luke here mentions.

But

But they are kept separate by a more distinguishing circumstance. St. Luke says of the women whom he speaks of, "And they returned from the sepulchre, and told all these things unto the Eleven and to all the rest ¹." Not a word or hint do we discover in him, that in returning from the sepulchre they beheld the Lord himself. Yet this being the most absolute proof of his resurrection that they could receive, or lay before others, it is highly improbable that St. Luke would have omitted so interesting an event, if it might have been related of them. But if they did not then see the Lord, they are as much discriminated by St. Luke from Mary Magdalene, the other Mary, and Salome, in returning from the sepulchre, as they are by St. Mark in going to it.

We reason as we conceive the Evangelists direct us; and are several ways assured, that we do not mistake their directions.

§ 3. There were two appearances and two speeches of the angels to the women at the sepulchre, besides the vision to Mary Magdalene alone.

I trust it has been sufficiently proved that the sepulchre was divided into two parts; and that the outer, the area or court, was the passage to the inner, the tomb. With this in mind let us hear what the Evangelists relate:

St. Mark represents the women, when they had entered into the sepulchre, as seeing a young man or angel, sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment ²; who, having announced to them

¹ xxiv. 9.

² xvi. 5.

that the Lord was risen, then added, as it is expressed in St. Matthew, "Come, see the place where the Lord lay¹." The women therefore had not yet seen that place, but were in the outer court; and there also was the angel sitting, sitting upon the stone, which he had rolled from the door of the inner part, the tomb.

This is the account given by St. Matthew and St. Mark: but St. Luke's is,

"And they found the stone rolled away from the sepulchre: and they entered in, and found not the body of the Lord Jesus. And it came to pass as they were much perplexed thereabout, behold, two men stood by them in shining garments." xxiv. 2—4.

The women therefore had passed through the outer court, and had entered and searched the tomb, before these two young men, or angels, appeared standing by them: and what is recorded in St. Matthew as spoken to them, "Come, see the place where the Lord lay," cannot possibly have been spoken at that time, or by either of the angels that then first appeared. For it is not to be imagined, that they invited the women, for their further satisfaction, to take a view of the tomb a few moments after they had been in it, and surveyed with care the place where the Lord had lain. Plainer proof there needs not, that these Evangelists relate distinct appearances and speeches of the angels, between which the inspection of the tomb must have intervened.

Thus the matter was understood by Origen; who says, "If only one angel is mentioned by Matthew

¹ xxviii. 6.

"and

“and Mark, and two by Luke and John, there is
 “no contradiction in this. They who mention One
 “angel speak of him who rolled away the stone from
 “the sepulchre; they who mention Two speak of
 “those who stood in shining garments by the women
 “that came that morning to the sepulchre, or who
 “were seen sitting in white¹.”

St.-Augustin is still fuller to the purpose: “When
 “the women are said to have entered into the sepul-
 “chre, we may understand it of entering into a
 “space encompassed with a fence, through which
 “was the passage into the tomb hewn in the rock;
 “and that they there saw the angel described by
 “Matthew as sitting on the stone rolled away from
 “the tomb; then while they were inspecting the
 “place where the body of the Lord had lain, that
 “they beheld two other angels standing, as Luke
 “relates².”

The same distinction between the two visions is
 made by Cornelius a Lapide³; and by John Ger-
 hard, who completed the Harmony begun by Chem-
 nitius⁴; as also by Dr. Whitby, in his Annotations on
 Mark xvi. in answer to Objection i. More authori-
 ties might be added: but I shall content myself
 with that of Mr. Pilkington in his Evangelical His-
 tory and Harmony:

“When they came to the sepulchre, they saw the
 “same angel who had rolled away the stone sitting

¹ Origen against Celsus, B. V. p. 263. Ed. Cantab.

² Augustin De Consensu Evangelistarum, p. 508. Ed. Basil. 1569. See Index under Augustin No. 2.

³ Cornelius à Lapide, Commentar. in Matthæum; Cap. xxviii. 2. p. 560. col. 1.

⁴ Gerhard, Harmon. Histor. Evangel. de Resurrectione Christi; Cap. ii. p. 250. Ed. Geneva, 1628.

“ on the right side, who told them that Jesus was
 “ risen, &c. This is the angel mentioned by St.
 “ Matthew and St. Mark. When they were entered
 “ into the sepulchre, they saw two angels in the
 “ place where Jesus had lain standing by them.
 “ These are the two angels mentioned by St. Luke ;
 “ and perhaps were the same that Mary Magdalène
 “ had seen before ¹.”

Thus far we have the countenance of these learned writers ; but no further : for they refer both visions to the same company. But I trust we have the authority of the Gospels to go on and maintain that,

§ 4. Each of the angelic appearances was to a different set of women.

The angel that was seen sitting on the stone, on the right side, said unto the women, “ Fear not ye : for I know that ye seek Jesus which was crucified. He is not here : for he is risen, as he said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay. And go quickly and tell his disciples, that he is risen from the dead : and behold, he goeth before you into Galilee ; there shall ye see him. Lo, I have told you. And they departed quickly from the sepulchre with fear and great joy.” Matth. xxviii. 5—8.

This is St. Matthew’s account, with which St. Mark’s entirely agrees ; and from the last sentence of it one would naturally conclude, that, as soon as the angel had done speaking, the women made all possible haste from the sepulchre. However, let us suppose them to have had courage enough to accept the angel’s invitation, “ Come, see the place where the Lord lay.” They went into the tomb with as clear and explicit a declaration of Christ’s resurrection, as could be made them.

¹ Pilkington’s Notes on Evang. History and Harmony, p. 63.

Let us now hear St. Luke : “ And they found the
 “ stone rolled away from the sepulchre : and they en-
 “ tered in, and found not the body of the Lord Je-
 “ sus :—and they were much perplexed thereabout.”
 xxiv. 2—4.

If these were the women to whom the angel sitting on the stone had spoken, what could cause them to be much perplexed thereabout, while his very words were sounding in their ears, “ He is not here : for he is risen ?”

The reality of the angel’s appearance they did not doubt ; and the not finding of the body was a confirmation of his words, if they had any distrust of the truth of them. But indeed any degree of incredulity is inconsistent with the character given of these pious women in the Gospels : in every one of which they are represented as yielding a ready and full assent to all that either angels or Christ himself told them of the certainty of his resurrection. The only warrantable account of so much perplexity, at not finding the body of the Lord Jesus in the tomb, is, that it was the distress of those who had not yet heard a word of his resurrection. But then they had not heard the angel sitting on the stone announce it, nor been with those to whom he had appeared and told it.

“ He is not here, he is risen,” was said to the women as soon as they entered the court of the sepulchre. “ He is not here, he is risen,” was said to the women when they had been in the tomb, and found not the body of the Lord Jesus. This notification of Christ’s resurrection was as necessary the second time as the first to distinct companies of the women ; but a repetition of the same words to the same persons is not in the style of these heavenly messen-

messengers in their errands to mankind : and, if we may reason here by analogy of Scripture, the angels, who declared the same thing twice, declared it the second time to those who had not heard it before.

The two angels, that appeared after the women went into the tomb, said to them, "Why seek ye the living among the dead¹?" The words, as Euthymius observes, are not so affable as those that had been spoken before, but carry somewhat of reprehension in them². Whence could this arise? If the women, who saw the first angel, were indeed within the tomb, they went thither by his own gracious invitation, "Come, see the place where the Lord lay." Would then the question have been put to them, be the reprehension contained in it ever so gentle, for doing what he himself had courted them to do? There is surely a greater probability that the words were spoken to some who, not having seen him, went into the tomb of their own accord; and that the women *questioned*, and the women *invited*, were not the same persons.

§ 5. The accounts given of the behaviour of the women at the sepulchre are accounts of different parties of them.

The women, whom St. Matthew and St. Mark speak of, were affrighted not only at the first sight of the angel, but after he had done speaking to them. Both Evangelists represent them as hastening away from his presence by going out quickly and fleeing from the sepulchre. If they were only two women left by themselves, and already discomposed by the sudden departure of the third, it is the less marvel that their fear at the angel's appearance for a while

¹ Luke xxiv. 5.

² See Index under Euthymius.

suspended their joy at his blessed tidings. The effects of that first felt impression are thus painted by St. Mark: "And they went out quickly, and fled from the sepulchre; for they trembled and were amazed." xvi. 8.

But the women described by St. Luke were indeed surprized and abashed at seeing two angels stand by them; but, whether they derived some little confidence from their number, or whatever the reason was, seem to have soon become sedate and composed. For the angel having said to them, "Remember how he spake unto you while he was yet in Galilee, saying, The Son of man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again;" St. Luke adds, "And they remembered his words; and returned from the sepulchre, and told all these things unto the Eleven and to all the rest." xxiv. 6—9.

It is probable that our Lord had uttered the prophecy, to which the angels refer, some months before: and then the hearers of it, men or women, had not the least conception of its meaning. Yet now they remember, understand, and apply it to the accomplishment. This surely argues not much fear or agitation of spirits, but rather a calm possession of recollection and judgement. And if they had recovered such presence of mind while the angels were yet speaking, there is no reason to imagine, that, having heard such happy intelligence, they were then seized with a sudden terror, and fled from the sepulchre trembling and amazed. Certainly St. Luke's words convey no such idea of their departure from it.

§ 6. The speech of the two angels considered as spoken to a subsequent company has an obvious propriety.

It would be presumption to affirm antecedently what the angels ought or ought not to have spoken. But when we have their speech before us, we may examine and judge, whether the circumstances of it suit better with the whole company of the women, or with one part of them, not exactly in the same situation with the other.

If the women did not visit the sepulchre all together, I think the going thither of Joanna and her party has been rightly placed after Mary Magdalene had left it the second time¹; and then our Lord had showed himself to her: and but a short space intervened before he met her two friends and her, “saying, All hail!” At this juncture it was that the two angels were addressing themselves to Joanna and those that had just searched the tomb with her. When therefore Christ was not only risen, but had appeared in that body which he had raised from the grave, it might well be asked of those, who were much perplexed because they found not his body where it had been deposited, “Why seek ye the living among the dead?” And the women, to whom the question was put, would soon after understand the meaning of it, though they did not at the instant.

An explicit notification of Christ’s resurrection was as requisite for the comfort of the second company as of the preceding: and therefore it is said to them also, “He is not here, but is risen.” But they are not invited to “come and see the place

¹ See p. 122.

where the Lord lay," for that they had already done. And there being one great circumstance in which, for wise reasons no doubt, they were not to be so highly favoured as the three former, in their return from the sepulchre, in that they were not then to behold the Lord himself; another provision is made for the confirming of their faith. The angels represent to them, that the great event now announced was the fulfilment of a prophecy, which he their Lord, whose words they had ever acknowledged and found to be truth itself, had spoken in their hearing. The women recollect the prophecy; and the angels add no more. The message to the apostles had been sent by others, and would be delivered before their arrival. It is therefore not repeated.

In every view the division of the women into two companies, going successively to the sepulchre, corresponds exactly with the evangelical accounts of that morning. It embraces all the circumstances related of the women and of the angels seen by them, and unites the whole into one intelligible consistent history. This perhaps might appear to some advantage by confronting it with the schemes of an opposite kind, and showing from what imperfections of theirs it is free. But I desire, as little as may be, to criticize the religious endeavours of others to harmonize this important part of the gospel history; content if I can make the plan hitherto pursued as clear to others as I believe it to be true in itself, and can justify it from Objections; the most material of which, as far as I am aware of them, shall now be considered.



Part of
JERUSALEM.
from
VILLALPANDUS.



OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED.

IT may be said, if we divide the women into two parties, it is not easy to apprehend, how they could have been at the sepulchre without any sight of each other; since all the Evangelists assign nearly the same time for their coming thither.

It is to be remembered that the word used by the Evangelists bears the sense of going as well as coming: and here means, as hath been clearly proved, the time when the women went from their several homes: in which case there is no such difficulty in conceiving the means that may have kept the two parties asunder as long as we suppose it requisite.

Let us but consider the situation of certain places in Jerusalem, and we shall find it not only possible but probable, that these things should have fallen out as they have been stated; and indeed that they could not well have happened otherwise; if we may rely on a map of that city, not of arbitrary construction, but compiled from antient documents.

The places here set down have their names affixed, all but a few houses near the Dung-gate; which, to keep them distinct from the rest of the map, have only numeral figures.

N^o 1. Is the house of Zebedee, once a collegiate church, now a Turkish mosque.

N^o 2. The church of St. Mark, where his house stood.

N^o 3.

N^o 3. The house of St. James.

N^o 4. A chapel where once stood the house of St. Thomas.

The dotted line was designed by the compiler of the map to show the way, along which Christ was led from the palace of Caiaphas to mount Calvary.

That which he calls the Gate of the Valley is called by some others the Gate of Judgement, because criminals were led to execution through it.

In Zebedee's house Salome, whether then his wife or widow, would abide with her son St. John. It stood very near to that which the map calls the Dung-gate; which opening the nearest way to the sepulchre from that part of the town, in this house would be deposited the spices prepared on the preceding evening by her, Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, as the most convenient place from which they might be taken to the sepulchre. Her friends the two Maries, who had staid at the sepulchre by themselves on Friday evening, did probably lodge together, perhaps in an interior part of the city, at least more remote from the Dung-gate; and on that account went forth before it was clear day-light, that they might be in good time at Zebedee's house: from which, when all things were ready, they and Salome proceeded to the sepulchre so as to be there at the rising of the sun.

The lodgings of Joanna, whose husband was steward to Herod, we may fix in or near the palace: the direct way from which to the sepulchre was through the Gate of the Valley. It is seen at once that this palace and Zebedee's house were in different quarters of the city. They therefore who started

ed from either had little inducement to make such a round as would be necessary to call at the other, when it was supposed they would all meet at the sepulchre. The map shows also that the distance from Herod's palace to the sepulchre was at least twice as much as from Zebedee's house. If therefore the three women that went from the latter to the sepulchre, and reached it about six, were half an hour in going, They who set out from the palace, at the same rate of walking twice the distance, would be there half an hour later. But we can hardly believe them to have been thus expeditious as to have arrived but half an hour after the first party. Early in the morning as Joanna and one or two of her friends were prepared to set out, they had to wait for others who might live at some distance, or not be quite so punctual: and when they were collected, women of Galilee and women of Jerusalem, if any of them were slow walkers the rest could get on no faster, if they were to keep together in a body. We may therefore well allow near an hour between the arrivals of the two companies; which is amply sufficient for all that is supposed to have happened in the interim.

The errand of the women, who had seen an angelic vision, was to the apostles; of whom St. John would dwell in his own house, that had been his father Zebedee's. Nor was St. Peter's far from him: John xx. 2. To these the women would first repair, as Mary Magdalene had before. And wherever the rest of the apostles were to be found, unless the path towards their lodgings lay through the Gate of the Valley, which we have no reason to suppose; the company that first retired from the sepulchre could not meet the other advancing towards it.

Herod's

Herod's palace may be admitted to have been where the map places it. It may seem more questionable, how the site of Zebedee's house, originally we may imagine an obscure building, could be recovered, when the whole city had been razed to its foundations. But Jerusalem stood on the risings and sinkings of very uneven ground, intersected as well as encompassed with walls, the bases of which would remain: and thus the parts into which it had been distributed, and the contents of each division, were more easily recollected and ascertained, than if the like calamity had befallen a city built on a plain. And the Christians who had retired to Pella and the mountains beyond Jordan before the siege, being returned to it after its destruction, would be guided by certain standing marks to the structures which they had before held in veneration. And to rebuild them as near as might be in the old places, and call them again by their old names, might be no unpleasing consolation to those who were resettled in the fallen city. Nor from the desolation of Jerusalem to the present times has the succession of its Christian inhabitants been ever long interrupted; often as it has changed its masters, and suffered by its conquerors, Romans, Persians, Saracens, Manalucs, and Ottomans.

If Fable has added its conceits to traditionary truths in these matters, yet I do not find that it has interested itself about Zebedee, or told any thing of him that required his presence or an abode for him at Jerusalem. The true reason, why a house is assigned him in it, seems to have been that he really had one, the same probably which his son St. John called his own house, John xix. 27. It might come to them from their ancestors; and Zebedee, though he resided in Galilee, might feel the usual reluctance to part with his inheritance, and that in the Holy City.

It

It might even be more valuable to him and his friends at the great festivals, and on other occasions, than the price of a dwelling in such a part of the city.

The part of Jerusalem which is here delineated is from the map of Villalpandus, a learned Spaniard of Cordova, well known for his commentary on Ezekiel and designs of Solomon's Temple, and celebrated by many authors of name for his skill and accuracy in these researches. Among other eminent men, who have adopted his topography of Jerusalem as the most satisfactory, is Bishop Walton in his Polyglot.

Only the four houses that are numbered, and did not come properly under the consideration of Villalpandus, are from the view of Jerusalem given by Cotovicus, an eminent civilian of Utrecht, who visited Palestine in the year of our Lord 1598.

Though in this view he sets down the Dung-gate, not as it stands in Villalpandus¹, but as in the present city, much changed in situation and shape from its antient state; yet he places the houses in question precisely as they are here disposed, near to a line by which he distinguishes the course of the wall that divided the old city from mount Calvary. Herman Witsius says of him that he examined Jerusalem with curious eyes. And so certainly thought a traveler of great note, who was there about twelve years after him, our countryman Mr. George Sandys. For the drawings of Cotovicus of the Temple of the Holy Sepulchre, and other parts of Jerusalem, are closely

¹ Villalpandus must be right with regard to the situation of the Dung-gate in antient Jerusalem. See Nehemiah ii. 13, 14. iii. 13—15.

followed

followed in Sandys' Travels : and the praise which Mr. Maundrell bestows on the latter, for exactness in these matters, belongs equally to the other.

The map of Villalpandus, with the addition of the houses from Cotovicus, illustrates the incidents of the morning of the resurrection, as if it was fabricated for that very purpose. And yet we may venture to affirm that these learned men had not the most distant idea of the use to which their designs are applicable. Their notion, I presume, was the same as was generally entertained, that the women all went to the sepulchre in one company ; which is not particularly favoured by either plan separately ; and, when they are thus united, is rather discountenanced by them : for hence it appears, while all the women were hastening to the same place, how much time some of them must lose by going to join the others, for the sake of setting out with them.

The history not being framed to tally with the map, nor the map with the history, their undesigned agreement adds to the credibility of both.

Another great difficulty is found in this passage of St. Luke :

“ And they returned from the sepulchre and told [reported] all these things unto the Eleven, and to all the rest.

It was Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James, and other women that were with them, which told these things unto the apostles.

And

And their words seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not." xxiv. 9—11.

The five verses preceding the ninth give an account of the appearance and speech of the angels to the women of whom St. Luke has been speaking.

The ninth informs us that these women came and reported all these things to the apostles and all the disciples.

The tenth is supposed to be explanatory of the ninth; and therefore that the women named in it had been at the sepulchre together, had there seen the vision of the angels, and then had come as one company to the apostles, and reported it to them.

This may seem a fair account of the passage if we consider it singly: but on a larger view of the history we may judge another construction necessary; for which eminent authors have laid a good foundation.

In Gerhard's Evangelical Harmony it is remarked that "These Things" are to be taken distributively, and as respecting different subjects of which they are predicated; that Mary Magdalene told the things which she had observed; and the other women what the angels had testified concerning Christ's resurrection: for that Mary Magdalene told the apostles the vision and speech of the angels Luke nowhere says, nor does it agree with John's account¹.

¹ Harmon. Histor. Evangel. de Resurrectione Christi; Cap. i. p. 240. col. 1. Vide etiam pag. 257. col. 1. ad inum.

Dr. Benson says: Mary Magdalene told some part, and the other women the rest of these things¹.

Dr. Macknight: Mary Magdalene was at the sepulchre with Peter and John. But her report, though made separately, is justly joined by Luke with that of her companions, for various reasons².

Dr. Lardner: St. Luke puts together the whole testimonie of the women. But we know from St. John that their testimonie consisted of two reports, brought down to the apostles at different times³.

Mr. Pilkington: St. Luke informs us that it was Mary Magdalene, &c. who gave an account of what they had seen and heard to the apostles; but without specifying whether they had seen these things together or separately⁴.

Dr. Doddridge also in his Paraphrase on the place distinguishes the report of Mary Magdalene from that of the other women.

Why have these learned men taken the liberty of separating what St. Luke in this tenth verse seems to have closely united? Is it not because they were convinced that the verse is to be explained by the history, not the history confined by the verse? A distribution of "These Things" into two reports they hold necessary. If then we should be led to a third by this history, we must by their examples be free to follow its guidance.

¹ Summary View of the Evidences of Christ's Resurrection, Lond. 1754. 8vo. p. 25.

² Harmony of the four Gospels, Sect. 150. p. 633. 2d edit.

³ Observations on Dr. Macknight's Harmony, 4to. p. 44.

⁴ Evangelical History and Harmony, Notes, p. 61.

The evidences of the resurrection of Christ, as stated in the preceding pages, which the women could then produce, were these:

- i. The appearance and speech of the angel sitting on the right hand in the sepulchre, at which Mary the mother of James was present, but not Mary Magdalene.
- ii. The appearance of Christ to Mary Magdalene only, near the sepulchre, within which she had just before seen two angels.
- iii. His second appearance to the women, as they went "to bring his disciples word," at which Mary the mother of James was present.
- iv. The appearance of the two angels who stood by the women, when they had been in the tomb, "and found not the body of the Lord Jesus."

I trust it has been proved to be most consonant to the Evangelists to consider these as four distinct successive appearances, circumstanced as they have been represented. And on this foot it is not possible that Mary Magdalene, or Mary the mother of James, can have been of the company of which St. Luke says, "And they entered in, and found not the body of the Lord Jesus:—and they were much perplexed thereabout¹." This cannot apply to those who, as the second and third instances show, had already seen the Lord, and were perfectly persuaded of his resurrection. There remains only Joanna of the three women mentioned by St. Luke, that can have laboured under such perplexity, as not having been a witness of any of the preceding appearances. She

¹ xxiv. 3, 4.

also was presently after informed of the resurrection by the two angels; and so went from the sepulchre to the apostles with a testimony, with which neither Mary Magdalene nor the other Mary was acquainted. We observe also, that the testimonies of the two latter were distinct from each other: Mary Magdalene first saw the Lord; but before this, and in her absence, Mary the mother of James had seen the angel sitting in the sepulchre, who gave the earliest tidings of the resurrection.

It being then plain that each of these women had evidence of it, which neither of the others had personal knowledge of, we must go a little beyond our learned authorities, yet still on the ground which they took, and distribute "These Things" into three reports instead of two. And this is a point that, I think, puts the design of the verse before us out of question; and shows that St. Luke joined Mary Magdalene, Joanna, and Mary the mother of James, together, not because they all reported the same thing to the apostles, but for a higher reason, because they severally attested different things in such manner, that the amount of their testimonies was the whole of the evidence that could then be exhibited.

If St. Luke had intended only to tell us, who the women were, that had searched the tomb and then saw the two angels, he could have done it in fewer words: "And Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James, and other women that were with them, returned from the sepulchre, and told all these things unto the Eleven, and to all the rest." This had been more in his usual style than to say the same thing twice over in a breath.

When

When he judges it proper to name those of whom he is discoursing, it is not customary with him to keep his readers in suspense to the end of a long paragraph: he gives the names of the persons either in the outset of the narrative relating to them, or as soon after as he has a fair opportunity. And this also may be of some weight in the argument, that he has placed the names of these three women in the tenth verse, not by way of concluding the preceding story, but rather as the opening of another part of his subject. He was going to speak of the incredulity of the disciples: and the evidences of our Lord's resurrection being then in the hands of the women, it was proper to begin with specifying some of them who were in full possession of it, and at the same time were in credit and esteem with these disciples; that it might be seen what clear and ample testimonies their prejudiced minds could resist. The account of their incredulity, interrupted only by a circumstance concerning St. Peter, is continued on, and exemplified in Cleopas and his fellow traveler.

He says of the women that had seen the two angels, that "They returned from the sepulchre, and reported [ἀπήγγειλαν] all these things unto the Eleven, and to all the rest ¹."

He says of those whom he names, that they were they "which told [ἔλεγον] these things unto the apostles ²."

If he had meant exactly the same thing in both verses, only with the addition of names, as in the message of John the Baptist delivered by his disciples to Christ, Luke vii. 19, 20. it is not very

¹ Luke xxiv. 9.

² Ib. 10.

likely that he would have changed "They reported" into "They told" for the sake of those whose nice ears might have judged so quick a return of the same word inelegant. He did not affect elegance in composing a Gospel. His study was propriety of diction; and this is the character of his style. But when two words of nearly similar meaning are used, propriety requires that each should stand in a place which the other would not fill with equal accuracy, when the subject is a little different. And some difference here supposed, perhaps he who considers the original may be induced to think, that each of the two words does best where it is, and that neither of them would have served so well for both occasions.

Again; He says in verse 9. "All these things;" in verse 10. "These Things." "All these things," in the former instance, are all the particulars of the preceding vision: "These Things," in the latter instance, are the evidences of Christ's resurrection, or the whole subject of which he is here treating. As when St. John says, xxi. 24. "This is the disciple which testifieth of these things, and wrote these things;" he does not limit the sense of "These things" to the event next foregoing, but extends it to his whole Gospel: and, Luke x. 21. when our Lord says, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes;" "These things" are not to be restricted to any one article immediately antecedent: they are spoken of the whole of our Lord's past ministry; and as much of those parts of it, which St. Luke has omitted, as of those which he has recorded. So also in the verse before us "These Things" are not merely what is related by him, but the sum total of the testimonies by which the women confirmed the same event.

An explication, that without doing violence to the passage explained sets it in a light of perfect consistence with the subject of which it is a part, will merit the preference, even if another sense may appear as natural on a detached view of the passage. We may add, that St. Luke has further intimated that he is here to be understood as he has been interpreted: if we may judge of the outset by his subsequent procedure in the history of the Resurrection: by the outset I mean what he tells concerning the women till they came to make their report to the apostles. Thenceforward to the end of his Gospel he does not relate a single fact in common with St. Matthew; and till the Ascension very little in common with St. Mark: as if he meant to show us, that he did not take up the subject on the ground of the preceding Evangelists, but designed to open to the Christian world new wonders of that wonderful time.

St. Matthew and St. Mark had confined their narrative to the women that went first to the sepulchre; where the things which they saw and heard deserved to be told for a memorial of them. But their number, and the way by which they went, made them no object of attention to those who might see them go. The company described by St. Luke was more numerous: and with the women of Galilee were some of Jerusalem. They set out probably from a more conspicuous part of the city, and went through a greater length of it; "carrying the spices which they had prepared:" a circumstance so much less observable in the former party, that St. Mark, if indeed it happened, passes it over. In fact this seems to have been the solemn procession through the city to the sepulchre, in honour of their Lord. And when the spices, that had been taken out to anoint his body, were brought back, it was a natural in-

quiry of the spectators, Why they had not been used: to which the same answer was returned by women of Galilee and women of Jerusalem; that would occasion a murmur to spread throughout the city concerning the most marvelous of all events.

To tell of these things was a very valuable Enlargement of the Gospel history; which St. Luke, alluding also to the former party, has made subservient to his purpose of showing what evidence the disciples could resist.

The first women told the apostles, that they had seen the Lord, and embraced his feet. This was much too hard a saying to be received by them. As they believed the intercourse of angels with men, the second company brought a report to them that seemed better to fall in with their notions. But no mode of testimony could work upon them. The words of the women, of two distinct parties, "seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not."

Not long after, these disciples so obstinate in incredulity proclaimed the resurrection of Christ to the people of Jerusalem, before the elders of Israel, and then to the ends of the earth; at the hazard of their fortunes, their liberties, and often of their lives: and this they did with intrepid constancy, and astonishing success. But whence this great change in themselves, and the conversion of such multitudes? No reasonable account can be given of the matter, but that they had been convinced themselves by ocular demonstration that Christ was risen, and convinced others by demonstration of the Spirit: "the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following."

From this long justification of the order hitherto observed, let us now return to the history.

“Then arose Peter, and ran unto the sepulchre; and stooping down he beheld the linen clothes laid by themselves, and departed, wondering in himself at that which was come to pass.” Luke xxiv. 12.

There is good reason to believe, that the Evangelists have disposed what each of them writes on the subject of the resurrection in exact order of time. But this is an instance of exception, if St. Luke and St. John both describe the same going of St. Peter to the sepulchre: for that in which St. Peter and St. John went together was before any report of the women concerning a vision of angels; this is related after such report. Mons. Toinard therefore makes them distinct. How the matter really was let us inquire a little.

Cleopas, on the way to Emmaus, having signified his despair that He, in whom they had trusted till very lately, should redeem Israel, proceeds to other causes of their distress of mind: and having mentioned that certain women of their company, who were early that morning at the sepulchre, not having found the body, came telling it, and that they had also seen a vision of angels which said that he was alive; then adds, “And certain also of them which were with us went to the sepulchre, and found it even so as the women had said;” that is, with respect to the absence of the body: “but him they saw
saw

saw not¹." It is plain that they, who then went to the sepulchre, knew of the vision of angels seen by the women. Cleopas calls them "certain of them which were with us;" which indefinite expression may mean only one, or one only as principal. Whom then had he in view? As we cannot have a better interpreter than St. Luke of his own narration, let us observe what he has said just above. He mentions four things in succession: 1. the report of the women on returning from the sepulchre: 2. the disbelief of their report by the disciples: 3. the going of St. Peter to the sepulchre: 4. the conversation of Cleopas on the way to Emmaus. The last of these articles is an exemplification of the second, the incredulity of the disciples; and the connection between them, is rather interrupted by the third, the act of St. Peter. The account of him was therefore inserted here, at least it was one purpose of inserting it, to apprise us beforehand whom Cleopas means by "certain of them which were with us." As interpreted by St. Luke he means St. Peter: and St. Peter went then to the sepulchre, knowing of the vision of angels; that is, he went thither a second time: and this is confirmed by his behaviour on this occasion. When he went with St. John, he did not stoop down to look into the tomb, but entered it directly, and examined it minutely: but now no more was necessary than to stoop down and look into it, to see whether he could ascertain with his own eyes what the women had affirmed concerning the angels seen there. But no angels appeared to him. He "beheld only the linen clothes lying;" as bishop Pearce, justly I think, translates the words in this place²; and as Mr. West had before trans-

¹ Luke xxiv. 24.

² Commentary on the four Evangelists.

lated them¹. The differences between the accounts of St. Luke and St. John, on this subject, are so clearly stated and so well argued by Mr. West, that two able harmonists, Dr. Doddridge² and Mr. Pilkington³, who had followed the general opinion in the body of their works, did afterwards allow him to have proved, that St. Peter twice visited the sepulchre. This appears to be the real fact: but which ever way it is determined, the preceding plan will not be affected by the decision.

¹ Observations on the History and Evidence of the Resurrection, p. 54.

² Family Expositor, Vol. iii. Postscript, p. 15.

³ Evangelical History and Harmony, Notes, p. 94.

O B S E R V A T I O N S

ON

SECTION VII.

AFTERNOON AND EVENING OF THE
RESURRECTION.

1. *The sentiments of the disciples in general concerning Christ's Resurrection.*
2. *Cleopas and his companion, when our Lord joined them on the way to Emmaus, were acquainted with the whole of the women's testimony concerning him.*
3. *Only ten of the apostles, and not many of the other disciples, assembled when Christ first appeared to them.*

§ 1. **WE** are not told what progress St. Peter made towards believing, when he returned from the sepulchre, wondering in himself at that which was come to pass. But the apostles and disciples in general, astonished at the condemnation and death of their Lord, and abandoning their former trust "that it was he who should redeem Israel," seem to have thought and reasoned to this effect:

“ We

“ We have heard out of the Law and Prophets, according to the current and approved interpretations of them, that Messiah abideth for ever¹. How then can he have perished by the hands of the ungodly? The King of Israel is to triumph over all, and reign gloriously upon earth. Is it therefore to be conceived, that his lustre and greatness were to be tarnished with the ignominy of hanging as accursed on a tree? Our Master and Lord was indeed a prophet; a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people. But when an evil and perverse generation have slain their prophets, does Heaven for their sakes bring back these men of God from the grave? If his body is not to be found, may it not have been honoured with a burial like that of Moses²? Angels may have conveyed it away: and these Angels, nay and his own Spirit too, may have appeared and spoken to the women, to console his followers with an assurance that a Soul so holy and spotless is still alive to God, as Abraham and the Patriarchs live. But when these women added that they had seen him risen with his body, and had embraced and held his feet, what can be supposed but that their fond desire deceived their senses? In all the Volume of the Book, and in the list of his own mighty works, there is not an instance that one, so wounded and pierced as he has been, was ever restored to life.”

With sentiments and arguments like these the disciples of our Lord seem to have combated the evidence of his resurrection. They were too much blinded by national prejudices to understand the Scriptures, that Christ was to die and rise again; and were too closely pressed with grief to admit a

¹ John xii. 34.

² Deut. xxxiv. 6.

due consideration of his instructions and promises to them. They therefore mourned and wept : and what was reported and affirmed by the women did but add perplexity to their sorrow.

§ 2. In such a mood did Cleopas and another disciple set out that day for Emmaus¹. It is not said who that disciple was. If he had been an apostle, St. Luke would surely have named him with Cleopas, or in preference to him. It is in many respects an unhappy conjecture that it was St. Peter. These two being joined on the road by Christ related to him a part, and a part only, of the women's testimony. Did they then know the whole? I think it evident they did ; and that it may be concluded,

First, from the time at which they must have set out. On drawing near to Emmaus they observed that it was towards evening and the day was far spent. The word used by St. Luke for Evening² includes no part of it that is before the setting of the sun ; which then went down about six ; and therefore towards evening, or the setting of the sun, could not well be earlier than five. They had not quite completed seven miles and an half ; for the walking of which if we allow three hours to men inured to exercise, we allow full enough. Yet say they had been five hours on the road, it must still have been noon when they left Jerusalem ; before which time all that the women had told of their morning's occurrences would be known among the disciples, and to Cleopas in particular, the father or husband of one of the Maries principally concerned.

Secondly, from a part of the conversation of Cleopas :

¹ Luke xxiv. 13.

² Ἐσπέρα. See p. 77.

“ Yea,

“Yea, and certain women also of our company made us astonished, which were early at the sepulchre; and when they found not his body, they came telling it, and that they had also seen a vision of angels, which said that he was alive. And certain of them which were with us went to the sepulchre, and found it so as the women had said; but him they saw not.” Luke xxiv. 22—24.

This passage has just now been considered to prove that “Certain of them which were with us” means St. Peter principally if not solely¹: and St. Luke, who, as I apprehend, keeps here to the exact order of time, places St. Peter’s visit to the sepulchre after the return of all the women from it to the apostles and disciples. St. Peter therefore then knew as well what the two Marias as what Joanna and the women with her had affirmed: and what was known of this matter by St. Peter would be known also by Cleopas. Besides this, Cleopas I think discovers indirectly that he had heard what the women declared concerning the appearance of Christ to them. He mentions two things reported by them: one, that they found not his body; and another, that they had seen a vision of angels, who said that he was alive. He subjoins, that some of their company going to the sepulchre perceived the first part of the report to be true. But of the second what does he say? We expect to hear “But the Angels they saw not:” instead of which his words are “But Him they saw not.” Why this expectation of seeing Him, grounded on the testimony of the women, unless it had been part of their testimony, that Him they had seen?

But if Cleopas was apprized of the stronger part of the women’s evidence, how happened it that he

¹ See Index of Texts; Luke xxiv. 24.

mentioned only the weaker? St. Augustin conjectures, that, not knowing with whom he was conversing, he might be cautious of propagating news that might bring him under the lash of the Jewish rulers. But it is much more likely, that, feeling from the very first an entire confidence in the stranger who had joined them, he had no such apprehensions. Still it might not suit with the melancholy state of his mind to say more than he did. He might be rather disposed to indulge his sorrow for the loss of his Lord, than to check it by dwelling on reports of his resurrection, which he regarded as visionary tales.

And yet after all, is it certain that he had done speaking on the subject? Our Lord, who chose that he should show his sentiments, but did not need his information, might then see proper to interpose, and to begin his address to him and his companion, without allowing him time to proceed in his narrative.

They who do not admit that the two disciples knew the whole report of the women, suppose Joanna and her company, who went latest to the sepulchre, to have been the first of these women that found their way back from it to the apostles; and Cleopas, having heard only their intelligence, to have set out early in the forenoon for Emmaus, without waiting for the tidings which Mary, his wife or daughter, might bring from the same place on so interesting an occasion. This appears a less probable and less natural account of the matter than that which has been offered; which creates no embarrassment in the history of the women, but brings it down in a simple and easy manner.

§ 3. Though there were but ten of the apostles present when Christ first showed himself to them, St. Luke calls them the Eleven¹; either because it was, just at that time, the title of the Apostolical College; or because St. Matthias, who was soon after to be adopted into it, was there, and by anticipation is numbered as one of it. With these there were other disciples present; but, it is likely, not many. They stood in fear of the Jews; and, that they might not give umbrage to them, would think it prudent not to meet together in too large a number.

¹ xxiv. 33.

O B S E R V A T I O N S

ON

SECTION VIII.

WEEK FOLLOWING THE RESURRECTION.

1. *They who had seen Christ endeavour to convince the residue, but without much success.*
2. *The nature of their incredulity.*
3. *St. Thomas's declaration.*
4. *One ground of his incredulity.*

§ 1. **O**UR Lord on the morning of his resurrection showed himself first to some of those pious women, who had ministered to him living, and studied to honour his crucified body with a zeal and tenderness of dutiful attachment. After this he appeared on the same day three times to the men: first to St. Peter, as chief of the apostles; next to Cleopas and his friend, as representatives of the other disciples; and thirdly to a mixt company of them. These, being all thoroughly satisfied themselves,

selves, laboured on the next and following days to convince their fellow disciples : in which endeavours Cleopas and his companion, to whom Christ had vouchsafed so much of his conversation, took an active part ¹.

§ 2. But incredulity still prevailed among the residue. They allowed, it is most likely, so many of their friends affirming the same thing, that they had seen him *Living*, but would not be persuaded that they had seen him *Risen*. The resurrection of his crucified body was the insuperable difficulty with St. Thomas, who spoke their common sentiments. "He thought it not impossible," as Origen observes, "that the Soul of a departed person might be seen ; but he could not think it true that he was risen again with the same body : and therefore his speech was not, Except I shall see him, I shall not believe ; but, Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I shall not believe ²."

§ 3. Our Translation seems not to do justice to St. Thomas ³. It makes him profess a resolution not to believe ; when he may mean only an inability to believe, but on certain conditions. "I *shall* not believe" is a version no less faithful, and more equitable, than "I *will* not believe."

§ 4. The miraculous manner in which Christ came into the room, the doors being shut and fastened, was a proof to those that were present, that it

¹ Mark xvi. 13.

² Origen against Celsus, B. ii. p. 97.

³ John xx. 25.

was he himself, not any man who attempted to personate him. But the same circumstance might contribute to the incredulity of St. Thomas and others that were absent, and confirm their suspicions that it was only his spirit, not a real body, which had thus entered. As a plain and easy refutation of which, our Lord might choose to come into the room the second time just in the same manner¹.

¹ Compare ver. 19. and 26.

OBSERVATIONS

ON

SECTION IX.

SUNDAY AFTER THE RESURRECTION.

1. *The second appearance of Christ to a number of his disciples before they left Jerusalem.*
2. *This the appearance mentioned by St. Mark.*
3. *An appointment made for seeing him in Galilee.*

§ 1. **I**T is not recorded that our Lord showed himself to any of his disciples during the week that followed his resurrection : but on the octave of it he vouchsafed them another visit ; and it was in the place where they had seen him on the first day. This we infer from St. John ¹ ; who distinguishes the scenes of the other appearances of Christ, but connects this with the preceding by a circumstance common to both : “The doors were shut, where the disciples were assembled, for fear of the Jews² ;” that is, of the Jewish rulers. They were therefore still in Jerusalem, where chiefly, if not solely, such caution was necessary. Yet experience of security for the past week in some, and in others trust in

¹ John xx. 26.² Ib. 19.

their Lord whom they had seen risen, would considerably abate their first fears, and encourage them probably to assemble in a larger company than on the preceding Sunday: and it is likely that with the Eleven now together were present several disciples that were not apostles.

§ 2. To this time we must refer, with Maldonate and some other commentators, the last verse of the following passage of St. Mark:

“After that he appeared in another form unto two of them, as they walked and went into the country. And they went and told it unto the residue: neither believed they them.

Afterward he appeared unto the Eleven, as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen him after he was risen.” xvi. 12—14.

The difficulties, which some have found in reconciling this part of St. Mark with the other Evangelists, have arisen from a hasty conclusion, that he is here speaking of the appearance of Christ to his disciples on the evening of his resurrection; with which it certainly does not agree.

In strictness the apostles then present were not eleven; for St. Thomas was not with them: nor were they sitting at meat; for our Lord's question, “Have ye here any meat,” implies that either they had not begun their repast, or, which is more probable from the time and the fragment which they produced, Luke xxiv. 42. that they had ended it, and set away the remains of it. But we need not lay any stress on these circumstances. One, which
it

it is much more difficult to reconcile with the appearance of the first evening, is contained in these words :

“ And they went and told it unto the residue :
neither believed they them.”

Most undoubtedly these “ two of them,” mentioned by St. Mark, were Cleopas and his companion. But they returned late in the evening to Jerusalem, and repaired directly to the assembly of the apostles ; where they found no disposition to disbelieve them, but on the contrary were saluted on entering the room with this voice of the company : “ The Lord is risen indeed and hath appeared to Simon ;” Luke xxiv. 34. They therefore whom St. Mark calls the Residue, and who did not believe them, were they who had not yet seen the Lord. But to these they could not relate their story till after their interview with the apostles. It must have been the next day, and in the course of the following week, that they met with such instances of incredulity. But then this week must have preceded the time of which St. Mark says, “ Afterward he appeared unto the Eleven.” For if we understand “ Afterward” as equivalent in this place to Thirdly, still this third appearance cannot with any propriety or likelihood be placed before the report of Cleopas and his friend to the Residue ; which, as we have seen, could not be made till after the day of the resurrection.

It may be observed that instead of “ Afterward” the old Italic version, which I presume was used by St. Augustin, had “ Lastly :” and this is the reading of the Vulgate ; which may be admitted, if we understand “ Lastly” of the last appearance of Christ to his disciples at Jerusalem. But whether St. Mark said “ Afterward,” or “ Lastly,” he could mean no

other appearance ; as is plain from another of his expressions :

“ He upbraided them with their unbelief, and hardness of heart.”

St. Luke and St. John both describe the first appearance of Christ to his disciples, and neither of them gives the least intimation of any thing like reproof, which they then heard from the mouth of their affectionate Lord. The whole of his discourse and behaviour to them was directed at that time to the composing of their trouble and the satisfying of their dubious minds. Reprehension was reserved for the following Sunday ; when a whole week having been allowed to examine and compare the proofs of his resurrection, and to call to mind his own predictions and promises concerning it, They who continued incredulous were become more worthy of blame. Then, if he said no more by way of reproof than what he addressed to St. Thomas, it was a reprehension of the rest of the company that were in the same state of mind : and it is sufficient to justify St. Mark's expression, “ He upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart.” St. Mark says, “ He appeared unto the Eleven :” and it was of consequence to inform us that he was seen by the apostles : but when he adds, “ And he upbraided them with their unbelief,” he extends his view to all those, whom he had spoken of as incredulous in the preceding verse ¹.

Neither St. Matthew nor St. Mark instances in more than one appearance of Christ to his apostles. St. Matthew, taking no notice of the appearances to them at Jerusalem, proceeds immediately to the

¹ See Whitby on Luke v. 17.

mountain in Galilee. St. Mark had certainly the same liberty of choice, and might pass over the evening of the resurrection, and fix on the octave of it, if he judged it most to his purpose. The apostles were then all present, and, as we have reason to believe, other disciples in a greater number than before. The company consisted of those who had seen the Lord, and of those who had not seen him: which latter class of them St. Mark calls the Residue. And he might choose this time on account not only of the fulness of the assembly, but of the doctrine implied in our Lord's reprehension of the incredulous part of them, that they who reject the attestations given of his resurrection, because they themselves have never seen him, plead an excuse that will not justify their unbelief in his sight ¹.

§ 3. Our Lord sent word by the women to the disciples, that they should go into Galilee, and there they should see him. After they had received this message they staid still a week in Jerusalem. We may therefore presume, that at his first appearance to them he gave some intimation that they should not leave the city till they had further directions from him; and in like manner that in his second interview he appointed the place and time of meeting them again in Galilee.

¹ See West on the Resurrection, p. 299.

OBSERVATIONS

ON

SECTION X.

AND

THE TRANSACTIONS ON THE MOUNTAIN
IN GALILEE:

MATTH. xxviii. 16—18.

THE appearance of Christ to his disciples on the mountain in Galilee was by promise and appointment; which we do not learn to have been the case of any preceding. St. Matthew, passing over all the intermediate appearances to the men, carries the view of his reader directly to this. Here the disciples were prepared to expect a sight of the Lord; whom they beheld in an open space and light; first, as it seems, at some distance; and then coming to them¹, and conversing with them in his usual manner and voice: where there could be no fear of their Jewish adversaries to discompose their minds. We may reckon it another advantage of this appearance, that it must have been of great notoriety. For though St. Matthew speaks only of the Eleven as present at it, it is judged by the learned in general to have been that which is mentioned by St. Paul: * After that he was seen of above five hundred bre-

¹ See Index of Texts; Matth. xxviii. 18.

thren at once ¹." Five hundred brethren, from different parts of Palestine, would afford most of its Jewish inhabitants an opportunity of knowing the truth from some of the eye-witnesses, if they were desirous of enquiring into it; and must quickly spread the fame of such an event throughout the whole country.

St. Matthew's words, "But some doubted ²," are to be rendered, in the judgment of Grotius, "But some had doubted ³;" in which sense they may refer to the incredulity of the Eleven and those that were with them, till they were convinced by ocular demonstration. But if our Translation is preferred, and it seems preferable, the words must be understood of those who had not seen the Lord before, and doubted as others had done, till they beheld him nigh at hand. When they first saw him at a distance, they might worship him as present, with some doubts whether he was really present in the body. And these doubts might not be thoroughly removed, till they had a full and near inspection of his person. If the latter is St. Matthew's meaning, it shows, that although he mentions only the Eleven, he supposes others to have been with them on this occasion: for before this time every one of the apostles was perfectly satisfied; and they who doubted must have been others of the disciples.

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 6.

² xxviii. 17.

³ Quidam vero addubitaverant. Grotius on the place.

OBSERVATIONS

ON

SECTION XI.

1. *Appearance by the sea of Tiberias in what order to be placed.*
2. *The Apostles the chosen witnesses.*

§ 1. **I** THINK the appearance by the sea of Tiberias, John xxi. is rightly placed after that on the mountain of Galilee ¹.

St. John having related two appearances of Christ at Jerusalem, and going next to relate this by the sea of Tiberias, prefixes to it the following sentence :

“ And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book.” xx. 30.

As the sentence stands connected, we conclude from it, 1. that St. John considers the appearances of Christ to men on earth after his resurrection as instances of the same divine power, by which he had risen from the dead, and done his other wonderful works ; and that he includes all under the name of

¹ See Pilkington in the Index.

“ signs :”

“signs :” 2. that the word “Many” refers to these signs in common, to the appearances after the resurrection as well as the miracles prior to it, and signifies that “many” of both sorts “are not written in this book.” 3. The same observation in substance being made by St. John soon after, in the end of his Gospel, the interrupting of his narration to insert it in this place seems an intimation, that the two appearances, between which it is inserted, are not necessarily to be regarded as next in succession to each other, because they are so disposed by him; there being many which he has omitted. He does indeed say of the appearance by the sea of Tiberias, “This is now the third time that Jesus showed himself to his disciples after that he was risen from the dead,” xxi. 14. And so it is of the appearances to them related by himself. But in other respects it is rather a third than the third time in which Jesus showed himself to his disciples¹. He had been seen by St. Peter, by Cleopas and his companion, and twice by the general company of the apostles, before this time. Nor can it be said that St. John enumerates only those appearances that were to the whole or main body of the disciples: for in that sense the appearance in question can hardly be reckoned a third; no more than seven disciples being present at it, of whom we are not certain that above four were apostles.

Thus the order of this appearance not being ascertained by the place where it stands in St. John, nor by his words, “This is now the third time,” it must be settled by other considerations.

St. Matthew says, “Then the eleven disciples went away into Galilee, into a mountain where

¹ Wall's Critical Notes on the New Testament. See on John xxi. 14.

Jesus had appointed them," xxviii. 16. And from these words we infer, that on leaving Jerusalem they went thither without parting company; and that our Lord fixed the time as well as place of seeing him in Galilee. Now his tender love for his people would induce him, as we may reasonably as well as piously believe, to gratify their desires in the time named by him, that they who had not yet beheld his triumph over the grave, might be blessed with being joyful witnesses of it. On this account we conclude that the time named by him was as early as could suit their convenience in assembling¹.

But the appearance by the sea of Tiberias is said by St. John to have been "After these things;" xxi. 1. that is, I apprehend, at some distance from the last interview between Christ and his disciples at Jerusalem. They were no longer all together when it happened: and in it our Lord seems to hold a sort of farewell discourse with St. Peter; and to address himself to him in such manner, as if he was no more to talk with Him in particular, but only, between their return to Jerusalem and his ascension, to speak of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God to the apostles and disciples in common.

§ 2. Seven disciples were present on this occasion; but St. John names only five of them: and if the prevailing opinion is true that Nathanael is Bartholomew, it is observable that of the number of men, who saw Christ after his resurrection, no one that was not an apostle is mentioned by name, except Cleopas. Though Christ had at the same time

¹ Dr. John Richardson bishop of Ardagh, whose Harmony of the Gospels is mentioned with much esteem by Mr. Pilkington, Preface p. xiii. placed this appearance after that on the mountain in Galilee. See Pilkington's Notes on his Harmony, p. 64. Mr. Pilkington however was of a different opinion.

many other servants of approved zeal and fidelity, and ready also to bear witness to the truth by dying for it; yet the Evangelists still direct our eyes to those, who were chosen before of God to be the standing witnesses of the resurrection of his only Son; intent chiefly on showing that they had infallible proofs of it. St. Matthew, the only one of the Four who records the appearance on the mountain of Galilee, has left the largeness of the assembly to its notoriety among his countrymen, and spoken of no more than "the Eleven" as present at it¹, though indeed he may be well understood to signify that there were more.

¹ xxviii. 16.

O B S E R V A T I O N S

ON

SECTION XII.

AND

THE TRANSACTIONS FROM THE RETURN OF
THE APOSTLES TO JERUSALEM TO
CHRIST'S ASCENSION.

OUR Lord conversed with his disciples from time to time in the space between his resurrection and ascension, "speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God." Few of these his last instructions are recorded in the Gospels; and it is not possible to fix the exact order and time of these few. Only there is reason to think, that what is here placed in the last Section was all spoken when the apostles were returned to Jerusalem. When he was risen, his first order to them was to go into Galilee, and that there they should see him. When therefore he commanded them to tarry in the city of Jerusalem until they were endued with power from on high¹, the injunction must have been given after they were come back from Galilee before the feast of Pentecost. Now with this order to tarry in Jeru-

¹ Luke xxiv. 49.

salem the instructions contained in the last chapter of St. Luke, from the end of the forty-third verse, are considered by learned harmonists as more nearly connected in point of time, than with the words immediately foregoing. And to the same latter part of the forty days they refer all that is said in St. Matthew from the end of the eighteenth verse, and in St. Mark from the end of the fourteenth, of their concluding chapters.

Bethany, whence our Lord ascended, was on the eastern side of mount Olivet, and fifteen furlongs, or near two miles, from Jerusalem. But a sabbath day's journey is reckoned only six furlongs, or three quarters of a mile. When therefore St. Luke tells us in the end of his Gospel that our Lord, at the time of his ascension, "led his disciples out as far as to Bethany¹;" and in the Acts, "Then returned they unto Jerusalem from the mount called Olivet, which is from Jerusalem a sabbath day's journey²;" his meaning in the latter place is, that the foot, or first rise, of the mountain itself, not the very spot of Christ's ascension from it, is at that distance from Jerusalem³.

¹ xxiv. 50.

² i. 12.

³ See Reland's Palestine, vol. II. p. 629, 630.

CONCLUSION.

ST. Paul mentions five appearances of Christ to his disciples between his resurrection and ascension :

“ He was seen of Cephas : then of the Twelve : after that he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once ; of whom the greater part remain unto this present ; but some are fallen asleep : after that he was seen of James : then of all the apostles.”
1 Cor. xv. 5—7.

Of these appearances all but the fourth may be reduced to those that are recorded in the Gospels.

1. “ He was seen of Cephas ;” on the day of the resurrection ; Luke xxiv. 34.

2. “ Then of the Twelve ;” on the evening of that day and of the Sunday following : John xx. 19 and 26. upon which latter occasion the apostles, by the presence of St. Matthias, would be literally twelve.

3. “ After that of above five hundred brethren at once ;” on the mountain in Galilee, “ where Jesus had appointed them,” according to St. Matthew xxviii. 16. For it is generally thought that he and St. Paul here speak of the same appearance. It was about twenty-six years after the Resurrection, as
Chrono-

Chronologers compute, when St. Paul said, "Of whom the greater part remain unto this present."

4. "After that of James;" of James the less, as it is reputed; so called to distinguish him from James the son of Zebedee and brother of John. The Gospels are silent concerning this appearance: St. Paul places it after that to the five hundred.

5. "Then of all the apostles."

We may presume that after the return of the apostles out of Galilee to Jerusalem our Lord showed himself not only to them, at different times, but to others of his faithful followers; and that all these were witnesses of his ascension in particular. For St. Paul does not confine the name of apostles to the Twelve, but extends it to others who were of note in the church¹. In this place it may comprehend all those on whom the Spirit descended on the day of Pentecost.

The Gospels give us no intimation that our Lord's continuance on earth after his resurrection was forty days. St. John who seems to extend it the furthest relates only one appearance that did not fall within the first eight days. St. Matthew does not go beyond the appearance on the mountain in Galilee, which he seems to place early. And on reading St. Mark, nay even St. Luke, we should be apt to conclude, that the Ascension quickly followed the Resurrection. Yet St. Luke², and doubtless every one of the Evangelists, had an exact knowledge of the time when Christ "was parted from them and carried up into heaven." If they do not always ob-

¹ See Index of Texts; 2 Cor. viii. 23.

² Acts i. 3.

serve the real order, or note the precise time, of certain facts which they mention, it is no proof that they were not perfectly acquainted with both.

The variations, which are supposed to abound particularly in this part of their writings, are among the proofs that we have the history of our Lord's resurrection in its original state. Changes made in it would have been such as were imagined best suited to reduce their narrations to a greater agreement with each other.

We learn indeed from St. Jerom that such things had been practised in the Latin versions of the Gospels¹. Portions of these were read in the public service of the church; and the collections of them were called *Evangelitaria*; or, if they contained all that was read in every service, *Evangelia plenaria*. In different places they might have been translated from the Greek verity, to use St. Jerom's own expression, by different persons, and modeled as he relates. And one would be inclined to think that his tragical complaints of the confusion introduced into the Latin Gospels respected these books principally if not so'ely. For there was a Latin translation of the Scriptures, received long before his time into the Western and African churches, called the *Italic*; to which St. Augustin gives the preference before other versions, as adhering more closely to the words of the original, and with greater clearness of diction²: and on this he seems to have grounded his interpretations when he composed his treatise of the Consent of the Evangelists; where not only his references and quotations agree with our present Greek text, but his own remarks upon it suppose it to have been

¹ In *Evangelistas ad Damasum Præfatio*.

² See Index under Augustin No. 1.

exactly as we now have it; except in one or two immaterial articles, in which he agrees more with the Vulgate. I am here speaking particularly of the History of the Resurrection. Whatever seeming diseordances of fact or expression interpreters of the original, or expositors of translations from it, now labour to harmonize, the very same had St. Augustin to contend with in the work just mentioned: so that the evangelicall histories of the Resurrection, deemed to contain greater difficulties to conciliate than any other part of the New Testament, continue precisely as he found and had received them from the church of elder times.

In this tract St. Augustin observes that “the Evangelists bear witness mutually to each other, even in some things which they themselves do not relate, by showing that they knew them to have been *spoken*¹.” We may add, that they bear the like witness to each other in other things which they themselves do not record, by showing that they knew them to have been *done*. The parts of their writings which we have been considering are not without proofs of the truth of the observation.

St. Matthew, who mentions no appearance of Christ to his disciples prior to that on the mountain of Galilee, yet testifies that this was not the first. He says, “Then the eleven disciples went away into Galilee, into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them,” xxviii. 16. When had he made this appointment with them? Not in his promise before his Passion, Matth. xxvi. 32. Not in his messages to them after his resurrection, Matth. xxviii. 7. and 10. The assurance given them in all these places, as far as appears, is only that they should see him in

¹ See Index under Augustin, No. 3.

Galilee. He names no particular spot of it in any. Yet such a place had been appointed by him, as St. Matthew informs us. Thus he signifies, that our Lord had showed himself to his disciples before they left Jerusalem; and had there directed them to the precise spot in Galilee, to which they should repair that they might see him again.

St. Mark, who describes Mary Magdalene as going with two others to the sepulchre, and then relates the appearance of the angel to the women, says soon after, that "Jesus appeared first to Mary Magdalene¹;" that is, to her singly. Although therefore he has taken no notice, that she left her two friends at the sepulchre while she ran to Peter and John, by this he shows plainly, that he knew of the separation that had taken place for a while between her and them.

Having told us that our Lord appeared first to Mary Magdalene, he says, "After that he appeared in another form unto two of them as they walked and went into the country²." How in another form? He has not intimated that there was any change from our Lord's usual appearance, either when Mary Magdalene or these two disciples first saw him. He alludes therefore to circumstances, which he does not stay to relate, but leaves to be explained by succeeding Evangelists; of whom St. John tells us that our Lord seemed to Mary Magdalene the gardener when he first spoke to her; St. Luke, that when he joined the two disciples on the way to Emmaus, they took him for a stranger going from Jerusalem³.

¹ xvi. 9.

² Ib. 12.

³ The same explication of this Text is given by Dr. Lardner in "Observations on Dr. Macknight's Harmony." 4to. p. 38.

St. Luke says of St. Peter at the sepulchre, "Stooping down he beheld only the linen clothes (the Othonia) lying¹." He had told us before, that Joseph of Arimathea, having taken down the body of Christ from the cross, wrapped it in a Sindon: in which only, for any thing that he says about the interment, it might have been deposited in the sepulchre. Yet now he speaks of the Othonia, and shows that he was acquainted with a circumstance long after related by St. John, that Joseph and Nicodemus wound the body with the spices in these Othonia.

He says of the women, "They found the stone rolled away from the sepulchre²:" in like manner St. John of Mary Magdalene, "She seeth the stone taken away from the sepulchre³." Neither of these Evangelists had informed us in what manner the sepulchre had been closed. They suppose the fact related by St. Matthew and St. Mark, that Joseph of Arimathea had secured the sepulchre by rolling a great stone to the door of it; and thus attest its reality.

St. John represents Mary Magdalene, when she ran to St. Peter and himself, as saying to them, "They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him;" but as replying to the question of the two angels, "Woman, why weepest thou," by saying, "Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him." To the apostles she expressed the concern of her two friends as well as her own, and there said, "we" know not⁴; to the angels, whose question was personal to her, she was to account for her own tears, and here said, "I" know

¹ xxiv. 12.² xxiv. 2.³ xx. 1.⁴ Ib. 2.

not¹. In this instance we find St. John describing her as alone ; in the other bearing witness that she had gone with company to the scpulchre.

If we took a larger view of this subject, we should perceive it opening upon us, and a variety of examples justifying the remark, that "the Evangelists bear witness mutually to each other, even in some things which they do not relate, by showing that they knew them."

These and such like documents as these, interwoven with the sacred text, must help to convince a careful and candid inquirer, that we have the history of Christ just as the Evangelists wrote it, and to satisfy him, on what grounds and with what qualifications they composed their Gospels.

They allude, as we have seen, to things which they do not mention, sometimes to such as had been written, frequently to those which had not been recorded. In both cases it is done, as perfect masters of a subject glance at circumstances of it, which they do not stop to explain.

On some occasions they see fit to adopt much of the language and recital one of another. But on comparing them it will be found, that he who succeeds relates things as a well-instructed independent witness of the same facts, not as a copyer of the other.

Each of them has a peculiarity of method and design in treating the same argument ; contracting or enlarging, omitting or adding, and setting the same object in a different point of light, as his own proposed method and design led him.

¹ xx. 13.

Yet a spirit of accurate consistency runs through their works thus diversified ; so that, fitly framed together by a skilful hand, they unite into a body of history that is harmonious in all its constituent parts. And to what can this be ascribed, but to the energy of the Original before them ?

But there is no original or pattern to the first authors of historical relation, to bring and keep them to this perpetual consent under different views, and in the small and less observable as well as striking features of that which is delineated by them, except the real existence of it.

Such therefore, that is, facts really existent in time, place, and manner, as they are described, were, with the other parts of this holy history, the Resurrection, the Appearances, and the Ascension, of our Lord Jesus Christ.

To Him be praise and glory and adoration in all the churches of the saints. Amen.

THE END.

TWO INDEXES:

ONE OF

TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE;

THE OTHER OF

PERSONS AND THINGS.

IT has been the Author's endeavour to render all that is contained in the foregoing pages intelligible and plain to mere English readers; citations therefore from the learned languages, and criticisms on the original text of the Evangelists, are thrown into Notes, ranged under proper heads, in the following Indexes.

[Omissions of references in the preceding pages to
the following Indexes :

- Page 19. *After* "preparation" in v. 62. }
 35. — "came" in v. 1. } to "Index of Texts."
 59. *At the end of* v. 3. }
 69. — v. 19. }
76. l. 29. *After* "time" refer thus : "See Index of Texts ;
Matth. xiv. 15."
 82. l. 21. *After* "spices" thus : "See Spices in the Index."
 139. l. 26. *After* "Witsius" thus : "See Witsius in the
Index."
 150. l. 22. *After* "Peter" thus : "See Index of Texts ;
Luke xxiv. 24."
 154. l. 16. *After* "Emmaus" thus : "See Emmaus in the
Index."
 155. l. 5. *After* "alive" thus : "See Index of Texts ;
Luke xxiv. 23."
 169. Note. *After* "14" thus : "Index of Texts."
The Editor of the First Edition.]

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O F

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of Sion,” is in the origi-		that time.] St. Matthew	
nal “Who will give		here calls it evening,	
Salvation, &c.” See the		Ἕψια, before the feeding	
marginal reading.		of the five thousand:	
		and when our Lord had	
		dismissed the multitude,	
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		into a mountain to pray,	
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		speaking of the same day,	
		“When the evening,	
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		Luke, who never uses	
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		earlier of the two times	
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- MATTHEW.
- | | | |
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| xxvi. 31—34 | 116 | going as well as coming ; |
| 32 | 177 | and sometimes in both |
| xxvii. 16 | 89 | senses in the compass of |
| 51. See under Sepulchre. | | two or three sentences. |
| 55, 56 | 13 | See <i>Cyropæd.</i> B. vi. in the |
| 56 | 75 | conference between Cy- |
| 57 | 76 | rus and Araspes, p. 423. |
| 57, 58 | 15 | Ed. Hutchinson, 4to. See |
| 59 | 77 | also Hutchinson's Note |
| 59—61 | 17. 86 | 2. p. 420. Places of the |
| 60. See under Sepulchre. | | New Testament where |
| 61 | 81 | " <i>Ἐρχεσθαι</i> is rendered to go |
| 62. Now the next day that | | are the following: Matth. |
| followed the day of the | | xii. 9. xiv. 12. Luke ii. |
| preparation] St. Matthew | | 44. John iv. 45. vi. 17. |
| here speaks as one versed | | xxi. 3. Acts xxviii. 14. |
| in the Hebrew ritual, and | | Compare ver. 16. ' <i>Ἐλθεῖν</i> |
| could not have determi- | | is rendered both to come |
| ned the time, which he is | | and to go, John iv. 45. |
| speaking of, with great- | | and vi. 17 |
| er certainty than he has | | 93 |
| thus done. | 19. 88 | 2 |
| 62—66 | 19. 119 | 2. He came and rolled back |
| 63. After three days, &c.] | | the stone] St. Matthew's |
| See Whitby on Mark | | word is <i>Προσελθῶν</i> : the |
| viii. 31. Note gg. | 19 | same as he uses again ver. |
| 64 | 81 | 18. where Grotius trans- |
| 66 | 81 | lates it <i>Accedens</i> . |
| xxviii. 1 | 81 | 96 |
| 1. In the end of the sab- | | 2—4 |
| bath] Himerius, as quot- | | 5. Not always between per- |
| ed by Wetstein on the | | sons or parties both pre- |
| verse, says 'Ὁὐδὲ καὶ ἴσ- | | sent] When our Lord said |
| πειρα διαφίξει. Ἐσπειρα μὴ | | to his disciples, Mark |
| γὰρ ἴσπιν ἢ μετὰ τῶν δούσιν τῆ | | xiii. 23. ' <i>Ἔμεις δὲ βλέπετε</i> , |
| ἡμεῖς ἄρα' Ὁὐδὲ δὲ ἢ μετὰ | | no one was present but |
| πάλυ τῆς δούσεως, καὶ καθόλου | | his own disciples; cer- |
| μετὰ πολλῶν χρόνον. See | | tainly none of those, of |
| further on the phrase | | whom they were to take |
| Grotius on the place, Bp. | | heed. See again ver. 29. 97 |
| Newcome's Notes on his | | 5—8 |
| Harmony, &c. | 20 | 25. 129 |
| 1. Word of the origi- | | 6 |
| nal to go] Xenophon, | | 80. 98. 127 |
| among others, uses " <i>Ἐρ-</i> | | 7 |
| <i>χισθαι</i> and ' <i>Ἐλθεῖν</i> fre- | | 115. 177 |
| quently in the sense of | | 8. They departed quickly |
| | | from the sepulchre] The |
| | | Evangelists use ' <i>Ἐξελθεῖν</i> |
| | | <i>ἀπὸ</i> in the same sense as |
| | | ' <i>Ἐξελθεῖν</i> : <i>ἔξ</i> , exire. See Luke |
| | | iv. 35. and compare Mark |
| | | v. 30. with Luke viii. 46. 25. 81 |
| | | xxviii. |

MATTHEW.

- xxviii. 8. With fear and great joy] Bishop Lowth translates Isaiah lx. 5. "Then shalt thou fear and overflow with joy;" and illustrates the sentiment thus expressed by parallel passages, sacred and profane. To the latter may be added, from the first of Pindar's Nemean Odes,
- Ἔσα δὲ δάμῃσι δυσφύρω
 Τερπνῶ τὲ μιχθίεις. 25
- 8 103
- 8—10 109
- 9 113
- 9, 10 31
- 10 115. 177
- 11 97
- 11—15 33. 119
- 13 89
- 16 171. 174. 177
- 16, 17 55
- 16—18 166
- 17 167
18. St. Matthew's words are Καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς. This intimates that when he first appeared it was at a distance, at least from many of the spectators. See under ver. 2. of this chapter. 56. 166
- 19, 20 67. 173
- 20 69

MARK.

- iv. 6. See under xvi. 2.
- v. 30. See under Matth. xxviii. 9.
- vi. 48. See under xvi. 2.
- vii. 30. See under John xx. i.
- xiii. 1. See under Sepulchre.
23. 29. See under Matth. xxviii. 5.

MARK.

- xiii. 35 94
- See under xvi. 2.
- xv. 40 75. 123
- 40, 41 13. 107
- 42 76
- 42—45 15
- 43 77
- 46 77
- 46, 47 17
- 47 91. 123
- xvi. 1 21. 91. 123
- See under John xix. 39.
2. Early-in-the-morning. Πρωί.] St. Mark speaks, vi. 48. of the fourth watch of the night, and xiii. 35. he thus enumerates them: Ὁψέ, ἡ μεσονυκτίου, ἡ ἀλεκτοροφωνίας, ἡ πρωί: by which he shows that he uses πρωί as synonymous to the fourth watch. And so says Godwyn in his Moses and Aaron, B. iii. Chap. 1. p. 81, 82: "Πρωί, the dawning, signifies the last quarter of the night, called the morning watch." 21. 94
- Ib. And very early in the morning, the first day of the week, they came unto the sepulchre, at the rising of the sun] Here Very early in the morning, λίαν πρωί, must note the time at which they set out: The rising of the sun, the time when they arrived at the sepulchre. For these two distinct actions there is but one verb Ἐρχονται: which is first to be taken in the sense of going, and then understood in that of coming or arriving. This hard

and

and not common ellipsis would be avoided, if we might adopt the reading of Ammonius, in the Latin of Victor Capuanus, (see Mill on the verse) and which is found also in the Æthiopic versions (see p. 54. of Bishop Newcome's Notes on his Harmony). This reading differs only from the received text by placing *Καὶ* before *Ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου*, instead of after it: The women set out very early; and at the rising of the sun said among themselves, Who shall roll us away the stone? This small variation, by the transposition of *Καὶ*, renders the sense and diction so perspicuous, that I cannot help wishing there was ampler authority for it. 21. 23. 94, 95

xvi. 2. At the rising of the sun] I have submitted to the authority of our Translators and Grotius in this rendering of *Ἀνατείλαντος τὸ ἡλίον*. Yet I see not that any great inconvenience could arise from the more literal and grammatical translation, as Mark iv. 6. When the sun was up. This he might be said to be, as soon as his whole orb became visible; and till the upper limb of it was very near the horizon he could hardly be said to be rising: so that between the two different constructions there needs be but

the difference of a few minutes. But the more grammatical sense would be decidedly against an interpretation for which some contend of the ninth verse. If the sun was up when Mary Magdalene reached the sepulchre, *Πρῶτῃ* cannot possibly apply to our Lord's appearance to her; it can relate only to the time of his resurrection. 23. 94, 95

2—4	93
3	97. 124
4	98
5	80. 126
5—8	25
6	98. 126
7	115. 117
8	80. 100. 132
9	29. 31. 95. 98. 107. 124. 178. See under ver. 2. of this chapter.
10	37
11	39
12	41. 178
12—14	162
13	51. 159
14	53. 55
15—17	67
15—20	173
18, 19	69
19.	So after the Lord had spoken unto them, &c.] These words are quoted as the close of St. Mark's Gospel by Irenæus (B. iii. Chap. xi. p. 217. Ed. Grabe) an antient and venerable witness that the chapter never contained less than we now read in it. See also Pere Simon's Critical History of the New Testament, Part I. Chap. xii. Grotius on the begin-

beginning of the chapter;
Beza's Note on the ninth,
and Mill's on the eighth,
verse. 69
20 71

LUKE.

ii. 44. See under Matthew
xxviii. 1:
iv. 35. See under Matthew
xxviii. 8.
v. 4—6 58
5. See under John xxi. 3.
vii. 19, 20 145
viii. 2, 3 12. 75
46. See under Matthew
xxviii. 8.
ix. 12. See under Matth.
xiv. 15.
x. 21 146
xxi. 5. See under Sepulchre.
xxiii. 49 13
50—52 15
51 77
53 77
53—56 17
55, 56 86. 125
xxiv. 1 86. 94. 135—140
Ib. Very early in the morn-
ing they came unto the
sepulchre] *Tempus hic*
notatur. non quo ad ip-
sam sepulchrum pervene-
runt, sed quo ex urbe
profectæ sunt ut eo ve-
nirent. Quamobrem
Ἡλθον *converti profectæ*
sunt. Beza on the place. 35
1. And certain others
with them] Hierosolymi-
tanæ aliquot, quæ se mu-
lieribus Galilæis adjun-
xerant. Neque enim de-
lere has voces licet: quas
et libri plurimi, et Syrus,
et Arabs, agnoscunt; qui
et τῶν illud fæmineo ge-
nere rectè interpretantur.
Grotius on the place. 121

LUKE.

xxiv. 1—5 35
1—9 126
2 179
2—4 127. 130
3, 4 143
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10 71. 75. 110. 145, 146
11, 12 39
12 149. 179
13—18 41
13—24 154, 155
19—24 43
21 152
22 85
22—24 155
23. And when they found
not his body, &c.] “They
said two things, viz. That
they had not found the
body of Jesus in the se-
pulchre, and that they
had seen angels who de-
clared him to be alive.”
Bp. Pearee's Comment. 155
24 150
Ib. As interpreted by St.
Luke he means St. Peter]
It is not unusual to speak
in an indefinite and plural
manner, when only one
person or thing is meant.
It is frequently done by
the sacred writers. Thus
St. Matthew, xxi. 7. And
brought the ass and colt,
and put on them their
clothes, and they set him
ἐπάνω αὐτῶν, that is *ἐπάνω*
τῶν ὄνων. So in Horace
Epist. 1. vii. 76. Vul-
teius Menas is said to
have been Impositus
Mannis;

Mannis ; because he was mounted on one of the saddle horses belonging to Philippus.	150.	155
xxiv. 25—31		45
29. Its proper name among the Greeks Hespera] Πέρας ἑσπεραν ἔστι. Solis occasus—deinde Vespera ; quod a Græcis tractum est. Macrobiani Saturnalia. Lib. I. Cap. iii. See also Himerius as quoted before from Wetstein on Matthew xxviii. 1.	77.	154
32—37		47
33		157
34	39.	163. 184
37		105
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50		173
JOHN.		
iv. 45. See under Matth. xxviii. 1.		
v. 16. See under xix. 40.		
vi. 17. See under Matth. xxviii. 1.		
vii. 13. See under xix. 40.		
xii. 34		153
xiv. 28		28
xvi. 28		28
29, 30		118
xix. 25	13.	75
26, 27		15
27		138
32, 33		89
35		14
38		15
38—42		17
39. dry spices] “ I suppose the myrrh and aloes used		

on this occasion were dry spices, reduced perhaps to powder ; because it is said, They *wound* the body in linen clothes with the spices ; whereas had they been liquid, it should rather have been said, They *anointed* the body with them, as the women intended to do, Mark xvi. 1. And thus it may be replied to those, who rashly object that such a quantity of spices was unnecessary ; first, that the tomb itself in which they laid the body of Christ might be filled with them in order to perfume it, as was usual in Scripture funerals, 2 Chron. xvi. 14. and secondly, that a part of them might be burned to excite a fragrant odour at the time of interment.” See *Observationes Sacr. in Novi Fœderis libros* by Kypke on the verse 82

40. As the manner of the Jews is] “ Mos sæpe est Joanni vocem Ἰουδαίων sumere κατ’ ἐξοχὴν ut senatores significet, ut apparet mox ver. 13. Vide supra V. 16.” Grotius on John vii. 11. With this agrees the paraphrase on the words by the late learned Bishop of London in a note on Isaiah liii. 9. “ As the manner of the Jews was to bury the rich and great.” 84

Ib. The word which we render to bury] “ Ἐταφιάζειν. Vetus et Erasmus, Sepelire ; Beza et Piscator, Fu-

Funerare : quod rectius esse videtur, si modo Funerare sit Pollineere, et ad sepulturam parare. Τὸ ἐταφιάζειν enim præcedit, sive prius est ordine ; et τὸ θάπτειν sequitur.

Johannis Boissii " Veteris Interpretis cum Beza aliisque recentioribus Collatio." See also Bp. Pearce's Note on Matth. xxvi. 19.

xx. 1 21. 23. 94. 135

Ib. She seeth the stone taken away] That is, she seeth that the stone had been taken away. Βλέπει τὸν λίθον ἠρμένον ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου : as Mark vii. 30. Ἔυρε τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐξελυθὸς : which words Erasmus Schmidius translates Invenit dæmonium exiisse.

98. 179

2 25. 98. 162. 167. 179

2—11 27

5 110

5—7 77

6 149, 150

6, 7 110

8 110

11 110

11—14 104

11—17 29

13 98. 179

14 98

14—18 104. 109

15 99

17. Detain me not now.]

Μὴ μὲ ἄπτω, That the word ἄπτομαι is here to be used in the sense of holding and detaining, in which it is sometimes used in the Septuagint, is the judgement of se-

veral learned men ; whose names and sentiments may be seen in Wolfius on the verse ; and they have the approbation of this judicious Commentator.

28. 105. 117

17, 18 31

18. Mary Magdalene cometh to report] This is the proper rendering of Ἐρχεῖται ἀπαγγέλλουσα : Venit Maria Magdalena nunciatum discipulis ; as Castello translates the passage ; and as Acts xv. 27. Ἀπαγγέλλοντας τὰ αὐτὰ means Eadem nunciaturos ; and Acts xxi.

3. Τὸ πλοῖον ἀποφορτιζόμενον τὸν γόμον is translated There the ship was to unlade her burden ; the participle present in these instances signifying something future. Compare 2 Pet. iii. 11. λυόμεναι : which is explained in the next verse by λυθήσονται.

113

19 47. 160, 161. 174

20—23 49

24, 25 51

25 159

26 160, 161. 174

26—28 53

29 55

30 168

30, 31 71

31. See under xxi. 14.

xxi. 1, 2 57

1—24 168—170

2—9 59

3. See under Matth. xxviii. 1.

Ib. That night they caught nothing] The night I presume was the proper time for fishing, Luke v. 5.

And

And therefore Sophocles calls the toils of fishermen ^{ἄπνευς ἄγρεας.} Ajax Fla- gell. 895.	59		
10—17	61		
14. This is now the third time] “A third time, St. John means no more than to say, This is a third time that I have mentioned. Other Evan- gelists mention other times; and John himself, ch. xx. 30. says there were many other.” Dr. Wall's Critical Notes on the New Testament.	169		
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23—24	65		
24	146		
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			1 CORINTHIANS.
			xv. 4, 5 39
			5—7 174, 175
			6 167
			2 CORINTHIANS.
			viii. 23. St. Paul does not confine the name of Apostles to the Twelve] Messengers of the Churches are in the ori- ginal of this verse Apo- stles. So Philippians ii. 25. Epaphroditus—your Messenger is in the ori- ginal Your Apostle. See Suicer's Thesaurus under ^{Ἀπόστολος.} §. 3. and Wol- fius on Rom. xvi. 7. and 2 Cor. viii. 23. 175
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 No. 2. Ut eas ingressas in
 monumentum sic accipia-
 mus, in aliquod scilicet
 spatium, quod erat in ali-
 qua maceria communitum,
 ut intrari posset ante illum
 saxeam sepulchri locum,
 atque ibi vidisse angelum
 sedentem supra lapidem
 revolutum à monumento,
 sicut dicit Matthæus, ut
 hoc sit, sedentem à dextris,
 quod dicit Marcus; de-
 inde intus ab eis, dum
 inspicerent locum in quo
 jacebat corpus Domini,
 visos alios duos angelos
 stantes, sicut dicit Lucas.
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 508. 128

- No. 3. Meminerimus quem-
admodum sibi Evange-
listæ invicem attestantur,
de quibusdam etiam quæ
ipsi non dicunt, et tamen
dicta noverunt. *Ib.* col.
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The way thither moun-
tainous, and in many
places as if paved with a
continual rock." *Sandys'*
Travels, B. iii. page 135.
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plain reference to the expressions of the Evangelists, speaks of the Sepulchre as cut out of one intire solid rock: Ἐν μιᾷ καὶ δὲ ὅλῳ ἠνωμένῃ πέτρᾳ λατομητῇ καὶ λαξευτῇ. Contra Celsum, Lib. ii. p. 103. Ed. Cantab. 1658. In like manner Cyril of Jerusalem, in a passage referred to under his name in this Index, describes the tomb and the Σκέπη before it as cut out of the same rock: on which latter word see a learned Note of Grotius on Matth. xxviii. 2. The same account we have heard St. Augustin give of it, p. 135. There is therefore no foundation either in the words of the Evangelists or the sense of antiquity for the conceit of Salmasius mentioned by Wolfius on Mark xv. 46, that the sepulchre was built with hewn stones. Such stones are called by the Evangelists λίθοι. Matth. xxiv. 2. Mark xiii. 1. Luke xxi. 5.

“The antient Μνημεῖα were composed of two parts: one was the grave or tomb; which was likewise termed μνημεῖον in a strict sense of the word, and is known by several other names mostly taken from its form, as Σπήλαιον, Τύμβος, &c.: the second part was the ground surrounding the grave, which was fenced about with pales or walls, but usually open at the top, and there-

fore

- fore sometimes called
 "Υπαρθρον." Potter's Anti-
 quities of Greece, B. iv.
 chap. 7. page 221.
- "In the year 1728, in a
 ground belonging to the
 noble family of the Tho-
 masi, patricians of Siena,
 was discovered a narrow
 subterraneous sepulchre,
 hewn in a Travertine or
 sort of lime stone rock,
 little exceeding six Roman
 feet either in length or
 breadth—In this there ap-
 peared no marks of
 hinges. And therefore it
 is no idle conjecture, that
 the door-way used to be
 closed with a large stone,
 as was done in the sepul-
 chre of our Lord Christ.
- "I give drawings in this
 work of two of these large
 stones that were dug up
 near the mouths of sepul-
 chres: and it is to be ob-
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 Etruscum Antonii Fran-
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THE END.

THREE SERMONS:

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THE GOSPEL.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THOUGH the ever dear and excellent Author of these volumes, when I pressed him, a few days before his death, for leave to publish a volume or two of his Sermons, did not consent; saying, and doubtless with great truth, that they were not written or prepared with any such design; yet the prohibition was not so peremptory, but that, with due respect for the Living and the Deceased, I conceive I may venture to print one or two. In order therefore that this second volume of his works may correspond, in point of size, with the former, I have selected three Sermons, not better perhaps, possibly not so good as others which might be found; my choice, among many of distinguished merit, having been determined by other considerations. The first of the three (for the title of which and of the others I am answerable) is the discourse, which, as has been mentioned in the Account of the Author, p. xii. was begun at Naples in November, 1744. It was transcribed many years afterwards, and, as appears by a single leaf of the original copy, with some slight emendations. On his return from his second Tour on the Continent in 1769, hastening to embrace his beloved Sister and her husband Dr. Winchester, at Appleton, Berks, this sermon, as now laid before the Reader, was preached there, November 5; and as a note in the manuscript says, was “*Prima post reditum prædicatio.*”

The

The second Sermon will illustrate a remark in the Author's Life, p. xxi. that one of his peculiar excellences consisted in deducing practical lessons from portions of Sacred History. And the discourse on the Rechabites was the rather fixed upon, as a specimen of this sort, because within these few months, a worthy and valued friend, speaking of "the venerable and amiable Author," said, he perfectly well remembered hearing him preach this very sermon at Blithfield; though, as the manuscript on inspection showed, it was five and forty years ago. It was transcribed in a larger hand, when his sight began to fail, in the year 1770, and, like the former, with a few verbal improvements.

The third is a composition of much later date; having been written in February, 1787. The subject discussed in it forms an interesting branch of Scriptural prophecy, which is briefly touched upon in the conclusion of the first Sermon, and is not unconnected with the Discourse on the Apocalyptic Babylon, which immediately follows it. Nor will, I trust, the sure word of prophecy, thus unfolded by the dying Saint, as well from Isaiah as the Apocalypse, be deemed at present unseasonable; as, amidst the turbulence, ambition, and sin, which have so long convulsed, and still convulse and threaten Europe, it may contribute, with divine blessing, to fortify and sustain our souls with the prospect of better times; and — the God of mercy hasten them in this their apparent season! Even so, Lord Jesus, come quickly!

R. CHURTON.

Middleton, St. John's day,

Dec. 27, 1809

S E R M O N I.

PSALM XIX. 14.

LET THE WORDS OF MY MOUTH, AND THE MEDITATION OF MY HEART, BE ACCEPTABLE IN THY SIGHT, O LORD, MY STRENGTH, AND MY REDEEMER.

IT seems probable that the nineteenth Psalm, concluding with these words, is the result and substance of a longer meditation. It was the Psalmist's custom to call upon God early in the morning; he even prevented the night watches, that he might be occupied in the service of God, in meditation, and prayer. We may then well suppose him, in one of these early meditations, to have been contemplating the prospect of the firmament and stars of heaven, as declaring the glory of God; and to have continued on his devout employment till the rising of the sun; when, his spirits being revived with the cheerful season, and his mind impressed with fresh admiration, reverence, and gratitude, he broke forth in a new strain of praising and adoring his Maker, on sight of the wonders that opened upon him.

From the book of nature it was natural for the Psalmist to turn his thoughts to the written book of God; for his delight was in the law of the Lord,
which

which is light to the soul, as the sun is to the body ; and when he had a while considered the perfection, and spiritual nature of the law of God, this would set his own sins and many transgressions against it in full view before him. Which last reflection would necessarily lead a devout mind into prayer to the Almighty, for his pardon, grace, and protection.

From such a train of thought and meditation we may suppose this Psalm to have been composed : and the whole book of Psalms affords not a more noble, animated, and exalted strain of piety ; or a juster pattern for us to follow in our acts of praise and devotion. But that I may proceed with method in what I have further to observe upon this Psalm, I shall confine my discourse to the three following particulars, clearly taught in it :

First, that the minds of the considerate and wise, in contemplating the works of God, will be filled with an awful sense of his glory and majesty :

Secondly, that the same works will teach us, if they are duly considered, to think humbly of ourselves :

Thirdly, If we wish for any good and saving fruits from our meditations, they must be accompanied and sanctified by prayer.

And first, we are here instructed to acknowledge the glory of God in his works ; in his works of nature, and works of grace.

Of the works of nature the Psalmist here fixes his attention on that part, which, as I observed before, most readily presented itself to him ; the Heavens, I mean, and those lights, which God hath set in the
 firma-

firmament of the heavens, to give light upon the earth, and to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light from the darkness.

In which to trace out the hand and workmanship of God, there need not any curious researches, or deep speculations; to a well disposed mind, however simple and unlearned, the natural appearance of these things is sufficient to declare the power and wisdom of their great Author.

“For every house is builded by some man; but he that built all things is God.” Heb. iii. 4. The sight of any great and noble edifice upon earth must immediately satisfy the beholder, that it was contrived and built by some one equal to the design. And as little reason hath he to doubt, when he beholds this ancient fabric of the Heavens, but that it had a maker more ancient than the work itself; and that he, who is the cause of all things, must be from everlasting. The extent and greatness of these Heavens must further teach him, that he who stretched them out, could as little be confined by space as by time. And the variety, brightness, and beauty of the stars and heavenly bodies, by means of which there is a perpetual and regular succession of seasons, bear equal testimony to the power and wisdom which produced them, and the providence which upholds them: “by the greatness of his might” as saith Isaiah (xl. 26.) “for that he is strong in power not one thing faileth.”

The heavens therefore and the firmament, the day and night, utter knowledge; and say, Fear God, and worship him who hath made all things. Their speech is not with the feeble accents of man's voice, but sounds throughout the world; their words are not as our words, but every nation of every language may
under-

understand them ; they speak to the common sense and reason of mankind, and declare the majesty and providence of the Almighty.

But among the heavenly bodies the sun being the brightest image of the divine glory ; on this the Psalmist more particularly enlarges.

When the sun hath chased away the darkness of night, and is new risen upon the earth, we are then apt to be most affected with his light, which at that time hath a certain degree of newness to us. But because this return is regular and constant, it seldom reminds us of Him who makes his sun to arise and shine upon us. Perhaps, having never seen things but as they are at present, we are apt to imagine they could not be otherwise. Yct the Scriptures, to show us that God is not tied down by any necessity, but acts according to his own good pleasure in producing his works, inform us, that light was created before the sun, and that before he appeared, even the herbs and trees of the field were made to grow out of the earth. Suppose then it had pleased God to have created man in this point of time, on the third day instead of the sixth, and just before the lights of heaven appeared ; while he must yet have beheld the ground with its trees and flowers and verdure by the first created light ; when at the close of this day he had seen the heavens as it were unfolding, and unexpectedly revealing stars so numerous, bright, and beautiful ; would he not have magnified his Creator with fresh admiration and gratitude ? and would he not have been further incited to adore him, if he had next beheld the moon walking in brightness ? But when he had seen these appearances removed by the morning, and a more glorious light succeeding in their place, when he beheld the sun come forth as a bridegroom out of his chamber, and
rejoice

rejoice as a giant to run his course, that he went forth from the uttermost part of heaven, and ran about unto the end of it again, and that nothing was hid from the heat thereof: when, I say, he thus beheld the sun shining in his strength, and the earth beneath, which before yielded the conveniences of life, now affording a more delightful prospect, a cheerfuller and happier abode; would not his heart have overflowed with acknowledgements of his Creator's glory and goodness? Let not *us* then lose sight of him, or of the thanks and reverence which we owe him, because of the constancy of his blessings, which are day by day renewed unto us.

From meditating on the glory of God as declared by the works of nature, the Psalmist makes an easy transition to his works of grace, in giving a law and statutes which are the light and joy of the spiritual world, as the sun is of the natural. In the description which the Psalmist gives of this perfect and blessed law, it is more than probable that he enlarged his views beyond his own times, and as a prophet looked forward to Christ, the end of the law. Certain it is, that what he says of the law of God, is in the best and fullest sense true of it, as we have received it in the Gospel, since grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.

The law of God in itself is and must be perfect and enduring for ever; but as it is a law revealed to man, it hath been opened and perfected by degrees. The Gospel, as St. Paul informs us, was preached before to Abraham, Gal. iii. 8. but the nature of this Gospel was but imperfectly understood, till the coming of Christ, who hath brought life and immortality to light. As in him all the promises of God are made to us, so by him and his Apostles are they clearly set before us. In him the law of God is in-

deed a law able to convert the soul, and rejoice the heart of sinful man by the pardon and grace, and hopes of glory offered by it. And because this divine law is in great measure made known to us by revelation from heaven, God hath been graciously pleased to provide, that the testimony concerning it should be sure; as sure and satisfying as mighty signs and wonders done by prophets, by Christ and his apostles, the great miracle of Christ's resurrection, the clear and full accomplishment of many prophecies, and the express witness of saints and martyrs dying to attest their sincerity, can make it. So sure and satisfying are the proofs of the law of God; which also shows itself to be divine by the excellence of its commandments, which are true and righteous altogether, and by its mighty power of sanctifying the hearts of those who receive it. By this law the simple are made wise, and the learned instructed in true wisdom; since beyond the limits of the present world, beyond the reach of *our* reason, it enlightens the eyes with a prospect of eternity, and of those blessed mansions which are before the throne of God, directing our feet in the way, the way of faith and obedience, by which we may arrive at this unspeakable happiness.

Under this view of things well might the Psalmist declare his delight in the law of the Lord, and that his statutes and judgements are "more to be desired than gold, yea than much fine gold;" that they are "sweeter also than honey and the honeycomb." They lead to heaven, and everlasting glory; and even on earth yield a blessing that exceeds every other enjoyment, in the peaceful pleasures arising from temperance, moderate desires, easy reflections, a charitable frame of mind, holy hope, and an humble consciousness of pleasing God. By them therefore is the servant of the Lord taught, and in keeping of them there is great reward.

But,

But, secondly, if we follow the Psalmist's train of meditations, the same things which raise our thoughts of the glory and majesty of God, will depress and sink our opinion of man, and will teach us to think humbly of ourselves.

In this light he elsewhere considers the works of nature, and in particular those parts of nature which here impress on his mind such high and awful conceptions of God.

When I consider, says he, the heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars which thou hast ordained; what is man that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that thou visitest him? Psal. viii. 34.

But this use and improvement of the works of *Nature*, the Psalmist here passes over, that he may read us a lesson of humility from the *law* of God; which sets our guilt as well as our weakness before us, and is therefore a stronger argument against pride in man. For the law of God, considered in its own perfection, is a law that convinces us of sin, a law of condemnation; man by nature being carnal, but the law spiritual; requiring obedience to its holy precepts in heart and desire, as well as the outward actions. But who is he that hath always yielded this perfect obedience to it? Who is he that hath never done what it forbids, or left undone what it commands? whose actions have been directed wholly and simply to the glory of God, without any mixture of worldly or selfish views? If no man's life will thus abide the trial of this holy and spiritual law, then might St. Paul justly declare, that all are guilty before God; and as justly might the Psalmist ask, not by way of doubt, but with an humble sense of

his many transgressions, "Who can tell how oft he offendeth?"

Here then is a sure foundation for humility, that God and his laws are holy, but man is sinful; and humility founded on just notions concerning God and ourselves will naturally lead us to the observance of the third rule deducible from this Psalm,

That meditation should be accompanied and sanctified by prayer.

This was the course and direction of the Psalmist's contemplations; and in this channel must the thoughts of a devout mind unavoidably flow. From considering the law of God in itself as a perfect and unerring law of holiness, he applies it to his own life and conscience, and sees that his transgressions are more than he could number; "Who can tell how oft he offendeth?" He falls immediately humble and prostrate before God, and his thoughts take the form and language of prayer: "O cleanse thou me from my secret faults;" and thus he proceeds, through the remaining verses of the Psalm, to implore the mercy of God upon his past and future life; that he would pardon the guilt of his sins, and deliver him from their power, and accept his service and prayers; calling upon the Lord as his strength and his Redeemer.

And here we behold the ground of his comfort and peace, and of that joy and delight, which he could take in the law of the Lord, though he stood convinced of sin and condemned by it. His refuge was in the sure mercies of God, which through his covenant of grace are never denied to the sincere and faithful penitent and humble supplicant. Let us then imitate the royal Psalmist's humility, repentance,

ance, and piety, that the law of the Lord may rejoice our hearts as it did his, with its promises of pardon, acceptance, and grace. As the mercies of God through our blessed Redeemer are more fully made known to us, than they were of old time, let us add to our clearer knowledge a livelier faith. As through him we have free access to the throne of grace, let us be daily before it with our humble and devout prayers, for the pardon of our past sins, and for the promised aid of the Holy Spirit, that henceforth we may walk in newness of life.

I shall conclude these observations on the nineteenth Psalm with one short remark.

We have taken notice that the Psalmist, having described the sun as the great source of light and joy to the world, then suddenly turns his discourse to celebrate the law of the Lord, as enlightening the eyes and rejoicing the heart of man. According to which sentiment of this great King and Prophet, true religion is not a less blessing in one respect, than the beams of the sun are in another. Now if any one bore such ill-will to mankind, as to wish the sun extinguished, and the day and year blotted out from heaven, his wish would appear to us as detestable as vain. What shall we say then for those, who by profane writings or discourse, or by profligate example, do what lies in their power to rob us of that religion, which will affect our happiness, when the sun shall no longer yield his light by day, nor the moon by night? But although such men may blind their own eyes, and those of others who are willing to be blinded, the light of the everlasting Gospel shall prevail notwithstanding. St. Paul, speaking of its success in his own time, applies a verse of this Psalm to the preachers of it, that their sound was gone out into all the earth, and their words unto the ends

ends of the world¹. And by scripture prophecy we are encouraged to enlarge our hopes of its triumphing over ignorance and darkness in a still more general and perfect manner: That in his own good time Christ the sun of righteousness shall come forth as a bridegroom, and rejoice as a strong man to run his race: That his going forth shall be from the end of heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it; and that nothing, no nation upon earth, shall be hid from the power and influence of his blessed Gospel.

Let every Christian pray for the coming of this kingdom, and endeavour to promote its interests by a truly religious life and conversation: so shall God accept the words of his mouth, and the meditations of his heart; he shall be unto him the Lord, his strength, and his Redeemer.

¹ Rom. x. 18.

S E R M O N II.

JER. xxxv. 18, 19.

AND JEREMIAH SAID UNTO THE HOUSE OF THE RECHABITES, THUS SAITH THE LORD OF HOSTS, BECAUSE YE HAVE OBEYED THE COMMANDMENT OF JONADAB YOUR FATHER, AND KEPT ALL HIS PRECEPTS, AND DONE ACCORDING UNTO ALL THAT HE COMMANDED YOU :

THEREFORE THUS SAITH THE LORD OF HOSTS, THE GOD OF ISRAEL, JONADAB THE SON OF RECHAB SHALL NOT WANT A MAN TO STAND BEFORE ME FOR EVER.

IN discoursing upon the passage of Scripture, of which the text is a part, I shall observe the following method :

I. I shall give a short account of the house or family of the Rechabites.

II. I shall mention the occasion that led the prophet Jeremiah to speak of them, and promise them the blessing contained in the text.

III. Which two heads shall be followed lastly by a few observations arising from the subject before us,

I. The

I. The house of the Rechabites was a branch of the family, or tribe of the Kenites¹; and again the Kenites were descended from Jethro, who was also called Hobab, the father-in-law of Moses². So that this people, we see, were not of the seed of Israel. Yet from the time of the alliance between Jethro and Moses, the Kenites became so connected with the Israelites, that we find them all along living in or near the land of Judea, united with them in friendship and worshipping the one God, the God of Israel. And accordingly we read in the second book of Kings (chap. x.) that when Jehu King of Israel, purposed to root out idolatry, and destroy the worshippers of Baal, he took with him Jehonadab, the son of Rechab, as a witness and companion of his enterprize. For Jehonadab was not an Israelite, but a descendant of the Kenites, and became the founder of the house of the Rechabites, mentioned in the text; which, in honour of his father Rechab, he chose to call by his name, rather than his own. This Jehonadab, who was a person of eminence and wisdom, observing the luxury and profaneness of the age wherein he lived, and apprehensive that the ruin of the people must follow the corruption of their morals, was willing to make what stand he could against the growing evil; and at least to provide for the integrity and safety of those, over whom he had authority. For this purpose he laid down the rule of discipline for his family, which the Prophet mentions in the chapter of the text, and commanded them, saying, “Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye, nor your sons for ever; neither shall ye build house, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any; but all your days ye shall dwell in tents, that ye may live many days in the land where ye be strangers.”

¹ 1 Chron. ii. 55.

² Comp. Judg. i. 16. Exod. iii. 1. Numb. x. 29.

By the first of these rules, which forbids the use of wine, he purposed to guard against intemperance, which is the great source or fountain-head of many other vices; and the second, which commanded them not to build houses, but to dwell in tents, was designed, by calling them back to the patriarchal life, which was that of shepherds, to keep them at a distance from the contagion of bad neighbourhood, that they might not be too familiar with, and fond of, the manners that usually prevail in cities; where men are no sooner provided of the conveniences of life, than they begin to affect ease, and elegance, and show; from whence arise covetousness, envy, ambition, fraud, injustice, luxury, effeminacy, and many disorders of mind, and diseases of body, from which he was desirous to preserve his family, and therefore reduced them, as was said, nearer to the manners of the patriarchs. And the reason that he gives for the rule which he established among them is, "That ye may live many days in the land where ye be strangers." For the temperance, plainness of food, industry, and moderate desires of the patriarchs, whom he copied after, were among the causes of their long life. And if the vices of the nation, with which he was connected, should call down the judgements of heaven upon them, by war or other calamities; good Providence would probably so order, that they who were free from the offence should escape the visitation; or if it proved so severe (as it sometimes happens, for the crying sins of a nation) that the righteous were involved with the wicked in one calamity, they whose lives were innocent, whose consciences were at ease, whose desires were temperate, and manners plain, would best be able to endure adversity.

Severe as the precepts may seem, which Jonadab the son of Rechab laid down for his family, especially

cially as this family was not inconsiderable for power and wealth, his precepts had been religiously observed for near three hundred years, when God Almighty commanded his prophet Jeremiah to send for some of the chief persons of the Rechabites, that by their example and behaviour, he might reprove his people Israel. But the account of this matter belongs to the second head of discourse; in which

I was to mention the occasion, that led the Prophet to speak of them, and to pronounce the blessing on them contained in the text.

In the days of Jehoiakim son of Josiah, who, though the son of a religious father, was a wicked prince over a wicked people, the army of the Chaldeans then wasting the land of Judea, the Rechabites for safety retired within the walls of Jerusalem; where Jeremiah, by God's order, sent for the heads and representatives of the family, into an apartment of the Temple; and here, saith he, "I set before
 " the sons of the house of the Rechabites pots full
 " of wine, and cups; and I said unto them, Drink
 " ye wine; but they said, We will drink no wine.
 " For Jonadab the son of Rechab our father com-
 " manded us, saying, Ye shall drink no wine, nei-
 " ther ye, nor your sons for ever; neither shall ye
 " build house, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor
 " have any; but all your days ye shall dwell in tents,
 " that ye may live many days in the land where ye
 " be strangers. Thus have we obeyed the voice of
 " Jonadab the son of Rechab our father, in all that
 " he hath charged us, to drink no wine all our days,
 " we, our wives, our sons, nor our daughters; nor to
 " build houses for us to dwell in; neither have we
 " vineyard, nor field, nor seed; but we have dwelt in
 " tents, and have obeyed, and done according to all
 " that Jonadab our father commanded us."

From

From this behaviour of the house of the Rechabites, and their dutiful submission to the commandment of their ancestor, the Almighty takes occasion to set forth, and reprove the disobedience of his people Israel. For the commandments of God to the house of Israel were the commandments of a father to his children; of a father gracious, merciful, and wise, with full authority to injoin what he saw fit, and with full power to reward the obedient, and to punish the rebellious: they were commandments given to his children, whom he had received, and adopted, not for their merit, but of his own free bounty and grace; whom he had raised from slavery and misery to liberty and abundance, and treated with tenderness and peculiar favour. Neither were his commandments to be complained of as grievous; as, to use no other argument, appears from hence, that the precepts of Jonadab were over and above the ordinances of God; yet those were cheerfully and religiously observed by the house of the Rechabites; while these were perversely, and wickedly rejected by the house of Israel. Nor were the commandments of God given only once, and then wholly trusted to the memory and conscience of his people; but they were frequently inculcated by his messengers the prophets, with still fresh overtures of pardon, after repeated acts of rebellion.

Thus then stood the case between Jonadab and his descendants, and God and his people. In consequence of which, the prophet, by order from Heaven, makes a declaration to each party, as follows:

“ Because the sons of Jonadab the son of Rechab
“ have performed the commandment of their father,
“ which he commanded them; but this people hath
“ not hearkned unto me: therefore thus saith the
“ Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Behold, I will
“ bring

“ bring upon Judah, and upon all the inhabitants of
 “ Jerusalem, all the evil that I have pronounced
 “ against them ; because I have spoken unto them,
 “ but they have not heard, and I have called unto
 “ them, but they have not answered. And Jere-
 “ miah said unto the house of the Rechabites, Thus
 “ saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Because
 “ ye have obeyed the commandment of Jonadab your
 “ father, and kept all his precepts, and done accord-
 “ ing unto all that he commanded you : therefore
 “ thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Jo-
 “ nadab the son of Rechab shall not want a man to
 “ stand before me for ever.”

Having now given a short account of the Rechab-
 ites, and of what was transacted between them and
 the prophet Jeremiah, on the part of God, I pro-
 ceed,

Thirdly, to make a few observations arising from
 the subject.

And my first observation is, that we have a
 remarkable instance in this family, that the honour
 and submission, paid by children to their parents,
 are well pleasing in the sight of God.

The commandment of Jonadab to his family was
 such an exercise of parental authority, as might seem
 to intrench upon the natural liberty of the children.
 For no law of God or nature hath forbidden the use
 of wine, or building of houses ; it is only the intem-
 perate use of the one, and the undue expence, the
 pride, and vanity relating to the other, that are cri-
 minal, and which a parent in ordinary cases would
 desire, or seems authorized, to restrain. Neverthe-
 less, when in a luxurious and corrupted age, the
 parent thought it necessary to prevent the abuse, by
 wholly

wholly denying the use of these things to his family ; because the children of this family cheerfully received the commandment of their father, religiously obeying it themselves, and handing down the observance of it from age to age ; we see that God, who hath given authority to parents, and implanted a principle of obedience in children, was well pleased with that full and extensive manner, in which this obedience was here practised. Which may teach us, that the orders and injunctions of parents, even where they have an appearance of rigour, are not to be treated with contentious opposition, or sullen discontent, but with a cheerful and ready submission, if we would intitle ourselves to the blessing of the fifth commandment.

And since the same God, who hath given authority to parents, hath given a yet higher authority to the supreme governors of every community, the reason of the commandment and promise will require, that we honour and obey them also, in their persons, their laws, and subordinate governors. “ We must needs be subject,” saith St. Paul, “ not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake,” that is, not only that we may avoid the punishment of disobedience, which the magistrate appoints, but also that we may escape the guilt which the conscience contracts towards God, by breaking the laws of the land, and by disrespect to its rulers. For the case of a family and a kingdom answers the one to the other. God, who is the God of order, hath given authority to the heads and governors of each, without which, order cannot be maintained in a family or kingdom ; and a due honour of these respective governors, and obedience to their lawful commands, intitles the children and subjects to a blessing.

We

We see further, by the words of the promise contained in the text, that such parents, who have a just care of the morals and religion of their children, enforcing good instructions by good example, commonly receive part of their reward in the continuance and prosperity of their families. This was a foundation of Abraham's greatness; concerning whom God declared, "Abraham shall surely become
 " a great and mighty nation, and all the nations
 " of the earth shall be blessed in him: for I know
 " him that he will command his children and house-
 " hold after him, and they shall keep the way of the
 " Lord, to do justice and judgement; that the Lord
 " may bring upon Abraham that which he hath
 " spoken of him¹." And we find in the instance of the text, that the parent's concern for the morals of his family, was followed by a long and prosperous subsistence of this family; which is considered as a blessing upon himself: "Jonadab the son of Rechiab
 " shall not want a man to stand before me."

We see, at the same time, what it is that the Almighty bestows as a choice blessing upon those whom he favours; it is, a disposition and opportunities to worship Him. For this is implied in the words, "He
 " shall not want a man to stand before me." As if he had said, Because the father of this family was careful to command his children after him, that they might keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgement; and the children continue in a religious observance of the good example and rules bequeathed them, honouring God in the honour which they pay their parent; this family shall have a lasting continuance, in reward of the father's zeal and the children's piety. And that their continuance may prove a real and substantial blessing to them, they shall

¹ Gen. xviii. 18, 19.

have that granted them, without which wealth and numbers and honours would be no blessing; they shall always have opportunity afforded them, of knowing and serving God.

I observe in the next place, that the rule of discipline, which Jonadab established in his family, affords an excellent lesson to Christians; and that the spirit and design of this commandment are well worth our attention. We here see, that self-denial is an excellent guard of virtue; and that it is safer and wiser to abate somewhat of our lawful enjoyments, than to gratify our desires to the utmost extent of what is permitted; lest the bent of nature towards pleasure hurry us further.

The point between lawful pleasures and vice is like a boundary between two kingdoms at war with each other. It is therefore most prudent, weak and defenceless as we are, not to venture to the very edge of our own side, but leave some space between, lest an insidious enemy surprize and take us captive unawares. This was the policy of the Rechabites. In order to keep at a safe distance from the adversary, they left, as I may say, a part of their own possessions unfrequented. In other words, they denied themselves some gratifications, which were really innocent, that they might be sure to stop short of what was excessive and criminal. And it seems their policy was good. They continued a virtuous people, for many descents, in times of general corruption.

It is not the particular observances of the Rechabites, who drank no wine and built no houses, that are here recommended to Christians; but that temper and disposition, in which they stood towards the things of the world: that we should learn like them to have a command over our appetites; and to be
able,

able, on due occasions, to deny ourselves somewhat of our most innocent enjoyments: to remember that we, as well as they, are strangers in the land where we dwell, and have here no abiding city: that our dwelling in houses should so far resemble their dwelling in tents, that our hearts be not fixed and set upon earthly possessions, nor fired with covetous desires of the pomp and show of the world; but since we are strangers and pilgrims, who must shortly bid adieu to these things, our point of wisdom is, to disengage and loosen our affections from them, and expect our summons of departure; and in the meanwhile to be preparing our minds, and forming our manners, according to the nature of the country, wherein we hope to be established.

Lastly, we observe in the house of the Rechabites on one side, and the people of Israel on the other, the reward of obedience, and punishment of disobedience; and that the obedience of the righteous will justify the equity of God in bringing upon the wicked all the evil that he hath pronounced against them. Many, I fear, place their security in the multitude of those, whose lives resemble their own; and fancy that Almighty God will make allowances for vices and immoralities that are so common. But what will they allege in the great day of accounts, when they shall behold the numbers of those, who have kept themselves unspotted from the world, rising up in judgement against them? The pleas which they urge in excuse for their vices, from the weakness of nature, and the tyranny of their passions, and with which they are now so satisfied, will then appear vain and foolish, even to themselves, when they are confronted by those who were encompassed with the like infirmities, and yet lived in obedience to the laws of God. Before the awful voice of the Judge sounds in their ears, their con-
science

science will then sadly tell them, their condemnation is just ; since what many have performed, all might have performed, who had the same light of reason and Scripture to direct them, the same offers of divine grace to assist and lead them in the way of Salvation ; and the same hopes of immortality, to excite and quicken their obedience.

Let us not therefore follow a multitude to do evil, in hope that the number of offenders will screen us from justice ; but rather let us walk uprightly, that we may walk surely.

S E R M O N III.

ISAIAH XI. 9.

THEY SHALL NOT HURT NOR DESTROY IN ALL
MY HOLY MOUNTAIN.

MOUNT Sion, sanctified by the Temple that Solomon built on a part of it, acquired the name of the mountain of the Lord, or the holy mountain; and this holy mountain being the appointed resort of all Israel under the law of Moses, it sometimes denotes, in the language of the Prophets, the collective body of the faithful; as with us the word Church signifies not only the place in which God is worshiped, but his people in covenant with him.

To this people or Church of God the text is a prophecy of peace, prosperity, and happiness.

But when, and in what manner, was it to be fulfilled?

These questions I shall endeavour, through the divine assistance, to answer; and then conclude with an application of the doctrine contained in the text to ourselves.

First,

First, when was the prophecy to be fulfilled ?

From the time, in which Isaiah spoke it, to the last coming of Christ, there are, in a religious view, but two grand periods; one under the law of Moses, and the other under the Gospel of Christ; and to one of these the prophecy must relate.

Now the same prophet informs us, that a distinguishing part of its completion will be, a vast increase of religious knowledge : “ The earth shall be full of
“ the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover
“ the sea.” Here is a circumstance mentioned, that belongs only to the kingdom of Christ; whom Isaiah, ix. 6. styles the Prince of Peace; and then immediately adds, “ Of the increase of his government and
“ peace there shall be no end; upon the throne of
“ David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to
“ establish it with judgement and with justice, from
“ henceforth even for ever.” And in a place parallel to my text, LXV. 25. there is reference to a certain incident, that determines the sense to Christ : “ The
“ wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion
“ shall eat straw like the bullock; and dust shall be
“ the serpent’s meat.” In the last words there is a plain allusion to the history of the Fall, and we are referred back to the sentence then passed upon the serpent, Gen. iii. 14. “ Upon thy belly shalt thou go,
“ and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life.” The sentence shall be accomplished, and the curse pronounced upon the serpent shall be fully executed, when the prophecy takes place, by the person intended in it; who therefore must be that Seed of the woman, who shall bruise the serpent’s head, and destroy the power and prevalence of evil in the world; and this is none other than Christ. To Him therefore, and the times of his kingdom, the prophecy manifestly

Q Q

relates.

relates. But under his reign, in what manner was it to be fulfilled ; and what is the true meaning and import of it ?

This is the second, and principal inquiry.

The prophecy relates to Christ ; but Christ, we know, has been come more than seventeen hundred years ; and in what part or period of all that time hath this prophecy been accomplished ? Do we see any thing like the completion of it in our own times ; or do we read of it in the histories of the former. The innocence and integrity, the mutual benevolence and brotherly love of the primitive Christians, made indeed something like it ; and may be a part of the prophet's intent and meaning ; but cannot reasonably be supposed to be the whole ; and therefore I shall consider two other interpretations, which will open to us the full sense and import of the prophecy.

The first is, that the prophet here intends to represent the nature and tendency of the Gospel, and to show what happy and glorious effects the religion of Christ would produce, if they who profess would heartily practise it, in sincerity and truth. It is certain and undeniable, that the laws and precepts of the Gospel are admirably contrived and calculated to promote peace on earth and good will among men. Look into the account of our blessed Saviour's life, his actions and discourses recorded in the Gospels. You there find, that, during his ministry on earth, he went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil ; teaching every where the purest lessons of the love of God and man ; and enforcing his precepts, by an example of exalted piety and charity, of humility, meekness, and spotless innocence. Look also into the history and writings of his apostles and other holy persons, whom he instructed

structed and commissioned to teach the nations in his name. Do you not find in them a portion of his spirit, a resemblance of his character, and like offices of love and beneficence to men ; an unwearied readiness to every good work ; though all the returns, which they sometimes met with, were only evil ? “ Being reviled we bless ; being persecuted we suffer it ; being defamed we intreat ;” says St. Paul, speaking of his own behaviour, and that of the other Apostles : 1 Cor. iv. 12. And do not all their rules and injunctions, which respect human society, manifestly tend to the peace and quiet of it ? and would they not effectually procure and establish it, were they thoroughly attended to, and universally practised ? If Christians would fulfil the royal law, “ Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,” and observe that other golden rule of doing to others what they would have others do to them, no one of them could hurt or destroy another, any more than he could hurt or destroy himself. There would be an end of malice and mischief ; and desolation and destruction would be heard of no more, whenever Christ is named and worshiped. Such is the excellent nature and beneficial tendency of his religion ; such the happy and glorious effects, that it would produce in the world, if they, who are the subjects of his kingdom, would conform every one his life and conversation to the laws of his heavenly Lord, and walk as he also walked.

To this character of the religion of the new covenant Isaiah might well have respect in the text before us. This evangelical prophet, by the light and inspiration of Heaven, was apprized of the dignity of the Messiah, of the nature of his office of mediator, of the holiness of his laws, of the promised aid of the Spirit of God to enable men to practise them, and of the glorious recompence held forth to those who should obey them. With this view of things he might reasonably

reasonably conclude, that faith and hope and love would excite and animate the subjects of such a King, to intitle themselves to the privileges and rewards of his kingdom, by a sincere practice of its laws ; the certain consequence of which would be, that all these boisterous, unfriendly, and evil passions, that work so much mischief among men, would be stilled like the raging of the sea, by his voice ; and that peace and good will would prevail among them ; or, in the figurative language of the Prophet himself, that the wolf would dwell with the lamb, and the leopard lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together ; and a little child might lead them, for they would not hurt nor destroy in all God's holy mountain.

But though this interpretation of the prophecy, that it speaks of the proper tendency of the religion of Christ, is just and true as far as it goes ; yet if we would arrive at its full meaning, we must proceed to a second interpretation, which is, that it foretells what shall actually come to pass ; that, in God's appointed time, the kingdom of his dear Son, subduing all hindrances, which now check its progress, shall have its natural effect, shall produce peace and righteousness, wherever it is received ; and shall be received throughout the world.

This happy event we have reason to believe and expect from several prophecies both of the Old and New Testament.

Very remarkable prophecies, concerning the future prevalence and establishment of Christ's kingdom, are those of Daniel in his second and seventh chapters : of which I shall mention only the former.

In the second chapter of his prophecy, this kingdom is represented by a stone cut out without hands, which smote the image representing the four great monarchies that have been so eminent in succession, and brake it, and became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth; which is thus explained at verse 44. of the same chapter: "And in the days of these kings (that is, while some one of these kingdoms, the Roman empire, is yet in the height of its power) shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom shall not be left to other people (that is, shall not be supplanted and succeeded by any other, as it happened to the former kingdoms of the world), but it shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms (not at once, but by degrees; not by open force, but by a secret invisible power; gaining such ascendancy in a tract of time, by its justice, and wisdom, and religious excellences, that all nations and languages shall freely and gladly do homage to its authority), and it shall stand for ever;" that is, till the consummation of all things.

For the advancement of this kingdom we are taught to pray in saying, "Thy kingdom come;" which our Lord made an article in a short prayer of daily use. By this he signifies, that no object is, or ought to be, more desirable and dear to Christians: and at the same time shows them that the prophecies concerning this kingdom, were yet unfulfilled, when he instructed his disciples to pray for its coming.

It is a kingdom that is to continue increasing and spreading, from the time of Christ's appearance in the flesh, till his holy arm hath gotten him the victory, and established truth and righteousness in the earth,

And

And there is one particular, which we have the best grounds for believing he will make an especial instrument, both of multiplying its numbers and enlarging its extent, and that is, the calling and general conversion of God's ancient and once peculiar people, the Jews. Of the many prophecies, foreshowing this event, none is more remarkable than that of Zechariah, xii. 10. "I will pour upon the house
 " of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem,
 " the spirit of grace and supplication; and they shall
 " look upon him whom they have pierced, and they
 " shall mourn for him, as one that mourneth for
 " his only son; and shall be in bitterness for him as
 " one that is in bitterness for his first-born." "It is
 " impossible to find out any thing in history that
 " answers this prophecy, beside the crucifixion of
 " the Messias¹." Here then is a general humiliation for a general sin of their nation, the shedding of the blood of Christ; which can proceed only from their conversion to him, and faith in him.

St. Paul foretells their conversion no less clearly in the xith chapter of his Epistle to the Romans; and in the same chapter intimates very plainly, that it will prove a great furtherance of the Gospel in the world; for thus he argues concerning his countrymen the Jews, who then as a nation rejected the Gospel, and occasioned the preachers of it to address themselves more particularly to the Gentiles:
 " If the fall of them be the riches of the world, and
 " the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles,
 " how much more their fulness?—For if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world,
 " what shall the receiving of them be, but life from
 " the dead?" that is, by the spreading of the light and saving truths of the Gospel, by *their* zeal and

¹ See Bishop Chandler's Defence of Christianity, p. 95.

activity, among the nations that sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death.

When these things are brought to pass, "The mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it." Isai. ii. 2. — "And they shall beat their swords into plow-shares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation; neither shall they learn war any more." ib. 4. but universal peace and prosperity, insured by universal obedience to the Gospel of Christ, shall prevail among men.

Thirdly and lastly, if we bring the doctrine of the text home to ourselves, we shall find in it much matter of instruction and improvement.

If we consider the prophecy as pointing out the natural tendency of the Gospel of Christ, we perceive plainly that it aims at the private and public welfare of mankind, by those graces and virtues, which it inculcates and inspires. But if these are the sure path to life, what is opposite to them must be as certainly the road to destruction: a point too clear to need much illustration. If the presence of the sun causes light and heat, what can ensue from being deprived of its beams, but cold and darkness? If the proper fruit of obedience to the law of Christ is blessedness; the natural consequence of disobedience to it must be indignation and wrath. Tribulation and anguish must be upon every soul of man that doeth evil. Such is the constitution of things, which infinite wisdom and justice hath ordained, that misery will be the certain offspring of sin, without sincere repentance. The Almighty may permit inordinate

dinate desires, unlawful designs, wrath, envy, malice, and other evil and mischievous passions to have their course for a while ; he may suffer them to do much harm to others for a time ; but in the end he will cause them to return upon a man's own head, and to work tumult and torment to his unhappy self. God is the only fountain of bliss to all his creatures ; and when men by the hardness of their hearts have made themselves incapable of his gracious influence, their souls must unavoidably become " like the troubled sea, when " it cannot rest ; whose waters cast up mire and " dirt. There is no peace, saith my God, to the " wicked." Isai. LVII. 20, 21. We can only obtain peace by acquainting ourselves with him, through his blessed Son. And if we expect that Christ should love and bless us, we must show a return of love to him by keeping his commandments.

If we take another view of the text, as foretelling the actual success of the Gospel in the latter days, it sets before our eyes the mighty power of Christ our Redeemer, whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself. This power will at length be displayed in raising the bodies of his saints and faithful servants to a likeness of his own glorious body. But before that time it will be shown in raising the fallen and degenerate race of mankind to a general obedience of faith. These considerations will fill the breast of the devout Christian with joy and gladness ; and will also administer consolation and hope to every serious penitent. Since whatever Christ will do for men in general, in the full establishment of his kingdom, he is now as able and willing to effect for every individual, who will hear his voice and turn to him, to sanctify him by his grace and renew a right spirit within him. But to turn to Christ and hear him, is to strive to live as his Gospel teaches, soberly,
righteously,

righteously, and godly, and to be zealous of good works, that we may promote our own salvation, and give furtherance to his kingdom.

Perhaps we think it unlikely that we shall live to behold the glorious times foretold of this kingdom in the text, and many other Scriptures. But if we have that charity and good-will towards men, which is the spirit of our religion, we shall rejoice in a prospect of their happiness, although we ourselves should have no share in it ; which however in the present case is impossible : for the blessedness of the whole body of Christ, his church, will redound at length to the bliss of every member of it. Let us then endeavour to prepare and make ready the way for the kingdom of our Lord, by striving earnestly to do the will of God, as his will, we are assured, will then be done. If such is our conversation, we may close our eyes in death, with a certainty of hope, that we shall enter into the joy of our Lord. We may take to ourselves the consolation that was spoken to the prophet Daniel by the angel, with respect, as it seems probable, to these very times :

“ Go thy way till the end be : for thou shalt rest,
“ and stand in thy lot at the end of the days.” Dan.
xii. 13.

B A B Y L O N
IN THE
REVELATION OF ST. JOHN
AS SIGNIFYING THE
CITY OF ROME
CONSIDERED
WITH REFERENCE TO THE CLAIMS OF THE
ROMAN CHURCH.

THE SECOND EDITION.

NISI DOMINUS ÆDIFICAVERIT DOMUM, IN VANUM
LABORAVERUNT QUI ÆDIFICANT EAM.
Psal. cxxvi. al. cxxvii. 1.

IMPRIMATUR.

COLL. MERT.
April 6, 1797.

SCROPE BERDMORE,
VICE-CAN. OXON.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Discourse, as the Public have already been informed¹, was composed by Dr. Townson, and prepared for the press a few years before his death. Of the interpretation of the Vision which forms the ground of the treatise, and of the validity of the argument thence deduced against the Church of Rome, he was perfectly satisfied, often and carefully as he reviewed the subject, and revised his papers: but a temporary circumstance, which has long ceased, co-operating with his natural modesty, suspended the publication. The work is now, from the corrected copy intrusted to the editor, faithfully printed; not only in compliance with the wishes of one or two highly esteemed Friends of the Author, who perused the manuscript before and since the hand was cold that wrote it, but also in full persuasion that He himself, had Providence prolonged his life to this moment, would no longer have withheld his thoughts from the world.

In these days of wonder we have seen, partly at least, verified, “*quod apud nostras aures ominabatur*”². The arms of France, then tearing her own bowels only, have recently ravaged Italy, and made

¹ See Account of the Author, vol. I. p. lxxiv.

² See *ibid.* xxviii.

the sovereign Pontif tremble on his throne—a warning and prelude to that final overthrow, which the Apocalyptic Vision here treated sets before us; when an Earthquake or Volcano perhaps may complete the desolation, which war probably in some shape will begin.

But whatever, in God's appointed time, may be the means and ministers of Rome's visitation, when her smoky and ever-during ruins shall commence; in regard to ourselves, the singularly favoured inhabitants of these islands, few periods in our annals seem to have called for vigilance more loudly than the present; when exiles humanely fostered, and natives justly tolerated, the common sons of one and the same idolatrous, insidious, and sanguinary Church, are exerting, in support of a declining cause, all their usual art, and more, if possible, than their usual industry. When the enemy is awake and active, those within the fortress ought not to slumber. At such a juncture therefore, I feel infinite satisfaction that I have it in my power to add to the living works of Dr. Townson these interesting pages, by which "He being dead yet speaketh."

R. CHURTON.

Middleton,
March 23, 1797.

TO

THE RIGHT REVEREND

WILLIAM

LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER

THIS TRACT IS RESPECTFULLY ADDRESSED

AND TO

THE CONSIDERATION OF ALL

THAT INHABIT THE ARCHDEACONRY

OF RICHMOND

IS HUMBL Y SUBMITTED.

O Lord Jesus Christ, who didst show to thy Apostle St. John things that were to come, and didst command him to write what he had seen for the edifying of thy Church, Grant that these observations of thy unworthy servant on a part of his visions may influence the mind of no one, but as far as they are agreeable to the true intent of his prophecy, and may be subservient to thy honour and glory. Amen.

INTRODUCTION.

OUR blessed Lord promised his Apostles that they should sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel¹; and he exhibited the new Jerusalem to St. John as having twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb². These things suggest an idea of equality among them; and if there was a primacy of order, yet that no one of them had greater authority than the rest.

But if he did indeed appoint St. Peter a prince over his Apostles and universal Church, it no where appears that he invested him with a right of transmitting the plenitude of his power and apostolical supremacy to a successor; or, if that privilege also was allowed him, how the succession was to be kept up, or where it was to be established. On these important articles the New Testament is entirely silent. But if the government of the Church is monarchical, so much it evidently intimates to all the faithful, that they ought to seek their Sovereign in any part of the Christian world rather than at Rome.

N. B. The words at the bottom of the pages, texts of Scripture and a few other instances excepted, refer to the Index.

¹ Matth. xix. 29.

² Rev. xxi. 14.

This we may infer from a Vision of the Revelation of St. John ; confining our argument to a part of the Vision that is sufficiently clear for the purpose, and reasoning from it in the sense which learned interpreters of the Roman Church agree in general to fix upon it.

In maintaining which position I shall endeavour as far as possible to preclude unnecessary disputes about the sense of the texts alleged from Scripture, by citing it according to the Latin version called the Vulgate ; which is received as authentic by all who are in communion with the Church of Rome. This version was formerly rendered into English at Doway and Rhemes ; and has since been revised and republished, with the proper approbations. The Old Testament came forth in MDCCL, the New in MDCCLII. My quotations from Scripture, and generally my allusions to it, will be in the language of this translation, from the edition just mentioned.

IN the seventeenth chapter of the Revelation of St. John a woman is exhibited as sitting upon a beast with seven heads and ten horns ; and in another view as sitting upon many waters. The woman is intitled, Babylon the Great. In the course of the chapter the symbols of the seven heads, of the ten horns, of the many waters, and lastly of the woman, are interpreted. The woman is said to signify a “ great city having kingdom over the kings “ of the earth.”

As far as my argument is concerned in the explication of the symbols that is given by an Angel, the question is, whether he means by the woman one certain city ; and if he does, what city it is.

Some

Some have advanced that Babylon signifies the general community of the wicked, which they term the city of the devil, as opposed to the society of the faithful, the city of God. The Christian moralist may, if he pleases, consider Babylon in this light, as St. Augustin has sometimes done¹, and raise useful and pious reflections from it. But this is his own construction, not the Angel's exposition of the great city. The end of interpreting is to render things plainer; and this the Angel professes to do: "I will tell thee the mystery of the woman." He then says, "The woman which thou sawest is the great city, which hath kingdom over the kings of the earth." Now a city that exactly answered to this description subsisting when St. John saw the vision, the Angel's interpretation turns our thoughts naturally to that city; and if he did not mean it, but something else indefinite and remote, he rather misleads than directs our view. This cannot be the Angel's intention. When he says the symbolical woman is a great ruling city, his words must be understood literally; and when he says that one signification of the seven heads is seven mountains, he must mean seven real mountains: and then this city can be no other than Rome.

Thus Menochius, in a work of learned Dissertations on various subjects, and in his concise notes on Scripture, explains the characters that are given of the great city². And in like manner Cornelius a Lapide, having rejected the gloss mentioned above concerning the community of the wicked, with some others, argues that Babylon, described as having kingdom over the kings of the earth, and as having seven mountains, is Rome; the latter circumstance, he says, suiting with no other city. He confirms his

¹ See Augustin.

² Menochius.

argument by the authorities of St. Jerom, of Tertulian, and St. Augustin; and subjoins a catalogue of later writers, who have asserted the same thing¹. The catalogue might be enlarged with the names of other authors of his own Church, but that it is needless. "Rome," as a learned Prelate of the Gallican Church has observed, "is so plainly marked "out under the figure of Babylon, that the enigma "is easy to be decyphered²."

The two notes so characteristic of Rome, its empire and seven hills, are thus united by Propertius in a verse often cited on this occasion :

Septem urbs alta jugis, toti quæ præsidet orbi.
Propert. l. iii. x. 57.

The city raised on seven hills, that rules over the whole earth.

But to these marks the Angel adds a third, the many waters upon which the woman sat. "The "waters," he says, "are peoples, and nations, "and tongues." But he did not show St. John the things signified, but only the symbol of them. "The waters which thou sawest:" which he interprets as has been just mentioned.

Now though the Tiber is a river more famous in history and poetry than considerable in itself, ancient Rome abounded in waters, for which she was renowned, I presume, above every city upon the face of the earth. Her artificial rivers fetched from afar, and conveyed by aqueducts on noble arches, were such mighty works, that in the age of Augustus, when they were not yet brought to the perfection

¹ A Lapide, No. 1.

² Bossuet, No. 1.

in which St. John might see them, Strabo the geographer acknowledged in them the wisdom of the Romans ¹, and Dionysius the historian the greatness of the Roman empire ².

The following remark has been made on modern Rome :

“There is nothing that delights a stranger more in Rome, than to see the great fountains of water that are almost in every corner of it. That old aqueduct, which Paul V. restored, cometh from a collection of sources five and thirty miles distant from Rome, that runs all the way upon an aqueduct in a channel that is vaulted, and is liker a river than a fountain. It breaketh out in five several fountains ; of which some give water about a foot square. That of Sixtus the Fifth ; the great fountain of Acqua Trevi, that hath yet no decoration, but dischargeth a prodigious quantity of water ; the glorious fountain in the Piazza Navona, that hath an air of greatness in it that surpriseth one ; the fountain in the Piazza di Spagna ; those before St. Peter’s and the Palazzo Farnese, with many others, furnish Rome so plentifully, that almost every private house hath a fountain that runs continually. All these, I say, are noble decorations, that carry an usefulness with them that cannot be enough commended.”

Since the time of Bishop Burnet, whose letter from Rome that has this passage is dated December 8th, MDCLXXXV, the fountain of Trevi has been highly decorated, at the expence of Clement XII. and Benedict XIV ³.

¹ Strabo, b. v. p. 360. Ed. Amsterdam.

² Dionys. Halicarn. b. iii. p. 191. Ed. Hudson.

³ See Venuti, No. 2, 3.

But

But Rome, the sight of whose fountains and waters so delighted this traveller, has now only three aqueducts: in the time of St. John it had nine, which were afterwards increased to fourteen¹, built with great magnificence at an amazing cost, and conveying a wonderful quantity of water to the city.

The elder Pliny speaks of them in the following terms: If any one take a careful survey of the store of waters, with which the public, the baths, the fish-pools, houses, canals, gardens, suburbs, and adjacent villas, are supplied; of the arches raised, the mountains bored, the vallies filled up, to form a course for these waters, he must confess that there is nothing more stupendous in the whole earth.

Plin. Nat. Hist. book xxxvi. chap. xv.

Many waters therefore were a distinguishing feature of Rome; and as they flowed as she directed, and were as obedient to her command, as the peoples, and nations, and tongues which they represented, she might be said to sit upon them with the strictest propriety of symbolical language: since to sit upon is a known emblem of governing.

Thus Babylon is clearly Rome, that is the City of Rome, according to the authors with whom I am ready to join issue upon this point, the City as distinguished from the Hierarchy established in it.

But whether the claims of this Hierarchy stand unaffected by the prophecy concerning the city, is still a question; which I shall endeavour to discuss under the following heads of inquiry:

¹ See Fabretti.

- I. To what prerogatives does the Roman Church hold itself intitled, as granted to it by Christ?
- II. If such prerogatives have indeed been granted to that Church by him, under what character must the City of Rome be considered by his people?
- III. What character has our Lord himself given of this City in his written word?
- IV. Is the character of Rome given by Christ consistent with the character of it resulting from the prerogatives claimed by its Church, and ascribed to it by its friends?
- V. If the two characters are inconsistent with each other, is it credible that our Lord has vested such high prerogatives in a Church established in Rome?

SECTION I.

To what prerogatives does the Roman Church hold itself intitled as granted to it by Christ ?

CARDINAL BELLARMINE, in treating of the Roman Pontifs, tells us, that they must peculiarly well understand the authority of their own See¹. Let us therefore hear them speak for themselves from their apostolical chair.

“ He who reigneth on high, to whom all power
 “ is given in heaven and in earth, hath committed
 “ the one holy Catholic and Apostolical Church,
 “ out of which there is no salvation, to be governed
 “ with plenitude of power by one only on earth;
 “ namely, by Peter the prince of the Apostles, and
 “ by the successor of Peter the Roman Pontif.
 “ This one he hath constituted a prince over all na-
 “ tions and all kingdoms; to pluck up, waste,
 “ destroy, plant, and build.”

They are the words of Pope Pius the Fifth, in his Bull against Queen Elizabeth; towards the conclusion of which, “ Supported,” he says, “ by the authority of Him who hath seen fit to place him, however unequal to so great a charge, in this supreme throne of justice, he declares, in the plenitude of his apostolical authority, the said Elizabeth laid under a sentence of anathema, deprived of all right and title to her kingdom, her subjects absolved from all oaths of allegiance to her, and those who obey her involved in the like sentence of anathema².”

¹ Bellarmine, No. 1.

² Bulls Papal, No. 1.

The high hand of sovereignty, that is here held over one kingdom, is more widely extended in another Bull, which was re-modeled and brought to its present perfection by Pope Urban the Eighth¹; from whose time it has been usual, at least till of late years, to publish it annually, from the portico of St. Peter's, on the Thursday in Passion-week; and that day being in the language of the Latin Church *In cœna Domini*, the Bull from thence took its name. That the contents of this Bull, *In cœna Domini*, may be known not only at Rome, but throughout the Christian Church, it lays a strict charge on all patriarchs, primates, archbishops, prelates, and ordinaries, in virtue of their holy obedience, to read, or cause it to be read, once a year at least in their churches, when there is the greatest concourse of people for divine worship. The manner in which it speaks to the highest orders in the church is in the usual style of the Roman Pontifs to them. But beyond this it stretches the rod of its authority over all the secular princes and powers of the Christian world; who, if they violate any of those extensive rights, which the See of Rome reserves to itself as ecclesiastical immunities, incur an anathema; the consequence of which to those, who die without a proper release from it, is in the account of the Canonists everlasting perdition.

These two Bulls show chiefly the power of the Roman Pontif to root up, waste, and destroy; but as armed with the plenitude of power, which he derives from the Prince of Peace, as successor of St. Peter, he is no doubt invested with equal ability to plant and build. The powers of loosing as well as of binding must be in his hands. But what his power of loosing is on earth, and how far it

¹ Bulls Papal, No. 2.

reaches beyond into the invisible world, it is not here necessary to enquire. Nor need I mention his well-known claim to infallibility in matters of faith; and to a power superior to all general councils; to which an appeal from the Roman See is forbidden in the Bull, *In cœna Domini*, under penalty of an anathema.

It is sufficient for the present purpose to have given this sketch of the prerogatives which he asserts to be his right; and which all true sons of his Church think it necessary to attribute to him. "Among the Catholics," Cardinal Orsi says, there "is no one who dares deny, or can deny, that Jesus Christ has instituted a Monarchy, or form of monarchical government, in his Church, and that the supreme head of this monarchy is the Roman Pontif¹." This is declared with great solemnity from the portico of St. Peter's church, in the presence of a numerous assembly at the coronation of a Pope; when a cardinal deacon having taken the mitre from his head, another places on it the triple crown, and says, "Receive this tiara adorned with three crowns, and know that thou art Father of princes and kings, Governor of the globe of earth, Vicegerent of our Saviour Jesus Christ²." In conjunction with such a head, "the Roman church is the mother and mistress of all Churches."

¹ See Orsi, No. 1.

² Stato di Roma, No. 1.

SECTION II.

If such prerogatives have been granted to the Roman Church by Christ, under what character must the City of Rome be considered by his people ?

IT must be indeed venerable in their eyes, if it is the established metropolis of a kingdom to which all nations of believers are to flow.

Now we are told, that when St. Peter retired from Jerusalem, he set his apostolical chair first in Antioch, and that having governed the Church for some years in that city, he thence removed to Rome¹, and having here fixed his chair, entailed the plenitude of his power on his successors in it for ever. He did so, in the opinion of Cardinal Bellarmine, by command of the Lord²: and if we admit the fact as it is stated, we cannot dispute the reason assigned for it. The blessed Apostle would not engage in a measure of such magnitude of his own accord, or without special instructions from his Divine Master. It is declared also by papal authority to be the place which the Lord hath chosen³.

On this foot our Lord has chosen Rome in preference to the city in which his faithful people were first called Christians⁴; and has exalted it not only above Antioch, but above all the cities of the world.

¹ See Liber Pontificalis.

² See Bellarmine, No. 2.

³ See Bulls Papal, No. 3.

⁴ Acts xi. 26.

He hath given it the inheritance of that apostolical chair, to which he has annexed the sovereignty of his Church; and what he has established in it, nothing short of his own express order can remove to another place.

He has vested the right of electing Him who is to fill this chair in the faithful of this city, or in those who bear a sacred relation to it. For the Cardinals, to whom the nomination of him is now limited, were originally the chief pastors of the Churches in Rome, and have still a kind of episcopal superintendance and care of their respective Churches, or Titles as they are called¹, to which regularly and generally they are appointed on their advancement to their dignity; except six, who are consecrated bishops of certain Sees in the province or neighbourhood of Rome. And the same persons, who create the "King and Father of the Christian community"², are his standing Council in the government of it³.

He has made Rome the centre of union to all his people throughout the world; and all the bishops and archbishops of his Church are bound to repair thither, and to visit the thresholds of the Apostles (the shrines of St. Peter and St. Paul being there) once in three years, personally if they are able, or else by some dignified representative. To this purpose an oath is prescribed in the Roman Pontifical, which is to be administered to them at the time of their consecration⁴.

We might enumerate abundance of other sacred privileges, which together with many secular emoluments accrue to Rome from the possession of St.

¹ Stato di Roma, No. 2.

² Trent Council, No. 1.

³ Medals Papal, No. 1.

⁴ Pontificale Romanum.

Peter's chair. But what has been already said may serve to prove that this chair, which elevates the Church above all churches, raises the City to a sacred pre-eminence above all cities. The honours and advantages that it communicates to them are distinct, but of perpetual connection, and involve each other. Where this chair is fixed, there is fixed the sovereignty of the church universal ; and where this sovereignty is, there is the metropolis of Christ's visible kingdom : and such a metropolis, as appointed by him, must be regarded by his people as his chosen and holy city.

In this light it is considered by those who acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman Church. A learned author, Cornelius a Lapide, speaks of Rome as being, " since Constantine, The holy and faithful city, the Sion beloved of God, the pillar of the faith, the mother of piety, the mistress of sanctity ¹." Another, Jacobus Gutherius, inscribes his work, " To Rome eternal, the first of cities, metropolis of the earth, patroness of virtues, assertress of law and equity, venerable miracle of antiquity, victorious, powerful, august, pious, happy, ever regenerated, ever rising again ²."

A much earlier and more dignified writer, Leo the Great, in a sermon on the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, thus addresses himself to Rome :

" These are they who have raised thee to this glory, that as a holy nation, a chosen people, a sacerdotal and royal city, being made the head of the earth through the sacred chair of the blessed Peter, thou shouldest rule more extensively by divine religion than by earthly territory ³."

¹ A Lapide, No. 2.

² Gutherius.

³ Pontifis Roman, No. 1.

Rome, thus ennobled again by an universal sovereignty, of a different nature from the former, but, as it is presumed, of greater permanency, is still intitled, *The Eternal City*.

But let us now inquire,

S E C T I O N III.

What character has our Lord himself given of this City in his written word?

WE meet with the name of Rome, or circumstances relating to it, in different parts of the New Testament, but nothing to the purpose of our inquiry till we come to the Revelation of St. John.

It is without the least private satisfaction that we produce the things which are there spoken of a City renowned in the annals of Christian as well as Pagan history: which, though it has endured some rude shocks since the time of its imperial splendour, is yet the admiration of mankind, and esteemed to be replete with the noblest monuments of ancient and modern art. It was the chief nursery and seat of Literature for a long tract of time in the Western world¹. It abounds in pious and charitable institutions; and as the faith of its first Christian converts was “spoken of in the whole world²,” it hath, I hope, in no subsequent period wanted devout and zealous servants of our common Lord.

¹ Bonamici, No. 1.

² Rom. i. 8.

But

But since we are to show how this City is represented in the Revelation, we must endeavour to be guided by it without prejudice or affection. And when we consider the length of the vision concerning Rome; that there is such an explication given of the symbols used in it, as is found but in one other part of the book, in the mystery of the seven stars and seven golden candlesticks, chap. 1. 20. and that the explication is thus introduced, "Here is the understanding that hath wisdom," we must conclude that the importance of the vision and its consequences is thus signified, and a serious attention to it meant to be excited in the faithful.

We proceed to give an abstract of it.

Rev. chap. xvii. Rome reigning over the kings of the earth is intitled Babylon the Great, and is exhibited under the symbol of a woman that is called the great Harlot, and is represented with a golden cup of intoxication in her hand; as rich and splendid in her appearance; corrupted, and corrupting the princes and people of the earth; and at the same time cruel and sanguinary towards the saints and servants of Christ. It is predicted moreover that God, in his appointed time, will raise up certain powers that "shall hate the Harlot," shall spoil her of all her glory and possessions, and shall burn her with fire.

Ch. xviii. Judgement is then transferred from the emblematical woman, yet without dropping the figure altogether, to the real city; and Babylon is described as indulging in all the luxuries and vices, to which opulence and power are incitements; as elated with pride and vain glory; and filled with confidence of her perpetual stability and prosperity. But the sins of Babylon reaching unto Heaven, it is doomed to excision and desolation for ever.

When the Revelation was written, there were other great cities that might vie with Rome in many of her sins and vices, and in enmity to the Church of Christ. What is given us as characteristic of Western Babylon, from a resemblance of spirit to Eastern Babylon of old, is *pride of Sovereignty, and conceit of Indefectibility*. "She saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am not a widow, and I shall see no mourning." Rev. xviii. 7. Compare Isai. xlvii. 8.

These thoughts of her heart her great poet represents as ratified by their supreme Deity :

The people Roman call, the city Rome.
To them no bounds of empire I assign,
Nor term of years to their immortal line.

Æneid, b. i. ver. 377. of Dryden's Transl.

SECTION IV.

Is this character of Rome given by Christ consistent with the character of it resulting from the prerogatives claimed by its Church, and ascribed to it by its friends ?

IT is certain that the two characters are incompatible with each other at the same time, and can only be both true by a succession of one to the other. But analogy of Scripture, and the conduct of the Revelation, forbid us to regard Rome as in any period intitled to the character of the chosen and holy City.

The Roman Pontifs consider their City and Hierarchy together as the Jerusalem and Sion of Christians¹. But if Heaven has ordained such a sacred metropolis to Them also, should not the authority of the appointment be as apparent as it was to the Jewish Church?

The Almighty, who had apprized his people by Moses that he would choose a place out of their tribes to place his name there and to dwell in, Deut. xii. 5. having decreed Jerusalem to be that place, notified his choice of it to them. He declared it to be his chosen and holy City, the city of the great King, the city of the Lord. If this Jerusalem was treated severely by his prophets, when iniquity abounded in it, the faithful in Israel could notwithstanding rest on divine assurances, that it was the place which the Lord had chosen; where his priests were to offer their sacrifices, and the representative of Aaron to make atonement for them; where they were to hold their solemn festivals, and expect a blessing on their devotions.

And these assurances Heaven was solicitous, if I may so speak, to keep alive in their thoughts. Gracious promises of pardon and favour were subjoined to the decrees concerning the desolation of Jerusalem and Sion. Both were to be restored within a limited time, and reinstated in their former rights. And after the return of the captivity from Babylon, an express renewal of sacred privileges was made to both: Zech. i. 16. and again viii. 3. "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts; I am returned to Sion, and I will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem. And Jerusalem shall be called the city of truth, and the mountain of the Lord of Hosts, the sanctified mountain."

¹ See Medals Papal, No. 1—6.

So full and indisputable was Jerusalem's patent of consecration. If Rome could produce the like, I hope we should duly reverence it. But the Son of God has in no passage of his New Testament declared it the city of righteousness; he has no where promised that he would dwell in the midst of it, that it should be called the city of truth; nor has he fixed on any of its mountains as the mountain of the Lord of Hosts.

In one instance he speaks of it in terms that recal Jerusalem to mind. He directed St. John to describe its future desolation in language and images that had been suggested to Jeremiah in prophesying against Jerusalem, either by itself, or as involved in one condemnation with the bordering cities and countries¹. But even in these sentences of destruction there is a marked difference between the two cities. Jerusalem, laid in ashes and emptied of inhabitants, was to be rebuilt and re-peopled. Rome desolated is to rise "no more at all."

This is not the whole of the argument against any sacred pretensions of Rome. It cannot be regarded by the people of our Lord as his holy City, as long as he himself treats it as Babylon. How much then of the duration of Rome does he cover with that name and character? His Revelation represents it only as Babylon dominant, Babylon fallen, and Babylon lying in ruins. Its glory, catastrophe, and desolation, are set before us in a connected succession, and together occupy the whole space from the commencement of the vision to the end of time. During this extensive period, with whatever changes of government it may be diversified, we are presented with

¹ Compare Jer. vii. 34. xvi. 9. xxv. 10. with Rev. xviii. 22, 23.

a certain continuity of Babylon. For what is that, the sudden fall of which is described by St. John, but Babylon which he had seen in great splendour? What is that, the smoke of which ascendeth for ever and ever, but the same Babylon prostrate, which till then had been so elevated? Thus the matter is stated to us in "the Revelation of Jesus Christ;" and what prophet of Bethel shall we trust¹ to tell us of another word of the Lord, ordering Rome to be Jerusalem, when in his open and declared word it is exhibited as only Babylon from first to last?

A view has now been taken of two opposite characters of the same city; and no proof being needful that both cannot be true together, it has been inquired whether they could be successively true. But a season is not to be found, in which Rome may, consistently with the prophecy, bear the title of the chosen and holy City; not only for want of the proper evidence to support such pretensions, but because it appears to stand never clear of the character of Babylon.

SECTION V.

Is it then credible that Christ has conferred a Sovereignty over all his people on a Church established in a City, which he teaches them to consider only as Babylon?

A CHURCH intitled to all the graces and benefits of the Christian covenant, and to the respect and communion of the universal Church, might abide in Babylon as well as in Pergamos, "where the seat of Satan was." But when one Church

¹ 1st aliter 3d Kings xiii. 11—18.

talks of its sovereignty over all the rest, the question then is, not what are her claims to their esteem and communion, but what are her pretensions to authority over them. And if the Church "which is in Babylon" makes these claims, her title to be the "mother and mistress of all churches," and her right to the subjection of these, as her daughters and handmaidens, ought to be particularly well ascertained.

Appeals have been made on both sides of the question to the sentiments of the early fathers, Greek and Latin; who have been construed on one part to maintain the supremacy of the Roman Church, and on the other to have acted on principles that showed an unconsciousness of any subordination due to it. It is no part of my plan to enter into this dispute: yet one testimony, though it has often been urged, I cannot help repeating.

Towards the close of the sixth century, when John, Archbishop of Constantinople, assumed the title of Œcumenical Patriarch, or Universal Bishop, a great and learned bishop of Rome, Gregory the First, exclaimed loudly against such a title. And this he did, as he himself testifies, not because it was an usurpation on the prerogatives of his own See, but because it was an invasion of the rights of every See in the Christian world. Do I in this, he said, defend my own cause? Do I remonstrate against a special injury? Do I not rather assert the cause of Almighty God, and of the universal Church¹? This title, which John took with the approbation of a Council, and the allowance of the emperor Mauritius, seems to have been more an accession of honour than power. At least the power conveyed with it was far inferior to that, which the bishops of Rome have claimed under the notion of their supremacy. This,

¹ See Pontifs Roman, No. 2.

therefore,

therefore, Gregory did much more condemn, who inveighed against the title and claims of universal bishop, as proud, heretical, blasphemous, and anti-christian. Sufficiently jealous of the dignity of his own See, yet so unconscious was he of a Sovereignty over the whole Church, that he protested against it.

Very different was the language of one of his successors, Gregory the Seventh¹, in the time of our William the Conqueror, who, as Philip Bonamici remarks, first introduced an ampler form of pontifical government, and set on foot those measures that might render the Pontifs not only respectable, but formidable to princes². The twenty seven Dictates of this pope are famous; and though some deny that they were drawn up by him in their present form, yet they who have examined the matter assure us, that the greatest part of them is found word for word in his Epistles³.

What shall we say then, when opposite interpretations are given us of the sentiments of the ancient Fathers; when they, who should "peculiarly well understand the authority of their own See," give such different accounts of it as Gregory the First and Gregory the Seventh; when Boniface the Third, the next successor but one of the first Gregory, entertained so contrary a notion of the title of Universal Bishop, that he solicited it for himself from the Constantinopolitan emperor Phocas, and assumed it⁴; and when, if we look to later times, we shall find one Council claiming a superiority over Popes, and another owning a subordination to them⁵? How shall well-disposed Christians, who have not leisure

¹ See Pontifs Roman, No. 4.

² See Bonamici, No. 2.

³ See Contini, No. 2.

⁴ See Pontifs Roman, No. 3.

⁵ See Constance.

or learning to examine remote antiquities of the Church, and to weigh the arguments deduced from them, satisfy their minds, whether it is the will of God or not, that they should obey the Roman Pontif as supreme in authority, and infallible in doctrine? How, but by recourse to the written word of God; if he has there vouchsafed, as might humbly be hoped in such a case, to give them any plain indications of his will in this matter? To this written word let us return our inquiry.

Some passages of Scripture have, with great dexterity of comment, been made to declare for the supremacy of St. Peter over the apostolical College and universal Church. But the most ingenious expositor will not find the shadow of a proof in the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, or Canonical Epistles, that St. Peter, supposing him invested with such a sovereignty and a right of transmitting it, was to bequeath it to the Roman Church. If he means Rome by Babylon in the close of his first Epistle ¹, he shows that he wrote it in Rome, and testifies, that the Roman Church was elected into the communion of saints together with other Churches; but he gives not the least hint that it was, or was to be, supreme over them. We must therefore seek the resolution of our question in the Revelation of St. John.

The Revelation is the prophetic history of the kingdom of Christ, shadowing out the great concerns of it, its chief protectors, adversaries, and events, from an early date to its consummation in glory. Among the visible agents, by means of whom the affairs of this kingdom are carried on, the Roman Church stands forth, as its friends represent it, most eminent, as the mother and mistress of all Churches;

¹ 1 Pet. v. 13.

over all the visible members of which it claims a monarchical authority; and in this view its chief pastor is the most exalted character on earth. Supreme over all the Churches and their Angels, he is as “a Cherub stretching out his wings and covering, and set in the holy mountain of God¹.” To him is committed “to root up, waste, destroy, plant, and build;” and “the nation and kingdom that will not serve him shall perish².” What then is said or signified in the Revelation concerning this Church? Let the question be answered by a Prelate of shining abilities, eloquence, and acuteness, who lived in communion with it, and wrote a comment on the Revelation of St. John. His answer is, “It is a Church of which there is not the least trace in all his book³.”

A total silence of his book concerning a Church of such high and singular pretensions is a circumstance most striking; whether we consider that Church with reference to some others, or to its own peculiar situation.

Our Lord makes the following promise in the Revelation to the Church at Thyatira: “Yet that which you have, hold fast till I come. And he that shall overcome, and keep my words unto the end, I will give him power over the nations.” Rev. ii. 25, 26. And this to the Church of Philadelphia: “Behold, I will bring them of the synagogue of Satan, who say they are Jews and are not, but do lie; behold, I will make them come and worship before thy feet, and they shall know that I have loved thee.” Ibid. iii. 9.

¹ See the English Version of the Vulgate, Ezekiel xxviii. 14.

² See Medals Papal, No. 2.

³ See Bossuet, No. 2.

The Roman Church, placed on the most conspicuous theatre in the world, had to contend with Jews, and with equally malignant and more powerful Gentiles. It felt the fury of Nero, who first drew the imperial sword against the Christians. It was bleeding under the cruelty of Domitian, or very lately come out of great tribulation, at the time, as it is generally allowed, in which St. John saw the visions of the Revelation¹. In these and succeeding perilous days it testified its zeal and fidelity in the cause of Christ, by the fortitude of its numerous confessors and martyrs; and was earnest for the purity as well as truth of the Gospel. After a long resistance unto blood it was rendered victorious, and subdued to the obedience of the faith the sons of those fathers who had been its bitter persecutors. Yet, copious as the vision is with respect to the place of that Church's abode, it makes not the least mention of the Church itself. Might not this awaken a suspicion, that no commendation is bestowed on its earlier love, that no handle may be given to its later ambition? Thus much we may remark with certainty and without presumption. If it is a Church, "of which there is not the least trace in all the book," that no promise is there made it of "power over the nations;" and that "its foes shall come and worship before its feet;" no testimony is borne to it of Christ's affection for it, nor assurance given that "they shall know that he hath loved it." I presume no prudent friend of the Roman Church will dispute the decision of Bossuet, that the Revelation is totally silent concerning it. But this is a silence that abandons the sovereignty of that Church to all the objections, that may result from the non-confirmation of its authority, and the attainure of its city.

¹ Dalrymple, Sir David.

Suppose now the Monarch of an extensive empire to have in his public acts treated the chief city of a remote province in a manner not unſimilar to that in which Rome is treated by the Revelation, and to have been as reſerved about the powers veſted in its magiſtrates, as the ſame book is with regard to the Roman Hierarchy: if nevertheless the governors, whom he had ſet to preſide in that city and its proper diſtrict, and whom he allowed to ſucceed by election among themſelves, ſhould after a while¹ take upon them to announce to the ſurrounding provinces, that he had made them ſupreme over that whole circle of his dominions, as the delegates of his ſovereignty, the interpreters of his will, and diſpensers of his favours, and that whoever did not obey them throughout that extent of country would incur his indignation; the inhabitants of the provinces that lay without the boundary of the city which claimed ſuch ſubjection from them might reaſonably obſerve, that the wiſdom and benignity of their Sovereign had provided the beſt of laws and conſtitutions for the welfare of his people; and if knowing all things he did not ſee proper to interpoſe openly in all², he laid the ſtricter obligation on all ranks and degrees of his ſubjects in their ſeveral departments to ſtudy his will contained in thoſe his ordinances, and promote the due performance of it: that on conſulting his ordinances, they could not diſcover any comiſſions granted by him to the governors of one province of high authority over the governors of others³; and if authority is claimed which is entirely out of the common courſe of his administration, the evidence ought to be unqueſtionable that it iſſued from him.

¹ See Pontifs Rom. No. 5.

² Omnia ſcire, non omnia exequi. Tacit. in Vit. Agricolaë, cap. xix.

³ See Febronius, No. 1. Contini, No. 3.

The delegation of the sovereign's prerogatives to a subject is a rare instance of trust and confidence in him; and if they are vested in him as the magistrate of one peculiar city, it is a token of royal favour to the city itself, and must be the source of great respect and advantage to it. But how, might they say, can we conceive the city in question to have been thus distinguished by our august Sovereign, when it stands charged with high crimes and misdemeanours, and is marked with a sentence of perpetual disgrace, in the records of his empire? When he has declared that whenever he shall permit it to be destroyed, a multitude of his faithful subjects will rejoice in its downfall¹; and when he has even discountenanced their intercourse with it²? But if, for reasons which we are incompetent to judge of, it had pleased him to establish the most dignified representative of his own majesty in such a city, he would doubtless have given us plain indications of his will, and directions for our conduct, which might serve us as a clue to thread the maze of bringing honour to his substitute, and yet of standing aloof from the city of his residence. But after diligent search throughout the venerable code of laws and constitutions, which are the standard and measure of our obedience, we discover nothing there that may lead us to the submission exacted of us. The magistrates established in that city are not raised above others. The city itself is degraded below every place in the empire, without repeal or qualification of the sentence passed upon it.

All this considered, we hold ourselves bound in reason, and in duty to our sovereign, not to resign the liberty with which he has blest us, to such wonderful pretensions of a paramount undefined jurisdiction over us and our respective governors.

¹ See Rev. xviii. 20. xix. 1—3.

² *Ib.* xviii. 4.

But

But to come from suppositions to the statement of facts in the word of prophecy.

Our Lord there represents Rome to us as Babylon, as Babylon only. Out of reverence to Him, therefore, we dare not consider it as holy and beloved by him, lest we should allow the sanction of his authority to two contradictory characters of the same city.

We dare not assent to that Roman Pontif, who calls his See, to which he invites the faithful, that is, Rome, "The place which the Lord hath chosen¹;" when the Lord himself marks it as the place, from which "a voice from heaven bids them go out." Whether the occasion of the voice be past or future is disputed by their learned. And a warning from heaven, that can be limited to no one certain time, is alarming in all.

Yet were the prerogatives of St. Peter's chair such in truth as are arrogated to it, Rome ought to be prized among Christians as much as Jerusalem was by the Jews. For what place on earth could we conceive to be so worthy of our veneration as the metropolis of Christ's visible kingdom, the seat of his oracle, the centre of union and worship appointed by himself to all his subjects; and whither all estates of men, from every region under heaven, were to bring their homage and offerings?

See barb'rous nations at thy gates attend,
Walk in thy light, and in thy temple bend;
See thy bright altars throng'd with prostrate kings;
And heap'd with products of Sabea springs.

Pope's Messiah.

¹ See Bulls Papal, No. 3.

The misfortune is, that the more we exalt the dignity of the City to make it correspond with that idea of its Hierarchy, the more we set it at variance with the Revelation. And thus our Lord has in a signal manner denied the Church claiming the grant of a Sovereignty from him the analogous and natural adjunct of such a Sovereignty, an answerable respectability of its City.

If nevertheless he had seen fit to erect this spiritual monarchy in Rome, his tender solicitude for the right institution of his people assures us, he would have provided for an extraordinary case, and have so modified his Vision concerning Babylon, that his supreme Church should sustain no loss of dignity, nor his faithful be startled at submission to her, because he had perpetually reprobated the place with which her supremacy was united. But is there this modification of the Vision to be discovered in any part of the book? So far is he from testifying his delight to honour the Roman Church above all his Churches, or even as he has honoured some others, that, as a Master has decided, There is not the least trace of it in all the Revelation.

But is not the observation just, that "Pagan Rome "is one thing, and Christian Rome another¹?" Undoubtedly it is just in itself, but of no use in reasoning from a book that affords no opening for the distinction between them, and knows as little of Christian Rome as of the Roman Church, notwithstanding the small proportion the Paganism of the city bears to its Christianity since the date of the prophecy. The fact is as certain as it is remarkable. If we follow the general, and as it seems the best grounded, opinion², that the Revelation was not

¹ See a Lapide, No. 3.

² See Dalrymple.
written

written earlier than the year of our Lord XCV, scarce two hundred and twenty years passed before the Cross of Christ triumphed in Rome under Constantine; from whose days, the short reign of Julian excepted, it has been ruled by Christian emperors, kings, or governors, for above fourteen centuries and an half; and for a thousand of these years has been united in one faith under one line of princes, the Roman Pontifs¹. And though Paganism was not immediately extinguished when Constantine professed himself a Christian, it declined gradually, and came to nothing: and its prevalence in Rome cannot well be estimated a fifth of the space from the year of our Lord XCV to the present time. Yet of this large excess of better ages the Revelation takes no notice; but the whole of it is hidden from the eyes of the faithful by the Babylonian mantle that is wrapped round Rome.

Once more: the fall of Babylon is asserted by some to have happened long ago; by others it is referred to the last age of the world. On either hypothesis Rome is disqualified by the Revelation for being in any age intitled to the character that it should bear, if the Sovereignty of its Church were founded in truth.

If we say with Bossuet², the improver of the plan of Grotius, that when Rome was taken and sacked in the year CCCCX by Alaric king of the Goths, Babylon was then destroyed and obliterated; what should follow to denote that the City of God sprang out of the ashes of Babylon? What, but that "its light was come, and the glory of the Lord was risen upon it³?" But on the fall of Babylon what does in deed follow? Her ruins are given up to

¹ See Orsi, No. 2.

² See Bossuet, No. 3.

³ Isai. lx. 1.

hateful

hateful creatures, and “her smoke ascendeth for ever and ever.” Whatever this symbolical smoke may be, the perpetual continuance of it is a token, that the judgement inflicted has not yet quitted the site of Babylon, but abides upon it.

But if we follow the more general sentiments of expositors ¹, we must suppose that about the time of the great Antichrist some Pagan power will again prevail in Rome; and the city, which rose in idolatry, will set in apostacy; that as it was Babylon in the former of these states, so it will be in the latter, and will then be destroyed and exterminated; but since it ceased to be Pagan, and till it shall renounce, and again persecute, the faith, that it is by way of eminence the holy and beloved City. Unfulfilled prophecy is often of uncertain interpretation; and as we cannot foresee the wonderful and sudden vicissitudes of human affairs, we cannot affirm that to be impossible which seems so improbable, that the unhappy change, which these expositors speak of, should ever take place in Rome, and dethroned Paganism resume its sceptre there. But we need not pry into futurity to discover the vanity of the other proposition, that Rome, while it is Christian, is the holy and beloved City: we have only to compare this comment with the text, and to consider what on this hypothesis the Revelation does. It passes over the long intermediate glories of the City as beloved, and of the Church as supreme; and displays only the two evil extremes, the first and final Babylonian condition of Rome. It were bold indeed to suppose this conduct of a book dictated by the Holy Spirit to have been undesigned.

¹ See a Lapide, No. 1, 2. and Menochius.

On every view of the subject this conclusion forces itself on a common apprehension, that our Lord, by what he has spoken of Rome as Babylon, and not spoken of either its Church or City as Christian, gives us to understand, that he has not chosen the one for his Jerusalem, nor the other for his Sion.

Is this a wrong construction of his meaning? Does he enjoin obedience to the Roman Hierarchy as the duty of all that believe in him; and yet has he by his Revelation, which he exhorts them to read, led them into such danger of misconceiving his blessed will?

It is not so that the gracious Saviour of the world teaches his people what they are to do, that they may enter into life. The rules which he has given them for that end are not involved in ambiguities, but plain and simple. The principles of their religious duty are proposed to them clearly and consistently: and he does not enforce that in one part of his word, which in another he discourages. We may therefore rest assured, that what stands in full opposition to the whole tenor of his proceedings with them is not his institution, but is imposed upon them as such by art and device of man; and that the donation of a Supremacy to the Roman Church by Christ our Lord, rests on no better a bottom than the donation of Italy to it by Constantine the Great; which is now tacitly disavowed¹, or openly rejected, by their ablest writers², as the figment of a barbarous age.

¹ See Orsi, No. 2.

² See Muratori.

CONCLUSION.

HAVING seen on what grounds the claims of the Roman Church are refuted by the Revelation, we may discern, in part at least, why it makes no provision for exempting the long period of Christian Rome from the name of Babylon.

Rome is called on medals of several emperors the Eternal City¹. Ammianus Marcellinus in his history², and Valentinian III. in an imperial edict³, speak the same language; they intitle the Roman Pontif “Bishop of the Eternal City.” And notwithstanding the censure of St. Jerom upon calling that eternal which is but temporal⁴, the modern Romans do not care to part with the epithet; while the bishop of their Church applies to his own See the promise made by Christ to his Church in general, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Now pride of Sovereignty, and conceit of Indefectibility, were characteristic marks of ancient Babylon. The like spirit transmitted from the East to the West, and from old to modern Rome, a bishop who says his See is Supreme, and can never fail reigning in a City that calls itself Eternal, may make the name of Babylon suitable even to Christian Rome.

Learned men in communion with the Latin Church have asserted, that the Apostles all received the same

¹ See Medals Imperial.

² See Newton.

³ See Marcellinus.

⁴ See St. Jerom.

commission and power from their Lord, with a primacy of order to St. Peter ; and that all bishops are equally the successors of the Apostles, and equal in that authority which they derive from them¹. In consequence of these maxims they contend, that the idea of a visible Monarchy, such as is claimed to itself by the See of Rome, instituted by Christ over his faithful on earth, is repugnant to Scripture, and the sense and usages of the ancient Church. These points they have maintained with great force of reason and accuracy of research.

It is sufficient for my purpose to evince, that the Author of our Salvation has plainly shown, in the Revelation which he made to his Churches by St. John, that he has instituted no such Monarchy in Rome.

And thus much being clearly deduced from Scripture, the diadem of the Roman Pontif must part with another of its most brilliant jewels. His authority not being monarchical over the Church, the Infallibility of his chair must fall to the ground : for in any other character than that of supreme head of the Church, it can be no more necessary to Him than to any other chief governor of it ; and will not, I presume, be pretended to belong to his order as episcopal, or his dignity as patriarchal. Indeed, his right to the sovereignty to the Church being unfounded, there needs no other argument than his constant claim of this right to prove that he is not infallible.

Yet his Supremacy and Infallibility are fundamental doctrines of the Roman Church, and are evidently assumed as certain in many of the Papal

¹ See Febronius, No. 1. Contini, No. 3.

Bulls. Pius the Fourth, for instance, in a Bull confirming the Council of Trent, tells the Christian world, that it was by his permission, signified by his legates, that the Council had determined concerning the Sacraments and other matters; that they had determined well, but concerning things that belonged to the peculiar authority of the apostolical See ¹. Another of his Bulls contains a profession of faith, in which the twelve articles of the Apostles' Creed being first repeated, other articles of belief, equal at least in number, are subjoined; and he ratifies this Bulls in words to this effect: "It is altogether unlawful for any man to infringe this publication of our will and mandate, or boldly and rashly to oppose it. And if any one shall attempt thus much, let him know that he will incur the indignation of Almighty God, and of his blessed Apostles Peter and Paul ²." The form of ratification is common in Papal Bulls, and is surely the language of Him who is persuaded that he is "endued with power from on high" to determine the truth in matters of faith, and with authority to enforce his determinations with the sanctions of Heaven.

In these respects, They who subscribe themselves Catholic Dissenters to a petition lately presented to Parliament ³, are dissenters from "the mother and mistress of all Churches," and call themselves Catholics with a disputable title: for the 26th of the Gregorian Dictates pronounces, that "he is not to be accounted a Catholic, who does not agree with the Roman Church ⁴." But these Petitioners say, among other things that intrench on

¹ Bulls Papal, No. 3.

² Bulls Papal, No. 4.

³ Presented to both Houses of Parliament May the 5th, 1789.

⁴ See Pontifs Roman, No. 4.

the plenitude of power claimed by St. Peter's successors, "Your petitioners acknowledge no infallibility in the Pope:" which words, in the plain literal sense in which they declare they mean them, import no less, than that the Pope, deciding on questions and controversies of faith from his apostolical chair, may err. They who make such a declaration, though they have truth on their side, have the Head of their Church against them, and show a marked variation of religious opinions from the former, perhaps from many present, members of their Church in these kingdoms, but assuredly from all who adhere to the principles of their last general Council; which acknowledges the Pope to be Sovereign of the Church, and supposes him Infallible.

A writer, who in the year 1784 published his reasons for renouncing their Church, delivers his sentiments in these words: "When all is said that possibly can be said, the Pope must be acknowledged by consistent Roman Catholics as the sole depositary of infallibility. For since the Council of Trent it is unanimously taught in all Roman-catholic Churches, that a Council can decree nothing without the consent of the Pope; that he alone has a right to interpret the Council and explain its decisions; and that those tenets only are of faith, which he determines to be so¹."

Whatever may be "taught unanimously since the Council of Trent," the language of that Council is decidedly in favour of the Supremacy and Infallibility of the Pope. The Trentine Fathers, many of whom were themselves bishops and archbishops, and some patriarchs, ascribe to the Pope the care of the universal Church *in virtue of his Office*, and speak

¹ See Watson.

of the supreme power in it committed to him¹. In their decrees concerning reformation, notwithstanding their separate and collective rights, they make a reserve for the authority of the apostolical See². They enact also that all who have benefices with cure of souls shall promise and swear, that they will continue in obedience to the Roman Church³; which holy Roman Church they allow to be the mother and mistress of all Churches; and as they were convened by authority of the Pope, so they speak of their Council as held or celebrated under him⁴. These are manifest recognitions of his Supremacy over Them and the whole Church.

The same Council, having recited that they had deputed certain of their members to examine and report to them concerning books suspected or pernicious, and that this business was done, but that the holy Synod could not come to a distinct and proper decision upon it, on account of the variety and multitude of the books, decreed, that what had been performed by them should be laid before the most holy Roman Pontif, that by his judgement and authority it might be concluded, and made public; the same they ordered to be done with respect to the Catechism, that was to have been drawn up under the inspection of the Council, and with respect also to the Missal and Breviary⁵.

Setting aside the censuring of improper books, the composing of a Catechism that was to be a sure and authentic institution of belief and practice, and the revising of the most solemn offices of divine worship for general use and observance, were undertakings worthy the united wisdom of their assembly,

¹ Trent, Council of, No. 1. 2.

² Ibid. No. 3.

³ Ibid. No. 4.

⁴ Ibid. No. 5. 6.

⁵ Ibid.

which

which they consign to the Pope, to be completed by "his judgement and authority."

They supposed themselves to act in their synodical capacity under the immediate direction of Christ, and that their voice was the voice of the Holy Spirit¹. As guardians therefore of the Church and its faith, they could not have intrusted the perfecting of their labours into the hands of another, unless they had regarded him as illuminated with "the mind of "Christ," able to explain his doctrines with certainty to his people, and to instruct them to speak as they ought to speak in their addresses to Heaven.

Not less deference did they testify to the Roman See at the closing of their Council: when all their decrees and canons having been read over, it was proposed that they should request the confirmation of them by "the most blessed Roman Pontif²." The proposal, unusual as it was³, met with the ready concurrence of the Fathers, who were then at Trent to the number of about two hundred and fifty-five; only the **archbishop of Granada** dissenting; and in opposition to **Him three bishops** of his own nation declared that they **requested** the confirmation as *necessary*⁴.

Human wisdom and authority might have sufficed to confirm their regulations of discipline; but their canons and definitions of faith called for a higher sanction. They were to go forth to the Church as bearing the seal of infallible truth; and they applied to the Roman Pontif to set to them that seal by his ratification.

¹ Trent, Council of, No. 8.

² See Febronius, No. 9.

³ Ib. No. 9.

⁴ See Pallavicini.

Nothing could have a stronger tendency to confirm the claims which they well knew he made to a Sovereignty over the whole Church, and to exemption from error in his public determinations, than such acts of a Council "lawfully congregated "in the Holy Spirit," as they speak of themselves¹, and sitting for the refutation of false opinions and the establishment of truth.

Now whether the Trentine Fathers ascribed so much to the Roman Pontif through a mistaken judgement, or by somewhat of a temporizing spirit, which only the great Searcher of hearts can know assuredly, the propagation of error among their people is the same. And if they lead their friends astray in the material points, for such surely they are, of Supremacy and Infallibility, who can depend on the certainty of their decisions in any doctrine that has not the sanction of Holy Writ, but rests on the judgement of the Council, and the traditions of the Churches which they represented?

Safer and happier, I trust, are the devout sons and daughters of the Church of England: which proposes to their belief all that Scripture requires, interpreted in the fundamental articles of faith by primitive antiquity; and allows nothing else to have strength and authority as necessary to salvation.

¹ Trent, Council of, No. 7.

I N D E X

CONTAINING

AUTHORITIES AND SOME NOTES.

AUGUSTIN, St. p. 245.

“ St. Augustine, Aretas, and other writers, commonly expound it, neither as Babylon itself, a city of Chaldea, or Ægypt, or any other city, which may be so called spiritually, as Hierusalem before chap. xi. is named Spiritual Sodom and Ægypt, but of the general society of the impious,” &c. Annotations on Rev. xvii. 5. in the Old Rhemish Testament. Yet St. Augustin De Civitate Dei, book xviii. chap. 2 and 22, calls Babylon the first Rome, and Rome the second Babylon. And he is one of the authorities to which Corn. a Lapide on the place refers to show that Babylon means Rome.

BELLARMINE, Cardinal, p. 250. 253.
De Pontifice Romano.

1. Ipsis præcipue debet esse nota suæ sedis autoritas. Lib. iv. c. 3.

2. Non est improbable Petri sedem Romæ locatam Domino jubente. Ib. ii. 12.

Deus ipse jussit Romæ figi apostolicam Petri sedem. Ib. iv. 4.

BONAMICI, Philip, p. 256. 263.

De claris Pontificiarum Epistolarum Scriptoribus. Romæ,
1753, 8vo.

1. Si quid in illo interitu atque occasu literarum reliquum fuit in scribendo humanitatis atque elegantię, Romæ certe atque in Pontificum Epistolis fuit ; adeo ut eloquentia, quæ Romana vigente republica fuerat libertatis, facta esse quodammodo videretur alumna Religionis. p. 73.

2. Facile ut appareat Gregorii [VII.] Epistolas ejus esse, qui ampliorem quandam Pontificatus formam primus instituerit, quemadmodum Pontifices non solum colerentur ab regibus, sed etiam timerentur. p. 75.

BOSSUET, Messire Jacques Benigne,
Evesque de Meaux, p. 246. 265. 271.

L'Apocalypse avec une Explication. Paris, 1659, 8vo.

1. Avec des traits, si marquez, c'est une énigme aisée à déchiffrer, que Rome sous la figure de Babylon. Pref. No. vii. pag. 18.

2. Eglise, dont il n'y a aucun vestige dans tout son livre. Pref. No. x. p. 34.

3. Bossuet endeavours to prove that Babylon means Rome under the Pagan emperors, and that the final desolation of Babylon, predicted in the Revelation, took place when Alaric, commander of the Goths, took and sacked Rome, A. D. 410. p. 388, 398.

Calmet, in his *Bibliothèque Sacrée*, says, that this is one of the most esteemed explications of the Apocalypse : though it has met with a rough adversary, un rude adversaire, in the person of Vitranga.

Vitranga's book, to which Calmet refers, is intitled *Anacrisis Apocalypseos*. Francfort, 1705, 4to.

Another hypothesis concerning Babylon see under a *Lapide*.

BULLS, Papal.

I. Of Pius V. p. 250.

This Bull may be seen at length in Camden's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, under the year 1570, and in Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, Vol. II. *Collection of Records*, pag. 377.

Mr. Camden says, "The more moderate disapproved of this
"papal Bull ; because no admonition, as ought of right, pre-
"ceded it ; and they foresaw the many evils that thence hung
"over themselves ; who before had safely enough followed their
"own worship in their own houses, or without scruple of con-
"science had not refused to attend the service of the Church of
"England."

Some

Some have asserted, that before the issuing of this Bull none of any persuasion refused to attend the service of the Church of England. This is denied in Dod's Church History, Vol. II. p. 397. Nor does Camden assert so much.

II. Of *Urban VIII.* p. 251.

The Bull, *In Cena Domini*, is said to have been brought to its present state by Urban VIII. A copy of it, as published by Paul V. A. D. 1613, with a translation into English, may be found in the Theological Works of Mr. Charles Leslie, Vol. I. p. 544. It was published at Venice, A. D. 1769, 8vo. with Reflections upon it by an anonymous author, who shows at large the despotic spirit of it, invading the rights of sovereigns and subjects, laic and ecclesiastical. See under *Contini*.

III. Of *Pius IV.* p. 253. 269. 276.

1. Bull for the confirmation of the Oecumenical Council of Trent:

Si cui vero in eis aliquid obscure dictum et statutum fuisse, eamque ob causam interpretatione aut decisione aliqua egere visum fuerit, *ascendat ad locum quem Dominus elegit*, ad sedem videlicet Apostolicam (Deut. xvii.) omnium fidelium magistratam.

2. Cum autem ipsa sancta Synodus pro sua erga Sedem Apostolicam reverentia, *antiquorum etiam Conciliorum vestigiis inherens*, decretorum suorum omnium, quæ nostro et prædecessorum nostrorum tempore facta sunt, confirmationem a nobis petierit, &c. Ib.

See under *Febromius*.

3. Nobis adeo Concilii libertati faventibus, ut etiam de rebus Sedi Apostolicæ proprie reservatis ipsi Concilio arbitrium per literas ad legatos nostros scriptas ultro permiserimus, quæ de Sacramentis et aliis rebus, quæ quidem necessariæ visæ sint, tractanda, definienda, et statuenda, restabant. Ib.

4. Bull in the form of a profession of faith to be made upon oath:

Nulli ergo hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ voluntatis et mandati infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc intentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursum.

BURNET, Bishop, p. 247.

Letters containing an account of what seemed most remarkable in Switzerland, Italy, &c. printed A. D. 1687.

CAVE, William, D. D.

Dissertation concerning the Government of the ancient Church. 8vo. London, 1683.

See under *Boniface III.* and *Gregory VII.*

CONSTANCE, Council of, p. 263.

It is well known that the Council of Constance, which opened about A. D. 1414, and the Council of Basil within twenty years after it, maintained the superiority of general Councils over Popes. But not long after the Council of Florence declared the Pope head of the Church in terms that, according to Cardinal Orsi, Vol. II. p. 228, are inconsistent with the resolutions of those two Councils. Early in the next century, when the last Lateran Council was held, Leo X. published a Bull which rescinded those decrees of the Council of Constance and Basil, that exalted general Councils above the Popes. Orsi, *ib.* p. 244. And he published this Bull, *sacro approbante Concilio*. See Orsi.

CONTINI, Padre, 263. 267. 275. Dell' ordine de Chierici Regolari Teatini, Teologo del Duca di Parma. To this author are ascribed

Riflessioni sopra la Bolla *In Cœna Domini*, Svo. Venice, A. D. 1769.

1. According to this writer, whoever he was, the Bull *In Cœna Domini* is the genuine offspring of the dictates of Pope Gregory VII. in which Gregory declared himself absolute lord over temporals and spirituals, over emperors and kings, whom he could depose; over all the world, councils, bishops, and men's consciences; against whom alone lies no appeal, who only is infallible, alone subject to no reform. pag. 31.

2. Of those Dictates he says, p. 30, The question agitated among the critics is of little moment, whether Gregory himself put them together or not, since it is certain that they express his sentiments and maxims.

[See also Mosheim's *Eccles. History*, cent. xi. part ii. chap. ii. note.]

3. According to the same author, "As our Lord Jesus Christ deputed St. Peter to stand in his stead as his representative, so did he equally depute the other Apostles, committing to them an equal share on earth of his power which he had received from the Father. 'As my Father hath sent me, I also send you.' Successor of St. Peter is the Roman Pontif; and successors of the Apostles are the Bishops in the very same manner, as St. Augustin hath observed." p. 82.

DALRYMPLE, Sir David, p. 266. 270.

An Inquiry into the secondary Causes which Mr. Gibbon has assigned for the rapid Growth of Christianity.

In this learned and valuable work is the following ingenious remark: "Here let it be observed in passing, that Laodicea was
" over-

“overthrown by an earthquake, A. U. C. 813. and that the
 “Neronian persecution began A. U. C. 817. It is then not very
 “probable that St. John would have addressed the Laodiceans as
 “he does [Rev. ch. iii.] at ver. 17. had their city been ruined
 “about five years before. This may contribute to support the
 “very ancient tradition, that the Apocalypse was published under
 “the persecution by Domitian.” pag. 41. note.

FABRETTI, Raphael, p. 248.

De Aquis et Aquæductibus Veteris Romæ, 4to. Rome, A. D.
 1680. See No. 263—266, &c.

FEBRONIUS, Justinus J. C. p. 275. 279.

De Statu Ecclesiæ et legitima Potestate Romani Pontificis, 4to.
 A. D. 1765.

The author, who takes the name of Febronius, is said to be
 John Nicolas ab Honthelm, Suffragan of Triers, born in Triers
 Jan. 29, 1701, and made bishop of Miriofidi, in partibus, A. D.
 1748.

1. Omnes Apostoli a Patribus, imo ab Ecclesia, Vicarii Christi
 appellantur, omnes eadem autoritate, eadem potestate a Christo
 donati sunt, illanque eodem modo, quo Petrus, exercuerunt,
 &c. p. 41.

2. Quantum ad Concilia generalia occidentis, quibus per le-
 gatos Papa adfuit, nullum noscitur quod miserit ad illum suorum
 gestorum relationes; unicum est TRIDENTINUM quod Pontificis
 confirmationem rogaverit. p. 390.

Compare with this what Pius IV. says in his Bull of confirma-
 tion, that the Council acted thus, Antiquorum Conciliorum ves-
 tigiis inhærens.

GUTHERIUS, Jacobus, p. 255.

De vetere Jure Pontificio.

Romæ Æternæ, urbium principi, capiti orbis, virtutum do-
 minæ, juris et æquitatis vindici, vetustatis miraculo, venerando,
 vietrici, potenti, augustæ, piæ, felici, æternum renascenti, æter-
 num resurgenti. Ap. Cor. a Lapide in Apoc. xviii. 3.

JEROM, St. p. 274.

Æterna cum dicitur quæ temporalis est, nomen est blasphemix.
 Ad Algas. Question. xi.

A LAPIDE, Cornelius, p. 246. 255. 270. 272.

1. Commentarii in Apocalypsim Sti. Johannis Apostoli. See in Apoc. xvii. 1, &c.

2. Roma ethnica sub Nerone et sequentibus Imperatoribus usque ad Constantinum fuit Babylon; sub Constantino facta Christiana et pia, desiit esse Babylon, cœpitque esse civitas sancta, urbs fidelis, Sion Deo dilecta, cœlum fidei, mater pietatis, magistra sanctitatis; sub finem mundi deserens fidem, pietatem, Christum, Pontificem, rursus fiet Babylon.

3. Aliud est Roma urbs, aliud Ecclesia Romana. Rursum: Aliud est Roma ethnica; aliud Roma Christiana, ib.

LIBER PONTIFICALIS, p. 253, seu, De Gestis Romanorum Pontificum. Romæ, 3 vol. 4to.

See under Sanctus Petrus.

MARCELLINUS, Ammianus, p. 274.

Urbis æternæ Episcopi. Hist. lib. xv. cap. 7.

MEDALS, Imperial, p. 274.

Numismata Imperatorum Romanorum, D. Anselmi Banduri, 2 vol. Paris, 1718. where we see Romæ Æternæ on medals of Gallienus, Tacitus, Probus, Licinius, Constantine, and some other emperors.

“There is one of the father [Gordian] not yet mentioned, “which has for its reverse Rome, habited like a Pallas, with “helmet, spear, and shield, holding out a victory on her right “hand, and inscribed, Romæ Æternæ.”

Medallic History of Imperial Rome, by William Cooke, M. A. 2 vol. Lond. 1781. Vol. II. p. 322.

MEDALS, Papal, 259.

Numismata Romanorum Pontificum, per Radulphinum Venuti. Romæ, 1744.

1. Reipublicæ Christianæ Rex ac Pater. Medal of Julius III. p. 14.

2. Gens et Regnum quod non servierit tibi peribit. Medal of the same, p. 26.

3. Gloriosa dicta sunt de te, Civitas Dei. Medal of Sixtus IV. The Pope opening the Gate at the Jubilee, A. D. 1475. See Psal. 86 aliter 87. p. 19.

4. Circumdate Sion. Medal of Paul III. See Psalm the same, p. 19.

5. Illu-

5. *Illuminare, Jerusalem.* Medal of Pius V. See *Isai. lx. 1.* p. 19, 34.

6. *Fundamenta ejus in montibus sanctis.* Medal of Julius III. and Alexander VII. *Psal. 86, or 87. p. 19.*

MENOCHIUS, Johannes Stephanus, p. 245, 272.

Trattenimenti cruditi, Vol. I. cent. 2. cap. 41.

Commentarii totius Sacræ Scripturæ.

Meretrix hæc, cui nomen est Babylon, ut dicitur infra n. 5, est Roma, non Christiana, qualis nunc est, sed infidelis et pagana, qualis fuit tempore Sti. Joannis, qualis rursum erit tempore Antichristi. In Apoc. xvii. 1.

MURATORI, Ludovico Antonio, p. 273.

Annali d'Italia, under the year of our Lord 324.

“ Few are the laws of Constantine in the present year, and “ these carry evidence in them that he was in Sirmium and “ Thessalonica. Nor is there the least appearance that he came “ to Rome, as Cardinal Baronius imagined; who records his “ baptism as having been received in that great City; relating “ the sumptuous Donation which it is pretended was made to “ the Roman Church by him; his leprosy, with other astonish- “ ing occurrences. At this day there is no man of letters who “ does not know that such facts are the fabulous inventions of “ later ages. And as it would be superfluous to say more about “ them, I shall not stop to expose their falsity.” Again under the year 337, which was the year of Constantine’s death, he shows that this emperor then received baptism in Nicomedia, at the hands of Eusebins, bishop of that city, and not in the year 324, from Pope S. Silvester.

A long declamation of Laurentius Valla exposing the barbarisms, incongruities, absurdities, and improbabilities, of that Donation, is printed in the *Fasciculus Rerum, &c. Vol. I. pag. 132.*

Nothing is here intended against the rights of the Popes as sovereigns of their temporal dominions. They possess them, though not by grant from Constantine, yet by a prescription of ages, and other titles, which at this day cannot justly be contested.

NEWTON, Sir Isaac, on the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 274.

In chapter viii. of this work, the edict of the emperor Valentinian III. is recited at length; in which the bishop of Rome is styled *Papa Æternæ Urbis.*

ORSI, F. Gius. Agostino, Cardinale, p. 252. 271. 273.

Della infallibilità é dell' autorità del Romano Pontifice. Ristretto,
2 vol. 12mo. Rome, 1741.

Dell' origine del Dominio e della Sovranità de Pontifici Romani,
12mo. Rome, 1754.

1. Che Gesù Cristo abbia istituita nella sua Chiesa la Monarchia o forme di Governo Monarchico, e che di questa Monarchia il supremo Capo sia il Romano Pontifice, non è alcuno tra i Cattolici, il quale ardisca o possa negarlo. Ristrett. Vol. II. p. 251.

2. In the second of these works, c. viii. pag. 117. he shows that from A. D. 754, the Roman Pontifs alone have had the supreme dominion of Rome; but he chooses to be silent about Constantine's Donation.

PALLAVICINI, Sforza, Cardinale, p. 279.

Istoria del Concilio di Trenta. See lib. xxiv. cap. viii. pag. 1026.
tom. ii.

PLINY, Natural History, p. 248.

PONTIFICALE ROMANUM, Urbani VIII. Auctoritate recognitum.
Par. 1683, 8vo. p. 254.

De Consecratione Electi in Episcopum. Forma Juramenti, p. 79.

PONTIFS, Roman.

I. Leo I. p. 255.

In Nativ. Apost. Petri et Pauli. Serm. I.

Isti sunt qui te ad hanc gloriam provexerunt, ut gens sancta, populus electus, civitas sacerdotalis et regia, per sacram beati Petri sedem caput orbis effecta latius præsideres religione divina quam dominatione terrena.

II. Gregorius I. p. 262.

Mauritio Augusto :

Numquid ego hac in re, piissime Domine, propriam causam defendo? Numquid specialem injuriam vindico? An non magis causam Omnipotentis Dei, et causam universalis Ecclesie. Epistolar. Lib. iv. Epist. 32.

Absit a cordibus Christianorum illud nomen blasphemie [Episcopus universalis] in quo omnium sacerdotum honos adimitur, dum ab uno sibi dementer arrogatur. Ib.

Eulogio Alexandrino :

Nullus unquam decessorum meorum hoc tam profano vocabulo uti consensit; quia videlicet si unus patriarcha universalis dicitur, patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur. Lib. iv. Epist. 36.

Joanni

Joanni Episcopo Constantinopolitano :

Quid ergo, feater charissime, in illo terribili examine venientis judicii dicturus es, qui non solum Pater, sed etiam Generalis Pater in mundo, vocari appetis? Lib. iv. Ep. 38.

Mauritio Imperatori :

Ego autem fidenter dico, quia quisquis se Universalem Sacerdotem vocat vel vocari desiderat, elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit, quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit. Lib. iv. Epist. 30.

Eulogio Episcopo Alexandrino :

Ecce in præfatione Epistolæ, quam ad meipsum, qui prohibui, direxistis, superbæ appellationis verbum, me Papam Universalem dicentes, imprimere curastis. Quod peto dulcissima Sanctitas tua non ultra faciat : quia vobis subtrahimur quod alteri plus quam ratio exigit præbetur. Epist. Lib. vii. Ep. 30. In this Epistle is some account of the mission and success of Augustin among the Saxons in Britain, which is considered by Gregory as *In mundi angulo posita, and, in mundi finibus.*

These and the like declarations of Gregory proved very distressful to Cardinal Bellarmine ; who not caring to contradict a Pope of such name, and whose authority and infallibility he was to maintain, endeavoured to explain and distinguish away his meaning : with what success the reader may judge by consulting the *Instructiones Historico-theologicæ* of the learned and pious John Forbes a Corse, D. D. Professor of Divinity in the university of Aberdeen in the time of Charles I. to whom he dedicated his work. Lib. xvi. cap. vii. § 16—21.

III. BONIFACE, III. p. 263.

“ Not long after Gregory [the First] dies, and Sabinian, who succeeded him, living not full six months, Boniface, the third of that name, takes the chair.—And now he thought it a fit time to put in for what the Popes, notwithstanding all the pretences of self-denial, so much desired.—From the very first entrance upon the papacy he dealt with Phocas about this matter, and at length gained the point.—And now that title that had so lately been *new, vain, proud, foolish, prophane, wicked, hypocritical, presumptuous, perverse, blasphemous, devilish and antichristian*, became in a moment not only warrantable, but holy and laudable, being sanctified by the apostolical “ Sec.” Cave on Church Government, p. 326.

In the sixth chapter of this learned Dissertation the whole of this dispute between the Patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople is accurately related.

IV. GREGORY VII. p. 263, 276.

See his twenty-seven Dictates at the end of Cave on ancient Church Government.

V. PIUS II. Æneas Sylvius, of the Piccolomini family of Siena, p. 267.

He was Pope in the time of our Henry VI. and writing when he was a cardinal in vindication of the Papal Supremacy, observes, that before the Nicene Council, that is, till A. D. 325, little deference was paid to the Roman Pontif. Epist. 301 of the 4to Ed. of his Letters, printed at Leyden A. D. 1497.

VI. PIUS IV. p. 253, 276. See under Bulls Papal, No. 3.

VII. PIUS V. p. 250. See Bulls Papal, No. 1.

VIII. URBAN VIII. p. 251. See Bulls Papal, No. 2.

STATO presente della Corte di Roma, 2 vols. 12mo.
Rome, 1765. p. 252. 254.

1. Vol. I. p. 179.

2. Vol. II. p. 5.

TRENT, Council of, p. 254. 278.

1. Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinales—quorum consilio apud sanctissimum Romanum Pontificem cum universalis Ecclesiæ administratio nitatur. Canones et Decreta: Sessio xxv. cap. 1. De Reformatione.

2. Beatissimus Pontifex Romanus, quam solitudinem universæ Ecclesiæ in muneris sui officio debet, eam hic potissimum impendat, &c. Sess. xxiv. Norma Procedendi ad Creationem Episcoporum et Cardinalium, cap. 1.

Merito Pontifices maximi pro suprema potestate sibi in Ecclesia universa tradita causas aliquas criminum graviore suo potuerunt peculiari judicio reservare. Sess. xiv. cap. 7. De casuum reservatione.

3. Sacrosancta Synodus, iisdem præsentibus Legatis, inceptum Residentiæ et Reformationis negotium, ad Dei laudem et Christianæ Religionis incrementum prosequi intendens ut sequitur, statuendum censuit, salva semper in omnibus Sedis apostolicæ authoritate. Sess. vii. Decretum de Reformatione.

4. In Romanæ Ecclesiæ obedientia se permansuros spondeant ac jurent. Sess. xxiv. De Reformatione, cap. 12.

5. De indice librorum, et Catechismo, Breviario et Missali.

Sacrosancta Synodus in secunda Sessione, sub sanctissimo Domino nostro Pio IV. celebrata, dilectis quibusdam patribus commisit, ut de variis censuris, ac libris, vel suspectis, vel perniciosis, quod factum opus esset, considerarent; atque ad ipsam sanctam Synodum referrent; audiens nunc, huic operi ab eis extremam manum impositam esse; nec tamen, ob librorum varietatem et multitudinem possit distincte et commode a sancta Synodo dijudicari; præcipit, ut quicquid ab illis præstitum sit sanctissimo Romano Pontifici exhibeatur: ut ejus judicio atque auctoritate

auctoritate terminetur et evulgetur. Idemque de Catechismo a Patribus, quibus illud mandatum fuerat, et de Missali et Brevariario fieri mandat. Sess. xxv.

6. Sacrosancta Synodus in secunda Sessione, sub sanctissimo Domino nostro Pio IV. celebrata, &c. Continuatio Sessionis die iv. Decembris.

7. Sacrosancta, œcumenica, et generalis Tridentina Synodus, in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata. Sess. ii. and at the opening of the Sessions generally.

8. Non humanis quidem viribus confisa, sed Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui os et sapientiam Ecclesiæ suæ se daturum promisit, ope et auxilio freta. Sess. xviii. Feb. 26, 1562.

9. Hanc ergo non humanam sed Spiritus Sancti vocem audientes ne obdurent corda sua. De fine Concilii, et confirmatione petenda a sanctissimo Domino nostro. Ib.

TACITUS, Vita Agricolæ, p. 267.

VENUTI, Ridolphino, p. 247.

1. Numismata Pontificum Romanorum præstantiora, 4to. Rome, 1744. See Medals Papal.

2. Descrizione delle Antichità di Roma, 4to. Rome, 1763. Part ii. pag. 77.

3. Descrizione di Roma Moderna, 2 vol. 4to. Rome, 1766. v. i. p. 76.

WATSON, Charles Henry, p. 277.

Letter to the Roman Catholics of the City of Worcester. London, 1784. note, pag. 27.

The first part of the report is devoted to a general
 description of the country and its resources. It
 is followed by a detailed account of the
 various industries and occupations of the
 people. The report concludes with a
 summary of the principal facts and
 a list of the principal places in the
 country.

The second part of the report is devoted to a
 description of the various industries and
 occupations of the people. It is followed
 by a detailed account of the various
 occupations and industries of the
 people. The report concludes with a
 summary of the principal facts and
 a list of the principal places in the
 country.

The third part of the report is devoted to a
 description of the various industries and
 occupations of the people. It is followed
 by a detailed account of the various
 occupations and industries of the
 people. The report concludes with a
 summary of the principal facts and
 a list of the principal places in the
 country.

The fourth part of the report is devoted to a
 description of the various industries and
 occupations of the people. It is followed
 by a detailed account of the various
 occupations and industries of the
 people. The report concludes with a
 summary of the principal facts and
 a list of the principal places in the
 country.

D O U B T S

CONCERNING THE

AUTHENTICITY OF THE LAST PUBLICATION

OF THE

C O N F E S S I O N A L,

AND THE

CURRENT EDITIONS OF CERTAIN BOOKS

CITED IN IT.

ADDRESSED TO THE AUTHOR OF THAT LEARNED WORK.

THE SECOND EDITION.

— — — The careful plowman doubting stands
Lest on the threshing floor his hopeful sheaves
Prove chaff. PARADISE LOST, B. iv. 983.

TO THE
A U T H O R
OF THE
C O N F E S S I O N A L.

SIR,

THE retirement in which I live affords me little opportunity of seeing any books, except the few which I have at home ; and when I consult them as cited or referred to in your learned Confessional, and either cannot find what is alleged, or find it totally different in them, I am not a little perplexed. Your character and strict adherence to probity and truth considered, how can I account for such variation, but by supposing, till the difficulty is cleared up to me, that my editions of the authors in question are extremely faulty, and perhaps not genuine ?

I will take the liberty to instance in some of the doubtful passages of my books ; and then to mention to you a few things in the late edition of your own Work, which appear no less apocryphal.

You tell us, p. xxix. of the preface to the first edition, that King Charles II. promised, in his Declaration from Breda, two things concerning religion ; the first of which was, “ *A quite new model of the Church of England.*”

In

In all the copies which I have of this Declaration, the whole of what the King promised concerning Religion is contained in the following paragraph :

“ And because the passion and uncharitableness
 “ of the times have produced several opinions in re-
 “ ligion, by which men are engaged in parties and
 “ animosities against each other ; which, when they
 “ shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation,
 “ will be composed or better understood ; We
 “ do declare a liberty to tender consciences ; and
 “ that no man shall be disquieted or called in
 “ question for differences of opinion in matter of
 “ religion, which do not disturb the peace of the
 “ kingdom ; and that we shall be ready to consent
 “ to such an Act of Parliament, as upon mature de-
 “ liberation shall be offered to us, for the full grant-
 “ ing that indulgence.”

A large and comprehensive Toleration, which you mention as the King's *second* promise, is here indeed declared. But where do we meet with the *first, A quite new model of the Church of England* ? I have searched, and searched for it in vain, in all my books, which give us the Declaration from Breda.

But I fear this is not the only royal Declaration, of which my copies are very imperfect.

A Declaration is prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles, which you doubt whether to ascribe to James I. or Charles I. but seem rather inclinable to think it was set forth by the former.

Heylin, in his *Life of Laud*, p. 188, has published this Declaration at length as King Charles's, referring in the margin to *Bibl. Reg. Sect. 4. Numb. 3.* He gives also a very full and distinct account of the occasion, the time, and consequences of it.

Plaifere

Plaufere likewise in his *Appeal to the Gospel*, probably written very soon after the Declaration came forth, refers to it as King Charles's, and quotes the words of it¹:

“ Moreover the King's most excellent Majesty *that now is*, in his Declaration, commanding that all further curious search be laid aside, willeth that *These disputes be shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth unto us in the Holy Scripture.*”

In another place he says, that we are to arrive at the meaning of the Articles, “ By analysing the positions, and scanning the literal and grammatical sense, to which we are bound to keep us, both by the law of learning, and by *the Declaration of King Charles prefixed to our Articles.*”

From these and various other proofs that might be produced, it seems as clear as most points in history, that this Declaration is King Charles's; and no less than your great authority could make one hesitate a moment about it. But this is not the point: what surprises me, is the difference between the copies of a Declaration so well known in the world; that yours should want passages which mine contains, and have others that are wanting in mine².

In yours, it seems, his Majesty does not say, that “ He caused a Declaration, made and published by himself, for the purposes mentioned in the Proclamation, to be printed and published along with the Thirty-nine Articles.” p. 132. note.

¹ See Tracts concerning Predestination, &c. Cambr. 1719. p. 201. 139

² See Dr Z. Gray's Examination of the second Volume of Neal's History of the Puritans, p. 100—103.

But

But in mine, somebody hath made him speak to this purpose explicitly enough :

“ We have therefore, upon mature deliberation,
 “ and with the advice of so many of our Bishops, as
 “ might conveniently be called together, thought fit
 “ to make this Declaration following : That the Ar-
 “ ticles of the Church of England (which have been
 “ allowed and authorised heretofore, and which our
 “ Clergy generally have subscribed unto) do contain
 “ the true doctrine of the Church of England, agree-
 “ able to God’s word ; which we do therefore ratifie
 “ and confirm, requiring all our loving subjects to
 “ continue in the uniform profession thereof, and pro-
 “ hibiting the least difference from the said Articles,
 “ *which to that end we command to be reprinted,*
 “ *and this our Declaration to be published there-*
 “ *with.*”

If this paragraph had been in your copy of the Declaration, I think it must have satisfied your demands upon his Majesty in the present point ; else, notwithstanding your great accuracy and clearness, I am so unfortunate as not to conceive what they are.

On the other hand, there is a pretty remarkable particular in this Declaration *as you have it*, which I cannot discover in the common impressions of it. For in page 132, in the note lately referred to, you tell us : “ That this Declaration was published along
 “ with these reprinted Articles, appears from Sir
 “ John Elliot’s speech in parliament the January
 “ following, who cites it thus : It is said (namely in
 “ a Declaration he had just mentioned) if there be
 “ any difference of opinion concerning the *seasonable*
 “ (perhaps *reasonable*) interpretation of the Thirty-
 “ nine Articles, the Bishops and Clergy in the Con-
 “ vocation

“ vocation have power to dispute it, and to order
 “ which way they please. Now (say you) *this par-*
 “ *ticular is actually to be found in his Majesty's*
 “ *Declaration, as we now have it.*”

His Majesty, in his Declaration, as I have it, says : “ That We are supreme Governour of the
 “ Church of England : and that if any difference
 “ arise about the external policy concerning injunc-
 “ tions, canons, or other constitutions whatsoever
 “ thereto belonging, the Clergy in their Convocation
 “ is to order and settle them, having first obtained
 “ leave under our broad seal so to do ; and we ap-
 “ proving their said ordinances and constitutions ;
 “ provided that none be made contrary to the laws
 “ and customs of the land. That out of our princely
 “ care, that the Churchmen may do the work which
 “ is proper unto them, the Bishops and Clergy, from
 “ time to time in Convocation, upon their humble
 “ desire, shall have licence under our broad seal, to
 “ deliberate of and to do all such things, as being
 “ made plain by them, and assented unto by us,
 “ shall concern the settled continuance of the doc-
 “ trine and discipline of the Church of England now
 “ established ; from which we will not endure any
 “ varying or departing in the least degree.”

The part of the Declaration here alleged impowers the Bishops and Clergy in Convocation, under certain limitations, to order and settle the *external policy* of the Church concerning *injunctions, canons, or other constitutions* thereto belonging ; that is, belonging to the *external policy* of the Church. But with regard to its *doctrine* and *essential discipline*, it impowers them only to act as guardians under the King ; to deliberate of and to do all such things with his consent and approbation, as might concern the settled continuance of them ; from which, says his

his Majesty, we will not endure any varying or departing in the least degree.

The restrictions, to which they were subject, are such, as not to leave them at liberty in either case *to order which way they pleased*. If they varied any thing in the *external policy* of the Church, the King was to judge how far their variation was expedient, and to give or deny authority to it. In the *doctrine* of the Church he declares he will admit of no variation from what was already established. In this respect they were commissioned no farther, than to study the best means of maintaining and securing, what was *ordered and settled* to their hands.

Now what they were to order and settle, is so different from what they were to guard and secure, that it could not possibly have escaped the notice of so exact a critic, who perfectly understands, and wishes others to observe, *The distinction between a Canon and an Article*. See p. 103. note x.

When therefore you inform us, That the particular mentioned in Sir John Elliot's speech (a power delegated to the Bishops and Clergy in Convocation to order which way they pleased concerning the interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles) that this *is actually to be found in his Majesty's Declaration, as we now have it*, you must mean as you have it, in some copy of the Declaration which you esteem most authentic; for in the common books this particular is assuredly not to be found.

It being thus evident, that both Declarations, as well that prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles, as that from Breda, have been corrupted; I hope your admirable sagacity will enable you, and your great justice incite you, to detect the falsifiers of them,
and

and bring these offenders to punishment. He indeed, who has only suppressed a royal permission to the Bishops and Clergy *to order which way they please*, may be recommended to mercy; but if the other can be apprehended, who hath stolen away the *Quite new model of the Church of England*, he will deserve the utmost severity of your¹ pen at its next *Auto da fe*.

But let us descend from royal to private authors.

You say, p. 30, note c. of the Confessional :

“The late Bishop Conybeare, in his famous subscription Sermon, argues from the consent required by the Apostles to *their* doctrines, to the consent required by succeeding Church governours to *human* articles.”

Bishop Conybeare is apt to lay a sure foundation, and to build regularly and firmly upon it. His style and manner of building are indeed, as Masters differ, not much like the Confessional; but such as they are in his other productions, such they appear in this Sermon; in which, *as I have it*, there is not any the least trace of such argumentation, as is here imputed to him. And yet, as a true scholar does not judge of a discourse by reading only the title or text; nor a fair critic report, that it contains what it does not contain; here is a difficulty which I know not how to solve; unless by supposing, that the current editions of this *famous* Sermon are not genuine; or were superseded by a later, in which the Bishop changed his whole system; and, not being so

¹ “If there be *starring*, as well as *burning*, let it be remembered that there are likewise *writing inquisitions*.” See Essay on Establishments in Religion, p. 130.

happy in changing as Dr. Whitby, fell into absurdity in his *Last Thoughts*. See preface to the first edit. of Conf. p. xxxii. note.

Some will think I have supposed what is very unlikely. But it is probable, says an Ancient¹, that many things may happen contrary to probability. I shall therefore beg leave to recur again to the same hypothesis, it being again wanted, in respect of Dr. Waterland.

For p. 310, having accused Bishop Sanderson of justifying prevarication in a Case of Conscience which he determined, you then quote a passage from Dr. Waterland, and subjoin: "This Case of Conscience, however, was in print before Waterland was born, and what is more, he *knew* it was. One may charitably hope indeed, he did not suspect it of defending prevarication: otherwise he would hardly have recommended these nine Cases of Conscience in his *Advice to young Students*."

In consulting my edition of Dr. Waterland's *Advice to young Students*, I find the following passage, p. 26.

"Puffendorf and Grotius are admirable books, and should be studied carefully; they are an excellent foundation for casuistical Divinity, and to them may be added Sanderson's *Prelections*, and Placette of Conscience."

This is all that Dr. Waterland says of Bishop Sanderson in his *Advice to young Students*; and if he erred in this slight recommendation of a writer, whom the great Mr. Boyle so much admired as a

¹ See Aristotle's Poetics, ch. xviii.

casuist, he erred in recommending only one of his books, namely his *Prelections*, published by the Bishop himself; from which his *Nine Cases of Conscience* are as distinct a work, as Mr. Collins's *Historical and critical Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles*, which you several times quote, and seem in some respects to approve of, is distinct from his *Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*. What then shall we say, when the most charitable man in the world so strongly insinuates, that Dr. Waterland hath misled our lettered youth by recommending to them false morality? Shall we say, that in some measure it hath fared with the writer of the Confessional, as it did with William Rainoldes¹, who in confuting popery became a papist;

“The victor flying to the vanquish'd side;”

and that our grave censor hath chastised prevarication, till he himself is fallen in love with her, or with one of her near kindred, not more reputable than she? Forbid it virtue! and let the bright example of his own charity teach us better things; let the fault be laid where it ought, on the common editions of Dr. Waterland's works; which in some articles are defective, as is plain by this, and in others redundant, as appears by the following instance.

Page 179, you cite this passage from his *Case of Arian subscription*. “The sense of the compilers, “barely considered, is not always to be observed; “but so far only, as the natural and proper signification of words, or the intention of the imposers “binds it upon us.” You add, “By imposers, I “apprehend, must be meant the ministerial im-

¹ See Heylin's *Cosmography* under article Britain, and Dr. Alabaster's epigram on this subject there quoted and translated. See also *Delectus epigrammatum*, Lond. 1686. Appendix, p. 5.

“posers,

“ posers, that is, the Bishops, they being the persons appointed by law to take this security of subscription, on behalf of the Church.”

The Doctor, p. 11. begins a chapter with two sentences, which immediately precede the passage cited by you, and thus explains himself :

“ By *compilers* I mean those that composed the creeds, articles, or other forms received by our Church. By *imposers* I understand the governours in Church and State for the time being.”

Now the Bishops not being *our governours in Church and State for the time being*, it is evident that the Doctor could not confine his view to them, when he *first* composed this, and indeed some of the following chapters¹. He must, with the same ill luck as the good Bishop whom we lately mentioned, have had his *last thoughts*; or else a new publisher thought for him. The writer of the Confessional is too *fair* and *candid* to make a text of his own, and then with much triumph and pleasantry for several pages, to comment upon it as another's.

Give me leave, Sir, now to express my just apprehensions, that you yourself have not always been well used in the edition which I have of your learned work, printed in this current year; there being passages in it, which make you unsay in one place, what you have said in another. For example :

When you are arguing against Bishop Burnet, who believed our Articles to have been framed by

¹ See the case of African subscription, p. 36, 39. answer to Plea xiv. &c

Cranmer and Ridley, you represent it as an uncertain point by whom they were composed ; and add :
 “ under this uncertainty, who can pretend to say
 “ with what temper they were composed, or by what
 “ views or considerations the composers were influ-
 “ enced ? ” p. 134.

But in your reasoning against Dr. Nicholls, who thinks that the Articles were purposely drawn up in general terms, because they, who compiled and first subscribed them, were of different opinions, there is this passage :

“ But mark how a plain tale will destroy this
 “ specious hypothesis. The Articles were compiled
 “ by Cranmer ; and at most with the help of one or
 “ two of his particular friends ; and these out of all
 “ doubt were of one mind.” p. 152.

Thus in the course of twenty pages, it is, first, *uncertain* by whom the Articles were composed ; and then, secondly, as *certain*, that they were compiled by Cranmer ; and at most with the help of one or two of his particular friends. And in the progress of the work it is asserted that, “ The presumptive proof is very strong, that Cranmer was “ the sole compiler of King Edward’s Articles.” p. 232.

Could these opposite assertions proceed from the consistent writer of the Confessional ? I must rather believe that he hath trusted the publishing of his work to a friend, who not having sagacity to discern the fine connection of the several parts, and the orderly train of reasoning, that prevails throughout, hath now and then thrown in somewhat of his own, and thus unluckily hath marred, what he hoped to mend.

The following instance, though in a matter of no great moment, seems fully to justify the supposition :

Page 167. In an argument leveled against Dr. Bennet, I find this remark upon some position of the said Doctor : that it is “ contrary to his repeated interpretations in his directions—against the confinement of the words themselves ; and contrary to *his Majesty’s Declaration.*”

The last argument cannot be yours ; who have repeatedly denied all authority to this Declaration ; who have told us that “ *this rescript is of no manner of validity,*” p. 216. that, “ *whatever weight it might have had in its day, it has evidently been of no force for above an hundred years past.*” p. 296.

Your friend, with more zeal than knowledge, might not well consider when Dr. Bennet lived ; or how long the Declaration was in force ; and so might hastily urge its authority against him in aggravation of his error. But you yourself could not rebuke him in this style. The Declaration, you well know, hath had *its day* ; and hath now lost not only all authority, but even *common sense*, by archi*****] *rescript*

Condemn’d to all eternity at once,
At ninety-nine an ancient and a dunce.” See p. 133.

The truth of what is supposed above will become still more notorious by another example :

The xxiii Article says, “ We ought to judge those lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work [of the Ministry] by men who have public authority given unto them in the Congregation to call and send Ministers.”

Upon

Upon which, it seems, Dr. Nicholls hath observed:
 “There can be no doubt made, but that by public
 “authority was meant the authority of Bishops.”

You subjoin, “But if no doubt can be made of
 “this, what shall we say of those compilers who
 “*perhaps*, and of those first subscribers who *cer-*
 “*tainly*, were wedded to Calvin’s form of Church-
 “discipline? Can any one say they held no opinion
 “diverse from this interpretation? or can any one
 “think that they would agree to the passing this
 “Article, but that they thought it was conceived in
 “such general terms that they might subscribe it
 “with a good conscience, and without equivocation?”

“These are Dr. Nicholls’s own questions, and
 “any one has just as much right to ask them as he
 “had.” p. 160.

Whosoever the questions originally were, they
 are here adopted as just and pertinent with respect
 to the xxiii Article, and are confirmed with reasonings
 to the same purpose.

As matters therefore are here stated, we are in-
 structed :

1. That *perhaps* some of the *compilers* were wed-
 ded to Calvin’s form of Church-discipline.

2. That *certainly* some of the first *subscribers*
 were; and these subscribers had their weight and
 influence in the passing of the Articles.

3. That these first subscribers were men of con-
 science, hating equivocation, who would not have
 subscribed to any thing, but what they could fairly
 and honestly assent to.

4. Here is an Article drawn up in such general terms, that persons of diverse opinions may assent to it ; and both the Episcopalian, who contends that the authority of appointing Ministers is in the Bishop ; and the Presbyterian, who asserts it is in the Elders of the Church ; may subscribe it with a good conscience, and without equivocation.

Let us now take a view of these same matters as laid before us in other parts of the Confessional.

1. “ The Articles were compiled by Cranmer ;
“ and at most with the help of one or two of his par-
“ ticular friends ; and these out of all doubt were of
“ one mind.” p. 152.

Cranmer therefore may be considered, as he is in another place, *as the sole compiler of them* ; who possibly might not object to Calvin's form of Church-discipline : but where do we learn, that *perhaps he was wedded to it* ?

2. The first subscribers had no synodical authority in ratifying the Articles ; their whole business was to subscribe them. p. 152.

3. Court-favour and Church-preferment made this matter easy ; and with a view to these the majority was ready to comply, and to subscribe without regard to their own private judgement. p. 153.

4. No Article was purposely drawn up in general terms ; for “ if some of these Articles—we desire to
“ know which of them ? and how the Articles, which
“ were purposely so drawn up, may be distinguished
“ from those which were not ?” p. 151.

“ The

“ The compilers of the Articles did not intend
“ any latitude.” p. 198.

“ That such latitude was really designed, never
“ has been, nor ever can be proved.” p. 220.

There seems to be such inconsistency between these representations, that I cannot otherwise account for it, than by introducing your friend the Publisher into the drama : who, as we may reasonably judge, again makes his appearance on the stage to utter the following sentiment concerning Bishop Burnet :

“ It is not clear, to me at least, that he thought
“ even the imputation of idolatry, occasioned by the
“ worship of the Son, a sufficient reason for adding
“ the words *of the same substance with the Father*
“ to the Creeds of the Christian Churches.” p. 100.

For observe in what terms Bishop Burnet hath expressed himself on this head : *Exposition of the Articles, &c.* p. 3.

“ The enlargements of Creeds were at first occa-
“ sioned by the prevarications of Hereticks ; who
“ having put senses favouring their opinions on the
“ simpler terms in which the first Creeds were pro-
“ posed, therefore it was thought necessary to add
“ more express words. And this was *absolutely*
“ *necessary* as to some points ; for it being necessary
“ to shew that the Christian Religion did not bring
“ in that idolatry which it condemned in heathens, it
“ was also necessary to state this matter so, that it
“ should appear that they worshipped no creature ;
“ but that the person to whom all agreed to pay Di-
“ vine adoration was truly God ; and it being found
“ that an equivocation was used in all other words
“ except that of the *same Substance*, they judged it
“ neces-

“ necessary to fix on it, besides some other words
 “ that they at first brought in, but which were after-
 “ wards corrupted by the glosses that were put on
 “ them. At all times it is *very necessary* to free
 “ the Christian Religion from the imputations of
 “ idolatry ; but this was *never so necessary*, as when
 “ Christianity was engaged in such a struggle with
 “ paganism : and since the main article then in dis-
 “ pute with the heathens was idolatry, and the law-
 “ fulness of worshipping any besides the Great and
 “ Eternal God, it was of the *last importance to the*
 “ *Christian Cause*, to take care that the heathens
 “ might have no reason to believe that they worship-
 “ ped a creature. *There was therefore just reason*
 “ *given to secure this main point, and to put an end*
 “ *to equivocation, by establishing a term, which,*
 “ *by the confession of all parties, did not admit of*
 “ *any.*”

Was the writer of the Confessional *ignorant of all this ? Or was he playing the Jesuit*¹ ? Certainly not ignorant ; for he quotes part of the paragraph in which the words above-cited are contained : nor playing the Jesuit ; for who so successful in catching prevaricators as he ? But if a blear-eyed editor, who saw the least where the light was strongest, hath confused himself about Bishop Burnet’s opinion, and then ventured to interpose his own judgement ; what can the learned author do more, than lament, as perhaps his *Venerable Mother* may do, that he hath trusted a disingenuous or wrong-headed friend ?

The same Gentleman, as I imagine, with the like discernment hath pronounced upon the meaning of the word *Hell* in the days of the compilers of the Articles ; at which time, he assures us, it never signified any thing but the place of torment. p. 182.

¹ See Confessional, p. 275.

The translation of the Great English Bible, the Psalter of which is still retained in the Book of Common Prayer, was *set forth and used in the time of King Henry the eighth, and Edward the sixth*¹. These, I presume, were *the days of the compilers*, and that the word *Hell* signified in their days, as it is made to signify in this translation.

Now in the *Great Bible*, Job. xiv. 13. is thus rendered :

“ O! that thou woldest kepe and hyde me in the hell, untyl thy wrath were styllled.”

In the Psalter, Psalm xxx. 3. in this manner :

“ Thou, Lord, hast brought my soule out of hell ;
“ thou hast kept my life from them that go downe to
“ the pyt.”

And Psalm lxxxix. 48. thus :

“ What man is he that lyveth and shall not se
“ death? and shall he delyver hys soule from the
“ hande of hell?”

It is certain that the translator of this verse in Job by the word *Hell* meant not *the place of torment*, but either the grave, or the place or state of the dead. And the same thing is highly probable of the translator of these and other passages of the Psalms, where the *grave* is substituted for *hell* in the last translation.

¹ See *The Order how the Psalter is appointed to be read* before the Book of Common Prayer.

So confident an assertion therefore of "*The words "hell and inferi never signifying any thing in the "days of the compilers but the place of torments,"*" (p. 182.) could not proceed from the judicious and knowing author, but must have been inserted by somebody better versed in *The Historical and Critical Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles*, or in the *History of the Puritans*, than in old English translations of the Bible, or in the Psalter used in the established Church.

One might indeed have expected a little accuracy from this Gentleman in speaking of Dr. Clarke; but, as if it were fatal to him to mistake, he hath set Dr. Clarke at variance with Dr. Bennet, where they are good friends. On the Article of Christ's descending into hell, Dr. Clarke, following Bishop Pearson, says¹, "His soul departed into the state of "separate souls." This explication of Bishop Pearson is admitted by Dr. Bennet, who excludes only² *that sense of the word hell, which says, that by hell is meant the grave.* The same sense of the word *hell* is here rejected by Dr. Clarke; because, says he, "according to this notion the inserting of "this latter part of the Article after the preceding "words *Dead and Buried* would have been a mere "tautology." How then is Dr. Bennet contrary to Dr. Clarke on this Article, as he is affirmed to be in the Confessional? p. 164.

But I will not trespass any farther on your learned leisure; unless it be to beg your kind directions in specifying to me, upon what parts of your *own*, or on what editions of the works of *others*, cited in the

¹ Clarke's Exposition of the Church Catechism, p. 88. Scripture Doctrine, &c. 1st Edit. p. 421.

² Bennet's Directions for studying the Thirty-nine Articles, p. 51.

Confessional, I may depend as genuine and authentic. If, after all, I have the writings of these authors just as they intended to publish them, it is but the more apparent, that you have not been well treated by your publisher; and that he hath adulterated your true sterling with a baser metal.

You yourself “have not willingly and knowingly misrepresented any thing. You have cited authorities fairly and candidly.” p. 316.

What injury to these *fair* and *candid* intentions of so *stout a Champion* of the protestant cause, that somebody hath gone counter to them, even under the sanction of your respectable name! That he hath represented things, not as they are, but as he thought most suitable to his purpose; and thus, with the fatality of a certain hero in the Tale of a Tub, who endeavoured as much as possible to avoid his brother Peter, and yet was perpetually meeting him, hath run into the embraces of *Father Phillips!*¹

I am, SIR, &c.

¹ See Confessional, 2d Edit. p. 407.

THE END.

A
DEFENCE
OF THE
DOUBTS
CONCERNING THE
AUTHENTICITY OF THE LAST PUBLICATION
OF THE
CONFESSIONAL, &c.
IN ANSWER TO
OCCASIONAL REMARKS, &c.
—
THE SECOND EDITION.
—

— — Rursus perplexum iter omne revolvens
Fallacis silvæ. VIRG. ÆN. IX. 391

A
D E F E N C E
OF THE
D O U B T S, &c.

IF the learned Gentleman, who hath remarked upon the *Doubts*, is retained to plead again on the same side of the question, it may require the best of his abilities to give satisfaction to the literary and Christian world, in answer to an Author, who hath lately completed his able and judicious censure of the *Confessional*. The writer of the *Doubts* therefore will endeavour not to be prolix in defence of them, that he may not interrupt the *Remarker* in his arduous enterprize, nor divert the attention of others from a worthier object. In one instance the *Doubter*, as he is styled, hath the honour to agree entirely with the *Remarker*, that the Author of the *Three Letters to the Author of the Confessional* is *A more considerable personage*. Remarks, page 18.

But harmony is of short duration between them, and war presently commences, opening with a contest about the Declaration of Charles II. from Breda: whether he promised the Presbyterians in it *A quite new model of the Church of England* ¹?

¹ See *Confessional*, Pref. to 1st Ed. p. xxix. *Doubts*, p. 2. Remarks, p. 11.

The Remarker excepts to the word *Promised* as not fairly expressing the meaning of the Confessional, where instead of *Promising*, it is, *Giving the Presbyterians to understand*. But if any one openly gives another to understand that he will do him a favour, and in a manner clear enough for him to comprehend distinctly what the favour is, most honest men will think, and not scruple to say, that he hath promised it really, though not expressly. However let the question be put more precisely in the words of the Confessional, we still ask the Remarker, in what part of the Declaration from Breda did Charles II. give the Presbyterians to understand *a quite new model of the church of England*? It is not favour at large, but a very particular favour of high importance, that is here pretended. The claimant therefore ought to show that clear significations were given him of it, before he can with justice, or indeed may without injustice, complain that he hath not been dealt with as good faith required. But where or how is this particular and important favour signified in the Declaration? All that is said in it about Religion hath already been given in the Doubts, p. 2. The paragraph is cautiously worded; it expresses some assurance, that “the several opinions in religion will be composed or better understood, when the parties shall unite in a freedom of conversation;” but carefully restrains its concessions to liberty of conscience.

“By the Declaration,” says Mr. Whitelock, “the King grants a free general pardon to all that shall lay hold of it within forty days, except such as the Parliament shall except; and a liberty to tender consciences, and that none be questioned for difference of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom.” Memorials under May 1, 1660.

The

The blessing of such liberty of conscience we now enjoy ; but according to the distinction made by the learned Author himself, it is a different thing from *a quite new model of the church of England*. And of this *quite new model*, neither Mr. Whitclock in the passage cited, nor the Parliament in their answer, appear to have discovered any intimations.

Here it is to be noticed, that the Declaration was published before the resort of the Presbyterian Divines to the King. Whether afterwards in private conversation abroad, or by any act at home, he really gave them to understand *a quite new model of the church of England*, or whether they interpreted his words beyond his intention, and according to their own wishes, are questions beside the present purpose. The Remarker, if he will remove the charge of misrepresentation from the Confessional to the Doubts, must find this *quite new model* given to be understood in the Declaration from Breda.

The Declaration prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles furnishes matter for the next dispute ; the Remarker and the Doubter not entirely agreeing about either the Author or the meaning of it. And here the Remarker seems to think his Friend not well used, that he may not have free liberty¹ to doubt as others have done, whether it was made by James I. or Charles I. But if any one hath abridged the learned Author of his liberty in this instance, he hath done it himself by his appeal to Sir John Elliot's speech in the parliament of 1628, in which the Declaration is spoken of, as *made* and published in the name of King Charles. The words of the speech are² :

¹ Remarks, p. 21.

² Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 648.

“ I must

“ I must confess amongst all those fears we have
 “ contracted, there ariseth to me not one of the least
 “ dangers in the Declaration that is *made* and pub-
 “ lishd in his Majesties name concerning disputing
 “ and preaching; let not this my saying bear the
 “ least suspicion or jealousie of his Majesty; for if
 “ there be any misprision or error, I hope it is those
 “ ministers about him, which not onely he, but all
 “ princes are subject unto; and princes no doubt
 “ are subject to misinformations, and many actions
 “ may be intituled to their names, when it is not done
 “ by themselves.—And now to the particular in the
 “ Declaration, we see what is said of Popery and
 “ Arminianism, our faith and religion is in danger
 “ by it, for like an inundation it doth break in at
 “ once upon us. It is said, if there be any difference
 “ in opinion concerning the seasonable interpretation
 “ of the xxxix articles, the bishops and the clergy in
 “ the Convocation have power to dispute it, and to
 “ order which way they please; and, for aught I
 “ know, Popery and Arminianism may be intro-
 “ duced by them, and then it must be received by
 “ all.”

It may be taken for granted that Sir John Elliot
 is here all along haranguing upon one and the same
 Declaration; and from the fears which he expresses
 of its tendency, from his speaking of it as *made* in his
 Majesty's name, and from his endeavouring, whe-
 ther out of respect to his Sovereign or his own se-
 curity, to exculpate the King, and fix the whole
 blame of making and publishing it upon his ministers,
 it may justly be concluded, that this Declaration
 had then lately made its appearance for the first
 time. How then could the learned Author, who is
 so clear that the Declaration ¹ prefixed to the Thirty-

¹ Confessional, p. 132. note.

nine articles is the subject of this speech, consistently doubt of its being King Charles's?

Full as reasonably might one doubt, were one to judge only from the speech itself and without regard to other circumstances, whether Sir John Elliot is speaking of the Declaration in question; so inaccurate are his account of it and manner of citing it. And yet it is insisted on, that he gives the true meaning of it, when he says, "If there be any difference of opinion concerning the seasonable interpretation of the xxxix articles, the bishops and the clergy in the convocation have power to dispute it, and to order which way they please." According to which gloss the King is pulling down with one hand as fast as he builds with the other. In this paragraph, the appeal lies only to "the literal and grammatical sense of each article;" in that, it is suddenly removed into another court: here, "he will not endure any varying or departing in the least degree from the doctrine and discipline of the church of England *now* established;" in that, all is unsettled again, and the bishops and clergy in convocation are to order which way they please.

Let our ancestors who opposed King Charles be as *sensible* as the Remarker pleases; yet let us not deny the King and his advisers an inferior degree of common understanding.

But the Remarker¹ hath made an important discovery about the word *now*, that it is not in Heylin's copy of the Declaration, and was probably inserted into Bishop Sparrow's Collection of Articles, Injunctions, &c. "To accommodate matters to the "Act of Uniformity of 1662." The conjecture is

¹ Remarks, p. 24.

ingenious ; but, unluckily, the first edition of Bishop Sparrow's Collection, which reads now *established*, came out the year before the Act of Uniformity was passed ; and his copy of the Declaration was taken from that printed in 1630 by Bonham Norton and John Bill the King's printers. Another considerable authority shall be produced to show, that neither is the reading of now *established* wrong, nor Sir John Elliot's gloss a right one.

“ The language of this Declaration is such, as is absolutely inconsistent with the fundamental principles of our present happy Constitution. “ We will not endure,” says the Declaration, “ any varying or departing, in the least degree, from the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England now established. This might tally well enough with the politics of a James or a Charles ; but if our princes and people, in after times, had persisted in not enduring the least departure from the doctrine of the church of England, particularly as it is exhibited in the homily against *wilful rebellion*, what must have become of us at the Revolution¹? &c.”

Can any one believe the learned Author of the above cited passage to have judged, that *The language of this Declaration is such*, as, according to Sir John Elliot, to empower the bishops and clergy in convocation to order which way they please : or to make the doctrine of the church of England as variable under certain restrictions, as the Remarker will have it? Remarks, p. 25.

That this Declaration was King Charles's, I presume can no longer be disputed, since the publishing

of the Third Letter to the Author of the Confessional. So many clear proofs of the point are collected in the Postscript to that Letter, that they want not any additional evidence from Sir John Elliot's speech. But if the learned Author had cast his eye properly upon it, with more attention to one part and less to another, it might have saved him some perplexity about the Framer of the Declaration, and some embarrassment concerning the passage in debate; from which the Remarker endeavouring to disengage him, either disagrees with him, or makes him discordant with himself.

Hitherto, it may be hoped, the Doubter, having gone only in an open path, hath trod securely. But when he ventures into the deep and thick coverts of the Confessional, the case is altered; as will now too sadly appear. In the Confessional, p. 131, is a long note, which first leads us to the Declaration prefixed to the Thirty-nine articles; then quits it for the Proclamation of King Charles I.; gives us a passage from it, follows it for a while, loses sight of it, and brings us back to the Declaration. And here the Particular mentioned in Sir John Elliot's speech is cited; and we are told, that "This particular is actually to be found in his Majesty's Declaration, as we *now* have it." But now we arrive at a critical parting of the road; and the direction how to proceed is THE PASSAGE ABOVE CITED. By this direction the unfortunate Doubter with timid steps chose the more likely way, and chose the wrong. THE PASSAGE ABOVE CITED, says the Remarker, p. 22. refers us to the King's Proclamation; and,—“If *Sages* can divine each others thought,”—in all probability he saith true. The Doubter therefore, who conceived himself directed to the nearer object, the Declaration, desires to confess his error, and to acknowledge the kindness of the Remarker, who

hath given him a clue, by which he can now find his way through the labyrinth of this note.

Bishop Coneybeare's "famous subscription Sermon" comes now before us¹; in which according to the Doubts, p. 11, "There is not any the least trace of "such argumentation as is imputed to it." The Remarker "*has not the Sermon at hand*," but proves that Bishop Coneybeare must either argue as he would have him, or else his Sermon must be quite foreign to the text. In a like manner, a page or two after, Dr. Waterland by *imposers* of the Thirty-nine articles must either mean what he chooses he should mean, the "*ministerial imposers, that is, the Bishops*," or be guilty of "*glaring impiety*." But alas! judicious as the Remarker is in his instructions to Bishop Coneybeare and Dr. Waterland, how they ought to reason and write; what will it avail against plain matter of fact, that the argument of the one, and the meaning of the other, are misrepresented in the Confessional?

The Remarker, p. 28, confesses that there is an "*incautious imputation*" on Dr. Waterland concerning Bishop Sanderson's *Nine cases of conscience*; and he seems angry with the Doubter for not sooner apprizing the learned Author of it. But this could not well be done, because the Doubter had never read a line in the Confessional till the second edition came out. Such tardiness in seeking improvement he can now only lament. But if his mean endeavours could contribute to render the third edition quite spotless, the Remarker gives him all possible encouragement to exert them. So ingenuous he is concerning Bishop Coneybeare's Subscription-Sermon and Dr. Waterland's Imposers of the articles.

¹ Confessional, p. 30. note. Doubts, p. 11. Remarks, p. 26.

Let us next consider how the Remarker vindicates his learned friend from a charge of inconsistency brought against him in the Doubts, p. 16, to this effect: "That in arguing against Bishop Burnet, he represents it as *uncertain* by whom the Thirty-nine articles were composed¹;" but in reasoning against Dr. Nichols, as *certain*, "that they were compiled by Cranmer, and at the most with the help of one or two of his particular friends; and these out of all doubt were all of a mind²." To this the substance of the Remarker's reply is³: That Bishop Burnet, who inferred from the characters of the Compilers, that the articles were composed with great temper in many points, was yet under uncertainty who the compilers were: and that the Author of the Confessional "asks, by way of argument *ad hominem*, under this uncertainty who can pretend to say with what *temper* they were composed, or by what views and considerations the composers were influenced? But that, expressing his own sentiments in his argument against Dr. Nichols, he adopts Bishop Burnet's opinion, so far as relates to Cranmer, as a certainty, without the least hesitation, and by this opinion he abides." But if it is a certainty that the Articles were composed by Cranmer himself, or with the help of one or two particular friends all of a mind, does Bishop Burnet's doubtfulness make the fact less real, or alter the nature of a conclusion following from it? Why then, is the force of the conclusion evaded by calling in question, in one place, the very premises, which, in another place, when it serves his purpose, the learned Author "adopts as a certainty without the least hesitation?" It may well be doubted, whether the Remarker consults the credit of his learned friend by imputing such artifice to him in an inquiry

¹ Confessional, p. 134.

² *Ib.* p. 152.

³ Remarks, p. 31.

after truth, in order to clear him of a little inconsistency.

The matter is here argued on the supposition, that Bishop Burnet was under uncertainty by whom King Edward's Articles were composed. But though the learned Author and the Remarker choose to fix upon a time, when he thought it *more probable* that "They were framed by Cranmer and Ridley." Hist. Reform. vol. II. p. 166. Yet he appears to have been afterwards satisfied, that they were compiled by Cranmer. For, vol. III. p. 211, he introduces Cranmer as "granting the same to be his doings:" and in the same page the Bishop adds: "We have Cranmer's own word for it that he drew them." And that the learned Author was not unacquainted with this part of the History, seems pretty clear from Confessional, p. 42, where he refers to vol. III. p. 210, and to the very paragraph in which the Bishop enters on the subject of the Articles.

But it is now the Doubter's turn to be corrected.

Cædimur, et totidem plagis consumimus hostem.
HOR. II. Epist. ii. 97.

He is charged with citing a passage from the Confessional, p. 167, unfairly. But insert a dash to shew that some words are left out, and the unfairness vanishes. It was by mistake that such a dash was omitted; and the part of the sentence which is left out is not of the least moment in the present small dispute, whether the Author of the Confessional could properly and consistently rebuke Dr. Bennet for advancing somewhat *contrary to his Majesty's Declaration*¹. The Remarker alledges, that though

¹ Doubts, p. 18. Remarks, p. 33.

he himself denies any validity to this Declaration, yet Dr. Bennet refers to it "as a public instrument of *legal authority*." And if this is proved, the argument *ad hominem* must here be allowed to be fair. But how is it proved? One would imagine by the manner of printing *legal authority* in the Remarks, that this was Dr. Bennet's expression. But no such expression occurs in the page referred to. He there cites the Declaration in proof of a matter of fact: "That every subscriber to the articles was then supposed to believe them true¹:" and he might judge its testimony valid, without acknowledging a *legal authority* in it; he might even allow, that it had once such authority, and at the same time believe, that it was now at an end: and yet he might think it to his purpose to show, that the Declaration spoke the same language and consented with laws still in force. The Remarker himself appears not satisfied that he hath proved upon Dr. Bennet his reference to the Declaration "as a public instrument of *legal authority*;" and, till he will be pleased to do it in a better manner, this matter must still remain as it stands in the Doubts.

The Remarker proceeds to examine what is said from page 19 to page 23 of the Doubts. Which *detail*, according to him, is a *fair mark* for criticism². But since he hath been so indulgent as to shoot but two or three little arrows against it, and these in the humble opinion of the Doubter fly beside it, he will leave matters to rest as they are with his readers; some of whom possibly may judge, that his *fair mark* is in reality a *clear point*.

¹ Ray on the Thirty-nine articles, p. 423.
² ibid, p. 35.

The quotation from Bishop Burnet, *Doubts*, p. 23, shall be left also to declare his sentiments concerning an article in the Nicene Creed. No words can make them plainer ; and all the reasoning of the Remarker will never be able to obscure them.

We go on then to consider the sense of *hell* and *inferi* ; which words, we are told in the Confessional, p. 182, “ never signified any thing in the “ days of the compilers [of the Articles] but the “ place of torments.” In answer to this the Doubter produced among other instances from the *great Bible* a passage of Job, xiv. 13. in which Job wishes that God would *Hyde him in the hell untyl his wrath were styllled*. But to this the Remarker has various exceptions ; one of which is, that this translation of the bible came out under the patronage of popish bishops, who might mean to express *purgatory* by the word *hell*¹. The translation, according to my authors², was made by Tyndal, Rogers, and Coverdale, two martyrs and a confessor for the protestant cause. It was revised by Cranmer, whose preface appeared to it in 1540 ; it was reprinted by authority in the reign of Edward VI. read in the churches, and adopted into the liturgy of his reformers. It was suppressed in Queen Mary’s reign ; “ but happily “ restored together with the liturgy in the first year “ of Queen Elizabeth.” It seems therefore to have been reserved for the sagacity of the Remarker to discover, what it is plain our reformers did not, the cloven foot of popery in this translation. Yet say that Tonstal bishop of Durham, and Heath bishop of Rochester, who by command of Henry VIII,

¹ Remarks, p. 43.

² See *Bibliothec. Literar.* for the year 1722. Num^r. V. p. 4, 5. John Johnson’s Pref. to his *Psalms*.

overlooked a new edition ¹ of it in 1541, infused their popish ideas into Coverdale's and Crammer's words, what will follow? That they considered the hell in which Job desired "to be hidden untill the wrath of God were stilled," under the idea of *purgatory*? The maintainers of *purgatory* do not commonly suppose its fires so gentle, that they would make Job pathetically wish to be there, as in a shelter or hiding place from the wrath of God, which he endured in his sufferings on earth. Besides these learned Bishops understood the tenets of their own church better, than to think of sending Job to *purgatory*. They would have placed him, or made him wish to be placed, *in limbo patrum* ²; which was a part of *Infernus*, or *hell*: for as Dr. Jortin well observes, "Our English word *hell* is lax enough "to answer to *inferi*, or to all the supposed districts "of the infernal regions ³:" but the *Limbus patrum* was not a place of torments.

The Remarker ⁴ seems astonished that "There should be a Doubter in the three kingdoms capable "of taking the reign of Henry VIII. into *the days of "the Compilers of the Articles.*" But does the Doubter's argument require him to take in this reign? May he not leave it entirely out, and yet have time enough left, to make the authority and use of this translation coincide with the days of the compilers? It was reprinted under the auspices of Edward VI. ; and in a 4to edition of 1553 the texts alledged in the Doubts stand exactly as they are there cited. The Doubter therefore appeals to the

¹ Lewis's History of the Translation of the Bible, Svo. 1739. p. 140.

² Tho. Aquin. Summa Theol. Supplem. ad Tert. Part. Quæst. LXIX. Art. iv. v.

³ Life of Erasmus, vol. II. Appendix p. 712. Remarks, p. 44.

⁴ Remarks, p. 41.

translation, as its words were understood at that time; when *hell* did not suggest an idea of *purgatory*; unless the Remarker can show by some "*Dextrous quibble, that the words of the translation being still the same, the doctrine purpose and intention of the Church must be the same likewise* ¹."

But if all this will not satisfy him; let us open the *Bishops' bible*, which I hope had no Bonner to patronise it. In this bible, first printed in large folio 1568, the translators or editors, luckily for the Doubter, explain for themselves what they mean sometimes by the word *hell*. On 2 Sam. xxii. 6, 1 Cor. xv. 55, where *hell* is read in the text, they tell us in the margin, it signifies the *grave*; and on Jonas II. 1, "Jonas prayed unto the Lorde his God out of the fishes belly," they have this marginal note: "He afterwarde calleth it [the fishes belly] hel, and the woorde is taken often for the grave." On Psalm xvi. 10. "For thou wilt not leave my soul in helle," they say in the margin, "In the state that soules be after this life."

The Remarker who is never in gayer spirits than on this subject, as appears by an instance of his pleasantry at the top of p. 43 of the Remarks, is not satisfied with asserting the ground claimed by his learned Friend; for he makes a sudden movement, and we find him unexpectedly entrenching himself in *Hades*. Which new post the Doubter hath no ambition to dispute with him; but rather, as the Remarker hath *apprized* him of something considerable, desires to make such return as he is able; and will therefore present him with a passage from Usher's answer to the Jesuit's challenge, (p. 219. 4th edit.

¹ See Confessional, p. 249.

London, 1686.) in which this great man gives some account of the ecclesiastical use of his three words.

Usher follows Verstegan in deriving *hell* from *hil*, which signifies to hide in old German; and observes that in our ancient language, “*to hell the head*, is as much as *to cover the head*; and he, that *covereth* the house with tile or slate, is from thence commonly called *a hellier*.” From whence he concludes that in the original propriety of the word, *hell* doth exactly answer the Greek *Hades*, which denoteth the place which is unseen, or removed from the sight of man:”

“We are in the second place therefore to observe,” says he, “that the term of *Hell*, beside the vulgar acception, wherein it signifieth that which, Luke xvi. 28. is called the *place of torment*; is, in the ecclesiastical use of the word, extended more largely to express the Greek word *Hades* and the Latin *Inferi*, and whatsoever is contained under them. Concerning which St. Augustine giveth this note: *The name of hell is variously put in the Scriptures, and in many meanings, according as the sense of the things which are entreated of doth require.* And Master Casaubon (who understood the property of the Greek and Latin words as well as any) thus saith: *They who think that HADES is probably the seat of the damned, be no less deceived, than they who, when they read INFEROS in Latine writers, do interpret it of the same place.* The less cause have we to wonder, that *Hell* in the Scripture should be made the place of all the dead in common, and not of the wicked only. As in Psalm LXXXIX. 47, 48. *Remember how short my time is: wherefore hast thou made all men in vain? What man is he that liveth and shall not see death? shall he de-*
“*liver*”

“ *liver his soul from the hand of HELL?* and Isai,
 “ xxxviii. 18, 19. *HELL cannot praise thee, death*
 “ *cannot celebrate thee: they that go down into*
 “ *the pit cannot hope for thy truth. The LIVING,*
 “ *he LIVING, he shall praise thee, as I do this day.*
 “ Where the opposition betwixt *Hell* and the state
 “ of *life* in this world is to be observed.” &c.

In the texts here cited, Usher has retained the word *Hell* from the old version. By which it appears, that he had the misfortune to differ in judgment from the Remarker, who assures us, that “The last translators very wisely substituted the word *grave* in its room.” But peradventure the authority of Casaubon and Usher, the latter of whom first published the work just mentioned in 1625, may be too late, as that of the *Great bible* was too early for his Chronology. However, as no exception of this sort lies against the *Bishop's bible*, it still remains for him to reconcile its marginal notes, which are said to have been of Archbishop Parker's ordering, with the following assertion :

“ At the time when King Edward's articles were
 “ compiled, and for many years after, the word *Hell*
 “ will be found to be invariably taken for the place
 “ of final punishment, in all theological writings of
 “ authority.” Remarks, p. 44.

We have now only to enquire, whether it is justly affirmed in the Confessional, p. 164, that Dr. Bennet is contrary to Dr. Clarke in giving the churches sense of Christ's descent into *Hell*. Dr. Bennet's doctrine is that *The church* [of England] *excludes no sense of the word Hell in this article* [the third] *except that which says that hell signifies the grave*¹.

¹ Directions for studying the Thirty-nine articles, p. 51.

Upon which we are asked ¹, “Has Dr. Clarke any “where said that the church excludes that sense?” But if he hath not, will his silence decide in favour of the Remarker? Does not the maintaining of his learned Friend’s position require some direct evidence that Dr. Clarke contradicts Dr. Bennet on this head? Which is not given in the passage quoted in the Remarks, where all, that Dr. Clarke says upon the descent into hell, is this: “The article in the Apostles creed concerning Christ’s descent into *hell* is “now universally understood in a sense probably “different from what the Composers of the Creed “intended.” That the Church of England in the *third* of her Thirty-nine Articles does indeed so differ in meaning from the composers of the apostles creed, is a point allowed by Dr. Bennet in his *Directions*, p. 51, and countenanced by this passage of Dr. Clarke. An agreement between them it is easy to perceive; the difficulty is to discern their contrariety; which appears by no means more distinct through the medium of the Remarker’s reasoning. And yet, as if he were fully entitled to his conclusion, he authoritatively decides, that “Dr. Clarke must “either be at variance with Dr. Bennet on this point “of exclusion, or at variance with himself.” Remarks, p. 47.

But why this new effort to set Dr. Clarke at variance with himself? Might it not suffice that it hath already been attempted by a curious anecdote produced in the Confessional, p. 372; which makes Dr. Clarke’s private opinion inconsistent enough with his public professions? For according to his sentiments among friends (if a *very ancient and worthy gentleman* was not mistaken in apprehending or remembering them) Dr. Wake was *an Archbishop who*

² See Doubts, p. 28. Remarks, p. 45.

was priest enough ; but according to his declarations to the world, the same man was *The learned Dr. Wake, our worthy Metropolitan* : and, as if this were not enough, *The learned Dr. Wake, our excellent Metropolitan* ¹.

It was indeed in 1715 that Archbishop Wake was *priest enough* ; and in 1719 that he was a *worthy and excellent Metropolitan*. As it was possible for Dr. Clarke to alter his opinion of Dr. Wake in this interval, we might have doubted in which of the two æras he was right ; but that this story kindly relieves us of our suspence. For certainly the candid Author would not have exhibited these private sentiments in opposition to the public declarations, if he had not been satisfied, that *Dr. Clarke knew the man better* in one thousand seven hundred and fifteen.

But enough of these Doubts. For, saith the Remarker, “ So far as I can see, they might all be admitted for just and true without the least damage to the argument of the Confessional.” Remarks, p. 11. In another place, page 4, he tells us : “ The merits of the main question laid (*perhaps*, lay) within a small compass.” But in saying so, he seems not sufficiently warranted by the practice of his learned Principal ; whose discussion of this said *main question* takes a pretty large compass ; and includes a variety of matters mixed with his reasoning. Now as he hath *more respect for the public* than to lead them away from so interesting a question by unnecessary excursions *de gaieté de cœur*, and too much discernment not to see what was foreign to his purpose ; we must conclude, that he judged no part of these things superfluous, but all of

¹ Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, 2d Edit. pp. 397. 400.

them properly conducive to the decision of the *main question*, as aptly introducing or confirming some material argument, and, from one intermediate conclusion to another, still tending to the ultimate. But if this variety of facts, narrations, characters, remarks, dissertations, criticisms, censures, was of moment to the learned Author in the construction of his grand design; it became of moment to his readers to examine severally the parts of his miscellaneous fabric. For if the materials with which he builds should be unsound, and *daubed with untempered mortar*; or, not lying square and even, be full of cracks and settlings: his new temple, though *painted with vermilion*, will hardly tempt them to resort to it as a safe place of religious worship. From the propriety of such examination some time ago, arose the *Doubts*; which may now indeed be blotted out and forgotten *without the least damage*, since a just work on the subject hath appeared; but the writer of them, or rather a few friends, then thought it subservient to truth, to put some upon their guard, and others upon further search, by his *diminutive tract*. In the conduct of which, he hopes he hath not followed an example that was constantly before him; nor been guilty of writing with *insult*¹, with *particular virulence*, and *the genuine spirit of wrath and resentment*², which, God be thanked, he felt not.

Of all this indeed and more he is accused by the Remarker; but he certainly is too warm and angry, to do justice to his expressions or sentiments. “The “*Doubter*,” as he tells the world, Remarks, p. 48, “talks somewhere *as if the mistakes* of the Author “of the Confessional were *fatal* to him.” “The “author of the *Doubts* has dropt several hints, that

¹ Remarks, p. 21, 45.

² Ib. p. 48.

“ the

“ the author of the Confessional is at the bottom a
 “ favourer of popery. He calls him with an ironical
 “ sneer a *good protestant*, and ends his pamphlet
 “ with an insinuation, that the author of the Confes-
 “ sional is ready to run into the embraces of Father
 “ Phillips.” Remarks, p. 9.

A very little trouble in looking over this *dwarf* of a pamphlet might enable a man to give a just account of any part of it, were he so minded. And if its author is so easily convicted of lese majesty for what he hath said, there was the less occasion to impute to him, what he hath neither said, nor meant.

He hath not for instance said, that “ The mis-
 “ takes of the Author of the Confessional were fatal
 “ to him,” nor hath any distinct idea of the meaning of these words. He hath no where called the “ Au-
 “ thor of the Confessional with an ironical sneer a
 “ *good protestant*.” Though perhaps he may not think every zealous protestant a *stout*, or able, *Champion of the protestant cause*. He hath not said nor insinuated, “ That the Author of the Con-
 “ fessional is *ready* to run into the embraces of
 “ Father Phillips.” The *Tale* alluded to implies not any *readiness* in John to meet Peter; but that, if it so happened, it happened by his ill stars, and not with his good will. And who sees not, that the name of Mr. Phillips in this place, and that of William Rainoldes in another, are introduced, not on account of their popery, but because the one is given to misrepresent, and the other embraced the party which he was confuting? Such are the hints dropt by the Doubter, “ That the Author of the Confessional is
 “ at the bottom a favourer of popery.” An *Auto da fe* of the pen hath surely as little relation to Rome, as a *starving inquisition*, which the learned author hath discovered among protestants. There is only
 one

one passage more that hath any the most distant aspect upon popery; and that is a question asked, Doubts, p. 25, "Was the writer of the Confessional *"ignorant of all this, or was he playing the Jesuit?"* This was originally his own question, as briskly pressed in the Confessional upon a masterly writer against popery, and put at least as generously in the Doubts to one who is able to answer for himself. But perhaps the very use of these words infringes on the right of the learned author; and the terms belong to a train of artillery, formed of *Arminianism, Popery, Inquisitions, and Cardinals' hats*, which is not to be touched but by the Master of the Ordnance himself, or by those who have his commission—to play it off upon a certain church and her friends.

Nobis non licet esse tam disertis.

MARTIAL, IX. 12.

After all, if any thing appears to the candid of any party to be said with unbecoming freedom in the Doubts, the writer of them is sorry to have said it. He bears no malice or ill will to the Author of the Confessional, but sincerely wishes his happiness; and in order to contribute, if he can, to the future tranquillity and repose of his learned mind, begs leave to offer him this parting advice: That before he indulge himself again in using the characters and memories of eminent and worthy men, as he hath done in the Confessional, he would *sit down, and count the cost*; and if he is so tender of his own reputation, and so extremely hurt by any the smallest matter that seems to touch it: as he appears to be, if there is any sympathy between him and the Remarker: that he would claim respect from those who dissent from him, by treating the living and the dead, from whom he dissents, with decency and moderation.

THE END.

A
D I A L O G U E
BETWEEN
ISAAC WALTON AND HOMOLOGISTES ;
IN WHICH
THE CHARACTER
OF
BISHOP SANDERSON
IS DEFENDED AGAINST THE
AUTHOR OF THE CONFSSIONAL.

THE SECOND EDITION.

— — Vagæ ne parce malignus arenæ
Ossibus et capiti inhumato
Particulam dare.

HORAT. Carm.¹ I. xxviii.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Parliament in 1649 framed an oath of Engagement to the new Government, and early in the next January enacted that it should be generally taken. At the end of the year (1650) Dr. Sanderson was consulted by a Royalist concerning the lawfulness of taking it; and by his answer to this question he hath lately incurred the following censures :

That what he hath given as the more probable sense of the Engagement is evidently not so :

That he himself did not believe his construction of it to be such as the imposers intended, or would allow :

That, if his querist was doubtful about the meaning of it, he ought in conscience to have referred him to these imposers :

That in reasoning upon the Engagement he is inconsistent with his own doctrine concerning the Covenant :

That the design of his tract on the Engagement was to encourage prevarication with a state-oath among the friends of the exiled King.

As these censures, which are to be found in the Confessional between page 299 and 313 of the second edition, affect the moral character of Bishop Sanderson; the writer of the following Dialogue was solicitous to examine how far they are well grounded :
and,

and, having first made the enquiry for his own satisfaction, he now lays it before the Public ; in hopes that it may give some little content to those humane readers, who had rather that any one, and especially one who hath the reputation of a good man, should be proved innocent than guilty.

The writer of the Dialogue has introduced Isaac Walton, who composed the Life of Bishop Sanderson, as one party in it : to the other he hath given the name of Homologistes ; and as far as the Confessional is responsible for any thing said by him, it is either referred to, or quoted.

It is not very material whether the Querist were an old friend of Dr. Sanderson's or not ; but it seems more probable that he was ; and the only reason for doubting it arises from this passage in the Case :

“ I could not think it fit, nor consistent with that civility which is to be used, especially towards strangers, to send back your messenger without the return of some kind of answer.”

But here the *Stranger* seems to be the messenger ; to whom, though a servant, a regard was due for his master's sake, and his apparent fidelity to him ; and who, having made a long and tiresome journey, could not civilly be sent back without his errand.

If the words are made to relate to the master : they seem to imply, what it is not likely Dr. Sanderson could mean, that it was fitter to grant a request of this sort, because the petitioner was a stranger, than if he had been a friend.

It may therefore fairly be concluded from the trust which Dr. Sanderson reposes in the prudence of his Correspondent, and his subscribing himself his *Loving Friend*, that he was writing to one whom he well knew and valued.

A
D I A L O G U E

BETWEEN

ISAAC WALTON AND HOMOLOGISTES,

CONCERNING

BISHOP SANDERSON.

ISAAC WALTON.

THUS far I have ventured from my peaceful abode to attend upon Bishop Sanderson, and wait the event of his appearing again on earth. But after the repose of a century, why is he thus disquieted and brought up? He was loved by the virtuous and good, admired by the learned, honoured by his Sovereign, and by the Parliament¹ which opposed that Sovereign: and was indeed such a “Pattern of meekness and primitive innocence²,” that it was not without reason he hoped in his last hours, “that he should die without an enemy³.”

HOMOLOGISTES.

The incomparable person, before whom he stands, hath too much candour and christian benevolence to

¹ Wood's Athen. Oxon, vol. ii. c. 318.

² Walton's Life of Bishop Sanderson, p. 49.

³ Ib. p. 47.

be any man's enemy ; but he is a friend to truth ; to which he would gladly fetch home the church of England, that has departed from it. And in pursuance of this excellent design he hath found it necessary to send *citations* not only to Dr. Robert Sanderson, but to Whitgift and others, who were of higher dignity, or have slept longer in their graves.

WALTON.

I find then, he may possibly receive the honour of disgrace in good company. But it equally puzzles me to guess why that venerable old man is also cited. With your friend, of whose candour and christian benevolence you speak so highly, it certainly cannot be Whitgift's crime, "that he was a man of the primitive temper, such a temper, as when the church by lowliness of spirit did flourish in highest examples of virtue¹," or, "that he devoutly consecrated both his whole life to God, and his painful labours to the good of his church²."

HOMOLOGISTES.

We have more than one offence to alledge against Whitgift, besides that he was an Archbishop of Canterbury. And from that quarter we have found such obstruction to the truth, either by persecution of pious reformers, or at least by the brow-beating of all reformation, that we are under a necessity of calling many, who have presided in that See from the days of Elizabeth downwards, to a pretty strict account.

¹ Sir Henry Wotton's Character of Archbishop Whitgift. Remains. p. 172.

² Mr. Camden's Character of Whitgift. Camd. Brit. sub Cantio p. 239. Fol. See Walton's Life of Hooker, p. 23. Fol. 1723.

WALTON.

WALTON.

I perceive, Sir, in quality of reformers, your powers of *visitation* are extensive; and that persons, characters, facts, doctrines, and rights, fall equally under your cognizance. Doubtless you have well considered the office which you have undertaken; and I need not remind you, to whom you stand accountable for the justness of your decisions in every branch of it. Yet since malice of heart is less excusable than error of judgement, give me leave just to hint the counsel once given by a great reformer, To accuse no man falsely¹.

HOMOLOGISTES.

Do you suspect, Sir, that we proceed upon the plan of St. Jerom, who followed the great Roman Orator so closely, that he “paid little regard to truth, when he had a controversial point to carry²?” We examine fairly, weigh maturely, and pronounce candidly. If these great Primates are censured as freely as other men, it is, because upon a careful inquiry we have found, that they richly deserve it.

WALTON.

I hope you are not “reforming backwards to popery;” and that Mr. Phillips did not step before you as your Squire.

HOMOLOGISTES.

What reasons have you for so injurious a suspicion?

¹ Luk. iii. 14.

² See the character given of St. Jerom, Confessional p. 365. second edit.

WAL-

WALTON.

Only an odd incidence of circumstances. I am told, that he lately flourished his lance at the first protestant Archbishop of Canterbury; and now you advance forward to maul his successors. The Squire has opportunity given him to do the worst he can; while the champion amazes the public with his target of brass, and weaver's beam.

HOMOLOGISTES.

I wish the church of England in general detested the religion of Father Phillips as much as we do. But it is "edging back once more towards popery¹," from which we would set it at a greater distance.

WALTON.

If a bare surmise appeared so injurious to you, may not your assertion be deemed equally so to the church of England? Especially as I am persuaded, there is as little foundation for the one as the other; and I might undertake to show by as conclusive arguments, that your scheme is "nearly related to a "Cardinal's hat," as you can produce to prove this church is "hankering after popish superstition." But let me not trifle with high and dignified characters, but rather inquire, by what means you would better secure the good people of England against popish delusion. Would you repudiate the elder sister, and espouse them to the younger, the church of Scotland?

HOMOLOGISTES.

The church of Scotland by following sage counsels, that is, such counsels as we approve of and give,

¹ Confessional p. 289.

had once an opportunity of becoming "The wisest church in Europe¹." But while she retains, as she now seems to do, the whole Westminster confession of faith, every article of which, except one or two passages, might better be spared²; her claims inadmissible. For a formal subscription³ to confessions is—a yoke which neither we nor our fathers have been able to bear.

WALTON.

If I am able to form any just conceptions concerning your scheme of reformation, it is deep, and big with consequences⁴. But whether the adopting of it would promote the interests of religion and society, or whether your governours ought to gratify you in making the experiment, I leave to be considered by the wise and learned; and will only observe what I collect from a little plain experience, that it is calculated, not to defend this kingdom against the overflowings of the Tiber, but rather to break down the mounds which now restrain them. For I lived in times which gave a pretty fair and full trial to such a state of religion as would be the consequence of your plan; when, union and order being dissolved, "Every man projected, and reformed, and did what was right in his own eyes. No image can better express such a condition, than that of a dead animal in a state of putrefaction; when instead of one noble creature, as it was when life held it together, there are ten thou-

¹ Confessional p. 405. Note upon Note.

² See *Ib.*

³ See *Ib.* p. 16.

⁴ "The Confessional contains many passages—which in a word strike at the root not only of our own, but of all religious establishments, and with establishments at the root of all order in religion;" says the candid author of *An Essay on Establishments in Religion*. See p. 43.

“sand little nauseous reptiles growing out of it, every one crawling in a path of its own¹.”

The great advantage, which the church of Rome hath had all along over the reformed churches by its union and their disunion, was much increased by this distracted state of religion in England. For popery, artfully concealing her own divisions, urges your disagreements, variations, and repugnances of doctrine, in evidence that the truth, which is simple and consistent, is on her side². If you still split and subdivide your sects, which she will be ready underhand to assist you in doing, you render this argument more plausible, and give force to many others, with which she applies herself to minds more pious than judicious. One little party of protestants borders upon and interferes with another, of which it is more jealous than of the common adversary. And while they are disagreeing among themselves, and either leave this adversary unmolested, or oppose him without harmony and consent, papal Rome prevails, as imperial Rome did over the Britons of old³.

But perhaps you think that confessions of faith and establishments in religion are the partition walls which keep you asunder; and if these were entirely

¹ Mudge's Sermons. Sermon. On the Evils of Anarchy. p. 86.

² Mr. Camden, in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1583, speaking of the Schisms amongst the English Protestants of that Time, says: “Pontificiis plaudentibus, multosque in suas partes pertrahentibus, quasi nulla esset in Ecclesia Anglicana unitas.”

³ Tacitus in the Life of Agricola, C. xii. gives this account of the Britons: “Per principes factionibus et studiis trahuntur. Nec aliud adversus validissimas gentes pro nobis utilius, quam quod in commune non consulant. Rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus; ita dum singuli pugnant universi vincuntur.”

taken away, that amity and concord would reign among protestants. It may be so, if human nature is since rectified and improved; but in my days the event was quite contrary, and the policy of Rome saw the benefit accruing to its cause, when the establishment of a great reformed church was broken in pieces. Since the reign of Queen Mary she never rejoiced over England so much, or displayed so many trophies of victories acquired¹.

What stand was then made against Popery, was made chiefly and almost wholly by the episcopal clergy, according to Bishop Sanderson²; who solemnly and publicly affirmed thus much, in times not favourable to him or his cause, that is, in the year one thousand six hundred and fifty seven.

HOMOLOGISTES.

Whatever he may have affirmed, or with whatever solemnity, his word will not pass with us. For to come now more directly to your main question, he stands charged with justifying prevarication.

WALTON.

If wonder at what is done or said on earth were a passion to which we were much liable in my present abode, I should a little admire at this accusation. I knew him well, conversed often with him; and after his decease enquired farther into the circumstances of his life, in order to write it; which I did, with affection indeed to the man, but with no less

¹ Preface to Bp. Sanderson's Sermons, p. 78. Kennet's Hist. of England under the year 1649. Archbishop Usher's Letters, p. 611, and Appendix, p. 27. Second Collection of Hickes's Letters, p. 120.

² Preface to Bp. Sanderson's Sermons, p. 77.

affection

affection to truth. But so little did I suspect what you have charged him with, that I particularly honoured his steady adherence to what he judged right and true, under a long train of distresses to which it exposed him. What covered thing, or word spoken in darkness is now to be revealed?

HOMOLOGISTES.

His guilt might have been detected long ago, if persons of equal sagacity and judgement had set themselves to examine the doctrine which he has advanced, in a case that he determined concerning the Engagement enjoined by the Parliament in the year 1650. "Many, without doubt," says Dr. Waterland, "have been guilty of prevaricating with state oaths, but nobody has yet been found sanguine enough to undertake the defence of it in print.

"This case of conscience, however, was in print before Dr. Waterland was born; and what is more, he knew it was ¹."

WALTON.

Give me leave to doubt, whether Dr. Waterland's observation is refuted by this instance, supposing Dr. Sanderson to be guilty. For the instance is from a private letter. And certainly, a person of your candour does not mean to insinuate, that he either published this letter himself, or by any thing that appears ever intended it for the press ². It was first printed, if I remember right, in 1668, six years after his death, with the *Case of a rash vow*; then added

¹ Confessional, p. 310.

² He forbade the printing of any of his papers after his death. Wood's Athen. v. 2. col. 320.

to five other cases before published ; the number of which was afterwards increased to nine, by those who had picked up the scattered manuscripts.

HOMOLOGISTES.

Whether from the press, or in a private letter, the doctrine however is the same. A Friend of his disposed to temporize by taking the Engagement, if he could receive some comfortable advice on this head, found in the Doctor a willing casuist ; Who “ to encourage it the more, tells the querist, that “ whenever the present force was so removed from “ the taker (of the Engagement) or he from under “ it, as that he should have power to act according “ to his allegiance, the obligation would of itself “ determine and expire. A sort of doctrine, that “ seems rather to have been born and bred at Liege “ or St. Omer’s, than at Oxford ¹.”

WALTON.

These words I remember are Dr. Sanderson’s ; but they are a part only of a sentence, not a sentence by themselves ; the whole of which may perhaps come forth in the course of our conference ; and then it will appear, that he but proposes conditionally, what you make him positively affirm. This, I suppose, is not unfair representation ; for such arts belong to Liege and St. Omer’s ; but a flower of oratory gathered perhaps in St. Jeroni’s garden, and valued for the sake of an ancient Father.

HOMOLOGISTES.

There is no need of oratory on the present occasion ; a plain tale will suffice to show our notable casuist in his proper colours.

¹ Confessional, p. 312.

“ The Puritans having, by opposing the attempts
 “ of their adversaries with spirit and vigour, got the
 “ upper hand, it came to their turn to impose terms
 “ and conditions upon those, who had formerly put
 “ the like hardships upon them ¹.

“ This occasioned a great demand among the
 “ Royalists for casuistical Divinity, and salvoes of
 “ several kinds ; in which mystical science the most
 “ eminent adept was Dr. Robert Sanderson, after-
 “ wards Bishop of Lincoln : a venerable character,
 “ which has descended with much estimation even
 “ to the present times ; insomuch that, I suppose,
 “ few people, who should fall into any of those di-
 “ lemmas, from which he provided ways to escape,
 “ would scruple to abide by his judgement.

“ Among other cases of different kinds, a ques-
 “ tion was put to this able casuist, whether a Royalist,
 “ who had taken the oath of allegiance to King
 “ Charles I. might conscientiously take the Engage-
 “ ment, injoynd by the Parliament in the year
 “ 1650, which ran in these words :

“ I A. B. do promise, that I will be true and
 “ faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as it is
 “ now established without King, or Lords.” * * * *

The Doctor out of certain “ distinctions works
 “ the two following senses of the Engagement ²,” the
 one stricter, the other more moderate. The stricter

¹ Confessional, p. 299.

In these extracts from the Confessional some little liberty is here and there taken with regard to particular words, in order to connect, but with no design of altering, the sense of the passages quoted.

² Confessional, p. 307.

is this : “ I acknowledge the sovereign power of this Nation, whereunto I owe allegiance and subjection, to be rightly stated in the house of Commons, wherein neither King nor Lords (as such) have, or henceforth ought to have, any share. And I promise that I will perform all allegiance and subjection thereunto; and maintain the same with my fortunes and life, to the utmost of my power.”

The more moderate is the following :

“ Whereas, for the present, the supreme power in England [under which power I now am] is actually possessed and exercised by the house of Commons, without either King or Lords; I promise that, so long as I live under that power and protection, I will not contrive or attempt any act of hostility against them; but living quietly and peaceably under them, will endeavour myself, faithfully in my place and calling, to do, what every good member of a Commonwealth ought to do, for the safety of my country, and preservation of civil society therein¹.”

The Doctor, having “squeezed²” this latter sense out of the words of the Engagement, endeavours to prove that it was more probably the sense of the Imposers than the other, clearly contrary to the natural meaning of this security³; and to the intention of the Imposers⁴; evidently contrary to what he himself really thought of it⁵; and his manner of satisfying his querist is neither such as conscience and

¹ In this light Mr. Neal considers the Engagement: “The body of the common people being weary of the war, and willing to live quiet under any administration, submitted to the Engagement, as being little more than a promise not to attempt the subversion of the present government.”

Neal's History, Vol. IV. p. 10. 8vo Ed. 1738.

² Confessional, p. 307.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid. p. 309.

⁵ Ibid. p. 309.

good faith require¹; nor very consistent with his own judgement, four years before, concerning the taking of the Covenant². And thus he is sanguine enough to defend prevarication with state oaths³; and that the friends of Monarchy might equip themselves for posts of trust and power⁴ by passing through the Engagement, to grant them a dispensation to take it⁵.

WALTON.

Here is a heavy charge indeed exhibited, which I hope you will not be able to prove, against Bishop Sanderson; or else, farewell to the reputation, which he acquired, and which, as yet I believe, he merited. Your charge would hardly leave him common sense, if he could not discover what was so plain in itself, that the Imposers of the Engagement never intended it to be taken in the lower meaning which he has affixed to it. But being kind enough to save his judgement, at the expence of his sincerity, you assert, it is evident, that the Doctor himself did not believe this to be their intention.

HOMOLOGISTES.

Yes, Sir, this may be safely affirmed. For “did Dr. Sanderson really think, that the powers then in being were such fools and triflers, as probably to intend to put no other but this lower sense on the Engagement, or indeed to allow of that sense at all⁶.”

WALTON.

I can collect no more from this question, than that you yourself think it wise and important to bind

¹ Confessional, p. 304.

² Ibid. p. 302.

³ Ibid. p. 310.

⁴ Ibid. p. 311.

⁵ Ibid. p. 310.

⁶ Ibid. p. 309.

he conscience of the subject as tight as may be; but I hope only to the civil powers.

Dr. Sanderson thought otherwise. He was well satisfied, that the rulers of that time were wise and able politicians, and from thence inferred, that they were disposed to secure the obedience of the people by acts of moderation; and to gain upon their affections, and soften their aversions to a new form of government by gentle proceedings, which usually are most successful, and seem to have been highly expedient at that juncture in particular.

They, "who know the history of those times," must know, that the sitting Members were but a small part of the whole Parliament: and that not being forward to readmit those whom they had excluded, or to fill up their places by new elections; a jealousy, that they intended to perpetuate themselves, was working in the army, the great support of their authority, as well as among these excluded members, and in other parts of the community¹. It was prudent therefore to exact only such security for their power, as would least inflame this jealousy of their design. But besides a national suspicion, they had to deal with two large parties of men, neither of which according to their principles and oaths could acknowledge a Commonwealth to be *de jure*. The Royalists, though subdued, were numerous; the Covenanters were both numerous and powerful. A government of politicians would well consider, whether they should impose such terms upon these two parties as might drive the former to desperation, and utterly irreconcile the lat-

¹ Bates Elenchus Motuum, Part II. p. 5. Whitelock's Memorials, p. 436, Ed. 1732. Walker's History of Independency, Part II. p. 161, 207.

ter; or only such as might secure to them the submission of both. The latter seems evidently the wiser measure; and hence a high probability, that they were contented, this lower should be the declared sense of the Engagement. In this sense it would sufficiently bind the conscientious to submission: and of what real service was it, to urge such men any further?

“ A man of principle will never be driven to make use of quirks and subtilties, till he finds himself bound to some unreasonable and unrighteous conditions. And they, who desire such quirks and subtilties should not be made use of, should be careful not to lay snares or stumbling blocks in the way of honest men, that they may be under no temptation to prevaricate¹.”

HOMOLOGISTES.

“ The latter part of this observation we readily allow.” But the arguments, which Dr. Sanderson brings “ to prove that this lower was more probably the sense of the Imposers than the other, can be looked upon in no better light, than of an attempt to insult the common sense of all mankind².”

WALTON.

However let me have leave to repeat some of these reprobated arguments. Perhaps, Sir, upon a second hearing, you may be able to extend the candid approbation to a few of Dr. Sanderson's reasons, with which you have favoured a part of mine.

¹ Confessional, p. 197.

² Ibid. p. 308.

'The point at present before us is, whether there is any good ground for believing, that the lower sense of the Engagement was more probably the declared sense of the Imposers of it? And with the arguments which he brings in support of this opinion I shall take the liberty to intermix a few observations of my own. One argument is this: "That it hath
 " been often affirmed, both publicly and privately
 " in several parts of the kingdom (if we may believe
 " either common fame, or the reports of sundry
 " credible particular persons) by those that have per-
 " suaded or prest others to subscribe; that the same
 " is the very true intent and meaning of it, and no
 " other¹."

An affair happened, just ten months before the answering of this case, that afforded a very substantial reason for affirming thus much; and it was of so public, and at that time of so interesting a nature, that it must be generally known.

In February 1649-50, Fairfax, then General of the army, subscribed the Engagement, as one of the council of state²; and he subscribed it in his own sense. As he was a friend to monarchy, both by inclination³,

¹ Case, p. 107.

² Whitelock's Memorials, p. 442.

³ See *Short Memorials of Thomas Lord Fairfax written by himself*, London 1699, 8vo. "If you find me carried on with
 " this stream, I can truly say, it was by the violence of it, ra-
 " ther than my own consent." p. 108. "This way being made
 " by the sword, the trial of the King was easier for them to ac-
 " complish. My afflicted and troubled mind for it, and my
 " earnest endeavours to prevent it, will, I hope, sufficiently
 " testify my dislike, and abhorrence of the fact." p. 121. "All
 " the power being got into the army, they cut up the root of
 " kingly government; after this were engagements made to
 " abolish that title. Then was war declared against Scotland
 " for assisting the King, and several leagues made with foreign
 " princes to confederate with their new government, which was
 " now a commonwealth, against the kingly power. All this I

"saw

and the ties of the Covenant¹, his own sense must have been very near allied to this lower sense. But Fairfax's sense of the Engagement, you will say, was not the sense of the Parliament, the Imposers of this oath. If it was not originally, they made it so by their own declaration; for the House voted—That his taking of it in that manner, was a taking of it within the late act for subscribing of the Engagement. They likewise ordered that the Speaker should send that vote to the General in a letter.

But let us hear Dr. Sanderson again: “If the Imposers had been minded to have declared an intent of binding to more, they might easily have framed the words, so as not to be capable of a construction binding to less.”

In this intent of binding to more they could be explicit enough, when they were so minded; as appears by the following Engagement of a later date:

“I A. B. do hereby declare, that I do renounce the pretended title of Charles Stuart, and the

“saw with grief and sorrow, and though I had as much the love of the army as ever, and was with great importunity solicited by that remaining parliament and soldiers to continue my command; and though I might, so long as I acted their designs, have attained to what height of power and other advantages I pleased; yet by the mercies and goodness of God, I did, so long as I continued in the army, oppose all those ways in their councils, and when I could do no more, I then declined their actions.” p. 126.

¹ See the third article of the Covenant. The Parliament, in answer to Charles the Second's Letter to them from Breda, speaking of Charles the First, declare, that they “had vowed and covenanted for the defence and safety of that Person.”

Clarendon's Hist. Vol. III. p. 592. Fol.

That Fairfax had taken the Covenant, we are expressly told by Sir Philip Warwick in his Memoirs. See p. 355, 356.

“whole

“ whole line of the late King James, and of every
 “ other person, as a single person, pretending to
 “ the government of these nations of England, Scot-
 “ land, and Ireland, and the dominions and terri-
 “ tories thereunto belonging: and that I will, by the
 “ grace and assistance of Almighty God, be true,
 “ faithful, and constant, to this Commonwealth,
 “ against any King, single person, and House of
 “ Peers, and every of them; and hereunto I sub-
 “ scribe my name¹.”

The passing of this latter Engagement was ten years after the former. And even then the parliament did not venture at once to impose so absolute a renunciation of Monarchy, and acknowledgement of their own sovereignty (this Commonwealth) upon the nation in general; but were content that it should be taken by members of Parliament², officers of the army, and other persons in places of trust³. The higher tone, in which it speaks, illustrates another observation of Dr. Sanderson, which you will hear presently in his own words: that governors, who come in upon such a footing and with such a title as these did, are apt to recommend themselves by moderation and indulgence in the outset of their power.

Dr. Sanderson proceeds: “ That (as it is also
 “ credibly reported) whilst the form of the words
 “ was under debate, the opinion of those, that
 “ would have had it set higher, was not followed,
 “ as held unseasonable; and the vote carried for
 “ the more moderate expression wherein it now
 “ standeth³.”

¹ Whitelock's Memorials, p. 683.

² Salmon's Chronologic. Hist. 2d Jan. 1659-60.

³ Whitelock's Mem. p. 683.

⁴ Case, p. 108.

HOMOLOGISTES.

Here let me remark that the force of this reason depends upon a fact, concerning which Dr. Sander-son does not venture to affirm more, than that it was credibly reported.

WALTON.

It is very true, Sir, he does not; which surely is an argument of ingenuous as well as cautious proceeding. He would not deceive his querist by asserting beyond his knowledge; and, I believe, it was his constant maxim, a maxim well worth observing, not to be positive in affirming but upon clear evidence.

Yet certainly the report has all the credibility, that is assigned it. For among the sitting members of that very parliament there were some persons of great abilities, weight, and eminence, who considered their commonwealth as a temporary, not an established, polity; and judged that without a mixture of Monarchy it would be very difficult so to settle the government of this nation as not to shake the foundation of our laws, and the liberties of the people. Dec. 10th, 1651, there was a meeting at the Speaker's house by desire of Cromwell, who then held it necessary "to come to a settlement of "the nation." And here Mr. Lenthal the Speaker concurred with Mr. St. John the chief Justice, Sir Thomas Widdrington, and Mr. Whitelock; who declared themselves strongly in favour of a mixed Monarchy¹. Nor could the two latter have any view of gratifying the ambition of Cromwell in thus

¹ Life of Whitelock, among the Lives of the Lord Chancellors, p. 146. Whitelock's Mem. p. 516.

giving their opinion, but rather ran some risque of displeasing him by their proposal of calling in a son of the late king's upon proper terms. Men of such sentiments would use their endeavours, that the wording of the Engagement should be moderate, and would vote for it in the lower sense, that they might not bind up their hands from promoting, on a proper occasion, such a settlement as they deemed necessary for this kingdom.

Others might be induced to take the moderate side of the question on such considerations as have been already suggested, but of which you will permit me to give you a fuller view in Dr. Sanderson's own words.

“ That it is a received maxim of political prudence,
 “ for all new governors (especially those that either
 “ introduce a new form of government, or come in
 “ upon a questionable title) to abstain from all harsh
 “ proceedings, even against those, whom they know
 “ to be evil affected to their power, and not so much
 “ as to exasperate them (though it be in the power
 “ of their hands to destroy them) especially in the
 “ beginning of their government, but rather to
 “ sweeten them into a better opinion of their persons,
 “ and to win upon them by acts of grace and oblivion
 “ (for *Remissius imperanti melius paretur.* Senec.
 “ 1. *De Clem.* 24) so as they may have but any to-
 “ lerable kind of assurance from them in the mean
 “ time of living quietly and peaceably under them.
 “ We have no reason therefore to believe that the
 “ Imposers of this Engagement who have acted the
 “ parts of the greatest politicians so perfectly and
 “ successfully hitherto, as to possess themselves so
 “ fully of the supreme power of so great and flou-
 “ rishing a kingdom in so few years, would be so
 “ impolitic as not to proceed by the same rules, that
 “ al

“ all wise and successful persons have ever practised
 “ in the managing, and for the establishing of an ac-
 “ quired power ¹.”

Thus Dr. Sanderson ; who, among the wise and successful politicians of that time, could not but have Cromwell in his thoughts ; who had then gained such an ascendant, as to have the chief direction of all public affairs in his hands. And though he was lately gone to Ireland, when the Engagement was enacted in its first form ² ; yet it is most reasonable to believe, that he had been consulted, and would recommend the like temperament, as he himself had shown on a recent occasion. For in February 1648-9, the House of Commons formed an oath for all who were to be admitted members of the Council of State ³, in which they were to declare : “ That
 “ they approved of what the House of Commons and
 “ the high Court of Justice had done against the
 “ King, and of their abolishing of kingly govern-
 “ ment and the House of Peers, and that the legis-
 “ lative and supreme power was wholly in the House
 “ of Commons.” But Cromwell, who depended on other means for the advancement of his greatness, and wished not to alienate those, whom it was not necessary to offend, procured to have the oath so altered and qualified, as to express only a promise of adherence to a Commonwealth, and fidelity to the House of Commons, without any direct acknowledgment of their right, or approbation of what had been done by them. And it is highly probable, that

¹ Case, p. 108.

² 1649, Aug. 13. Cromwell set sail for Ireland. Sept. 5. There was a debate in the House of a new oath and engagement to the present government, which was passed the next day for mayors, justices of the peace, and other officers. See Whitlock's Memorials, p. 424.

³ Walker's History of Independency, Part 2. p. 129, 130.

his political moderation would influence those, who were governed by him, in the wording of the Engagement.

.0'

As you know so well the history of those times, I must now beg the favour of you to review your censure; and to consider once more, whether the arguments, which Dr. Sanderson urges from acknowledged principles of state policy, and from matter of fact, for the probability of his opinion, "can be looked upon in no better light, than of an attempt to insult the common sense of all mankind."

HOMOLOGISTES.

It is too evident from the Doctor's own words in this very tract, that he did not believe his lower sense to be the sense probably intended, or indeed such as would be allowed by the Imposers¹.

WALTON.

If he was acquainted with the affair of General Fairfax, of which he could scarce be ignorant, he must more than believe, that the Imposers would allow of a latitude of interpretation; he must know, that they had given it their sanction. And if it appear to others, as it does to me, that there is some force in the arguments, which I have in part recited, it is but as equitable for you to think him sincere in alledging them, as for me to believe, that you are serious in raising objections, the grounds of which I am unable to discern. What then has he let fall in some other part of his tract, clear and express enough, to justify your peremptory charge of insincerity upon so worthy a man?

¹ See Confessional, p. 309.

HOMOLOGISTES.

“ He intreats his correspondent to take care, that
 “ no copies of his paper should get abroad, lest the
 “ potent party, says he, in consideration of some
 “ things therein hinted, might think the words of the
 “ Engagement too light, and might thence take occa-
 “ sion to lay some heavier obligation upon the roy-
 “ alists, in words that would oblige to more.

“ Could the Casuist have entertained any suspi-
 “ cion of this sort, had he really and sincerely thought
 “ the lower construction was the sense intended by
 “ the potent party ¹?”

WALTON.

Was it not very natural, and prudent for a man in the power of his conquerors, to be fearful of giving them offence; and to be the more cautious, if he thought they had granted him some indulgence, lest they should recall it? I may more fairly draw a conclusion, the very reverse of what you deduce, from these words; and urge them as a further proof, that he really and sincerely thought what he spoke. For why this dread of a new Engagement obliging to more, but because he was persuaded, that the present did not oblige to more? Had he not proceeded in the integrity of his heart in considering the case before him, but been resolved to “ provide ways of “ escaping” the force of every Engagement which the potent party could devise; he had no reason to be afraid of one more particular and explicit; for “ a “ longer must be capable of still more constructions².” It had been a sort of slacker rope, on which a nimble practicer might have shown more feats of activity.

¹ Confessional, p. 309.

² Ibid, p. 303.

But

But Bishop Sanderson was not such a practicer upon his own or other men's consciences. He might err in judgement, "but in his spirit there was no "guile¹."

HOMOLOGISTES.

This spirit without guile does not so much appear in the present instance. For if he had proceeded with his querist, as "conscience and good faith require," "The short and true answer to the question had been, If you are under any uncertainty concerning the meaning of any expressions in the Engagement, consult the imposers, and govern yourself by their interpretation²."

WALTON.

If this is spoken in the spirit, as it is with the air, of infallibility, what more can be said for Dr. Sanderson, than that in giving his opinion, in the most questionable part, he gives it modestly, and humbly? And on this consideration perhaps "a good natured man would throw a cloak over it."

HOMOLOGISTES.

Yes, "if he could find one large enough to cover it." But in our looms they are not woven to such extension.

WALTON.

Let us then see whether it stand in want of this covering, or need blush to appear in open day light.

¹ Life of Sanderson, p. 52.

² Confessional, p. 303.

The principle, on which he proceeds, is first laid down in general to this purpose :

“ If the intention of the Imposer be not so fully
 “ declared by the words and the nature of the busi-
 “ ness, but that the same words may, in fair con-
 “ struction, be still capable of a double meaning, so
 “ as, taken in one sense, they shall bind to more,
 “ and in another to less ; I conceive in such case, it
 “ is not necessary, nor always expedient (but rather
 “ for the most part otherwise) for the promiser, be-
 “ fore he give faith, to demand of the imposer,
 “ whether of the two is his meaning? But he may
 “ by the rule of prudence, and that (for ought I see)
 “ without the violation of any law of conscience,
 “ make his just advantage of that ambiguity, and
 “ take it in the same sense, which shall bind to the
 “ less ¹.”

But before he applies this principle to the Engage-
 ment, he supposes the ambiguity to be not acci-
 dental, but designed by the framer of the oath.
 And in this case he is clear, and decisive in his opi-
 nion.

“ If,” says he, “ it shall happen (as often it
 “ cometh to pass, when we have to deal with cunning
 “ men, and may possibly be the case now, and un-
 “ doubtedly was so in the business of the Protesta-
 “ tion, when the time was) That he, that requireth
 “ the faith to be given, do of purpose so contrive
 “ words, that there may be left an ambiguity, and
 “ latitude of sense therein ; yea, and that it be very
 “ probable, and in a manner apparent (upon the
 “ consideration of the point of interest, or other
 “ strong presumptions arising from circumstances or

¹ Case, p. 98.

“ other-

“ otherwise) even to the apprehension of the promiser
“ himself, that he hath some further reach in re-
“ quiring that promise from him, some more remote
“ and secret intention, than he is willing to discover ;
“ in that case what is to be done? I answer, that
“ the promiser in such case is no ways obliged, in
“ giving his faith, to take notice of any such secret
“ intention ; but is at liberty to make use of that
“ latitude of sense, which the other did rather chuse
“ to leave undetermined, than restrain ; and so to
“ turn the other’s cunning dealing to his own advan-
“ tage, by taking it in the more favourable construc-
“ tion, and that which bindeth to less. For it is
“ *the declared intention* only (namely, That which
“ the words, according to the common use of speech,
“ do in relation to the nature of the subject most
“ naturally and properly represent to the under-
“ standing of reasonable men, when they hear them)
“ and not the remote, secret, and *reserved intent*,
“ which the promiser is obliged unto. The reason
“ whereof is manifest ; because he, that requireth
“ faith to be given from another by words of his own
“ contriving, is ever presumed so to have determined
“ the sense thereof, in the contrivance of the words,
“ as may sufficiently declare, what he intendeth the
“ promiser should assure him to perform. If there-
“ fore he have not so determined the words, as to
“ signify *the more*, it is in all reason to be presumed,
“ that he intendeth to oblige him but to *the less*.
“ For being at liberty to make his own choice of
“ words, whereby to express his own meaning ; who
“ can think otherwise, but that he would make the
“ choice with respect to his own interest? And
“ therefore though he might have a secret desire,
“ which he is loth to discover, that the promiser
“ should be bound to *the more*, and would be mar-
“ vellously well pleased, that he should so under-
“ stand the words, as if they intended to bind him to
“ *the*

“ *the more* : yet since it had been so easy a matter
 “ for him, by adding or altering a few words, to
 “ have declared that intent, if he had thought it
 “ conducive to his own ends ; it will be presumed
 “ also, that it was out of respect of self-interest,
 “ that he forbore so to do, and chose rather to leave
 “ his meaning in such general words, as will not ex-
 “ clude the sense, which bindeth but to *the less* ; and
 “ consequently that his declared intent obligeth to
 “ no more but to *the less only* ¹.”

I have now, Sir, given you Dr. Sanderson’s determination of the point, when it is thus circumstanced, with his reasons at large. And I am not disposed to contest the justness of his decision, till I hear better arguments against it, than what he hath offered for it. With such you have not yet furnished me ².

But suppose for a while, that it had been right to advise with the imposers of the Engagement, if reasonable satisfaction might be had concerning the meaning of it, are you sure that such satisfaction could be obtained by consulting them ?

HOMOLOGISTES.

“ Cases might have happened, where the intention
 “ of the imposer was doubtful, and where the im-
 “ poser himself could not be come at. In the pre-
 “ sent instance the imposers were living, easily found,
 “ and capable of explaining their own meaning with
 “ the greatest precision ³.”

¹ Case, p. 99.

² Bp. Sanderson proposes and answers a question about consulting the imposer of an oath, first in a general way, and then secondly under a certain limitation. Some pains are taken in the Confessional to combat his opinion in the former instance, but no notice is taken of it in the latter. Yet it is here *only*, that he is solicitous to maintain his doctrine, or positive in affirming it.

³ Confessional, p. 304.

WALTON.

I know you are too much the friend of reason to expect, that I should abide by mere authority, great even as your own.

Let us examine a little how the matter is. The querist must have consulted the imposers either in Parliament, or out of it. But before you send him to the Parliament for satisfaction, you ought to be well assured that they did not originally intend a latitude in the sense of the Engagement, or at least had not eventually declared such a latitude. If they intended it originally, they would hardly have been more explicit with our querist. That they had eventually declared it, is evident. The vote, which they had passed relating to general Fairfax, was either an explication of what was first designed, or else a grant of more liberty to the subject; a vote of the House of Commons being then a law of the realm; for they had constituted themselves the three estates, the whole legislature, and great name of England. You should show me also, that it is usual for a private person to apply to the legislature, that they would be so good as to satisfy his doubts, and resolve him more explicitly, what they mean by the statute, which they have enacted. This, I presume, is not often done. But whatever propriety there might have been in doing it at first, it appears to me, that the season for it was over.

“Will you subscribe the Engagement, or will you not? Determine speedily; for the matter will admit of no more delays¹.” This was the language, I apprehend, in which it was now tendered to the querist. He must therefore have consulted the imposers

¹ See below.

of it severally. But have members of the legislature a right, out of Parliament, of fixing the sense of a law? Do lawyers consult them, or judges appeal to them, if a doubt arise upon a new statute, for their authoritative decision of it? If one member of that Parliament had a right to ascertain the sense of the Engagement, the same right had another. And in consequence of consulting several of them, a man might have found himself obliged to contradictory acts of obedience. They, who designed that the civil power of Parliament should predominate, entertained one idea of the new republic, and of the adequate object of the people's obedience; and the military men, who intended to govern people and parliament by the army, another¹.

The great lawyers, who wished that the ancient laws might govern, required a mixture of Monarchy. Some, under the specious name of Parliament, meant only their own power and that of a few others, which they purposed to perpetuate, and, like the thirty tyrants of Athens, to fix it upon the ruins of the old constitution, and in exclusion of their fellow-citizens. Others, we may suppose, more generous and patriotic, thought it equitable, that a free people should from time to time exercise a right of choosing their governors². These parties of the Imposers, according to their several views, would have given explications of what they meant by the Commonwealth, and the measure of obedience due to it, much more opposite to each other, than what Dr. Sanderson hath "squeezed out." And this great

¹ "The chief members of the army were the chief leading men, both in the House of Commons and Council of State." Warwick's Memoirs, p. 363.

See also Walker's Hist. of Independency, part 2. p. 138.

² See Whitelock's Memorials, p. 413. under Feb. 26.

precision, so confidently expected from them, would probably have ended in the greater perplexity of the querist.

HOMOLOGISTES.

It cannot however be denied, if we compare what Dr. Sanderson says about the Engagement with what he had taught concerning the Covenant¹, that he is little consistent with his own judgment four years before, when he declared²: That to take the Covenant in our own sense, contrary to the design of the Covenant, or with such salvoes,—as far as lawfully I may—as is agreeable to the word of God, and the laws of the land—saving all oaths by me formerly taken, &c.—was utterly unlawful. * * * *

“ If the Parliament would have allowed of, or
 “ connived at, these salvoes (as I think the Oxford
 “ men took it for granted) we see here was the *mens*
 “ *imponentis*, the tacit consent at least of the in-
 “ posers, on the side of those, who took it with
 “ these reserves. And yet we find these casuists
 “ were not for making use of this indulgence, be-
 “ cause contrary to the plain and express words, as
 “ well as the design, of the Covenant. They ac-
 “ cordingly condemn the practice, as jesuitical, full
 “ of vile hypocrisy, perverting the nature and end
 “ of an oath, abusing the end of speech, and highly
 “ scandalous to the protestant name³.”

WALTON.

If by the Oxford men you understand those who composed the judgement of the University, it appears to me, that they had no such thing in view as

¹ See Confessional, p. 300. ² Ibid. p. 301. ³ Ibid. p. 302.

the avowed or tacit consent of the Parliament to the salvoes, which they condemn ; but designed to guard against mental reservation.—But perhaps you have somewhat further to urge in proof of Dr. Sanderson's inconsistency.

HOMOLOGISTES.

“ In the beginning of this case of conscience, the
 “ learned Doctor offers something, by way of show-
 “ ing that the solemn League and Covenant, being
 “ expressly contrary to the oaths of allegiance, was
 “ not lawfully to be taken by any man, who had
 “ taken such oaths, or was persuaded such allegi-
 “ ance was due. Which he seems to have men-
 “ tioned, lest his Oxford divinity upon the Covenant
 “ should be applied to the case of the Engagement.
 “ The difference between these two casès, however,
 “ consists singly and solely in these probabilities he
 “ mentions, that the framers of the Engagement in-
 “ tended this lower sense, which, no doubt, he
 “ thought to be consistent with the querist's allegi-
 “ ance to King Charles¹.”

WALTON.

All this from the mouth of so able an objector must certainly mean something ; which to the best of my comprehension is to this effect :

That the Engagement, which Dr. Sanderson admitted of, was in reality as repugnant to his notions of allegiance, as the Covenant, which he had rejected. The difference between them, with regard to allegiance, consisting singly and solely in these his probabilities about the sense of the former :

¹ Confessional, p. 308.

And that in order to make this sense, that is, the lower sense of the Engagement passable, he hath recourse to a method of interpreting an oath, which he had before condemned.

The question then is, not whether he differed from other good and worthy men in the opinions, which he held on either occasion, but whether he disagreed with himself?

The Engagement¹, in the lower sense, was such an oath as is taken by the citizens of a conquered town, which binds them to a peaceable submission to their new master; and, while he continues so, restrains them from giving any assistance to their former. But if their town is reconquered, or ceded back, the new obligation ceases, and the duty of allegiance again becomes operative.

Whether a good subject, who had taken the oaths to King Charles and his heirs, might act this neutral part, in order to preserve his family and fortunes, was here the question: which if Dr. Sanderson seem to yield to the querist, it is certainly a very different concession from the admitting of the Covenant, which had engaged the subject in an actual resistance of his sovereign, and, according to Sanderson's ideas, had an aptness and tendency so to do. Charles I. as he urges in "his Oxford divinity²," had by proclamation forbidden the taking of the Covenant; but Charles II. as he intimates in this tract, did tacitly allow the subscribing of the Engagement. And does all this make no difference between these two cases, but what consists singly and solely in these probabilities he mentions?

¹ Case, p. 103.

² Judgement of the University of Oxford. Sect. II.

The meaning of the Engagement being examined, and the lower sense of it established upon grounds of the greater probability, a question occurs: Whether a royalist was sufficiently warranted by this greater probability to subscribe it without consulting the imposers? In reasoning upon which, does Dr. Sanderson now deny, that an oath is to be taken according to their declared intention¹; or had he before asserted, that it was always necessary to consult them, in what sense they would choose to have it taken? Where then is his inconsistency with his own principles, in being decisive against the Covenant, and dubious about the Engagement?

HOMOLOGISTES.

Say, if you will, dubious. But it is certain, he, good man, had taken no ordinary pains, that his querist should have no doubts or scruples about it². And then he concludes his case thus: "If any man out of these considerations rather than suffer——

WALTON.

For once, Sir, pardon me, if I interrupt you speaking; and, if you will have the conclusion of the case, give me leave to repeat it entire; that we may have a little further help for judging, whether Dr. Sanderson's own words and sentiments give us altogether the same idea of him, which you have suggested.

"Out of all these premises³ together (weighing
" [*read waving*⁴] my positive conclusion, either af-

¹ See Case, p. 97.

² See Confessional, p. 310.

³ Case, p. 110.

⁴ In the edition of 1668 the word is *waying*; in the following editions it is altered to *weighing*. But the easier, and certainly the

“ firmative or negative, touching the lawfulness or
 “ unlawfulness of the subscribing in universali) I
 “ shall declare my opinion only in these few follow-
 “ ing particulars: I. “ That it is not lawful for any
 “ man to take the Engagement with a resolution to
 “ break it:

II. “ That therefore, whosoever thinketh the
 “ words of the Engagement do contain a promise of
 “ any thing, which is not lawful for him to per-
 “ form, cannot take it with a good conscience:

III. “ That whosoever so understandeth the words
 “ of the Engagement, as if they did oblige him to any
 “ thing contrary to his allegiance, or render him un-
 “ able to act according thereunto, upon any season-
 “ able emerging occasion, cannot with a good con-
 “ science take it:

IV. “ That if any man for any temporal benefit,
 “ or avoiding any temporal damage, shall take the
 “ Engagement with a doubting conscience (that is,
 “ before he is persuaded in his judgement, upon
 “ some probable ground of reason, that it is lawful
 “ for him so to do) he sinneth therein:

V. “ That if any man after a serious desire of in-
 “ forming himself as rightly as he can, what are the
 “ duties of his allegiance on the one side, and what
 “ is most probably the meaning intended by the
 “ words of the Engagement on the other side, shall
 “ find himself well satisfied in this persuasion, that the
 “ performance in the mean time of what is required
 “ by the Engagement, so understood, is no way
 “ contrary (for any thing he can discern for the pre-

the right, emendation is *waving*; the sense of which is expressed
 by the Latin Translator:

“ Ut nequid positivi sive affirmando sive negando concludam,
 utrum in universali liceat subscribere vel non liceat.”

“ sent)

“ sent) to his bounden *allegiance*, so long as he is
 “ under such a force as that he cannot exercise it,
 “ and likewise that whensoever that force is so re-
 “ moved from him, or he from under it, as that he
 “ hath power to act according to his *allegiance*,
 “ the obligation of the Engagement of itself deter-
 “ mineth, and expireth : and out of these considera-
 “ tions, rather than suffer extreme prejudice, in his
 “ person, estate, or necessary relations, shall sub-
 “ scribe the Engagement : since his own heart con-
 “ demneth him not, neither will I.”

HOMOLOGISTES.

Thus instructed, there is little question to be made, but that the prejudiced querist took the Engagement, while many of the Presbyterians refused it. And indeed, “ if we may believe Dr. Calamy, “ they were more scrupulous about taking it than “ the Episcopalians. The famous Mr. Richard “ Vines was, for refusing that security, put out of “ the headship of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, as “ was Dr. Rainbow at another College in the same “ University¹. Dr. Reynolds² forfeited the Deanery “ of Christ-Church, Oxford, on the same account.

¹ Confessional, p. 311. Note.

Dr. Calamy's words, V. I. p. 63, of his Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's Life, are: “ But the moderate church party, and the “ presbyterians, refused it.” And Dr. Rainbow is an instance of the former sort. See Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part 2. p. 151.

² What Dr. Calamy here says concerning Dr. Reynolds is true, but not the whole truth; a part of what Mr. Baxter himself hath related being suppressed:

“ Poor Dr. Reynolds had the hardest measure; for when he “ refused to take the Engagement, his place was forfeited; and “ afterwards they drew him in to take it in hopes to keep his “ place (which was no less than the Deanery of Christ-Church) “ and then turned him out of all, and offered his place to Mr. “ Jos. Caryl; but, he refusing it, it was conferred on Dr. Owen, “ to whom it was continued from year to year.” Baxter's Life, Part 1. p. 64.

Mr.

“ (Abridgement, 62, 63.) Mr. Baxter, we are told, “ (ibid. 104.) dissuaded men from taking it, wrote against the taking it, and declared to those, who were for putting quibbling constructions on it, that the subject’s allegiance, or fidelity to his rulers, could not be acknowledged and given in plainer words * * *. But let us not forget the excellent Dr. Barrow on this occasion, who, when the Engagement was imposed, subscribed it; but, upon second thoughts, repenting of what he had done, he applied himself to the Commissioners, declared his dissatisfaction, and prevailed to have his name razed out of the list.”

WALTON.

From my heart I commend every honest man of every denomination, who prefers his conscience to his fortunes; or with decency declares against what his judgement tells him is unlawful. In particular, I admire the integrity of Dr. Barrow, as expressed in his life, and, together with genius, learning, and piety, all super-eminent, in his writings.

HOMOLOGISTES.

“ Most people will think Barrow as good a casuist as Sanderson ¹.”

Mr. Baxter declared very early against taking the Engagement; for he tells us, *ib.*: “ The first hour that I heard of it, being in company with some gentlemen of Worcestershire, I presently wrote down above twenty queries against it, &c.” This was before the House of Commons had given their sanction to Fairfax’s manner of taking it. Had he decided nothing, till this event had happened, and properly attended to it, he might perhaps have been less peremptory in his judgement.

Confessional, p. 312. Note.

WALTON.

And many, I believe, will esteem Sanderson as good a casuist as Barrow, in the point where the comparison lies between them, that is, in their behaviour on this occasion. For Dr. Sanderson himself refused to subscribe the Engagement¹, or to put the allegiance, which he thought he owed his Sovereign, under any restraints.—Deprived of his professorship, obnoxious to the potent party, insulted and plundered by their soldiers, incumbered with a family, declining in age, he bore with submission and peace of mind the long continuance of his discomforts. For it was not two years before the Restoration, that Mr. Robert Boyle became acquainted with his worth, or at least with his wants, which he then contrived in a very genteel manner to alleviate². Mr. Boyle, “a gentleman of a very noble birth, and “more eminent for his liberality, learning, and “virtue³,” had his talents for casuistical Divinity in as much esteem, as the great Archbishop Usher, who thus expressed his opinion of him⁴: “I proposed the ease to the judicious Dr. Sanderson, “who grasped all the circumstances of it, and returned that happy answer, that met all my “thoughts, satisfied all my scruples, and cleared all “my doubts.”

¹ See Bp. Morley's Tracts, in his Answer to Father Cressy's Letter, p. 15. Biograph. Britan. in Sanderson.

² “In the year 1659 Mr. Boyle being acquainted with the circumstances of the learned Dr. Robert Sanderson, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, who had lost all his preferments on account of his attachment to the royal party, he conferred upon him an honorary stipend of fifty pounds a year. This stipend was given as an encouragement to that excellent master of reasoning to apply himself to the writing of *Cases of conscience*.” Dr. Birch's Life of Mr. Boyle, p. 121. 8vo.

³ Walton's Life of Bishop Sanderson, p. 38.

⁴ David Lloyd's Memoirs of excellent Personages, p. 536. Fol.

HOMOLOGISTES.

So happy a faculty of satisfying scruples, and clearing doubts, one would think, might have been better employed, than in teaching the Cavaliers and Presbyterians to temporize, “by passing through the Engagement, which in its obvious meaning would not go down with numbers of them¹.”

WALTON.

It is not probable, that a person of strict virtue and piety from his early days, and now in his grand Climacteric, would submit to do what you disdain: that he, who had sacrificed the world to his own conscience, would tempt his friends to sacrifice theirs to the world; or would expect a blessing from the great Disposer of all things, whom he set always before him, upon unjustifiable means of promoting any cause whatsoever. But if these are only probabilities, let a plain tale be now offered on my part:

In September 1649, the Parliament passed an act for administering an oath to mayors, justices of the peace, and other officers, which was conceived exactly in the words of the Engagement, only with the addition of a promise, “well and truly to execute their respective magistracies or offices².”

The Parliament next ordered the Engagement to be taken by the army.

Towards the end of December in the same year the act was passed³, and was published in the beginning of the next month⁴: “For taking the En-

¹ See Confessional, p. 311.

² Whitelock's Memorials, p. 424. ³ Ib p. 436. ⁴ Ib. p. 437.

“gement

“ gagement by all persons throughout the kingdom.
 “ with a penalty upon the refusers: those in office
 “ or public employments to lose their offices; others
 “ not to have the benefit of law to sue in any court.”

This act immediately affected all persons in office or public employments, who must either resign their places, or subscribe the Engagement. It was a critical time with those, who wished to reconcile their posts of trust and power with the Engagement. Yet Dr. Sanderson, cautious of giving any opinion, left them to the direction of their own consciences in taking or refusing it. Others wrote on each side of the question ¹, while he was silent.

But in October, 1650, order was sent for the several committees to tender the Engagement to the inhabitants of the several parishes, and to return the names of the subscribers to the Lords Commissioners of the great Seal ².

This was the first instance of tendering the Engagement; which was thus brought home to the consciences of private persons, who had no office or employment, but only their own property at stake. The order, being executed with some rigour, appears to have occasioned the case and answer in question.

A royalist desirous of avoiding extreme prejudice to his person, estate, and family, by taking the En-

¹ Among the tracts composed at that time on the subject of the Engagement, Dr. Sanderson mentions one, of which he gives this account: “ I acknowledge to have received much light
 “ and satisfaction from a discourse written by a learned, judi-
 “ cious, and pious friend, whereof I lately had the perusal;
 “ but for some reasons, not thought fit to be published.” Case, p. 96.

² Whitelock's Memorials, p. 475.

gement, if lawfully he might, dispatches an express messenger on a journey of several days, in the depth of winter, to Dr. Sanderson, with some questions concerning the Engagement, earnestly requesting an answer to them¹. Friendship, and indeed common humanity, required, that an answer should be returned; which was accordingly done December 20th, 1650, and the purport of it hath been sufficiently seen.

And now, where is this encouragement given to the friends of the exiled King to prevaricate? If they had disliked the terms of retaining their posts, the thunder of the Engagement had already spent its shafts upon them. Did he then, in his zeal for the monarchy, let them go out of power, to try if he could persuade them to come in again? Or, having seen the evil of past scruples, did he mean to provide a remedy for the future? If this case had been in the hands of every royalist throughout the kingdom, could any one of them, who put his conscience under Dr. Sanderson's direction, have found encouragement in it to take the Engagement for the sake of public employment? I am persuaded, not: if he well weighed the concluding part, and would be restrained by the limits there fixed. For Dr. Sanderson having set forth allegiance as a constant duty of the subject to his sovereign, and considered the Engagement as suspending the actual exertion of this duty, in conclusion supposes the querist to subscribe it only on account of preserving his family and private fortunes. And hence they, who would abide strictly by his judgement, must think themselves precluded from putting their allegiance into these fetters for the sake of obtaining honours and profit.

¹ See the Case, p. 89.

But was his determination of the case in fact so notorious, or intended to be so? It was contained in a private letter, extorted from him by the intreaties of a friend, and sent under an injunction of not letting any copy of it go forth¹. Could such a letter, whatever the contents of it had been, come under the notion of a dispensation designed for general use²? for so you represent the matter³. But what dispensation does it grant even to the single person to whom it is addressed; unless it be, that in a doubtful case it allows him to be directed by his own conscience, rather than by the conduct of his adviser? Of such dispensations St. Paul himself seems to approve.

HOMOLOGISTES.

Paul undoubtedly does say, “Who art thou that judgest another man’s servant? To his own master he standeth or falleth⁴.”

WALTON.

Upon the whole then, I may justly say, that every part of what you have alledged against Bishop Sanderson is destitute of the Proofs, upon which such an accusation of any, much more of a just and good, man ought to be founded. And nothing can be laid to his charge in this instance, but that he felt more for the distresses of a friend, than his own; and was willing, if it could honestly be done, that this friend

¹ See Case, p. 112.

² An edition of *Five cases of conscience* determined by Bishop Sanderson had an Imprimatur in 1665; and was printed in 1667; but the *Case of the Engagement* was not in this edition, probably because it was less known among those who respected his memory and writings; though the subject of it had once been of general importance to them.

³ Confessional, p. 310, 311.

⁴ Romans, xiv. 4.

should enjoy the benefit which he renounced, and escape the damage, to which he made himself liable by his nonsubscription. If this was an infirmity, it seems to be the infirmity of a noble mind: if it was a wrong, yet, if your friend deserve the character which you have given him of a candid judge, he will easily forgive him this wrong.

HOMOLOGISTES.

Whatever may become of Dr. Robert Sanderson, I can certainly make good the character which I have given of my worthy friend's candour, even to a degree of that infirmity which you deem so noble. There was a certain set of worthies, whom he has also called before him, and might have treated with some severity; because among all their splendours as "sons of truth and liberty," they were "vulnerable in one point." But he hath not taken the advantage, which was taken of the son of Thetis, who through the fault of his "venerable mother"¹ being mortal also in one part, as the Poets feign, was there transfix'd. Unwilling to tarnish the laurels which they had gained, he gently shows them their errors without censure of their characters; lamenting only with a certain fatherly tenderness, that they should have obtained wealth and dignities in the church "on conditions which must have been imposed upon them with some violence to their inclinations"².

WALTON.

A judge so flowing with generous compassion for worthies, who a little hurt their *inclinations* for their

¹ Iliad. B. xxiv. v. 126. Thetis is styled Πολυὰ μητέρα, or venerable mother.

² Confessional, p. 202, 203.

own advantage, could not fail of extending his lenity to the good Bishop, if he too had done some small violence to his *inclination*, on the more disinterested motive of aiding a friend.

HOMOLOGISTES.

I doubt, Sir, your good Bishop has not merited this indulgence, by appearing with these worthies in the field where their laurels were reaped.

WALTON.

Of that, Sir, you are the best judge. He certainly was always seen under the standard of the church of England, of which he was a pretty strenuous defender. And there are many passages in his works, that appear worthier of your notice, as standing in direct opposition of your grand design, in which this Case seems to be totally unconcerned. It was no rescript against pious reformers, or reformation; nor hath the church of England, that I know, adopted it into her articles, liturgy, or homilies. But perhaps the operations of your campaign have some nice dependence on the assault of this little fortress, which my apprehension is too dull to perceive.

HOMOLOGISTES.

If experience of the world in a life of ninety years¹ did not teach you a little wisdom, I may well despair of doing it. To discover and attack the weaknesses of the adverse party, however remote from the scene of action, is an advantage not to be lost.

¹ Life of Isaac Walton, prefixed to *The Complete Angler*, Ed. of 1760, p. xlviii.

WALTON.

And if the advantage is taken of those who are numbered with us, it may save the fear of reprisals, and trouble of defences. We are peaceful and unenterprising; and if our ashes are disturbed, they so remain, unless some one of the living, haply with more pity than skill, endeavour to compose them.

HOMOLOGISTES.

I know no privilege belonging to, your state, that should exempt you from censure, provided it is passed upon you with that sacred regard to truth and charity, in representing every thing fairly and candidly, which is our invariable rule.

WALTON.

But if a character has been edifying to the Christian Church by probity of manners, and sanctity of life, with one or two spots in it not easily perceptible but to microscopic eyes, such as for argument's sake we will admit Bishop Sanderson's character to have been, is it either fair or candid, or for the interest of religion, to hide the lustre and magnify the spots?

HOMOLOGISTES.

Not perhaps for the interests of a particular church; but a church and religion are different things; "the word for religion in the Greek Testament is *θρησκεία*, which is no where appropriated to a formed established church. Paul speaks of sects in the Jewish religion, some of which were just as much established, as the Presbyterians and Quakers are in England. James defines pure and undefiled religion before God and the Father, in terms which shew that such religion may be practised

“tised and conformed to, where there neither is, nor ever was, an established church¹.”

How then does “this sort of religion,” that is, *ἑρησικεῖα*. suffer, by what may affect the members of an establishment?

WALTON.

I perceive, Sir, that to your other great attainments you have added a critical skill in Greek. You are now getting beyond the depth of a plain man; who either did not profit so much by his intercourse with the learned, or had not acquaintance among them so profound as yours.

HOMOLOGISTES.

I must indeed take shame to myself if I am not a little improved by the instructions of a gentleman so “eminent and liberal spirited,” whose erudition is equally extensive and exact; not collected from other men’s collections, but drawn from the sources of science. If you delight in the conversation of those “to whom talents are vouchsafed,” or are curious in the true and impartial history of the national church, or studious of learning new wisdom from the wise; stay, and I will willingly introduce you into our consistory.

WALTON.

The offer certainly is inviting, Sir, and claims my acknowledgements. But I trace many steps of men

¹ Confessional, Pref. to the first edit. p. xxxvi. Concerning the accuracy of this learned criticism, see p. 58 of *A Letter to the Author of the Confessional, containing remarks on his preface to the First Edition.*

of my complexion going thither, and but few coming back. And my esteem for the established church, and for several persons, whom I considered as ornaments of it for learning, piety, and orthodoxy, hath been a transgression of such magnitude, that though it is remitted in heaven, I know not whether it may not be retained on earth.

HOMOLOGISTES.

It is indeed a sort of reserved case, but I will use my interest in your favour.

WALTON.

I shall depart with a just sense of your goodness; but I have a further reason why I cannot avail myself of it. By this time I hope my friend the Bishop is released from his examination; and then I have an appointment with a person, to whose memory I once "dedicated an humble monument," very unequal to his merit; I mean the judicious Hooker.

HOMOLOGISTES.

I am not a stranger to his name.

WALTON.

I wish, Sir, it had been in my power to have brought you better acquainted with him.

HOMOLOGISTES.

I must have followed the example of your civility in declining the favour, and upon the like grounds. Our politics in sacred matters do not altogether accord.

WALTON.

This would not have made you unacceptable to him. The "sweet serene quietness of Mr. Hooker's nature"¹ disposed him to quarrel with no man, much less with the well-intentioned, for difference of judgement. During his pilgrimage on earth, there was a pleasing simplicity in his manners, tempered with the humble and edifying graces of a Christian: he was blest with a clear, and strong, and comprehensive, reason; and discoursed with a meekness "and majesty of stile"². But that influence from the holy fountain of light and love, which in his present place he is abler to receive, hath exalted what was lovely and excellent in him. His soul is charity, his spirit wisdom, and his voice eloquence.

HOMOLOGISTES.

Do you expect to hear him discourse on any particular subject?

WALTON.

Yes. "He has been meditating the number and nature of Angels³, and their blessed obedience and order, without which, he says, peace could not be in heaven; and oh! that it might be so on earth!"

¹ Walton's Life of Mr. Hooker, p. 12.

² Ib. p. 28.

³ In this contemplation Dr. Saravia found Mr. Hooker engaged, when he came to visit him a little before he expired. Ib. p. 40.

ADDENDA.

THE following notes, found in the Author's copy of the second edition of the Discourses on the Gospels, having been mislaid when the pages, to which they refer, were passing through the press, are here submitted to the Reader, as not unworthy of being preserved :

Vol. I. p. 72. l. ult. "anointing the feet." An act of greater humility in her, and of more honour to our Lord. Compare Luke vii. 46.

P. 90. n. 3. l. 8. "omitted." See Matth. xxvii. 9. *ὅν ἐτιμησα ἴσο ἀπο υἱῶν Ἰσραηλ, ἰ. ε. οἱ ἀπο υἱῶν.*

P. 102. l. 15. "Col iii. 20." See Wolfius on Col. iv. 16.

P. 124. l. penult. of text. An exception, Luke viii. 16. xi. 33.

P. 164. Add to n. 5. See Psal. vii. 17. "The "most high God" occurs Eccclus. vii. 9. But this Book having been written with a view to "them "which were *without*" (see the Prologue of the Son of Sirach) as well as the Israelites, the use of the epithet, "most high," rather confirms the observation.

P. 200. l. 3. "What if it varied in each?" So Reyher in Wolfius on Matth. xxvii. 37.

P. 202, 203. n. add: But however doubtful the force of the word, as some of the ancients and moderns have understood it, may appear to others of the learned; they who attend to the prophecy of Isaiah to the Jews (Lxv. 15, 16) with a plain reference to the gospel times, "Ye shall leave your
"name

“ name for a curse unto my chosen : for the Lord
 “ God shall slay thee, and call his servants by ano-
 “ ther name : That he who blasphemeth himself in
 “ the earth, shall bless himself in the God of *Amen* ;
 “ and he that sweareth in the earth, shall swear by
 “ the God of *Amen* :” and that our Lord styles him-
 self “ The Amen” (Rev. iii. 14.) will be apt to think,
 that this Hebrew word, in the mouth of Christ, has,
 on more occasions than one, a significancy not well
 to be preserved in another language.

As the Editor's distance from London did not allow him to revise the sheets regularly as they came from the press, the Reader is requested to pardon and correct the following Errata :

- Vol. I. p. 75. l. 27. *r.* miracle.
 99. 21. *r.* soul.
 104. 11, 12. *r.* substituted.
 110. 31. *r.* begin.
 148. 20. *r.* teach them.
 152. 22. *r.* churches.
 189. n. l. 4. *r.* spatiosa.
 200. 16. *r.* l.
 201. 19. *r.* trouble;
 202. n. l. 4. *r.* quia ejus.
 222. 20. *r.* the.
 227. 1. *r.* it.
 231. 10. *r.* Christians.
 Vol. II. p. 14. 24. *r.* though.
 100. 25. *r.* man.
 106. 21. *for* in *r.* to.
 164. ult. *r.* proceeds.
 260. 30. *r.* together.

THE END.

