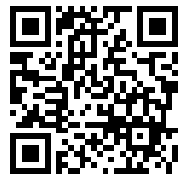

This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

Google™ books

<https://books.google.com>



Arch. Clav.



THE WORKS
OF
THE REV. DANIEL WATERLAND, D.D.

FORMERLY
MASTER OF MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
CANON OF WINDSOR,
AND ARCHDEACON OF MIDDLESEX.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A REVIEW
OF THE
AUTHOR'S LIFE AND WRITINGS,

BY
WILLIAM VAN MILDERT, D.D.
LORD BISHOP OF LLANDAFF.

THIRD EDITION, WITH COPIOUS INDEXES.

IN SIX VOLUMES.
VOL. IV.

OXFORD:
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

M. DCCC. LVI.

Clar. Press

l. c. 146.

CONTENTS
OF
THE FOURTH VOLUME.

REMARKS UPON DR. CLARKE'S EXPOSITION OF THE CHURCH CATECHISM	Page 1
THE NATURE, OBLIGATION, AND EFFICACY OF THE CHRISTIAN SACRAMENTS CONSIDERED	51
SUPPLEMENT TO THE NATURE, OBLIGATION, AND EFFICACY OF THE CHRISTIAN SACRAMENTS	105
SCRIPTURE VINDICATED; IN ANSWER TO A BOOK ENTITLED, CHRISTIANITY AS OLD AS THE CREATION. In Three Parts	149
A DEFENCE OF THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S; PARTICULARLY IN RELATION TO THE CHARGE OF PERSECUTION. In Answer to JONATHAN JONES, Esq.....	371
ADVICE TO A YOUNG STUDENT. With a Method of Study for the First Four Years	393
A RECOMMENDATORY PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION OF THE SERMONS OF THE REV. JAMES BLAIR, M.A.	417
REGENERATION STATED AND EXPLAINED, ACCORDING TO SCRIPTURE AND ANTIQUITY, IN A DISCOURSE ON TITUS III. 4, 5, 6	425

A REVIEW OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE EUCHARIST, AS LAID DOWN IN SCRIPTURE AND ANTIQUITY 459

An Introduction, first briefly shewing the Design of the Treatise, and next premising some Considerations : viz.—

I. That Scripture is our only Rule. 461

II. That for the right understanding of Scripture, it is of great moment to know what the most *eminent* Writers before us have taught, and what they have agreed in 461

1. More particularly, *Ancients* first 463

2. And then *Moderns* *ib.*

III. That of the two Extremes, *Profaneness* and *Superstition*, the latter is the *safest* for any one to lean to 466

IV. That it is injuring and degrading the Sacraments to call them *Positive Duties*, rather than *Religious Rites* 468

1. The Eucharist not merely a *Duty*, but a *sacred Rite*, wherein God bears a Part *ib.*

2. That Part of it which is *Duty*, is not a *single Duty*, but more 470

CHAP. I.—Explaining the most noted or most considerable Names of the Holy Communion 472

1. Breaking of Bread *ib.*

2. Communion 473

3. Lord's Supper 474

4. Oblation 476

5. Sacrament 480

6. Eucharist 484

7. Sacrifice *ib.*

8. Memorial 486

9. Passover 488

10. Mass 490

CHAP. II.—Considering the Institution of the Holy Communion, as recorded by St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. Paul 491

It came in the Place of the Jewish Passover 493

1. Resembling it in several Circumstances 495

2. Deriving its Forms and Phrases from it 496

CHAP. III.—Concerning the Commemoration of Christ, in the Holy Communion 498

1. *Remembering* him as God-Man 502

2. *Commemorating* him as such 505

3. Celebrating his *Memorial* 509

CHAP. IV.—Concerning the Commemoration of the <i>Death</i> of Christ	512
1. As an <i>expiatory</i> Sacrifice	513
2. Which is <i>applied</i> in the Eucharist	517
CHAP. V.—Of the <i>Consecration</i> of the Elements	522
1. In what sense they are <i>blessed</i> or consecrated.	<i>ib.</i>
2. By whom they are blessed	525
3. What the Blessing amounts to	527
CHAP. VI.—Of Spiritual Feeding according to John vi.	535
1. The Sense of the <i>Ancients</i> on that Head	542—564
2. The Sentiments of <i>Moderns</i>	564—570
CHAP. VII.—Of Sacramental, Symbolical <i>Feeding</i> in the Eucharist	570
1. The Sentiments of the <i>Ancients</i> on that Head	580—598
2. The Sentiments of <i>Moderns</i>	598—610
CHAP. VIII.—1 Cor. x. 16. explained, and vindicated from mis- construction	610
Objections answered	626—641
CHAP. IX.—Remission of Sins conferred in the Eucharist	641
Proved from Scripture	648
From Antiquity	650
Judgment of the Reformers, and of the Church of England	654
Objections removed	657—666
CHAP. X.—Sanctifying Grace conferred in the Eucharist	666
Proved from 1 Cor. x. 16	667
Proved from John vi.	<i>ib.</i>
Proved from Analogy	668
Proved from 1 Cor. xii. 13	<i>ib.</i>
The Judgment of the <i>Ancients</i> hereupon	674—695
The Sentiments of <i>Moderns</i> on the same	695
CHAP. XI.—The Eucharist considered as a <i>Federal Rite</i>	701
Argued from the Nature of <i>Communion</i>	707
From the Custom of drinking Blood in Covenants	<i>ib.</i>
From the Words of Institution	<i>ib.</i>
From the Analogy between that and <i>Sacrifices</i> , or <i>Sacrificial Feasts</i>	709
Objections to Dr. Cudworth's Notion considered and con- futed.	713—725
CHAP. XII.—The Eucharist considered in a <i>Sacrificial View</i>	725
Some Account of Dr. Grabe's Sentiments	726
The Eucharist a <i>spiritual</i> Sacrifice, how	730
The Judgment of the <i>Ancients</i> on that Head	731—762
The Judgment of <i>Moderns</i>	762

CHAP. XIII.—Of the Preparation proper for the Holy Communion	764
1. Baptism	765
2. Competent Knowledge	766
3. Sound Faith	<i>ib.</i>
4. True Repentance.....	767
Consisting chiefly in Restitution.....	770
Readiness to forgive.....	774
Peaceableness.....	777
Charity to the Poor.....	<i>ib.</i>
CHAP. XIV.—Of the Obligation to frequent Communion.....	780
How stated in the several Ages of the Church :	
First Century.....	782
Second.....	783
Third.....	784
Fourth.....	785
Fifth.....	795
Sixth.....	797
Seventh.....	798
Eighth.....	<i>ib.</i>

REMARKS
UPON
DR. CLARKE'S EXPOSITION
OF THE
CHURCH CATECHISM.

REMARKS
UPON
DR. CLARKE'S EXPOSITION
OF THE
CHURCH CATECHISM.

DOCTOR Clarke's Exposition of the Church Catechism is a book which will fall into many hands, both of clergy and laity; and into some, very probably, that will not readily distinguish between the sound and the unsound parts of it, as it is a mixture of both. My design therefore is to point out such places of it as are most ensnaring, to prevent the deception of unwary readers; that so the useful parts of it may be rendered more useful, when carefully separated from such as would do harm.

Had the author expounded our Church Catechism, throughout, according to the known doctrine and principles of our Church, and according to the plain and full meaning of the Catechism itself, he might have done good service to religion in general, and to our Church in particular: and there could not have been any thing more seasonable at this juncture, when our most holy religion is so boldly insulted by profane men, and seems to want the friendly assistance of every pious and learned hand. But if this Exposition, while it contains many excellent things, is itself very defective and faulty in others; and while it aims to support

natural religion and Christian morality, gives up, or too slightly maintains the most essential parts of Christian faith and worship: if in some of the most fundamental articles the author has either dropped the true sense, or disguised it, or, under colour of expounding, has been confronting and contradicting it; then it may highly concern every faithful Minister of Christ, to remonstrate against such artifices, and to caution the less discerning readers, that they be not imposed upon by them. I have no design to detract from the just reputation of the learned author in his grave, nor to undervalue what he has now, or at any time, well written for the real service of religion: but the better he has performed in some points, the more necessary is it to take notice where he has deserved censure; lest truth and error, good and bad, so mingled, should be imbibed together, and one should serve to recommend and ingratiate the other.

I consider further, that the very name of an Exposition of the Church Catechism carries an awful sound with it, and commands respect; and when put to a book that does not really answer the title it pretends to is a dangerous snare, and may deceive many. We can never be too careful to preserve the purity, and keep up the dignity, of our Church's forms, such as our Articles, Liturgy, Creeds, and Catechism. Any foul play here, in wresting the words, and perverting the meaning, is corrupting the sincere milk, and poisoning the fountains. The Baptismal Creed in particular, which is included in the Catechism, and is expounded, as to the chief articles, in the Catechism itself, ought to be kept sacred and inviolable against all attempts, either to disguise the sense or to elude the truths wrapped up in it. If any persons have new articles of faith or new catechisms to produce, let them be produced as *new*, and not imposed upon us as expositions of the *old*. Let the old ones retain their *own* meaning, and their *full* meaning, and let the new ones have theirs: and so let both be tried by the Scripture-rule, to see whether the new or old be better. But enough hath been hinted by way of preface: I now proceed directly to the matter in hand.

I.

I pass over the first twenty-four pages of the Exposition, which have several good things in them, and nothing offensive, so far as I have observed. But in page 25, the author has an

observation about *worship*, which must be carefully examined. In explaining that part of the Catechism, which concerns the RENOUNCING THE DEVIL AND ALL HIS WORKS, he enumerates the *works* of the Devil, emphatically so called, namely, *lying, pride, murder, &c.* and last of all, *idolatry*. Under the head of *idolatry*, he very justly condemns the Popish practices in worshipping *images* and *consecrated elements*, and in “setting up and praying” to imaginary intercessors, angels and saints, and the blessed “Virgin, instead of praying in the name of him who is the one “Mediator between God and man, even our Lord Jesus Christ.” He might better have said, *instead of praying to God*: for the fault of the Romanists is not barely their offering up prayers *in the name* of those imaginary intercessors, or their praying to God *through* them, but their praying directly *to* them, as the author himself, in the words but now cited, acknowledges. So that the latter part of the sentence does not well answer to his former, but seems rather to be oddly brought in, only to countenance a favourite groundless notion of the author^a, that their idolatry consists not in setting up *idol gods*, (the only true and Scriptural notion of idolatry^b), but in setting up *idol mediators*. He goes on: “All which practices are manifest idolatry, worship paid to “idol gods, and idol mediators.” He might have spared the latter, because *idol mediator* is a mere fiction, and the word has neither sense nor significancy. The worshipping of any thing, either as a medium or otherwise, is making a *God* of it, and the paying any religious worship to an idol is setting up an *idol god*. But now comes in the offensive passage, and for which the author hitherto had been only paving the way. “And indeed,” adds he, “every thing is faulty of this kind, beside the worship “of him alone who created the world by his power, who re-“deemed mankind by his Son, and who sanctifies all good “persons by his Holy Spirit.” Is not this as much as saying that all religious worship is *faulty*, except the worship of the Father only? And he seems further to insinuate the reason why the Father *alone*, in opposition both to the Son and Holy Spirit, is to be worshipped: it is because they do not of themselves redeem or sanctify, but the Father does all *by* them, and they are as *instruments* only in his hand: to him therefore, and not

^a Clarke's Script. Doctrine, p. 344. edit. 2. with which compare Emlyn of the Worship of Jesus Christ, p. 113.

^b See my Second Defence, vol. ii. p. 656, 657.

to them, is all glory and worship to be ascribed. The thought appears to be much the same with what another gentleman ^c has elsewhere plainly enough expressed, though speaking indeed only of God the Son. "Though the world was created " by the Son, yet no adoration was due to him on that account, " either from angels or from men, because it was no act of " dominion, and he did it merely *ministerially*; just as no adoration is now due from us to angels, for the benefits they convey " to us, because they do it merely *instrumentally*." Such, I say, seems to be the drift and purport of the author of the Exposition in the passage above recited. He appears to have *excluded* the worship of two of the divine Persons, considering them as *instruments* only. But because I would be tender of charging any man with positions which possibly might not be his, I am content to say that he has, at least, *dropped* the worship of two of the divine Persons, has inserted no provision, or salvo, so far as appears, which ought to have been done. This omission of the author seems not to have been any chance slip, or occasioned by any forgetfulness, but to have been owing rather to contrivance and design: for I observe, that he is constant and uniform in the same neglect, quite through the book. In page 230, where he is professedly treating of the object of prayer, he expressly confines it to the person of the Father, taking no notice either of *Son* or *Holy Ghost*. Again he observes, page 233, that "the supreme power and perfections of God are just " and *unexceptionable* reasons of praying to him;" intimating, as I conceive, that praying to any persons who are not vested with *supreme* power and perfections is not *unexceptionable*: and it is very well known that he does not ascribe *supreme* power or perfections to the Son or *Holy Ghost*. So that here again he seems to have *excluded* them from *worship*, and has manifestly *dropped* their claim and title to it. In like manner, page 293, speaking of the form of baptism, he interprets it of dedicating ourselves to the *service* and *worship* of the Father, but to the *obedience* and *imitation* only of Christ, and to the *direction* and *guidance* of the Holy Spirit: so that here a fourth time he has *dropped* the worship of two of the divine Persons, where it ought to have been mentioned. He speaks indeed of worshipping God the Father, "through the one Mediator^d," and "through the

^c Collection of Queries, p. 84.

^d Page 153.

“mediation of Jesus Christ^e.” And he repeats some texts, such as Phil. ii. 10, 11,^f and Heb. i. 6,^g which are express for the *worship* of Christ, according to the common way of construing them: but he barely repeats them, not telling us whether he understands them of proper *worship*, or otherwise. This so remarkable reservedness and shyness of the author in so important an article, looks, at least, as if the intent were to throw off the worship both of the *Son* and *Holy Ghost*. But perhaps we may be able to judge more certainly of his sentiments from his other writings. In Scripture Doctrine, published 1712, he observed^h, as from Bishop Wakeⁱ, that “we should pray to God only, and to him as our Father, “through Jesus Christ our Lord.” But then he subjoined a provisional salvo for the worship of God the Son, in these words: “The meaning is not, that prayers may not at all “be offered to the Son, but that they must always ultimately “be directed to God only, as our Father, through Christ.” This *salvo*, however, was dropped in the next edition of Scripture Doctrine^k, in 1719. By which it may seem that the author had then changed his mind, as to the article of *worship*. And indeed in Modest Plea, published that same year, he contends^l for the manner of worshipping the Father *through* Christ, in opposition to every other mode or form of worship, or in opposition to the direct worship of any Person beside the Father only. The reader, I hope, will not think it a digression from my purpose, if I here examine all that has been urged upon that head in Modest Plea, since it may reasonably be presumed, that the Exposition, made by the same author, had the same views, and was drawn up according to much the same principles.

1. He pleads, that our Saviour’s direction to his Disciples was, “When ye pray, say, Our FATHER.” Which if he understands with utmost strictness, laying an emphasis upon *when*, as if we were never to pray otherwise, he will thereby exclude the use of all prayers but the Lord’s Prayer. For undoubtedly,

^e Page 152.

^f Page 57.

^g Page 59.

^h Clarke’s Script. Doctr. p. 362. edit. 1.

ⁱ Archbishop Wake’s words are, “through faith in Christ Jesus;” referring to Gal. iii. 26, which shews

that he is there speaking of a different matter, and not determining the object of prayer to the Father only. *Comm. on the Catech.* p. 130. edit. 3.

^k See Clarke’s Scripture Doctrine, p. 297. edit. 2.

^l Clarke’s Modest Plea, p. 177.

when ye pray, say, belongs as much to the whole prayer as to the two first words, and leaves as much room for a different direction (if otherwise proper) as for different prayers. But I humbly conceive, that our Lord's command about praying (*when ye pray, say*) will be abundantly answered, if the Lord's Prayer be but constantly joined with our other prayers, and never omitted in our solemn devotions.

2. He further pleads, that "the practice of the primitive Church, in the three first centuries, (as appears by the passages cited in Dr. Clarke's Scripture Doctrine^m, to which may be added that of Irenæusⁿ;) was to direct their prayers uniformly to God the Father, through his Son Jesus Christ." To which I answer,

If he means by *uniformly*, constantly and invariably, so as to exclude every other kind or form of worship, or prayer, the report is not true, but notoriously false. St. Thomas addressed himself directly to our Saviour, in a high rapture of devotion, calling out to him, "My Lord and my God^o." The Disciples all worshipped Christ directly as he went up into heaven^p. St. Stephen, full of the Holy Ghost, prayed to Christ with his dying breath, and in as solemn a prayer as our Lord's upon the cross^q. St. Paul frequently wished and prayed for grace, peace, mercy, direction, and comfort; not from the Father *by* or *through* Christ, but from both jointly; from God the Father *and* the Lord Jesus Christ, or from Christ singly^r. Thrice he prayed solemnly to Christ, that he might be delivered from the "thorn in the flesh^s:" once he devoutly addressed himself to all the three Persons jointly^t: some devotional acts he performed towards the *Holy Ghost* singly^u; and a noted doxology to *Christ*, as "over all God" "blessed for ever^x." St. Peter also put up his doxologies to Christ^y. St. John also prayed for grace, mercy, and peace, from

^m Part ii. sect. 44.

ⁿ Lib. iv. c. 33.

^o John xx. 28.

^p Luke xxiv. 51, 52.

^q Acts vii. 59, 60. "Lord Jesus receive my spirit. Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." Compare Luke xxiii. 46. "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." Luke xxiii. 34. "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

^r 1 Thess. i. i. iii. 11. v. 28. 2 Thess.

i. 2. ii. 16, 17. iii. 16, 18. 1 Cor. i. 3. xvi. 23. 2 Cor. i. 2. Gal. i. 3. vi. 18. Rom. i. 7. xvi. 20, 24. Ephes. i. 2. vi. 23. Philipp. i. 2. ii. 19, 24. iv. 23. Coloss. i. 2. Philem. iii. 25. 1 Tim. i. 2, 12. Tit. i. 4. 2 Tim. i. 2. iv. 17, 18, 22.

^s 2 Cor. xii. 7, 8, 9.

^t 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

^u Rom. ix. 1. xv. 30.

^x Rom. ix. 5.

^y 1 Pet. ii. 3, 4. iv. 11. 2 Pet. iii. 18.

God the Father, and *from* the Lord Jesus Christ^z, not merely *through* Christ. And he begged the like from all the three Persons jointly^a. The Psalmist, of old time, worshipped Christ as *God*, and as the "Lord that laid the foundation of the earth," the Jehovah^b. The holy angels of God worship him^c. The whole creation join in the same common doxology to the Father and the Son^d; not to the Father *through* the Son. So stood the practice according to Scripture accounts. As to primitive practice, in the ages next succeeding the Apostles, there are many instances of the martyrs and others praying directly to Christ, and abundant proofs of the worship of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The testimonies have been collected by several hands, and may be seen in English, with proper remarks upon them^e. To which may be added, one general argument from what passed in the Praxean, Noëtian, and Sabellian controversies; in which the Catholics were charged with *worshipping three Gods*, and never denied the fact, as to their worshipping Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but disowned the charge of worshipping *three Gods*, asserting the unity of the Godhead in three Persons.

Now as to what the Modest Plea pretends from Justin Martyr, Ireneus, and Origen, it is indeed plain enough, and no one denies, that the primitive Christians often, or generally, offered up prayers to the Father *through* Christ, (and *through* the *Holy Ghost* too) but it does not appear that they were *uniform* in the practice, or that *all* prayers ran in that form: the contrary is evident. If any thing can be justly pleaded as to Origen's opinion, from one book *supposed* to be his, about *prayer*, it was his *opinion* only, and not his *constant* opinion, against the judgment and practice of the whole Church, and corrected afterwards by his own better thoughts in his books against Celsus, as has been often proved^f.

3. Modest Plea goes on: "Even in the former part of the "fourth century, it does not appear (notwithstanding the growing disputes about speculative matters) that there was yet any

^z 2 John 3.

^a Rev. i. 4, 5.

^b Heb. i. 8, 10, 11, 12.

^c Heb. i. 6.

^d Rev. v. 11, 12, 13.

^e Bingham's Antiquities, book xiii. c. 2, 3. Berriman's Review, and Second Review. Sermons, p. 155, &c.

Mangey's Defence of Doxologies. Abrah. Taylor's True Scripture Doctrine, p. 79, &c. 374, &c.

^f See Bingham's Antiq. book xiii. c. 2. My Second Defence, vol. ii. p. 436, 466, 673, &c. See also the late learned editor of Origen. *περι εὐχ.* p. 78, 81, 82.

“ thing more put into their public Liturgies than the general “ doctrines of Christianity, in which all agreed.” To which it is sufficient to answer, that it does not appear that there ever was any public Liturgy of the Christian Church that directed all prayers to the Father only, or that did not offer up worship to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: so that if nothing was inserted more than the general doctrines of Christianity, we shall then have a fair and good proof from the early Liturgies, so far as we have any accounts of them, that the faith in and the worship of three divine Persons were the general doctrines of Christianity in the purest and best ages.

4. Modest Plea further urges, that “ in the third Council of “ Carthage, to prevent innovations then arising, it was decreed, “ that when the priest stands at the altar, he should direct his “ prayer always to the Father.”

Yes, “ when the priest stands at the altar;” and there were particular reasons for it. But that very restriction shews, that in other parts of their service they were not confined to any such rule: besides that even there the glorification in the close was in common to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. That Council was held under Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, in the year 397, and St. Austin, Bishop of Hippo, was assisting at it. It is not very likely that such men as they should have any design to throw off the worship of the Son or Holy Ghost. St. Austin well understood the manner of praying *through* Christ, but never thought it any objection against praying also directly *to* Christ: *Oramus ad illum, per illum, in illo*^h. “ We pray,” says he, “ to him, through “ him, in him.”

5. Modest Plea says further; “ At this day the Church, in “ her solemn exhortation to priests at the ordination, directs “ them to pray continually to God the Father, by the mediation “ of our only Saviour Jesus Christ, for the heavenly assistance “ of the Holy Ghost.” Very right: it is the ordinary rule and method of praying; but neither our Church, nor any church, ever intended to omit or set aside direct prayer to the other two Persons.

6. “ The same direction is actually observed in much the “ greater part of the whole Liturgy, that is, in every part where

^g See Petavius de Trin. lib. iii. c. 7. sect. 15. Bingham's Antiq. book iv. p. 901. ed. Bened. xiii. c. 2. ^h St. Augustin in Psal. lxxxv. tom.

“either the composition or expressions are ancient.” But upon due inquiry it will be found, that the *ancient* way was, to take just such a method as our Church has taken, namely, to contrive that the prayers, for the most part only, shall be directed to the Father, and not the whole Liturgy.

7. Bishop Bullⁱ “takes notice, with great approbation, that “in all the Liturgies of the Catholic Church, most of the prayers “are directed to God the Father.” Right again; *most* of the prayers, not *all* the prayers. So it is in Scripture, so in the primitive Liturgies, and so in all Christian Liturgies. *Generally* the prayers so run, but not *uniformly*.

8. The Modest Pleader adds; “It is to be observed, says “Bishop Bull, that in the Clementine Liturgy, so called, which “is by the learned on all hands confessed to be very ancient, “and to contain the order of worship observed in the churches “before the time of Constantine,—all the prayers are directed “to God, in the name of his Son Jesus Christ, as they are, says “he, God be praised, in our Liturgy.” The last words shew that Bishop Bull did not mean it of *all* the prayers, but of the *most* only, as is the case in our Liturgy, which he mentions as parallel. Indeed, Bishop Bull’s thoughts were intent upon quite another matter than what he is here cited for; designing only to say that *no* prayers were anciently offered up to *angels*; which made him say *all*, in opposition to that only. His words are these:

“In the Clementine Liturgy, so called, which is, &c.—there “is not one prayer to be found, from the beginning to the end “of it, made either to angel or saint, (no, not so much as any “such prayer as this; O Michael, O Gabriel, O Peter, O Paul, “pray for us,) but *all* the prayers are directed to God, in the “name of his Son Jesus Christ, as they are (God be praised) in “our Liturgy^k.” However, if the Modest Pleader had not been too much in haste, he might himself have looked into the Clementine Liturgy, and there have seen, with his own eyes, one very solemn and pompous prayer^l, directed entirely to God the Son, and part^m of another, besides many doxologies directed to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghostⁿ, not to the first Per-

ⁱ Bull. D. F. sect. ii. c. 9. s. 15.

^k Bull’s Posthumous Works, vol. ii. p. 476.

^l Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. 7.

^m Ibid. lib. vii. c. 43.

ⁿ Ibid. lib. viii. c. 12, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 29, 38, 39, 41.

son only *through* the other. And now, if all this may be met with in that very Liturgy, though it is generally supposed to have gone through Arian hands, and to have suffered corruption by them, what might we not have expected more to our purpose in the same Liturgy had it come down to us entire, as at first drawn up by the orthodox compilers.

9. There is one plea more which is much insisted upon through several pages^o, to this effect; "Whether the Son and Holy Ghost be equal or not equal to the Father;—whether consubstantial or not consubstantial, yet to worship uniformly the one God the Father through Christ,—to direct all our praises, prayers, and petitions, primarily to the Father, through the merits and mediation of the Son, is undoubtedly, upon all hypotheses, right and sufficient in practice, without any danger of error or mistake; being what all sincere Christians might easily and most safely agree in, and indeed all that they promise at their baptism." This reasoning is fallacious, and goes upon several weak and false suggestions. How can the throwing out the Son and Holy Ghost from direct worship be *right* and *sufficient* upon all *hypotheses*, when upon the hypothesis that the three Persons are *equal*, and are all together the *one God*, (which is something more than an *hypothesis*.) they have all an equal claim to divine worship, and ought to be honoured accordingly? But Christians may safely join in prayers made to the Father only! Very true, and they may safely join also in some prayers, particularly in the Lord's Prayer, where no mention at all is made of *Jesus Christ*. And might not a Deist argue, from parity of reason, for the throwing out Christ *Jesus*, that so both Christians and Deists may agree in one Liturgy, directing all prayers to the one eternal God? If it be said that neither the precepts nor examples found in Scripture will permit Christians thus to curtail their prayers to oblige the *Deists*, the same I say as to orthodox Christians, that neither will the Scripture rule, or apostolical practice, or the very reason of the thing permit, that they should totally lay aside the direct worship of God the Son or God the Holy Ghost. It is in vain to cast about for any far-fetched reasons, colours, or pretences in a plain case. Supposing it not necessary that all doctrines, even though very important, should be expressed in a public Liturgy, (though if they

^o Modest Plea, p. 178—182.

were, I should not think it at all improper or amiss;) yet certainly the Liturgy should be so contrived as effectually to point out the *object of worship*. If the supplicants cannot agree about the very object of worship, I do not see how they can at all unite in one common Liturgy, or so much as hold communion with each other. Indeed all should agree to take Scripture for their *rule*, and the practice of the three first centuries for the *model* of their worship. This is the shortest and best way of composing all differences: they that refuse it are justly blamable, and are the dividers of the Christian Church; and be it at their peril who do so, as they will answer it at the great day of accounts.

I have now run through every thing that carried any face of argument in Modest Plea for worshipping *uniformly*, as he calls it, God the Father through Christ. Upon the whole, it may appear, that there is no such *uniform* method prescribed by Scripture, or apostolical practice, or the custom of the Church of Christ in the first and purest ages. If our paying worship *to*, as well as *through* the Son or Holy Spirit, be what the author of the Exposition condemns as *faulty*, then, say I, *faulty* were all or most of the primitive martyrs in their dying breath; *faulty* all the ancient churches of Christ; *faulty* St. Stephen, St. Paul, and St. John; *faulty* our blessed Lord himself, (with reverence be it spoken,) who has commanded us not barely to worship the Father *through* the Son, but to "honour the Son even as we "honour the Father *p*;" and has also instituted the form of Baptism in the name "of the Father, and of the Son, and of the "Holy Ghost:" not in the name of the Father only, *through* the Son, and *in* the Holy Ghost, as some of the ancient Arians would gladly have turned it *q*. I hope the reader will pardon me for dwelling so long upon this high article: it is no *speculative* matter, but strictly *practical*, and of the greatest concernment. To rob our blessed Lord and the blessed Spirit of all religious worship is blasphemy and sacrilege. It is what the ancient Arians durst never venture upon; so strong was the force of Scripture and universal practice, as to make them act even against principle. The Socinians themselves, most of them, driven to it by plain dint of Scripture, plead warmly for the

p John v. 23. See my First and Second Defence, vol. i. and ii. Q. xix.

q Vid. Theodor. Lect. Eccl. H. p. 576. edit. Cant.

divine worship of Christ, and give no quarter to them that disown it. The Racovian Catechism itself is express both for *adoration* and *invocation* of Christ, and does not allow them to be *Christians* that reject it^r. So essential to Christianity is the worship of Christ in the judgment even of adversaries, who, if they are therein less consistent than others, yet appear more pious, and have a greater reverence for *Scripture*. However, all that I positively charge the Exposition with is, *dropping* the worship of two of the divine Persons, and taking no care (where it ought to have been taken) to enforce and secure it, or so much as to make mention of it. Having done with this important article, I shall be shorter upon the rest.

II.

I have nothing further to observe of the Exposition till we come to page 40, where the reader will find these words of the Catechism :

Q. *What dost thou chiefly learn in these Articles of thy Belief?*

A. *First, I learn to believe in God the Father, who hath made me and all the world.*

Secondly, In God the Son, who hath redeemed me and all mankind.

Thirdly, In God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth me and all the elect people of God.

I take the more notice of this part of the Catechism, because the author has neglected it. He has transcribed it, as he found it, placing it at the end of the Creed, but we see no more of it. He goes on afterwards to expound the Creed in his way, but says nothing of *God* the Son, or *God* the Holy Ghost ; that is, you hear no more of their *Godhead*. He never asserts the Divinity of either, never so much as gives them the title of *God*. What the compilers recommended *chiefly* to our faith, he silently passes over ; and instead of recommending the same doctrine, seems to throw it quite out. This is not doing justice to our

^r Quid vero sentis de iis hominibus qui Christum nec invocandum, nec adorandum censent ?

Quandoquidem illi demum Christiani sunt qui Jesum agnoscunt esse Christum, seu cœlestem illum populi divini Regem, ac porro eum divina ratione colunt, ejusque nomen invocare non dubitant, qua de causa supra

vidimus Christianos ita describi, quod nomen Domini Jesu Christi invocent; facile intelligitur, eos qui id facere nolum, Christianos hactenus non esse, quamvis alioqui Christi nomen profiteantur et doctrinæ illius se adhærere dicant. *Cateches. Eccles. Polon.* p. 172, 173.

Church Catechism, nor answering the title of the book : expounding is one thing, expunging is another. Since this was the design, the fairer way would have been to have said, the *Church Catechism explained and corrected*, rather than to have given the title of an *Exposition* to the *whole*, which belongs only to a *part*. I thought it not improper to take notice of this, though it may appear slight, because it is really of weight : for great impositions often arise only from words and names. But I pass on.

From page 42 to page 49, the author has some previous observations, to prepare his way for what he intended upon the Apostles' Creed. The sum is, that he is to interpret the Creed by *Scripture*, that is, by his own sense of Scripture ; not considering that he had undertaken to expound the Catechism, which had interpreted the Creed to quite another sense, and thereby precluded all further tampering with it ; unless an expositor's business be to set one part of the Catechism against the other, and to contrive that the whole may hang loosely together. It is impossible to reconcile the principles laid down in the *Exposition*, with what the Catechism plainly means by *God the Son* and *God the Holy Ghost*, as taught in the Creed. The Church Forms ought most certainly to be interpreted according to the mind of the Church that made them : and if so interpreted they appear not to agree with Scripture, they are to be rejected as *false*, and not strained to a sense not their own, in order to make them *true*. The Scriptures in this case are indeed the *rule of truth*, but not the *rule of interpretation*. They are the rule for *receiving* any forms, but not the rule for *understanding* them. Their *meaning* is first to be judged of, from the natural force of the words, the intent of the compiler, and the laws of true criticism : and then indeed after that, their *truth* is to be judged of by their conformity to Scripture*. But to proceed.

Page 45, the *Exposition* says, " In things fundamental, in things required as of necessity to eternal salvation, it is evident this rule (of Scripture) ought to be so plain, that no honest careful mind, even of mean capacity, to whom the sermons of Christ and his Apostles have been distinctly rehearsed, can be in any danger of mistaking." This is plausible talk, and it is obvious enough to perceive for what purpose it is brought. I

* See Case of Arian Subscription, vol. ii. p. 272, 273.

shall examine further into it presently : but in the mean while, let me observe what will follow on supposition that this principle is true and just. First, it will follow, that it is not necessary to salvation to believe that the Father *alone* is necessarily existing, since innumerable very *honest* and *careful* minds, and of no mean capacities, ever since the days of the Apostles, have been in such danger of mistaking here, (if it be a mistake,) that they have lived and died in a disbelief of it. Secondly, it will further follow, that it is not necessary to salvation to believe that the Father *alone*, or absolutely speaking, is the God of the universe, exclusive of the Son and Holy Spirit : for this also is a doctrine, which the Christian world in a manner, of very *honest* and *careful* minds, never could be convinced of. Thirdly, it will further follow, that none of the propositions in *Scripture doctrine*, so far as they are contrary to our Church's doctrine, are of necessity to salvation, for the reasons before assigned. Fourthly, it will likewise follow, that it is by no means necessary to salvation to believe that all religious worship, or all prayers are to be directed to the Father : for innumerable good Christians, martyrs on earth, and now saints in heaven, were of a very contrary persuasion. Fifthly, it will follow, that the belief of the Apostles' Creed, as interpreted in the Exposition, (and of which we shall treat in its place,) is not necessary to salvation, because it was never before so interpreted, or so understood by the generality of Christians, ancient or modern, of the most *honest* and *careful* minds. These several corollaries seem naturally to follow from the principle laid down in the Exposition ; and they appear to be full of comfort and consolation to as many as reject the new schemes. Nevertheless, I must own, that I have not confidence enough to trust in the principle itself ; nor do I take it to be either a *safe* or a *true* principle. It is a wrong way of judging of *fundamental* doctrines, and will not help us at all in it. 1st, Because there is no truth whatever so *plain* and evident, but it may be obscured and darkened to such a degree, that common Christians may be puzzled and confounded, and no longer think it *plain*. I except not the doctrine of the existence of a God, the plainest of any, provided common Christians be but admitted to atheistical disputations, or to the reading of pamphlets written by profane men. 2dly, I dislike the principle the more, because any Jew or Deist may proceed upon it, and say, that the proofs upon which the Christian revelation rests (*miracles* and *prophecies*) ought to be

so plain, that no honest and careful mind, though of mean capacity, can be in danger of mistaking; and may further urge, that Deists, Jews, Pagans, and Mahometans, (some of them sure of honest and careful minds,) have attended to and considered those supposed proofs, and yet have rejected them. 3rdly, If Christianity were thus thrown off, and every other religion but *natural religion*, I know not how much even of that might go off next, upon the same principle, and by the same rule, as soon as artful disputers have contrived to puzzle and perplex whatever they dislike, that it shall be no longer *plain* to common capacities, though of honest and careful minds. Suppose, for instance, *freedom of will*, and the *immortality of the soul*, and a *future account*, to be fundamentals all in natural religion; yet let but an artful disputant once take those subjects in hand, and do what in him lies to darken and perplex them, and I do not say that many an honest countryman, but many a half-scholar too, may not know what to think of those supposed *plain things*, but may be quite confounded. 4thly, In the last place, I dislike the rule, because I think it will leave every man just where he was before, and not at all the wiser as to pitching upon fundamental doctrines. For every one will choose according to his own taste, and will be sure to leave out whatever he takes to be obscure. The author of the Exposition, no doubt, intended to leave out the real *divinity* of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, because not plain to him: and it is for that very purpose his rule seems to have been calculated. A Sabellian would strike out their *personality*, because not *plain* to him; and so others, other articles, for the like reason. One is not clear about the doctrine of *works*, inclining rather to the *Solifidian* or *Antinomian* principles; another is not satisfied about the possibility of a *resurrection*; a third is doubtful about *hell torments*, and so on. Was there ever any man of any persuasion that would allow the contrary persuasion to be *plain* to honest and careful minds? A plea which will equally serve in all cases will serve in none; nor will it be of any use to shorten or decide disputes. Upon the whole, I should think it much better to say, that whatever can be proved to be taught in Scripture, and in the first and purest ages, as of necessity to salvation, is now also necessary to all Christians, but in such a degree as they are capable of knowing or doing it. Allowances must be always made for want of capacity or opportunity, and for insuperable prejudices; as to the strength of

which, and how far they are pleadable at the bar of judgment, before a merciful Judge, we are not commissioned nor qualified to determine, but must leave to an all-knowing God. As to marking out any particular catalogue of fundamentals, or prescribing such a certain quantity of faith^t, as sufficient for salvation, it would be an idle attempt, and very solemn trifling: for the same fundamentals would no more suit every man, where capacities and circumstances are so different, than the same quantity of food every stomach or constitution: but there are some truths, both in natural and revealed religion, of greater importance than others, and more obvious also to be known; and these we are more especially bound to believe and maintain, not rejecting or despising the other, but paying them the respect due to their weight and worth, be it less or more. And when I say *we* are bound, I would be understood to mean it, in different proportion and degree, according to the almost infinite variety of men's capacities, opportunities, or outward circumstances. And as to the *importance* of any article, that may be judged of according as it more or less affects the whole system of the Christian religion, (as there is a difference between the main *beams* and the *rafters* in a building,) or as it is more or less connected with the two great commandments, the *love of God* and the *love of our neighbour*. I had almost forgot to take notice of the author's saying, "to whom the sermons of Christ and his *Apostles have been rehearsed,*" instead of saying, to whom *the Scriptures of the New Testament have been made known*. I hope he was not in the sentiments of those who are for fixing the *fundamentals* from the Gospels and Acts only, setting aside the Epistles as of no weight in the case, because *occasionally* written, after every thing material had been settled and established. I see no sense or truth in that principle, nor why we are to make a distinction where God has made none. Every part of the New Testament is equally *inspired*, and the whole taken together is our rule of necessary faith and practice. I know not why men should single out a part only, preferring it to the rest, except it be that they care not how little religion they embrace, and are afraid of being overburdened with revelations from God. I do not charge the author of the Exposition with making any such distinction; I am persuaded he does not; only as his manner

^t See my Critical History of the Athanasian Creed, vol. iii. p. 252.

of expressing himself might seem to give some countenance to it, it could not be improper to enter a remark upon it against those that do.

In page 48, 49, the author has a fling upon Creeds, which deserves some notice. He says, "Into the Form" (Office he means) "of Baptism, and into the Catechism, and into the Order for the Visitation of the Sick, the Apostles' Creed only has very wisely been put, as being easy, and clear, and intelligible to all, and not mixed with any matters of doubtful disputation." It is a narrow and a partial way of thinking, to judge of the *wisdom* of every thing, or any thing, only by its falling in with one's particular taste or favourite opinion. No doubt but his compliment upon what has been so *wisely* done means no more than this, that it was *wise* to choose a creed which is shortest and least explicit on the doctrine of the *Trinity*. Happy for us that we live in the west, and were once in communion with the Church of Rome, to which we are obliged for this Creed. Had we happened to be of the Greek Church, we might have had the Jerusalem Creed, or Nicene, in those Offices, both older than the Roman, (as it now stands,) and both more explicit upon the doctrine of the *Trinity*. The Creed called the Apostles', or Apostolical, has had a particular respect paid to it, because, by a *vulgar error*, derived from the fifth century, it had been conceived to have owed its birth to the Apostles themselves; though it is really nothing else but the Creed of the Roman Church, and called Apostolical, because the Roman see has had the name of Apostolical^u. Our Reformers, who compiled our Offices, were scarce yet free from the prejudices of the vulgar error that had long obtained, though Valla and Erasmus had before smelt it out. Later critics, as Gerard Vossius, and many more, have demonstrated the fabulousness of that ancient tradition. Had our reformers been *wise* enough at that time to see it, it may be doubted whether they would have paid so much respect to this Creed: so that it is wrong to commend their *wisdom* in it, when it might be more owing to their *simplicity*, and to the then infant state of *criticism*. However, in the Communion Office, which is as sacred and solemn an office as any, the Nicene (Constantinopolitan) Creed has been *wisely* inserted, after the example of the

^u See Wall's History of Infant Baptism, part ii. c. 9. p. 507; also my Sermons, vol. ii. p. 191.

Spanish, Gallican, German, and lastly, Roman Offices : and the Athanasian also has been as *wisely* honoured with a place in our Liturgy, after the like precedents. I must observe further, that as Creeds were at first chiefly contrived to be as *tests* against heresies, and to guard the essentials of faith, it is no commendation of a Creed that it runs in *generals* only, if there was any occasion or necessity for being more *particular* ; for then the Creed would not answer its principal aim and end. The Roman Church having been less disturbed with heresies than the eastern churches, was content with a shorter Creed : had circumstances been different, we should have found their Creed more *explicit*, like the eastern. It would not be a wise thing in any church to choose the shorter and more general Creeds, when the ancient faith is endangered by heresies, and wants more *explicit* professions to secure it. Novelists, without question, will commend the *shorter* Creeds, as standing least in their way ; but they that value the *ancient faith* must for that very reason prefer the *larger*. What one thinks *wisely* done, as most suiting his purpose, if he judges right, does as good as tell the opposite side, that it was *not wisely* done for them, and may be a hint sufficient to awaken their caution. As to the pretence about a shorter Creed being more *easy, clear, and intelligible* to all, it is colour and appearance only. The shorter generally a Creed is, the more *obscure and ambiguous*, and the harder to fix the sense, or to know precisely what the words mean. To determine, for instance, what the words *only Son, or Lord*, mean in the Roman Creed, is not so easy or obvious as in the eastern Creeds, which are larger and more explicit. But it is indeed easier to *pervert* the sense of a short Creed, and to wrest it to a foreign meaning, or to what the interpreter pleases to call *easy, clear and intelligible* ; that is, to his own favourite hypothesis, *clear* to be sure, and *easy* to himself ; for who ever suspects his own judgment, or does not think his own notions clear and intelligible ? However, I must observe further, that what we are chiefly to consider in such cases, is not so much what lies level to the imagination, or is easy to conceive, as what may be *clearly* proved to be *true*. There may be *mysterious* truths, which are not therefore to be rejected because *mysterious*, unless we reject *eternity, immensity, self-existence, omniscience*, and the like ; because not so easy to conceive as a definite time, or a limited presence, or a being that had a beginning, or finite knowledge. Every wise man would

choose a doctrine the rather for being *clear* and every way intelligible, other circumstances being equal; but still the first and best recommendation of it must be its *truth*. But to return to the Apostolical Creed, so called; what I affirm of it, and shall shew presently, is, that it contains the same truths briefly wrapped up which the larger Creeds express in more direct terms. It is not at all clearer, or less mysterious as to the *things* themselves; and as to the *words* of it, it is, because short, more ambiguous and obscure, not so easily seen into at first view: so that, after all, its boasted clearness amounts only to this, (as before hinted,) that its real sense is not so fully and plainly expressed, but is the most liable of any to be misconstrued and misunderstood.

III.

In page 49, the author enters upon his exposition of the Creed. He tells us, p. 52, that the "reason why *God*, in the "first article, is styled the *Father*, is to denote that he is the "original Author or Giver of life to all the intelligent beings in "the universe." And he adds, p. 53, "This is the sense first "and principally intended in this first article of the Creed." But this, with submission, is a very great mistake, and is setting out with an error: for *Father*, in the first article, principally means Father of his *only Son*, and has reference to it. I am unwilling to suspect that the author here had any covert design to *exclude* the Son and Holy Ghost from being, with the Father, *Author* or *Giver of life* to all intelligent creatures, or to *include* them among the other *beings* of the *universe*, to whom the Father is *Giver* of life. However that be, his construction of *Father* in this place is wide and foreign. Cyril and Ruffinus, the oldest expositors we have extant, understood better. "When you "hear the (name of) *Father*," says Ruffin, "understand *Father* "of a *Son*, which *Son* is the image of the substance aforesaid^x." Bishop Pearson, speaking of such paternity as the Exposition mentions, says, "It is not the principal or most proper explanation of *God's* paternity; for as we find one Person in a "more peculiar manner the *Son of God*, so we must look upon

^x Patrem cum audis, Filii intellige Patrem, qui Filius supradictæ sit imago substantiæ. Ruffin. in Symb. p. 18. edit. Ox. Οὐ γὰρ δεῖ μόνον εἶνα Θεὸν πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πατέρα τοῦτον εἶναι μονογενοῦς, κ. τ. λ. Cyril. Catech. vii. c. 1. p. 113. edit. Bened.

“ God as in a more peculiar manner the Father of that Son.—
 “ Indeed I conceive this, as the most eminent notion of God’s
 “ paternity, so the original and proper explication of this article
 “ of the Creed.” His reasons are, 1. Because the ancient
 Fathers deliver no other exposition of it. 2. Because the first
 occasion, rise, and original of the Creed itself requireth this, as
 the proper interpretation. He refers to the form of Baptism,
 “ in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy
 “ Ghost,” where Father and Son are plainly correlates. 3. I shall
 only add, what is hinted by that most learned and judicious ex-
 positor, that God was undoubtedly Father of his Son before he
 was Father of the universe, and therefore that paternity, as the
 first and highest, must be principally, if not solely, here in-
 tended: no one that had not an hypothesis to serve could pos-
 sibly mistake in so plain a case.

He proceeds, p. 53, to explain the title *Almighty*, ascribed to
 God the Father in the Creed; which he understands of supreme
 dominion and absolute sovereignty; and that not only over
creatures, as other interpreters do, but over the *Son* himself in
 his highest capacity: and for fear it should not be understood,
 he expresses it very emphatically in these words, p. 54: “ That
 “ sovereignty by which the Son himself, who is King of kings,
 “ and Lord of lords, in whom it pleased the Father that all ful-
 “ ness should dwell, even the fulness of the Godhead bodily, was
 “ sent forth to recover, &c.” This is a novel and strained sense
 of the Creed, unknown to the ancients, and for which there is no
 proof in Scripture, nor indeed colour. The author’s principles,
 as to this article, may be seen more at large in a polemical trea-
 tise of his formerly published². There he contends warmly for
 a *natural* superiority of *dominion* over the Son in his highest
 capacity, and over the Holy Ghost of consequence: a doctrine
 opposite to all Christian and Catholic antiquity for the first three
 hundred years and more³. All ancient interpreters of the Creed
 take care to except the Son and Holy Ghost out of the number
 of those things that the Father bears rule over, as he is *Almighty*:
 or they take the Son and Holy Ghost into partnership in that
 rule, inasmuch as the Father rules over all things with and by
 them. Now might one not justly wonder that the Apostles’ Creed

¹ Pearson on the Creed, article i. my Second Defence.
 p. 30, 31.

³ See my Third Defence, vol. iii. c.

² See Dr. Clarke’s Observations on 5. p. 79, &c.

should be thought so very *plain* and *intelligible*, and yet the expositor should mistake the meaning twice in the very first article, in *Father* and in *Almighty*? It never was the intent or meaning of the Creed, that the Father should be here called *Almighty*, or *Ruler over all*, in opposition to, or derogation of, the *natural* sovereignty of God the Son. For it is certain from Scripture^b, and acknowledged by all antiquity^c, that God the Son is *Almighty*, (is παντοκράτωρ,) *Ruler over all*, as well as God the Father, and holds the same natural sovereignty and supreme dominion in common with him. And it is somewhat peculiar that the author should mention the title of “King of kings, and Lord of lords^d,” as applied to Christ, which is a distinguishing character of God supreme, and yet endeavour to subject him in his highest capacity to a higher dominion. I may take notice also, by the way, of the author’s being misled here, and again, p. 60, by the translations to say, that it “pleased *the Father* that in him “should all fulness dwell,” when the Greek is, *in him all fulness pleased to dwell*, or *it seemed good that in him should all fulness dwell*; which is elsewhere interpreted, “all the fulness of the “Godhead bodily^f;”—very strong expressions to signify his true and eternal Godhead^g, and his absolute exemption from any natural or necessary subjection, which can belong to creatures only. But I must not forget to take notice of the author’s citing 1 Cor. xv. 24, 28, to insinuate his notion of the Son’s *subjection* in Scripture phrases: “Shall again,” says he, “at the end “deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father, and be himself subject unto him that put all things under him, that God “may be all in all.” The easy, obvious, and natural construction of the place is this: that as all things descend from the Father by the Son; so by the same Son do all things ascend up to the Father. The Father draws all his elect unto himself by and through Christ their head: as soon therefore as all things are put under Christ, and become his, they will of course become the Father’s also, because Christ himself, as a Son, is referred up to the Father, and is subordinate to him as Head. I say, *subordinate*, rather than *subject*, (for the Greek *υποταγῆσεται* will

^b See my Sermons, vol. ii. p. 141, 142, &c. First Defence, vol. i. p. 537. Second Defence, vol. ii. p. 562.

^c See my Sermons, vol. ii. p. 142. Third Defence, vol. iii. c. 5.

^d Rev. vii. 14. xix. 16.

^e Coloss. i. 19. Ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ εὐδόκησε πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα κατοικῆσαι.

^f Coloss. ii. 9.

^g See my Sermons, vol. ii. p. 157, &c. Abr. Taylor’s True Script. Doctr. p. 171, &c.

express either,) because the creatures will be subject in quite another manner and degree than Christ can be. They will be subject as *servants* to their *Lord*, as *creatures* to their *Creator*: he will be subordinate only, as a *Son* to a *Father*, and as partaking of the same common dominion with him over the whole creation. The Son therefore is represented in the heavenly Jerusalem, as making^h but one *temple*^h with the Father, and one lightⁱ, and seated on the same *throne*^k. It is absurd to imagine that the Son will then be more subject than he is now, that his *triumphant* state shall come short of his *militant*, and that he is to *decrease*, when all his saints and servants are to *increase*. No: but as he was always subordinate to the Father as a Son, so will he *then* be also^l, when he shall have subdued all enemies, and shall bring all his friends with him, uniting them by himself, the band and cement of union with the Father. Then shall he reign in peace, and of his kingdom shall be no end. His Father also shall reign by him and with him, and be acknowledged still as his Head and Father to whom he is referred. The Son will then be "all, and in all," and "God over all," as well as he is now^m, and the Holy Ghost with him; and the Father yet more emphatically and eminently so, as *first* in *order*, and head of both. Such is the scale of existences, such the order and economy by which all good men, and good angels too, ascend up, in the Holy Ghost and by the Son, to the supreme Father, and so have their union with him, and life from him. There is nothing in all this that intimates any *natural* or *necessary* subjection of two of the Divine Persons to one; nor any *inequality* of nature or perfections amongst them: but there is a natural supremacy of *order* belonging to God the Father; and to him, as Fountain of the Deity, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, proceeding from him, are referred.

The Exposition proceeds, p. 56, to the second article of the Creed: AND IN JESUS CHRIST, HIS ONLY SON, OUR LORD. And here the author tells us, (p. 68,) that "Christ is in a singular, in a "higher and more peculiar manner, (than angels, Adam, or

^h Rev. xxi. 22.

ⁱ Ibid. xxi. 23.

^k Ibid. xxii. 1, 3.

^l Ὑποταγήσεται δὲ οὐχ ὅτι τότε ἀρ-
χεται πειθαρχεῖν τῷ πατρὶ, (ἀεὶ γὰρ τὰ
ἀρεστά αὐτῷ ποιεῖ πάντοτε) ἀλλ' ὅτι
καὶ τότε ὑπακούει, οὐκ ἀναγκαστὴν ὑπα-

κοὴν ἔχων, ἀλλ' αὐτοπροαίρετον εὐπέ-
θειαν· οὐ γὰρ δούλος ἐστίν, ἵνα ἀνάγκη
ὑποταγῇ· ἀλλὰ υἱός ἐστιν, ἵνα προαιρέ-
σει καὶ φιλοστοργίᾳ πεισθῇ. *Cyrrill.*
Hierosol. Catech. xv. cap. 30. p. 240.
edit. Bened.

^m Coloss. iii. 11. Rom. ix. 5.

“good Christians,) the Son, and therefore the only Son of God.” Here is some confusion in this account, making *Son* and *only Son* equivalent and tantamount, as we shall see in the sequel. But the author goes on: “and that likewise upon different accounts: “first upon account of his being conceived of the Holy Ghost in “a miraculous manner, and THEREFORE (said the angel to the “blessed Virgin) HE SHALL BE CALLED THE SON OF GOD. Luke i. “35.” To which I answer, that supposing the truth of the fact, that he is called *Son of God*, on that account, yet he is not therefore called *only Son*, as in the Creed, which answers to *only-begotten*, (*μονογενής*,) as appears by the Greek copies. In the respect here mentioned, Christ was not Son of God in a *higher* or more *peculiar* manner than *angels* or *Adam*. But besides that, I may, upon the authority of many of the *ancients*, assert, that the *Power of the Highest* (*δύναμις ὑψίστου*) is a name of the *Logos*, who before his incarnation was *Son of God*; and therefore also that *holy thing*, after the incarnation, was called, and was *Son of God*. This construction prevailed for many centuries, and may be met with in Christian writers, as low as Damascene and Theophylact; and how much lower I need not inquire. If this interpretation takes place, then the pretence of Christ’s being called *Son of God*, on account of his being miraculously born of a virgin, falls of course”. Now we may go on with the Exposition.

The *second* reason assigned by the author for calling Christ *Son of God* is, “his being appointed to the special office of “Messiah,” according to John x. 36. To which I again answer: Supposing the fact, yet he is not on that account called *only Son*, as in the Creed. But it cannot be proved that in John x. 36. he called himself *Son of God*, on account of his being appointed Messiah, but on account of his having come from heaven, from thence *sent into the world*, referring to his antecedent dignity, as Bishop Bull has observed at large^o. Or if the Father’s *sanctifying* in John x. 36. be understood of the sanctifying the human nature of Christ, by the *Word*, the pretence from that text is thereby further obviated^p.

ⁿ See also another construction of the text, maintained by Dr. Sherlock, in his Scripture Proofs of Christ’s Divinity, p. 162, &c.

^o Vid. Bull. Judic. Eccl. Cath. 316,

317. Sherlock, Script. Proofs of Christ’s Divinity, p. 173.

^p See Dr. Knight’s Sermons, p. 209.

A *third* account of our Lord's Sonship assigned by the author is, "his being the first-begotten from the dead," according to Acts xiii. 33. and Rom. i. 4. But neither could this be a reason for calling him *only Son* of God, (if it might for *Son*,) because in that respect he has many brethren *children of God*, as being "children of the resurrection." Luke xx. 36. However, it cannot be proved that he was called so much as *Son* of God on that account. Rom. i. 4. says, "declared to be the Son of God " with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead;" that is to say, manifested to be the eternal Son of God, according to his holy, spiritual, divine nature, by his resurrection^q. His resurrection, as he raised himself^r, was a demonstration of the *Divinity* of his Person, and which accordingly convinced St. Thomas, and made him own him for his *Lord* and *God*^s. As to St. Paul's quoting Psalm ii. 7, "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee," Acts xiii. 33, it is best explained by himself in Rom. i. 4. whereof we have been speaking; for by an easy figure of speech, not unusual in Scripture, a thing is then said to be, when it appears^t. And as to *first-begotten* from the dead, it is not said first-begotten *of God* from the dead, so that the text is not pertinent: besides, that were he a *Son* of the Father in that respect because the Father raised him, he would be his *own* Son also, for the like reason, because he raised himself.

A fourth ground or reason assigned of our Lord's Sonship is, "his having all judgment committed to him," according to John v. 22; "ruling as a Son over his own house," Heb. iii. 6; "being appointed heir of all things," Heb. i. 2. But the answer is easy: he is not God's Son on account of all judgment being committed to him, being a *Son* before, and therefore all judgment was committed to him: and he does not commence a Son by being appointed *Heir*, but he was appointed *Heir*, because he was antecedently *Son* of God^u.

Upon the whole then we see, that none of the reasons assigned sufficiently or certainly account for Christ's being called *Son of God*, much less for his being called *only Son*, or *only-begotten*, as here in the Creed. In truth, there is but one

^q See Bull. Judic. Eccl. Cath. p. 318. Sherlock's Scripture-Proofs of Christ's Divinity, p. 162.

^r John ii. 19. x. 18.

^s John xx. 28.

^t Vid. Bull. Judic. Eccl. Cath. p. 318. See also Sherlock's Script. Proofs, p. 178, &c.

^u See Bull, *ibid.* p. 318. Sherlock, *ibid.* p. 182.

account which will *fully* answer for either, or *at all* answer for the latter; and that is, his being begotten of the Father before the world was. This the Exposition at length comes to, expressing it faintly, in low and lessening terms; "having been " from the beginning, in the bosom of the Father, a Divine " Person." But St. John was not thus shy and reserved; he said plainly, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word " was with God, and the Word WAS GOD," John i. 1. The Son therefore from the beginning was *God of God*: and this is that *peculiar*, that *high*, that *singular* and Divine Sonship which the Creed speaks of under the title of *only Son*, and on account of which he is as truly God as any son of man is truly man.

The author proceeds, p. 62, to account for the name *Christ*, which he does very justly: but in the sequel he says, "He was " sent to reveal to us the whole will of his Father, and bring us " back unto God," referring to Luke iv. 18, Acts x. 38. "And " upon this account he is called the Word, the Way, the Truth, " and the Life," viz. "that Prophet that should come into the " world, to shew unto men the way of salvation," &c. The account here given of the name *Word* is low and flat, and suited only to a Socinian hypothesis. It is evident that St. John meant more by it, (chap. i.) since he speaks not of the Word being incarnate, till afterwards: and what he says of the *Word's* being in the beginning, with God, &c. is not to be understood of the incarnate Word, but of the *Word* antecedent to the incarnation. *Word* then is a name for the Divine preexistent nature of Christ. It would be tedious to enter into the detail of this matter, and therefore I shall content myself with referring to juster accounts^x of the name *Word*. Only I may note that the ancients in general, and St. Ignatius^y in particular, (who was St. John's disciple,) had much higher thoughts of what the name *Logos*, or *Word*, imports, than the expositor here mentions.

Next, as to the title *Lord*, he tells us, p. 63, that "it denotes " his having a right of dominion over us, by virtue of his having " redeemed and purchased us with his blood," quoting Heb. i. 2, Matt. xxviii. 18. Ephes. i. 17, 21. 1 Cor. xv. 27. Phil. ii. 9,

^x Bishop of Litchfield's Sermon on John i. 14. Vitringa in Apocalyp. xix. 13. My Sermons, vol. ii. p. 30, 31.

^y Ὁς ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ Λόγος, αἰδιος, οὐκ

ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθὼν. Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes. c. 8. Of this place of Ignatius, see Bull, D. F. sect. iii. c. 1. Dr. Beriman's Sermons, p. 49.

10, 11. Luke i. 33. Rev. xix. 16. But this is not the sense, or at least not the *whole* sense of *Lord* in the Creed; but it is low and lessening, as usual, detracting from the honour due to our blessed Lord. The Exposition says nothing of Christ's being *Jehovah*^z and *God*, before the world was; nothing of his being *Lord* in right of creation, the *Lord* that "in the beginning laid the foundation of the earth^a," and by "whom all things were made^b;" and who coming into the world, the world that was made by him, "came unto his own^c." It is observable, that the eastern Creeds, in this place, have *one Lord*, as they have *one God* in the first article. The form was taken from 1 Cor. viii. 6: "One God, the Father, of whom are all things—and one Lord, Jesus Christ, by whom are all things." Now it is evident, that *Lord* in that text, and therefore in the Creed also, has respect to Christ's dignity, antecedent to the redemption, and antecedent to the creation itself, as he was "the image of the invisible God, begotten before the whole creation: for by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him, and for him: and he is before all things, and by him all things consist." To his high, antecedent, supereminent dignity, belongs the title of *Lord* in the Creed. For as to what Christ did in redeeming mankind, and his new dominion and glory accruing from it, that comes afterwards in the following articles: and it stands to sense, that *Lord* in this place, spoken of as prior to the incarnation, should be understood of what was antecedent to it. It is the constant manner of all the ancient Creeds, first to set forth the Θεολογία, the doctrine of our Lord's *Divinity*, and then to descend regularly to the Οικονομία, his *Incarnation*, &c. And so if we look into ^dRuffinus, or other ancient expositors^c, we shall find it to be a ruled case, a fixed and settled method with them. It is not justly interpreting a Creed, to put a sense upon it only to serve an hypothesis against the known, certain intention of the compilers, and against the very form, structure, and composition of the Creed itself: this is not shewing what meaning the words of the Creed really

^z See Pearson on this second article, p. 148.

^a Heb. i. 10.

^d John i. 3.

^c John i. 10. See my Sermons, vol. ii. p. 52.

^d Ruffin. in Symb. p. 20. edit. Oxon.

^e Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. x. c. 4, 5, 6, &c. See also Bull. Judic. cap. 5. p. 321.

bear, but what they may be violently wrested to, to serve a cause.

The next article of the Creed begins with the words, WHO WAS CONCEIVED BY THE HOLY GHOST. Under this and the eighth article, (which we shall consider both together,) the author has expressed his sentiments of the *Holy Ghost*, as far as he thought proper. The subject is important, and will deserve considering. The Expositor says, (p. 113,) "What the metaphysical nature of the Holy Spirit is, the Scripture has no where defined." He made the like observation of the *Holy Spirit* formerly in Scripture Doctrine, prop. xxi.^f and of the *Son* in prop. xiii.^g and of all the *three* Persons in prop. iv.^h However, what Scripture has not done, the author himself has presumed to do; for he has not scrupled to determine, that the Father *alone* is *self-existent*ⁱ; and that neither the Son nor Holy Ghost are *self-existent*^k; and he understands by self-existent, necessarily existing^l; so that he has defined and determined (with or without Scripture) that the metaphysical nature of the Holy Ghost is not necessarily existent, but contingent, precarious, or in a word, created. And, indeed, nobody can now make any doubt of his making both *Son* and *Holy Ghost* creatures, since he has plainly excluded, or however dropped, the *worship* of both. Such being the principle he sets out with, it is obvious to imagine what kind of colours he must lay upon all such texts of Scripture as speak highly and honourably of the Holy Ghost, above what belongs to creatures. He begins with the famous text before mentioned, of Luke i. 35. interpreting it after the common way, and maintaining that Christ is called *Son of God*, because conceived by the Holy Ghost, but not admitting the inference from thence, that the Holy Ghost is *God*. I have intimated another construction of the text above: but if the common construction be thought preferable, I may here insist upon it, that the inference drawn from thence for the *Divinity* of the Holy Ghost is right and just. I shall express it in the words of Bishop Pearson^m.

"He by whose operation Christ was conceived in the womb of

^f Clarke's Script. Doctrine, p. 290, first edition, p. 258, second edition.

^g Ibid. p. 272, first edition, p. 239, second edition.

^h Ibid. p. 243, first edition, p. 210, second edition.

ⁱ Script. Doctrine, prop. v. Modest

Plea, p. 5.

^k Ibid. prop. xii. xix. Modest Plea, p. 6.

^l Clarke's Modest Plea, p. 216, 217.

^m Pearson on the Creed, art. viii. p. 315.

“ the Virgin, was no created Person ; for by virtue of that conception, he was called the Son of *God* ; whereas, if a creature had been the cause of his conception, he had been in that respect the Son of a *creature*.” Now the turn which the author takes (p. 67.) to evade the force of this and other yet more express Scripture texts, is as follows ; “ Whatsoever God does of this kind, from the beginning to the end of the whole dispensation, the Scripture generally represents as being done by the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven : and because what God does thus by his Holy Spirit, is in event the same as if he had done it immediately by himself, in his own Person, hence the same individual works are frequently ascribed both to God himself, even to the God and Father of all, who works them by his Spirit, and at the same time they are ascribed also to the Spirit by which God works them.” This is easily said, but comes not up to the purpose. Admit that the Father acts in and through his Holy Spirit, (which indeed is a principle that the Catholics themselves allow and contend for,) the more and oftener he is represented in Scripture as so acting, the less likely is it that the Holy Ghost should be a *creature*. The Father acts by angels, and by men, *sometimes*, and often changing hands : but when or where has he ever acted without his Holy Spirit ? Wherever he is present, (and he is present every where,) he is present by his *Spirit*ⁿ. And whenever he performs wonders, or does any mighty works, he does them by his *Spirit*^o. Whatsoever he knows, (as he knows all things,) he knows them in and with his Spirit : “ For the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God ; and what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him ? even so the things of God knoweth no one, but the Spirit of God^p.” What kind of a *creature* can this be, that is *in God*, as much as the spirit of man is in him, and which as intimately knows the mind of God as any man knows his own mind ? What kind of a *creature* can that be, which always is where God is, knows what God knows, does what God does ? Indeed, when we consider the Scripture representations of this matter, the first and most natural thought a man might have is, that *God* and the *Spirit*

ⁿ Psalm cxliiii. 7, 12. See Dr. Knight's Sermons, p. 277.

^o Acts ii. 4, 17, 18, 33. Rom. xv. 19. 1 Cor. ii. 4, 5. xii. 4, 8, 11.

Heb. ii. 4.

^p 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11. See Dr. Knight's Sermons, p. 282.

of *God* are only different names or phrases for the same Person, and that *God's* acting by his Spirit, is only another way of saying that he acts by himself: but then as there are some very express and uncontestable texts to prove the distinct personality of the Holy Spirit, there is no other way left of coming up to the Scripture account, but by acknowledging that the Holy Spirit of *God*, which is always and every where with *God*, and in *God*, is essential to *God*, and is *God*: and this indeed is the plain doctrine of Scripture in several other texts, besides what has been already mentioned. The Holy Spirit is expressly called *Lord* by St. Paul^q, and that *Lord* is *Jehovah*^r: he is also *Lord of hosts*, as is proved by another application made by the same St. Paul of a text of the Old Testament to the Holy Ghost in the New^s. I know that some artificial elusions have been contrived in answer to these texts; and they have as often been replied to and confuted. In truth, the very style of the Holy Ghost shews him to be *Lord* both of heaven and earth. "The Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them^t." Is this the style of a creature? Then again; "All these worketh that one and the selfsame Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will^u." Should it not have been as *God will*, rather than *he will*, were the Holy Spirit a creature? Would it not be too familiar for any *creature* whatever to take upon him to distribute the choicest gifts of *God* according to his own pleasure? The Exposition somewhere says, that "to pray to inferior beings is evidently needless, because *God*, we are sure, is always near, being himself every where present^x." And may we not with as much reason argue in this case, that for *God* to bind himself up to the constant use of any *creature*, so as never to abide any where, nor to do any thing but by him and with him, is evidently needless, being himself every where present, and able to do all things? But that such a *creature* should not only be thus constantly employed, but should act also with authority paramount, and do as *he pleases*, in the high dispensations of *God*, is altogether unaccountable. I shall only add further, that our *Lord's* joining the Holy Spirit together with the Father and himself in the form of

^q 2 Cor. iii. 17.

^r Exod. xxxiv. 34. See Pearson on this argument, art. viii. p. 316, 317.

^s Acts xxviii. 25, 26. compared

with Isaiah vi. 9.

^t Acts viii. 2.

^u 1 Cor. xii. 11.

^x Clarke's Exposit. of the Catech. p. 233.

Baptism, that sacred form which is the Christian rule, both of *faith* and *worship*, and which from the infancy of the Church was so received and universally complied with; this alone, were there nothing else, abundantly proves both the *Divinity* and worship of the Holy Ghost. These things premised, I now return to the author of the Exposition, and to Luke i. 35. of which we were treating. If the common construction be insisted upon, that Christ is called *Son of God*, because conceived by the Holy Ghost, then the consequence is plain, that the Holy Ghost is *God*, as I before intimated. And if it be hereupon asked, why then is not Christ in his human nature called the Son of the Holy Ghost? The answer is, because Scripture has not so called him. And if it be further asked why Scripture has not? it may be answered, because Scripture by calling him rather *Son of God*, thereby intimates to us, that the Holy Ghost is *God*, which is one good reason: and another is, because Christ being *Son of God* (the Father) in a higher capacity, it was the more proper to express both the Sonships by one and the same name. This, I say, on the supposition that the common interpretation of Luke i. 35. be admitted; though, as to my own part, I incline rather to the ancient construction above mentioned: which though it deprives us of this argument for the *Divinity* of the Holy Ghost, yet accounts better for the name of *Son of God*, and makes Scripture more *uniform*, as to the giving that appellation to our Saviour Christ.

I now proceed to some other texts which are express for the *Divinity* of the third Person, and which the Exposition has been endeavouring to elude. One is, Acts v. 3, 4, of which the Expositor observes, p. 68, that "Ananias and Sapphira are charged with lying unto God when they lied to the Holy Ghost, and with lying to the Holy Ghost when they lied to men inspired with the Holy Ghost, because lying to the Spirit by which God speaks is in effect and in reality lying to God himself." But why not rather, because the Holy Ghost is God, and so lying to the Holy Ghost is lying to God? The train of the argument is thus excellently well deduced by the judicious Bishop Pearson. "To lie unto the Holy Ghost is not to lie unto men, because the Holy Ghost is not man; and consequently not to lie unto any angel, because the Holy Ghost is not an angel; not to lie unto any creature, because the Holy Ghost is no creature; but to

“ lie unto God, because the Holy Ghost is God.” This is the obvious, natural construction of the text, and therefore the true one: the other is forced and unnatural, and does not answer to the antithesis or opposition of the text between *men* and *God*. Let us put the name of a created angel, Gabriel, in the place of Holy Ghost, (supposed by our adversaries to be a creature,) only to shew the flatness and impropriety of their construction. *Why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the angel Gabriel? Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God.* Should it not have been, *Thou hast not lied unto Gabriel, but to God*; or else, *Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto Gabriel, nor to Gabriel, but to God*? In the other way the sentence is plainly imperfect, and the sense flat: and there is no necessity at all for admitting it, excepting only that some cannot endure that the Holy Ghost should be here called *God*, though he is abundantly proved to be *God* from other places of Scripture, and has been universally believed in and worshipped as *God* by the ancient Christian churches.

Another text of the like kind is 1 Cor. iii. 16. “ Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?” To which may be added 1 Cor. vi. 19. “ Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost in you, which ye have of God?—Therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God’s.” Now if we are the temple of God by the inhabitation of God’s Spirit, then is the Spirit of God himself also God. The reason is plain; because no inhabitation of a *creature* can make the house inhabited a *temple*; for a temple is the house of God, not the house of a creature as such. To this the author of the Exposition replies; that “ our bodies are styled temples,” (temple, he means,) “ because they are temples of the Holy Ghost, and God dwells in us by his Holy Spirit.” This solution might have served tolerably, had the texts said only that our bodies are the temple of *God*, and not the temple of the *Holy Ghost* too; which the author perhaps did not consider. For let us suppose God the Father and any *creature* to inhabit the same person, that person would indeed be the *temple* of the Father, because he is *God*, but would be the *dwelling* only, not the temple, of the *creature*, because he is not God. Seeing then that the texts make us the

‡ Pearson, art. viii. p. 318.

temple of God, and the "temple of the Holy Ghost" too, it is manifest that the Holy Ghost, inhabiting us as *his temple*, is God, as well as the Father.

The Exposition goes on to elude several other texts, observing that "the miracles which our Lord himself worked, during the course of his ministry, are ascribed sometimes to the Father, which dwelt in him; and sometimes to the Spirit, which God gave not by measure to him," p. 68. Yes; it is more than once intimated in Scripture that the Father himself constantly dwelled in Christ^z, and did the works which Christ did. Now I should be glad to know of those that make the Holy Ghost a *creature*, what occasion there could be for any other invisible agent to work miracles, when the Father himself, who could do infinitely more, and who really worked all, was there working. And what sense is there in God's giving the Spirit, a *creature*, without measure? as if any creature could be infinite, or, as if the Father himself, working at the same time, might not infinitely supersede all creaturely assistance. Our blessed Lord somewhere^a says, "If any man love me, he will keep my words; and my Father will love him, and we (the Father and he) will come unto him, and make our abode with him." In the same chapter he speaks also of the Holy Ghost, as of *another Comforter*, to *abide* with the same *for ever*^b. Three Persons in all, all abiding, all comforting invisibly, and all inhabiting the same temple. But what occasion could there be for either the *second* or *third*, if they be *creatures*? Or what *comfort* in them, while the *first* alone, the *God of all comfort*, both could and would supply every thing, and the other two, in reality, nothing? These and other the like Scripture texts are easily accounted for upon the principles of the Christian Church: but what to make of them on any other principles I see not. If it be said, that God may employ what agents or what instruments he pleases, angels or men, and need not always act *immediately* in person, that is true, but not pertinent to the point in hand: for in the cases I have been speaking of, God the Father is supposed to be present in person, and to act immediately by himself, and yet others are represented as assisting and acting with him.

We may now take leave of these two articles of the Creed,

^z John x. 38. xiv. 10, 11, 20. xvii. 21, 23.

^a John xiv. 23.

^b John xiv. 16, 26.

and of the Creed itself. For as to other articles of slighter moment, the Exposition, I think, has done justice to them, and may be read with instruction and pleasure. Yet for fear of imbibing false doctrines along with true, it would be the safer way to read Bishop Pearson's Exposition of the same Creed, which is sound, learned, and judicious quite through, and one of the best books in our language. And as to those who have less time to spare, or who may desire to be competently instructed in the Creed at an easier and cheaper rate, I would particularly recommend to them Dr. Bishop's very useful Abridgment of Bishop Pearson, now lately published, for the benefit of common readers.

IV.

The Exposition passes on from the Creed to the Ten Commandments. And under Commandment the first he observes, p. 150, "that it supposes it as a thing known by the light of nature and reason, that there is but one God, one eternal, omnipresent, self-sufficient Being,—who in the New Testament is set forth to us under this still more particular character, that he is the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." Here very distinct things are, by too artificial a confusedness, mixed and blended together. That there is a God, is certainly known by the light of nature and reason: that there is but *one God*, is *probably* argued from reason and ancient tradition, and is *certainly* proved from Scripture. But that the one God is the Father *only*, exclusive of all other Persons, is not known by the light of nature to be *true*, but is known by the light of Scripture to be *false*; and is by all the ancient churches accounted *heresy*. It is *Judaizing*^c, after Praxeas, Noëtus, Sabellius, Paul of Samosata, Arius, and Eunomius; and is not Christian doctrine^d. Reason tells us there is a God, without saying who is: Scripture determines it to the *Jehovah*: and the same Scripture abundantly declares that the *Jehovah* is Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The knowledge of this we owe to revelation only, which contradicts

^c Judaicæ fidei ista res, sic unum Deum credere, ut Filium annumerare ei nolis, et post Filium, Spiritum. Quid enim erit inter nos et illos nisi differentia ista? Quid opus Evangelii, quæ est substantia Novi Testamenti statuens legem et prophetas usque ad

Johannem, si non exinde Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus, tres crediti, unum Deum sistunt? *Tertull. adv. Prax. sub fin.*

^d See my First Defence, vol. i. p. 479, 481, &c. Second Defence, vol. ii. p. 718, &c.

not *reason*, but advances beyond it, and makes much larger discoveries. The light of nature and reason can go but a very little way in *divine* things with any certainty. The Bible is our best metaphysics, and what alone can give us any reasonable satisfaction about the object of our *faith* or *worship*. Had we no revelation to go to, we might be allowed to sit down and guess, and might guess as wide as the ancient Pagans did. But to advance natural light, that is, Pagan darkness, in opposition to Scripture evidence, is setting up *human* conjectures against *divine* truths; lighting up a candle in the face of the sun. The introducing false maxims of philosophy into religion has done infinite mischief to the Church of God^e. It is making Scripture bend to human inventions, and is contriving a kind of motley religion, part Pagan and part Christian, instead of the religion of Christ. If any man imagines he can by *natural* light (which in this respect is no light) determine the question about the plurality of Persons in the Godhead, he will be widely mistaken. Scripture alone, with proper helps to understand Scripture, must decide this great question. All wisdom here, going above what is written, or what is evidently deduced from it, is vain wisdom, and will prove no better than an illusion or an infatuation to every man that trusts to it. But I pass on.

He concludes what he had more to say under the *first Commandment*, with some reflections upon idolatry. And in p. 154. he speaks of some that have "taught men to apply themselves to angels—and to the blessed Virgin, whom, (as he says,) by "a profane ambiguity, they affect to style the mother of God." Had he levelled his rebuke against the Romish abuses of that style and title, and against the extravagant honours thereupon paid to the blessed Virgin, all had been right. But he has so worded his censure, as to charge the title itself with a *profane ambiguity*, and so through the sides of the Romanists, as I conceive, reflects unhandsomely upon all the churches of Christ. His quarrel is with the very name and title of *θεοτόκος*, *mother of God*, which accordingly he changes, p. 70, into *κυριοτόκος*, *mother of Lord*; for no reason that I can see, except it be that he had rather Christ should be called *Lord*, than *God*; interpreting *Lord* in a low and puny sense, as observed above. However, as to *θεοτόκος*, or *mother of God*, (which he is pleased to charge with

^e See Dr. Berriman's Sermons, p. 93, &c. My First Defence, vol. i. p. 464, &c.

profane ambiguity,) he should have considered that it is no piece of Popery, but much older, being indeed pure and primitive Christianity. It is expressive of a very great and important truth, that Christ, who is Son of God in one nature, is Son of Mary also in another, and is both *God* and *man*, while one Christ. The phrase itself, of *mother of God*, or word *θεοτόκος*, thus applied, was the common language of the Church about the middle of the fourth century: and it may be run up higher by Eusebius, and Alexander of Alexandria, and Origen, to the year 245, or the middle of the third age. And equivalent expressions may be carried up through ancient writers to the Gospel times. Irenæus, who was a disciple of Polycarp, who was scholar to the Apostles, scruples not to say of the Virgin, that she *bare God*^f within her, which is as strong an expression as *mother of God*. And Ignatius, St. John's disciple, says plainly, "Jesus Christ "our *God* was conceived of Mary^g," which is tantamount. But Isaiah and St. Matthew^h were before them all, in affirming that the Virgin should bring forth *Emmanuel*, that is, *God with us*, God incarnate; which comes to the same with calling her *mother of God*, and is cited for that purpose by Eusebiusⁱ, where he gives her that title. Attempts have been made to elude the true and ancient meaning of these texts, but to little purpose^k. The same sense may most probably be assigned to Luke i. 43, as Bishop Bull has observed^l. For *mother of Lord* there may mean *mother of God*, since the title of *Lord* belongs to Christ chiefly as he is our *God*; and so St. Thomas joined both together. In short, I see no reason why any one should be offended at the title of *mother of God*, unless he be offended also at calling Christ *God*, for that implies it. Julian indeed was pleased to deride the Christians for using it^m. But then, very consistently, he blamed them as much for believing in and speaking of Christ as *God*. I observe, that the author of the Exposition studiously avoids giving the name of *God* to Christ, substituting *divine Person* every whereⁿ, where he should have said *God* according to the text. If he was afraid of committing a *profane ambiguity* in

^f Portaret Deum. *Iren.* lib. v. cap. 19. p. 316.

^g Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκνοφορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας. *Ignat. ad Ephes.* cap. xviii. p. 18.

^h Isa. vii. 14. Matt. i. 23.

ⁱ Euseb. de vit. Constant. lib. iii. cap. 43.

^k See Pearson, art. ii. pag. 130. Vitring. in Isa. vii. 14. My Sermons, vol. ii. p. 128. Dr. Knight's Sermons, p. 150.

^l Bull. Oper. Posth. p. 156.

^m Julian in Cyrill. lib. viii. p. 262, 276. edit. Lips.

ⁿ Page 59, 64, 65.

calling Christ *God*, I should not wonder at it: his own good sense might lead him to think, that it would be profaning the *high name* to call any one *God* in such a manner, and to mean no more by it than his principles allowed him to do. But if this was his thought, as is not improbable, I cannot but admire still, that the same good sense did not lead him to reflect, that the holy Prophet Isaiah, St. John, and St. Paul, (men of excellent sense, and inspired too,) had very solemnly called Christ *God*, and would have been as much afraid of any *profane ambiguity* as others can be. Wherefore I may have leave to conclude, that they really understood Christ to be *God* in the same high sense that the Father himself is. But this by the way.

I meet with nothing further that wants a remark, till I come to p. 293. of the Exposition, where the author lays down his sentiments of the solemn form of Baptism, "in the name of the "Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" not in the name of *God*, and *Christ*, and the *Spirit*, as if *God* belonged to one only. "By this form," says the Expositor, "we dedicate ourselves solemnly to the service and worship of God our Father, "who created us." Why not God *the* Father, as the form itself directs, to shew the relation *Father* has to *Son* presently following? But this is slight. What is more material, since he owns Baptism to be the dedicating ourselves to the *service* and *worship* of one of the Persons, why so partial, as not to admit the same meaning and significancy of the same rite in respect of the other two Persons joined with him? Certainly, our blessed Lord, who was always exceedingly tender of his Father's honour, could and would have made such a distinction as this author does, had there been ground for it, or had he not intended that "all men "should honour the Son even as they honour the Father;" not excluding the third Person from the like honour, being the *Spirit of both*, and with whom they are as intimate as *man* with his own mind^p. Why should we separate what God has not separated? And why should we distinguish where our Lord has not distinguished? The Exposition adds: "to the obedience and imitation of Christ the Son of God who redeemed us: and to the "direction and guidance of the Holy Spirit which sanctifies us." Low and lame: truth so far, but not the whole truth. What follows is a mistake. "And accordingly all the ancient baptismal

o Rom. viii. 9. Gal. iv. 6. 1 Pet. i. 11. Act. xvi. 7. Phil. i. 19.
p 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11.

“Creeds, in the primitive Church, were paraphrases upon this form.” The ancient Creeds, generally, were not paraphrases upon this form, but supplements to it^q, by the addition of other articles over and above that of the Trinity. Or when they had any thing of paraphrase upon the form itself, they did not paraphrase *accordingly*, not according to the sentiments of this writer. But explications and paraphrases upon the *form* of Baptism, and upon the *Creeds* too, are to be sought for in the remains of the primitive writers, who recite the form and the Creeds, and declare the faith of all the churches in their time. The oldest writer extant who takes notice of the form of Baptism is Justin the Martyr, who lived and wrote within forty or fifty years after St. John. He, in answer to the charge of *Atheism*, a charge made against the Christians, as owning no God at all, twice affirms and solemnly testifies of the Christians at large, that they worshipped the *Father*, the *Son*, and the *Holy Ghost*. In other parts of his writings he expressly declares and testifies that they worshipped *God* only^r. Put those two positions or facts together, and they make a complete *paraphrase* or comment on the form of Baptism; shewing that *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, into whom Christians were baptized, were understood to be the one God of the Christians. The like might be shewn of the Christian writers (besides other collateral testimonies) all along downwards, and has been often shewn; so that I choose rather to refer^s than to repeat. Much also may be pleaded from the form itself, the design and circumstances of it^t. But all taken together with the other Scripture proofs of the Divinity of the three Persons, and the immediate doctrine and practice of the ancient churches, all confirming the same thing, make so complete a demonstration of what we contend for, that nothing plainer or fuller can be rationally desired. It is a weak way of reasoning to argue only from the simplicity and brevity of ancient Creeds, as if there were a necessity of explicitly opening every important Scripture doctrine in a short memorandum. Creeds were only brief notes, hints, or minutes of the faith of the Church, which the *catechists* were to unfold and explain at large.

^q See my Sermons, vol. ii. p. 188, &c.

^r Ibid. p. 177, &c. Berriman's Sermons, p. 66, 67.

^s Stillingfleet's Vindication of the Trinity, cap. ix. p. 177, &c. My Sermons, vol. ii. p. 177, &c. Taylor's

True Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, p. 100, &c.

^t See Stillingfleet, *ibid.* p. 219, &c. My Sermons, vol. ii. p. 176, &c. Taylor, *ibid.* p. 93, &c. Vitringa, *Observ. Sacr.* tom. ii. cap. 22. p. 813, &c.

St. Austin has given a good account of this matter, whose words I have thrown into the bottom of the page for the satisfaction of the learned reader^u.

After treating of the Sacrament of *Baptism*, the Exposition proceeds (p. 299.) to speak of the other Sacrament of the *Lord's Supper*. Under this article, he gives some account of the *satisfaction* made by the death of Christ for the sins of mankind, as he had before also done in his comment upon the fourth article of the Creed, p. 74. The sum of his account of the high and great atonement is, that "Christ was himself without spot, "and sinless; and therefore his *voluntary* offering of himself "was acceptable to God, and efficacious to procure pardon to "penitents." Now, supposing Christ to be a *creature* only, it is not conceivable how he could have such a degree of merit, by any thing he could do or suffer, as thereby to purchase pardon for a whole world of sinners. Can a creature have any merit at all with God? or could he modestly presume so far upon it, as to offer himself as a satisfaction to divine justice for sinful men? As to his being *sinless*, it was his bounden duty to be so; for every creature, for his own sake, is strictly obliged to abstain from *sin*. As to his making himself a *voluntary* offering, how could he refuse what God had *appointed*, and therefore *commanded*? It could be *voluntary* only as cheerfully obeying what was laid upon him, and what he could not without sin decline. Besides, that since the reward for this service was to be so exceeding high and extraordinary, inasmuch as he was to be preferred before angels and archangels, before all other creatures whatever, and even to be adored and worshipped by them all for doing it; it seems that his submitting to some light and short

^u Est autem Catholica fides in symbolo nota fidelibus, memoriæque mandata, quanta res passa est brevitate sermonis: ut incipientibus atque lactentibus eis qui in Christo renati sunt, nondum Scripturarum divinarum diligentissima et spiritali tractatione atque cognitione roboratis, paucis verbis credendum constitueretur, quod multis verbis exponendum esset proficientibus, et ad doctrinam certa humilitatis atque charitatis firmitate surgentibus. Sub ipsis ergo paucis verbis in symbolo constitutis, plerique hæretici venena sua occultare conati sunt: quibus restitit et resistit divina

misericordia per spiritalis viros, qui Catholicam fidem non tantum in illis verbis accipere et credere, sed etiam domino revelante intelligere atque cognoscere meruerunt. Scriptum est enim, *nisi credideritis, non intelligetis*. Sed tractatio fidei ad muniendum symbolum valet: non ut ipsa pro symbolo gratiam Dei consequentibus memoriæ mandanda et reddenda tradatur; sed ut illa quæ in symbolo retinentur, contra hæreticorum insidias auctoritate Catholica et munitione defensione custodiat. *Augustin. de Fid. et Symbol. cap. i. p. 151. tom. vi. ed. Bened.*

afflictions could have no such exceeding merit in it, as, over and above his own rewards, to purchase also rewards for a whole sinful world. But the author of the Exposition observes, and insists upon it, that "the method wherein, and the terms upon which God will extend his mercy and compassion towards sinners, this depends entirely upon the good pleasure and wisdom of God," p. 300, which is as much as to say, that God has appointed and has accepted of this method of salvation by Jesus Christ: but that this method (so understood) carries any proper *satisfaction*, *merit*, or *atonement* in it, appears not. It is admitting indeed the *name* of satisfaction, but is denying the *thing*. The question is not what God might do in the right of his absolute sovereignty, as to pardoning of sinners; neither is it about what infinite Wisdom might have found out, as to any other methods of doing it: but the question is, whether, when God has pitched upon a method of *expiation*, which according to Scripture accounts does carry real merit and satisfaction in it, it may be right so to understand and interpret that method, as to take from it the very foundation upon which the true notion of satisfaction or merit is built. It is very easy to say, that God has accepted, and is satisfied; for the same persons would say, that God might be appeased or satisfied without any offering for sin at all, if he so pleased: but the Scriptures seem to lay a particular stress and emphasis upon the *propitiation* made by the blood of Christ, as if there were some intrinsic merit, both real and great, in it; which is what wants to be accounted for, upon the principles of the Exposition. But leaving this matter, which has fallen in only by the way, I proceed to note some things of what the author has said more directly upon the subject of the Eucharist.

He observes, p. 304, that "the reason why ancient Christian writers called the Lord's Supper frequently a sacrifice, and an unbloody sacrifice, is not because they imagined it to be literally a sacrifice, but because it was an act of Christian worship, succeeding in the place of Jewish sacrifices. By the same figure of speech, praise and thanksgiving are likewise called a sacrifice." This is not a true account of the *ancient writers*, nor of the reason of the name *sacrifice* given to the Eucharist. Bishop Burnet is more accurate, who, after mentioning the reason here assigned as one, presently adds: "In two other respects it may be also more strictly called a *sacrifice* :

“ one is because there is an *oblation* of bread and wine made in
 “ it, which being sanctified are consumed in an act of religion :
 “ to this many passages in the writings of the Fathers do
 “ relate. — Another respect in which the *Eucharist* is called a
 “ *sacrifice* is, because it is a commemoration and a representation
 “ to God of the sacrifice that Christ offered for us on the cross ;
 “ in which we claim to that, as to our expiation, and feast upon
 “ it as our *peace-offering*, according to that ancient notion that
 “ covenants were by a *sacrifice*, and were concluded in a feast
 “ on the sacrifice. Upon these accounts, we do not deny but that
 “ the *Eucharist* may be well called a *sacrifice* : but still it is a
 “ commemorative sacrifice, and not propitiatory^x,” &c.

The learned Pfaffius, having well considered and examined this matter, declares, or rather confesses it ridiculous to imagine that the ancients by their oblation and sacrifice meant no more than prayer^y. But a full discussion of this question may be seen in Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, where the testimonies of the ancients relating to this matter are produced and considered at large.

The Exposition rightly interprets *verily and indeed taken, &c.* of a real “ participation of the benefits purchased by Christ's “ death,” p. 311. The body and blood of Christ are taken and received by the faithful, not *substantially*, not *corporally*, but *verily* and *indeed*, that is, *effectually*. The sacred symbols are no bare signs, no untrue figures of a thing absent : but the force, the grace, the virtue, and benefit of Christ's body broken and blood shed, that is, of his passion, are really and effectually present with all them that receive worthily. This is all the *real presence* that our Church teaches. The Exposition says, in the same page, that when our Lord “ was discoursing about men's im- “ bibing, digesting, and practising his doctrine, he even then “ called it eating his flesh and drinking his blood,” according to John vi. 35, 56. But there, as I conceive, the author is mistaken ; though it must be owned that some very judicious moderns have gone before him in it. Whoever will attentively read that chapter over may easily enough perceive, that our Lord is not there speaking either of his *doctrine* then taught, or of the *Eucharist* to be instituted, but of the great *atonement* to

^x Bishop Burnet's Exposit. of the Articles, art. xxxi. p. 350.

^y Dicere etiam, veteres per *oblationem* et *sacrificium* nihil intelligere aliud quam *preces*, oppido esset ridiculum,

ostenderetque animum aut veritati non cedentem eandemque dissimulantem, aut nulla ecclesiasticæ antiquitatis notitia imbutum. *Pfaff. de Oblat. Consecr. Euchar.* p. 50.

be made by his passion. The eating his *flesh* and *drinking* his *blood* there mentioned mean the having a part in that atonement, being partakers of the benefit of Christ's death and satisfaction. By this and this only we live; without it we die. It is by our Lord's meritorious death and passion that men are saved, as many as are saved: and were it not for that, no flesh could be saved. "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood," except you participate of the virtue and merit of his body broken and blood shed, that is, of his passion, "you have no life in you." Such as receive *worthily* and *perseveringly* the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper thus participate, but not they only: for all that have ever lived and died in God's favour, from the beginning of the world, have eaten and drank Christ's flesh and blood, have participated of the benefits of his passion; and in that they yet live and stand, and not in any works or merits of their own. This I take to be the doctrine of John vi., which, out of figure, comes plainly to this, that there is no salvation given unto men but in and through the satisfaction of Christ. The Exposition proceeds (p. 312.) to explain the BENEFITS of the worthy receiving the Lord's Supper, thus expressed in the Catechism: THE STRENGTHENING AND REFRESHING OF OUR SOULS BY THE BODY AND BLOOD OF CHRIST, AS OUR BODIES ARE BY THE BREAD AND WINE. The comment hereupon is, "As impenitency is the death, and sins are the diseases of the soul, so a habit of virtue is its health and life, and religious acts are its food and nourishment." True in a certain sense, but not very well fitted to our present purpose: for the Catechism is here speaking, not of the efficacy of habits of virtue to salvation, (which after all are *conditions* only, and have no proper *efficacy*,) but of the force and power of the great atonement. The Expositor therefore should rather have said thus: "As the being excluded from having a part in the merits of Christ's passion is the *death*, and the neglect of the means of grace is the *disease* of the soul; so the participating of the merits of Christ's passion is its *health* and *life*, and the use of the proper means is its *food* and *nourishment*." And thus we come to the use of *worthy receiving*, the means instituted, and one of the most effectual and most direct of any. It supposes or takes in virtue, moral virtue, with it, and goes far beyond it, uniting us to Christ, which moral virtue alone never can do; for it is by *faith*, by *grace*, that we are saved.

I wish the author had here spoken a little more plainly of the divine graces going along with the worthy reception of the holy Communion, that so persons coming to it might have the more suitable idea of it, and veneration for it. He speaks of religious acts having the "promise of procuring blessing and assistance from God;" which is too dry and general. Our 25th Article, speaking of both the Sacraments, says, THEY ARE EFFECTUAL SIGNS OF GRACE, AND GOD'S GOOD WILL TOWARDS US, BY THE WHICH HE DOTHTH WORK INVISIBLY IN US, AND DOTHTH NOT ONLY QUICKEN, BUT ALSO STRENGTHEN AND CONFIRM OUR FAITH IN HIM. The author of the Exposition justly condemns those who think "that at the receiving of the Sacrament their sins are in course pardoned, to the commission of which they return regularly again." But such as these are *unworthy* receivers, not receiving with a true penitent heart or lively faith. Something should have been added about the real remission of sins conveyed and sealed to the *worthy* receiver notwithstanding. For though the grant be revocable, in this case, upon the person's returning to his old sins, yet it is a real and a present grant; like as the lord, in the Gospel, really *forgave* his servant all his *debt*, but revoked the grant upon that servant's new misbehaviour. The author also justly condemns the "unintelligible notion of a certain grace or virtue annexed to the material elements, or to the mere external participation of them, rather after the nature of a charm, than of a religious action." But then, to avoid or obviate another as dangerous an extreme, something should have been inserted to signify that when the *recipient* is fitly qualified and duly disposed, there is a salutary *life-giving* virtue annexed to the Sacrament; which in one of our Church's Homilies is thus expressed: "In the Supper of the Lord there is no vain ceremony, no bare sign, no untrue figure of a thing absent; but as the Scripture saith, the table of the Lord, the bread and cup of the Lord, the memory of Christ, the annunciation of his death; yea, the communion of the body and blood of the Lord, in a marvellous incorporation, which by the operation of the Holy Ghost, (the very bond of our conjunction with Christ,) is through faith wrought in the souls of the faithful; whereby not only their souls live to eternal life, but they surely trust to win their bodies a resurrection to immortality^z." The

^z Homily on the Sacrament, part i.

author of the Exposition has taken a commendable care in recommending *virtuous* dispositions as qualifications proper for the receiving the Sacrament; but then he seems to have been too sparing in setting forth the spiritual advantages and blessings coming down from above through this channel of grace and pardon upon the *worthy* receiver. He says, (p. 314,) that thereby *we* renew our part in the Christian covenant, *we* strengthen our faith, *we* increase our hope, *we* enlarge the bond of universal love: and all this he seems to account for in a *natural* way, according to what he had observed, p. 312, of religious acts, that they “naturally improve and establish men “in virtuous practice:” as if virtuous practice were all, and the Sacraments were to be considered only as a *means* to that *end*. But in reality the Sacraments are additional improvements upon virtuous practices, and are of nearer and more *immediate* efficacy for the uniting us to God and Christ. They supply where the other falls short; they relieve where the other cannot; they finish what the other but begins, our justification and salvation. I know not how to approve what the Exposition says, p. 182, of the two *Sacraments*, in common with other positive institutions, that “they have the nature only of *means to an end*, and that “therefore they are never to be compared with moral virtues.” I cannot understand why positive institutions, such as the two Sacraments especially, should be so slightly spoken of. *Moral virtues* are rather to be considered as a *means* to an end, because they are *previous* qualifications for the Sacraments, and have no proper efficacy towards procuring salvation, till they are improved and rendered acceptable by these Christian performances. By *moral virtues* only we shall never ordinarily come at Christ, nor at heaven, nor to the presence of God: but by the help of the *Sacraments* superadded, to crown and finish the other, we may arrive to Christian perfection, that then we dwell “in Christ and Christ in us: we are one with Christ and Christ “with us;” as our Church Offices express it. And what can be meant by saying, or intimating, that the worthy receiving of the holy Communion is “never to be compared with moral “virtues?” What is the exercise of *moral* virtue, but the exercise of *obedience* to some law, suppose of charity or justice? But the worthy receiving of the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper is at once an exercise of *obedience* to the law of Christ, and of *faith*, of *worship*, and of *repentance*, and carries in it the strongest

inoitement, not only to all *moral virtues*, but all *Christian graces*. Besides, I see but very little reason for slighting *positive institutions* in the general, in comparison of *moral virtue*. It was the breaking a *positive precept* that turned the first man out of Paradise, and entailed mortality upon the whole kind. Abraham was a man of great *moral virtues*, and yet they were not the things that he was chiefly celebrated for. One instance of his obedience to a *positive command* has made his name more famous both in heaven and on earth than all his *moral virtues* put together. The truth of the case, as I conceive, lies here: the *love of God* is the *first* and *great* commandment: and obedience to his *positive institutions* is an *exercise* of that love: and it is sometimes the *noblest* and *best* exercise of it, shewing the greater affection and prompter resignation to the Divine will. He is a proud and a saucy servant that will never obey his master but where he sees the *reason* of the command. It is reason enough for obeying, to every modest and humble servant, that his Lord, so much wiser than he, and to whom he owes all his service, has commanded it. On this account there may be, in some cases, greater excellency and more real virtue in obeying *positive precepts*, than in any *moral virtue*. In short, if the love of God be *moral virtue*, such obedience, being an act of *love*, is an act of moral virtue, and then there is no ground for the distinction: but if there must be a distinction made, then let one be called *moral virtue*, and the other *Christian perfection*, and let any man judge which should have the preference. Indeed they should not be opposed, since both are necessary, and are perfective of each other. But if they must be opposed and compared, I say, *moral virtue* is but the handmaid leading to the door of salvation, which the *use* of the *Sacraments* at length opens, and lets us in. Thus much I have thought proper to plead in behalf of the two venerable Sacraments of our most holy religion; and shall only add, that any contempt of them will be as much a bar to salvation as the contempt of *moral virtues*, and may, for any thing I know, be more provoking to God, as carrying greater defiance in it, and having less temptation to it. The Exposition observes justly enough, that the Sacraments are of "no use or benefit without *moral virtues*, nor can be in any degree equivalent for the want of them." Which is a proper caution to such as are weak enough (if any such there be) to trust to the outward performance, to *unworthy* receiving. But there is another sort

of persons, who, valuing themselves as being in the main good *moral* men, are apt to slight and disesteem this positive institution, this most sublime ordinance, this most excellent worship, and hold themselves safe without frequent communion, or perhaps without ever communicating. And they should be told, that their *moral virtues*, be they real or otherwise, can be of *no use* or *benefit* without this Sacrament, nor in any degree *equivalents* for the want of it. But to pass on.

It is but a very obscure and insufficient account which the Exposition gives of a famous text, 1 Cor. x. 16, THE BREAD WHICH WE BREAK, IS IT NOT THE COMMUNION OF THE BODY OF CHRIST, *the communion of all the members of Christ's body one with another?* So stand the text and comment in the Exposition. But then what shall we make of the words immediately preceding, "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?" The plain meaning is, that there is in the Eucharist a real communication or participation of Christ's broken body and blood shed, that is, of his passion, that is, of the atonement made by it, in which we actually partake, as often as we worthily partake of this holy Sacrament. How our Church understands this text may be seen in our twenty-eighth Article, which quotes the very text in these words; "The bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ." If we look into our older English versions, as Parker's and Tindale's, we shall there find the text thus rendered: IS NOT THE CUPPE OF BLESSYNGE WHICH WE BLESSE PARTAKINGE OF THE BLOUDE OF CHRIST? IS NOT THE BREAD WHICH WE BREAKE PARTAKYNGE OF THE BODYE OF CHRIST? I know not whether the Geneva translators were not the first that changed *partaking* into *communion*; thereby obscuring, in some measure, the sense. But they subjoined a note to clear it, which note is this; "The effectual badge of our conjunction and incorporation with Christ." They should have added, *by our partaking together of the merits of his death or crucifixion*: which would well cohere with the 17th verse immediately following: *Because the bread is one, we being many are one body: for we are all partakers of that one bread.* So I render the text with the late learned Dr. Wells.

I have now run through the most exceptionable parts of the Exposition, such as appeared to me of greatest moment: and the reader will observe that they all relate to points of faith,

worship, or pure theology. I have no fault to find with the author's *morality*, which is excellent: and I could heartily wish that his professed followers in other matters where he differs from us, would at least follow him in that which both he and we equally agree in. I must do him the justice to say, that he appears to have been sincerely well affected to virtue and Christian morality: which is more than can be said of many others who yet make a great stir about *morality*, crying it up in opposition to *faith*; not with any real design to advance either, but insidiously to undermine and destroy both. For after all the pretended aversion of such men to the Christian mysteries, it is not to be doubted but that they have a much greater aversion to Christian practice. They run greedily in with any new schemes of belief, not as containing *true* religion, but as carrying *less* religion in them, and approaching nearer to irreligion. For they judge very right so far, that lopping off the main branches first is a great point gained, and will make it easy afterwards to strike at the root. In the mean while, they can be content, for decency sake, to cry up *virtue* and *morality*, so long as inroads are making upon *faith*, and *Scripture* is thereby struck at; which, as they very well know, is the only sure and solid foundation both of faith and morality. If *Scripture* is once depreciated, and sunk in esteem, what will become of our morality? Natural *religion*, as it is called, will soon be what every man pleases, and will shew itself in little else but natural *depravity*: for supposing the rules of morality to be ever so justly drawn out, and worked up into a regular system, yet, as there will be no certain sanctions (*Scripture* once removed) to bind it on the conscience, no clear account of heaven or hell, or future judgment to enforce it, we may easily imagine how precarious a bottom morality will stand upon.

The result then is, that *Christian* morality is the only one that will in all points answer; and this must be supported by preserving the just authority of the *Christian law*: and this can no otherwise be kept up, but by maintaining the veneration due to sacred Writ, both as to matters of *faith* and *practice*. If we weaken its authority in respect of either, we do it in both, and endanger the whole. There is therefore no effectual way of repairing the breaches already made, but by returning to our old and well-tried principles, and there making our stand. If we once yield to go further than is reasonable or warrantable, in

the subversive way, there is no knowing where or when to stop. All beyond that is wandering in uncertainty, and steering without mark or compass. The first Reformers, here and abroad, proceeded like wise men, reducing religion, as near as could well be, to its pure and primitive state: they went by *rule*, and so knew when they had done enough. There is an absolute necessity of fixing a certain rule, to prevent the endless excursions of flight and fancy. That rule is *Scripture*, but taking *antiquity* along with it, as the best comment upon it. It was wise and excellent advice given in one of our Canons in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1571: "That the Clergy should teach " nothing from the pulpit, as being of religious obligation to the " people to believe, but what should be consonant to the doctrine of the *Old* or *New Testament*, and what the Catholic " *Fathers* and *ancient Bishops* had collected or concluded from " thence^a." How would both *truth* and *learning* flourish, were but this rule carefully observed! Men that know little of the *Fathers* will of course speak with contempt of them. They were *men*, it is true; but they were withal *great* and *good* men: a character which those will never arrive to who presume to flout or despise them. But to proceed: the rule I have already mentioned: there ought we to abide, and there to fix our firm footing. Every departure from it will be a departure, so far, from truth and sobriety; which if carried on but a little way will do mischief, but if pursued to the utmost (as it is natural for a spirit of error to be restless) can end in nothing else but the most deplorable confusion.

I doubt not but those who first began to divide upon the article of the Trinity might have truth and godliness at heart, (as they understood them,) and might design well, not aware of the wild distractions they were bringing us into. And though they have some of them lived to see and observe the deluge of infidelity flowing in upon us, it is probable that even that will not convince them of the false step made at the beginning, to which the rest has been owing: so natural is it for most of us to be fond of our own schemes, and blind to our failings. But certainly indifferent standers-by may easily now see what should have been

^a Imprimis vero videbunt (concionatores) ne quid unquam doceant pro concione, quod a populo religiose teneri et credi velint, nisi quod consentaneum sit doctrinæ Veteris aut

Novi Testamenti, quodque ex illa ipsa doctrina Catholici patres et veteres episcopi collegerint. *Sparrow, Collect.* p. 238.

done at first, and what should never have been attempted. It is plain enough that *Arianism* is but the dupe to *Deism*, as *Deism* again is to *Atheism* or *Popery*: time will shew which, unless we can yet be wise enough to retreat. I shall only add, that we have (God be thanked) still an excellent Church, pure and primitive, and by conforming to it are in as safe a way to salvation as were the ancient martyrs, or other Christians of the best and purest times. Happy might it be for us, could we but forbear tampering, and be content when we are well. Reformation is good, when reformation is wanting: but to be always reforming is no reforming at all: it is behaving as children tossed to and fro with every wind of doctrine. All errors of any moment have been purged off long ago by the care of our Reformers, and why then are we still reforming? Physic may be proper at certain seasons: but to pretend to live constantly upon it, instead of food, is a certain way to impair, and in a little time to destroy, the best and soundest constitution in the world.

THE
NATURE, OBLIGATION, AND EFFICACY
OF THE
CHRISTIAN SACRAMENTS
CONSIDERED;

IN REPLY TO A PAMPHLET,

ENTITLED,

AN ANSWER TO THE REMARKS UPON DR. CLARKE'S EXPO-
SITION OF THE CHURCH CATECHISM.

AS ALSO

*The Comparative Value of Moral and Positive Duties
distinctly Stated and Cleared.*

THE NATURE
OF THE
CHRISTIAN SACRAMENTS
CONSIDERED.

I HAVE read over and considered a pamphlet, entitled, An Answer to the Remarks upon Dr. Clarke's Exposition of the Church Catechism, printed for Mr. Knapton. The author has superficially touched upon the several matters contained in my Remarks, and I may very probably return him a distinct reply, as soon as I have any reason to believe that nothing more considerable is to be expected from other hands. But there is one particular above the rest, which the author seems most to triumph in, *calling*^a upon me with some earnestness, once and again, to give him satisfaction. I shall endeavour to do so in the following sheets, and at the same time to satisfy some very worthy persons, who, having no dislike to what I asserted in the Remarks, of the comparative value of the Sacraments in respect to *moral* duties, but entirely approving the same, do yet wish to see so important a matter more distinctly drawn out, and more minutely guarded against all cavil and exception. This therefore is what, with God's assistance, I shall here undertake for the honour and service of *instituted* religion in general, and for the preserving the dignity of the two Christian *Sacraments* in particular.

^a Page 78, 81.

CHAP. I.

Dr. Clarke's Sentiments on this Head distinctly opened and ascertained.

AS the dispute arises from what Dr. Clarke has laid down in the Exposition, so it will be proper, in the first place, to produce his words, and to fix their precise meaning. Speaking of our Lord's command for receiving the holy Communion, he says thus^a: "Since the command of Christ is *express* and *universal*, it becomes " all pious persons to remove, as soon as possible, the ground or " occasion of the scruple, whatever it be, and prepare themselves " to comply with the command of their Lord. In the doing of " which, they are still always to remember, that *this and all other* " *positive institutions have the nature only of means to an end, and* " *that therefore they are never to be compared with moral virtues,* " nor can ever be of any use or benefit without them, nor can be " in any degree equivalents for the want of them."

These are his words; and that part which I found fault with in my Remarks is here printed in Italic. His manner of expression is not exact, being indeed elliptical, but his sense will be easily ascertained. He makes a comparison between *positive institutions* and *moral virtues*; which is not accurately expressed, because the *opposition*, thus worded, is not plain and direct. *Positive institutions* should be opposed to *moral institutions*; and *moral virtues*, by which he really means *moral duties*, should be opposed to *positive duties*, to make the comparison exact. But in a quick succession of thought it is easy to run ideas one into another, skipping over the intermediate terms which should keep them distinct. To represent this matter to the eye, let the respective oppositions appear thus:

Positive institutions :	Moral institutions.
Positive commands :	Moral commands.
Positive duties :	Moral duties.
Positive virtues :	Moral virtues.

Now, in strictness, the learned Doctor should have said *positive duties* and *moral duties*, to make the comparison clear, and the opposition exact, and to express distinctly what he really means. In his Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion^b, he has much the same thought as here, but a little more clearly expressed: "Even those positive and external observances, the two Sacra-

^a Exposition, p. 281, 282.

^b Page 227. edit. 4.

ments, which are instituted in the Christian religion as means and assistances to keep men steadfast in the practice of those great and moral duties, which are the weightier matters of the Law; even those positive institutions, I say, are, &c." Here he rightly has *positive observances* in the first line, and those he opposes to *moral duties*; which is justly expressed. *Moral virtues* often signify the internal habits of the mind only, abstracting from the outward acts, as when we speak of *benevolence, justice, charity*, and the like. But *moral duties* signify both the inward habits and outward acts, or the inward habits as exerting themselves in outward acts; as when we speak of *feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, relieving the oppressed*, or any thing of the like kind. Now the reader may please to observe, that when Dr. Clarke opposes *positive* to *moral duties*, (for so he must be supposed to mean,) he could never intend to oppose the *external* part only of positive duties to the *internal* part of moral: for if that were his meaning, he might as well have opposed the external part of any *moral* duty to the internal part of the same duty, (*outward almsgiving*, for instance, to *inward mercy*,) which would have been entirely foreign to his purpose: but he must have intended that *positive duties* taken in the whole, including both the outward and inward parts of them, are never to be compared to *moral duties* taken also in the whole, including both their outward and inward constituents. The opposition then intended by Dr. Clarke does not lie between outward acts and inward habits, (which would be altogether foreign,) but between *positive* duties and *moral* duties; that is to say, between obedience both outward and inward to *positive* laws or rules, and obedience both outward and inward to *moral* commandments.

Such being the case, the Doctor's true sense, and full sense as laid down or intimated in the Exposition, appears to me to resolve into the several propositions here following:

1. That *positive* institutions or commands, as *positive*, are always of slighter obligation than *moral*. He speaks in the general of "all positive institutions," that they are "never to be compared with moral."

2. That obedience to positive commands or institutions is *instrumental* only to moral virtue, and is not moral virtue: for he says, that "positive institutions have the nature only of means to an end," by the *end* meaning moral virtue. And if such be the case of *positive* commands, then *positive* obedience must by

analogy and parity of reason be understood as *means* only to *virtue*, not virtue direct.

3. That obedience to positive commands is *never to be compared* with obedience to moral commands. I need not nicely distinguish between *institutions* and *commands* in this case, since the reason is the same in both, and *institutions* are nothing else but standing and permanent commands.

4. That, in particular, the two Christian Sacraments are merely *positive* institutions.

5. That *obedience* to Christ's law concerning them, or the *use* of the Sacraments, is not moral virtue, but *instrumental* only to moral *virtue*.

6. That therefore the use of the Sacraments is *never to be compared* with obedience to moral duties, with acts of moral virtue.

These propositions contained in the Doctor's notion appear to me all, or most of them, mistakes: and it will next be my business thoroughly to examine and discuss them. I take no advantage of the Doctor's phrase of *moral virtues*, by which I shall presume he meant *evangelical virtues* or *Christian graces*: only I could have wished he had expressed himself more accurately, lest from the ambiguous name of *moral virtues*, given sometimes to mere Pagan virtues, any weak persons should think that this high commendation might be passed upon *them*, when they are far from meriting any thing like it, being mean and low things in comparison, and *having* indeed, according to the true and express doctrine of our excellent Church^c, "the nature of sin," as being defective in principle and in direction, and wanting the grace of God^d. On this account it were better to say *Christian virtues*, when we really mean such, than to make use of the lower and more ambiguous name of *moral virtues*. But so long as the ideas are kept distinct and clear, I shall not contend with any man about names or words only. Having premised as much as seemed necessary for the clearing and ascertaining Dr. Clarke's sense, I may now proceed regularly to the points in debate.

CHAP. II.

Of the Distinction between moral and positive Duties.

CUSTOM has, in a manner, authorized this distinction in these

^c Article xiii. ^d See Bishop Burnet on the Articles, p. 131, 132. Norris's Miscellanies, p. 293. Vitring. Observat. Sacr. tom. ii. l. 3. c. 12.

terms, though the terms are none of the most proper. Every law, properly so called, is *moral*, is *regula moralis*, or *regula morum*, a moral rule, regulating the practice of moral agents. But *moral* law in a more restrained sense signifies the same with *natural* law, a law derived from God, consonant to the *nature* and *reason* of things, and therefore of as fixed and unmovable obligation as the nature and reason of things is. *Positive* divine law, in contradistinction to the other, is not founded in the fixed nature or reason of things, or at least not known to be so; being considered only as *prescribed*, and as depending on God's good pleasure either to remove or continue it. There may be some perplexity in determining of several laws appearing in Scripture only, whether to call them *natural* or *positive*. Certain it is, that we are bound to several duties, of natural and eternal obligation, which yet are not commonly referred to the law of nature, nor placed among the moral duties or virtues. Scripture has discovered to us another world, in which God the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, archangels, angels, and saints, make one blessed society, to which every good Christian bears a relation, as a citizen of heaven. By the first principle of the law of nature, "universal and active benevolence towards the whole rational system," (as Bishop Cumberland has justly stated it,) all the social duties we owe to the several persons making up that blessed society must be duties founded in the nature and reason of things, (discovered by revelation,) and of as fixed and unchangeable obligation as any social duties we owe to our own species. Whether our duties to God the Father as Father, and to God the Son in his several capacities, and to God the Holy Ghost, and the duties of respect and love towards angels, (when we shall come to know them,) have been reckoned among the *moral* duties or no, I know not: but sure I am, that they have as much the nature of *moral* duties, and may be as justly so styled, as any *moral* duties we owe to one another, and are of as fixed and unalterable obligation. Indeed they are in some respects of more lasting obligation than many moral or natural duties, such as *almsgiving*, *visiting the sick*, *relieving the oppressed*, &c. For these will cease with the present system of things, but the other will abide for ever. I am well enough pleased with an observation of a grave and serious writer^e, (whom I could wish

^e S. Colliber of Revealed Religion, p. 154, 155.

to have oftener agreeing with me,) that “the faith which the
 “Christian revelation requires in its great Revealer—as import-
 “ing our acceptance of him for our supreme Lord, *is what* we were
 “antecedently obliged to by the very *law of nature*, on supposi-
 “tion that his real Divinity was discoverable by us. In this case,
 “he that believeth not is condemned already, viz. by the law of
 “nature.” Upon this foot, and in this way of reasoning, many
 of the Scripture duties, which we have otherwise no knowledge
 of, are yet justly referred to the law of nature, since Scripture
 has discovered what foundation they have in the nature and
 truth of things. Thus, for instance, *to seek first the kingdom of
 God and his righteousness^f, to confess Christ before men^g, to take up
 the cross^h, to honour the Son even as the Fatherⁱ, to set our affections
 on things above^k, to pray without ceasing^l, to resist the Devil^m, to
 contend earnestly for the faithⁿ, with many more of like kind, are
natural and *moral* duties, of universal obligation to as many as
 know them, and in their very nature immutable, and eternal as
 any other *moral* duties. The same may be observed of the ne-
 gative Scripture precepts, such as these following: *not to deny
 Christ before men^o, not to blaspheme the Holy Ghost^p, not to defile
 the temple of God^q, not to communicate unworthily^r, Quench not the
 Spirit^s, Love not the world^t. These are precepts of unalterable
 obligation, fixed in the very nature and reason of things, ac-
 cording to the discoveries Scripture has made of them. They
 cannot justly be called *positive* precepts, because unchangeable,
 and because they naturally and necessarily flow from the prime
 fundamental law of nature, *universal benevolence*, and are es-
 sential to the common happiness of the whole system of intelli-
 gent beings.**

These things considered, I should choose to divide our several
 duties into their proper classes, somewhat differently from the
 common divisions. Let them first be divided into *natural* and
supernatural; by natural, meaning those discoverable by the
 bare light of nature; and by *supernatural*, meaning those that
 are discovered by revelation. Then as to *supernatural* duties,
 let them again be distinguished into *constant* and *occasional*, or,
 if you please, into *moral* and *positive*; meaning by *constant* or

^f Matt. vi. 33. ^g Matt. ix. 13.

^h Matt. x. 38. xvi. 24.

ⁱ John v. 23.

^k Coloss. iii. 3.

^l 1 Thess. v. 17.

^m James iv. 7.

ⁿ Jude 3. ^o Matt. x. 33.

^p Matt. xiii. 32. ^q 1 Cor. iii. 17.

^r 1 Cor. xi. 27.

^s 1 Thess. v. 19.

^t 1 John ii. 15.

moral, such supernatural duties as are of eternal and immutable obligation; and by *occasional* or *positive*, meaning such as are temporary or changeable. And here I would observe of the *supernatural* moral duties, that though many of them are *materially*, or in the outward act, the same with the duties of natural religion, yet *formally* they are not the same, as being founded in higher principles, and upon better promises, and wrought out by the Spirit of God. *Faith*, *hope*, and *charity*, for instance, are *natural* duties or virtues: but the correspondent *supernatural* duties or virtues, bearing the same names, are of a much more excellent kind, and so are not *formally*, or precisely, the same with the other.

As to supernatural *positive* precepts or duties, some may be called *transient*, and some *permanent*. Of the transient sort was the first law given to Adam, and of like kind were several occasional precepts given by God to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Joshua, Saul, David, and to the Prophets. Of the *permanent* kind were the *ritual*, and some judicial precepts given to the Jews, which were to last as long as the Jewish polity should last. Of the like *permanent* kind are the precepts concerning the two Christian Sacraments, which shall continue as long as the Christian Church, or as the world shall continue. I would further observe of *positive* precepts, that though we are used to consider them merely as *prescribed*, and to resolve them commonly into the mere will and pleasure of the Legislator, yet they are always founded upon *reasons*, known perhaps in part to us, but perfectly known to God; and so they are ultimately resolvable into infinite wisdom and goodness. Having premised these general things as preparatory to the main questions I am to go upon, I now proceed more directly and closely to what I intend.

CHAP. III.

Of the comparative Value, Excellency, or Obligation of moral and positive Precepts, or Duties.

DR. CLARKE and his followers lay it down for a rule and a principle, that *positive* precepts or duties are never to be compared with *moral*. I suppose they mean as to their value or excellency, or strictness of obligation. I see no ground or foundation for this general rule: but it appears to rest only upon a false presump-

tion, and to resolve at length into a want of just discernment, into an unperceived confusion of ideas. I believe it will at last be found, that the *πρῶτον ψεῦδος*, the fundamental error in this whole affair, has been the confounding *external* with *positive*, as if the words were tantamount, and the not considering that *positive* duties have both an *inward* and an *outward* part, both a *formal* and a *material* constituent, as well as *moral* duties have. To make this plainer, let us consider *almsgiving*, a moral duty. There is the outward act, or *material* part, giving to the poor: which if done for ostentation or vanity, or without a true principle of piety and charity, is no *virtue*, is nothing worth in moral account. Next, let us consider receiving the holy Communion, a *positive* duty. There is the *opus operatum*, as the schools speak, the outward act, or material part of the duty, which if performed in hypocrisy, without faith, reverence, or repentance, is nothing worth in moral account. But if it be performed as it should be, it is as truly an act of moral obedience, and as much an exercise of virtue, as almsgiving, having all the requisites proper to make it real virtue. It is not the material outward part of any act that makes it *virtue*; even the brutes themselves in bearing burdens, &c. do many things *materially* good, tending to the general good of mankind: but it is the inward principle, the *choosing* what is materially good, in conformity to a divine law, this is what constitutes the action *morally* good, and gives it both the name and nature of *virtue*. In *positive* duties, though the *matter* in itself considered is indifferent, yet the obedience is *moral*, and disobedience in such cases is *immoral*; because it is an eternal and unchangeable maxim, that God is to be obeyed in whatsoever he commands. Obedience in this case is acting for the *common happiness*, as the common happiness is nearly and deeply concerned in keeping up the reverence due to Divine authority; and disobedience, on the other hand, is acting against the common happiness, since nothing can be more destructive to the common good of the universe than the contemning or slighting the authority of its high Lord and Lawgiver. Seeing therefore that the morality or immorality of an act, in respect even of *moral* or *natural* duties, lies in the obedience or disobedience to a Divine law; and since there is the like obedience or disobedience to a Divine law in cases of *positive* duty, and that the obedience or disobedience in either case is equally moral or immoral; it will from hence follow, that the judging of

the value or the obligation of the Divine precepts merely from their *positive* or *moral* nature, is making a false estimate, and going by a wrong rule. For *positive* or *moral* makes no difference at all, either as to the weight of the command, or the morality of the action, or the obligation of the precept, which must be judged of by other rules, and measured by other circumstances, as shall be shewn in the sequel. But to be a little more distinct and particular. I may draw out what concerns this matter into the following propositions :

I. *Positive* commands of God are as strictly obligatory as any other commands whatever, for the time being.

II. There may be as great virtue (or greater) in obeying *positive* precepts, as in obeying *moral* ones.

III. There may be as great (or greater) iniquity and impiety in disobeying *positive* precepts, as in disobeying *moral* ones.

IV. The *comparative* value of any duties above other duties depends not upon their *positive* or *moral* nature, but upon their relation to or connection with the general good of the whole rational system, taken in its largest compass, both of extent and duration.

These several propositions may want some proofs, or some explication, among common readers ; and therefore I shall take the pains to treat of them severally, and more at large, in their order.

I. I say, *positive* commands of God are as strictly obligatory as any other commands whatever, for the time being. All obligation arises from some law, and it is the Divine law that constitutes moral good and evil. Things may be *naturally* good or bad, that is, may have a natural tendency to promote happiness or misery, may be *materially* good or evil, that is, useful or hurtful, previous to any law : but they cannot be *formally* and morally good and evil without respect to some law, natural or revealed ; for " where no law is, there is no transgression."

I know some persons, and Dr. Clarke himself^a among others, have fancied I know not what *obliging* and binding force in the nature and reasons of things, considered as previous or antecedent to all laws, natural or revealed. But it will be hard to make any good sense or consistency of such a notion. Obligation antecedent to all law is a contradiction and flat absurdity.

^a Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion, p. 35. fourth edition.

Wherefore those who have looked deeper into the case have rightly resolved all obligation into some Divine law, natural or revealed. If the reader would see the contrary notion thoroughly examined and confuted, he may find it done to his hands in a very ingenious treatise which I refer to at the bottom of the page^x. If therefore all obligation resolves into the force of Divine law, and if *positive* duties derive their obligation from the very same source that all other duties do, it is very manifest that *positive* precepts are as strictly obligatory as any moral ones can be, considered merely as moral, other circumstances being equal. The authority of the same Lawgiver is the same in both, and so the commands are alike obligatory for the time being. For though one be permanent or perpetual, and the other transient or temporary, yet it is as much the will of God that we should obey the temporary command for the term it is intended for, as it is that we should obey the other for any given duration, or for ever and ever. Upon the whole, we may affirm, that it is always our bounden duty to obey the commands of God, be the matter of them moral or positive: and it will be always sinful to disobey the commands of God, whether they be occasional or perpetual. God may, in some circumstances, insist upon obedience to a positive command, more than upon obedience to the moral: and when he does so, the positive command carries the stricter and stronger obligation. Whatever it be, moral or positive, which for the time being God most strictly requires, that is the most obligatory; and to disobey in that instance is the most heinous impiety. For the will of God in these cases is our immediate rule to go by, and is the ground and measure of all obligation. Unerring wisdom has reasons by which it constantly steers; and we cannot doubt but where God lays the greatest stress, there are the greatest reasons: but it will be enough for any creature, in such cases, to know that Divine Wisdom insists upon it, and strictly requires it: for that alone is sufficient, without knowing more, to create the strictest and strongest obligation.

II. The second thing which I undertake to maintain is, that there may be as great virtue (or greater) in obeying *positive*

^x The Foundation of Morality in Theory and Practice considered, in an Examination of the learned Dr. Samuel Clarke's Opinion concerning the Ori-

ginal of Moral Obligation, &c. by John Clarke, Master of the Public Grammar School in Hull.

precepts, as in obeying *moral* ones. This may be made appear divers ways. If a positive command be more difficult, requiring a greater degree of self-denial; if the good intended by it be of a more excellent kind, or more diffusive, or more lasting; in all such cases there may be greater virtue in obeying the positive command than in obeying moral. I have before intimated that obedience to positive precepts is really *moral*, (though the *matter* be indifferent,) and is properly *virtue*: and now I am to shew that it may be in some cases (I do not say that it always is) greater virtue.

1. If the positive command be more difficult, requiring a greater degree of self-denial. It has been sometimes the method of an all-wise God, to prove, exercise, and perfect his most faithful servants by some additional *positive* precepts, over and above what he expects or requires of common men. Thus he proved Abraham by two very extraordinary *positive* commands; one, to leave his own country and his father's house, which he meekly, humbly, implicitly obeyed, "not knowing whither he went;" the other, to sacrifice his most dearly beloved son, in which also Abraham was all obedience. I need not say what a complication of virtues, and what elevated degrees of each, were shewn in those two instances of his obedience, much beyond any thing that ever was or ever could be shewn in the ordinary way of mere moral duties. The nature of the thing itself speaks it, and the Scripture encomiums given of Abraham's faith, hope, and resignation, abundantly confirm it.

It was with a view to Abraham's case, and any other the like cases, that I observed in my Remarks, (p. 46,) "that obedience to positive institutions is sometimes the noblest and best exercise of the love of God, shewing the greater affection, and prompter resignation to the Divine will." Adding these words, "He is a proud and a saucy servant that will never obey his master but where he sees the *reason* of the command. It is reason enough for obeying, to every modest and humble servant, that his Lord, so much wiser than he, and to whom he owes all his service, has commanded it." Upon these words, the Answerer thus comments, p. 80. "The reader is from hence to imagine that our Saviour has required an implicit blind resignation to his will, in the institution of his Sacraments." But what I said referred to positive institutions or commands *in the general*, as I expressly noted, p. 46, and not

to the *Sacraments* in particular: and by *Lord*, I understood God as giving *positive* precepts to Adam, to Abraham, &c. and not *Christ* as instituting the *Sacraments*. I never said nor thought that the *reasons* of the two *Sacraments* are not assigned in Scripture; I intend to shew that they are, and that those *reasons* are as weighty and as considerable as those upon which *moral* duties are founded. But that God may and does upon special occasions require an *implicit* resignation to his commands, and that the paying such *implicit* resignation to God (as did Abraham) is a noble exercise of faith, and of the love of God, I thought had been unquestionable. Our author, by twice calling it "blind resignation," and by his signifying that it would be a "real injury to our Lord's character" to represent him "as acting in this manner," in "requiring such affection, such blind resignation;" I say, by all this, he seems to think that God has no right to require any such *implicit*, or, as he calls it, *blind* resignation. Which if it be his principle, as I am willing to hope it is not, it is what he ought to repent of, for it is not only proud and irreverent, but indeed horribly profane.

As to what our Lord has undoubtedly *commanded* in the New Testament, we ought most certainly to comply with it, whether we know all or any of the *reasons* for his commanding it, or no. *Implicit* resignation is due to all his certain commands: and if he himself has given us the *reasons*, it is a favour that he has done so. But I do not observe that he always gave *reasons*: particularly when he instituted the form of Baptism in the name of *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, I do not remember that he assigned the reasons for joining *Son* and *Holy Ghost* with the *Father*: but he expected to be obeyed therein presently, leaving it to the Apostles afterwards to intimate the reasons by the doctrine they taught. But to proceed.

Sometimes *positive* precepts have been given by God, and not complied with, or not without great reluctance, by men that would readily have practised all *moral* duties: which shews how much greater a perfection it may be, in some cases, to comply with *positive* than with *moral* commands. The case of Moses's being ordered to appear before Pharaoh, and that of the Prophet Jonas, and a third of the *young man* in the Gospel, are known cases. Had they all readily complied with the *positive* Divine orders given, how vastly more perfect had they thereby shewn themselves, than by being merely good *moral* men!

2. If the positive precept aims at some benefit of a higher kind, or more diffusive, or more lasting; then also obedience to such *positive* precept is preferable to moral. The command given to the Apostles to "preach the Gospel to every creature" was, I suppose, a *positive* command: the good intended by it was the salvation of mankind hereafter, as well as their temporal felicity here. There could not be any benefit of a higher kind, or more diffusive, or more extensive in duration, reaching to all eternity: therefore, obedience to such precept, though only *positive*, was of greater value and excellency than *moral* virtues; low attainments, low works in comparison. What is feeding the hungry, a few only at most, clothing the naked, relieving the widow and orphan, or the like, if compared with bringing life, eternal life and happiness, to a whole world? As to cases or instances wherein positive duties may be preferred to moral, that depends upon the time and place, and other circumstances. When pious Mary expressed her devout affection toward our blessed Lord by anointing his head, (a *positive* duty, as I conceive,) our Lord approved and commended it above *charity* to the poor (a moral duty) at that time, giving this reason: "The "poor ye have always with you, but me ye have not always". When Martha desired the assistance of her sister Mary, which in common cases would have been kind and friendly, and *moral* duty, our blessed Lord commended Mary for attending rather to good instructions relating to a better world, preferring the *positive* duty, calling it, in those circumstances, the "good part," and the "one thing needful." It depends therefore, as I said, upon the circumstances, and requires good judgment and discretion to determine well and wisely, when to prefer a *positive* duty, and when a *moral* one: but enough has been offered to shew that the *positive* duties are sometimes preferable, and carry more virtue in them.

III. But I further promised to shew that there may be as great, or greater, iniquity and impiety in disobeying *positive* precepts, than in disobeying moral ones. There may be greater contempt of the Divine authority, greater profaneness shewn in this way than in the other. I do not say there always is, but that there sometimes, or very often, may be. When God in an extraordinary manner is pleased to send out his precepts by an

γ Matth. xxvi. 2. John xii. 8.

express from heaven, that is a circumstance which gives uncommon weight to the command or prohibition; and disobedience to it then carries a degree of contempt and defiance in it, more than common breaches of the law of nature does. In fact we find, as I before observed in my Remarks^z, (and no reply has been hitherto so much as attempted to it,) that the violating one *positive* precept first brought in sin, and thereupon a flood of misery into the world, which we yet feel at this day. I may further mention the case of King Saul, who, though he was in many respects an *immoral* man, yet never offended so highly as in the breach of a *positive* precept, which is called *rebellion*^a, and is represented in as black colours as possible, ranked with *witchcraft*, *iniquity*, and *idolatry*, the most heinous provocations: and it was for this principally he was rejected from being king, and forfeited both his life and his kingdom^b. His disobedience in that particular was striking at God's authority, and treating his Maker with contempt, and therefore was highly profane. The two instances already given may sufficiently shew how wicked and how dangerous it may sometimes be to violate *positive* commands. And as to *positive institutions*, which are permanent positive commands, we may see, by the penalties appointed by God in the Jewish law for the breach of them, the stress that was laid upon them. *Circumcision* was bound upon the Jews by stronger penalties than many *moral* duties: and the *gathering of sticks* on the Sabbath day was death by Divine appointment^c, while *theft*, and several other breaches of the *moral* law, were more mildly dealt with. So that, if we may judge of a crime by the penalties affixed to it, we have no reason at all to suppose that God was less displeased with the breach of some *positive* institutions, than with transgressions against the *moral* ones. From all which I may now presume to draw this inference; that the distinction of *moral* and *positive* will do us very little service, as to the passing a judgment either upon the comparative value of Divine precepts, or upon the comparative iniquity or danger of transgressing them: but this important problem must be solved, this doubt decided, by quite other measures, and by other rules.

IV. I proceed then, fourthly, to observe, that the comparative value of any duties, above other duties, depends not upon their

^z Remarks, p. 46.

^a 1 Sam. xv. 23.

^b 1 Sam. xxviii. 17, 18.

^c Numb. xv. 32, &c.

positive or *moral* nature, but upon their relation to and connection with the primary law of nature, the general good of the whole intelligent system, considered in its largest compass both of extent and duration. To know the value and importance of any Divine precept, ask not whether it be *positive*, or whether it be *moral*, but ask what depends upon paying a conscientious obedience to it. Charity towards men's souls, for instance, is greater charity than relieving only their bodily wants; and the converting men to the true religion, in order to bring them to heaven, is of much higher importance than procuring only their temporal felicity in this life. Moral virtues, strictly so called, look no higher than the temporal happiness of society, of the whole community of mankind: but moral virtues evangelized or improved into Christian duties have partly a view to promote the good of human society here, but chiefly to qualify the observers of them for a much more blessed and more enduring society hereafter. Take mankind in their whole extent, as immortal beings, ordained for eternity, and as designed to make up one society with Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, with angels also and archangels, and with one another; and when you have this view before you, and any duties are to be compared together, consider, upon a competent weighing of all circumstances, which is best calculated to promote the common good of the whole, and which may be omitted with least damage to the general felicity. If it be asked, whether I may *sometimes* neglect the public prayers of the Church, to be employed in relieving widows or orphans, or doing the utmost service I am capable of to my prince, or country, or to mankind; I answer, it is right so to do, upon occasion, or in some particular exigencies, because the honour of God and his ordinances would not thereby suffer, but mankind would be served in it and by it. But if the question be, whether I may *totally*, or *very frequently*, neglect the public prayers on any such pretence; I say, no. Such a profane neglect of the Divine ordinances would amount to a *contempt* of them, and the ill example therein given would do infinitely more hurt to mankind than all the services of any single man, or any body of men, could compensate. More depends upon keeping up a face and sense of religion in the world, than upon any moral virtues. In truth, moral virtues themselves depend upon it, and can never subsist without it. So that any pretence of setting up *moral virtues* in opposition to *religious duties* is under-

mining morality instead of serving it, and is defeating the very end which it pretends to secure. Enough has been said to shew by what rules and measures we may, as occasions happen, judge of the comparative value of one duty above another. I have been forced to fetch a wide compass, in order to clear up this matter to common readers: and now, having fixed and settled the principles upon which I proceed, if these principles be true and just, there can be no great difficulty in returning proper answers to all objections.

CHAP. IV.

Objections answered.

OBJECTIONS to the principles before laid down are either drawn from *Scripture* or from *reason*. I shall consider both in their order, omitting none that the Answer to the Remarks has hit upon, but supplying some which he has not mentioned, that the readers may have the larger view of what belongs to the question.

I. I begin with the objections from Scripture. The Answer to the Remarks observes, that positive institutions, when compared with moral virtues or moral duties, “are treated as mere nothings^d, as things not required at all. See,” says he, “how the prophets have treated the whole Mosaic dispensation, when compared with doing justly, and loving mercy, and walking humbly with God.” But the gentleman is much mistaken, if he imagines that this at all affects the question about the obligation of positive commands. “Walking humbly with God” is walking in the way of his commandments, in all the statutes and ordinances of the Lord blameless. Obeying the *positive* commands of God is walking humbly with him, and, in some cases, as in that of Abraham particularly, is more peculiarly and eminently so: and Saul never acted more *proudly*, nor ever offended more highly, than when he transgressed against a *positive* command.

God slighted sacrifices, one part only of obedience, and hypocritically performed, in comparison of whole and entire obedience. He slighted them, in some cases, not because they were *positive* duties, but because they were *part* only of what God required, and reduced to an *external* part, separate from that

^d Answer to the Remarks, p. 91.

true and sincere piety which ought to have gone along with them. For the like reasons, and in the like circumstances, God will as much slight any *moral* duties when hypocritically and outwardly performed, upon ill principles, or upon no principles. "Though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and have not "charity, it profiteth me nothing^e." A man may feed the poor for ostentation or vanity, may clothe the naked for his own interest, may visit the sick for his curiosity, may relieve the widow and fatherless for the ends of vain-glory and popularity; and then those outward *moral* performances will be altogether as contemptible as the *hypocritical* sacrifices of the Jews were, which the Prophet so justly censures. Or if they had not been *hypocritical*, yet if they were offered only as *partial* obedience, and as a kind of composition in lieu of the whole; in this view also they deserved to be spoken of with contempt and disdain. And the like may be said also of any *moral* duties, if amounting only to a *partial* obedience. If a man, for instance, is charitable to the poor, but yet indulges brutal lust; or if he is sober, chaste, temperate, but exceeding *covetous* withal and extorting, such *partial* obedience is as contemptible as were the Jewish sacrifices. "Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend "in one point, he is guilty of all^f." I say then, that the sacrifices of the Jewish dispensation were not slightly spoken of on account of their being *positive* institutions, but either on account of their being made mere *outward* and *hypocritical* performances, or as being at best no more than *partial* obedience; in which cases, even *moral* services are as contemptible as *positive*. Now let us proceed.

The author objects further, as follows: "§ The principles laid "down by the prophets of old, and confirmed by our Saviour "himself in his approbation of the maxim, *I will have mercy and "not sacrifice*, are directly contradictory to those which the "remarker insists upon." To which I answer: that maxim, "I will have mercy rather than sacrifice^h," is first applied by our blessed Saviour, by way of justification of himself for preaching the Gospel to *publicans*. Matt. ix. 11. The *ritual* laws restrained the Jews from conversing familiarly with *heathens*, or unclean persons; notwithstanding which, our blessed Lord sat down to eat with publicans in order to convert them, shewing

^e 1 Cor. xiii. 3.

§ Answer to the Remarks, p. 71.

^f James ii. 10.

^h Hosea vi. 6. Matth. ix. 13. xii. 7.

mercy to their souls. I know not whether this kind of *mercy* will be taken into our author's list of *moral* virtues, nor whether he will reckon preaching the Gospel among the *positive* or the *moral* duties. If he thinks it *positive*, then this application made by our blessed Lord in that instance is not to his purpose: for all that it proves is, that one *positive* duty of great consequence is preferable to another *positive* duty of slighter consequence. However that be, I will venture to assure him, that wherever one duty is preferred to another, it is not because one is *moral* and another is *positive*, but because one is more important, in such and such circumstances, than the other. That is the rule to go by, as observed above: the other is mere imagination. I would further observe to him, that when King Saul transgressed a *positive* command, the Prophet in that case applied to him a maxim very like to that of Hosea vi. 6. or tantamount to it. "Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of ramsⁱ." Obedience, we see, is the thing that God requires, be it in a *positive* instance or a *moral*. Only we are to judge from the circumstances, in doubtful cases, which is the precept then chiefly to be regarded, which most insisted upon, or necessary to be insisted upon, and so we may learn how to perform the most acceptable obedience.

Had the Jews of old ever been in any disposition to throw off the *legal* rites, and to abolish the *daily sacrifice*, we should have had more tragical complaints of it from the Prophets than of any other of their immoralities or abominations. But indeed they never durst come up to that height of profaneness: for that would have amounted to an open revolt, and a total apostasy from God. Immoralities are high misdemeanours; but throwing off all *positive* laws, all *instituted* religion, is all immorality at once, is compendious wickedness, and defiance to the God of heaven. We know that the *daily sacrifice* ceased under Antiochus Epiphanes; which was a misfortune only to the Jews, and not their fault: and yet even that misfortune is described beforehand in tragical colours by the prophet Daniel^k, as a sad and dismal judgment upon the people. Such is the regard due to *positive* institutions, while they continue in force, or while they have not been repealed by the same authority that gave them.

ⁱ 1 Sam. xv. 22.

^k Daniel viii. See also Jeremiah's Lament. ii. 6. of another like case.

The Jews, however otherwise wicked, were never impudent enough to leave off their sacrifices and solemn assemblies : which is so far from shewing the contemptible nature or slight obligation of those *positive* observances, that it rather shews quite the contrary. They are the last things that even the wickedest of men will throw off, because the so doing is downright apostasy. It is a step beyond common crimes or great immoralities, and such as none can take till they are mad enough to run any the most desperate lengths. Men may break through the laws of the *second* table, and there may yet be hopes of reclaiming them, while the laws of the *first* (which are of primary obligation, and the foundation of all the rest) have any hold of them : but if they throw off even the laws of the *first table* too, they are then lost and gone beyond recovery. But I pass on to what the Objector has to urge further.

“ The Prophets,” says he¹, “ tell us,—To what purpose is the “ multitude of your sacrifices unto me? I delight not in the “ blood of bullocks.—When ye come to appear before me, who “ hath required this at your hands, to tread my courts^m? ” Very well : and yet these very things, which the Prophet here speaks so slightly of are elsewhere styled a “ sweet savour unto “ the Lordⁿ. ” Which is a demonstration that not the sacrifices themselves, but the bad manner of preparing them, the evil dispositions defiling them, the wickedness that crept into them; these were what the Prophet’s censure was laid upon : and therefore he speaks as slightly of *prayers* in the same chapter^o, (though prayer is commonly reckoned among the *moral* duties,) for the *prayer* of the wicked is an *abomination*^p in the sight of God. But my Corrector says further, “ How easy would it “ have been to have replied to Isaiah, upon the Remarker’s “ principle, that obedience to a positive institution is at once an “ exercise of obedience to the law, and of faith, of worship, and “ of repentance ! ” Yes certainly, and so it is, when the obedience is *sincere* and duly circumstantiated. And yet the Remarker will not scruple to speak as slightly and contemptibly of *unworthy* receiving of the Sacrament, as Isaiah spoke of the *unworthy* offering of sacrifices. Who has required it at the hands of *profane* men, while such, to come to Christian Baptism, or to the

¹ Answer to the Remarks, p. 71.

^m Isaiah i. 11, 12.

ⁿ Levit. i. 9.

^o Isaiah i. 11, 12.

^p Prov. xxiii. 9.

holy Sacrament, to defile these sacred mysteries and to increase their own damnation? Nevertheless, *worthy* receiving is literally what I said it was, and all that I said, as I shall shew more distinctly in due time and place. But the Objector goes on^q.

“The Prophet certainly thought and acted upon a different principle, when, having treated, as it were, with contempt the positive institutions of the law, he adds moral virtues, as the things which should render them acceptable to God.—Wash ye, make ye clean^r, &c.” The Prophet, I presume, had more sense and more piety than to treat any of God’s ordinances with *contempt*. What he contemned was, the *profanation* of those ordinances, not the ordinances themselves; or, to speak more strictly, the ordinances as *profaned*, and not merely as *positive* ordinances. Any *moral* performances, if outward only and hypocritical, or if otherwise cancelled by iniquity and disobedience, would have been as *worthless* as any thing the Prophet speaks of. The Prophet bids the people “cease to do evil, learn to do well.” Is not obeying God’s ordinances, whether positive or moral, *doing well*? How does this exclude *positive* institutions? But the Prophet adds, “Seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.” Right, he mentions the particular articles in which the Jews were most faulty at that time. At other times, they are as much blamed for profaning and polluting the Sabbaths^s, *positive* ordinances: and had any of them omitted *circumcision*, a *positive* ordinance too, they would not have been admonished only by a Prophet, but “cut off from the people^t.” However, I allow that mere *outward acts*, whether in positive or moral duties, are worth nothing in a religious account. And as soon as the Objector knows how to distinguish between *outward acts* and *positive* duties, and between alighting some positive duties, and slighting them *as such*; he may then easily answer every objection he has raised.

He goes on to St. James, who, as he observes, describing pure religion, “puts it upon moral actions, to visit the fatherless and “widow”, &c.” No doubt but the duties which St. James there mentions, if performed as they should be, and upon right Christian principles, are parts of *pure religion*: and so are many other duties both positive and moral, which he has not there

^q Answer to the Remarks, p. 72.

^s Ezek. xx. 13, 16, 24. xxii. 8. xxiii. 38.

^r Isaiah i. 16, 17.

^t Gen. xvii. 14.

^u James i. 27.

named, and which yet are as necessary as the other, and necessary to complete the other; for God will not be served by halves. The same St. James exhorts his converts to "submit themselves to God^x," which certainly includes submission to all his commandments: and he further advises them, in time of sickness, to call for the elders of the Church to pray over them, and to anoint them with oil, promising them that the prayer of faith should save the sick^y, and that if he had committed sins, they should be forgiven him. Surely St. James had no contemptible opinion of positive ordinances. I may add, that he speaks very highly of Abraham's obedience to a positive precept.

But the Objector has another text, which one would not easily have thought of, and it is to shew "the efficacy of moral virtue beyond dispute." It is Rom. ii. 25, 26. which runs thus: "Circumcision verily profiteth if thou keep the law, but if thou be a breaker of the law, thy circumcision is made uncircumcision." It is very odd to cite a text to prove the efficacy of the works of the law, against the whole tenor of the Apostle's doctrine every where else. For the Apostle's professed design, and the whole turn of his argument in several of his Epistles, is to persuade men not to trust to the efficacy of the works of the law, because indeed no man's works would be or could be perfect enough to trust to; for which reason he advises them rather to trust to the efficacy of faith, that is, to the grace of the Gospel covenant sealed in the blood of Christ, by which alone men might justly hope for salvation. Not that good works were not necessary conditions, though wanting that proper efficacy to salvation which the alone merits of Christ's death supplied.

But to return to our Objector, and to take notice of his marvellous comment. "Positive institutions," says he, "profit, if thou keep the law," (*N. B.* the Jewish law, for that the Apostle is plainly speaking of,) "they are good means to make men virtuous, and consequently are profitable." The truth is, the works of the Jewish law, both natural and positive, (for the Apostle takes all in, ceremonial, moral, and judicial,) those works, if exactly and to a tittle performed, might have answered some purpose, because, according to promise and covenant, a Jew that should keep the law was to have life therein^z. And therefore circumcision, (considered here as the seal of the covenant,

^x James iv. 7.

^y James v. 14, 15.

^z Levit. xviii. 5.

rather than as a *positive* duty,) which made a man "debtor to "the whole law^a," might be of some use, provided he should keep the *whole* law, otherwise it would be hurtful, being the taking up a burden that he should not be able to bear. Therefore, since no man could wisely trust so far to his own strength as to hope to be saved by *works*, St. Paul constantly advises to trust to the *grace* of God in Christ, which alone could supply the defective obedience even of the best men, and make it acceptable with God. But this part of the dispute may more properly come in under what I intend upon the Sacraments, and is but a kind of digression in this place: only because *positive* institutions are concerned in it, it was necessary to take some notice of it.

I have now run through all that the Objector had to urge from *Scripture* in favour of *moral duties*, as being absolutely preferable to *positives*: and it does not appear that he has been able to prove his point.

II. I come in the next place to objections drawn from the nature or reason of the thing:

1. The first and principal^b, in the words of Archbishop Tillotson, is as follows; "Natural and moral duties are approved of "God for themselves, on their own account, and for their own "sake, upon account of their own natural and intrinsical goodness; but the ritual and instrumental parts of religion are only "pleasing to God in order to these, and so far as they tend to "beget and promote them in us."

In answer to this plea, I must first observe, that the *intrinsical* goodness here spoken of means *natural* goodness only, or beneficial tendency, such as appears in almsgiving, liberality, &c. and which is the same, though the thing be done out of vanity or ostentation, or other worse principle: it follows the outward act. But our question is about *moral goodness*, which lies in the *obedience* to the *Divine law*, and which is *equally* seen in an indifferent matter, as in a thing which is naturally and *materially* of beneficial tendency. I must next observe, that obedience to a *positive* law, as *preaching the Gospel*, for instance, may be of more beneficial influence, and may therefore have more intrinsical goodness in it than *moral* duties, because it tends to instruct, enlighten, improve, and save mankind, and that not for the present only, but to all eternity. It must not therefore be

^a Galat. v. 3.

^b Answer to the Remarks, p. 75.

said that *positive* duties, as to their *material* part or outward act, have not a beneficial tendency: they generally have, and God ordains them for those outward ends and uses, besides the inward use they have upon the person practising the same, if he does it out of a good heart. As to the *moral* goodness of positive duties, that stands exactly upon the same foot with the moral goodness in natural duties. The obedience to the Divine law (which is moral goodness) is alike in both, only more or less excellent, according to the circumstances, as I have more than once observed.

I must further take notice, that it is entirely begging the question, to say that all *positive* duties are *instrumental parts* only of religion. They may be as *direct* religion, or even more direct religion, than any moral performances. So long as Adam obeyed the *positive* precept, his obedience was an exercise of self-denial, faith, hope, and the love of God. And Abraham's obedience to *positive* precepts (as I have often hinted) was an exercise of the most exalted faith in, and love to, his Maker. What other virtues could those be instrumental to? There could be no greater. I very much suspect that this *instrumentality*, as commonly stated, is mostly founded in mistake. It is true that all virtues have such a close connection with other virtues, that they may, in some sense, be said to be *instrumental* one to another. But unless we have a mind to set the *second* table before the *first*, and to confound every thing, we must allow that *piety* towards God is not so properly *instrumental* to other duties, or the *means* to them, (for the end is *nobler* than the means,) as it is the *foundation* of other virtues, which are *superstructure* only, built upon it. The *love of God* is the stock or stem, out of which all other virtues spring forth. The love of God, expanded or branched out into all its divisions and subdivisions, is the whole of virtue, the whole of religion and morality. Let us begin then at the head, and so may we set every virtue and every grace in its due order.

I cannot here help observing of Archbishop Tillotson, whose objection I am now answering, that that great and good man, and, for the most part, excellent Divine, was not altogether so accurate in his notions of the *instrumentality* of some virtues to others, as might have been wished. He has a pointed saying in one of his Sermons: "cTo separate goodness and mercy from

^c Tillotson, Serm. xix. vol. i. p. 206. fol.

“ God, compassion and charity from religion, is to make the “ two best things in the world, God and religion, good for no- “ thing.” He has another near akin to it, a little lower in the same page. “ What is religion good for, but to reform the “ manners and dispositions of men, to restrain human nature “ from violence and cruelty, from falsehood and treachery, from “ sedition and rebellion ?” The thought is free and bold, and, probably, in some measure shocking to many a serious reader ; who may suspect there is something amiss in it, though it is not presently perceived where the fault lies. The truth is, there is an *ὑστερον πρότερον*, there is a subjecting the laws of the *first* to the laws of the *second* table ; there lies one impropriety : and further, God the ultimate end of all, and to whom all things are to be ultimately referred, is considered here as subservient to man, or to the creatures, as if they were the *end*, and God was to be referred to *them*. I cannot say but the turn is pretty, and surprising, as an *ἀξίωμα* : but it might as well have been spared in so serious a subject, where it much concerns us to have strict and just notions, and not to confound ideas. The *love of God* is the root of all virtue, and into that all virtue resolves. *Piety* is not *instrumental* to social virtues, but it is the *source* and *fountain* from whence they flow. We are to be trained up to social virtues here, in order to a social life both in this world and the next. But the *Head* of all society is God : and the duties that directly terminate in him are the prime duties : and then social virtues towards men, springing from the other, and subordinate also to the other, follow in their place. God may in some special cases dispense with our immediate services to him, to give us leisure to serve mankind, and may accept it in such circumstances as the most valuable service : but still, absolutely speaking, his immediate service is first in order, and first in dignity, and first in obligation, because all the rest depend upon it, and are wrapped up in it. I have spent the more pains in answering this first objection, because it is in a manner all ; for the rest are little more than several changes upon it. But I pass on.

2. It is pleaded in the Answer to the Remarks, that moral virtues are “ the exact imitation of God himself^d :” and “ what “ can make a reasonable creature acceptable to God, but the “ imitation of God^e ?” But there is something previous to the

^d Answer to the Remarks, p. 72.

^e *Ibid.* p. 76.

imitating of God, and more acceptable to him, which is *obeying* him: otherwise the duties of the *first table* would be set behind the *second*. We may endeavour faintly to imitate God in our benevolence towards man: but the love of God, and all the duties which a creature owes immediately to his Creator, are the prime duties: and they are more strictly and properly the business of every creature than imitating God. To imitate his example is paying him a dutiful respect; but submitting to his authority in all things is most highly honouring him, and shews the profoundest reverence, resignation, and humility.

3. I have met with a more direct and a closer argument for giving the preference to moral duties above positive, and it is this: that *positive* duties have *command* only to enforce them, but moral duties are founded upon *command* as well as the other, and upon *eternal reasons* too. To which I answer, that I know not whether many, or any *positive* duties are so founded upon mere *command* as the objection supposed. Indeed the command makes the obligation upon us; but who knows what *reasons* infinite Wisdom may have for it, or what weighty consequences may hang upon it! Besides, the *reasons* of many moral duties, strictly speaking, terminate in this life, as the duties themselves do, *feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, &c.* Only the *general reasons*, or duties, *love of God, and love of man*, abide for ever: and into these *general reasons* all obedience to *positive* as well as to *moral* precepts resolves. To this I may add, that obedience to either, equally or indifferently, qualifies a man for the enjoyment of God, equally cherishes good dispositions, equally perfects man's nature, and is fitted to raise men up to an eternal and heavenly state; so that obedience to *positive* duties is plainly founded in *eternal reasons*, though the *matter* of them be in itself indifferent. For it is an *eternal* principle that God must be obeyed in every thing.

4. Another argument of like kind occurs in a late thoughtful writer, whom I have before mentioned, and it is thus: "†Our obligation by the laws of nature and reason are founded on the nature of God and ourselves, and the necessary relation between him and us, which renders the *matter* of them necessarily good; whereas our obligation by positive precepts is founded on the free pleasure of God, commanding things

† Colliber of Revealed Religion, p. 150.

“ which had no moral goodness in themselves, but were of an “ indifferent nature.” But the ingenious author mistakes in thinking that any actions as to their *matter* have any *moral goodness* in them. They have a *natural* tendency to promote the common happiness, which *natural* goodness, or *use* rather, they retain when performed by hypocrites, without any *moral* goodness at all. Moral goodness is *choosing* and performing those beneficial actions upon a principle of obedience, and out of love to God. And there is just the same *moral goodness* in obeying God, though the *matter* of it be otherwise indifferent : and the eternal or unchangeable obligation that every creature lies under to obey his Creator in every thing, makes it as necessary for him to obey in one case as in the other : and then all the question is, which of the two precepts, in the present circumstances, God most insists upon, or which, upon the whole, carries the most diffusive and durable good in it. God’s *authority* is a tender point ; and if that may be more hurt by disobeying a *positive* precept (as in some cases it may) than by disobeying a moral one, the common good will suffer more by the former than it would by the latter. I grant we are in all cases to be determined by the *importance of the precept* ; but then, as I have often said, the *importance* is to be judged of, not by a precept being *moral* or *positive*, but by a due consideration of all circumstances, upon a serious and an extended view of what relates both to this world and the other.

Having thus finished what I intended upon the general question, relating to *positive* and *moral* institutions at large, I may now proceed to the particular questions which concern the two Sacraments.

CHAP. V.

Of the Two Sacraments considered as positive Institutions.

DR. CLARKE asserts that they are means only to an end, and are therefore never to be compared with moral duties. What I have to say upon this subject may conveniently be cast into the following method :

I. I assert that the two Christian Sacraments really are, in some sense, means to *moral*, to *Christian* virtue, and that both *naturally* and *supernaturally*.

II. The right and worthy use of the Sacraments is not only

a means to virtue, but is virtue, is part of our moral and Christian holiness, piety, and perfection.

III. The two Sacraments, besides their being means of virtue and of grace, and part of Christian holiness, are further also the instituted ordinary means of applying the benefit of the great atonement to every worthy receiver.

IV. They may be compared to *moral* duties, and in some cases preferred to them, according as the circumstances direct.

I. I assert, that the two Sacraments really are, in some sense, means to *moral*, to *Christian* virtue: and I add, both *naturally* and *supernaturally*.

1. They are so *naturally*. They are in their very nature or quality aptly contrived to promote a good life. For, besides what they are in other views, they are federal rites in which we covenant with God through Christ, binding ourselves in the most solemn manner, ever after to obey God in every article of duty to the utmost of our power. Such sacred stipulations and engagements must, in the very nature and reason of the thing, be of great force and efficacy for the restraining men from evil, and the inciting them to every good work. Accordingly, the author of the Exposition observes of the Eucharist, very justly, “that by doing this constantly and devoutly, in remembrance of *Christ*, and *shewing forth the Lord’s death till he come*, we renew and confirm continually *our own part* in the Christian covenant: we strengthen our *faith* by meditating upon the object, and upon the grounds and motives of it: we increase our *hope* by *commemorating* thankfully the love of God in *Christ*, and exhibiting and applying to ourselves these *memorials* of Divine goodness and compassion towards sinners: we enlarge and strengthen, by this *communion* of Christians, that sacred bond of universal love, charity, and good-will, which is the end of the commandments.” All this is very right so far, and the author has here well explained and set forth the *natural* force and efficacy of the worthy receiving the holy Communion.

2. But besides this *natural* effect, there is also a *supernatural* virtue and efficacy derived from above upon the worthy receiver, which the author of the Exposition, I know not why, has silently passed over. He has told us what *we* do in it, not what

† Clarke’s Exposition, p. 314.

the *Spirit of God* does. The Spirit of God *works invisibly* upon the worthy receivers, to assist, strengthen, and confirm them in all goodness. This is plainly the doctrine of our Church Catechism, where it speaks of the “inward and spiritual grace” going along with the worthy reception of the Sacraments. And it is the doctrine also of our Articles and Homilies, which I thought proper to observe in my Remarks^h, judging it very reasonable that an *exposition* of our Church Catechism should be tried by the doctrine of our *Church*. The same doctrine appears also in our Liturgy: of *Baptism*, in these words, WE YIELD THREE HEARTY THANKS, MOST MERCIFUL FATHER, THAT IT HATH PLEASSED THEE TO REGENERATE THIS INFANT WITH THY HOLY SPIRITⁱ, &c. and of the *Eucharist*, more obscurely intimated in these words, *that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood*^k. This is meant of the supernatural sanctifying graces going along with the worthy reception of the holy Communion. It is the plain and avowed doctrine of our Church. And therefore, if any of our Divines, following the Remonstrants abroad, have herein departed from the principles of our Church, it is high time to take notice of this falling-off, and to endeavour to call them back to our old and sound principles. Since I have mentioned the Remonstrants, if any one has a mind to see in a short compass wherein we differ from them, not only in this, but in some other important points, I refer him^l to a little book written by a very judicious Divine of our Church, Dr. William Nichols, about twenty years ago, written in Latin, and since translated into English. And indeed, while Episcopius, Limborch, and Curcellæus often come into the hands of our young Divines, who may not perhaps readily distinguish between the old and true doctrines, and some *novel* corruptions, it would be very proper for them to have some such book as Dr. Nichols’s at hand, for a caution to them. But I return.

Perhaps I shall be told, after all, that though such be plainly the doctrine of our Church, yet it is no Scripture doctrine, and may be called upon for Scripture proofs. The Answer to the Remarks asks me^m, what would I have had more said of the divine *graces* going along with the Sacraments, “unless I would

^h Remarks, p. 43, 44.

ⁱ Public Baptism of Infants.

^k Communion Office.

^l Nicholaii Defens. Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, p. 193.

^m Answer to the Remarks, p. 76.

“ have had the Doctor (Dr. Clarke) talk enthusiastically ?” And in the next page he says, speaking of the Remarker, “ He seems “ to me to speak as if to this Sacrament were annexed certain “ particular effects, which were produced, not as religious and “ moral effects are produced, in a *natural, ordinary, and intel-
ligible* manner, but in a *mysterious unintelligible* way, of which “ the Scriptures are entirely silent.” I hope the doctrine of our Church stands clear enough of *enthusiasm*: and I wish this gentleman would well consider, whether, on the other hand, it be not *profaneuess* thus to ridicule the doctrine of the operations of the Holy Spirit. They are *mysterious*, it is true, and the *manner* perhaps of operating *unintelligible*: for “ the wind “ bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, “ but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so “ is every one that is born of the Spiritⁿ.” But notwithstanding that, the notion of the Spirit’s operating upon the mind or soul of man is a very intelligible notion, and the thing a certain truth. And as it is a fact that was never doubted of by any Christian of old time, that the Holy Spirit of God sheds his blessed influences upon the *worthy* receivers of the holy Sacraments, so neither is it altogether destitute of Scripture proofs, as hath been often shewn by learned and judicious Divines°. As to Baptism, the fact is proved by the texts here following: “ Except “ one be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into “ the kingdom of God.” John iii. 5. “ Buried with him in “ baptism, wherein also you are risen with him, through the “ faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the “ dead.” Coloss. ii. 12. “ According to his mercy he saved us by “ the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost.” Tit. iii. 5. It would be tedious to discuss these several texts, and to shew distinctly how they prove the point in debate. I shall therefore trust them, naked as they are, with the reader, for the present at least, till I see what further occasion there may be for asserting and vindicating their construction.

As to the other Sacrament, the operation of the Spirit in it and by it may be strongly inferred from the analogy there is between the two Sacraments, and from parity of reason, and from what I shall hereafter prove under my third particular, and from the express words of the Apostle: “ By one Spirit are we all

ⁿ John iii. 8.

^o See particularly Ger. Vossius de

Sacramentorum Vi et Efficacia. *Oper.*

tom. vi. p. 243.

“baptized into one body, and have been all made to drink into “one Spirit.” 1 Cor. xii. 13. Upon which, see Dr. Whitby’s comment.

But while I am asserting the invisible influences of the Holy Spirit in *Baptism* and in the *Eucharist*, upon the worthy receivers, I very well know how to guard this doctrine from the rants of *enthusiasts*. Whatever is done by the Holy Spirit is done in a way suitable to the nature of man considered as a *moral agent*, and does not exclude the concurrence of human will and endeavour. What is supernatural in it does not destroy natural agency, but helps, raises, and advances it. It cannot be expected that I should here run out into a long detail of this matter: a few hints may suffice for our present purpose. And if the reader wants to see more, Dr. Claget’s excellent piece, abridged by Mr. Stebbing, is a well known treatise upon the subject, and is easy to come at. I shall proceed in my method. I have shewn that the Sacraments are, in some sense, means of virtue, and that both *naturally* and *supernaturally*. I have said, *in some sense* means, because, though I have been thus far willing to comply with the common language, yet I do not forget the distinction I made above about *foundation* and *means*. I would rather say, that this duty is *productive* of other duties, than means to them: unless *piety* towards God is to be called the *means of charity* towards man; which I think not proper. This duty of coming to the Sacraments, this instance of our obedience, is a duty of the *first table*, and therefore holds the first rank. Besides, *Baptism* is the new birth, the entering upon the Christian life; and the *Eucharist* is the constant renewal of it: on which accounts, these two duties should rather be called *primary* than *instrumental* duties; though I am sensible that both expressions will denote the same thing diversly considered. But this will better be understood by what I have to say further of the use of the Sacraments, under another head.

II. The right and worthy use of the Sacraments has not barely the nature of means to an end, (*viz.* to moral virtue,) but is virtue direct, is *part* of our moral and Christian holiness, piety, and perfection. I mean by this, that it is as much a part of virtue as the performance of any moral duties is; as much as *feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, &c.* is virtue. Some distinguish between *virtue* and *duties*, confining the name of *virtues* to the *internal* habits and dispositions of the mind. In that

restrained sense we should never call any good works virtue, and upon that foot all *moral* duties, as well as *positive*, would be excluded from the name and notion of *virtue*. But as it has been the more common way to call moral duties *virtues*, and I see no harm in it, since custom has authorized it, and it is well enough understood; I shall not scruple to follow the common phraseology: only I must add, that the *worthy* receiving of the Christian Sacraments is *virtue* in the same sense as any good moral action is, it is an exercise of many and great virtues.

1. First, it is an exercise of the *love of God*, shewn in the *obedience* paid to his express commands. It is an act of *worship*, and of the most solemn and excellent worship that ever was ordained. It is the most peculiar and proper part of *evangelical* worship, wherein we do most shew ourselves to be Christians. It is the badge of our profession, whereby we profess Christ before men, and eminently distinguish ourselves from Jews, Mahometans, and Pagans.

2. It is an exercise of *faith*, *hope*, and *charity*, all in one, and a very lively expression of all three together. I stand not to prove such plain things: nobody can doubt of it, that ever so slightly considers the nature of it. Only I must note, that while I speak of both Sacraments together, I must be supposed to mean it in respect of *adults* only: otherwise, what I say is to be understood of the *Eucharist* only, of which none participate but *adults*.

3. The worthy receiving of the holy *Eucharist* in particular is an exercise of *humility*, such as the pride of mere *moral* virtue is a stranger to, and which such virtue wants to render it more acceptable in the sight of God. There is the greatest degree of humiliation and *self-abasement* that is possible, in thus expressing the sense we have of the all-sufficient sacrifice and atonement made by the death of Christ, and the need we had of it, renouncing our own righteousness. It is resigning up all the praise, glory, and seeming merit of our moral virtues, and casting ourselves entirely upon the merits and mediation of our great Redeemer: in whom alone, after performing all the *necessary conditions*, and being still no more than *unprofitable servants*, we at length hope for salvation. This devout exercise of *humility*, and *thankfulness*, and profound *reverence* towards God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is a degree of virtue much beyond what commonly goes under the name of moral virtue; and is so far

from being merely a step to it, that it is an improvement upon it, and a refinement beyond it. But this is no more than virtue still, and so is a *condition* only; and it wants the all-sufficient merits and intercession of *Christ Jesus* to render it accepted, as all *human* virtue does.

Enough hath been said to shew that *obedience* to God, in the use of the *Sacraments*, is as plainly an exercise of virtue as any act of moral duty can be, and therefore they are not *means* only. None could ever have suggested such a thought of their being *means* only, had they not first abstracted in their minds the *outward* act from the *inward* piety which always goes along with the *worthy* reception of them. And were we so to abstract the outward acts from the inward piety in any *moral* performances, there would then be no more direct virtue in them than some suppose in these *positive* observances. All the confusion, as I am persuaded, that has perplexed this article, has risen from the separating the *material* from the *formal* part, and not considering both in one, as is commonly done in treating of moral duties. What! is not obeying, loving, serving, fearing, praising God, is not all this direct duty and virtue? What can be virtue, if this be not? All this and more is implied in the *worthy* participating of the holy *Sacraments*. And if the greatest and the highest use of *moral duties* be to form in us proper dispositions of mind, such as may fit and qualify us for the heavenly society; is there not the very same use in these *positive* performances, so aptly contrived and calculated to dispose our minds beforehand, first, to a due reverence to, and union with, God the Father, the Head of all, next, with God the Son and God the Holy Ghost, and after them with *angels and archangels, and all the company of heaven*, with whom we join in praises and thanksgivings to God, as often as we devoutly partake of the holy Communion? These are advances in the exercise of holiness and piety much beyond any thing in mere *natural* religion: and therefore it must be thought very strange that *natural* duties, founded upon *lower* views, and not more *certain* or more *unchangeable* relations, shall be called *virtues*, and these devout exercises shall not, but shall be called, by a diminutive degrading title, *means only* to virtue, and nothing more. I assert therefore, that they are direct acts of religion and piety, and are duties of the *first* table, having an immediate respect to *God*; on which account they ought to come before, and to be placed in the first

rank, above the *social* duties towards *man*; though both must hang together, and neither can be perfect or *sincere* without the other. But I shall have more to say of the *comparative* value of these *positive* duties under another head.

III. The third particular I undertook is, that the two Sacraments, besides their being productive of *virtue*, and *parts* of Christian piety, are further also the instituted ordinary means and instruments of applying the benefit of the great atonement to every *worthy* receiver. In this view, they have a nearer and more *immediate* influence upon our justification and salvation than any of our best works can have. Good works are *necessary conditions*, without which no man shall see God: but yet they have no proper efficacy in *themselves* for the justifying us. They *merit* no recompense, they can *claim* no reward; neither are they perfect enough to be above the need and necessity of *pardon*. They want favour and indulgence, and many merciful allowances; which indeed shall be made to them; but then it is all in virtue of the meritorious death, passion, and propitiation of our blessed Lord. The author of the Answer, &c. talks in a way, upon this head, which I cannot well understand. He magnifies *moral virtues* to a strange height. He says, "they are in themselves acceptable to God: and a holy, good, and just Being cannot but approve the man that is governed by them. They *want nothing* to make them acceptable, nor can any thing make them more acceptable than they are. They are already perfection, the *exact* imitation of God himself; and therefore need *no aid* to relieve them, nor any thing to improve them." Upon the reading of this paragraph, I knew not what to think of it, nor whether to call it *Popery* or *Quakerism*. It is no *Protestant* doctrine, I am sure, unless it be the *Quaker's* sinless *perfection*. To pretend that *human* virtues (for such we are speaking of) "want nothing to make them acceptable," that they are "in themselves" acceptable to God, that they are "already perfection," and the "exact imitation" of God himself, "need no aid" to relieve them, &c., these are strange positions in any one that has either read the Bible, or has studied mankind. Alas! *human* virtues at the best, (for of those the author must be understood, or the whole talk is impertinent,) I say, *human* virtues are very short and defective; they are not *perfection* in

P Answer, p. 72.

any such sense as not to need *relief* and *pardon*: they are no *exact* imitation of God, but very far from it: they want the all-prevailing merits of *Christ* to make them *acceptable*; otherwise no flesh could stand before the high tribunal, could never enter into the kingdom of heaven. I shall not stay to prove these plain things: the New Testament is full of them; and the whole tenor of the Gospels and Epistles shews, that *human* virtues are all light in the balance, and have no *proper* efficacy *in themselves* for procuring salvation. Salvation is the free *gift* of God, and it is given, not for our virtues or deserts, but for the merit and satisfaction of our Saviour *Christ*^q. This first point being thus fixed and settled, I now proceed with what I was going to say of the Christian Sacraments. The Sacraments are the ordinary standing means by which the salutary influences of *Christ's* passion are conveyed. They are the channels of remission and pardon. Our salvation stands in the Gospel covenant: and the Sacraments are the appointed means of entering into and of renewing that covenant^r, and consequently, of beginning and carrying on our communion and intercourse with God. Our excellent Church Catechism therefore right judges them generally *necessary*, not to *virtue* only, but directly to *salvation*. For be our virtues otherwise ever so many or so great, they will still want the additional relief and improvement which the use of the Sacrament supplies. Cornelius was a man of exemplary moral virtues, "a just man, and one that feared God, with all his house, gave much alms, and prayed to God alway." And yet this just and devout man, whom God himself had also *cleansed*^s, wanted to come to St. Peter in order to be *saved*^t, and, after receiving the Holy Ghost, was at length admitted to Christian *Baptism*, and thereby perfected. Baptism is the ordinary means appointed for *remission of sins*, according to the express doctrine of the Nicene [Constantinopolitan] Creed: and it is so plainly the doctrine of our Church in her other offices, that I need not

^q The doctrine of our Church upon this head, in Article the xiith, stands thus:

"Albeit that good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgment; yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in *Christ*." See Bishop Burnet upon

it, p. 129. Article the xith says thus:

"We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, by faith, and *not for our own* works, or deservings."

^r This cup is the new testament, or covenant, *in my blood*, 1 Cor. xi. 24.

^s Acts x. 15.

^t Acts xi. 14.

now stand to prove it. As to the ancient churches of Christ, *Baptism* was ever looked upon by them as the *grand absolution*^u, a conveyance of a general pardon of sins to every worthy recipient. And the doctrine is sufficiently warranted by many Scripture texts, some of which I shall barely refer to^x, that I may hasten to what concerns the Eucharist, about which more particularly our debate is.

The Eucharist also was by the ancient churches looked upon as an instrument of *absolution*, a conveyance or channel of pardon, and was called the τὸ τέλειον, the perfection or consummation of a Christian, there being no higher mystery that an ordinary Christian could partake of^y. But because the ancients are set light by, and appeals are often made to Scripture, by such as know a great deal less of the true sense of Scripture than the ancients did, we may follow them in their appeal to Scripture, and shew how that sufficiently warrants the doctrine both of the primitive churches and ours in this article. St. Paul's words to our purpose are as follow: "The cup of blessing which we bless, "is it not the communion (*participation*) of the blood of *Christ*? "The bread which we break, is it not the communion (*participation*) of the body of *Christ*?" I understand these words of a real application on God's part, and a real participation on our part, of the merits or benefits of the great atonement, so far as respects every *worthy* communicant. To partake of the body and of the blood of *Christ* is to partake of his broken body and his blood spilled: which, because literally it is impossible, is by an easy figure understood to mean the partaking of our Lord's passion, that is, of the atonement made by it. The words are scarce capable of any other sense: and therefore the most judicious commentators have generally espoused it. Some perhaps may suspect that the communion of the body and blood of *Christ* may mean no more than having fellowship with *Christ*, or associating with him. That indeed is true doctrine with respect to the Eucharist, wherein we associate with *Christ*, but it is not all the doctrine expressed in this text. The Apostle means more, otherwise why should he so emphatically speak of the communion of the *blood* of *Christ*, and of the communion of the

^u See Bingham's Eccles. Antiq. vol. vii. book 19. chap. 1. p. 174. Oxf. edit.

^x Tit. iii. 5. Acts ii. 38. xxii. 16.

¹ Pet. iii. 21. Coloss. ii. 11, 12, 13.

^y See Bingham's Eccles. Antiq. vol. vii. book 19. p. 178. Oxf. edit.

^z 1 Cor. x. 16.

body of Christ, instead of saying communion with Christ? The *body* and the *blood* most certainly refer to what was *broken and shed* for the remission of sins^a, both which are represented in the Eucharist, and therefore cannot be so naturally understood of any thing else, as of the partaking of the benefits of Christ's passion. The context confirms this sense. For, verse the 18th, the Apostle observes that the Israelites of old, who ate of the sacrifices, were "partakers of the altar" in such a sense as Christians now are partakers of the Lord's table, or of his body and blood. But how were the Israelites partakers of the altar? By partaking of all the expiations of the burnt offerings and sin offerings which were offered upon the altar for the sins of the whole congregation. In like manner therefore as the Israelites then had thereby a partnership in the expiations of the altar, so Christians now (as many as come worthily) have a partnership in the great expiation made by the body and blood of Christ. The reader that desires to see this construction of the text asserted more at large, may please to turn to Bishop Burnet's Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles^b, whose words I have here mostly used, and whose sense I have abridged. I shall thereto add Dr. Hammond's sense of this matter, where^c he tells us, that in the Sacrament "God solemnly reaches out to us, as by a "deed or instrument, what was by promise due to every penitent sinner, every worthy receiver, the broken body of Christ, "that is, the benefits of his death." To the Israelites of old *manna* was spiritual meat typifying Christ; and the water of the *rock* was spiritual drink to them, as a typical representation of Christ: and they that ate of the *manna* and drank of the *rock* with faith and a good conscience, ate and drank Christ, as St. Paul intimates^d, and so fed upon him, and lived by him. In like manner, but with clearer knowledge and a more lively faith, does every *worthy* communicant spiritually eat Christ's flesh and drink Christ's blood. They eat them and drink them in such a sense as that can be done; that is to say, their souls or spirits receive their proper nutriment, food, and sustenance, namely, all the spiritual advantages and comforts arising from the all-sufficient atonement made by Christ upon the cross. Such being the case, I must take leave to insist upon it, as before, that the

^a Matt. xxvi. 28.

^b Burnet, Exposit., Article xxviii. p. 316, 317.

^c Hammond on the New Testament, Matt. xxvi. 28. p. 132.

^d 1 Cor. x. 4.

worthy receiving of the holy Communion is so far from being a means only to moral *virtues*, that it is directly a means of *salvation*; and that it goes beyond and surpasses moral virtues as to its *immediate* influence in applying and sealing to us that *pardon* which the best of human virtues *want* and cannot *claim*, and without which no man can enter into the kingdom of heaven. On this account I observed in the Remarks^c, that “the Sacraments are additional improvements upon virtuous practices, and are of *nearer* and more *immediate* efficacy for the uniting us to God and Christ. They supply where moral virtues fall short; they relieve where moral virtues cannot; they finish what the other but begin, our justification and salvation.” The Sacraments do this; that is to say, God does it by them. These are his appointed means, his holy ordinances, in and by which he applies Christ’s merits and atonement to the *worthy* receivers, and seals their pardon. I suppose it might be with a view to these inestimable benefits that Ignatius, (who was St. John’s disciple,) speaking of the *bread* broken in the Eucharist, calls it “the medicine of immortality, our antidote, that we should not die, but live for ever in Christ Jesus^f.” This is expressive of something more than bare means to moral virtue. Faith and repentance are previous *qualifications* to the Sacraments: they are *conditions* of pardon, but pardon comes after. It was a stated rule of the Church, as early as we have any records or memoirs of it, that sound faith and a good life, i. e. moral virtues, or Christian virtues, in some degree, though not yet perfect, should go before the Sacraments, as the necessary qualifications, without which none should be admitted to them. I shall cite only Justin Martyr, of the age next to the Apostles. “This food,” says he, “is with us called the *Eucharist*, which no one is allowed to partake of but he that believes the truth of the doctrines taught by us, and has been baptized in the laver which is for the remission of sins and for regeneration, and who leads such a life as Christ has commandedg.” This shews how moral virtues were considered as *previous* to the Sacraments, and how they were to be improved and rendered acceptable by these Christian performances.

^c Remarks, p. 45.

^f Ignat. ad Ephes. cap. xx.

^g Καὶ ἡ τροφή αὐτῆ καλεῖται παρ’ ἡμῶν Εὐχαριστία, ἧς οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ μετασχεῖν ἐξόν ἐστιν, ἢ τῷ πιστεύοντι ἀληθῆ εἶναι

τὰ δεδιδαγμένα ὑφ’ ἡμῶν, καὶ λουσαμένῳ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ἀναγέννησιν λουτρὸν, καὶ οὕτως βιοῦντι ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς παρέδωκεν. Just. Mart. Apol. i. p. 96. edit. Lond.

Against this doctrine the Answer to the Remarks objects^h, that "not one word of it is contained in Scripture." Strange! when it has already been proved from Scripture, and might be done more largely still, that God by the Sacraments conveys both *grace* and *pardon*; which is the same thing with saying, that the Sacraments are *additional* improvements upon virtuous practices. They improve them two ways; first, as *augmenting* them; and secondly, as rendering them *saving* by the application of Christ's all-sufficient expiation to them. The Objector asks, "Did our Saviour or his Apostles ever treat virtue in this manner?" Yes, every where, and constantly. Our blessed Lord teaches us not to confide in our *own virtues*, but in his mercy and grace; instructs us to call ourselves "unprofitable servantsⁱ," after we have done our best, and *all that was commanded* us: and he lets us know further, that whatever our moral virtues may be, yet "except we eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, we have no life in us^k," that is to say, unless we partake of the benefits of his passion. The Apostle Paul, almost in every Epistle, teaches and inculcates the same doctrine; that no man shall be saved on account of his *works*, or his moral virtues, (though required as necessary conditions,) but by the blood of Christ. And St. John says, "The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin^l." Can any man call these plain certain principles in question? The Objector goes on: Did our Saviour or his Apostles "ever in any one instance declare, that moral virtues have no proper efficacy towards procuring salvation?" Yes, in the instance of Cornelius, whom I before mentioned. But besides that, the whole tenor of the New Testament declares, that the blood of Christ, and his merits, have a *proper efficacy* towards procuring the salvation of men, and that nothing else has. But the Objector wants Scripture proof for my saying, that moral virtues could only lead to the door of salvation, which the use of the Sacrament must at length open. It would be tedious to answer at large every trifling question: it may suffice to say, in short, that let a man's moral virtues be what they will, yet unless "he be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God^m." Moral virtues may prepare the way, but

^h Answer, &c. p. 69.

ⁱ Luke xvii. 10.

^k John vi. 53.

^l 1 John i. 7.

^m John iii. 5.

Baptism gives entrance, and lets us in. The case is plain: our salvation stands in the *covenant*^a, and the Sacraments are the seals of the covenant, the rites of initiation into it, and continuance in it, and without them the covenant either never commences at all, or is never renewed. The Answer further asks, (p. 77.) how the remission of sins “appears to be promised more to the worthy receiver in the Sacraments, than upon any act of obedience to Christ’s moral laws: or in particular; how the promise of it appears more to worthy receiving than it does to forgiving our brother his trespasses?” To which I answer, that receiving the Sacrament, considered merely as an *act of obedience*, brings no remission of sins, confers no pardon, any more than other duties, which all want pardon, and confer none. But the Sacraments considered as *seals of the covenant*, or solemnities by which it is transacted, are the instruments of pardon, or the channels of conveyance, by which God confers it. *Forgiving our brother* is a *condition* of pardon, and such as without which we have no forgiveness at God’s hands: but it is no *seal* of any covenant, no *instrument* of pardon, as the Sacraments are. I have now done with the Objector, having paid a due respect to all his inquiries, as many as came under this head. There remain only two or three slight things to be taken notice of under the next article.

IV. The use of the Sacraments may be compared to moral duties, and in some cases preferred before them, according as the circumstances direct. I should here premise, that as the commands for the use of the Sacraments are *affirmative*, not *negative*, so the comparison ought to lie between them and the *affirmative* moral precepts only. And now the question is, whether obedience to the Divine commands in respect of these two positive duties be not as strict and as indispensable, and of as great importance, as obedience to moral duties. I maintain that it is so in the general, and shall now give my reasons. Moral precepts and positive precepts are equally *divine* precepts, so that in that respect there is no difference: obedience to positive precepts is a *moral* duty, as much as obedience to moral precepts, so in that respect also they are equal. But in order to state the comparative worth and value of any precepts, we must consider their ends and uses. All the ends and uses, as I conceive, of moral precepts, resolve in these two:

^a See the additional note below, p. 102.

First, The disposing men to such actions as are for the present peace and happiness of mankind. And *secondly*, The forming in men's minds such good dispositions as shall qualify them for a heavenly state hereafter. Now let us consider whether, or how far, the two *positive* precepts about the Sacraments are contrived to answer the ends and uses which we have just now mentioned.

1. As the Christian religion is the best religion that ever was given for procuring the peace of society, and indeed for securing and enforcing all moral virtues; and as the *Sacraments* are the main support of this religion, and serve to keep it alive in the world; on this single account they must be conceived as highly useful to mankind in this state: and so the same *temporal* ends and uses are served by a religious performance of these duties, as by a religious performance of moral duties. Whatever can be said in favour of the Christian religion as an *useful* religion, useful to kings and states, useful to human society, the same may be said of the two Christian Sacraments, the distinguishing badges of the Christian profession. Or if we consider them only as solemn acts of worship paid to that great and good Being who steers the whole universe, and in whose hands all sublunary things are; and further, how much it is for the present interests of mankind that all becoming awe and reverence for the Divine Majesty be kept up in the world; in this view, the devout observance of the Sacraments is as *useful* to the public happiness as acts of moral virtue. But this is the least and the lowest part of their commendation.

2. As the Sacraments are rites of *covenanting* with God, are solemn engagements to all manner of virtue, are means of grace, and are themselves exercises of piety, faith, hope, charity, worship, &c. in this view they exceed any two moral duties that can be named, being more *comprehensive*, and are apt to beget all manner of good and godly dispositions, such as will qualify a person for the *heavenly* state hereafter. It is true that these two *positive* duties will cease with this world: and so will many *moral* duties also, such as feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, &c. But then the general habits or dispositions of love and charity, learned by the practice of moral duties, will remain: and so will all the pious and virtuous dispositions formed in the mind by the conscientious use of the Sacraments: they also will abide for ever. Many of the moral duties have an immediate respect to *man*, and to man considered as an inhabitant of this

world only : but the Sacraments raise the mind higher up to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to archangels and angels, and the whole host of heaven, tending to beget dispositions proper for living in conjunction or union with that blessed society. So that with respect at least to a life to come, the Sacraments have the advantage above other duties called moral, forming the mind to higher views, and being more perfective of man's nature. In secular duties, secularity is apt to creep in too much, and it is not very easy always, in the performing them, to keep the mind and heart intent upon God, or to perform them upon a purely *religious* principle, which is the only thing that can make them valuable : but in the *devout* observance of the Sacraments the mind is lifted up from earthly things, and is more abstracted from the world ; on which account these duties are preferable, as to forming in us dispositions proper for a heavenly state.

But it is pleaded^o on the other side, that " the law of nature " is a harder law to obey than the positive law of the Sacrament " is : and if the reward be proportionate to the difficulty of the " obedience required, as is reasonably to be expected, then the " life-giving virtue is much more certainly annexed to an obedi- " ence which is contrary to all our affections and inclinations, and " which must conquer ten thousand temptations, than it is to " such *external acts* as require no difficulty or trouble at all." I imagined the Objector would discover the confusion he is under before he ended the sentence. He thinks, I perceive, that we have been pleading all the time for *external acts*, for the *opus operatum* only of the Sacraments ; which is so far from being valuable, that we condemn it as nothing worth, yea, and as hurtful, *increasing damnation*. But let him state the case fairly and justly. The *external act* in *moral* duties is as worthless as in the other, and is as *easy* also as in the other. A man may give *alms* for the ends of *covetousness*, as easily as he may come to the Sacrament merely for an office, and be never the better man for either. But receiving the Sacrament *worthily*, with a penitent heart and lively faith, is as difficult a matter as performing any *moral* duties *worthily*, that is, conscientiously, and out of an honest and good heart. Nay, it is much more difficult than any single *moral* duty, as requiring an universal obedience, a thorough

^o Answer, &c. p. 78.

change of the heart, and the parting with all vices at once, which is more than practising any one virtue, or quitting any single vice. And this I am persuaded is the true reason of the common aversion men have for the holy Communion, and of the prejudices that are raised against it. Most persons are willing enough to practise, *in their way*, moral virtues, such as themselves would choose, retaining all the while some darling vices: but to resolve sincerely against all vices whatever, without the doing of which there is no coming *worthily* to the holy Sacrament, this is a *hard* lesson, and therefore it is that the Eucharist appears to them a cruel ordinance, and becomes their aversion. There is, I am afraid, but too much reason to suspect, that this crying up moral virtues in opposition to the use of the Sacraments is nothing but an artful fetch, among many others, to reconcile men's consciences to a *lame* and *partial* obedience, and to make as easy a composition as they can with Almighty God, giving him a *part* for the *whole*. It is very well known what a *good moral man* signifies, in common estimation; something much below a *pious and good Christian*. And while the Sacraments are thus depreciated below moral duties, religion and piety will of course suffer, and in the end *morality* too; that is, all true, and lively, and properly called Christian morality.

It is further objected^p, that St. Peter "treats Baptism as a "low thing in itself," when he says, "The Baptism that saves "is not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer "of a good conscience toward God^q." But it seems to me that St. Peter treats Baptism as a very *high* and heavenly institution, since he expressly ascribes *salvation* to it. It is true, he expects that the *inward* principle of holiness and piety should go along with the *outward* performance, as in all other duties moral or positive; which is not treating them as *low things*. For the purpose: would it be treating *moral* duties as *low* things, if it were said that the *almsgiving*, the *sobriety*, the *mercy* and *charity* that saves, is the true and conscientious almsgiving, sobriety, &c. and none other? The external part of moral duties profiteth not, the internal is the chief thing. The observation is equally true both of *moral* and *positive* duties. *Outward* religion and *outward* morality are nothing: the inward principle

^p Answer to the Remarks, p. 74.

^q 1 Pet. iii. 21.

is the life and the spirit of both. And yet the inward principle, if it does not express itself in outward acts, is nothing, or is no true principle; for "faith without works is dead." This I hint to obviate another extreme, lest any should imagine that they may lay aside, or throw off, the *external* part, upon a fond presumption that they have the *internal*, when they really have not. In these cases both must go together, unless there be some insuperable difficulty which disables a man from acting what he sincerely intends.

There is another objection to the value of the Sacraments, mentioned by a late writer^r, which may deserve some notice; and I shall thus far pay him the civility of an answer. Speaking of the Sacrament, he says, "These institutions are not commanded in that strict and absolute manner, nor esteemed so essential to salvation, as the duties of Christianity, as they are not so frequently inculcated upon us; and as they are not commanded in such a manner; that there is great room to doubt, whether one of them, Baptism, was ever designed by our Saviour himself should be continued in use among Christians. But however, if the end is produced without the means prescribed, it is certainly much more commendable than an observance of the means without arriving at the end for which they were appointed." To all which I answer distinctly thus: *First*, It is wrong to say that these institutions are not commanded in that strict and absolute manner as moral virtues are. For what can be stricter than John iii. 5. and Mark xvi. 16? But the author has a restriction, *as the duties of Christianity*. By which, I suppose, he means, that if there may be a necessity for them, considered as seals of the covenant, as means of grace, or as channels of pardon, yet they are not so strictly enjoined as *duties*, only the necessity of them, as to the other respects, is declared. If this be his meaning, (or if it be not, I know not what is,) it seems to me to amount to the same thing. For the declaring their end, use, and necessity, is enjoining them. *Secondly*, As to their *not being so frequently inculcated*, there is a very judicious answer given to that part of the objection by the ingenious Mr. Stebbing, to which I beg leave only to refer^s, since I can say nothing better, and I have no mind to repeat.

^r A Letter to Dr. Waterland, Head of the Report of the Committee, printed for J. Noon.

^s Stebbing's Defence of the first

Thirdly, As to the doubt whether Baptism *should be continued among Christians*, first suggested here by Mr. Emlyn^t; it is a very weak one, and has been abundantly confuted by the learned Dr. Wall^u. *Fourthly*, The insinuation in the close of the objection deserves particular notice. For the argument from *end* and *means* might be carried still further, even to the laying aside the *means* entirely, could but the *end* be secured: and no doubt but those that make the objection think that it may. I must own, it was my apprehension of this very consequence, (which too many would be ready to lay hold of,) that first moved me to enter a remark upon Dr. Clarke's doctrine in that particular, and made me think it an article of very weighty importance; especially considering the reigning humour of the present times. It was obvious to see that the *Sacraments* first, and soon after all *instituted* religion, would be called *means* to an *end*: and as ill-disposed men would flatter themselves that they could effectually secure the *end* by a kind of *morality* of their own contriving, the next step would be to throw aside the *means* as useless. But to return. As to the objection here made against the Sacrament considered as a *means* only, it is begging the question; it is taking for granted what can never be allowed. To call them *means* to virtue at all, is too low a phrase for them, and not very proper, as I have before hinted. They are duties of the foundation, covenant duties, out of which other duties, all other *Christian* duties, thrive and grow. They are *productive* of virtues, rather than *instrumental*, in strict propriety of speech. However, if they may be called *means*, I have abundantly proved that they are more than means, and need not here repeat; and therefore that part of the objection of the Letter Writer hath been already obviated.

I have now run through all the specious pretences I have hitherto met with for setting the two *positive* duties, viz. of the Sacraments, below *moral* duties; and none of them appear to me of any real weight. We need not therefore hereafter be afraid to *compare* these sacred, solemn, awful, though *positive*, duties, with any other prescribed in the Law or in the Gospel. Any designed, professed *contempt* of these serious and important duties may be as bad or worse than a contempt of the duties of

^t Emlyn's Tracts, p. 429.

^u Wall's Defence of the History of Infant Baptism, p. 27, &c.

the *second* table; because it will be great *profaneness*^x, and profaneness is in itself a most hideous offence, and besides naturally leads to all immoralities. Do we then destroy morality by maintaining the dignity of the Sacraments? No; we fix morality upon its true basis, and secure the branches by looking well to the root that feeds them.

Any habitual wilful *neglect* or *disuse* of the holy Communion may be as bad or worse than neglecting to feed the hungry, or clothe the naked, and the like; because it is neglecting to renew our covenant and intercourse with God, neglecting to repent and resolve well, neglecting to repair the spiritual life; which neglect gradually brings on slackness and coldness in other duties, too much secularizes the heart, and in process of time disposes the mind to irreligion and immorality. Besides, the neglect of Christ's ordinances is too plainly a neglect of him; and the very example of such irreverence will have a bad influence upon the state of religion in general, and will do infinitely more mischief to the world, in that respect, than any or all the other services that the best of us are capable of doing for mankind can be equivalents for. But yet, because *frequent Communion* is a duty of some latitude, and not precisely bound up to times and seasons, any more than the particular moral duties are, there may be just occasions for delaying it, or postponing it, according as circumstances require. It will be needless to put *cases* of other precepts occasionally interfering with it: there are proper times for all in their turns; and every honest and sincere Christian may, in matters of this kind, be his own casuist.

But among the supposed *cases*, I would never put the case of a negative precept, *Do not kill*, against an affirmative one, *Receive the Sacrament*, as a great man does^y: whose words are; "I had rather never administer the sacrament, nor ever receive it, than take away any man's life about it; because the Sacrament is but a positive rite and institution of the Christian religion, and God prefers mercy, a duty of natural religion," &c. There is inaccuracy in the comparison, and fallacy also in the argument.

1st. It is wrong to make the opposition lie between an *affir-*

^x Sacramentorum vis innarrabiliter valet plurimum; et ideo contempta sacrilegos facit. Impie quippe contemnitur sine qua non potest perfici

pietas. *Augustin. cont. Faustin.* lib. xix. p. 319. vol. 8.

^y Archbishop Tillotson, Posth. Sermon. xlix. vol. i. p. 351.

motive and a *negative* precept. *Negative* moral precepts bind *semper*, and *ad semper*, and *pro semper*, as the Schools speak; that is, universally and absolutely, and are never to be violated in any case whatever, as we are never to commit *sin*. The author might as safely have said, that he *had rather* never do any good all his life, never perform any one *moral* duty, than *take away life about it*, if by taking away life he meant *murder*: for *murder* can never be innocent. So that the argument concludes as strongly against all *moral* affirmative precepts, as against *positive*; which is overshooting the mark.

But, 2ndly, if by *taking away life* he meant *killing* only, and not *murder*, the argument is inconclusive. What would he have said to Abraham's case, if Abraham had refused to kill his son in obedience to a *positive* command? Or what to Saul's refusing to kill king Agag, in obedience also to a *positive* command? Would it have been a justification for either, to have pleaded, that *God prefers mercy, a duty of natural religion*, before any *positive* precepts? These instances are enough to shew that the foundation of the argument is wrong, as well as the comparison ill stated. And what if St. Peter had said, in the case of Ananias and Sapphira, I had rather never preach the Gospel, than *take away any man's life about it*? Wrong, most certainly. What God orders to be done in all cases must be done: and the fault only is, in destroying men at any time without a *divine* law or warrant for it, either moral or positive: and it matters not which it is. But enough of this.

THE CONCLUSION.

BEFORE I take leave of this subject, (which I judge to be of as great importance as any can be,) it may be proper to hint something of the occasion and rise of this famed distinction between *moral* and *positive* duties, or however of its being so much insisted upon, and gradually more and more, till it is at length become one of the most fashionable engines for battering down Christianity. There was a time when the Antinomians and Solifidians, being near akin, joined forces to cry up *faith* and *external* religion, in opposition to *good works*, to the great prejudice of Christian *morality*. They made a show of sanctity, and great professions of the *love of God*, while shamefully deficient in the known and plain duties between man and man. In short, many of them had a *form of goodness*, and nothing more, knowing

little of the true power, or life, or spirit of it. To correct this folly, soberer men saw the necessity there was of insisting strongly upon the importance of *moral duties*, in which they certainly judged right. And had they pressed *moral* duties in opposition only to *exterior* performances, (the shell and carcase of religion,) they had done well and wisely; as it is easy to see now, though it was not so easy at that time. But unhappily confounding *exterior* with *positive*, (which is widely different,) the doctrine ran in favour of *morality*, as opposed to *positive* duties, which was stating the case wrong, and following a false scent. For indeed the Antinomians were as deficient in *positive* duties, all but the *external* part, as they were in *moral*. Had they been really and truly affected with the *love of God*, and had they sincerely practised the duties of the *first table*, those duties must of course have drawn after them universal righteousness. There was no occasion at all for depreciating *positive* duties, but for recommending true, and sincere, and solid piety in all duties, both moral and positive, in opposition to hypocrisy, and mere external performances.

However, as I said, the turn then taken was to preach up *moral* duties in opposition to *positive*. This naturally tended to bring in low and disparaging notions of the two venerable *Sacraments* of the Christian Church: which notions have prevailed too much, and have done great disservice to true piety and godliness. But what is still worse, *Deism* has sprung up out of the same doctrine about *moral* and *positive* institutions. For it was not long before men of corrupt minds took advantage of it, first to join in the same cry, that *positive* institutions were of an inferior nature to *moral*, as *means* only to an *end*; next, to look upon the whole Christian religion, or all *instituted* religion, as *positive* ordinance, and subservient only to *morality*; and, lastly, for the finishing stroke, to give broad hints that the *means* might conveniently be spared, since the *end*, they imagined, might be obtained without them. Thus *Deism* has been grafted upon the famed distinction between *moral* and *positive* duties: and this is the most prevailing topic of the Deists to go upon at this day. I have seen the *proposals* of a treatise now preparing, in two volumes quarto, with this title, The Gospel a Republication of the Law of Nature. And among several other wild positions, these are advanced: that "the religion of nature is a religion absolutely perfect," and that "external revelation can neither

“ add to nor take from its perfection ;” and that “ the supposing “ things merely *positive* to be the ingredients of religion is inconsistent with the good of mankind, as well as the honour of “ God.” From hence may be seen, that the fashionable plea for infidelity is to extol *morality*, and to run down all revealed religion under the notion of *external* and *positive* institutions. So from one extreme, as it is natural enough, we are tossed and driven to another. The Deists, who thus extol morality in opposition to *faith*, are only doing the same thing, in effect, with what the Antinomians before did, in extolling *faith* in opposition to *morality*. Those are only different ways of coming at the same point. Corrupt nature is at the bottom of both: and the contrivance of both is nothing else but this, to lighten as much as possible the task which God has set them, to alter his terms, to get off from religious restraints, and, under one pretext or other, to live as they please. Be it *Antinomianism* or be it *Deism*, (as there are more ways than one of coming at the same thing,) the necessity of living a good Christian life is equally defeated by either: and however the two extremes may seem to be at odds upon their first setting out, they can amicably meet at last, for the destruction of all true and solid piety.

Had those good men who first opposed *Antinomianism* by extolling *morality* lived to see the turn that has been since taken, they would now have extolled *positive* institutions as much, were it only to secure true *morality*: for it is demonstration to every thinking man, that *morality* can never stand in *practice*, but upon a Scripture foot. This I took notice of before in the close of my Remarks^a. And my correspondent^b is so sensible of the truth and justice of it, that he violently forces a sense of his own upon me, only to have something to say by way of reply. That I may not be again misconstrued, I now say, that however morality might subsist in *theory*, (which I allowed before,) it can never subsist in *practice*, but upon a Scripture foot. And the reason which I before gave, and now repeat, is a very plain one, viz. that Scripture once removed, there will be no *certain* sanctions to bind morality upon the conscience, no clear account of heaven or hell, or a future judgment, to enforce it: from whence we may easily infer how precarious a bottom morality will stand upon, and that *natural religion*, in *practice* at least, will soon be

^a Page 48.

^b Answer to the Remarks, p. 82.

what every man pleases, shewing itself in little else besides *natural depravity*. They therefore that pretend to be advocates for *morality*, in opposition to *instituted* religion, are really betraying it. It is like extolling *liberty* in opposition to law and government, the best securities of it: which is betraying liberty, and introducing *licentiousness*; as the other is undermining morality, and paving the way to immorality. If men were in good earnest friends to *morality*, how could they run against *Scripture*, which contains the completest system of morality that ever appeared in the world? What would those gentlemen have more than *all*? If they really are for morality, there they have it, plain, short, and full as can be desired, and so as no where else. Mr. Locke, when entreated to draw up a system of *morals*, returned this very wise and just answer^c: “Did the world,” says he, “want a rule, I confess, there could be no work so necessary nor so commendable: but the Gospel contains so perfect a body of ethics, that *reason* may be excused from that inquiry, since she may find man’s duty clearer and easier in *revelation* than in herself.” Scripture ethics are indeed the best *ethics*, and the only ethics that are refined and raised to a due height, set upon a firm basis, directed to right ends, and enforced by prevailing sanctions.

To conclude, the whole of what I intend, and all that I have aimed at, as well in my Remarks before, as now in these papers, is, that both *religion* and *morality* may go together, and amiably support and adorn each other; that *morality* may not be set up in opposition to *faith*, nor *faith* in opposition to *morality*, which would be dividing friends, and destroying both: that *moral* duties may not be extolled to the prejudice of *positive*, nor again *positive* to the prejudice of *moral*; but that both may be esteemed according to their due weight and worth, and according to the rank they hold as referred to the love of God: that God be loved in the first place, and man for God’s sake, as God has ordained: that the Christian Sacraments be held in due esteem, as Divine ordinances, and as the springs of the *spiritual life*, productive of moral virtues, and perfective of them: that all extremes be avoided, and the true *medium* fixed between enthusiasm or superstition on one hand, and irreligion or profaneness on the other. But if I have missed this true *medium*,

^c Locke’s Letters, p. 546. fol. edit.

I shall be very thankful to any man that shall resume the subject, and shall treat it in a rational and a Christian manner, to strike new light into it; for the service of truth, and the glory of God, and the common benefit of mankind.

AN ADDITIONAL NOTE TO PAGE 91.

THAT the two Sacraments are *federal rites*, that they are *seals* of the Gospel covenant, one for *initiating*, and the other for *renewing* the said covenant, is what I often assert, as known and current doctrine, building in a great measure my argument upon it, for the reciprocal communion between God and man, (of blessings on one part, and duty on the other,) in the Sacraments. But because some perhaps may doubt of this main principle, or may wish to see upon what Scripture grounds it stands, I shall here briefly shew it first of Baptism, and next of the Eucharist.

OF BAPTISM.

IN *Baptism*, the case is plain, and needs but few words. Baptism succeeds in the room of circumcision, and is styled the *Christian* circumcision by St. Paul himself^d. Circumcision, as all allow, was a federal rite among the Jews, and is called *the covenant*^e, and *token of the covenant*^f, and a *seal of the righteousness of faith*^g. Therefore *Baptism*, succeeding thereto, is a *federal rite*, is entering into *covenant* with God.

OF THE EUCHARIST.

AS to the Eucharist, that may be proved to be a *federal* rite, or another method of *covenanting*, from several topics, as follows:

1. The terms or phrases of the institution itself are mostly *federal* terms or phrases.

Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου, τὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. *For this [cup] is my blood, the [blood] of the new covenant, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.* Matt. xxvi. 28. Mark xiv. 24.

^d Coloss. ii. 11, 12. See Dr. Wall's Hist. of Infant Baptism, part i. c. 2. p. 11. and Defence, p. 37, 269.

^e Gen. xvii. 10.
^f Rom. iv. 11.

^g Gen. xvii. 11.

Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον, ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματι μου. *This cup is the new covenant in my blood.* Luke xxii. 20. 1 Cor. xi. 25.

Compare these phrases with the like *federal* phrases in the Old Testament, as follows :

Of circumcision it is said, *Αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη, This is the covenant, which, &c.*

And of the blood of the sacrifices, when the Law was received, it is said, Ἴδου τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης, *Behold the blood of the covenant.* Exod. xxiv. 8.

The phrases used by our Lord in the institution of the Eucharist are plainly parallel to these : and therefore the Eucharist is a *federal* rite, as was circumcision or sacrifice under the old Law.

2. Another argument of the same thing may be drawn from the Eucharist succeeding in the room of the Passover, or Paschal Supper. Christ is the Lamb of God, the true Paschal Lamb^b, and therefore called our *Passover* by St. Paul^c. And he is represented in the Eucharist now, as by the Passover before. The rites of the Eucharist, and the phrases used in the institution, are mostly borrowed from the Paschal rites and phrases, as might be shewn in many particulars. But for brevity sake, I choose to refer to such authors^k as have specified them. Now it is certain that the *Passover* was a *federal* rite, inasmuch as sacrifices are federal rites^l. Besides that, the Scripture account of the *Passover* shews it^m. It was a *sign* and a *memorial* of God's *redeeming* his people from Egypt; and by that redemption God covenanted with the people of the Jews to own them for his people, and to be their Godⁿ. It is obvious to perceive how these circumstances are applicable to the Christian redemption, and to the Christian *Eucharist* the memorial of it.

3. I shall only observe further, that St. Paul in 1 Cor. x. manifestly supposes, that in or by the *Eucharist* there is the like communion and intercourse between God and every worthy receiver, when Christians feast at the *Lord's table*, as there was between God and the Israelites, when the Israelites feasted at the *altar*, and as there was between the *devils* and their votaries

^b John i. 19. xix. 36. 1 Pet. i. 18.

^c 1 Cor. v. 7.

^k Archbishop Wake's Discourse of the Eucharist, p. 3. Pfaffius de Oblat.

et Consecrat. Eucharist. p. 180.

^l See Mede, p. 371.

^m Exod. xiii. 9, 16. Deut. xvi. 1, 2.

ⁿ 2 Sam. xii. 24.

at the *table of devils*. And if sacrifices in both cases were *federal* rites, and amounted to *covenanting*, then we have St. Paul's authority for esteeming the *Eucharist* a *federal* rite, a seal of a covenant between God and man. And if it amount to *covenanting*, then we must admit of a reciprocal intercourse in it between God and man, God shedding forth his grace and blessings, while man makes his dutiful returns of obedience. And it is very observable, that as no man was to eat of the *Passover* before he had been *circumcised*^o, so the rule also is, that no one must presume to partake of the *Eucharist* before he has been *baptized*. And as there were strict and severe penalties enjoined by the Law against *profaning* the *Passover*, so in the Apostolical age, it pleased God to inflict diseases and death upon such as *profaned* the *Eucharist*^p, in order to create the greater reverence and veneration for this high and holy solemnity.

^o Exod. xii. 48.

^p 1 Cor. xi. 30.

A SUPPLEMENT
TO
THE TREATISE,
ENTITLED,
THE NATURE, OBLIGATION, AND EFFICACY
OF THE
CHRISTIAN SACRAMENTS
CONSIDERED.

**Wherein the Nature and Value of Positive Institutions is more
particularly examined, and Objections answered.**

SUPPLEMENT
TO THE
NATURE
OF THE
CHRISTIAN SACRAMENTS
CONSIDERED.

IN the close of my discourse upon the *Sacraments*, &c. I declared, that I should be thankful to any man that would resume the subject, and treat it in a *rational* and a *Christian* manner, to strike *new light* into it. Two or three gentlemen have since appeared, and have performed their parts; but whether in a *rational* or a *Christian* manner, let indifferent readers judge. Thus far I take upon me to say, that they might have afforded us more *light*, if they had had less *heat*, and had been careful to preserve the coolness and sedateness proper to religious or learned inquiries. And if, amidst all their ardent zeal for *morality* in theory, they had been pleased to exemplify it in practice, by a strict observance of the moral rules for good writing, they might certainly have succeeded better, and have done more honour both to themselves and their subject. Injurious reflections and studied misrepresentations are immoral, and are the faults of little writers; and such as carry their own shame and punishment along with them. But to let these things pass. I design not to make any formal reply to my several correspondents: truth will answer for itself, and, I am persuaded,

may be left to shift, having been once set competently clear, as I presume it has. Yet some few things there are capable of further illustration, and important enough to deserve it; for the sake of which, principally, I throw in this Supplement. And because the author of the Defence of the Answer to the Remarks seems to be the leading man, I shall choose to continue the debate directly with him, and by the way only with the rest. I shall digest his positions into so many articles, and shall remark upon them, more or less, as I shall think there is occasion.

I.

THE first and most important article concerns the nature and obligation of moral virtue, upon which he thus clearly expresses his sentiments: "Moral virtue consists in the conformity of our actions to the relations or reasons of things; and therefore this must be obligatory to all intelligent beings, even *previous* to any laws, or commands, or injunctions, *Divine* or human^a." He goes, we see, upon the *independent* bottom, and sets up a system of morality without *God* at the head of it. *Previous*, he says, to any laws, any *Divine* laws, natural or revealed: this is his principle. He supposes *obligation* without *law*, a *religion* of nature without a *Deity*, and *duty* without a *superior* to whom it is owing. One might think the very naming of these things might be enough to confute them. Baron Puffendorf observed well of those independent schemists, in the words here following, as they stand in the English translation; "And truly, as for those who would establish an eternal rule for morality of the actions, without respect to the *Divine* injunction and constitution, the result of their endeavours seems to us to be, the joining with God Almighty some coeval *extrinsical* principle which he is obliged to follow, in assigning the forms and essences of things^b."

His observation is very just: for if God be presupposed as assigning the forms and natures of things, then whatever results from those forms or natures, or their relations, must be referred up to God as the sole author and designer of all; and then all practical rules resolve into the *Divine* injunction, since God must be supposed to *will* and *enjoin* what himself has made

^a Defence of the Answer, &c. p. 8. comp. p. 6.

^b Puffendorf's Law of Nature and Nations, lib. i. c. 2. p. 14.

necessary. But if relations or fitnesses be made obligatory, independent of, and previous to, *Divine* injunctions, there is nothing left to resolve them into but an *extrinsic* principle. There seems to have been the like fallacy and mistake in this affair, as in the famous argument for the existence of a God, drawn, as they call it, *a priori*; which resolves in like manner into a principle *extrinsic*. For since a *property* cannot be supposed *antecedent* to its *subject*, nor the substance *antecedent* to *itself*, there remains nothing but an *extrinsic* principle to found the argument *a priori* upon. But this by the way only.

To return to the matter in hand: I say, if there was any *design* at all in the contrivance of things, God must be set at the head of all, and then all resolves into his *design, will, and injunction*: but if we once leave *God* out of the scheme, there remains only *chance* or *fate*, or I know not what other *extrinsic* principle. The proof of a religion of nature depends entirely, as Bishop Parker observes, upon the supposition of an Author of nature: for, says he, “unless that be antecedently granted, we cannot so much as proceed to inquire after the law of nature. “For if he never contrived the nature of things, it is evidently “in vain to search for his design in the contrivance^c.” To which I take leave to add, that if God was the author and contriver of nature, then his *design, will, and injunction* must be considered as antecedent and previous to every thing. Bishop Parker therefore, in the same place, justly reprehends Grotius, (if it was Grotius’s real and settled opinion,) for supposing the rules of morality *obligatory* without the supposition of a Deity^d. The most judicious of the heathen moralists looked up to a *Deity* whereon to found their morality, as may be seen in Selden and in Sharrock: and the most judicious moderns also, as Cumberland, Puffendorf, Barbeyrac, Parker, Tyrrell, and others, have done the same. Dr. Clarke however plainly espoused another principle in his Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion: and Mr. Clarke of Hull, some time after, undertook to confute it; which, in my judgment, he has effectually done, with all the modesty, ingenuity, and decency, as well as strength of reason, that becomes a knowing and a judicious writer. Him therefore I before referred to^e, to save myself the trouble of doing the same thing over again, and to less advantage. How-

^c Parker’s Demonstration, &c. pref. p. ix. . ^d Ibid. p. viii. ^e Nature, Obligation, &c. p. 62.

ever, since the author of the Defence thinks he has something to say worth the answering, (though he pretends not to make any reply to Mr. Clarke,) I shall proceed a little further into the question, and once more debate this controverted point with him. I have said enough in the general already to satisfy, as I am persuaded, reasonable men, who are used to an abstract way of thinking: but for the sake of common readers, I shall be a little more particular, and risk the being tedious, while I distinctly examine what the Defence has to plead for the *previous* obligation upon *God* and upon *man*.

1. By his account all *intelligent* beings, God himself with the rest, are *obliged* to the practice of *virtue*; though how either *virtue* or *obligation* belongs to God, I understand not. We have often heard of his moral *perfections*: but to talk of his moral *virtues* is a kind of new language. It comes very near to saying, (it is upon this author's principles saying,) that it is his *duty* to practise them. For thus he defines moral *duties*: they are "such acts as we are obliged to exert in conformity to the reasons of things^f." Which account of *duties* is exactly the same with what he had given of *virtues*; excepting that *virtues* are habits, and *duties* acts. Consequently all intelligent beings, God with the rest, are *obliged* to exert those *acts*, in conformity to the reason of things. That is to say, God himself is tied up to *duty*, though he has no *superior*, and it is not easy to say to whom he *owes* it.

Next as to *obligation*, it seems to run cross to all common language, and common reason too, to talk of God's being under *obligation*, while he owns no *superior*. The Defence might as well suppose a cause prior to the first, as a lawgiver higher than the highest, or a law without a lawgiver, or obligation without law. The sum of what he has to plead is, that "where there was no law, and yet God could not but act according to what was right, there was the highest obligation possible^g." He might as well say, that God is under an obligation to *exist*, because he *cannot but* exist. It is the property and the perfection of Almighty God to exist always, and always to act according to unerring *wisdom*, and *goodness* infinite. I do not see what warrant we have for speaking of *God*, as if we were talking of *creatures*, and for bringing him under *duty* and *obliga-*

^f Defence, p. 6.

^g Ibid. p. 13.

tion: it is neither *virtus* nor *duty* in him to exert acts of *goodness*, but it is his *perfection*.

2. Next, from God, let us descend to his creatures, who are indeed *obliged* both to *virtue* and *duty*, by the *law* of the Most High, and by nothing else. Whatever some may please to fancy about abstract *fitnesses*, if God be at the head of them, he *obliges*, and not they: or if you abstract the Deity, you abstract the obligation. To follow them only as rules of convenience, when convenient, would not be *duty* or *virtue*, but craft or policy: and to follow them at all, when not convenient, would not be *duty* or *virtue*, but *folly* and *madness*. There is one very great flaw in the reasonings of those that go upon the independent bottom, that they consider only general abstract *fitnesses*, without taking into account the particular *fitness* of the agent who is supposed bound to observe them. They consider only *what is fit to be done*, without inquiring *whether it be fit for Caius or Titius to do it*: which is a strange omission in them. All that these general *fitnesses* mean is, that they are good for mankind, and that the observance of them promotes the common happiness: and yet it is very certain that every man may, must, and cannot but pursue his own happiness, and flee misery as such. It is *fitting*, and *reasonable*, and *just*, that a man should love and serve himself, *equally* at least with others: and it is *unfitting*, *unreasonable*, and *unjust*, (were it practicable,) for a man to love his neighbour *better* than himself. There is no *wisdom* or *virtue* in being wise for others only, and not for one's self also, first or last: neither can any man be obliged to it. Well then, let us imagine *fitnesses* to be the rule to go by, and no *Deity* at the head of them, to bind and enforce them^h: it may be *fit* for a man to observe them as far as is consistent or coincident with his temporal happiness: and that will be no *virtue* nor *duty*, but self-interest only, and *love* of the *world*. But if he proceeds further to sacrifice his own temporal happiness to the *public*, that indeed will be *virtue* and *duty* on the

^h Isthæc porro præcepta, etsi manifestam habeant *utilitatem*, tamen ut eadem *vim legis* obtineant, necessum est præsupponi *Deum esse*, et sua providentia omnia regere; eundemque mortalium generi *injussisse*, ut ista rationis dictamina tanquam *leges*, ab ipso, vi congeniti luminis promulgatas, observent. Alias enim possent ea

quidem fortasse observari *intuitu utilitatis*, (sicut quæ a medicis regendæ valetudini præscribuntur,) non autem tanquam *leges*; quippe quæ necessario ponunt *superiorem*, et quidem talem qui alterius gubernationem actu suscepit. *Puffendorf. de Offic. Hom. &c. lib. i. c. 3. p. 22.*

supposition that *God* requires it, but without it, it is folly and madness. There is neither *prudence* nor *good sense*, and consequently no *virtue*, in preferring the happiness of others *absolutely* to our own; that is to say, without prospect of a future *equivalent*. But if *God* commands us to postpone our present interest, honour, or pleasure, to public considerations, it is then *fitting* and *reasonable* so to do; because *God*, by engaging us to it, becomes our *security* that we shall not finally, or in the last result, be *losers* by it. What would otherwise be *folly*, now commences *duty* and *virtue*, and puts on *obligation*. If *God* commands it, he *binds* us, he *obliges* us to it, by connecting our true and certain happiness with it. When we submit to temporal pains, self-denials, restraints, losses, damages, &c. for the public good, this is *properly* virtue: and yet this is not virtue unless *God* *commands* it, because that alone can make it, in our circumstances, *rational*, *fitting*, or *safe*, to do it. In *God* all happiness centres: him we can *wisely* follow and obey, because in him we have all, and he cannot deceive us. Here is a foundation for *real* virtue, which without him is barely *nominal*, or *notional*¹, and indeed no virtue, were it practicable. From these principles it follows, that *virtue* and *religion* are but two names for the same thing: and both of them resolve into *obedience to God*^k: the necessity of which, or obligation thereto, resolves into the necessity we are under, as rational and thinking beings, to pursue our own most true and lasting happiness.

How well this tallies with the Scripture account of *virtue*, is very evident. Our Lord himself has frequently observed, that all good offices done to others for temporal ends only have no *virtue* in them. *To do good to those that will do good to us, and to lend to those of whom we hope to receive, what is it but traffic and*

¹ Without the *Divinity*, duty, obligation, right, are, to speak the truth, but *fine ideas* which may please the mind, but will never touch the heart; and which, in themselves considered, can never lay us under an *indispensable* necessity of acting or not acting after a certain manner. To give these *ideas* all the force they are capable of, to makethem able to keep their ground against the passions and private interests, it is necessary there should be a *superior Being* more powerful than we are, which may compel us to conform ourselves to them invariably in our conduct, that may *bind* us so, that

it may not be in our power to disengage ourselves at pleasure; in a word, that may lay us under an *obligation* properly so called, to follow the light of our own reason. *Barbeyrac's Spirit of Ecclesiast.* p. 2, 3.

^k Certainly, to *obey the law* which the Author of his being has given him, is *religion*: and to obey the law which he has given or revealed to him, by making it to result from the right use of his natural faculties, must be to him his *natural religion*. And its truest definition is, *the pursuit of happiness by the practice of reason and truth.* *Wollaston's Relig. of Nat.* p.52.

merchandise? To *pray* or to *give alms*, and the like, only to be *heard* and *seen* of men, what is it but to seek honour of men? There is no *virtue* in these things, however serviceable the outward acts are to the world. *Heathens* and *publicans* can do thus: it is *Pagan* morality, which perhaps rarely rises higher. But *virtue* is quite another thing, looks beyond this world, and rests in *God* alone. It is submitting to present restraints and self-denials, and *trusting* in *God* only for our recompense. Accordingly, all the bright examples of *virtue* recorded in sacred story, are represented as terminating in *faith* and *hope* towards *God*: see particularly the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, where this doctrine is so plain, that nothing can be more so. I say then, that the *love of God* is *virtue*, and is *duty*, and the sum total of both. Any other pretended *virtue* not centering in that, is either *unintelligible* or *impracticable*. It is in vain then to talk of obligatory fitnesses previous to Divine laws. The fitness of every action depends upon the right adjusting of all circumstances, and particularly the circumstances which the *agent* himself is under. It is *fit* for *God* alone, it is his peculiar prerogative and perfection, to adhere constantly to the rules of *truth* and *goodness*, without *obligation*, without *law*. He is out of the reach of pain and misery; and his happiness can never interfere with the common felicity. But *creatures* may run risks, (all creatures, more or less,) and want both to be *bound* by law, and to be *secured* by the same, as often as their temporal happiness may interfere with the public interest. In such cases, the rules of virtue would be no rules to *them*, because not *reasonable* in their circumstances, till *God*, by annexing happiness and misery to the observance and non-observance of them, turns the scale, and makes them *eligible*, fit to be practised in all circumstances whatever. Thus *virtue* is rendered *obligatory* to all creatures, and indeed is made *virtue* to them, (as I have before hinted,) when it would be otherwise folly and distraction. Having, I presume, thus competently fixed our principles and set morality upon its true basis, objections to the contrary, being founded in false principles, fall of course. But still, rather than be wanting in any thing that may serve to clear up this important point to the meanest capacities, I shall consider and answer the principal objections, and then take leave of this article.

1, It is objected, that *the consequence* of our doctrine is, "that

“ it was the arbitrary will of God, whether even vice, with all its deformities, might not have been equally valued by him, “ as virtue is¹.” As wide a consequence as ever was drawn. Obligation arises not merely from *command*, (for every command would not make it,) but from the command of so *great* and so *good* a Being, in whom all *happiness* is supposed to center. If he could command me to be *false*, he might himself be *false* also, and not be what he is; and then his command would have no weight in it, nor carry any obligation with it, because I could not *trust* or *confide* in him. The just consequence from our principles is directly contrary to what this writer pretends. For *obligation* supposes, that God may infallibly be *trusted*; which supposes him to be infinitely *good* and *great*; which again supposes him not capable of doing, or commanding others to do, any thing contrary to the highest and most excellent end, the common good of all intelligent beings.

Besides, we could not *prove* that there is any such thing as a *law of nature*, or *religion of nature*, if we did not know beforehand that there is a *God*, and that he is infinitely *wise* and *good*, and therefore must *will*, *command*, and *enjoin* what is for the common felicity, and nothing but what is so. So that here again, the very supposition we go upon, in asserting a *law of nature*, runs directly counter to what the objection pretends.

2. It may be asked, whether, “ if God had commanded men “ to be unjust and ungrateful, it would have been morally good “ to be unjust and ungrateful^m?” To which I answer, that it is putting an absurd, self-contradictory supposition; for it is supposing a God that is not necessarily wise and good, a God and no God. But to come closer to the question: abstract from the consideration of *Divine law*, and then consider what *justice* and *gratitude* would amount to. To be *just* and *grateful* so far as is consistent or coincident with our temporal interest, pleasure, or convenience, and no further, has no more *moral* good in it, than the paying a debt for our present ease, or in order to be *trusted* again: and the being further *just* and *grateful*, without future prospects, or to be finally losers by it, has as much of *moral virtue* in it, as *folly* and *indiscretion* has: so that, the *Deity* once set aside, it is demonstration, there could be no *morality* at all. But admitting a *Deity*, and his *laws*, then mo-

¹ Defence of the Answer, p. 12.

^m See Defence, p. 12.

rality immediately revives, and has something to subsist upon, though at the same time God must be supposed to be *God*.

To conclude this article, I shall take the freedom to borrow the words of an ingenious gentleman, who about four years ago thus expressed his sentiments on this head.

“ Take in *the Divinity* into your system of morality, and if it “ be regular also in other respects, it is like a complete human “ body, beautifully formed, and aptly disposed for exerting all “ the offices and acts that a living body is capable of. Abstract “ *the Divinity* from your schemes; suppose they have no con- “ cern at all with, nor reference to, *God* and his *will*, and your “ morality will be like a body without a head, from whence the “ spirits are derived, the principle of motion and action to all “ the other members, otherwise useless and inanimateⁿ.”

3. It may perhaps be objected, that this way of resolving virtue makes it look like a mean and *mercenary* thing, because it is supposed to stand only upon a view to one's own *happiness*, when it ought rather to be entirely *disinterested*, and above all selfish views. To which I answer, that this way of resolving virtue is just and rational: for what more rational than to pursue our greatest happiness? Or what more irrational than to neglect it, or to prize any thing above it? Let some declaim as they please upon *disinterested* benevolence, we maintain that it is sufficiently disinterested, if it contemns all narrow, low, or sordid views, and looks only at securing an eternal interest in God. What other foundation of virtue can any man lay, which is not plainly fanciful and chimerical? They may say, they *follow virtue*, for *virtue's sake*: as if virtue were the *end*, when it is evidently but the *means*; and *happiness* is the *end* it leads to, happiness either of ourselves or others. Let them say next, that they follow it as a *means* to make *other* men happy. What! without any self-regards? How is it possible? Or supposing it possible, how can it be *reasonable* or *right*, or indeed *virtue*, to prefer the happiness of others *absolutely* to our own? Let them pretend next, that they follow virtue, because they take *delight* in it, as in *beauty*, *order*, *symmetry*, &c. Be it so: then it is indulging a *passion*, and pursuing a kind of *pleasing sensation*, and so is acting upon no higher a principle than *love of present pleasure*; which perhaps, after all, resolves only into the delight

ⁿ A Letter to a Young Gentleman at the Temple, p. 10.

we take in doing things which tend to procure the *love, esteem, honour, and applause* of men. Whatever it be, it is something vastly inferior to taking *delight* in God, and is neither so *honourable* a principle to found virtue upon, (were it really *virtue*;) nor at all *sufficient* to support it in trying circumstances. For if the supposed pleasurable-ness of virtue comes to be overbalanced with pains, (as it easily may, when *Divine* comforts are set aside,) then virtue may become loathsome and grievous, and no man will follow it. Upon the whole then, there is no firm foundation of *virtue*, but the love of God, and reliance upon him. All other pretended props or supports are *low* and *mean* in comparison: and after all the fine talk which some of a lively imagination may please to make use of, there are but *two* principles for men to proceed upon; namely, either the *love of this world* or the *love of God*. And now let any reasonable man judge which is the most *mercenary* principle of the two; which the likeliest to found true and solid *virtue* upon.

I meet with no other objections, but what are the same with those now mentioned, or so nearly the same, that the same answers may serve for all. So I have nothing further to add, but the inference, or corollary, in favour of *positive* duties, as before.

If God's *command* in moral duties constitutes *virtue* and *duty*, then of consequence, God's command in matters of a *positive* nature constitutes *duty* and *virtue* also: and therefore our obedience, in either case, resolves into the same principle, and has the same common ground of obligation. God's reasons for commanding may be different; but our reasons for obeying are the same. *Reasons* of a *law* are one thing, reasons of *obligation* are another. A law should not want its *reasons*; but yet it is the *law*, and not those *reasons*, that properly creates the obligation: for the law would *oblige*, though we knew nothing of the reasons on which it is founded. *Positive* duties, therefore, and *moral*, are alike obligatory, as enjoined by the same authority, and enforced by the same sanctions. Both proceed from the same infinite *goodness*, and both lead to the same infinite *happiness*: which is sufficient to infer *equal* obligation, where other circumstances are equal. *Moral* duties arise from the *will* or *command* of God, founded on the known *standing* reasons of things: *positive* duties arise from the *will* or *command* of God, founded upon *occasional* reasons, known perhaps to God alone.

In *moral laws*, we see the *reasons* first, and by them we come at the knowledge of the *law*; which method of investigation has probably occasioned the mistake of supposing the reasons *obligatory* antecedently to the *law*, though they are proofs only that there is and must be a *law* suitable: in *positive laws*, we know the laws themselves first, and afterwards the *reasons*, so far as we at all know them; and so nobody here suspects any thing of an *obligation* prior to the laws.

So much for this first and most important article: the rest may be despatched in fewer words.

II.

The Defence pretends, that positive duties arise from "the mere will of the prescriber^o." To obviate which, I before observed, "that they are always founded upon *reasons*, known perhaps in part to us, but perfectly known to God; and so "are ultimately resolvable into infinite *wisdom* and *goodness* P." I do not find that the Defence advances any thing against what I said, excepting only confident affirmations. There is another gentleman who enters a little further into the question^q, who yet is forced to allow, that *positive* commands are founded in "good and wise reasons," because infinite wisdom does every thing *wisely*. But he asks, whether they be founded on "such reasons as moral duties are founded upon?" Such undoubtedly in the main, *wise* and *excellent* reasons, and reasons of *common* good. For as God has prescribed *moral* duties, because he loves mankind, so he has also prescribed *positive* duties for the same reason. But are they *natural*, *necessary*, *eternal*, *indispensable*, *resulting from the nature of things*? No, for then the precepts enjoining them would not be *positive*, but *moral*. But notwithstanding, it is a *natural*, *necessary*, *eternal*, *indispensable* rule of morality to *obey* God even in matters of a *positive* nature, while the law continues in force, and is not repealed by the same authority that gave it. *God's* liberty in this case is greater, *ours* is not: he may change the *law*, we cannot swerve from our *obedience* without his leave. It is allowed that positive precepts are *occasional*, not *constant*, are particular to *times*,

^o Defence, &c. p. 6, 7, 8, 14, 42.

^p Nature and Obligation, p. 59.

^q The Comparative Excellence and

Obligation of Moral and Positive Duties fully stated and considered,

p. 23, 24.

places, or persons, and not so universal as the other. But still there may be as great necessity for those occasional precepts upon occasion, as for the more constant ones constantly. There may also be as much wisdom and goodness shewn in adapting them to mutable circumstances, as in suiting the other to the permanent system of things: and their ends and uses may be as high and heavenly, and looking as far forwards as the ends and uses of moral commandments. On all which accounts the paying a conscientious regard to positive precepts, for the time being, may be of as great importance, and as strictly required, as any other obedience. But we shall have more of this matter under other articles.

III.

The Defence asserts, that "positive duty must give way to moral, whenever they interfere." This is the doctrine which I disliked in the Catechism, and which I have confuted at large in my former papers. The setting up of duty against duty, and giving the preference absolutely to one above the other, is *injurious to both.*

The reason which he gives for preferring *moral* duties absolutely to *positive* is, because the former are *unchangeable* and the latter *changeable*; which is not strictly true, not true of *all* moral duties: for many of them will cease, like as positive duties, when there shall be no longer occasion for them. The duties I mean, of mercy to the afflicted, poor, and miserable, which obtain only in this world, and are among the *weighty* matters of the law while there is need of them. The truth is, *moral* performances, of such a kind, have their times and seasons, as well as the other, are most of them limited to the present system of things, and expire with it. It is equally true both of moral and positive duties, that they continue as long as there is occasion for them, and no longer, and then will be succeeded by other duties, moral or positive, such as a new scene of things requires, and such as will then be insisted upon as new ways of expressing and exercising that *love of God*, which is the foundation of all, and which is unrepealable, abiding for ever. While the *occasion* or necessity remains for any particular duty, any branch of that *love*, be it in a positive instance or

^r Defence, p. 8, 9.

moral, the importance of that duty so long remains. Length of time makes no difference as to the weight or force of an obligation. We are not at all the less bound to obey what is enjoined us at this juncture, because it will not be enjoined a hundred or a thousand years hence. While the positive law is in force, obedience is indispensably necessary: and nothing can remove it but the same authority that gave it.

There are some instances in Scripture of ritual laws giving way to *necessity*, being understood to contain *tacit* exceptions for preserving life. Upon that principle, David was allowed to eat of the *shevbread*^a, contrary to the ordinary rules. And the Jews scrupled not to abate of their rigours as to keeping the *Sabbath*, in cases of great necessity^t: though at the same time no necessity whatever would make them submit to the "eating of swine's flesh^u," when they thought no tacit exception was to be understood. *Necessity* very often alters the *case*, both as to moral and positive precepts: not that it properly justifies the *violating* of either, but the laws being supposed to admit of some tacit exceptions in favour of necessity, they are not *violated* when not observed in cases which they did not reach to. Allowing only for such cases of necessity, (to which both moral and positive precepts sometimes yield,) a positive law, while unrepealed, binds as much as a moral one: and God himself can no more make wilful disobedience in positive instances (the law continuing) to be innocent, than he can make injustice or ingratitude, or any other immorality, to be no immorality. The disobeying a positive precept is immoral, as well as the disobeying a moral one: and all the difference is, that one continues perhaps longer than the other, not that it is more obligatory, while both are standing, than the other.

Suppose that Abraham, when commanded to go and sacrifice up his son, had put it off, some months or days, to discharge good moral offices to the sick, needy, or afflicted; would that have been justifiable conduct? I suppose not: because there is a time for all things; and at that particular season the *positive* precept was to take place above the *moral* ones, which might have justice done to them at another time.

Suppose again, that at the three seasons of the year, when all the males were to go up to Jerusalem, to appear before the

^a 1 Sam. xxi. 6. Matt. xii. 3, 4.

^t 1 Macc. ii. 41. Luke xiii. 15. xiv. 5.

^u 2 Maccab. vi. 18, 19, 20.

Lord, they had loitered and stayed behind for some reasons of *charity* or *humanity*; would such behaviour have been commendable? Far from it. The *positive* duty was limited to a certain time, the particular exercise of the moral ones was not: and therefore it was proper at that season, for the moral affirmative precepts to give way to positive. It would have been vain for them to have pleaded in such a case, that positive duties are *means* only to moral, and that they intended to be good *moral* men at home, and so to answer the *end* designed. God will not be mocked at that rate: but when he commands men to obey, though in *positive* instances, disobeying him is rebellion and heinous iniquity. The question therefore about the *preference* depends not upon the *moral* or *positive* nature of the precepts, as I have often said, but upon the time, and other circumstances. Thus far in answer to the author of the Defence.

There is another gentleman, who spends, I think, about forty or more tedious pages, to assert the superior excellence and obligation of moral duties^x. The first nine or ten pages he fills with things mostly foreign, or with false representations of my principles, as his manner is. He represents my notion as differing from Bishop Cumberland's^y, though it is exactly the same with it. He intimates more than once, if I understand him, that the rule I go by is, to consider what will best serve a *present turn* or *particular exigency*^z: whereas my constant rule is, to consider in any particular case what will be best *upon the whole*, so as never to cross upon the greatest and highest end, the *common* felicity. A rule so innocent, and of such admirable use in all cases of intricacy, that nothing can be more so.

He misrepresents me further^a, as if I had resolved the iniquity or sin of neglecting the holy Communion into the *offence* only, the ill *example* set, and the occasion thereby given to *unjust* and *ill-natured* censures. Whereas I affirm *frequent* or *total* neglects to be "neglecting to renew our covenant and intercourse with " God, neglecting to repent and to resolve well, neglecting to " repair the spiritual life, disposing the mind to irreligion and immoral" morality, and, in process of time, to incurable profaneness^b."

I observed besides, that the *example* of such irreverence to-

^x The Comparative Excellence, &c. p. 40, &c.

^y Ibid. p. 44.

^z Ibid. p. 44, 59.

^a Ibid. p. 46, 47, 48.

^b See Nature and Obligation, p. 97. of this volume.

wards God would do infinitely more harm to the world, than any pretended *moral* services can atone for or compensate^c: a truth which no serious person can doubt of. And I particularly made mention of it, to obviate the vain pretence, that a man may be doing *good to the world*, by friendly and charitable offices, while he *totally* neglects his *religious* duties. I say, that *upon the whole* he does not serve mankind in such cases, but does more harm than good: because the mischief done to religion in general by such examples will do mankind more hurt than the services of any single man, or many, can make amends for.

I must here take notice of a very odd argument which this gentleman produces^d for the justifying a *total* neglect of the holy Communion. If it be lawful to neglect it *sometimes*, for reasons of necessary charity, he argues, that it may be lawful also to neglect it *often*, or *always*, upon the same principle, if the like occasions happen: for, says he, “how can the number “make that criminal when repeated, that was innocent and “right in the single act?” To which I answer, *first*, that there is a time for all things, and there is no sense in supposing that occasions of *necessary* charity can recur so often, as to require either a *constant* or a *frequent* neglect of the Divine ordinances in the same man. I answer, *secondly*, that it would be great *vanity* in any man to pretend, that his services are equivalent to God’s honour, or are so necessary to mankind that he can *never*, or very *rarely*, be spared to attend upon God. I answer, *thirdly*, that there is no man but what takes every day or night more time for his ordinary meals, his recreations, or his sleep, than it would require once a week to spend in partaking of the *Communion*. And if *moral* duties may yield to such *daily* avocations, surely they may much more yield to *weekly* or *monthly* calls to the Sacrament. I answer, *fourthly*, that this gentleman’s general rule, that *number* and *repetition* do not make an act criminal, is a very false one, and contrary to the common rules of *moral* arithmetic. It is the *repeating* the same act of drinking, that makes the *drunkard*; and the *number* of the morsels makes the *glutton*: or, to use a fitter comparison, it is the over great *frequency* of fasting that famishes the body; and, in like manner, too *frequent* abstaining from the holy Communion famishes the soul. No charity to men’s bodies, or souls either, will justify a

^c Ibid. p. 97.

^d Comparative Excellence, &c. p. 46, 47.

man's neglecting the concerns of his own soul. God gives us leave to neglect his ordinances *sometimes*, but within compass, and within measure, so that neither *religion* in general, nor a man's own *spiritual* improvement suffer by it. But if instead of a *pound* permitted, we presume to take *twenty*, or instead of a *shekel* allowed us, we take a talent, though it be only repeating the same act, taking pound after pound, and shekel after shekel, yet all beyond what is proper and permitted, is wrong and robbery, and the *excess* is criminal, though there be no iniquity in the *single* act.

Hitherto I have been attending this gentleman through ten of his pages, as far as to page 50, where he at length begins to talk directly to the main point, the *preference* of moral to positive duties. And now I must give the readers a taste of his reasonings upon that head:

1. One of his arguments is, that moral duties exceed positive, "as much as practice improves and strengthens beyond contemplation^c:" as if *acts* of positive duty were *contemplation* only.

2. Another is, that "it is peculiar to moral duty, which positive has no share in, that it makes us rich towards God, rich in good works^f." As if Abraham's obedience in two signal positive instances, by which he was justified, and for which he was called the *friend of Gods*, did not amount to *good works*, nor made him *rich towards God*. Or as if preaching the Gospel and keeping the faith were not good works, entitling to a *crown of righteousness*^h.

3. A third argument, or the first over again, is, that *moral* duties are *active virtue*ⁱ: as if *positive* duties were not altogether *as active*.

4. A fourth, or the same over again, is, that "in moral duties we step further towards heaven; in positive we sit down to consider, and refresh ourselves for the journey^j." So Abraham, we are to suppose, sat down to *consider* and *refresh*, when he came out of his own country in obedience to a *positive* commandment, and went three days' journey to offer up his only son; and made no *step* towards heaven in those instances, though thereby *justified* and advanced to the closest *friendship* with *God*.

^c Comparative Excellence, &c. p. 50.

^f Ibid. p. 50.

^g James ii. 21, 22, 23.

^h 2 Tim. iv. 7.

ⁱ Comparative Excellence, &c. p.

51.

^j Id. *ibid*.

5. A fifth is, that moral duties only are "founded in the reasons and fitnesses of things^k." As if infinite Wisdom could command any thing that had not its proper *fitness* to answer the ends designed: or as if it were not eternally and unalterably *fitting*, that God should be obeyed in every thing.

I pass over this gentleman's crude account of the reason of the difference between *affirmative* and *negative* precepts^l, that one should bind always, and the other not so. He might have said all in a very few words: that we cannot be always employed in all affirmative duties, because they are *many*, and we can do but one thing at a time: but we can always *forbear* the doing what God has *forbidden*. One sort therefore admits of intermissions in acting, the other admits of none in the forbearing to act.

The reader, I presume, by this time, has enough for a specimen, and I shall trust him with the rest. To pursue such a writer through all his wanderings and mistakes would take up too much of my time and paper, and make trifles look considerable. I return to the author of the Defence.

IV.

The Defence observes, that obedience to *positive* precepts can in no case be *greater* virtue than obedience to *moral*; "because it cannot be greater virtue than exact conformity to the reasons of things^m." I would only ask here, whether some instances of obedience to *moral* precepts may not be *greater* virtue than other instances of obedience to moral precepts: or whether there be no *degrees* in virtue. The argument seems to me to strike at all degrees in virtue, and so to prove nothing, because it proves too much, and terminates in absurdity. I think the proper distinction here is, that all acts of virtue are *truly* virtue, one *as well* as the other, but not in the *same degree* with the other. Common logic will tell us, that though substance admits not of *magis* and *minus*, yet there is *major* and *minor substantia*. I do not understand how this writer can say, that there *cannot* be *greater* virtue than *virtue*, unless in such a sense as there *cannot* be *greater* substance than *substance*, though it is certain that one substance may be greater than another.

The truth is, and it is all that he should say, there may be *greater* and *smaller* virtues, and there may be more of virtue in

^k Ibid. p. 52.

^l Ibid. p. 53, 54, 55, &c.

^m Defence, p. 16.

one than in the other : but yet the smaller virtue is *virtue* no less than the other ; as a little diamond is not less a diamond than the greatest, though it be a less diamond. The argument seems to be nothing but a confused transition made from one way of expression to the other, not observing the proper distinction. And since I have taken this notice of it, it needs no further answer. It is manifest that there are *degrees* in virtue : and as obedience to positive precepts is undoubtedly *virtue*, so it may happen in certain cases, as particularly in Abraham's, to be *greater* virtue, though not *more truly* virtue than any other.

V.

The Defence finds fault with us for asserting that obedience to God in *positive* instances is really *moral*. He judges it to be acting in conformity to *positive* law only, not to *moral*ⁿ. I must take leave still to affirm, that obeying God in *positive* instances is *moral* obedience, conform to *moral* law, which prescribes that the *creature* shall obey the *Creator*. The very *nature* and *reason* of the thing, the *relation* and natural *fitness* requires it^o. And if it be *moral* duty (as I suppose it is) for a servant to obey his master in things *indifferent*, and for a *subject* to obey his *prince*, and for a *son* to obey his *parents*, and for a *soldier* to obey his commanding officer, how comes it to pass that it should not be *moral* duty for *men* to obey *God* in things of a *positive* nature ? The author of the Defence understands not how it is *properly* *virtue*. But it is very obvious to perceive, that sincere obedience to *Divine* laws is always *virtue*, and so *properly*, that nothing else properly is *virtue*. However, upon his own principles, this must be *virtue*, because it is eternally *fit*, *reasonable*, and *right*, that

ⁿ Defence, p. 16, 17.

^o The words of Dr. Clagett, or Dr. Stebbing, are so apposite to our present purpose, that I shall here transcribe them :

“ Though the distinction between *moral* and *positive* may be allowed with respect to *laws*, yet this does not seem to afford any foundation for a proportionable distinction with respect to the *actions* of men conversant about those laws. That is, though you may absolutely confine the notion of a *moral law* to such laws as are of natural and perpetual

obligation, you cannot absolutely confine the notion of a *moral man* to him who obeys such laws only. The reason is plain, viz. that upon supposition the *positive* laws are enjoined, obedience to such laws becomes a *part of morality*, as resulting from that general and universal principle of morality which has just now been mentioned ; to wit, that *God is to be obeyed in every thing which he commands*. He therefore who refuses to obey even a *positive law* is no *moral man*.” Stebbing's *Abridgment of Clag. p. 63. fol. edit.*

God should be obeyed even in *positive* instances, so long as the commands subsist: the *reason* of things and the *common good* demand it.

VI.

The Defence asserts that "positive duty is enjoined only as a "means to moral virtue^p." But if it be *moral virtue* to obey God in *positive* instances, as I have proved, then it is more than *means* to virtue, and therefore not means *only*. He allows it may be called *virtuous means*; which is so near the saying what I say of it, that it seems to be only a kind of frowardness, that he scruples to call it directly *virtue*, as I do.

VII.

The Defence has another singularity, that obedience to positive commands "is not so properly virtue, as a declaration, or "testimony, or proof of virtue^q." This is but a forced pretence or subterfuge, which will not answer the purpose. Strange, that the very *life* and *spirit* of virtue, which according to St. James^r lies in the *activity*, should be no more than a *proof* of it. At this rate, all acts and instances of virtue, in moral as well as positive duties, will be *proofs* only of virtue, not virtue. Moral performances will all be *proofs* only of the inward *habits* of virtue; which is what the objection, I suppose, amounts to. Accordingly, *almsgiving* will be no virtue, but a proof of liberality: and so the Defence itself says expressly, that "feeding the hungry is only "an act by which I testify that I have virtue, but it is not virtue "itself^s."

The same will be equally true of all *good works*: from whence it will follow, that we are to be rewarded, not for our *virtues*, but for our *proofs* and *declarations*. The like also must, by parity of reason, be said of *vices*: and so it should be observed of acts of *lewdness* and *drunkenness*, that they are not *vices*, but *declarations*, *testimonies*, and *proofs*, that men are much addicted to incontinence and intemperance. If any man affects such a way of talking, I would not thwart or disturb him in it. It is enough for me, that the objection overshoots the mark, and is as forcible against *moral* as against *positive* duties. Let but obedience in *positive* instances be as truly virtue as obedience in *moral*, and I ask no more; neither am I concerned to dispute with those that deny it of *both*.

^p Defence, p. 18. ^q Ibid. p. 20. ^r James ii. 26. ^s Defence, p. 20.

However, I cannot but observe with some satisfaction, that this writer does not long continue contradicting me in this article, but comes entirely into my sentiments in another place, un-awares. He asks, "What is the difference between continuance "in well-doing, and virtue? betwixt good works, and moral "goodness?" Intimating, that there is no difference at all. *Well-doing* therefore is more than *proving*; and *good works* more than *proofs*. They are *virtue* and *moral goodness*, by his own confession: so hard is it for a man not to forget himself sometimes, when he is labouring to overthrow the truth. To conclude this point, I can easily prove that obeying God in *positive* instances is *well-doing*, and that such performances (as in Abraham for instance) are *good works*. Therefore, &c.

VIII.

The Defence pretends, "that the breach of a positive law, "when it is no breach of a moral law, may be valued at a certain price here, and the man that suffers the penalty of it may "be in danger of nothing future^u." This I take to be *new* doctrine, and of pernicious tendency. I have seen something of it before, in a late writer^x; who proposes it, however, very modestly, in the way of conjecture, as a matter that may require second thoughts; as indeed it does. The doctrine, I think, amounts to this; either that it is *no sin* to violate positive institutions, or that it is *venial*, though ever so *wilful*. I am afraid this will be bringing in again the Popish doctrine of *mortal* and *venial* sins, at a back-door. For, to use this gentleman's phrase, upon another occasion, "One egg is not liker to another," than this doctrine, of some sins being so slight as to deserve only *temporal punishment*, is to the *Romish* doctrine of *venial* sins. This is the second time I have observed him running (unawares) into *Popish* tenets, or very nearly such. The first was, in his asserting the absolute *perfection of good works*, which I before took notice of^y: and now this next is, his maintaining the doctrine of *venial* sins; for such it plainly is. Against all such pretences, I may here take leave to use the words of Bishop Burnet^z: "The Scripture nowhere teaches us to think so slightly

^t Defence, p. 25. ^u Ibid. p. 31.

^x Colliber, on Natural and Revealed Religion, p. 151, &c.

^y See Nature and Obligation, &c. p. 85.

^z Burnet, Article xvi. p. 140.

“ of the *majesty of God*, or of his *law*. There is a curse upon every one that *continueth not in all things which are written in that book of the law to do them*^a. And the same curse must have been on us all, if Christ had not redeemed us from it : *The wages of sin is death*. And St. James asserts, that there is such a complication of all the precepts of the law of God, both with one another, and with the authority of the Law-giver, that *he who offends in one point is guilty of all*^b. So since God has in his word given us such dreadful apprehensions of his *wrath*, and of the *guilt of sin*, we dare not soften these to a degree below the majesty of the eternal God, and the dignity of his most holy laws.” Thus far he. And I presume, the settled standing doctrine of all sober and Protestant Divines is, that the *wilful* violating the Divine law, even in a *small* matter, is no small thing. Sins of *ignorance* and *infirmity* are the only slight sins : all *wilful* sins are deadly and damning. The rule then is, to make the estimate not barely by the *matter* of the offence, (for then Adam’s offence would have been a slight thing.) but by the stress that God has laid upon his commandments, and the degree of *wilfulness* that goes along with the transgression of them. This is old and true doctrine. But let the serious and devout Christian observe and consider, what these *novel* notions about *positive* duties are like to end in : namely, in this ; that it is *no sin* to offend against them, or none that affects the *conscience*. Nevertheless, I am persuaded, that the same persons who speak thus slightly of obeying God in matters *positive*, will look upon it as a grievous sin for *servants, children, and subjects*, to disobey their *masters, parents, governors*, in any lawful or indifferent commands. Or if they will not allow that, what will then this contempt of *positive* duties at length bring us to ?

IX.

Another particularity of the Defence is, that outward hypocritical performances in *moral* duties cannot justly be called *moral* performances ; for this wise reason, because they are *immoral*^c. And then he goes on, pleasantly, to talk against *playing* upon the word *moral*, at the very instant that he is doing it. For what does his argument here amount to, but *playing* upon a word ? The Divine precepts are distinguished

^a Gal. iii. 10.^b James ii. 10, 11.^c Defence, p. 41.

into *moral* and *not moral*, and not into *moral* and *immoral*. So that *moral* in the phrase *moral performances*, is not opposed to *immoral*, but to *positive*, or *not moral*. Actions therefore, or performances, may in this sense be *moral*, on account of their *matter*, (which is *moral*, not *positive*,) and be *immoral* too, on account of their *obliquity*. Did he never hear of *moral evil*? For, strange as it may seem, it is most certainly true, that *moral evil* is a thing *immoral*.

X.

The Defence denies, or at least scruples to own, that “any supernatural sanctifying graces go along with the worthy reception of the holy Communion^d.” I will not here be at the pains to prove (for the satisfaction only of an humorous gentleman, who may read if he pleases) the known and approved doctrines of our Church, and of all Christian churches. I referred him before to Vossius, and now refer him thither again, and to Gerhard and Hooker, to say nothing of many more, who have proved the thing to our hands. It is sufficient now to take notice, that Dr. Clarke himself owns the doctrine, in his posthumous Sermons, though he had omitted it in his Catechism. He owns that such graces, “through the assistance of the Spirit of God, are annexed to the ordinance partaken of by truly devout and well disposed minds^e.” At length then it appears, that the Doctor has *talked enthusiastically*^f, just as I would have had him do: so that the best apology for Dr. Clarke would have been to say, that he had *omitted* the doctrine accidentally, and not *denied* it; which now appears to be fact. But his apologist was too well pleased with the *omission*; and judging of the Doctor by himself, thought he had left it out as *enthusiastical*; though it is the plain certain doctrine of all Christian churches, upon the foot of *Scripture* and *antiquity*.

XI.

Another singularity of this writer is, that he does not allow the *exercise* of the *love* of God, and of *faith*, *hope*, *charity*, and *humility*, to be essentially *requisite* to the worthy reception of the holy Communion. He admits that they *may* be exerted

^d Defence, p. 53.

^e Clarke's Posth. Sermon. vol. iv. p. 131, 186, 187.

^f See the Answer to the Remarks, p. 76.

upon that occasion: but he says, “the institution or command “cannot be said to require the exercise of those extrinsic virtues.” So it seems, those virtues are *extrinsic*, that is, *foreign* to the worthy reception of the holy Communion. He desires a text of Scripture to prove that those virtues are *required*^h. I believe I could cite some. But it is needless, because the very *nature* and *end* of the Sacrament requires the exercise of those virtues, as it is *covenanting* with God, expressing our firm reliance upon the sole merits of Christ for our salvation, and maintaining communion both with God and man. All this might be easily made appear from *Scripture*. And I must insist upon it, that whatsoever Scripture by plain and good *consequence* teaches, *Scripture* teaches. In this point also, I conceive, I have Dr. Clarke fully and clearly on my sideⁱ.

XII.

The Defence still pleads^k, that “moral virtues are an exact “imitation of God himself,” as he had before pleaded in the Answer^l. I reminded him in return^m that *human* virtues could by no means justly pretend to any such high claim: and *human* virtues were undoubtedly the subject of dispute, and of which I had affirmed in my Remarks, that they wanted the relief and additional improvements of the two Sacraments.

He is now pleased to intimate, and another gentlemanⁿ has more plainly said it, that he meant not *human* virtues, but *moral virtues* in the abstract. Now indeed, if the question had been whether *abstract ideas* wanted the benefit of the Sacraments, this answer had been *pertinent*: but as it was only about *men*, and about *virtues* considered as in *man*, the Answer perhaps is such as any other person of plain good sense would not readily have thought of.

XIII.

Another peculiarity in this writer is, that our *moral virtues*, or our *virtuous practices*, need no *expiation*. I had maintained, that our best and most virtuous practices want Christ's *ex-*

^h Defence, p. 61.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 62.

^l See Clarke's Posth. Sermon. vol. iv. Sermon. 6, 7. per tot.

^k Defence, p. 67.

^m Answer to the Remarks, p. 72.

ⁿ Nature and Oblig. p. 85.

^o Chilton's Positive Institutions, &c. p. 47.

piation to render them *saving*°. Upon which this diverting gentleman cries out: "God forbid! I won't pretend to ask for a text of Scripture for this new doctrine. Apply Christ's expiation to virtuous practices! I ever thought, that his expiation was to be applied to sins, to vicious, not to virtuous acts. But good must be called evil^p," &c. No *jesting*, I beseech you, with the *sacred* name, or in so *serious* a subject. The point to be maintained was, that however holy or virtuous men may be, yet they want the benefit of Christ's *expiation*. This doctrine, which is as *old* as Christianity, (or rather as *old*, very nearly, as the creation,) I expressed in such terms as wise and grave men do, who know what they are about. Dr. Clarke, among others, thus words it: "Our best virtues or works are so imperfect as to need pardon, rather than deserve a reward^q." And it is right to say, not only that our *vices*, (which is low and flat, and short of the whole truth,) but that even our *virtues* and *best services* need pardon and expiation, because of their defects. The expression is just: for though those virtues or services are *defective*, they ought not therefore to be called *vicious acts*; neither indeed are they such, since they take their denomination from the ruling principle, and are besides accepted as *righteous*, through Christ.

But suppose there had been any slight inaccuracy in an expression of common and constant use, could any thing be more trifling than thus to break off from the grave subject of debate, to tease an expression, and thereupon to fall into so indecent a fit of levity? It is all one to me, whether it be said that our *virtues* or our *vices* stand in need of Christ's *expiation*; provided it be but owned, that the very *best* of men want it to supply their defects, and that they are to come to the *Sacraments* for it; which is what I asserted.

XIV.

The Defence intimates more than once, that Pagan virtues are as valuable as *evangelical*, both being so near akin, and so much alike, that "one egg is not liker to another^r." A shocking position; highly injurious to the Christian religion, and tending to infidelity; condemned expressly by our Church in

° Nature and Obligat. &c. p. 90.

^p Defence, p. 72, 73.

^q Clarke's Posth. Serm. vol. iv. p. 317.

^r Defence, p. 86, 87. compare p. 26.

her thirteenth Article, and by all sober Christian Divines. To confute it at large would be tedious, and lead me too far: besides that it is the less needful, after what has been done of that kind by the learned and judicious^a. I shall content myself therefore with offering only a few short hints.

Pagan darkness comes not up to *Gospel light*.

1. There is not that *refined* knowledge of *God*, of his *nature*, of his *works*, or of his *ways*. Now, as all virtue terminates in the *love of God*, and in *faith* towards him, it must of course follow, that when that *love* or *faith* is more *rational*, or more *enlightened*, and at the same time *purer*, *stronger*, and more *intense*; I say, it must of course follow, that there every *virtue* is so much *raised* in proportion as the *love* of God is, from whence it flows, and on which it rests. And there must of course be a proportionate defect in all Pagan virtue^t, as wanting that sound, rational, and elevated knowledge of God which Christianity supplies.

2. There are also wanting to Pagan virtue, a clear and distinct view of *heaven* and *heavenly* things, and a *certain* well grounded *assurance* of a *life* to come, and of a *future judgment*; besides many excellent *motives*, *incitements*, *helps*, and *encouragements* to virtue. Now to pretend that these advantages contribute nothing towards the raising and refining *Christian* virtues above *Pagan*, or that the want of them must not inevitably sink all *Pagan* attainments much below what *Christians* may attain to, is as wild and absurd, as to admit causes without effects, or effects without causes. *Christian* virtues therefore, when properly such, must be allowed to exceed *Pagan*, as much as *light* does *obscurity*. The schools of *Rome* or *Athens* were never yet comparable to the school of *Christ*: nor were the virtues there taught fit to be named with those that are recommended by *Christ* and his Apostles, and wrought by the Holy Spirit of *God*. A man may better pretend that the civility of a homely rustic comes up to the politeness of the best bred gen-

^a See particularly the Bishop of London's Second Pastoral Letter, p. 68, &c.

^t Quemadmodum enim in naturali oedigione imperfectiones et defectus sunt; ita in omnibus vite officiis defectus sunt in statu nature proportionati. Sicut enim in physiologia

dici solet, imbecillitates et peccata primæ concoctionis haud facile in secunda et tertia posse emendari; ita cum prima virtus sit religio, qua proportione naturalis deficit religio, eadem omnes ab ista religione promanantes virtutes deficere est necesse. Sharrock. de Fin. et Offic. p. 52.

tleman, than that *Pagan* virtue is as high and heavenly as the *Christian*.

These things are clear, evident, and uncontestable. But yet because sometimes a slight objection or two weighs more on one side than demonstrations on the other, it will be necessary to hear and examine what the Defence has to plead in favour of *Pagan* attainments.

1. He pleads: "Pagan virtue either is virtue or it is not.

"If Pagan virtue is the same as defective virtue, it is the same as that which is not virtue: or if it be real virtue, it will be impossible to distinguish very much betwixt virtue and "virtue". The sum of this argument is, that Pagan virtue is either as excellent as evangelical, or it is no virtue at all. If such be really the case, and there be no medium, then let it be *no virtue at all*: for we are not concerned to make it virtue. One thing we are certain of, that it is not *Christian* virtue, nor any way comparable to it. We demonstrate that it is vastly defective in comparison; and if because it is thus *defective*, it is therefore *not virtue*, let it then lose its name, rather than upon account of a mere *name* be put upon the same foot with Christian graces. The truth is, *Pagan* virtue is but a kind of *nominal* virtue. Their good works are *materially*, but not *formally* good; *speciously*, or in appearance good, not *really* and *strictly* so; they are *comparatively* good, as being less evil, or as approaching nearer to the rule of action, but not *absolutely* good. And "since none of our actions can be *strictly* good, and actions "performed by *Pagans* cannot be *imputatively* good, therefore "though they are *speciously* or *comparatively* good, yet by "reason of that imperfection which must needs cleave to them, "because it is not done away through Christ, they are strictly "evil, that is, sins^x." Were they done as God hath willed and commanded according to the Gospel rule, they would be *imputatively* good through faith in Christ, like the good works of Christians: but since they are not perfect in *themselves*, and their imperfection is not removed by faith in Christ, they must of course be *faulty*.

2. But the Defence says: "He that conforms his moral "actions to the reasons of things, directs them right, and wants "nothing to make them exactly what they ought to be: and to

^u Defence, p. 26.

^x Bennet's Directions, &c. p. 78.

“ call such a conformity *Pagan*, in opposition to some other “ virtue which is not more exact, nor can be more exact, is only “ to blind people with scholastic jargon, &c.” To the ignorant and undiscerning, any thing may be *jargon*, as to the blind all things are dark. If this gentleman thinks I here treat him with too little ceremony, let him remember what church or churches he here throws contempt upon, by calling their true Christian doctrine *scholastic jargon*. If he did not like it, or could not *subscribe* to it, he ought however to treat it with more modesty. But to the point. The whole force of his argument lies in the supposed *conformity* of *Pagan* works to the *reasons of things*: which he takes for granted might be *exact* and *perfect*; though it is demonstration that they were not, could not. Their actions indeed might be *materially* good, good as to the *outward act*, being serviceable to mankind; and so may the actions of *hypocrites*, or even the services of *brutes* be: but to make an action *formally* good and perfect, the *manner* and *motive*, and *end* of the action, with several other circumstances, must be taken into account. The wiser heathens themselves were very sensible that their very best actions were lame and faulty, far from exact^z. In a strict sense, none but the *Divine* actions have an *exact* conformity to the *reasons of things*: because God alone can extend his views to *all* the reasons of things. Creatures may go as far as their views reach, and their abilities or opportunities permit. The more *light*, the more *strength*, the livelier *faith*, and the brighter *hope* they have, together with strict *sincerity* and *integrity*, so much the more excellent and exalted their virtues are. Suppose a *Pagan* falls down to *pray*, (as prayer is a supposed moral duty,) if his notions of God be as *worthy* of the Divine *Majesty*, and as suitable to the *truth* of things, as the *Christian* notions are; and if he prays with as good judgment and as right discernment of *what* he is to pray for, and with the same *faith* and *trust* in God, and with the same *pure* intentions and *heavenly* views, and with the like *ferour* and *constancy* as a *Christian* is taught to do; then perhaps the prayer of a *Pagan* may be as conformable to the *reasons of things*

^y Defence, p. 27.

^z Diis immortalibus solis et virtus et beata vita contingit: nobis umbra quædam illorum bonorum, et similitudo. Accedimus ad illa, non perve-

nimus. Ratio vero diis hominibusque communis. Hæc in illis consummata est, in nobis consummabilis: sed ad desperationem nos vitia nostra perdunt. *Seneca, Epist. xcii. p. 322.*

as the prayer of the best Christian. But does not every man perceive, at first sight, that the thing is impossible?

Suppose a *Pagan* to perform some acts of *justice* or of *mercy*: if he has the same view to the *glory* of *God*, and the same ideas also of the Divine Being, as a *Christian* may have: if he has as strong a *faith* in a world to come, the same *hopes* of living hereafter in *heaven*, both *soul* and *body*, living also in *society* with *God* and *Christ* and the holy *angels*; if he abstracts from *worldly* views, seeks not the honour, love, or esteem of men, but of *God*; if with such upright intentions, and such singleness of heart, as becomes a *Christian*, he performs these moral duties, then let his virtue be compared to *evangelical* righteousness. But the supposition is palpably absurd, and the thing impracticable: so vain is it to set *Pagan* virtues in competition with *Christian* graces. All that I can see in the argument offered in the Defence is only this, that so far as *Pagan* virtues are strictly virtue, so far they are *exact*: which, if repeated a thousand times over, will be of no moment at all for determining the question now before us. We allow that *Pagan* virtues are virtue so far as they are virtue: but then we deny that they are virtue so far, or to such a degree of perfection, as *Christian* virtues are. They are not so conformable to the *reasons* of things, because *Pagans* have not so large a view, nor so just and correct a notion of the *reasons* of things, as *Christians* have. Their virtues therefore are much more *defective*, and their services low and lame: on account of which defects, and their coming far short of the rule, they have the *nature* of sins^a. And so have even *Christian* services too, considered in *themselves*, and abstracting from the grace and merits of *Christ*, through which only they are accepted as *good*, and made *well pleasing* and *worthy*^b,

^a Dicimus ad opus bonum morale (id est ad opus perfectissime bonum, cuique nulla adhaeret *Avoquia*) necessariam esse *gratiam*, non quamlibet, sed quae sit ordinis supernaturalis, et per quam primo creatur in hominibus fides: nec haec qualiscunque, sed Christiana et infusa. Ab huiusmodi fide incipere dicimus omnem volitionem perfectae bonam, et sine ea impossibile factum esse aliquod opus quod perfectissime bonum dici debeat. Nec tamen dicimus opera *gentilium* meliora, Christiana fide carentium, protenus

mera peccata esse—Si quaeratur, an qui propter Dei amorem, beatitudinis etiam sibi acquirendae intuitu, naturae suae placitis; insitisque a Deo notitiis practicis obsequi studebant, in pio sinceroque huiusmodi obsequii conatu peccabant necne? Respondebimus, eos hoc conatu et studio non peccasse, sed imperfectione conatus operisque huiusmodi re vera semper peccasse. *Sharrock de Fin. et Op.* p. 52.

^b See Clarke's *Posth. Sermon*. xiii. vol. iv. p. 317, &c.

notwithstanding their *defects*. However, there is no comparison between *Pagan* virtues and *Christian*, as there is no comparison between their respective attainments, talents, or advantages.

3. The Defence says further: "I should be glad to hear an exact distinction made betwixt the gratitude, humanity, justice, and charity in Socrates, and gratitude, humanity, justice, and charity in any *saint*." He may easily make out the *distinction*, from what I have already said. But if he still wants to be further informed, I shall just hint to him, that Socrates's knowledge of divine things was not so *large* or *clear*, nor his faith so *strong*, nor his hope so *lively*, nor his aims so *pure* and *heavenly*: and therefore his gratitude, justice, &c. were of coarser alloy, and much inferior in every respect to Abraham's, for instance, or St. Paul's. For though the *outward* acts might be the same, yet Socrates's mind was not so richly furnished, nor so divinely adorned; for which reason his virtues were not so fair or bright as the other, any more than *human* virtues come up to *angelical*. The better cultivated the mind is, the more refined and raised will every virtue be that comes from it or dwells in it: as from a rich and well watered soil we may expect the choicest plants, and from the best trees the best fruits. Socrates was perhaps as excellent a man as any one in his circumstances could be: but if he had been bred up at the feet of a Gamaliel, he had been more excellent; and yet much more so, had he been trained up under Christ. He never had lectures comparable to the Sermon in the Mount: neither was his *demon* (whatever it was) able to illuminate or elevate the soul like the *Spirit of God*. These things are very plain, and could not have been missed by the author of the Defence, had he not first confounded himself with a false principle, that *virtus* cannot be better than *virtus*, or that all virtues are alike and equal, admitting of no *degrees*. And this he seems to have been led into by considering virtue in the *abstract*, *ideal* virtue, and not as it subsists in the subject of it, in particular persons. The abstract *idea* is indeed always the *same idea*: but the virtues, as subsisting in their respective subjects, are greater or less, as they more or less answer to that *idea*. Or if he allows nothing to be *called* virtue that comes not strictly up to that *idea*, he must discard all *Pagan* virtues at once; and, at length, it will amount only to

a strife about *words*, while *things* remain just as before. But I pass on.

XV.

In the following parts of the Defence, the author (which I am sorry to see) approaches nearer and nearer to principles of *Deism*, and lays down tenets, such as are expressly condemned by Dr. Clarke equally with me, and I think by all other *Christian* Divines. One of his tenets is, that "by the religion of nature "men may know *how* God is to be worshipped^c." Had he said only, men may know *that* God is to be worshipped, he had said truth: but he particularly words it *how*, and prints it in Italic, to shew the emphasis he lays upon it. I shall confront this new doctrine with the excellent words of Dr. Clarke, who, speaking of the *Pagans*, says: "The manner in which God might be "acceptably worshipped, these men were *unavoidably* ignorant "of. That God ought to be worshipped, is in the general as "evident and plain from the light of nature as any thing can "be: but in *what particular manner*, and with *what kind* of "service he will be worshipped, cannot be certainly discovered "by bare reason^d." In another place of the same treatise he says: "There was plainly a necessity of some particular "revelation to discover in *what manner*, and with *what kind* of "external service, God might acceptably be worshipped^e." This he both says and proves at large in the places referred to. And I believe, in this matter, he has the *Christian* world on his side, against the author of the Defence; who, in this instance, manifestly goes off from *Christian* principles.

XVI.

The Defence says further, that "the religion of nature will "shew, how men may be reconciled to and accepted by God^f." Worse and worse. This again is directly contrary to what Dr. Clarke teaches; who, among many other just and pertinent observations upon this head, says: It "cannot positively be proved "from any of God's attributes, that he is absolutely obliged to "pardon all creatures all their sins, at all times, barely and "immediately upon their repenting. There arises therefore

^c Defence, p. 96.

^d Clarke's Evidences, &c. p. 178.

^e Clarke, *ibid.* p. 199, 200. See

also Bishop of London's Second Pastoral Letter, p. 15.

^f Defence, p. 96.

“from nature no sufficient comfort to sinners, but an anxious and endless solicitude about the means of appeasing the Deitys.” In another place^h, he expresses the same thought thus: “There was a necessity of some *particular revelation* to discover what *expiation* God would accept for sin, by which the authority, honour, and dignity of his laws might be effectually vindicated.” This also he proves at large. The same thing has been briefly and strongly pressed now lately by another very able handⁱ.

As no one could suppose that any *Christian* could dispute this point with us, so it has not been the way to quote *Scripture* texts at all upon it. But the author of the *Defence* happening to be a person that professes a regard for *Scripture*, it will be proper to acquaint him, that his doctrine flatly contradicts St. Paul's, as I shall easily prove to him. I begin with Rom. iii. 20. “By the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight: for by the law is the knowledge of sin.” The whole drift and scope of the Apostle is to prove, that no law could justify, but the law of faith by Jesus Christ. And as his argument concludes against the *Jewish law*, so it still more strongly concludes against the *law of nature*, less perfect than the Jewish law, as being *contained* in it, and making but a *part* of it^k.

The point is still plainer from Gal. ii. 21. “If righteousness come by the law, then Christ is dead in vain.” The argument concludes irrefragably against every law but the *Christian*^l, con-

^g Clarke's Evidences, &c. p. 182, 183.

^h Ibid. p. 200.

ⁱ Bishop of London's Second Pastoral Letter, p. 14, 15.

^k Si lex a Deo data, tanquam legis naturalis per peccatum obscuratæ quædam interpres, explicans eam et renovans, justitiam præstare non potuit, multo minus id potest sola *lex naturalis*. Quare si ex operibus legis scriptæ nemo Judæus justificatur, consequenter intelligendum relinquatur, multo minus justificari posse ex operibus *legis naturæ*. *Bull. Harmon. Apostol.* part. ii. cap. 8. sect. 8. p. 460.

Quæ adversus legem Mosaicam disputat Paulus, multo fortius, ut jam alicubi notavimus, contra *naturæ le-*

gem militant. *Idem*, p. 483.

^l Summa hæc est: rejicit a justificatione Apostolus Paulus opera.

1. *Ritualia*, quæ lex ceremonialis præscripsit.
2. *Moralia*, quæ natis viribus in statu sive *legis* sive *meræ naturæ* fiunt, ante et citra gratiam Evangelii.
3. *Judaica*, sive futilem illam justitiam quam docuerunt Judæorum magistri.
4. Denique *universa* a Christo Mediatore divulsa, quæque sua vi, vel citra respectum ad fœdus gratiæ, Christi sanguine stabilitum, salutem sempiternam assequerentur. *Bull. ibid.* cap. 18. sect. 2. p. 508.

sequently against the *law of nature*, as much as against the *Jewish law*. The Apostle plainly asserts that there was a necessity of Christ's death, because mankind could not be justified by any *law*, but by *grace* only. If righteousness could come by the *law of nature*, then Christ died *in vain*; which being absurd to suppose, it is no less absurd to imagine, that "the religion of nature could shew how men might be reconciled to and accepted by God." Let us proceed a little further to observe, how contrary St. Paul's doctrine is to that of the Defence. The Apostle says, "that no man is justified by the law in the sight of God, is evident: for, The just shall live by faith^m." Now unless the law of nature contained the doctrine of *justification by faith in Christ*, it is impossible (if the Apostle says true) that the religion of nature should shew how men may be reconciled to and accepted by God. St. Paul goes on in the same chapter to say, "If there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law: but the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believeⁿ." Now, I suppose, the religion of nature had been *given* long before St. Paul wrote: and had he known any thing of this admirable use and virtue of it, that it could shew "how men may be reconciled to and accepted by God," he could not have failed to have taken some notice of it, and to have owned that there was a law of nature *given* which could *give life*, and that *righteousness might be* by that law of nature, independent of the law of Christ. But St. Paul knew no such doctrine; or if he did, he condemned it as *proud* and *false* doctrine. *Unbelievers* may dispute this point both with St. Paul and us, and may create us some trouble by rejecting our *strong evidence*; though at the same time we know they can only trifle against the infallible word of God. However, as I said, they may create us some trouble, by leading us into a more intricate dispute about the *nature* and *reason* of the thing itself, which we are scarce qualified to judge of. But as to professed *believers*, there is a short and easy way to be taken with them, by producing the *texts*, and then observing to them that they forget their *rule*, run counter to their *own principles*, and are *self-condemned*.

^m Gal. iii. 11.ⁿ Gal. iii. 21, 22.

XVII.

The Defence pretends also, that "the religion of nature will shew a future state of rewards and punishments." I must observe, in the first place, (since the author appears as a *second* to Dr. Clarke in this cause,) how much he runs against his *principal* in this point also. Dr. Clarke says thus: "There was a necessity of some *particular revelation*, to give men full assurance of the truth of those great *motives* of religion, *the rewards and punishments of a future state*; which, notwithstanding the strongest arguments of reason, men could not yet forbear doubting of." As to the generality, at least, of the heathens, under the *religion of nature*, St. Paul's account, I suppose, may be admitted, that they were "strangers from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world^p." Some indeed of the better sort had *faint hopes* of such a thing, and many had *dark and confused* notions of it; but neither *certain* enough to be depended upon, nor *clear* enough to be of any great use^q. Besides that none of them had any thing whereon to fix a well grounded *hope*, being all concluded under *sin*: so that I see not what this boasted benefit of the *religion of nature* really amounted to. Let the author of the Defence, now at this day, after the latest improvements in philosophy and moral science; I say, let him try if he can from mere *reason* demonstrate any thing more than this, that there will be some *difference* in another world between the *more* and *less* sinful, (all being *sinners*,) without determining *what* it will be, or how *long* it will last. I am persuaded, when he sets his Bible aside, he will not be able to prove more than I have mentioned. I am very certain he can prove little or nothing of *rewards*, because we have none of us a full *claim*, or *strict right* to any. Happy is he that is to have the slightest *punishment*: so stand we upon the foot of mere *natural religion*: and, I think, it is no very comfortable prospect to boast of. As it is impossible for men to form an adequate idea of infinite *holiness, justice* and *wisdom*, or of what they require; so it is impossible for man naturally to know upon what *terms* God can accept and reward sinners. God has

^o Clarke's Evidences, p. 200: compare 184, &c.

^p Ephes. ii. 12.

^q See Bishop Bull's Harmon. A-

postol. Dissert. ii. cap. 10. sect. 13. p. 476. Bishop of London's Second Pastoral Letter, p. 17, 18, 19.

declared and shewn the *terms* upon which he can do it: but they are such as give no encouragement for any one to rest upon *natural religion*, but such as shew that all who have nothing else to rest upon are lost and undone for ever. If any may be saved *in it*, yet certainly none can be saved *by it*.

XVIII.

The Defence further intimates, that the religion of nature "will shew the duties we are to practise to one another."^r Lamely enough. But let us hear Dr. Clarke to the contrary, in this matter also as before. "There was a necessity of some *particular* divine revelation, to make the *whole* doctrine of religion *clear* and *obvious* to all capacities, to add *weight* and *authority* to the plainest precepts, and to furnish men with extraordinary assistances to enable them to overcome the corruptions of their nature^s."

I shall take leave to say, more expressly, that the religion of nature does not shew *all* the duties we owe to one another; particularly, not the duties we owe to men's *souls*. And as to those duties which the religion of nature really does shew, it shews them but by halves. It shews indeed the *material* part, but very little of the *formal*, in which chiefly consists the transcendent excellency and perfection of *Christian* duties above *natural* performances. It shews not those excellent *ends, motives, principles*, which make up more than two thirds of *Christian duty* or *virtue*, and are indeed the life and spirit of it. To direct a duty *right* is part of duty: to aim it *well*, and to pursue it upon *high* and *heavenly* views, goes into the *disposition* of the agent; and definition of virtue; for it is the *disposition* of the heart that makes the *virtue*, and is *virtue*, and perfects the *duty*. For which reason, I shall not admit that the religion of nature shews the *duties*, but the shell rather of the duties which we owe to each other. A very judicious writert, speaking of the *feeble relics* of *natural light*, observes, that its "use is restrained to very narrow bounds," and further adds: "We may, I confess, by this means arrive at the knowledge of some few duties: we may perceive some part of that which is more especially criminal in the opposite irregularities: but then we shall continue strangers to the rectitude of many duties, and to the obliquity

^r Defence, p. 99.^s Clarke's Evidences, &c. p. 200.^t Placette, on Conscience, p. 38.

“ of many sins ; according to that of St. Paul ; *I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet*.”^a”

XIX.

The Defence admits the “ sufficiency of reason to be a guide in matters of religion^x.” To obviate which pretence, Dr. Clarke very rightly says : “ In experience and practice, it hath on the contrary appeared to be *altogether impossible* for philosophy and bare reason to reform mankind effectually, without the assistance of some higher principle^y.” But the *insufficiency* of reason to be a *guide* in such matters has very lately been set forth^z in the clearest and strongest manner for the conviction of *infidels* : and one might think that St. Paul’s authority, were there nothing else, might be enough to convince any *Christian*. To the texts before cited I shall add another : “ The law made nothing perfect : but the bringing in of a better hope did, by which we draw nigh unto God^a.” I observe also, it is St. Paul’s doctrine, that the Scriptures only can make us “ wise unto salvation^b.”

XX.

The Defence admits (and what will not that author admit ?) that “ the religion of nature is very perfect^c :” though by his own confession it wants many *motives, incitements, encouragements, and assistances, to make men more ready and willing to perform it*. As if the want of those were no imperfection. But wise men know that it wants also *fulness, clearness, certainty, authority, and the power of justifying*, and that it can give no man a title to the kingdom of heaven.

Placette observes to our purpose as follows : “ As the light of nature has been miserably obscured by sin, and the consequences of sin ; so had it retained its *original purity*, it could not have instructed us in all things necessary to salvation^d.” The observation is just. Men were never left to the mere *law of nature*, no not in Paradise. God superadded a *positive law* to *natural religion*, even in the state of innocence ; which he would

^a Rom. vii. 7.

^x Defence, p. 96.

^y Clarke’s Evidences, &c. p. 195. compare p. 201.

^z Bishop of London’s Second Pastoral Letter, p. 7, &c.

^a Heb. vii. 19.

^b 2 Tim. iii. 15.

^c Defence, p. 97.

^d Placette, on Conscience, book i.

cap. 7. p. 52.

not have done, if natural religion had been *perfect* or *sufficient*: for infinite Wisdom designs nothing *superfluous*, does nothing *in vain*. It would have been arbitrary and tyrannical, to have imposed a *positive* law, only to create *needless* difficulties and *unnecessary* hazards. Divine Wisdom saw that the religion of nature was not *perfect* enough to found his *covenant* upon, and therefore superadded a *positive* precept, and made life and death to depend upon it. Bishop Bull says, "Besides the seeds of *natural religion* sown in man's mind at the creation, he was also endowed with certain *supernatural* gifts and powers, in which his *perfection* chiefly consisted, and without which his *natural* powers were in themselves *insufficient* to the attainment of a heavenly immortality: and consequently the *law of nature*, as considered now in fallen man without Divine *revelation*, and without any *supernatural* assistance, is much less able to confer the heavenly immortality and bliss upon them that live up to it^o."

Where then was the *perfection* of the law of nature, which could neither fully instruct men in their *duty*, nor confer *immortality*? There was wanting *supernatural* light and *supernatural* assistance even from the beginning. Life and death depended on *revealed* law and *positive* injunction. The most exalted reason which Adam and Eve may be supposed to have could not tell them *what* and *who* God was, nor what *terms* he would expect, nor what *kind* of happiness he intended for them, nor by *what helps* or *means* they might come at it, or be rendered worthy of it. Man's right to immortality even then was not founded in the *law of nature*, but in the *positive* law and covenant superadded to it^f. So absurd is it in our dregs of degeneracy to talk of the *perfection* of the law of nature. And what shall we say to the case of *angels*? If the *law of nature* be perfect any where, one would expect to find it so in them: and yet so far as we can judge of them from Scripture accounts, one great part of their *perfection* lies in their quick and ready despatches of *occasional* services, in their prompt compliances with *positive* commands. Upon the whole, I see no manner of foundation any where for this boasted *perfection* of I know not what law of nature: to me it appears fancy and fiction only, having nothing but strength of imagination to rest upon.

^o Bull, Opera Posth. State of Man before the Fall, p. 1066.

^f See Bull, *ibid.* p. 1082, &c.

XXI.

The Defence asserts, that "the religion of nature and that of Jesus are exactly the same:" as if the light of a *candle* were the same with the light of the *sun*. He says, "virtue is the same "in both cases, of equal extent." As if there were no virtue in reverencing and adoring God the Father as *Father*, or Christ Jesus his *Son*, and our *Redeemer*, or the *Holy Ghost* most intimately allied to both, and the *Guide* and *Sanctifier* of mankind: or as if there was no virtue in faith, hope, or charity, such as are properly *Christian*, and far exceed all *Pagan* endowments; or no virtue in renouncing our own righteousness, nor in setting our affections on things above, nor in resisting the Devil; to say nothing of many other *Christian* duties, which the mere light of nature knows not of. Christian morality is of much wider *extent* than *natural*; founded upon vastly larger *discoveries* and higher *views*, and flowing from a sense of stricter and more engaging *relations*: by all which there is new *matter* afforded for more and greater virtues, for a more *extensive* and more *exalted* morality.

It is not a just way of reasoning, to plead in this case, that duties flow from the *relations* we bear to God and to one another, which relations being always the *same*, the duties therefore must be always the *same*, neither more nor fewer, neither higher nor lower. For in the *first place*, strictly speaking, duties do not flow from the *relations*, but from the *known relations*, or from the *discoveries* made of those relations: *unknown relations* create no *obligation*, infer no *duty*. There is therefore always as much room left for enlarging the compass and extent of duty, as there is for throwing in more light: "For to whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required." The religion of nature expands itself, becomes larger and fuller, upon every new *manifestation* God makes of his *nature*, *works*, and *ways*: and since the *Gospel* has brought in many and great discoveries of several kinds, it is more than a *republication* of the original law of nature; it is (as to its moral part) natural religion *augmented* and *filled up* with large additions and improvements, in proportion to the additional *light* the *Gospel* brings with it.

Then, *secondly*, as to relations continuing always the *same*, it is not strictly true: for relations may arise from *new* circum-

‡ Defence, p. 98.

stances, and *transient* acts, (acts of favour, covenant acts, &c.) as well as from the *permanent* natures of things. The relations of a *benefactor* to the person *obliged*, of a *deliverer* to the person *delivered*, of an *instructor* to the person *instructed*, and the like, commence in time, bring *new* obligations with them, and *additional* duties. The *relation* which a *Christian* bears to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is not precisely the same with that of a *Jew* or a *Pagan*, but is a *nearer* and more intimate relation; as Christians have been admitted into a closer acquaintance with them, and into greater privileges. Neither is the *relation* of one Christian to another the same with that of *Jew* to *Jew*, or *Pagan* to *Pagan*, but a *stricter* relation, and so a ground and foundation for some *special* virtues and duties. From hence may be understood how the religion of *Jesus* is much more *extensive*, even in *natural* or *moral* duties, (to say nothing here of *positive*,) than mere natural religion, as much as Gospel light and Gospel discoveries are more *extensive* than the discoveries of unassisted reason. To say all in a few words, Christianity contains all that is really good in all other religions, and has besides a great deal of rich furniture of its own. Such is the transcendent excellency of the Christian religion: a rule full and complete beyond all rules, and such as can "render the man of God perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works^h."

I have now run through one and twenty articles of the Defence, appearing to me so many articles of error. Several of them would have deserved a larger discussion, especially the last six or seven. But I considered that they will, very probably, be more minutely examined and confuted over again in the controversy we have with *infidels*; and that they make no part of the dispute between Dr. Clarke's real friends and me. The Doctor is plainly on my side in many of the articles, (I think about half the number,) and his friends, as I conceive, will have reason to complain of disappointment in this their advocate. He undertook to defend the learned Doctor against the Remarks, which he has not done: but, instead of clearing up or justifying the *exceptionable* places of the Doctor's writings, he has in effect been finding fault with the *unexceptionable*; covertly censuring some of the *best* and *soundest* principles which the Doctor had maintained in opposition to *Deism*. Somebody also, as I may note by the way, (one that is much an admirer of Dr. Clarke, but of

^h 2 Tim. iii. 17.

Dr. Sykes more,) has taken the like freedom with Dr. Clarke's Defence of the Prophecies; injudiciously censuring what he ought to commend¹, just as the writer of the Defence has done.

But the conduct of this gentleman convinces me more and more of what I formerly hinted in my Remarks^k, about the necessity of fixing a certain rule, (viz. "Scripture interpreted according to Christian antiquity,) to prevent the endless excursions of flight and fancy; and the necessity also of returning to our old and well-tryed principles, and there making our stand; since if we once yield to go at all further than is reasonable or warrantable in the *subversive* way, there is no knowing when or where to stop." When men desert their *rule*, and their most faithful *guides*, to follow their own wanderings, and to strike out a religion for themselves, by themselves, they are apt to deviate wide and far from truth and reason, and to involve themselves in a multitude of errors. This writer is himself a lively instance and example of it. But he conceives, all the while, (and I have charity enough to think him serious in it,) that he has at length hit upon "the true method of proceeding in the argument against serious and rational infidels^l." It may be his real judgment: but then he might more prudently have kept it to himself, because he cannot reasonably expect that the judgment of a single man should weigh much against the united judgment of the wisest and ablest defenders of the Christian faith, ancient and modern, as well as against plain Scripture, and the truth and reason of things. To me he appears to have been vastly more complaisant to *infidels* than St. Paul would have been, and to have yielded up so much to them, as scarce to have left himself *Christian* ground to stand upon. He is pleased however with the thought, that after all his lavish concessions to them^m, they cannot prove Christianity to be *useless*, or not to have still *very great* and *very good advantages*. I hope they cannot: it would be strange, if that *great salvation*, that brightest demonstration of Divine philanthropy, that unexhaustible fund of blessings and comforts, could appear *useless* upon any supposition; so *great* and so innumerable are its *uses*. But will this cold manner of recommending Christianity do the

¹ See Republic of Letters for September 1729, p. 189.

^k See above, p. 48, 49.

^l Defence, p. 101.

^m Ibid. p. 91, 96, 97, 100.

Christian cause any service? Would it be any great commendation of the sun-beams, after disallowing them their *greatest* use in *giving light* to mankind, to say that they are not however *useless*, but have *very great* and *very good advantages* in giving *motion* and *warmth* to the animal and vegetable world? The *greatest* use of the *Gospel* is, that it gives *life*, eternal life, to mankind. We learn from St. Paul, as before observed, that Christ did not die *in vain*; and that no law but the Gospel law, the covenant in Christ's blood, could give life to a sinful world. This is the *use*, the inestimable use of it, that mankind are *saved* by it, and that no flesh could be saved without it. Why is this principal *use* dropped, and none but the other slighter ones insisted upon?

It may be said, that infidels will not admit that use which we speak of, as not admitting the Scriptures by which we prove it. Be it so; yet it is our business to assert and maintain what from the infallible word of God we know to be *true*: and let them *disprove* the doctrine when they can, for that is incumbent upon them. Let them demonstrate, when they are able, that neither the Divine *wisdom*, nor *justice*, nor *holiness*, could *require* such *terms* as by the Scripture account God appears to have required. They will not find it easy to prove a *negative*, or to form demonstrations where they have no *data* to go upon, no sufficient *ideas* to work with, nor *medium* to proceed by. I believe, neither they nor we can judge any thing *a priori* in such high things: our thoughts are narrow and our compass short; and we are not wise enough to fathom the depths of infinite wisdom or holiness, nor to direct God how to govern the world.

If it be pretended that the death of Christ, and the covenant therein founded, could not be *necessary* for all mankind, since it has not been *published* to all mankind, the consequence is not just; because those that know nothing of it may yet partake of the benefits of it. It is certain that all mankind are gainers by it, as being thereby entitled to a resurrection: "as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive." But many may turn this blessing into a curse. I say then, that it was necessary the thing should be done, though not so necessary that all should know it. God can make allowances for *invincible* ignorance where he pleases, and can extend the merit and virtue of the Gospel covenant to those who have never heard of it.

But it was absolutely necessary there should be such a covenant, otherwise no flesh could be saved : and it is absolutely necessary for every one that knows of it, to accept of it and close in with it ; otherwise he forfeits the blessings and privileges of it.

I have digressed a while from the particular subject of *moral* and *positive* duties, to attend this writer in some other matters as important as that. But now in the close, I shall subjoin a word or two of the general tendency of that argument. There has been mischief done, and may be more and more, by depreciating *positive* duties ; and therefore it is necessary now more especially to assert the strict obligation of *positive* institutions. The direct tendency of depreciating them (whether designed or no) is to introduce a low and lame morality, scarce deserving the name ; and to substitute a *partial* obedience in the room of a thorough and entire regard to *all* God's commandments. It is justly observed, by a late writer^o, of *positive* duties, that " they produce " a sort of *enlargement* of our obligations, and cannot but render " the practice of religion more difficult than when restrained to " those few general acts to which nature and reason oblige us." The fact is true : those *positive* precepts are additional burdens, not only as bringing in more services, but as binding all the rest stricter and closer upon us, engaging us to a more exalted morality. Here lies the grievance. But then they are the *true friends* to morality who take positive duties in with it, to raise and support it. And it would make one very suspicious of the other way, of depressing *positive* institutions, to find that the greatest libertines, and professed infidels, can so readily chime in with it. They know what they do. Set but aside the *positive* duties, and insist only upon *moral*, upon following *nature* and *reason*, (as they will call it,) and they will soon contrive a morality *loose* enough, suited to their own taste and fancy, rather than to the truth of things. They are much better pleased to have the choosing and forming a religion or morality for themselves, than to let God choose for them. They will not inquire what God has commanded, but they will sit down and direct what he *ought* to command. He shall have the name of the *Lawgiver* ; and they will prescribe what he is to do, and will have the drawing up both of the *laws* and the *penalties* for him, according to *their* wisdom, not *his*. This is what infidels

^o Colliber on Natural and Revealed Religion.

and libertines aim at, by separating *positive* from *moral* duties, and crying up the latter in opposition to the former. It is an artful contrivance to have the modelling of morality in their own hands, in order to make what they please of it, instead of leaving it in the hands of God. But the true way of securing morality, properly so called, is to entertain a high regard to God and his *revealed* will in the first place. Godliness is the groundwork of all true and acceptable morality, the first and the best part of it: and godliness lies chiefly in religious and devout exercises, in a conscientious performance of the duties called *positive*, duties of the *first* table. Indeed, the mere outward performance of these duties amounts only to a *form* of *godliness*: but when the inward and outward piety go together, (as they always should,) the happy fruits will be *universal righteousness*.

As to the *order of duties*, I find it well laid down in the close of a very good Sermon which I have lately met with^P: and I shall presume upon the worthy author's leave to make use of his words, and to conclude with them.

“ Let us pay a due regard to all God's commandments; carefully performing, in the *first* place, all the duties of the *first* table, the greatest and most necessary duties, and particularly *faith in God*, the very root and foundation of all good works, and also [*faith*] in our Lord Jesus Christ, the foundation of all Christian virtues, and the very condition of our salvation; together with the other two great and most necessary duties, *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper*.

“ Let us, in the *second* place, be mindful of discharging our whole duty to our neighbour and ourselves; all the duties of the *second* table, as judgment, mercy, and the like.

“ And lastly, let us not leave undone the duties of least moment.”

^P Mr. Slade's Sermon, of the Order of Duties, on Matt. xxiii. 23.

SCRIPTURE VINDICATED;

IN ANSWER TO A BOOK

ENTITLED,

CHRISTIANITY AS OLD AS THE CREATION.

PART I.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

A GENERAL PREFACE.

A

GENERAL PREFACE

TO

SCRIPTURE VINDICATED.

I HAVE for some time thought, (though I was not at first aware of it,) that in a work of this nature it might be proper to say something, in a preliminary way, concerning the *various kinds* of interpretation of Scripture, and of the *several names* which they have or may go under. For it is obvious to observe, from what one frequently meets with, in conversing either with men or books, that great confusion arises from the want of proper distinctions between one kind of interpretation and another. Many are used to confound *literal* construction with *figurative*, or figurative with *mystical*, or one kind of *mystical* interpretation with another kind. Some are apt to confound *metaphor* with *allegory*; while others as much confound *allegory* with *fable* or *parable*. I do not at present recollect whether any of our English writers have professedly handled this subject: among Latin authors, Glassius^a is most considerable and best known; though to scholars only, and not to all them. Him I intend for my pattern all the way, extracting from him what shall appear most useful, and improving upon it where I can, rendering the whole as *clear* and *distinct* as the nature of the thing, or my present conceptions of it, will permit.

^a Glassius, Philolog. Sacr. part. i. lib. 2. tract. 1. p. 347, &c. edit. Lips. A.D. 1725.

Interpretation of Scripture, as I conceive, is most conveniently distinguished into three kinds, *literal*, *figurative*, and *mystical*; though Glassius and others choose rather to make but two branches of the division, throwing *figurative* under *literal*, and comprehending all under *literal* and *mystical*. I shall hint something, as I go along, of their reason for doing it, shewing withal why I cannot so well approve of it. In the mean while, I take leave to follow the threefold partition which I have mentioned, and shall now treat of the several parts in their order as I have named them.

I.

The *literal* interpretation of any place of Scripture is such as the words *properly* and *grammatically* bear or require, without any trope, metaphor, or figure, and abstracting from any *mystic* meaning: as for instance, "God created the heaven and "the earth." The words mean what they *literally* import, and are to be interpreted according to the *letter*. Such literal meaning, when it contains some part of *history*, or of matter of *fact*, may be called *historical*, and often is so: and at other times, when it contains only some matter of *doctrine*, it might be called *doctrinal*; though I know not whether such distinction has been commonly observed. However, it might not be amiss, for the sake of clear and distinct conception, to subdivide *literal* into its two main branches, as I have here done, into *historical* and *doctrinal*.

II.

The *figurative* construction of any place of Scripture is the interpreting it, not by what the words would in themselves most strictly and properly import, but by what they really intend under a *figure*. For instance, "The wolf shall dwell with "the lamb^b." A *literal* construction of these words would be *absurd*, and therefore cannot be admitted as the real meaning of the Prophet: for which reason some would scruple to give it the name of a *literal construction*, being that it is *no construction* of Scripture in that case, no sense of the *text*. But though such literal sense is not the true meaning of the text, (since the *figurative* construction is the only true one,) yet it is not amiss to say, that the words in themselves, or in their literal import, do properly signify what they express; only they are here to be

^b Isa. xi. 6.

figuratively taken, and the *letter* must give place to the *intention*. But though it be owned, in such instances, that those words of Scripture, considered as *Scripture*, have no literal sense at all, nor any but *figurative*; yet it will not from thence follow, that such *figurative* meaning is the *literal* sense of Scripture, or that it ought so to be called. All that follows is, that some places of Scripture admit of no *literal* meaning at all, while others do. To give the name of *literal* to a *figurative* construction (only because the figurative here happens to be the *true* one) is confounding *literal* with *figurative*, and that very needlessly. For since the intent is only to avoid (what the Romanists plead for) two or more true constructions of the same words, this end is as well answered by saying that the *literal* sense, in such case, is really *no sense* of the text; and so the text has but *one* true sense^c, which is the *figurative*. But if every *true* sense of any place were therefore to be called its *literal* sense, then even a *mystical* construction, when it happens to be the *true* one, might be called *literal*; and in this way, all *true* constructions of Scripture, of what kind soever they were, would of course be called *literal* ones, which would breed great confusion.

Besides, while some comprehend figurative under literal, they are forced to distinguish *literal* construction into two kinds, viz. *simply* literal and *figuratively* literal^d, which sounds very harsh; or else into *proper* and *improper*^e, which is no better than the other: wherefore, for the avoiding perplexity in *terms*, and as great confusion in *ideas*, it appears highly requisite to make *literal* entirely distinct from *figurative*^f, as two branches in the division, and not to run both into one.

Of *figurative* construction, there may be as many kinds as there are *tropes* or *figures*, though they have not yet been, and indeed need not be, enumerated, nor have special names assigned

^c Ex sermonis fine atque scopo manifestum est, unicum solum ejus esse posse et debere *sensum*: licet enim subinde adhibeantur voces formulæque *duplicem* sensum admittentes, *proprium* et *figuratum*; necesse tamen est ut ex *intentione* loquentis *unicus* tantum locum inveniat. *Buddæus de Sermonis sensu vero*, p. 317.

^d Vid. Glassius, *ibid.* p. 370.

^e Vid. Pfeiffer. *Hermeneut. Sacr.* p. 633.

^f As *figures* are of two kinds, *grammatical* and *rhetorical*, I would not be understood to exclude the *grammatical* from coming under the head of *literal*, but the *rhetorical* only. The grammatical figures are reducible to five; *ellipsis*, *pleonasm*, *enallage*, *hypallage*, *synchysis*: in all which cases the construction is strictly *literal*, though irregular, or anomalous, out of the common rules of grammar or syntax.

them: only a *metaphorical* construction is what often occurs under that very name, and it is one species of *figurative*. When Herod is denominated a *fox*, as resembling that animal in some particular quality or qualities, the sense is figurative, and *metaphorical*. Sometimes a discourse runs in a *continued metaphor*, which rhetoricians are used to call an *allegory*. It is a kind of allegory in *words* or *expressions*, very different from the *theological* or *scriptural* allegory, which is an allegory in *things* or in *realities*; as shall be more fully explained hereafter in the proper place.

The prophetic writings abound in *metaphors* and other *figures* of speech, but more in *symbols* or *emblems*; which, though near akin to *metaphors*, are not the same thing with them, but are more properly referred to *mystical* than to *figurative* construction; as will appear in the sequel.

III.

The third kind of interpretation is *mystical*, which is of large extent, and will require a more particular consideration. *Mystical* interpretation (otherwise called *spiritual*) is commonly supposed to take place, when the words of Scripture, over and above their *literal* and *immediate* meaning, have also a more *remote* signification, a sublime or spiritual sense. Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights^h. The *literal* and *historical* meaning is what those words plainly and properly import, expressing the real fact, so far as concerns Jonah: but the *mystical* meaning, couched under the same words, is, that "the Son of man was" (or was to be) "three days and three nights in the heart of the earthⁱ." Some Protestant Divines would scruple the allowing any *mystical sense*, for fear of admitting *two senses* of the same words^k: but they allow the thing all the while, only they choose to call it a *mystical reference*, *application*, *use*, *accommodation*, or *aspect*, rather than a *mystical sense*. The dispute amounts only to a strife about *words* or *names*, while both sides are agreed in the main point, and both admit the same *mystical interpretation* under different appellations; and both defend themselves, though in different ways, against the

[§] Allegoria ex usu vocis duplex statuitur, verborum et rerum: illam rhetoricam, hanc theologiam appellat Sandæus. *Gloss.* p. 409. conf. 1950.

^h Jonah i. 17. ⁱ Matt. xii. 40.

^k See Pfeiffer. *Hermeneut. Sacr.* p. 635, and compare Glassius on the other side of the question, p. 305, &c.

Popish errors on this head. The difference may be accommodated by the help of a single *distinction*, viz. between the meaning of *words* and the meaning of *things*; or by saying, that the *words* of Scripture in such cases express such a *thing*, and that *thing* represents or signifies *another thing*. The *words*, properly, bear but *one sense*, and that one sense is the *literal* one; but the *thing* expressed by the letter is further expressive of something sublime or spiritual. Thus, for example, the *words* relating to *Jonah* carry but one meaning, the *literal* meaning, expressing such a *fact*; but then that *fact* expresses, prefigures, or typifies another *fact* of a higher and more important nature. The *words* mean only, that *Jonah was in the belly of the fish*, &c. but then his *being so* was significative of something more excellent; namely, of the *death* and *burial* of Christ. In this way of settling the forms of speaking (for that is all) the same *one sense* of Scripture texts is maintained against the Romanists; and the contending parties of Protestants may both of them obtain all that they really aim at. Those that plead most for a *mystical sense* (besides the *literal* one) do it for this reason chiefly, because the *Spirit of God* certainly intended such *mystic* meaning. Allowed: but if such mystic meaning be signified by the *thing* contained in the letter, it answers every purpose as well as if it were signified by the *letter* itself. But I pass on. *Mystical* interpretation (be it of *words* or of *things*) is properly distributed into four several kinds, which we may call *parabolical*, *symbolical*, *typical*, and *allegorical*: of which in their order, as here follows:

1. It is *parabolical* interpretation, when we understand any part of Scripture as containing a *parable*, or as written by way of *parable*. A parable is a kind of *similitude*, or *fictitious* parallel taken up at pleasure to represent some *real* case: it is a *case in fiction* aptly made choice of to signify some *case in fact*, be it supposed past, present, or future¹. Such were Jotham's^m, and Nathan'sⁿ, and Micaiah's^o parables: and such also are the *parables* so frequently occurring in the Gospels. The *literal* sense in a parable is the *simile* or *representation*: the *mystical* is the *truth* or real fact. Truth veiled under apt resemblances formed in the way of narration, is what properly makes or con-

¹ Parabola est similitudo seu comparatio, qua res aliqua ut gesta et confecta apposite fingitur et narratur, et cum alia re spirituali confertur, seu

ad eam significandam accommodatur. Glassius, p. 479. ^m Judg. ix. 8.

ⁿ 2 Sam. xii. 1.

^o 1 Kings xxii. 19.

stitutes a *parable*. Sometimes a key or explication is super-added to the parable; as in Nathan's, and in many of our blessed Lord's: and then the mystical meaning is given, as well as the *literal* one. I say, the mystical meaning^q of the *parable*; for as to the *words* expressing such *explication*, they are *literally* interpreted, and that explication is their literal meaning. In strictness also, the words of the parable have but *one* meaning, a *literal* meaning, containing a *feigned narration*: but that feigned narration itself, or the *things* contained in it, represent another thing, and therefore are said to have a *mystical* or *spiritual* signification^q.

Glassius distinguishes *parables* into three kinds, from their respective matter or contents^r, as containing either, 1. Things *commonly done*, as the parable of the *leaven*. 2. Or things *possible* to be done. 3. Or things *impossible*; as the parable of Jotham's speaking trees. Others look upon *probability*, or at least *possibility*, as essential to the very nature and definition of a *parable*: and if any such narration carries in it no appearance of *probability*, they call it a *fable*; or if it be not so much as *possible*, they call it an *apologue*^s: by which account, Jotham's ingenious fiction must not be called a *parable* but an *apologue*. But those names are frequently confounded, and even the learned are not hitherto well agreed in the strict notion or definition of a *parable*.

A parable differs from a *continued metaphor* in several respects^t; but more particularly in this, that a *continued metaphor* represents but one case or story, (be it real or feigned,) under borrowed and figurative expressions, while a *parable* represents two distinct

^p Proprio ac nativo quodam sensu *parabola* notat artificiosam rei cujusdam fictæ, ad aliud significandum, narrationem. *Georg. Neumanni Dissertat.* x. p. 419.

*Parabola*m dicimus figmentum verisimile, protasi et apodosi constans, quo orientales potissimum doctores—doctrinam recondebant, ut sublimiora caperentur facilius, torpentesque et rudes animi quadam docendi voluptate perpulcerentur. *Neumann. ibid.* p. 421.

^q Nobis sensum *parabolæ* ponderantibus, sufficit significationem rerum et *verborum* probe distinguere. Sensus enim *verbis* immediate expressus, perinde ut cujusque rei forma, *unicus* est:

interim *res illa* verbis indicata denotare *rem aliam* potest (sive mysticam, sive moralem illam) prout a scriptore intenditur. Sic *parabola* Salvatoris Luc. viii, 5. Intellectui nostro offert *semen*: ubi nemo dixerit *hoc verbo* diversa hæc exprimi, et *naturale* semen et *spirituale*: at vero *semine* significatur *verbum Dei*, quod certas quasdam rationes cum *semine* habet communes. *Neuman.* p. 432.

^r Glassius, p. 482.

^s Vid. *Neuman. ibid.* p. 424—427. Itaque *apologus* ut simulachrum veritatis; *parabola* vero ut historia et exemplum accipi debet ab auditore, p. 427.

^t Vid. Glassius, p. 477.

stories or cases^u; the case in *fiction*, and the case in *fact*. How a *parable* differs from an *allegory*, properly so called, will appear in the sequel, when I come to shew what an *allegory* is, and how it differs from a *parable*. How a *parable* differs from a *romance*, *novel*, or *drama*, may be seen at large in a learned writer^x before quoted.

2. After *parabolical* interpretation, I may mention *symbolical*, as being near akin to it; for there is a kind of *fiction* similitude or parallel in both. Some certain *symbols* are chosen and made use of in the way of fiction to represent other things. An example will best shew what a *symbol*, or a *symbolical* interpretation means. We read in Isaiah^y, that "all the host of heaven shall be dissolved." Now the *host of heaven* literally signifies sun, moon, and stars: but sun, moon, and stars *symbolically* signify the *princes* and *nobles* (civil and ecclesiastical) forming any state or polity^z. So then, the *dissolving the host of heaven* symbolically means the dissolving the whole frame and constitution of such civil and ecclesiastical state. This kind of construction nearly resembles the *parabolical* before mentioned, where the *literal meaning* is but the shell or shadow, and the *mystical* is the thing intended: the one is but the *image*, as it were, while the other is the *truth* represented by it, or veiled under it. This *symbolical* language is particularly the language of *prophecy*, and a right understanding thereof is the surest, or the only key to the *prophetic* writings, as the learned well know. Sir Isaac Newton, in a posthumous work^a, (supposed to have been written about forty or fifty years ago^b,) has given us some useful hints for the better explaining such *symbolical* language. Other learned authors, and more especially Vitringa and Daubuz, have much improved the account; one in his Comments upon the Apocalypse and Isaiah, and the other in his Perpetual Commentary upon the Apocalypse alone. But the very ingenious Mr. Lan-

^u Parabola nihil aliud est quam sermo similitudinis (ut ita dicam) constans *πρωτάσει* et *ἀποδόσει* *πρώταις* est schema quoddam historicum, seu narratio quædam vel facta, vel ex instituto rhetorice ficta, et tanquam possibilis representata: *Ἀπόδοσις* est ejusdem schematis explicatio, quæ vel expresse additur, vel cogitanda relinquitur. Pfeiffer. *Hermeneut. Sacr.* 635, 636.

^x Neuman. *Dissert. de Parabola*, p. 438, 441.

^y Isa. xxxiv. 4.

^z Vid. Vitringa in loc. vol. ii. p. 275, 276. Conf. Vitringa in *Apocalyp.* vi. 12. p. 282, 283, Daubuz on the *Revelat.* c. vi. 12.

^a Newton's Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, chap. xi. p. 16.

^b See Whiston's Letter to Dr. Sykes, p. 270.

caster^c has gone beyond them all, in giving us a *symbolical dictionary*, in an *alphabetical* order; by the help of which one may now readily have recourse to any *prophetic symbol*, and find its meaning well explained and confirmed by proper evidences. But this I hint by the way only: to enlarge further upon the use and value of that part of knowledge, or upon the improvements it might yet be capable of, would be foreign to my present design. I may here take notice, that the *symbolical* language is very like to *metaphorical*; for which reason I was somewhat doubtful whether to refer it to *figurative* construction or to *mystical*; yet upon considering that a *symbolical* representation is a kind of *simile*, and a *simile* is different from a *metaphor*^d, I thought it more properly reducible to the head of *mystical* interpretation. In short, this differs from a *continued metaphor*, just as a *parable* differs from the same; for a *parable* also is a *simile*. It is therefore harder to shew how *symbolical* construction differs from *parabola*, being that they are the nearest of all to each other: and indeed, I scarce know any very material difference there is between them, except it be that a *parable* always runs in the form of an *historical narration*, while a *symbolical representation* is commonly in the *predictive*, or *indicative* form, or is declarative of what passed in *vision*.

3. A third species of *mystical* interpretation is the *typical*; when real things are represented by other things as real. A *type*, in its general nature, is some *real* person, action, gesture, thing, or circumstance of a thing, representing some other real person, gesture, &c. I distinguish a *type* from such a *symbol* as was before mentioned, in this respect, that a *type* is some *real* fact or thing, whereas a *symbol* is rather *fictitious* than real. Glassius divides types into two kinds, called *historical*^e and *prophetical*^f;

^c Lancaster's Abridgment of Dauter, p. 21, &c.

^d Quoad differentiam a similitudine et parabola, hæc inter *metaphoram* statuitur et *similitudinem*, (tum contractam, tum explicatam,) quod in hac rei unius ad alteram sit manifesta collatio, et sic argumentum logicum ea est: in *metaphora* vero unius pro altero simili est positio; quæ tamen in explicatione per apertam similitudinem evolvenda est. *Glassius, Rhetor.* p. 1526. conf. 477.

^e Typus *historiæ* est sensus Scrip-

turæ mysticus, quo res gestæ vel factæ Vet. Testamenti præfigurant et adumbrant res in Novo Testamento gestas, &c. *Glassius*, p. 458. Conf. *Buddæus*, *Miscellan. Sacr.* tom. i. p. 213.

^f Typus *prophetiæ*, seu propheticus, est quo prophetæ divinitus inspirati suis in concionibus (partim comminatoriis, partim vaticinatoriis) crebro utuntur, quando videlicet symbolis externis res occultas, sive præsentēs sive futuras, per Spiritum Sanctum figurant et significant. *Glassius*, p. 451.

and historical relates either to *actions* or to *rites* and *ceremonies*. To the *historical* kind are referred the type of Jonah shadowing out Christ's burial; the type of the *brazen serpent* presignifying Christ upon the cross^ε; the *paschal lamb* pointing to Christ the anti-type; the *manna* typifying the flesh of Christ^h; the *temple* as a figure of heavenⁱ: as also the whole ceremonial law, typical of good things to come^k.

To the head of *prophetical* types we refer the *significant* actions or gestures of *Prophets*: such as Jeremiah's making yokes and bonds^l, and Agabus's binding his own hands with St. Paul's girdle^m; to which might be added many more of like kind.

Glassius refers to the same head of *prophetical types* whatsoever the *Prophets* do or see in *dreams* or *visions*, as representative of things otherwise secret, be they present or futureⁿ: but, I suppose, most or all of that sort may more properly be referred to the head of *symbols*, considered in the preceding article; because such types are rather *ideal* than *real*, and so fall not under the stricter definition of a *type*, which I have before offered. However, if any one shall think the definition too strict, I shall not contend about a *name*; well knowing that the word *type* may admit of various significations, looser or straighter.

4. The fourth and last kind of *mystical* construction is the *allegorical*, when *real* history or facts are interpreted as representative of other things as *real*; but of a more sublime or spiritual nature^o. An *allegory* differs from a *type*, as a *typical narrative* carries more in it than a mere *type* does, being a complication of types: besides, that the general notion of an *allegory* is of somewhat larger extent than even a *typical narration*, which is but one species of it.

An *allegory* differs from a *parable*, as being founded in *real* fact, not in *fiction* resemblances or *feigned* cases. Sarah and Hagar represented the two covenants in many resembling circumstances of *real* history: such representation St. Paul styles an *allegory*^p. There is a law in Deuteronomy, which says, τῆου

^ε Numb. xxi. 8, 9. compared with John iii. 14, 15.

^h John vi. 32, 33.

ⁱ Hebr. ix. 24.

^l Jerem. xxvii. 2.

^m Acts xxi. 11.

ⁿ Sensus typicus est, quando sub externis factis, seu *propheticis visionibus*, res occultæ, sive præsentis sive

futuræ, figurantur. *Glass.* p. 406. conf. 453.

^o Sensus *allegoricus* est, quando historia Scripturæ, vere gesta, ad mysterium quoddam, sive spiritualem doctrinam, ex intentione Spiritus Sancti refertur. *Glassius*, p. 406. conf. p. 409.

^p Gal. iv. 24.

SHALT NOT MUZZLE THE OX WHEN HE TREADETH OUT [thresheth] THE CORN⁹. The words have a literal meaning, and, as such, make part of the Jewish law: but that law was at the same time significative of something higher, as St. Paul has intimated; who interprets it of the provision due to the labourers in the vineyard, to the ministers of the Gospel. This was drawing out the *mystic* meaning of the Law, and shewing that it was so far *allegorical*.

The reader may see other examples of Scripture *allegories*, of diverse kinds, in the texts referred to in the margin^r. All of them are instances of *real* things representing higher *realities*. Neither indeed are there any *real allegories* which exclude the truth of the *letter*, or which do not suppose it. If any such *exclusive* allegories be pretended, the pretence is not just: for were it true that the *letter* is excluded, the instances alleged would not be *allegories*, properly so called, but *similitudes* rather, or *parables*, or *continued tropes*, or the like; and so are reducible to some other class, not to the head of *allegory*, which we are now upon.

Allegorical interpretation may be distinguished into three several kinds, under the names of *didactical*, *tropological*, and *anagogical*; or in somewhat plainer terms, *prophetical*, *moral*, *sublime*. The first means an allegory simply prophetical of things to be done under the Gospel state; as the allegory of Jonah is prophetical of Christ's death and burial. The second conveys some important lesson of *moral* instruction; as the allegory about *not muzzling the oxen*. The third prefigures things sublime and heavenly; as God's *resting from his works* prefigured the everlasting rest of the blessed above.

The self-same allegory may be supposed to have all the three several views here mentioned. The law about the *Sabbath*, for instance, may be supposed (over and above the *literal* meaning) *prophetically* to signify Christ's *rest* in the grave; *tropologically* to denote the *rest* of the soul, and its *cessation* from sin; and *anagogically* to prefigure the eternal *rest* of the saints. I do not say that any Scripture *allegory* was ever really intended to represent or signify so many several things: but such a case *may be supposed*, (right or wrong,) because it *has been supposed* by some

⁹ Deut. xxv. 4.

^r Gen. ii. 2. compared with Hebr. iv. 3. Gen. ii. 24. compared with Eph. v. 31, 32. Gen. xxvi. 21. Gal. iv. 22.

Exod. xii. 15, 17. 1 Cor. v. 7, 8.

Exod. xxxiv. 29. 2 Cor. iii. 7, 13,

14. Deut. xxx. 12. Rom. x. 6. Psal.

xix. 4. Rom. x. 18.

learned interpreters; and I mention it only for the clearer apprehension of the *threefold* partition of *allegory*. But however we judge as to the same *things* having several *mystical* senses, we are still to remember, that the *same words*, whatever they be, have properly but *one sense*; and that one is the *literal* sense, otherwise called *historical*, pointing out some *real fact* upon which every *mystic* view is grounded.

From hence we may be able to pass the clearer judgment upon what has (of late days especially) been called the *allegorical* construction of the *fall*: such as Dr. Burnet^s of the Charter-House, and after him Mr. Blount^t, and others have presumed to recommend. It is not properly *allegorical*, but *parabolical* or *fabulous*, because it excludes the *literal* and *historical* meaning, resolving the whole into ingenious device or *fiction*. It is true, there are *parables* and prophetic *schemes* in sacred Writ: but the account of the *fall* of *man* is certainly *true history*, and ought not to be resolved into any such prophetic *scheme*, or well-devised *parable*; much less into Egyptian fable or *hieroglyphic*, as others more profanely have insinuated. There are many and great reasons against turning the history of the *fall* into *fiction* or *parable*, which I shall content myself with briefly mentioning, referring the reader to learned writers^u, who have considered the point at large. 1. If a history so *circumstantiated* as that is shall be resolved into *fable* or *parable*, no history whatever can stand secure, but a wide door will be opened to all the roving of sportive wit or wanton fancy. The mischievous tendency of taking such liberties with sacred history is strongly represented in few words by the learned Bochart^x. It is not long since a learned foreigner^y undertook, in like manner, to turn the whole history

^s Burnet's Archæolog. lib. ii. c. 7. Conf. Epist. i. p. 142.

^t Blount's Oracles of Reason, p. 20, &c.

^u Witty's Essay towards a Vindication of the Mosaic History. Moses Vindicatus, (Amstel. A. D. 1694.) c. vii. p. 148. Nicolls's Conf. with a Theist, part i. p. 236. alias 135. Keill's Examinat. of the Reflections on the Theory, p. 148. Jenkins's Reasonableness, &c. vol. ii. p. 256.

^x Hæc sententia omnino singularis est, iisque duntaxat arridet qui *literali* vocum significatione prorsus missa, ad *allegorias* omnia transferunt—Quæ Scripturæ explicandi ratio, ex variis

eventibus qui inde sequuntur, certe *periculosissima*, et exemplum *exitiale*. Juxta eam enim, quicquid habet Scriptura sacra etiam expressissimum, facile poterit negari, ut in ejus locum *phantasmata* et imaginationis *figmenta* quæque subrogentur. Illi, non secus quam campanis, quilibet potest affingi: hominumque cerebro tanquam alembico committitur, ut inde quodcumque libebit exprimat. Denique eodem modo ab istis doctoribus tractatur quo *chymistis* metalla; ex quibus aurum sibi et aliis misere pollicentur, at vero in fumos abeunt universa. Bochart. de *Serpent. Tentator*. p. 836.

^y Herman. Vander Hardt, A. D. 1718.

of the Prophet Jonah into a sort of *prophetic scheme* or *parable*: but he has been justly condemned for it by the judicious^z. There is no end of such wanton play, such solemn trifling. 2. Such a method of interpreting would undermine the doctrine of our *redemption*, as laid down in the New Testament^a, and indeed would make the Old and New interfere: for the New Testament plainly enough interprets the history of the fall, as *true history*, or *real fact*^b. See that point well proved now lately by a learned hand^c. In short, the thus dealing with Scripture history can tend only to bring the sacred oracles into contempt; as the nature of the thing shews, and experience also sufficiently testifies. 3. That *parabolical* construction of the *fall*, going under the false name and cover of *allegorical*, would entirely defeat and frustrate the real and certain *allegory* which is in it: for that some parts, at least, of that history do admit of an *allegorical* meaning, together with the *letter*, and beyond the *letter*, is undoubtedly plain from the New Testament. For instance, Gen. ii. 24. carries both a *literal* and an *allegorical* meaning^d: that is to say, the thing there expressed by the *letter* is expressive of an higher mystery relating to *Christ* and his *Church*. So again Gen. iii. 15. requires an *allegorical* improvement beyond the bare *literal* and *historical* meaning, being prophetic of our redemption by Christ Jesus. How much more of real *allegory* may be couched under that history, or how far we may prudently extend what we find, we cannot perhaps certainly say, nor is it necessary to determine: but if the whole were a *fable*, or *parable* only, all proper *allegory* (which means a mystic sense grafted upon *true history*) would be entirely frustrated and lost.

From what has been observed, the attentive readers may perceive how to distinguish the true and proper *allegorists* from the *fablemongers* or *mythics*, (I know not what else to call them,) such as Dr. Burnet, &c. before mentioned. They are a very different kind of men, as to their temper, manner, and principles; and their respective attempts commonly differ from each other, as much as sober and pious does from ludicrous and profane. The proper *allegorists* preserve the truth of sacred history inviolable, endeavouring further to convert it to high and hea-

^z Vid. Carpzov. *Introduct. ad Libr. Bibl. Vet. Test.* part. iii. p. 349.

^a See Witty's *Mosaic History Vindicated*, p. 13.

^b John viii. 44. 2 Cor. xi. 3. 1 Tim.

ii. 14. 1 John iii. 8. *Comp. Ecclesiastes* vii. 29.

^c Reply to the *Defence of the Letter to Dr. W.* p. 58.

^d See *Ephes.* v. 31, 32.

venly uses: and if they happen to fail in their design of enriching us with new treasures, they leave us however what we had before. But the *mythics*, who affect to turn *history* into *fable*, and *truth* into *fiction*, overthrow the *letter* of sacred Writ, converting it into a kind of *romance*; and in the room of that solid and substantial treasure which we before had, they give us nothing but words or wind.

It must be owned however to be a nice affair, to *allegorize* well and wisely, and to avoid all extremes. Many have been too forward and enterprising in that way, which is an error in *excess*; and many also have been too cautious and unattempting, which is an error in *defect*. It has been pleasantly observed of two very learned and excellent men, that one of them had *no where* found Christ in the Old Testament, and the other had found him *every where*^e; intimating that both of them had run into extremes, but in a contrary way. I know not whether there be any surer or safer rule to go by, in this matter, than to *allegorize* so far (and no further) as Scripture itself has directly done it, or indirectly pointed out the way by *allegorizing* some part, and leaving it to as many as understand *connection* and *analogy*, to supply the rest.

A very learned and judicious writer has presumed to think, that the *art of allegorizing* may be improved to a good degree of *certainty* by the help of rules proper^f. And he afterwards gives us two samples of it; one in the history of the Patriarch Joseph, and another in the history of Samson allegorized all the way, retaining the *letter*, but superadding a *mystical* interpretation. After all, though there may be a good degree of *certainty* in the art, to as many as are complete masters of it, and one might be glad to see it carried up to the utmost perfection, (as it would be of inestimable use,) yet, to speak freely my opinion, it appears to be work of such a kind as scarce one in a thousand will be fit to be trusted with. It is like the *art etymological*, or

^e Passim celebratur illud quorundam judicium: Grotium nusquam in sacris literis invenire Christum, Cocceium ubique. *Buddæi Isagog.* p. 1736.

^f Postremo loco, moneo, nullas esse instituendas expositiones *allegoricas* nisi in bonis, (sive certis sive probabilibus,) fundatas hypothesibus, ad quas expositionis soliditas et veritas examinanda est. Quæ hypotheses si non fallant (possent autem tales in

multis casibus præstari) *non minus certa erit expositio allegorica* quam quævis *literalis et propria*, utique quod ad ipsum corpus interpretationis. Sunt enim hujus studii, æque ac aliarum theologiæ partium, *certa principia et fundamenta*; sunt *certi canones*, secundum quos qui interpretationem suam composesit, non facile impinget. *Vitringa. Observ. Sacr.* lib. vi. c. 20. p. 465. alias 532.

§ Vitringa, *ibid.* c. 21.

that of making *conjectural emendations* upon authors, or of commenting upon Ezekiel, Daniel, or the Apocalypse: a man must have very strong parts, together with great coolness of temper, and correctness of judgment, besides a very large compass of literature, to succeed tolerably in it. It will be exceeding difficult to draw out *mystical meanings* with sufficient certainty, beyond what our infallible guides in the New Testament have already drawn out for us, or have plainly pointed out to us. And it will be no less difficult to fix any bounds to a flowing invention, or a teeming imagination, once set on work in that way: which I mention not to disparage or to discourage so useful an art, but to prevent too great expectations from it. It is certain, that some very bright wits, both ancient and modern, have had the misfortune to lose themselves in it.

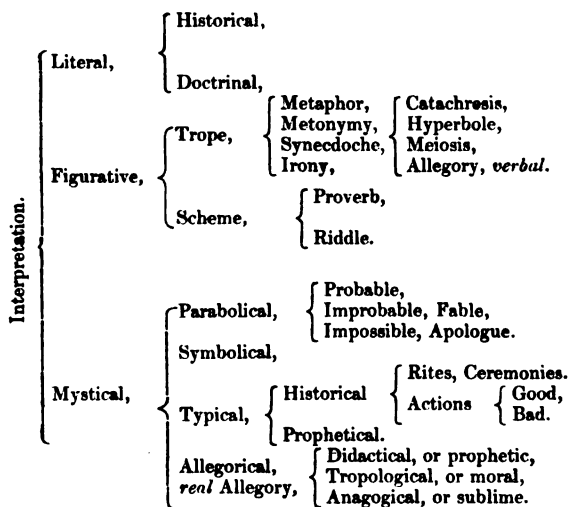
Nevertheless, as I before hinted, the proper *allegorists* have often deserved well of religion and learning, even where they have missed of their first and principal aim: and my intent in taking this notice of them, was chiefly to preserve to them their due honour and esteem, that they may not be confounded with the *mythics*, who have been frequently comprehended under the same common name of *allegorizers*. *Allegorizing* of Scripture, for the improving and enriching of the *letter*, is one thing; and resolving *true history* into *fable* or *parable*, is another. The one expresses a profound and awful respect for the *Divine revelation*, and is generally useful, or at least innocent: the other too often betrays a want of due reverence for Scripture, and a wrong turn of mind; or be it ever so well meant, it is of very ill tendency, and apt to produce infinite mischief. St. Austin, with several more among the ancients, and Vitringa, with many others among the moderns, were proper *allegorists*: their designs were noble and great, as their labours, in the main, are very instructive and edifying. On the other hand, Origen among the ancients, and Burnet, with some few more of the moderns, have taken great liberties in the *mythical* way, resolving many important points of sacred history into *fable* or *apologue*; which was very injudicious, and of mischievous consequence, both in the Church and out of the Church, as the very reason of the thing shews it must be^h.

^h Semel pressumdato aut falaitatis insimulato *literali* sensu iis in locis ubi omnes qui requiri possunt *characteres historici* coalescunt, corrumpat necesse est *scripturarum auctoritas*

apud Gentiles, apud Hæreticos, apud Christianos. Apud *Gentiles*, qui potius inde occasionem sument rejiciendæ Scripturæ, tanquam Spiritu Sancto indignæ, quam illius *allegorice*

To conclude, as there are various ways of interpreting various parts of Scripture, viz. *literal, figurative, symbolical, typical, parabolical, allegorical*, so it is of great moment to distinguish carefully those several kinds: and no one thing requires more thought or judgment, than to be able to discern in particular passages which of these kinds of interpretation ought to take place. I refer to Glassius principally for *rules* and *canons*ⁱ to direct in such cases, being the best I know of; though not so full or perfect as they might be, but capable of several improvements. The narrow limits of a preface will not permit me to enlarge further; but if what I have briefly offered may be of any use by way of *caution* to common readers, for the preventing confusion and mistakes, or by way of *incitement* to abler hands, for the further illustrating and filling up the subject, I have my end.

In conclusion, I shall subjoin a sketch of the several divisions and subdivisions of Scripture interpretation:



[*mythice*] interpretandæ necessitatem colligent: apud *hæreticos* qui hoc principio abutentur, ut se ex iis expediant locis quæ contra suos ipsorum errores pugnant: denique apud *Christianos*, quos in fidei suæ detrimentum et in perpetuas animi anxietates ita adducet, ut legendis Scripturis prorsus renunciare maluerint. *Carolus Delarue*, in

prefat. ad tom. ii. Opp. Origenis, p. 16, 17.

ⁱ Canons for the Literal and Figurative Sense, p. 371, &c. Canons for the Typical, p. 465, &c. Canons for the Parabolical, p. 483, &c. Conf. Carpzov. *Introduct. ad Libr. Bibl. part. iii.* p. 352. *Buddæus*, *Observat. in Elementa Philosophiæ*, &c. p. 319, &c.

THE INTRODUCTION.

THE book, entitled *Christianity as Old as the Creation*, is a declamatory libel against *revealed* religion, under colour and pretence of setting up *natural* religion in its place. The author, probably, has no more regard for natural religion than he has for revealed: for if he had been really a friend to one, it is not conceivable how he could become such an adversary to the other. Natural religion, justly so called, is bound up in revealed, is supported, cherished, and kept alive by it; and cannot so much as subsist in any vigour without it. To take away revealed religion from it, is to strip it of its firmest aids and strongest securities, leaving it in a very low and languishing state, without lights sufficient to explain it, or guards to fence it, or sanctions to bind it. This is what the author himself must be aware of, if he be a person of any reflection: and therefore there is great reason to suspect that his real design is as much against both as either, (since they stand or fall together,) and that his pretended favour for one, in opposition to the other, is only a decent cover for what could not handsomely be owned; lest the reader should be shocked at once, and the execrable attempt meet with all the odium and ignominy it deserves.

Natural religion does not want, does not desire to be so complimented, or so defended, at the expense of *revealed*; neither is it indeed defending it, but meanly betraying it. No thanks to such persons for commending what all the world admires, and what envy itself must praise. It is a tribute which the public voice demands, and which always must and will be paid to virtue. The very name of *virtue* has so awful a sound, and carries such majesty along with it, that even its bitterest adversaries are forced to pay a kind of awkward reverence and veneration to it.

But to return to the book I mentioned: there are two principal ends or aims which, though oddly blended and jumbled together, visibly run through the whole performance: one is to

vilify the holy Scriptures, which the author does very frankly, and without disguise, speaking from his heart; the other is to *magnify the law of nature*, which, as I have hinted, is the artificial part, and can pass for nothing else but hypocrisy and flattery. My design is only upon the *scriptural* part, to rescue the word of God from misrepresentation and censure, from the reproaches and blasphemies of foolish men. It is matter of melancholy consideration, that, after the unparalleled love of God shewn to mankind in our Saviour CHRIST, there should be men found so abandoned and profligate, as wilfully to shut their eyes against light and knowledge, (which is wholly unnatural,) nay and even to take a pride and pleasure in throwing him back his favours, and affronting him to his face. But let not any well-meaning Christians be shocked or scandalized at such things. It is foretold in the New Testament, that "there shall come in the last days scoffers^a." And as God permits Satan to walk "about, seeking whom he may devour^b," so he permits his agents and emissaries to do the same thing, for the trial, exercise, and improvement of honest and faithful men, "that they which are approved may be made manifest^c." There have been always men of corrupt minds, and there always will be: there was a Judas amongst the apostles themselves: there was a Simon Magus that withstood St. Peter, and "bewitched the people^d:" there was Elymas, a *sorcerer*, who withstood St. Paul and St. Barnabas, and made it his business "to turn away the Deputy from the faith^e;" there was Hymeneus and Philetus, that gave great disturbance to the Church of Christ, "and overthrew the faith of some^f:" and Alexander, joining with both the others, "did much evil^g" to the good Apostle Paul, obstructing the progress of the Gospel: and Diotrephes also, "loving to have the preeminence," was not afraid to set up against St. John himself, the only then surviving Apostle, but "prated against him with malicious wordsⁱ," and opposed his good and great designs.

These instances I take notice of, for the sake of common Christians; that they may not think it strange or new, that presumptuous men should take upon them to fly in the face of Heaven, and bid defiance to the undoubted truths of God.

^a 2 Pet. iii. 3.

^b 1 Pet. v. 8.

^c 1 Cor. xi. 19.

^d Acts viii. 9, 11.

^e Acts xiii. 8.

^f 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18.

^g 1 Tim. i. 20.

^h 2 Tim. iv. 14.

ⁱ 3 John 9, 10.

There is the less reason for being surprised at it, because it is certainly known with what views, and upon what motives, they generally do it: it is not for want of sufficient evidence of the truth of the Gospel, but it is because they do not relish it, it is too pure and perfect for them; they "love darkness rather than light," because their affections are corrupt, "because their deeds are evil^k." The best account which they themselves can give of it, whenever they speak their real sentiments (as they do in private letters to each other) is, that they intend "to save a soul from the dismal apprehensions of eternal damnation," or to relieve a person "from labouring under that uneasiness of mind which he often is under, when pleasure and Christianity come in competition^l." This is the whole secret of infidelity^m, the *noble* and *generous* aim which the writer I am now concerned with boasts of in his preface: it is to ease every libertine, if possible, of his just and well-grounded fears, and to steel his heart against a judgment to come. It is not to secure him against the danger of hell, (that is impracticable,) but it is to tell him how to fence, with subtillies or sophistries, against the *dismal apprehensions of it*: not to preserve him from it, but to lead him blindfold into it. This is the contrivance of our new teachers, their real and only aim, whatever masks they put on, or whatever shows and pretences they are pleased to make. It is to bring down the laws of God to the lusts and passions of corrupt man, and to find some pretext or other for taking off religious restraints, that they may be at liberty to follow their pleasures, and to do only what is right in their own eyes, instead of attending to the voice of God.

The author whose work I have now in hand, though he studiously disguises himself, and takes great pains to put fair glosses upon what he is doing, yet sometimes unawares discovers the very secrets of his heart. He gives broad hints in one placeⁿ, that he looks upon "incontinence in single persons" as one of the "rights and liberties which God has allowed by the law of nature:" and in another place^o he declares flatly

^k John iii. 19.

^l See Two Letters from a Deist to his Friend, p. 17, 19.

^m "I take it for granted, that there is *not one* unbeliever in whom several of these defects [viz. *immorality, pride, prejudice, stupidity, laziness,*] are not remarkable; and

"I take their own consciences to witness." *Le Clerc, Causes of Incredulity*, p. 108, 110.

ⁿ Christianity as Old &c. p. 119. Compare also p. 345, where the author speaks very mysteriously on the same subject.

^o Ibid. p. 342.

and plainly against our Lord's doctrine of "loving those that hate us," upon some weak and slender surmises of his own, which shall be considered in due time and place. I mention it now only to shew what the author is aiming at, namely, abatements and relaxations of the laws of Christ, to make them suit the better with corrupt nature. *Lust* and *malice* are very strong and impetuous passions, and where they take any deep root, will of course incline men to principles of *infidelity*. How far they have influenced our author, he best knows: but by his indecent slandering and reviling persons of the greatest worth, it is easy to perceive how much the black passions have got the ascendant over him. His reviling the *clergy* now signifies little; he has himself answered it. He has made it very plain, that it is their *profession*, and the *religion* they teach, which he has taken offence at: for, as occasion offers, he rails as much against the primitive *martyrs* and *fathers* of the Church; against *Apostles*, *Prophets*, and holy *Patriarchs*: but his keenest sarcasms and invectives, like Rabshakeh's and Julian's, are directly pointed at the *God of Israel*. This is so far frank and open; and though most false as to other particulars, yet gives us a true and just idea of the spirit and principles of the writer. His spleen and malice against the Bible appears to be very great, though his attacks are feeble, and his artillery contemptible. He discovers no genius nor taste of literature; no acquaintance with the original languages, nor so much as with common critics or commentators. Several of his objections are pure English objections, such as affect only our translation: and the rest are generally of the lowest and most trifling sort; either because he had a mind to suit them to the *vulgar* taste, or because he could rise no higher. But such as they are, they must be taken notice of and answered, lest they should have an ill effect upon the unlearned and unstable, and tend to lessen the reverence due to Scripture among common Christians. I proceed therefore to vindicate such Scripture texts as this author has abused or misrepresented, taking them in order, not as they lie in his book, but in Scripture itself, beginning with Genesis, and so on.

GENESIS.

GENESIS II. 19.

WHATSOEVER ADAM CALLED EVERY LIVING CREATURE, THAT WAS THE NAME THEREOF.

The objector hereupon says, " One would be almost apt to imagine that the author of the Book of Genesis thought that words had ideas naturally fixed to them, and not by consent ; otherwise, say they, how can we account for his supposing that God brought all animals before Adam, as soon as he was created, to give them names, and that the serpent and Eve, almost as soon as created, entertained one another in the same language^a ! "

The difficulty which the author here raises is very slight : for the case is plain ; God himself first gave names to some things^b, and he taught Adam to call those things by the same names : thus language began. Afterwards God permitted or ordered Adam to give names to animals ; and accordingly Adam did so^c : which was no more than making use of that faculty of reason and of speech, which God had endowed him with. Adam had ideas of the animals brought to him before he named them : and so this author may please to observe, that ideas were not naturally fixed to words, because words were not naturally fixed to ideas. Ideas were antecedent to words ; but words by appointment and consent became the signs or outward expressions of ideas. After Adam had thus got words, partly from God and partly from his own ingenuity, Eve came next, and learned the same language from her husband : and no doubt but

^a Christianity as Old &c. p. 254. ^b Gen. i. 5, 8, 10. ^c Gen. ii. 19, 20.

he and she together invented more words, and enriched the language. How long this affair was transacting is no where declared. Let it be a month, a week, or a day, the longer it was a doing, the more natural was the effect; or if it took less time, then it was the more miraculous: but either way the pretended difficulty is sufficiently obviated. There remains only the serpent's talking to be accounted for. That serpent, as we have abundant reason to assert, was the *Devil* possessing and actuating a real serpent: a wicked spirit was the inward agent, and a serpent the outward organ. Upon this supposition, there appears no just objection against the serpent's entertaining Eve in her own language. If the Objector will undertake to prove, either that the Devil had not himself time enough to learn the language, or that he had not power sufficient to form articulate sounds, making use of a serpent as the instrument of conveying them, he will then do something to the purpose. But we shall have more of what concerns *Eve* and the *serpent* in what is to follow.

GENESIS III. 1.

NOW THE SERPENT WAS MORE SUTIL THAN ANY BEAST OF THE FIELD WHICH THE LORD GOD HAD MADE: AND HE SAID UNTO THE WOMAN, &c.

The Objector asks, ^d "How can we conceive a serpent could talk to Eve, and delude the mother of mankind, when in the high state of perfection; even though the Apostle says, THE SERPENT DECEIVED EVE BY HIS SUTILTY^e:" so it seems, that neither Moses nor St. Paul have any credit with this writer; but upon some very weak and slender suspicions, he points his satire against both. But why might not a serpent, being directed, managed, and actuated by the Devil, talk with Eve, and delude her? There is nothing absurd, or so much as improbable, in the supposition. Moses related the fact as it appeared in the outward instrument: he had no occasion to say any thing of the inward agent. As to St. Paul, why might he not say, that THE SERPENT (meaning the *old serpent*, namely, THE DEVIL AND SATAN^f) DECEIVED EVE BY HIS SUTILTY? the Devil, acting in and by a serpent, did it; and therefore it is, that St. Paul gives him the name of *serpent*, as St. John does also.

^d Christianity as Old &c. p. 253.

^e 2 Cor. xi. 3.

^f Rev. xii. 9. xx. 2. Compare John viii. 44. Wisd. ii. 24.

The Objector is further "at a loss to conceive, how Eve could entertain a conference with a serpent," (incapable of human voice,) "even before consent had given any meaning to sounds." These objections are stale and trivial, and have been answered a hundred times over; though it is easy for men that know little of Scripture or theology to be "at a loss to conceive" common things. But to the point. As to a serpent's being incapable of human voice, which was the mean objection of the apostate ^h Julian, it has been already obviated. The serpent was not capable of it by himself; but the Devil was capable of speaking by or through him. The other part of the Objection has been also obviated before: and as the Objector knows nothing of the chronology of that affair, so neither can he give any reason to persuade us, that Eve had not had time enough to learn as much language as she had need of.

The Objectorⁱ adds, that the "Christians are now ashamed of the literal interpretation of this story." If he means, that they reject the notion of a mere serpent's doing all that is there told, his report may be true: but if he means, that Christians do not admit that any serpent at all was concerned in it, I suppose it may pass for a calumny. There was a *real* serpent actuated; and there was also Satan actuating. Christian interpreters with good reason assert both ^k; and do thereby obviate all pretended difficulties. What the author therefore urges in page 387, against such as do not admit a real serpent in the case, as well as the Devil, is only so much impertinence. He asks, ^l "Whether it was the Devil that is said to be more subtil than any beast of the field?" No; it was the serpent. And because the serpent was more remarkably *subtil*^m, he was the fittest emblem of Satan's subtilty: and he was also the properest instrument for the tempter to make choice of to deceive by; since the apprehension Eve had of his *subtilty*, might make her the less surprised at the hearing him reason and discourse with her. The tempter therefore chose the serpent as his instrument to work by, as his cover to conceal his fraud; because he might more easily impose upon her under that disguise than in any other.

^g Christianity as Old &c. p. 385.

^h Cyrill. contra Julian. p. 86. edit. Spanh.

ⁱ Christianity as Old &c. p. 386.

^k Pfeiffer. Dub. Vexat. p. 22.

^l Christianity as Old &c. p. 387.

^m Of the *subtilty* of serpents, see Bochart, Oper. tom. i. 838, 846, &c. tom. ii. 28, &c.

What kind of serpent it was, or how beautiful a creature, I take not upon me to say: neither do I much incline to the opinion of some very worthy and learned persons, who have thought that the serpent was so like a *seraph*, that Eve mistook it for a good angel. For while that hypothesis tends to shew how easy it was, by such an angelic form, to deceive Eve, it seems to me to make it too easy, and to push the point too far towards the other extreme, so as almost to render the deception inevitable. Besides, had that been the case, she could not, one would think, have failed to have pleaded it in her excuse afterwards: whereas she had nothing to plead, but that "the serpent had beguiled herⁿ." She very well knew, then at least, that it was a serpent, and gives not the least hint that she had ever suspected any other. It is natural enough to suppose, that, for want of longer time and experience, she might not know whether the brute creatures were any of them capable of reason and speech^o, or being taken at a disadvantage, and under a sudden surprise, might not stay to consider of it. It is an article of aggravation against her, that she so easily submitted to the persuasion of a creature much inferior to herself, and which, however plausibly he talked, might be presumed to know less of the important question in debate than she did. Let the fatal example be a warning to others, how they listen to sophistry in opposition to Divine truths: for though the tempter, since that time, has no more made use of serpents in such a way, as he has had no such occasion, yet he has other instruments proper to work with, and often does the same thing by the tongues or pens of serpentine men. But to return.

The Objector "thinks the matter not a jot mended, by substituting a devil" (so he crudely or crossly expresses it) "instead of a serpent; since he cannot see, how an infinitely good God could permit a most malicious cunning spirit to work on the weakness of a woman, just placed in a new world, without interposing in this unequal conflict, or giving notice of any such wicked spirit: angels, neither good nor bad, being mentioned in the history of the creation^p." Now as to what the author *cannot see*, if he wants spectacles to look into the depths of the Divine counsels and government, we can help him

ⁿ Gen. iii. 13.

^o See Cyrill. contra Julian. p. 86.
Bochart. vol. i. p. 843. Natal. Alex-

and. Hist. Eccl. vol. i. p. 70. Conf.
Pfeiffer, p. 23.

^p Christianity as Old &c. p. 388.

to no such : but by that light of *reason* which God has given him, and which he often boasts of, he may see enough to learn *modesty* in such high things. God, who endowed the first pair with a liberty of choice, and strength also sufficient to withstand temptations, he knew how far it was both wise and proper to suffer them to be tempted. There was no occasion for telling them of *angels*, good or bad : they had received a plain command from God himself, and it was their duty to obey. If they did not know *who* it was that tempted them, yet they very well knew *what* he tempted them to ; and that if an angel from heaven, speaking in his own name, and without authority from God, had endeavoured to persuade them, in that case they ought to have resisted ; because nothing but the same Divine authority which gave the law, could either repeal it or dispense with it. However, God was pleased to lay no such stumblingblock before them : he considered their weakness, and their want of experience, and their being so lately brought into a new world : and therefore he tried them only by a “beast of the field,” and by such sophistry as the tempter could convey through that channel ; that the quality of the speaker should by no means serve to recommend his rhetoric. To such persuasion, that is, to false pretences and false views, with all their reason and understanding about them, they yielded ; against the express command of God, lately received, and yet fresh and strong upon their minds. Who does not see how kind and indulgent God was in the whole proceeding, and how much to blame they ? Nevertheless, I must insist upon it, that it is not necessary for us to account *a priori* in such cases for the Divine conduct, which we are not competent judges of⁹. It is sufficient, that he who made man, best knew what was in man, and how far it was reasonable he should be tried. Virtue is proved and perfected by trials : so far we know. And we know also, that the brightest human virtue may be shocked or overcome by some kind of trials ; especially if often repeated, or of long continuance. But the security we have to rest on is this, that God will not suffer honest men to be tempted above what they are *able* ; and he knows their *abilities*. Whenever men yield too far, so as to offend God, he is offended only because they were able to have held out longer, and did not ; or because they might have done better, and would not. These are true and certain principles to stand upon, and these

⁹ See Tertullian on this head, contr. Marc. lib. ii. c. 5.

are sufficient. But to inquire further into every particular of the Divine conduct, and to demand a reason *a priori*, why he permits wicked spirits to range about, *deceiving mankind*; why he does not interpose to drive them away, chain them up, *deprive them of being*, or the like; this is presuming too far, forgetting our distance, and making too familiar with an all-wise Governor of the world. At the best, it is vain curiosity and impertinent cavilling.

The Objector has some other slighter cavils against the history of the fall, which may be despatched in fewer words. He thinks it "would be unworthy of God to talk to a serpent^r." He does not consider, that it was in the hearing of man, and for the use of man^s. Besides, that in the visible serpent was contained an invisible fiend, seen only by God: and God, in cursing one, laid a curse upon both. That is to say, the words of the curse have both a *literal* and a *mystical* intendment; as is well known to Divines, and has been often proved^t. The Objector is offended, that God should "cause *mankind* to fall by the folly of Adam, "which infinite wisdom could not but foresee^u." This again is going out of his sphere, to pass a crude censure upon the unsearchable counsels, works, and ways of God. We have not *data* to go upon in such cases: we cannot look through the Divine dispensations from end to end; otherwise we should perceive marvellous wisdom in every part, and should discern the admirable beauty, harmony, and perfection of the whole. The governing of moral agents in a way suitable to their liberty, and to God's unspotted holiness, wisdom, and purity, is one of the finest and most mysterious parts of the Divine conduct; and will be the admiration both of men and angels to all eternity.

The Objector further asks^x, "What dignity, what perfection could Adam's nature have, that the nature of his posterity has "not?" To which I answer, that Adam had dignity and perfection, both natural and supernatural, which his posterity, as such, have not. He was *naturally* less prone to evil, less subject to sinful appetites, though capable of sinning: and he was *supernaturally* vested with great clearness of understanding as to Divine things, and rectitude of will, and immortality so far as to be under no sentence of death, no necessity of dying. The Ob-

^r Christianity as Old &c. p. 253.

^s Bochart. Oper. vol. i. p. 850.

^t See Bochart, vol. i. p. 852. Nat.

Alexand. vol. i. p. 71. Pfeiffer, p. 27.

^u Christianity as Old &c. p. 389.

^x Ibid.

jector next asks, whether Adam's descendants "are not as much framed after the image of their Maker?" No, not after the same perfection of that image as Adam was, in point of *rectitude* and *immortality*; though in other respects, or in a lower degree, all men are framed after the image of God. Some other more trifling questions of the author, in page 389, I pass over: and if the reader is disposed to look deeper into the *state of man before the fall*, I refer him to an excellent discourse, professedly upon that subject, written by the incomparably learned and judicious Bishop Bull.

The two principal doctrines which Bishop Bull there maintains are as follows:

1. "That Paradise was to Adam a type of heaven; and that the never-ending life of happiness promised to our first parents, if they had continued obedient, and grown up to perfection under that economy wherein they were placed, should not have been continued in the earthly Paradise, but only have commenced there, and been perpetuated in a higher state: that is to say, after such trial of their obedience, as should seem sufficient to the Divine wisdom, they should have been translated from earth to heaven."

2. "That our first parents, besides the seeds of *natural virtue* and religion, sown in their minds in the very creation; and besides the *natural innocence* and rectitude wherein also they were created; were endowed with certain gifts and *powers supernatural*, infused by the Spirit of God; and that in these gifts their *perfection* consisted."

GENESIS III. 6.

THE WOMAN SAW THAT THE TREE WAS GOOD FOR FOOD, &c.

Here the Objector "desires to be informed, how Eve, before her eyes were opened, saw," &c. To which the obvious answer is, that her eyes were opened from the first to see the forbidden fruit, but they were not open to see or to perceive her shame and misery, till afterwards. No one that knows the latitude of the phrase of *opening the eyes*, and how variously it is used in Scripture^z, would ever have offered this poor objection. The Objector's eyes were open to write this pernicious libel against religion; but his eyes are not yet opened to see the folly of doing it, nor perhaps ever will be, as long as he lives.

^y Bull's Opera Posth. vol. iv. disc. 5. p. 1065, &c.
in loc. Nicholls's Confer. p. 129.

^z See Le Clerc

GENESIS III. 7.

AND THE EYES OF THEM BOTH WERE OPENED, AND THEY KNEW THAT THEY WERE NAKED, &c. The Objector asks, "Why, though custom has made it shameful to go without clothes, in those places where clothes are worn, the first pair should nevertheless, though they knew not what clothes were, be ashamed to be seen unclothed by one another, and by God himself?" But is he sure that there is nothing but chance or custom in this matter? How came that shame to be so universal, if it were not natural? There is no account to be given of it from the nature of the thing itself: for why should a man be ashamed of any thing but vice? Yet so strong is that passion in mankind, that none but the most impudent wretches, with much striving, have been able to break through it. The text does not say, as this author pretends, that Adam and Eve were ashamed to be seen unclothed by one another; neither is there any necessity of supposing it. It is observed by Moses, that they "hid themselves," not from one another, but "from the presence of the Lord God^a:" and the reason is intimated, because they were *naked*^b. It seems, that they were struck with the consciousness of their nakedness, and the impression of shame following it, immediately upon their transgression: but the shame they had upon them was more upon account of the presence of God than of each other's. And though the author may think it strange, that any one should be ashamed of nakedness in the presence of God only, yet he does not consider the difference between a *visible* and an *invisible* presence; nor how one is apt to strike any person more than the other. The presence of God in that *visible* manner, wherein he was then pleased to appear, had the same effect upon them, as any strange or awful company has been apt to have upon mankind in such cases ever since. God impressed it upon them then as part of their punishment, and has left the like shame upon their posterity ever since, for a perpetual memorial of it.

But the Objector makes himself diversion about their *sewing* fig-leaves together for aprons: "having, it seems," (says he with a sneer,) "all things necessary for sewing^c." I apprehend what he means: they wanted *needle* and *thread*, and perhaps *thimble* too. It is a stale objection borrowed from Burnet or Blount^d,

^a Gen. iii. 8.

^b Gen. iii. 10.

^d Burnet's Archæolog. p. 293.

^c Christianity as Old &c. p. 385.

Blount's Oracles of Reason, p. 44.

and taken notice of at large by Dr. Nicholls^e, though hardly deserving to have such honour done it. However, there is no necessity of saying that they *sowed* fig-leaves together; another rendering would quite disable the objection. It might as well have been said, *tacked* together: but then he would ask, no doubt, how they came by *tacks*, before *smiths* were in being? Well, to cut off all cavils at once, we will say *fastened* or *joined* together, (for that the original word will very well bear,) and then the sarcasm is lost, and the jester disappointed.

GENESIS III. 8.

THEY HEARD THE VOICE OF THE LORD GOD WALKING IN THE GARDEN IN THE COOL OF THE DAY. The Objector thinks this a "strange representation of God^f." Yes; if it be taken literally of God's walking as a man walks: but he must be next to an idiot that can so understand it. God can choose what symbol of his presence he pleases; and a *human* form, as well as any other. But if the author's delicacy is offended at that, he may understand the words not of *God's* walking, but of the *voice* walking; that is, going forth, approaching, or the like.

GENESIS III. 21.

The Objector, upon this text, has a fling at what is said of God's making them coats. "Coats," says he, "of the skins of "beasts newly created in pairs^h:" as if the thing could not have been done without destroying a whole species. But how does he know that no more than a pair of every sort was at first created? Or supposing it so, how knows he that the beasts had not multiplied before the time when God taught Adam and Eve to make coats of skins? I forbear to say more, because the objection is stale and trite, taken up from Burnet and Blountⁱ, and it has been answered at large by Dr. Nicholls^k, to whom I have nothing to add.

GENESIS VI. 6.

AND IT REPENTED THE LORD, THAT HE HAD MADE MAN UPON THE EARTH, AND IT GRIEVED HIM AT HIS HEART. Offence is here taken

^e Nicholls's Conference with a Theist, p. 130.

^f Christianity as Old &c. p. 385.

^g See Bishop Patrick and Le Clerc in loc. The same verb, in *hithpael*, is used of *arrows*, Peal. lxxvii. 17. and is there rendered, *went abroad*; and seems to be meant of the *thunder*.

However, certain it is from that place alone, that the verb, in this conjugation, is not always applied to a *person*.

^h Christianity as Old &c. p. 386.

ⁱ Burnet's Archæol. p. 293. Blount, p. 44.

^k Nicholls's Confer. p. 131.

at the expression, by our over nice gentleman, who thus descants upon it¹: “In what a number of places is God said to try “ people; and yet notwithstanding this caution, how often is he “ said to repent! Does he not even repent of the first action he “ did in relation to man? Nay, does not the Scripture suppose, “ he has so often repented, that he is weary of repenting?” It is very true that the Scripture does *say* these things; and it is no less true, that the Scripture *means* no such thing by them, as this gentleman would insinuate. There is not a commentator of any note, but what would have set him right in this matter, had he pleased to be at the pains to learn, before he had set up to teach. God is unchangeable, and *repenteth* not in a strict and proper sense; but when he undoes what he has before done, or changes his first measures, as circumstances require, he is said to *repent*^m or grieve, by a figure taken from the manner of men, who, in such cases, do really repent and grieve. God accommodates his phrases to the language of men, in order to be the better understood by men, and also to render his expressions more pathetic, lively, and affecting. There is great use in it, and no harm can come by it, while the hearer or reader has any tolerable measure of common sense.

The Objector perhaps will reply, that then this is interpreting Scripture by *reason*. It is so, and by *Scripture* too, which in other places declares that God “ does not repentⁿ,” and that his words are not “ yea and nay^o.” And what if Scripture must be interpreted by *reason*, that is, *reasonably* interpreted, as every book should? Is Scripture therefore useless, because reason should go along with it, as with every thing else? Or is *reason alone* sufficient without Scripture? No; no more than *eyes alone* are sufficient without light to see by, or objects to look upon. Reason, the eye of the mind, looks into as many things as are set before it, and appear with sufficient lustre: but if either the objects be few or the light dim, reason alone can be of very little service. We interpret those texts about God’s *repenting*, by reason: but by reason alone we should have known nothing of the facts themselves of God’s *repenting*, nor of a thousand others revealed in Scripture. Great is the light which Scripture brings; and not the less for supposing such light to shine upon

¹ Christianity as Old &c. p. 251.

^m See St. Austin contra Adversarium Leg. et Prophet. lib. i. cap. 40.

p. 573.

ⁿ Numb. xxiii. 19. 1 Sam. xv. 29.
^o 2 Cor. i. 19, 20.

rational creatures capable of perceiving it. But I beg my reader's pardon, for striking thus far into the argumentative part of the book, when the Scriptural part only is my professed province; to which I now return.

GENESIS VIII. 21.

THE LORD SMELLED A SWEET SAVOUR: namely, after Noah had offered burnt offerings upon the altar; as is related in the verse preceding. Our author takes himself to be facetious, when he banters such expressions in the person of the heathen Jupiter; designing it equally against the *God of Israel*, as appears by the turn of his argument, and his manner of expression, and his printing the words in *Italic*, to be the more taken notice of. He expresses his wonder, "that the stench of burnt flesh should be such a *sweet smelling savour in his nostrils*, as to atone for the wickedness of men:" and he thinks it a gross conception of God, "that he should be delighted with the butchering of innocent animals." He goes on: "If the Pagans" (say Jews, and the argument is the same) "believed beasts were not given them for food, why did they eat them? Or if they thought they were, why did they ungratefully throw back the gifts of God on the donor? Or why did they not drown or bury them, rather than make such a stench in burning them, as many times, by the number of sacrifices, might infect the very air?" Contemptible droll! thus to play his buffoonery against the Most High, and to oppose his own dreams to the wisdom of Heaven. Sacrifices of animals began soon after the fall, by God's allowance, yea, by God's appointment; since otherwise no just account of its commencing, that I know of, can be given. Whatever other ends and uses there were of animal sacrifices, one very great one we are sure of, viz. to typify the sacrifice of Christ^q, the Lamb of God that was to be slain for the sins of the world. These facts we learn from the holy Scripture. And as to Pagan sacrifices, they serve to confirm it; since no just account can be given of those sacrifices prevailing so universally in the heathen world, but that the practice was handed down from the sons of Noah, of whom the whole earth was peopled. These facts are plain, certain, and well attested: and we must expect some very considerable and

^p Christianity as Old &c. p. 91.

^q See Outram de Sacrificiis, lib. i. cap. 18. p. 209, &c.

weighty arguments from any man that shall presume to call them in question. Yet what has this trifler to produce, that can bear so much as the face of an argument? Let us take his pretences to pieces in their order.

1. He endeavours to suggest a false idea of the thing, as if the "stench of burnt flesh were a sweet smelling savour in his "nostrils;" where the argument lies only in the grossness of the idea, raised at the expense of truth, and the seeming coarseness of the expression. Indeed God is said to have "smelled a "sweet savour;" which is an expression used in great condescension to human thoughts and human language, and is intended to signify, that God was pleased with the piety and devout services of Noah and others, sacrificing to him from a pure heart, as men are wont to be pleased with sweet odours. A comparison taken from things human serves, in some measure, to illustrate things divine: and though it is not exact, as none can be exact, yet it helps to convey a more lively and more affecting idea of the thing, than could be given without it. "A sweet smelling savour" is St. Paul's phrase in the New Testament also; where Christ is said to have GIVEN HIMSELF FOR US, AN OFFERING AND A SACRIFICE TO GOD, FOR A SWEET SMELLING SAVOUR^r. The metaphor is just and elegant: and none but a half-witted reader can understand it in a gross sense, or take offence at it.

2. His second cavil against sacrifices is, that "God should "be delighted with the butchering of innocent animals." No; he is not delighted with *bulls' flesh*, nor with the *blood of goats*: but he was pleased with the obedience and devotion shewn in the Jewish sacrifices^s; and he accepted the sacrifices themselves, as typifying the all-sufficient sacrifice of Christ. The more *innocent* the animals, the fitter to represent that Lamb of God, who was perfect innocence, WHO DID NO SIN, NEITHER WAS GUILT FOUND IN HIS MOUTH^t. But however innocent the animals were, I suppose no question can be made, but God, who has destined most of them for slaughter, to be for food to man, might command their lives when he pleased, for much higher uses. We that know and believe Scripture, know this, and can give a just and rational account of the practice: but since this writer speaks of "butchering of innocent animals," we might

^r Eph. v. 2.

^s Vid. Tertull. adv. Marc. lib. ii.

cap. 22. p. 392, 393.

^t 1 Pet. ii. 22.

desire to know by what right or authority he and his fraternity do it? They have been publicly challenged^u to make good their claim to animal food; and have never yet cleared their title. The priests and people both among the Jews could eat flesh, and could shew their warrant for it: but the Deists, so far as I perceive, could never yet shew theirs: for which reason, it might have become this writer's modesty to have been silent on that head. But to proceed.

3. The third and principal argument against sacrifices is the "stench," which, it seems, "might infect the very air." But is the smell of *roast meat* so very noisome, when the eating of it was so wholesome, and so delicious too, that he even envies the *priests* the share they had in it^x? I say, their *share*; for this author betrays his ignorance, in imagining that they had the *whole*, and the people none. He might have learned better from two considerable writers^y, who had corrected that blunder, which had long passed current among his friends. As to his account of the first beginning of sacrifices, p. 92, it deserves no consideration, because it is making history out of his own head, and is nothing else but telling us his dreams. So credulous a creature is an infidel: no romance or legend can carry any thing so improbable, as what passes with these men into serious belief. But I proceed.

GENESIS IX. 13.

I DO SET MY BOW IN THE CLOUD, AND IT SHALL BE FOR A TOKEN OF A COVENANT BETWEEN ME AND THE EARTH. The Objector's candid and mannerly remark on this passage is; "Perhaps the author's not knowing the natural cause of the rainbow occasioned that account we have in Genesis of its institution^z." And what does this gentleman himself know of it, that should give him a handle for this mean reflection? It has been a disputed point, whether there was any rainbow before the flood. As the appearance of the rainbow is made by the refracted and reflected sunbeams from the falling drops of small roscid rain; and as there were both sun and rains before the flood, it should seem that the same natural causes then, should produce the

^u Reynolds's Three Letters to the Deist, Letter I.

^x See Christianity as Old &c. p. 92.

^y Nicholls's Conf. vol. i. p. 147. Phileleuth. Lips. part i. p. 26.

^z Christianity as Old &c. p. 254.

same natural effect as now. And so indeed they infallibly must have done, were it certain that the disposition of the air, clouds, and rains, was the same, and that nothing interposed to hinder the effect. But as it is no unreasonable supposition, that God might before the flood, by the interposition of clouds or otherwise, constantly do what he often does now, to prevent the appearing of any rainbow; so it is far from certain, that there ever was such an appearance, before God appointed it for a sign.

But supposing that there was a rainbow before the flood, yet as it is a natural sign of fair weather approaching, (since the sun must shine upon the falling rain, and the clouds also must be thin when it appears,) it was very proper to choose it for the appointed token of the covenant, and to make that the memorial of the promise; that so as often as men should see the rainbow, they might remember that God had given them such a promise, and that his infallible word should be their sufficient security. A mere promise, though recorded and written down for the use of posterity, would not be so effectual to the end designed, as the same promise with a visible sign annexed to it, that the sight of one should constantly bring to mind a sense of the other. If it had been said, as sure as the moon shall wax and wane, or as the sea shall ebb and flow, so sure is it that the earth shall never more be drowned with a flood, even that would have been more useful and more affecting than a bare promise; because then every *change* or *tide* would have been a memorial of the promise. But when another sign is chosen, which has itself also some natural significancy in it to foretell fair weather, and no sudden great rains; this shews the wisdom of the Divine appointment, and a thorough insight also into natural causes and effects^a.

If it be objected, as indeed it has been^b, that it would be but poor comfort to Noah and his posterity to see the rainbow, if such a thing had ever appeared before the flood, because a deluge followed notwithstanding; with submission, I take such reasoning to be wrong: for it supposes the comfort to lie merely

^a Id vero indicium eo potissimum elegit Deus, quia signum fit naturale. Nam non fit iris in nube admodum densa, sed rorante; neque fit si et adversa sit nubes, quia sic sol non possit radios mittere in nubem oppo-

sitam. Atqui ad diluvium universale requirantur nubes densæ, et totum cælum obducentes. *Gerhard. Voss. de Idololatr.* p. 290. *Oper.* tom. v.

^b See Patrick in loc.

in the sight of the rainbow, and not in the sense of the promise. A rainbow could be no comfort to them that lived before the flood, because no such promise had been given them; and it could not naturally prove that there never might be an universal deluge. But since it has been made the sign or token of the promise, and reminds us of that promise, which is an infallible security to as many as believe the Scripture, there is undoubtedly all imaginable comfort in it. What the sight of the rainbow wants, the sense of the promise, renewed by it, supplies. Upon the whole, therefore, I do not think it at all necessary to inquire, whether there was or was not any rainbow before the flood. Be that as it will, the Divine wisdom, in appointing the rainbow as a sign and a memorial of his most gracious promise to mankind, is very apparent upon either supposition: and this Objector's cavils are very wide of the point^c.

GENESIS XI. 7.

GO TO, LET US GO DOWN, AND THERE CONFOUND THEIR LANGUAGE, THAT THEY MAY NOT UNDERSTAND ONE ANOTHER'S SPEECH. The Objector is here pleased to say, "Some think that this author "did not know the reason of the necessary variety of language "upon the increase of mankind^d." But they that think so, if they had any discretion, would keep such thoughts to themselves. For what sense is there in pretending, that because in several hundred years time there might or must have been a variety of language, therefore also there must have been the like variety in one hundred, or a very little more? As much as to say, because there has been a considerable variety in the English language since the time of Richard the Second or Henry the Fourth, therefore there has been the like since the reign of James or Charles the First. And yet there has been a good deal of foreign mixture among Englishmen in the last hundred years; and there could be none at all among the builders of Babel, from the time of the flood. Certainly they might have understood each other's language, as well at least as we now understand the English of Charles the First's time. But from Moses's account, it is certain they did not: and Moses, a wise man, and an inspired writer, resolves so marvellous a thing into the extraordinary interposal of the Divine hand, the immediate work of God.

^c See Saurin. Dissert. ix. p. 70.

^d Christianity as Old &c. p. 254.

If the Objector thinks that Moses, or some other author of the Pentateuch, invented the whole story, only to account for the variety of languages observable in his own time; he may think so, if he pleases, without any reason, or colour of reason for it. But Moses, in that place, is not accounting so much for the variety of languages, (which was a trifle in comparison,) as for the quick dispersion of the sons of Noah over the face of the earth^e, to which the confusion of tongues led. And what if such variety in language might or must have ensued naturally in a course of years or ages, upon the *increase* and *dispersion* of mankind, (which however is a disputable point^f;) yet it was God's will to accelerate their dispersion^g by confounding their language, and not to wait till they should slowly and leisurely disperse of themselves. Thorns and briers were springing up every where, woods and thickets spreading themselves around, wild beasts increasing; and all this while the sons of Noah gathering together in a cluster, and designing to continue so, instead of dispersing, to replenish and cultivate the earth^h. God would not bear their loitering at such a juncture, but interposed miraculously; and by confounding their language, confounded their ill-contrived projects, and despatched them away, as he designed, to remote and distant quarters. What is there in this account that should so offend our Objector, to make him run riot against Moses? Or when will he give us a better *rationale* of the quick dispersion of mankind, than Scripture has thus done to our handsⁱ?

GENESIS XII. 13.

SAY, I PRAY THEE, THOU ART MY SISTER, &c. Our censorious gentleman, who out of his great *benevolence* towards mankind takes a particular pleasure in aspersing and blackening the best of the race, is here pleased to throw out his flouts upon the holy

^e Gen. x. 25—32. See Perizon. Orig. Bab. cap. xiv. p. 280. Schroeer. Imper. Babyl. p. 49.

^f See Stillingfleet, vol. ii. p. 263. But Dr. Wooton has with more particular care and accuracy discussed the question, in his *Dissertatio de Confusione Linguarum Babylonica*, printed in Chamberlayne's Collection of the copies of the Lord's Prayer in divers languages, p. 37, &c. And after both these, see a late pamphlet,

entitled, *Remarks on a Letter to Dr. W. in Relation to the natural Account of Languages*. Cambridge, 1731.

^g Vide Johan. Marckii Exercit. I. in Vet. Test. p. 61.

^h See Cumberland, Orig. Antiq. 159.

ⁱ See this article further vindicated against the Letter Writer, in a pamphlet, entitled, *A Reply to the Letter to Dr. W. London, for J. Watts, 1731.*

Patriarch Abraham. He begins thus^k: "Does not the Scripture give many instances of inspired persons, as much governed by their passions as uninspired?" No; not altogether *so much*, though perhaps in some degree. For who does not observe, at first sight, a manifest difference between David, though set in the worst light, and Shimei his reviler? Or between the holy men of the Old Testament or New, and those that maliciously defame them, and take pleasure in doing it? One of the cases is *pitiable*, while the other is *odious*. It is not necessary to assert, that the holiest that ever lived (one only excepted) were exempt from sin; for none of them were so: but yet it may be proper, for their honour, and for the honour of religion, to vindicate them against those malevolent detractors, who lay to their charge sins that they knew not. The Objector goes on to impeach in form. "Was not Abraham, though a prophet, and so dear to God that he would not destroy a neighbouring town without acquainting him with it, guilty of an incestuous marriage; his wife being his sister by the father's side?" That is to say, as much as Lot was Abraham's brother; for so he is called^l, though really his nephew: and Sarah, most probably, was Lot's sister, that is, Abraham's niece. This gentleman perhaps does not know that the names of *brother* and *sister*, in Scripture language, often mean no more than cousins or kinsfolks. Isaac, in the like circumstances with Abraham, called Rebecca his *sister*^m, who was only his *cousin*. And so Sarah was Abraham's sister, that is, his niece; her father being Abraham's *half-brother*, or brother by the father's side. Sarai, in all probability, was the daughter of Haranⁿ, Abraham's half-brother; and therefore the marriage of Abraham with Sarai was not so *incestuous* as this gentleman imagines.

But suppose the fact to be as he reports it, could he find out

^k Christianity as Old &c. p. 243.

^l Gen. xiii. 8. xiv. 16.

^m Gen. xxvi. 7.

ⁿ Gen. xi. 29. That *Israh* is another name for *Sarai* is generally allowed by the most judicious commentators and critics, both Jews and Christians. And it is observable, that in ver. 31. Sarai is not called Terah's daughter, but his *daughter-in-law*, as married to his son. Should she not rather have been called by the nearer alliance, had she really

been Terah's own daughter? Mr. Bayle, in his Dictionary, in the article *Sarah*, throws together many slight reasons, for want of one good one, to prove that Sarah was strictly Abraham's sister: as if reasons were to be *numbered* rather than *weighed*. Her heathen name probably was *Israh*: and upon her conversion she was called *Sarai*; and afterwards, for special reasons, *Sarah*. See *Hyde's Relig. vet. Persar.* p. 80. Conf. Witsii *Ægypt.* p. 99.

no kind excuse for Abraham, rather than charge it upon him as an article of *guilt*, and as a symptom of his being *governed by his passions*? He can be more favourable in his censure, when he has not some *friend of God* to throw dirt upon. This may appear by what he says upon the general case of *incest*, in another part of his book. “^o What we call incest, is now, for many good reasons, not to be allowed of; yet it was a duty in the children of Adam and Eve. And if the nearest of kin were now thrown on a desert island, I see no reason but that they might act as the first born pair did.” So mild a casuist is this gentleman upon the general case. Might he not therefore have put on the same good humour and candour for Abraham’s sake? It was but supposing some very particular circumstances obliging Abraham, as matters then stood, to marry his half-sister, and the necessity of the case would have acquitted him of the guilt of *incest*, by the author’s own principles. Certain it is, that in those early ages of the world, the rules about marrying with their kindred were not so strict, neither was there any reason that they should^q. The prohibited degrees came not to be minutely laid down, till the Levitical Law commenced; which has been the standard ever since, to those that admit Divine revelation. Otherwise it would be difficult to form a rule from the principles of reason only, that would not be liable to much dispute, especially as to the more remote degrees.

But the Objector has not yet done with Abraham: he goes on thus, rising in his scurrilities, and growing up to profaneness. “Did he not endeavour to betray her (Sarah’s) chastity to two kings, in disowning her to be his wife; by which conduct, he got from one of them, who entreated him well for her sake, men and maid servants, sheep, oxen, asses, and camels; and from the other, a thousand pieces of silver, besides sheep, oxen, men and women servants^q?” Heavy charges these: but let us consider whether there be not some flaw in the evidence. The first article is, that “Abraham disowned her to be his wife.” Now, I think, *disowning* is as much as *denying* her to be his wife: when did Abraham so? He said not that she was his wife, nor that she was not; he spoke the truth in calling her his sister, or kinswoman; but not the whole truth, because she was

^o Christianity as Old &c. p. 345.

^q Christianity as Old &c. p. 243.

^p Vide Selden de Jure Nat. et Gent. compare 226, 229.
lib. v. cap. 9.

that and more. He concealed what was proper, but said what was true. Had the Objector been as cautious, he had spared this part of the charge.

Mr. Bayle, in the same article, *Sarah*, employs all his wit to make Abraham and Sarah in that instance two liars; and puts cases where persons are obliged to tell the *whole* truth, as parallel to a case where they were not obliged to it, or rather were obliged to conceal *part*, for the preventing the ill consequences that might follow from declaring the *whole*. His pretence that Pharaoh and Abimelech, as "kings of the country," had a right to know the whole truth, is false and sophistical: for they were neither of them to be considered, in that case, as magistrates or judges, sitting upon the seat of justice, but as *ravishers*, invading what did not belong to them on any supposition. And had such men as those a right to the *whole* truth, especially when *murder* might be the issue of it? Certainly, it was sufficient not to tell them an *untruth*, and to conceal as much as possible, consistently with *truth*. It is granted, that in many other cases, such a kind of concealing part, or a principal part, would be iniquity; not because it is *lying*, but because it may draw innocent persons into a snare, to their damage or prejudice. But when it is to prevent a greater evil than can be feared the other way, the case is widely different: so the resolution of this question depends upon the circumstances.

2. The second article of impeachment is, that the good Patriarch *betrayed* his wife's *chastity* to two kings. Better so, without further hurt, than to have betrayed her chastity and his own life too; and to bring upon the kings, or one of them, the guilt both of *adultery* and *murder*. But how was it *betraying* her chastity at all? Her chastity was as safe in that way as it could be in any. Abraham could trust to her *virtue* against any thing but *force*; and *good* men would not force even a *single* woman. But if the kings should prove *wicked* men, they would not spare her the sooner for her being a *wife*. I say then, that Abraham did not betray her chastity, supposing he had *good* men to deal with. But if we suppose the contrary, he would then have betrayed her chastity as much in owning her to be his wife, and would besides have very needlessly exposed his own life, and brought blood-guiltiness upon the land. If it be said that Sarah, at least, must at length have discovered herself to be Abraham's wife, or else have complied against conscience

and duty, supposing the king who had taken her to be a wicked man; this indeed appears unavoidable in the case, had the thing gone on so far. But it was right in the meanwhile to evade the difficulty as long as it could lawfully be evaded, and to wait and see whether Divine Providence might not some way or other interpose, before the last extremity. The event answered: God did interpose, and brought off both Abraham and his wife harmless.

Upon the whole, I see nothing in Abraham's conduct but what, all circumstances considered, was conformable to the rules of true prudence, and well becoming so wise and so good a man^r. They do not seem to know Abraham, who can imagine that he could twice very deliberately have taken that method, had he not known it to be strictly lawful, yea, and his duty to do as he did: for if a man does not use all lawful human means in such cases, it is a culpable neglect, and a presumptuous tempting of God^s. Abraham's practice in this matter appeared so innocent and laudable, that his son Isaac afterwards, without the least scruple, followed the example, and with the like success. In both of them, it was doing all that they wisely and justly might, trusting God for the event, but not tempting him by expecting his interposition for them, while they had it in their power to use any *innocent* means to save themselves.

But the heaviest article with the Objector is, that Abraham, by this conduct, *got* a great deal: for he cannot bear that a *prophet* or a *priest* should *get* any thing. Whatever he *got*, it was plainly owing to the favour, and countenance, and blessing of God, who miraculously interposed to assist and comfort him: so that this flout is aimed directly against God himself, for being kind to Abraham. But it is the property of the Divine Being to be particularly kind and gracious to true and faithful men: and one would wonder what the Objector had been thinking of, to make any doubt of it. He goes on however still slandering of Abraham.

GENESIS XV. 8.

AND HE SAID, LORD GOD, WHEREBY SHALL I KNOW THAT I SHALL INHERIT IT? The words are Abraham's, after God had promised him the inheritance of the land of Canaan. The Objector thinks

^r See Natalis Alexand. vol. i. p. 202, &c. August. contr. Faust. lib. xxii. 381, &c.

^s Augustin, *ibid.* p. 383.

he has here caught the good man tripping in his *faith*: and thereupon, rejoicing, says, "And immediately after his faith " was counted to him for righteousness, did he not doubt of " God's promise till God spoke to him in a deep sleep?" Now the whole force of the objection lies in the words בְּמַה אֲדַע, which we render, *Whereby shall I know?* And which may as literally be rendered, *in what, or by what shall I know?* And the meaning may be, either by what *sign* shall I know, that I may believe it? or by what *circumstance* shall I know, that I may form a more exact idea of it? The latter construction appears the more natural, and suits best with what follows. God had not yet told him how, or when, or with what particular circumstances he should inherit the land of promise; but after casting him into a *deep sleep*, God was pleased to inform him of all particulars, as he lay in a dream. The whole context shews, that such is the drift and purport of the text in question: for in return to Abraham's request, God does not so properly give him a *sign* to confirm his faith, (for what *sign* or *certainty* was there in the *dream*, more than in the *vision* before it?) as he gives him a particular description of the time, manner, and circumstances of fulfilling the promise. So the thing that Abraham desired was, to have the general promise made more particular, that he might have a clearer and more distinct idea of it. This was not doubting of what God had before said to him, but it was shewing his satisfaction so far, and desiring him still to say more. In a word then, Abraham in asking, "whereby shall I " know?" did not mean to ask by what *sign* he might know that the promise would be fulfilled; but whereby, or by what circumstances he might know *how*, or in what respects it should be fulfilled. *Karà τὴ γνώσομαι*, say the Seventy, very rightly. As to what respects shall I know, that I may form an idea of it? See Le Clerc on the place, who gives much the same solution that I do. And the Objector, it is to be hoped, will not except against him, being, in his judgment, "as able a Divine as this, " or perhaps any other age has produced".

GENESIS XVII. 10.

THIS IS MY COVENANT—EVERY MAN-CHILD AMONG YOU SHALL BE CIRCUMCISED. In opposition to this and other texts, which refer

† Christianity as Old, &c. p. 244.

‡ Ibid. p. 45.

the original of the Jewish circumcision solely to Divine appointment, our Objector is pleased to account for it another way, as here follows^w :

“ This institution, as is proved by Marsham and others, seems to be owing to the Egyptians, who thought all to be profane who used it not : and it was after Abraham had been in Egypt, that circumcision was instituted ; in order, it is likely, to recommend his posterity to the Egyptians, on whom they were for some ages to depend. And what makes this the more probable is, that it was not till after the Lord had ordered Moses into Egypt, that the Lord met him by the way in the inn, and sought to kill him, for not circumcising his son. And upon Joshua’s circumcising the Israelites, (circumcision not being observed during their stay in the wilderness, when they had no communication with Egypt,) the Lord himself says, THIS DAY HAVE I ROLLED AWAY THE REPROACH OF EGYPT FROM OFF YOU^x.” Before I come to examine this smooth account, it may be proper to take notice, that Celsus^y of old, and after him Julian^z, objected much the same thing ; and Sir John Marsham^a has since dropped some hints, as if the Jewish circumcision had been borrowed from the Egyptians, or, however, came after theirs. But we need not suppose that our Objector looked so high as Celsus or Julian, or even Marsham : all he has to say is plainly stolen from an English author^b of later date, who is our Objector’s oracle, and to whom he is indebted (though he has not been so fair as to own it) for every article of this charge. But to examine it distinctly.

1. It has not, neither can it be proved, that circumcision was in use at all among the Egyptians, or any where else, before Abraham’s time. Neither Diodorus Siculus, nor Herodotus^c, nor even Sanchoniatho can be of weight sufficient to determine this question. They are all *modern*, in comparison ; and their stories ill supported. Some conjectures may be raised from the last of the three ; and if Cronus be Ham, as a very good and great Prelate supposes^d, possibly he might first have used cir-

^w Christianity as Old &c. p. 90.

^x Josh. v. 2—9.

^y Origen. contr. Cels. p. 17, 259.

^z Cyrill. contr. Julian. p. 354.

^a Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 72, 207. ed. Lond.

^b Lord Shaftesbury’s Charact. vol. iii. p. 52—55.

^c Vid. Wits. *Ægyptiaca*, p. 223, &c. Basnag. *Hist. Judaic.* lib. v. cap. 8. Calmet, *Dissert. on Circumcision.* Natal. Alex. *Ætat.* 3. Diss. 6. S. Basnag. *Exercit. Historico-Crit.* p. 118. Saurin, *Dissertat. on Genesis*, p. 136.

^d Cumberland’s *Sanchoniatho*, p. 38, 149, 150.

cumcision, and from him the Egyptians might derive it: but nothing can be certainly affirmed of that matter: the contrary, for any thing I see, may still be more probable.

2. Were it certain, as it is not, that the Egyptians first practised circumcision, yet it would not from thence follow, that the Hebrews, or God of the Hebrews, took it from them, or had any respect to them in it. It is plain that Abraham submitted to it in obedience only to a Divine command, and he received it as a sign and seal of the covenant of grace between God and him. What relation has that to Egypt? Or if such regard was to be paid to the Egyptian rites, why was not Abraham circumcised before he went into Egypt, or at least while he sojourned there, to ingratiate himself with them? Why should it be deferred, on that supposition, to above twenty years after his leaving the country? Since the Objector conceives that Abraham's posterity, and Moses's son, were to be circumcised beforehand, in order to recommend them the more to the Egyptians at their first coming thither; why should not Abraham have been circumcised before he went down into Egypt, to make him the more welcome there? Was there such care taken to recommend his posterity to them, and yet none to recommend him, when it was more immediately wanted? But further: as to the care taken to recommend his posterity, (who were to depend, it seems, upon the Egyptians for some ages,) let us see how this pretence falls in with the rest. Why was Ishmael to be circumcised, and his sons, and Abraham's sons by Keturah; and why Esau afterwards, and his, who were none of the promised seed, and were not to depend upon Egypt? Besides, it looks odd and fanciful to imagine that Abraham should begin this practice so early, near 200 years before there should be occasion for it: for so long it was between Abraham's circumcision and his posterity's going down into Egypt. Our author himself confesses, that God did not rigorously insist upon Moses's circumcising his son, till he was just going into Egypt: and yet he fancies that Abraham's whole posterity were to be circumcised about 200 years together, before the time proper to prepare them all for Egypt; though eight parts of nine were never to sojourn there; and those that were to go, might more prudently have omitted such a painful rite, till they should have occasion for it. One would think, upon this hypothesis, that if circumcision had begun with Joseph, or however with Jacob, it had commenced full soon.

The Objector observes, that "circumcision was not observed during their stay in the wilderness, when they had no communication with Egypt." Why then was it observed, or instituted by Abraham, after he had left Egypt twenty years, or more; and long before his seed was to have any such close communication with the Egyptians? And why was circumcision again restored, after the forty years' stay in the wilderness, when the Israelites had once taken their final leave of Egypt? This gentleman, it is plain, has suffered himself to be imposed upon by his ingenious leader, a jocular man, who probably designed only to divert or to amuse his readers.

The pretence from Josh. v. and verse 9, is as ridiculous as the rest. For what occasion was there for "rolling away the reproach of Egypt," (if uncircumcision was the reproach,) when they had done with Egypt, and had nothing to fear from it? But the "reproach of Egypt" may be understood in the passive and not active sense; of the reproach they lay under, and not of what they threw upon others: in a word, it may be understood of the idolatry of Egypt, which was rolled away from the children of Israel, by their renewing the covenant of Abraham with Almighty God, when they were circumcised at Gilgal. There are several other constructions whereof the words are capable^e: but I shall mention one only besides what I have already given; and it is this: it is not unreasonable to suppose, that the being circumcised might take off the reproach of the Egyptians, inasmuch as uncircumcision was a reproach, upon the Jewish principles^f, to all that were not circumcised; amounting to the same as *profane* or *unclean*. Upon the foot of this construction, the text of Joshua would afford a good argument to prove that the Egyptians were not circumcised. And if it were reasonable to suppose that circumcision was instituted with a view to Abraham's posterity being to live in Egypt, we might then give this account of it; that it was done to prevent their mingling with the Egyptians, and to preserve them as a separate independent nation and people. But there seems to have been no more view to Egypt in that affair, than to all other nations that Abraham's posterity should have to do with.

3. Having shewn that there is no ground to suspect that the

^e Vid. Gussetii *Vesperæ Groning.* p. 21, &c.

^f Gen. xxxiv. 14. Judg. xiv. 3. 1 Sam. xiv. 6. xvii. 26. 2 Sam. i. 20.

^g Levit. xix. 23. Isa. lii. 1.

Hebrew circumcision was borrowed from the Egyptians, or had any particular respect to Egypt^h; it is the less material to inquire, which first used it, because little or nothing depends upon it: yet I esteem it highly probable, that circumcision was originally of Abraham, and by his sons conveyed to as many as have used it; and that the Egyptians in particular borrowed it from thence, by the Arabian Ishmaelites. This was the opinion of a learned writer of the sixth century, who speaks of it as a thing unquestionableⁱ. And what makes it the more likely is, that they were not circumcised, as the Hebrews were, at the *eighth* day, but at thirteen years of age, or upwards of thirteen, after the example of Ishmael. I have indeed no authority for this fact, except St. Ambrose^j. But he speaks of it positively, as a thing which he knew; I mean, of the circumcision of the males: as to females, he expresses himself more doubtfully. It is well known that the ancient Arabs, and after them the Saracens, deriving the practice, as well as their pedigree, from Ishmael, have used circumcision at or about thirteen years of age^k; and that the Mahometans continue the same practice, varying a little as to the time; choosing the 13th, 14th, 15th, or 16th year of their age^l, but seldom doing it sooner.

I shall only add, in confirmation of what has been said, that the circumcising (if we may so call it) of the *females* also among the ^mEgyptians, is a further argument of their deriving the practice from the Arabs; because the Mahometans (who undoubtedly have derived it from the Arabs) do the same thingⁿ. I shall proceed no further in this argument, which has already passed through the hands of a multitude of learned men. Fabricius numbers up several^o. I would chiefly recommend three

^h The stale pretences of a Letter Writer to prove that circumcision began in Egypt, were fully obviated before in the authors above referred to, p. 53; and have been since baffled in a pamphlet entitled, A Reply to the Letter to Dr. Waterland. Printed for J. Watts, 1731.

ⁱ Ἐμαθον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι περιτέμνεσθαι. *Anast. Sinait.* Quæst. xxviii. p. 284. *Conf. Wits.* p. 127. Heidegger. tom. ii. Exerc. 7. *Buddæi Analect.* p. 17, 18. *Huet. Dem. Evang.* p. 159.

^j Ægyptii quarto-decimo anno circumcidunt mares; et fœminæ apud eos eodem anno circumcidi feruntur. *Ambros. de Abraham.* lib. ii. cap. 11.

^k Origen. *Philocal.* cap. xxiii. p. 77. *Joseph. Antiq.* lib. i. cap. 13.

^l *Reland. de Religione Mohammedica,* lib. i. p. 75.

^m *Strabo,* lib. xvii. p. 824. *Vid. Ludolf. Comment. ad Hist. Æthiop.* p. 273.

ⁿ *Reland. de Rel. Mohammedica,* p. 75. *David. Millius, Dissert.* x. p. 330.

^o *Fabricii Biblioth. Antiq.* p. 383.

Latin^p authors, who have treated the subject as judiciously and accurately as any. And if the English reader would see the question briefly and closely discussed, he may turn to Bishop Patrick's comment on the xviith of Genesis, or to Saurin's^q Dissertations, or to Mr. Shuckford's clear and succinct history of the question^r, in the first volume of his learned and useful work.

But we have not yet done with the Objector. For besides his endeavouring to throw a slur upon the rite of circumcision, from its pretended original, he attempts further to expose it as a thing wrong in itself, contrary to the dictates of the law of nature. His words are: "Had such notions been adhered to, " concerning the Divine goodness, as the light of nature dictates, " the Egyptians, and some other Pagan nations, could never " have thought that cutting off of the foreskin (not to be per- " formed without great pain and hazard) could have been a " religious duty acceptable to a good and gracious God, who " makes nothing in vain, much less what requires cutting off, " even with extreme danger and anguish. Had nature required " such an operation, nature being always the same, would still " have required it." It is obvious to observe, that the argument is directly *levelled* at the Jewish circumcision, under the name of *Pagan*, and strikes at the authority of all Divine revelation. The presumption which the Objector goes upon, and which indeed runs through his whole book, is, that he is wise enough to direct the counsels of Heaven, and to pass an unerring judgment upon all the works and ways of God. It is fact, that God did require circumcision: and " who art thou, that repliest against God?" The modest way (if there be any) of opposing the Divine revelations, is to dispute the external evidences of the fact, and not to run into downright blasphemy, by conceitedly pretending to be wise enough to know every thing that belongs to God. Mr. Bayle might teach this author, that " when we are certain God " does such or such a thing, it is blasphemy to say it is useless; " God has his own reasons^s." This writer might be *certain* of the fact, if any historical fact whatever can be made certain.

But to return an answer to his cavils. "Cutting off the fore-

^p Heidegger. *Histor. Patriarch.* tom. ii. p. 240, &c. *Witsii Ægyptiaca*, lib. iii. cap. 5. p. 223. *Nat. Alex.* vol. i. p. 222, &c.

^q Saurin, *Dissert.* xv. p. 135.

^r Shuckford's *Sacred and Profane History*, vol. i. p. 323, &c.

^s Bayle's *Miscellan.* *Reflect.* on a Comet, vol. ii. p. 451.

“skin,” he says “carries pain and hazard.” Not much, I presume, if performed upon infants especially, eight days old; not more perhaps than the cutting the navel-string. As to the *hazard*, let him give us a list, when he is at leisure, of such as have died under the operation^t. God makes nothing so “in vain,” that nature should “require the cutting it off.” Very well: and who pretends that *nature requires* any such operation? What we say is, that the God of nature required it *extraordinarily*, for many and great reasons, as things then stood; which reasons have since ceased, and so the law has been abrogated by the same authority that gave it. But a “good and gracious God,” he says, “makes nothing in vain.” A ridiculous argument! For it was not made *in vain*, were it made only for that very purpose, that there might be something to spare, something to cut off, as occasion should require, whenever God should intend to distinguish one people from another. In ordinary cases, it might be left entire, and better so than otherwise: in extraordinary, it might be cut off without any considerable pain or detriment, while many religious uses might be served by the practice, performed in obedience to Divine appointment. When the Objector has any thing less trifling to urge, he may again try his strength against Scripture: but he will always find, that his strength in this case is weakness; and that any much greater *wisdom* than his would still be but *foolishness*, when opposed to the unerring *wisdom* of God.

GENESIS XX. 17.

SO ABRAHAM PRAYED UNTO GOD, AND GOD HEALED ABIMELECH, &c. The civil reflection here made by the Objector is as follows^u: “Abimelech, who upon both Abraham’s and Sarah’s “lying to him, took Sarah, as the Lord himself owns, in the “integrity of his heart^x: and though he sent her back untouched, and gave considerable presents both to wife and husband; yet neither he nor his were to be pardoned, till Abraham, (the offended person,) being a prophet, was to pray for “him.” It is hard to say, whether the iniquity or the profaneness of this paragraph be the greatest. In the first place, the charging Abraham and Sarah with a *lie* is petulant and abusive,

^t See this point defended against the Point of Circumcision. Printed for J. Crownfield, 1731.
^u Christianity as Old &c. p. 329.
^x Gen. xx. 6.

and is committing the fault which he condemns: see above. Next, his flouting God Almighty for ordering Abimelech to beg Abraham's prayers, is shooting up his arrows against Heaven, to fall with vengeance upon his own head. A modest opposition to Divine revelation, in cases of real difficulty, might be in some measure excusable: but a malicious opposition, where there is not so much as colour for any objection at all, is unpardonable: it shews more of a disposition to revile or blaspheme, than to argue or debate; and upon the whole betrays a very dark mind. But to the matter in hand. What does the *Lord himself own*, in respect to Abimelech's integrity? Abimelech pleaded his integrity as to Sarah's being a married woman, and God admitted his plea so far. But though Abimelech did not know she was Abraham's wife, yet certainly he knew that she was not his *own* wife, and that he had no right to take her against her consent, and without leave of her friends. He sinned against the eighth Commandment by unjust seizure, though not against the seventh, by intending *adultery*. And he was not altogether innocent even as to that, because though he meant no *adultery*, yet he intended either *fornication* or *rape*, and would certainly have gone on with his lewd intentions, had not God *withheld* him^γ. Whatever this writer may think of *incontinence with a single woman*, wiser men will judge it a sin against the law of nature, and more so, when attended with *violence*. Abimelech therefore was not so *innocent* as this gentleman imagines, but stood in need both of God's pardon and Abraham's prayers. God insisted the more upon his applying to Abraham, because of the injury he had intended him, though not the greatest; and for the sake of doing honour to his Prophet in a strange country, and to provide most effectually for his future peace and security there, both with prince and people.

GENESIS XXI. 12.

AND GOD SAID UNTO ABRAHAM, LET IT NOT BE GRIEVOUS IN THY SIGHT BECAUSE OF THE LAD, AND BECAUSE OF THY BONDWOMAN; IN ALL THAT SARAH HATH SAID UNTO THEE, HEarken UNTO HER VOICE. FOR IN ISAAC SHALL THY SEED BE CALLED. Here the infidel says^z; "This holy Prophet was guilty of a very barbarous action, in sending out Hagar, whom Sarah had given him to wife, and his son Ishmael, to perish in the wilderness; for no other reason, but

^γ Gen. xx. 6.

^z Christianity as Old &c. p. 329.

“because Sarah had seen the son of Hagar mocking. And it is
 “likely they had both perished, had not an angel, calling out of
 “heaven, directed him to a well of water.—But in this last do-
 “mestic quarrel, God himself miraculously interposes, and says,
 “IN ALL THAT SARAH HATH SAID UNTO THEE, HEARKEN UNTO HER
 “VOICE.” The Objector is so eager to write blasphemy, that he
 forgets to write sense. *Barbarous*, and by *Divine* command too!
 How is it possible? The sacred historian, it must be owned, has
 observed both decorum and consistency, and has guarded effectually
 against every thing but calumny. The Objector, in order to form his
 accusation, sets out with a falsehood, that Abraham did the thing for
 “no other reason, but because Sarah had seen
 “the lad mocking;” and yet he observes in the close, that God
 himself *interposed*, and commanded Abraham to do it. Is a
Divine command, and backed with a *reason* too, (FOR IN ISAAC
 SHALL THY SEED BE CALLED,) is all that *no reason* at all? And if
 God, who is *all-sufficient*, and can supply all wants, (and did
 abundantly supply them in the case of Hagar and Ishmael;) I say,
 if God commanded them to be sent out naked and destitute, thereby
 taking the care of them upon himself; could it be *barbarous* in
 Abraham to commit them, in such a case, to Divine Providence;
 that is, to much abler and better hands than his own? Let the story
 be taken as Moses has told it, with all its circumstances, and then
 let the Objector find any flaw in it if he can. But is this his way
 of treating a subject of the *last importance*, to sit down and *invent*
 any *false* accusation whatever against Scripture, because he cannot
 find matter for a *true* one? This, again, is the man that boasts
 of his *sincerity*. I do not think it necessary to enter further
 into the case of Hagar and Ishmael, in order to shew that their
 circumstances were not so very calamitous, in themselves considered;
 because I have said enough to clear Abraham of the charge here
 made. But if the reader desires a more particular account of their
 circumstances, he may see it ingeniously drawn out at length, by a
 very good writer, in a work just come to my hands^a.

GENESIS XXII. 10.

AND ABRAHAM STRETCHED FORTH HIS HAND, AND TOOK THE
 KNIFE TO SLAY HIS SON. The Objector, after first taking a deal
 of trifling pains to prove (what is impossible) that the Levitical

^a Shuckford's Sacred and Profane Hist. vol. ii. p. 16, &c.

law approved and countenanced *human sacrifices*, comes at length to the famous case of Abraham's submitting to the Divine command, which had enjoined him to offer up his son Isaac for a burnt-offering. Upon this case, the Objector thus expresses himself: "The Jews could not think it absolutely unlawful for a father to sacrifice an innocent child, since Abraham was highly extolled for being ready to sacrifice his only son; and that too without the least expostulation, though he was importunate with God to save an inhospitable, idolatrous, and incestuous city." It may first be observed, that the whole thought is stolen from a noble^c writer, and without notice, as before. The words, as they lie there, run thus: "It appears, that even the elder of these Hebrew princes was under no extreme surprise on this trying revelation. Nor did he think of expostulating, in the least, on this occasion; when at another time he could be so importunate for the pardon of an inhospitable, murderous, impious, and incestuous city." Gen. xviii. 23.

The reader will take notice here, that that noble writer had chosen proper epithets for the city of Sodom, two of which his retailer also has taken, *inhospitable* and *incestuous*: but he has left out *murderous* and *impious*, and substituted *idolatrous*; an epithet which there is no foundation for in the Scripture story, and therefore not made use of by that noble lord. There seems to be something of low cunning in our writer's clapping in *idolatrous*: for undoubtedly he would have it thought, that all wickedness is owing to *idolatry* or *superstition*, and that to^d priests; and he would not have it supposed, that men can be wicked who are *impious* only, and have no *external* religion at all: for what then becomes of his sovereign *law of nature*, which would prevent or correct all disorders? He seems to suppose, that Sodom could never have been so *inhospitable* or *incestuous*, if they had not had some *religion* or other, the parent of all mischief and the cause of all confusions. Such appears to be his turn of thinking and arguing quite through his book; and therefore it is natural to suppose, that his own avowed principles led him to insert *idolatrous*, and to leave out *impious*. But why he dropped *murderous*, I cannot say; unless it was the better to cover his design in leaving out *impious*, that both might appear to have been omitted by chance. However that be, come we next to consider the

^b Christianity as Old &c. p. 97.

iii. p. 124.

^c Lord Shaftesbury's Charact. vol.

^d Christianity as Old &c. p. 379.

case of Abraham's sacrifice, and to vindicate the same against the cavils both of this author and his leader.

1. The Jews most certainly could not think it *ordinarily* lawful to sacrifice any innocent man, woman, or child; because the law had forbidden it, and had taken particular care that the *first-born* should not be *sacrificed*, (though in a certain sense devoted or consecrated to God,) but should serve the^e priests, or be *redeemed*. Of this I may say more hereafter, when I come to consider Levit. xxvii. 28. But whatever the ordinary rule might be, the Jews had more sense than to imagine it unlawful, or not their bounden duty, to sacrifice man, woman, or child, when God himself should expressly command or require it. For why should not God have as much right to demand the life of any, even the most innocent man, by a *knife*, or a *sword*, as by a *fever* or *pestilence*, by a *lion* or *bear*, or other instrument whatever? And if a man be employed in it by God's express order, he is God's executioner in doing it, and only pays a debt which God has at any time a sovereign power and right to demand of him; though it be a son, or a daughter, or any the dearest friend. In short, the Divine command is a circumstance which changes the very nature and quality of the act, which makes *killing* no *murder*, no iniquity, but duty, and strict justice.

2. Abraham's readiness to do as God had commanded him, without *expostulating*, shews the excellency of his faith, and is a high commendation of his humility, modesty, resignation, and unreprouvable integrity. When he *expostulated* in behalf of Sodom, he might handsomely do it, having no self-concern in it, more than as he was a lover of mankind. But to have expostulated in the case of his *own son*, in whom he had so near a concern, and who was his second self, if I may so speak; that would have been unworthy of Abraham's great soul and most exalted mind. He knew what respect, honour, and awfnl deference was due to the God of heaven, and would have disdained to let any narrow selfish principle interpose between him and duty. He could plead for *others*; such was his large extensive charity: for *himself* he could not plead; such was his modesty, ingenuity, and disinterested piety^f. He had been well acquainted with

^e Numb. xviii. 15, 16.

^f It may be further said, that Abraham interceded for the Sodomites as objects of God's wrath, who would

suffer by death; but not for his son, as being the object of *Divine love*, and certain to be a gainer by it. The former were demanded for punishment,

God, now for fifty years or more, and knew his manner of appearing, and manifesting himself to him. Being secure of the main thing, that the order was from God, (to whom he owed every thing, even that very son now demanded of him,) he readily submitted; having never learned to dispute with unerring Wisdom, when required to obey. He was sensible that the offering up his son to God was no more than paying a debt, resigning up a trust, or returning a loan. Besides, he had good reason to believe he should shortly again receive him from God who had before given him, and who had promised that in Isaac should his "seed be called." Excellent is the account of Bishop Cumberland; which, because it is not in every one's hands, I shall here transcribe.

"This faith concerning his resurrection, in case he had been offered, was the true cause of his readiness to obey that command, as we are assured by the Apostle^g: on which account also he shews, that a Christian's faith is like Abraham's, and in like manner to be rewarded; because they believe on God, as one who raised their Lord Christ from the^h dead.

"This makes his case, even if he had actually slain his son as a sacrifice, (being before assured that he must shortly be raised again, and have a great family, which within 400 years should come out of Egypt, and possess Canaan,) to be unlike all the heathen murdering of children in sacrifice, when they have no hope that they shall be restored to them by a speedy resurrection: for if Isaac had then died, his death must have been a sleep for a short time, because he must quickly be awakened, to be the father of many nations, the Edomites as well as the Israelites; besides the Christians, who were to be his children by imitation of his virtues.

"Christ alone could thus offer his human nature, because he had full assurance of his resurrection on the third day. And this is the only sacrifice of a man (who yet never saw corruption) which God ever accepted. And yet even in that case, above the piety that was called for in Abraham's case, there was an extraordinary expiation for the sins of all mankind, and a great example both of martyrdom for the true religion,

which wanted an intercessor: the latter, for an occasion of further manifestation of Divine goodness, which called for compliance, and not for in-

tercession. A curse was the end of one, and a blessing the end of the other.

^g Heb. xi. 17, 19. Rom. iv. 17, 18.

^h Rom. iv. 23, 24, 25.

“ and of the greatest love to the universal Church. *So careful hath God been to give no example or encouragement to such inhuman sacrifices, in which there is no ground to expect a miraculous resurrection of the person offered*¹.” Thus far that judicious and learned Prelate.

I need not here enter into the dispute, whether the barbarous custom of offering human sacrifices was earlier than Abraham, or whether it was afterwards taken up in imitation of this instance of Abraham's offering up (though not slaying) his son Isaac. It might be earlier, without derogating at all from the worth and excellency of what Abraham did; since he acted upon better warrant, and more rational and much nobler principles, than those inhuman sacrificers did: or it might be later, and yet not taken up in imitation of Abraham, or with any view at all to his illustrious pattern; which the Pagan sacrificers either knew little of, or very carelessly observed. I must own, I incline to think, that that barbarous custom was earlier than Abraham; as Sir John Marsham and Sharrock^k have suggested, and Bishop Cumberland^l has rationally maintained: though the stream of learned men, as Dr. Hyde^m, Natalis Alexanderⁿ, Bochart^o, Heidegger^p, Witsius^q, and Bishop Patrick^r, have taken the other side of the question; and Mr. Shuckford^s now lately, for reasons which are not contemptible, have fallen in with them. Mr. Bedford, I observe, in his very learned and elaborate^t work, acquiesces in Bishop Cumberland's account, adding some improvements of his own. And to this account, for the present at least, I am willing to subscribe: First, Because the other opinion seems to load the example of Abraham beyond what it can well bear; especially considering that he did not slay his son, and that the stopping him by an angel from heaven, in the very article of time, was a much better argument against human sacrifices than a probative command, not executed, could be for it. Secondly, Because it seems to reflect too hardly upon

¹ Cumb. Sanchoniatho, p. 139, 140.

^k Marsham's Can. Chronic. p. 76. edit. Lond. Sharrock de Fin. et Offic. p. 497.

^l Cumberland's Sanchoniatho, pag. 134, &c. 170.

^m Hyde's Rel. vet. Pers. cap. ii. p. 29.

ⁿ Natal. Alex. vol. i. p. 232, &c.

^o Bochart's Canaan, lib. ii. cap. 2. p. 712.

^p Heidegger's Histor. Patr. tom. ii. exerc. 9.

^q Witsii Ægyptiaca, lib. iii. c. 7.

^r Patrick in loc.

^s Shuckford, vol. ii. p. 24.

^t Bedford's Scripture Chronology, p. 338.

Divine wisdom and forecast, to suppose that God himself was the occasion of introducing that barbarous practice, by an indifferent private command, proper to a single person; and which, for any thing that appears, might have been spared, rather than minister to so much mischief. Thirdly, Because it appears more likely, that God designed by that very instance to discourage and discountenance *human* sacrifices, though at the same time he intended to shew, that he requires all men to be strictly obedient to his commands, and to prefer him above any the nearest and dearest relations^u. Fourthly, Because it is most probable that the Gentiles, having learned by tradition from Noah or from Adam, that the sacrifice of the life of a beast would atone for sins, might too hastily infer from thence, that the sacrificing the lives of men, as more valuable and precious than the other, would much more do it; and thereupon they grafted the practice of *human* sacrifices: and hence arose that vile custom, set on perhaps also and encouraged by *demons*.

Upon the whole, whatever side we take in this question, *infidels* can make no just advantage of it. For it can never be proved, either from this instance, or from any other example or rule in Scripture, that the God of Israel approved those cruel practices of offering up human blood in sacrifice to him.

I have now run through all the Objector's cavils or calumnies against Abraham, a man of the fairest and brightest character to be met with in all history, and therefore made the object of our writer's spleen and satire. But he might better throw dirt any where than here, where none will stick. He might more prudently have been contented with his stale, but much more plausible, calumnies upon *priests* in general, or Christian *clergy* in particular. But when he aims his scurrilities at Abraham, the *friend of God*, and through him at the God of Abraham too, he betrays his thoughtlessness and want of discretion. Abraham, from the time of his call, (A. M. 2083.) became the great restorer and reviver both of *natural* and *revealed* religion to a corrupted world. By his sons, Isaac and Ishmael, and six more, and by his nephew Lot, he spread *religion* and *virtue* wide and far, their descendants being numerous as the stars of heaven, and growing up into many and great nations. When our Objector speaks of the world's being left without revelation for four thou-

^u See Cumberland's *Sanchoniatho*, p. 141.

sand years^z, he knows not what he talks of: he seems to have forgot what was done in the first ages of the world, when the revealed will of God was made known to all mankind^y; or what was done, after the flood, to Noah and his sons; and what four hundred and twenty-seven years after to Abraham; and how his descendants carried the knowledge of the true religion wide and far, which continued for a time; and how the Jews afterwards, by their numberless dispersions, were a kind of preachers of righteousness to as many as they came to. God has neither concealed himself entirely from mankind, nor made his manifestations too cheap and familiar; but he has observed a *medium* between the two extremes, such as was proper, and which infinite wisdom could best judge of. I just hint these things by the way, as they occurred to me upon the mention of Abraham. I shall only observe further, that Abraham's fame reached much further than the Jewish Scriptures reached, among the Gentiles, among the Arabians especially, his descendants: and there are some remains of his religion and memory among the Persians at this day^z. Our caviller's singling out that *great* and *good* man for the object of his scorn and ridicule is no argument of his *taste*, or of his love to *virtue*, or of his *benevolence* to mankind.

GENESIS XXVII. 19.

AND JACOB SAID UNTO HIS FATHER, I AM ESAU THY FIRSTBORN, &c.

The Objector says, (p. 263,) "There are things either commanded or approved of in Scripture, which might be apt to lead men astray. A man who looks no further than that, might think it no crime to cheat his elder brother, impose on his aged parent, and by a lie obtain his blessing; nay, hope that God would confirm it, when he sees how Jacob obtained the greatest blessing from God." The colours are here laid too strong, and the invective against Jacob (and the God of Jacob) pushed too far, beyond all rules of decency and equity. In the first place, Jacob was not so much to blame in that affair as the objection represents. In the next place, supposing Jacob to have been ever so much to blame, it ought not to be suggested, that the unjustifiable part of his conduct was either "commanded or approved of in Scripture;" for Scripture says no such thing,

^x Christianity as Old &c. p. 375.

^y See Jenkins's Reasonableness &c. vol. i. p. 46, &c.

^z See Hyde's Relig. vet. Persar' cap. ii. iii. Fabricii Cod. Pseudepigr. V. T. in Abraham.

neither can any such consequence be justly drawn from the Scripture account. The facts are there related, without either approbation or censure: and God made use of that conduct of Jacob's (be it supposed right or wrong) to very good and great purposes, by his overruling providence. Divine wisdom often makes use of the sins and follies of men to wise and excellent ends, bringing good out of evil. In the meanwhile, we are never to take our measures of good and evil merely from Scripture *examples*; because one design of Scripture is to serve the purposes of *humility* and *watchfulness*, by recording human frailties. The *law of God* is the rule, not the *examples* of mere men. When any one draws *false* consequences from Scripture examples, the fault is not in the *Scripture*, but in the *man* that draws them. If Scripture must be charged and impeached as often as men *reason ill* from it, then may also the first principles of *natural religion*, or any thing else whatever, be in like manner impeached, because foolish or partial men may wrest and pervert it to ill purposes. If there be any thing in the argument, it points directly against the *use of reason*; as reason is liable to *abuse*, and human faculties are imperfect or depraved. A man that has the light of *Scripture* and of *reason* too, is undoubtedly more secure against error in such cases, than he that has the light of *reason* only. For Scripture leaves reason all the strength and force it had, whole and entire, without the least diminution; never crosses upon it, never clashes with it: but as it furnishes reason with fresh notices and clearer views of the whole case, it is assistant to it for the forming a more exact and correct judgment. Both together therefore are as much better than either singly, as the whole is larger than a part. Particularly as to *fraud* and *lying*, and whatever else is akin to them, Scripture is *clearer* and more *express* against them, than the *law of nature* is; and besides carries more *authority* along with it, and binds us to obedience by the strongest and most engaging sanctions. It is a weak thing therefore to argue for the throwing off Scripture, for fear the example, suppose of Jacob, should lead any man astray: for the *Scripture rule* is the best preservative against it, being indeed stricter, stronger, and clearer, than the mere *law of nature* appears to be.

To return to Jacob's case: I do not know indeed whether it be justifiable in every particular, upon strict Scripture principles: I suspect that it is not. But upon the *looser* principles

of mere natural religion, (if the Objector is any judge of them) perhaps it may bear. For however rigid a casuist the Objector seems to be when he has any good man to blacken, or any flout to throw upon God, he can be milder at other times, when his *malice* or his *memory* happens to sleep ; as may appear from the apology he makes for *lying* and *falsehood* on some special occasions. His words are : “ * Friendship will sometimes oblige men “ to *deceive* people, when it manifestly *tends to their good*, and “ *none are prejudiced* by it : and all practise it with relation to “ children, sick people, and men in passion.—And if men (as “ none scruple it) may bid their servants say, *they are not at “ home*, and do *several other things of this nature* ; why may they “ not, when silence will be interpreted to *their prejudice*, deceive “ impertinent people in such matters where they have no con- “ cern ? ” Thus far the Objector could plead for *officious lying*, when he did not think of Jacob, but was contriving some easy principles for himself and his own fraternity. By the same principles it will not be difficult to defend the good Patriarch Jacob, who ought at least to have been commended by the Objector, for acting so agreeably to *nature's* law. Let us try the experiment.

1. In the first place, it was a part of *friendship* to *deceive* the good old man, who was going to do a *wrong* thing. It was deceiving him into was *right* ; and what himself owned to be so in the conclusion^a. The truth is, God had determined long before, (before the birth of the twin-brothers,) that the blessing should rest upon the head of Jacob^b : and he had given some very particular and significant intimations of it. Rebecca observed and remembered them ; and therefore judged it strange that her husband Isaac could have a thought of giving the blessing at length to Esau, against the plain direction of God. But the good man's love and tenderness for his eldest son Esau blinded him for a time, and was like to betray him into a very gross mistake. In these circumstances, Rebecca having set her heart upon the blessing, and grieved to see what Isaac was going to do, in prejudice to his son Jacob, and in contradiction to the will of God ; I say, Rebecca, in that case, thought of a wile, and by the help of *officious lies*, diverted Isaac from evil, and directed him to good. In a word, her *friendship* towards

^a Christianity as Old &c. p. 347.

^a Gen. xxvii. 33.

^b See Gen. xxv. 23.

her husband *obliged* her to *deceive* him, when it *manifestly tended to his good*, according to the rule of *reason* laid down by the Objector.

2. The only remaining thing to be proved is, that “none were prejudiced by it.” By *prejudiced*, I suppose, the Objector means, prejudiced in their *rights*, that is, *injured*. Now there can be no pretence of any person being *injured* in this whole transaction, except it was Esau. But it is demonstration that he had no *injury* done him. For, not to mention that he had *sold* his *birthright*, and bound himself by *solemn oath*^c to insist no more upon it, it is further plain all along from the history, that God designed the blessing for Jacob; and so it was invading Jacob’s right for any one else to pretend to it. Esau was indeed the *injurious* ravisher, who against the *will of God* before declared, against his own sacred *promise*, and more sacred *oath*, feloniously endeavoured to defraud his brother, and to *steal* away the blessing from him. Upon the whole, it is evident, that Isaac, in that case, was *deceived* for his *good*, and that *no one* was *prejudiced by it*, but many excellent purposes were served in it. Therefore by the *law of nature* (as interpreted by the Objector) Jacob was entirely guiltless: and so this Scripture example is not more liable to *lead us astray*, than the *law of nature* is: which was to be proved.

Nevertheless, I must entreat my readers to observe, that I do not take upon me to acquit Jacob or Rebecca of all blame in that instance. There were several very good and laudable circumstances in what they did, which might move a merciful God to give a blessing to it; though it might not be strictly right in every circumstance, if rigorously examined by the measures of the sanctuary. *Scripture casuistry* is not altogether so mild and favourable as the casuistry of this gentleman. But it was a weak thing of him to charge *Scripture* as not strict enough, when his own *law of nature* is looser; and to fall so foul upon Jacob, for doing what he not only *lawfully* might do, but *ought* to have done, if there be any truth in this writer’s doctrine concerning *officious lies*. If any one has a mind to see this case of Jacob more minutely discussed upon *Christian* principles, I refer him to a judicious author^d in the margin. It is sufficient for my purpose to have observed, that, taking the thing either way,

^c Gen. xxv. 33. Heb. xii. 16.

tom. ii. exercit. 14. p. 400, &c. Con-

^d Heidegger. *Histor. Patriarch.*

fer Pfeiffer, p. 164.

Scripture stands clear of all impeachment in that article; and that the charge which the Objector has drawn up against it recoils entirely upon that *law of nature* which he is recommending as a better rule than *Scripture* to go by.

GENESIS XXXVIII. 13, &c.

Upon the history of Judah and Tamar, as related in this chapter, the Objector has this remark: "We are to use our reason in judging of the actions of the most celebrated persons of old: else, to give no other instances than the transactions between Judah and Tamar, we might approve her stratagem in getting to lie with her father-in-law^e." No doubt but "we are to use our reason" in every thing: it was given for our *use*. And it will be a heavy article of condemnation upon this gentleman, that when he sits upon *Scripture*, he lays his *reason* aside as *useless*, following only the corrupt bias of his lusts, malice, or profane levity; throwing out petulant scoffs, raillery, and buffoonery, instead of *arguments*. One can scarce think him in earnest, when he charges Scripture with giving countenance to Tamar's *stratagem*. If he really thought that Scripture had approved such impurities, it would very probably have had fairer quarter at his hands. I am much mistaken if it be not, in his account, one of the greatest offences which Scripture carries with it, that it is too *pure* and *chaste*, and gives no manner of countenance to lewd *stratagems*. This makes him take refuge in his pretended *law of nature*; which, according to him, forbids not "incontinence in single persons^f," but which teaches that "that warm desire which is implanted in human nature cannot be criminal when pursued after such a manner as tends most to promote the happiness of the parties," (he does not say, happiness of the *public*;) "and to propagate and preserve the species^g;" and which teaches also, that "provided due care be taken to continue the race of mankind, there is no moral turpitude in any unnatural lusts whatsoever:" which is plainly the doctrine of the famous Author of the Rights^h, and, I suppose, upon the foot of his *law of nature*.

^e Christianity as Old &c. p. 276.

^f Ibid. p. 119.

^g Ibid. p. 345.

^h See the Author of the Rights, &c. p. 264. His words at length are,

"The desire of propagating the

"species being by Divine wisdom

"the most strongly implanted in man,

"next to that of his own preserva-

"tion, abstaining from it must be

"such a crime as is exceeded only

"by refusing to preserve one's own

Such loose casuists as these can never seriously condemn *lewd stratagems*. But *Scripture* does it, and under pain of *hell-fire*, as every man knows that knows *Scripture*; and therefore it can be nothing but grave banter in the Objector to charge *Scripture* as too loose upon this head. But let us hear how he enforces his plea, to make it look like reasoning. Speaking of Judah, he says; "For though before he knew himself to be the man, he was resolved to burn her; yet after, he cried, SHE HAS BEEN MORE RIGHTEOUS THAN I. And for this righteousness she was blessed with two twins, from whom the noble house of Judah, with all its kings, and the Messiah himself was descended¹." Passing over the buffoonery and profane turn of this paragraph, let us only examine the author's acuteness or honesty in saying, "for this righteousness she was blessed with twins."

Does *Scripture* say any thing of Tamar's *righteousness* in playing the harlot; or of her being *blessed* for it? Not a syllable. Perhaps the Author of the Rights could have written her panegyric, for her procuring *the existence of two immortal souls* at any rate. He might have deemed it *great righteousness* in her; as he might think it a *crime* next to *self-murder*, in such a case, to *abstain*. But *Scripture* knows no such doctrine, nor would ever have reckoned Tamar among the *righteous*, upon any such *lewd* account. Tamar indeed had kept her *faith* with Judah for a considerable time, living long a widow in expectation of being married (as she ought to have been) to his son Shelah. In that respect, Tamar had been more *righteous* and *faithful* towards Judah, than Judah had been to her. But it is not necessary to say, that she was strictly *righteous* at all, but that she was *less to blame* than Judah in a certain respect. For when Judah said, SHE HATH BEEN MORE RIGHTEOUS THAN I, he intended not to commend himself as *righteous* at all, but to signify in other words, that he had been *more to blame* in that matter than she, as having defrauded her of Shelah, who of right belonged to her, and ought to have married her. A frank and ingenuous

"being; and on some considerations greater; since this prevents the existence of an immortal soul, that only dissolves the union between it and the body: and both equally would, with a few years difference only, put an end to the race of man-

"kind; the only reasons of the moral turpitude of unnatural lusts."

Qu. Whether he means that *celibacy* is the next greatest crime to *self-murder*, or only *continence* in *celibacy*?

¹ Christianity as Old &c. p. 279.

confession from Judah, wherein he shewed himself so far an impartial judge, and a considerate man. Hereupon he acquitted her, revoking the sentence he had pronounced against her. And now, what is there in the whole story of that affair, that can give the least countenance or colour to the Objector's calumnies^k?

I shall here take leave of him for this time, having run through all the texts of Genesis. The rest, that are to come, are much thinner spread; so that two parts more may take in all the texts of the Old Testament; unless the Objector's *second* part should appear in the meanwhile, and furnish us with new cavils upon other texts. It will be easy enough for him to do it, requiring neither *wit*, nor *judgment*, nor *learning*, nor any thing but dull malice, and want of better employ. What he means by thus endeavouring to propagate *irreligion*, he best knows. One would think, if *infidelity* were a thing so valuable and pleasurable, he might most prudently confine it among a few select friends: for it is demonstration, that the further it spreads, the less it is worth to them, if it be really worth any thing. If licentiousness once goes *round*, all the satisfaction it aims at is entirely lost, and expires in confusion: for where *all* have much more liberty than they ought to have, it is certain *none* can have any. It is as much the interest of a set of *infidels*, that the rest of the world should be *believers*, as it is the interest of any select number of *knaves*, that all the world besides should be *honest*. Why then this overabundant zeal to publish infidel systems, and to diffuse licentiousness all over the kingdom? The case I take to be this: when men are stung with *guilt*, and are conscious of their own *shame*, they are uneasy under it, and much afflicted by it: it lies as a load upon their thoughts, and they cannot forbear talking of it, and trying all possible ways to bear up against it. It is a kind of relief to them to have something to say in all companies to confront *religion*, (the thing that galls them,) and something to *write* also, if they chance to have any smattering in *letters*. It is not enough for them to enjoy their beloved vices by themselves; they want some approbation, countenance, and encouragement from others, to render their vices more delectable, and to support themselves against their guilty doubts, fears, and misgivings. They are not fully persuaded in their own minds, of what they would persuade others to: for if

^k Compare St. Austin contr. Faust. lib. xxii. p. 396, &c.

they were, they might be content with it, and silently repose and rest themselves upon it. But their inward uneasiness prompts them to be saying something, however silly and trifling; and so at the same time that they are defending *infidelity*, they sufficiently discover that they are not satisfied with it, nor can ever enjoy it with any true peace. In a word, they are "like the troubled sea, when it cannot rest," through the consciousness they have of their detestable principles and practices: and then what wonder is it, if they perpetually "cast up mire and dirt?"

SCRIPTURE VINDICATED;

IN ANSWER TO A BOOK

ENTITLED,

CHRISTIANITY AS OLD AS THE CREATION.

PART II.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A POSTSCRIPT,

In Answer to such as pretend that the Bulk of Mankind, for Four Thousand Years, were without *Revelation*, and had no other Guide but *Reason*.

EXODUS.

HAVING concluded my First Part with Genesis, I have nothing now to do but to go on directly to Exodus. There has indeed appeared a pamphlet called a Second Address, which pretends to make some exceptions to what I had written upon the former texts: but the performance is so low, that my readers would not excuse my stopping one moment about it. The author, I perceive, had exhausted himself in his *great work*, and it is but very little reinforcement we are to expect from him. He has shewn that he can *rail*, which nobody doubted of; and so he might as well have spared himself this new trouble. He shall say what he pleases, for the present, of the Vindicator. I have *Apostles, Prophets*, and holy *Patriarchs* to defend, in the first place, against his unrighteous accusations.

So, with God's assistance, I proceed to the work I had undertaken, to maintain the authority and purity of the word of God against the foolish imaginations of perverse men.

EXODUS II. 12.

HE SLEW THE EGYPTIAN, AND HID HIM IN THE SAND.

The Objector^a has a fling at Moses, for slaying the Egyptian (as he conceives) without sufficient warrant or authority. But it will be proper to let the reader know, how this gentleman introduces his censure upon that servant of God. He insinuates in the page before^b, that a *spirit of cruelty* (though he, out of his great modesty, "dares not call it so") had prevailed much under the Old Testament: and he brings in the Prophet Elias as an example of it. Then he proceeds as follows:

^a Christianity as Old &c. p. 269.

^b Ibid. p. 268.

“ And if it be contrary to the spirit of the Gospel, even to wish to imitate that great Prophet, so favoured of God; the same will hold as strongly in relation to all the actions that are of a like nature, of other holy men, though quoted with approbation in the New Testament: as Moses is for acting the part of a magistrate, when a private man, in destroying his fellow-subject. And if there is a contrast between the spirit of the Old and the spirit of the New Testament, ought not we Christians to stick to the latter? &c.”

What “we Christians” ought to do, is very well understood by honest and sensible Christians, who want none of his insidious instructions or abusive admonitions. Old Testament precedents (which he here alludēs to) may be as safely followed as any in the *New*, if they be really and strictly *precedents*; that is, if the cases be similar, and the circumstances parallel. But without that, they are no precedents. As to the formal tale he tells of a *contrast*, or contrariety, between the spirit of the Old, and the spirit of the New Testament, it is (in the sense he takes it) mere invention and romance. That good and great Prophet Elias did no more than was proper for a man so “favoured of God” to do in his circumstances: yea, what he did was God’s doing, the same God both of Old Testament and New, and the same spirit. Elias did nothing contrary to the spirit of the Gospel, nor with any other spirit than St. Paul acted by, ^cwhen he struck Elymas the sorcerer with *blindness*; or St. Peter, ^dwhen he denounced present death upon Ananias and Sapphira. What the Objector builds upon is nothing but a misinterpretation of Luke ix. 55, 56, which shall be distinctly considered in its place: to examine it now would lead us too far from the business in hand.

However that matter stands, the Objector shews no acuteness in bringing in the instance of Moses, to make out his pretended *contrast* between the Old and New Testament. He should have found out some express approbation of that act of Moses in the *Old Testament*, and then have confronted it by something in the *New*, in order to shew the *contrast*. But instead of this, he cites a precedent of the Old Testament, “quoted” (as he owns) “with approbation in the New:” there it seems is the *contrast* between *Old* and *New*, that both agree in the self-same thing,

^c Acts xiii. 11.

^d Acts v. 5.

one in setting the precedent, the other in approving it; which shews that the spirit of both is one.

But, I suppose, the sly insinuation which he chiefly aims at (though he has committed a blunder in thus bringing it in) is, that the *New Testament*, at which he strikes all the while he is commending the *spirit* of it, has approved something which he conceives to be *wrong*, has approved a *private* man's acting the *part* of a *magistrate*, in destroying a fellow-subject. But if that be his drift, he is very easily defeated in that point also. For since that act of Moses is *approved* in the *New Testament*, by St. Stephen speaking by the Spirit of God, we may be confident that Moses had a Divine direction for what he did. That circumstance was omitted in the history of Exodus: but the same Spirit of God, speaking in St. Stephen, has since supplied it, and has thereby justified what Moses did. Seeing then that St. Stephen's words do amount to an *approbation* of that act of Moses, (as the Objector himself allows,) the rest lies in a very little compass, and admits of a short decision. It is only this: whether St. Stephen "full of the Holy Ghost," or this gentleman full of himself and his own imaginations, be most likely to pass a true judgment upon the case. It cannot be here pretended, that the nature of the thing was such as no *Divine* warrant could justify. God has an indisputable power and right over the lives of all men: and so if Moses acted by *Divine* warrant, he had as clear a right as any *magistrate* could claim, and he needed no other, because he could have no higher authority.

EXODUS III. 18.

—AND YOU SHALL SAY UNTO HIM, (Pharaoh,) THE LORD GOD OF THE HEBREWS HATH MET WITH US: AND NOW LET US GO (WE BESEECH THEE) THREE DAYS' JOURNEY INTO THE WILDERNESS, THAT WE MAY SACRIFICE TO THE LORD OUR GOD.

This precedent, among others, appears to our Objector *very surprising*^e: and why? For some weighty reason, no doubt, as usual. He goes on. "The Lord, though he told Moses and "the elders of Israel his real design of bringing his people out "of Egypt into the land of the Canaanites, yet bids them say "to the king of Egypt, LET US GO THREE DAYS' JOURNEY INTO THE "WILDERNESS^f," &c. A marvellous thing! that the Lord should

^e Christianity as Old &c. p. 348.

^f Exod. iii. 18. v. 3.

tell Moses and the elders of Israel his people, something more than was proper to be told again unto Pharaoh their avowed enemy. Let the reader observe how maliciously and disingenuously the Objector draws up his charge against *the Lord*, that he had told Moses his *real* design, as if what Moses was to tell to Pharaoh was not his *real* design also. Both were equally *real*: only Moses was not to discover the *whole* of God's real designs to Pharaoh, because it would have been highly improper and imprudent to do it. God was pleased to give Moses a good lesson of prudence: and how comes *prudence*, which has been commonly reckoned among the cardinal virtues by the Pagan moralists, to be here condemned by our Objector, who professes himself their devoted admirer?

I know not whether it be material to take notice that this last objection I have been answering comes from the mouth of interlocutor B, the book being written in the way of *dialogue* between A and B, of which A is the principal man. I make no difference in respect to the speakers, because they are plainly both of one side; though the author in his preface calls it "debating a subject," and has the vanity to compare it with Tully's way of writing in the books *De Natura Deorum*, and *De Divinatione*. But Tully's disputants always made it properly a *debate*, and represented the sense of the several contending parties to such advantage, that they could none of them complain they had not justice done them in the argument. The case is quite different in our author's lean performance. Here is scarce any debating the point at all; but interlocutor B is all the way made obsequious to the other: either first, to grant something which none but a thoughtless man would grant, that A might have some ground to go upon; as in page the third, one instance out of many. Or secondly, to produce some silly objection, ill stated, or ill managed, that A might have the advantage of an easy and a pompous triumph, as in pages 35, 48, 275, &c. Or thirdly, to strike in with his pretended antagonist, *debating* on the same side, and carrying on the same impertinence; as in pages 113, 266, 329, 348, &c. Or lastly, to flatter and compliment A for his great performances, which no one else could find out: see pages 421, 432. Such is the use and service of interlocutor B to governor A, through the

‡ See Christianity as Old &c. p. 166, 167.

mock debate: and I have thought proper, once for all, to give the reader some idea of the turn and composition of this *dialogue*, to justify my charging the author indifferently with what either A or B speaks, since B's part is little else but to attend as a servitor or waiting-man to A. Cicero's manner it is called by a very strong figure, resembling it as much as an empty *farce* does the finest *drama*. But I pass on.

EXODUS XII. 35, 36.

AND THEY BORROWED OF THE EGYPTIANS JEWELS OF SILVER, AND JEWELS OF GOLD, AND RAIMENT: AND THE LORD GAVE THE PEOPLE FAVOUR IN THE SIGHT OF THE EGYPTIANS, SO THAT THEY LENT UNTO THEM SUCH THINGS AS THEY REQUIRED. AND THEY SPOILED THE EGYPTIANS.

The Objector hereupon observes as follows: ^h“ If men flatter themselves, that they are true Israelites, and those of a different religion mere Egyptians; will they not be apt to imagine, when they see how the Israelites spoiled the Egyptians by the command of God himself, who made them borrow what they were not to repay, that this might be a good precedent for them?” B answers, very facetiously: “ I must own, that a command to lend, hoping for nothing againⁱ, and a command to borrow, ^kwithout returning any thing again, seem to be very different commands.” This is tolerably modest and decent, in comparison of what the infidel throws out afterwards^l, upon the same subject, of a more direful and blasphemous strain. “ They borrowed of the Egyptians as the Lord ordered them, jewels of gold and silver, and raiment, even to the spoiling of them^m: and when Pharaoh (who all along seemed jealous of their design, and bids them not go far away) found that this solemn sacrifice was a mere pretence, and that they really fled with all that they had borrowed of his people, he pursued the fugitives: the consequence was, that the Egyptians, instead of obtaining restitution, were miraculously destroyed, and Pharaoh lost his life, as well as his subjects; and those who had dealt thus treacherously with them were as miraculously preserved.” Thus far this wretched man, who hath taken upon him, like Pharaoh, to exalt himself against the

^h Christianity as Old &c. p. 263.
Luke vi. 35.

^k Exod. iii. 21, 22.

^l Christianity as Old &c. p. 349.
^m Exod. xii. 35.

living God. But to answer his chicane and buffoonery, as distinctly as possible ; let it be observed,

1. That he builds too much upon the English translation. Instead of " they borrowed," in verse 35, it may as literally and more properly be translated, *they asked*; as the Seventy, and Vulgate, and Chaldee render: and instead of " they lent " unto them," the rendering may as well be, *they let them have, or they granted them* such things as they asked for. The like may be observed of Exod. iii. 22. where, instead of " shall borrow," should be read, *shall ask*ⁿ.

The Egyptians had been thoroughly terrified with what had passed, and especially with the last dreadful plague upon all their *firstborn*. They were now willing to give the Hebrews any thing, or every thing, only to be quit of them: for in their dismal fright THEY SAID, WE BE ALL DEAD MEN^o. They were willing enough now, even to bribe the Hebrews to be gone, and to court them with any presents they should desire, so that they might but obtain their favour, perceiving how much depended upon their being kind and civil to them, and how dearly they had already paid for their unkindness towards them; and what might yet follow worse than all before, they knew not. In a word, they were glad at any rate to compound for their future safety, and so were ready to give the Hebrews any thing they should either ask or want.

2. But however that be, let it next be observed, that God had an undoubted right to transfer the property to the Hebrews, since the whole world is his, and no one can put in any bar to his title. The Hebrews therefore took nothing but what was strictly their *own*. They had God's express order Pfor taking it; and so God, by transferring the property to them, made it *theirs*. This was not *dispensing* with the law of nature, but it was *altering* the *case*; for no law of nature forbids any man's taking what God gives him. It was not encouraging *fraud* or *theft*; but it was making so essential a change in the very nature and quality of the act, by that single circumstance of a *Divine* commission, that now there could be neither *fraud* nor *theft* in so taking what the Egyptians were ready to part

ⁿ See Mr. Shuckford, who is beforehand with me in the observation, and proves it more at large. Connection of Sacred and Profane His-

tory, vol. ii. p. 495.

^o Exod. xii. 33.

^p Exod. iii. 22. xi. 2.

with, and what God commanded the Israelites both to take and keep as their own^q.

3. Let it further be observed, that the Lord God Almighty had the same indisputable right to remove the Hebrews finally out of Pharaoh's hands; and he gave Pharaoh very full and ample demonstrations of his will, by repeated miracles. After that, it was most insolent defiance against Heaven, either to detain the people, or to claim their service, or to demand restitution of what they had taken. It was wild and frantic to dispute whether *the king of Egypt* or *the King of Heaven* ought to be obeyed, and to bear rule in the world. It is ridiculous in the Objector to talk of *restitution* in the case, as if God could *borrow* any thing of his creatures, which owe their substance and their very being to him: and it is horribly *profane*, as well as thoughtless, to say, that the Hebrews dealt *treacherously*, either in their departure, or in taking what they did, since both were pursuant to *Divine* order; and they had been *treacherous* to God and to one another, in those circumstances, had they refused to do either. The Objector himself at other times can tell us, that "by the circumstances men are under^r," we are to judge of the nature, and quality, and tendency of their actions: now that single circumstance of a *Divine* command so alters the case with respect to what the Hebrews did, that it can be nothing akin to men's ordinarily going out of a realm without leave, or taking money or jewels with them, so as never to return them.

4. Let it further be observed, that no ill use at all can be made of this precedent by men that have any share of common sense and common honesty. If any one has such commission and warrant as the Hebrews had, then let him do as the Hebrews did, and not otherwise. It is ludicrous to call this a *precedent* for what is nothing like it, nor any thing akin to it. But if any can be weak enough, or wild enough, to make this a cover for iniquity, they *reason* wrong; and so the fault might better be thrown upon *human reason*, which the Objector so *magnifies*, than upon *sacred Scripture*, which he loves to *vilify*. But in truth, neither *Scripture* nor *reason* ought to bear the blame of what would be a wilful *abuse* of both: but the blame would lie

^q Compare Tertullian adv. Marc. Clem. Alex. Strom. i. c. 23. p. 415, lib. ii. c. 20. p. 392. Austin contr. 416. Philo in Vit. Mos. Faust. lib. xxii. c. 71, 72. p. 402, 403.

^r Christianity as Old &c. p. 345.

solely upon human corruption and culpable depravity. To that are owing men's *evil practices* and their *evil reasonings* too: and for both they must one day answer at the high tribunal of God.

EXODUS XX. 5.

I THE LORD THY GOD AM A JEALOUS GOD, VISITING THE INIQUITY OF THE FATHERS UPON THE CHILDREN UNTO THE THIRD AND FOURTH GENERATION OF THEM THAT HATE ME^r.

The Objector is pleased to observe^s, that "the same spirit does not alike prevail throughout the Old Testament. The nearer we come to the times of the Gospel, the milder it appeared: for though God declares in the Decalogue, that he is a jealous God, &c. and accordingly Achan, with all his family, was destroyed for his single crime, yet the Lord afterwards says, THE SOUL THAT SINNETH, IT SHALL DIE; THE SON SHALL NOT BEAR THE INIQUITY OF THE FATHER^t," &c.

That God may, and often does, vary his methods, or his dispensations, as times and circumstances vary, is very certain: but to give a clear account of all such variations, the reasons of which are locked up in the Divine counsels, may be a great deal too much for this author, or a wiser man, to pretend to. Yet the strength of his opposition to sacred Writ resolves generally into this false principle, this senseless vanity, that if there be any thing in the conduct of an all-wise God which an ignorant creature of yesterday cannot look into and account for, that is reason sufficient for rejecting an otherwise plain revelation. And so you will find him up and down, in his book, taking upon him to prescribe and dictate to an all-knowing God^u. If the subjects of any earthly kingdom were to go upon the like principle, rejecting every law, injunction, proclamation, or edict, whenever they could not see clearly into all the *reasons of state* upon which it is founded, what confusion would it not bring, and what madness would it not end in? And yet *human* counsels are not so deep as *Divine*: neither is the government of any kingdom upon earth fit to be compared with the government of Almighty God over the vast and wide universe. But this by the way only, to check the vain presumption and conceitedness of such a method of reasoning. Now to come to the point in hand. The reason,

^r Compare Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7.

^s Christianity as Old &c. p. 268.

^t Ezek. xviii. 20.

^u See instances in Christianity, &c. p. 3, 105, 111, 115, 116, 122, 124, 140, 196.

or account which the Objector has been pleased to give, is undoubtedly a false one. For if it had been a general rule that the *spirit of the Old Testament* should grow milder and milder as the Gospel approached, let him account for what God says by the same prophet Ezekiel^x, that when he should send out his sore judgments "to cut off man and beast," he would not spare one man among the wicked for the sake of the righteous, but the righteous should be alone preserved. The sentence is full and peremptory: **THOUGH THESE THREE MEN, NOAH, DANIEL, AND JOB, WERE IN IT, THEY SHOULD DELIVER BUT THEIR OWN SOULS BY THEIR RIGHTEOUSNESS, SAITH THE LORD GOD.** Yet time was, when God would have spared even that inhospitable, murderous, impious, and incestuous city, Sodom, had there been but *ten* righteous persons found in it: so mild was Almighty God in ancient days, so merciful and gentle were his dealings; seemingly more so than in the times of Ezekiel, though nearer to the times of the Gospel. I say then, that the Objector's rule or comment upon God's conduct is imaginary, and without foundation.

I may further observe, that as to the particular case of "visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children," there appears to have been no settled change, no standing abatement made of what is laid down in the Decalogue. The same thing was threatened, and the same discipline observed in the Gospel times, as well as before, and may have been frequently since in all ages of the Church down to this day. What our blessed Lord himself says, relating to our purpose, may deserve our special notice. **THAT UPON YOU MAY COME ALL THE RIGHTEOUS BLOOD SHED UPON THE EARTH, FROM THE BLOOD OF RIGHTEOUS ABEL UNTO THE BLOOD OF ZACHARIAS, &C.—VERILY I SAY UNTO YOU, ALL THESE THINGS SHALL COME UPON THIS GENERATION^y.** The threatening was fully verified in the dreadful destruction of Jerusalem, within less than forty years after. And I believe it will not be easy to find any more terrible example of Divine vengeance (excepting one only) before the times of the Gospel, than this which has appeared since.

^x Ezek. xiv. 4.

^y Matt. xxiii. 35, 36. To understand this, we must observe that the Scripture takes notice of a certain *measure of iniquity* which is filling up from one generation to another, till at last it makes a nation or family ripe for destruction: and although those persons on whom this final vengeance

falls, suffer no more than their own personal sins deserved; yet because the sins of former generations, which they equal or outdo, make it time for God utterly to destroy them, the punishments due to the sins of many ages and generations are all said to fall upon them. *Sherlock on Providence*, chap. viii. p. 408.

Vain therefore are the dreams of this writer, as to God's growing milder in his judgments upon wicked men, the nearer we come to the Gospel times.

But he will ask us, probably, how then do we reconcile the two texts, one of Moses in the Decalogue, and the other in the prophet Ezekiel? Very easily :

For the seeming difference amounts only to this ; that God may vary his methods, at different times, according as he sees cause, or according as the ends of providence or discipline require. He sometimes visits the sins of the fathers upon the children, and sometimes he does it not : and the reasons are to himself in both cases. " For who hath known the mind of the Lord ? or who hath been his counsellor ? " Who shall instruct him in matters of discipline, or direct an all-wise God how to govern the world ?

As to the particular case of the Jews under captivity, spoken of both by Jeremiah^a and Ezekiel^b, it appears to stand thus : the Jews had been *visited*, sent into captivity, for the sins of their *fathers*, as well as for their own, pursuant to the threatenings which God had before made by his prophets^b. The captive Jews hereupon complained, thinking it hard measure that they should so smart for the *sins* of their *fathers*, and should be punished beyond what, in the ordinary course of providence, their *own* sins would have called for. The fact was true ; and God's reason, among others, was, to testify and demonstrate to the world his utter detestation of the sins of Manasseh, his abominable idolatries. But God, to comfort his captive people, lets them know, that this severe, though just dispensation towards them should not be lasting, for that he would be kind to them again, by restoring them to their own land, and then they should no longer have occasion to complain, or to use that *proverb* mentioned by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, in the places before cited : they had been severely chastised for their *fathers'* sins, as well as for their own ; but their captivity should cease, and then that extraordinary *visitation* should cease also, and they should suffer only for their *own faults* : and God would be gracious to them in the mean while. This interpretation of Ezekiel I take in the main from Bishop Stillingfleet^c, who had well considered it, and who

^y Rom. xi. 34.

^z Jerem. xxxi. 29, 30. Lament. v. 7.

^a Ezek. xviii. 2.

^b Jerem. xv. 4. compare 2 Kings

xxiii. 26.

^c Stillingfleet of the Sufferings of Christ, against Crellius, chap. iii.

has cleared up the objected difficulty (as I conceive) the best of any.

If it be further asked, how it is justifiable at all to visit the sins of the *fathers* upon the *children*, and more especially upon *innocent* children, as upon Achan's children, and upon David's first child by Bathsheba^d; to this I answer :

1. First, as to the case of *guilty* children, they deserve the punishment which God inflicts, and they are punished for their own sins, in such cases, as well as for the sins of their fathers. But as God does not punish all that deserve it, and might remit the punishment due for their own sins if he so pleased, and would do it if their *fathers* had not sinned also; it may be justly said in such a case, that God visits the sins of the *fathers* upon the *children*, because he would not have taken the forfeiture, nor have punished the children in this life according to their own demerits, if the sins of their *fathers*, added to theirs, had not made it necessary, or proper, for answering the ends of *discipline*.

2. As to the case of *innocent* children, there can be no question but God may demand the life which he gave them, whenever he pleases; and it is no injury to them, to translate them from this world to a better, but a kindness and a comfort to them. And if an all-merciful God, while he demands their lives for their benefit, does it also at such a time and in such a manner as shall best answer the ends of *discipline* for the good of the world, there is nothing in this conduct but what redounds to the glory both of the wisdom and goodness of God. It is not indeed a proper rule for human judicatures to proceed by, because men have not that absolute right or power over the lives of others, as God has over all; neither can they judge when to use such a power, if they had it; neither, if they deprive persons of a present advantage, are they able afterwards to make them amends. Therefore no such power is ordinarily lodged in men. God himself has foreclosed all pretences to it, by his express prohibitions. But the case is different with respect to God himself, who has sovereign authority, and whose infinite wisdom is a bar to his judging wrong, and his infinite power and goodness can compensate all seeming severities. In the mean while, his detestation of sin is more remarkably demonstrated, and the practice of righteousness more strongly guarded and secured, by thus punish-

^d 2 Sam. xii. 18.

^e Deut. xxiv. 16. 2 Kings xiv. 5, 6.

ing wickedness, not only at the first hand, but in the *posterity* also for several generations. So, taking the thing either way, there can be no just complaint made against the *Divine* proceedings in visiting the sins of the fathers upon their either *sinful* or *innocent* progeny. If Achan's family, supposing them entirely innocent, were destroyed for his *single* crime, they lost nothing that they had any strict right to; or if they had, yet God could make them amends. A *good* father derives a *blessing* upon his children, and a *bad* father entails a *curse*, but in respect only to this world: and it is good for the world it should be so. The life to come will fully adjust all seeming inequalities of this kind: which is abundantly sufficient to answer all possible objections on this head. In a word, as God daily exercises such a power over *innocent* persons for the ends of his wise *providence*, so there is no just reason to be assigned why he may not also exercise the same power for the ends of *discipline*, which is but one species of his providential dispensations.

LEVITICUS XXVII. 28, 29.

NO DEVOTED THING, THAT A MAN SHALL DEVOTE UNTO THE LORD OF ALL THAT HE HATH, BOTH OF MAN AND BEAST, AND OF THE FIELD OF HIS POSSESSION, SHALL BE SOLD OR REDEEMED: EVERY DEVOTED THING IS MOST HOLY UNTO THE LORD.

NONE DEVOTED, WHICH SHALL BE DEVOTED OF MEN, SHALL BE REDEEMED; BUT SHALL SURELY BE PUT TO DEATH.

The Objector refers to this passage, in order to infer from it, that "the Levitical law approved or countenanced human sacrifices." He says, "authors are divided" upon it: and he presently lets us know what side he takes, too hastily listening to any slander raised against Scripture. A noble writer indeed says, that "something of this nature might possibly be deduced "even from holy Writ^h;" he perhaps may be one of this gentleman's *authors*. But the learned Seldenⁱ has so fully and so accurately discussed the question, determining it in the *negative*, that there is no room left for further dispute about it among

^f See Sherlock on Providence, p. 410. Tertull. advers. Marcion. lib. ii. cap. 15, p. 389.

^g Christianity as Old &c. p. 94.

^h Characteristics, vol. iii. p. 124.

ⁱ Selden. de Jur. Nat. et Gent. lib. iv. cap. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. His conclusion,

after such particular examination, is in these words: "Manifestum est ex "Ebræorum interpretatione qualicum- "que dictæ legis sacræ, nullum om- "nino homicidium ultroneum, seu "extra pœnæ, seu quasi rationem, "permissum ea fuisse." Cap. x. p. 550.

men of true learning. The 28th verse of this chapter in Leviticus speaks of things or persons devoted to *sacred uses*, by that sort of vow which was called *cherem*, a consecration under pain of a curse. Things or persons so devoted or consecrated were for ever to be set apart to sacred uses, and could never be redeemed or desecrated. The 29th verse is to be understood of persons devoted by the *cherem* also, but devoted to perdition, (in like manner as the city Jericho was devoted^k;) in a hostile or vindictive way, and not in the way of sacrifice. Persons so devoted were to be utterly destroyed. This is the true and the full meaning of that whole passage in Leviticus^l.

But our Objector has somewhat to plead for another construction. He is pleased to interpret the words, **IS MOST HOLY UNTO THE LORD**, in verse 28, by the words of verse 29, **SHALL SURELY BE PUT TO DEATH**. "What is meant," he says, "by being **MOST HOLY UNTO THE LORD** is explained in the next verse," and then he recites the 29th. But we may observe that **THE FIELD OF HIS POSSESSION** was one of the things mentioned in verse 28, as being *devoted*, and thereby rendered "most holy unto the Lord." But if by the field's being *most holy*, nothing more is meant than its being irrevocably and irredeemably consecrated to God, "as a field devoted, the possession whereof should be the priest's^m;" then certainly the men mentioned in the same verse with the *field* may be understood to be *most holy*, as consecrated irrevocably to *sacred uses* or *services*. Thus the Levites were consecrated, who were to serve the priests for ever; and thus the child Samuel was consecrated to God by his mother, and thereupon delivered up to old Eli, who received him for the Lordⁿ: and thus also the Nethinims, who were given by David to serve the Levites, as the Levites were to serve the priests^o.

But the Objector says further, that "whatever was the Lord's, as the firstborn of man and beast, was to be slain, if God did not order its redemption^p." And for proof thereof, he refers us to some texts^q noted in the margin. But if he means redemption with money, he forgets that all the *firstborn*, before

^k Josh. vi. 17. "And the city shall be accursed," (devoted, *cherem*;) "even it, and all that are therein, to the Lord." Compare Num. xxi. 2, 3. Judg. xxi. 5. 1 Sam. xiv. 24.

^l See Sir John Marsham, sect. ix. p. 169. ed. Lips. In the next page he has these words: "Cædes itaque

"humana nullo Ebræorum jure permissa est, extra pœnæ legitimæ, justique belli rationem."

^m Levit. xxvii. 21.

ⁿ 1 Sam. ii. 25, 26, 27, 28.

^o Ezra viii. 20.

^p Christianity as Old &c. p. 95.

^q Exod. xxx. 12, 13. xxxiv. 19, 20.

God took in the Levites in their stead, were *the Lord's*: and yet none of these (excepting 273, the supernumerary firstborn above the number of the Levites^r) were either *redeemed* or *slain*. The Levites came in their places, and so the Levites were now *the Lord's*, and yet were neither to be *redeemed* nor *slain*, but to serve the tabernacle and the priests^s. In that sense they were *the Lord's*, and *holy unto the Lord*^t, as irrevocably and unredeemably consecrated to God's service. It is true, that *captives taken in war*, if before *devoted*, were to be *slain*: and of such may the 29th verse be understood. But verse 28. speaks of a man's devoting out of "all that he hath," out of what is his own property, as for instance, his own *slaves* bought with his own money: those so devoted were not to be sacrificed, or otherwise slain, but to serve to *sacred uses*. That was the full end and aim of their being so solemnly and so irreversibly *devoted* to the Lord. And let it here be noted that God, speaking to Aaron in capacity of high priest, and assigning the priest's portion, says, EVERY THING DEVOTED IN ISRAEL (every *cherem*, every thing consecrated under a curse) SHALL BE THINE^u: which answers to the words in Levit. xxvii. 28, EVERY THING DEVOTED IS MOST HOLY UNTO THE LORD. Yet both are to be understood but of one kind of *cherem*, of things *consecrated* for ever to *sacred uses*, not of things *destined to destruction*: for how could that be given for the *use* of the *priests* which was immediately to be destroyed! I may add, that when the animals allowed for sacrifice are numbered up in Leviticus^x, we find mention made of *bullocks*, *sheep*, *goats*, *turtle-doves*, *young pigeons*: but not a word of sacrificing *men*: so little ground or colour is there for this injurious charge upon the word of God.

To conclude this head, it is observable, that almost all the Pagan countries have offered human sacrifices^y; the Phœnicians, and Canaanites, Egyptians, Arabians, Athenians, Lacedæmonians, Romans, Carthaginians, Scythians, Gauls, and Britons. The Jews in a manner were the only nation that never admitted the practice, because they had been taught better by

^r Numb. iii. 45, 46.

^s Numb. iii. 9. viii. 19.

^t Those Levites who are said, Numb. viii. 19, to be *given* to the *priests*, are in verse 16. said to be *given* unto God, which amounts to the same: God says, "They are

"wholly given unto me:" and, "I have taken them unto me."

^u Numb. xviii. 14.

^x Levit. i. 2, 10, 14.

^y Vid. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. v. cap. 16. p. 155, &c.

God himself: and it has been owing chiefly, not to *infidels*, but to Christianity and Christian priests^z, that that diabolical custom began to be laid aside, (about the time when *oracles* also ceased,) and that we are not sacrificing our sons and daughters unto *devils* at this day. All this is fact; and yet this unrighteous man, instead of commending *revelation*, as he ought to do, for these inestimable benefits which we enjoy by it, is pleased to charge it as faulty in that very article where it deserves his highest praises. Can there be any *reason*, any *sincerity*, any *benevolence* to mankind, shewn in thus abusing the readers?

NUMBERS XIV. 30—34.

DOUBTLESS YE SHALL NOT COME INTO THE LAND, CONCERNING WHICH I SWARE TO MAKE YOU DWELL THEREIN, SAVE CALEB, &c.—AND YE SHALL KNOW MY BREACH OF PROMISE.

The Objector remarks^a, that “there are texts, which, if taken literally, represent God not only falsifying his word, but his “oaths.” Then he cites the two texts above specified. Now as to verse 30. no one but an half-witted reader can be at a loss to understand it, and *literally* too. YE, that is, ye Israelites considered as particular men, SHALL NOT COME INTO THE LAND CONCERNING WHICH I SWARE TO MAKE YOU (*you* considered as a *people*) DWELL THEREIN. God’s promises were made to the *seed* of Abraham, to the *children* of Israel, to the Hebrews, as an abiding *people* which was to subsist for many ages, though particular men were going off daily, as in all fleeting successive bodies. To that *people*, I say, the promises were *literally* made, and to the same people they were as *literally* fulfilled. The promise was not tied to *certain persons*, but to a *certain people*, and therefore might be performed at any time (if not otherwise limited) while that people subsisted.

It is a very usual and a very intelligible way of speaking, common in all languages, to speak of nations in their national capacity, and to say *we* or *you*, not meaning it of the individuals now living, but of their ancestors or posterity: and I am persuaded there is scarce a plain countryman but who would readily understand such expressions at first hearing; so little ground is there for cavil upon this first article.

As to what is said in verse 34. YE SHALL KNOW MY BREACH OF

^z Vid. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. v. 163, &c. Jenkins, vol. i. p. 360.

cap. 17. p. 208. et lib. iv. cap. 17. p. ^a Christianity as Old &c. p. 257.

PROMISE, it is a harsh translation, and merely *conjectural*, not warranted by the Hebrew original. Some of our older English translations had a more inoffensive and a juster rendering, than our last version here happens to have. Coverdale's Bible of 1535 renders; YE MAY KNOW WHAT IT IS, WHEN I WITHDRAWE MY HAND. Matthewes's of 1537 has, YE SHALL FELE MY VENGEAUNCE. The Great Bible of 1539, YE SHALL KNOWE MY DISPLEASURE. The Geneva translators of 1560 first ventured to say, YE SHALL FELE MY BREACH OF PROMISE: but then they added a marginal note to soften it, viz. "whether my promise be true, or no." Bishop Parker's Bible of 1568 altered it into, YE SHALL KNOWE MY BREACHE OF PROMISE, leaving no note at all in the margin: and the last translation, following Parker's, reads the text as before, only throwing in another *softer* version into the margin, viz. "altering of my purpose."

The truth is, *promise* was inserted by the translators only to fill up the sense, as they supposed: there is nothing in the Hebrew to answer it. The most that can be made of the Hebrew, in that way of construction, is no more than this, (as Bishop Patrick has observed,) YE SHALL KNOW MY BREACH. Which might signify either God's *breaking in* upon them, in the way of anger; or his *breaking with them*, that is, departing from them. And yet it is not certain that the word תנורתי really signifies *my breach*. The word occurs but once more in the whole Bible, in Job xxxiii. 10. where it is in the plural number, and is by us rendered *occasions*; as much by guess, as in the other place. Under these uncertainties, and while we want other light, I know no better rule to go by than the Seventy (which is the most ancient version) and Jerome, who had seen the other ancient Greek versions. Now the Seventy have in this place of Numbers, τὸν θυμὸν τῆς ὀργῆς μου, *my anger*, or more literally, *the fury of my wrath*: and in the place of Job they have μέμψιν, *complaint, accusation*. Jerome, in the first, has *ultionem meam*, and in the other *querelas*. One of the last learned commentators, Le Clerc, having considered every way, and finding an Arabic root that seemed to favour such construction as the Seventy and Vulgate give, acquiesces at length in this rendering: "Ye shall know my *"vengeance,"* being at least as good a rendering, and as probable as any.

Upon the whole, it is evident that there is no foundation, scarce colour, for our Objector's speculations upon this text.

This is one, among many, of his English objections, which I had in my eye when I wrote my introduction to Part the First^a. I perceive the gentleman is somewhat offended at the freedom I took with him, in telling the world what is true, that “ he discovers no acquaintance with the original languages, nor so much as with common critics or commentators.” He endeavours in a piece he has since published^b, to bring himself off by saying, that “ he writes only for the unlearned, and that the English Bible to those must be the word of God, otherwise they will have no word of God at all.” One shall not easily meet with a poorer defence of a wrong thing. Let the English Bible be to English readers the *word of God*, as much as any *version* of the word of God can be: yet there are few, I believe, even among the *unlearned*, so ignorant as to imagine that it was first penned in English, or that it is not a *translation*. And if they meet with any difficulty, or any thing that appears offensive, they have guides to go to, who by consulting the *originals*, or the best commentators, may be able to help them out. But this writer’s advice to them would be, to throw aside the Bible, and to trust entirely to their own natural parts or talents, to their *inward* light, without any *external* help from the word of God: and this because there may be some expressions in an English version which are not justifiable, or may be made an ill use of. An argument which he seems to have borrowed (as he has several others) from the Popish *priests*, who argue in the same way against letting the people have the Scriptures in the *vulgar* tongue. But the *uses* of Scripture are too many and too great to be thus despised or given up, only for fear of some *possible* abuses. The argument would be as strong for discarding all *reasoning* too, because the *use* of reason will be attended with some *abuses* of that excellent faculty. But this author does wrong in charging faults upon *Scripture* which are faults of a *version* only, and not of *Scripture*. How does he account for that part of misconduct? Is it *ignorance* only? Why then does he undertake what he is not equal to? And why does he insinuate to the *unlearned*, that there are such and such faults in *Scripture*, when he is not capable himself of knowing whether the fault lies in *Scripture* or in the *translation*? If there be a fault in a version, it is a good reason for mending the version; but certainly

^a See above, p. 170.

^b Second Address, &c. p. 84, 85.

it is no reason for rejecting Scripture, and all *external* revelation, and resting only in our *inward* light or *natural* gifts. In short, he has taken upon him to give advice to the *unlearned*, in a point of the highest consequence, himself all the while as *unlearned* almost as they; especially in what concerns proper *biblical* learning, which he ought to have been a master of, in some measure at least, before he presumed thus to criticise upon *texts* of Scripture. No pretences nor colourings can ever justify this management: if the "blind are to lead the blind," what can be expected, but that "both should fall into the ditch?" I beg my reader's pardon for this short digression, which might most properly suit this place, and which the importunity and confidence of the adversary has in a manner forced me into.

NUMBERS XXI. 2, 3.

AND ISRAEL VOWED A VOW UNTO THE LORD, AND SAID, IF THOU WILT INDEED DELIVER THIS PEOPLE INTO MY HAND, THEN I WILL UTTERLY DESTROY THEIR CITIES. AND THE LORD HEARKENED TO THE VOICE OF ISRAEL, AND DELIVERED UP THE CANAANITES; AND THEY UTTERLY DESTROYED THEM, &c.

I may just note by the way, that instead of "I will utterly destroy their cities," the truer rendering would be, *I will devote their cities*, i. e. to destruction: and instead of, "they utterly destroyed them," in the next verse, it should be, they *devoted* (or *anathematized*) them. But as no use will be made of the observation in our present argument, it is sufficient just to have hinted it, only to prevent an objection which our author did not see, or did not think proper to lay hold of. But he is mightily offended at those severe dealings with the Canaanites; being much kinder, it seems, and more *benevolent* than the great *God of Israel*; or however taking upon himself to judge in what concerns the *Divine* conduct and government, in a manner that would be presumption and rudeness with respect even to a petty prince, if he knew no more of the case than he does here. Thrice he exposes himself on this head^c.

1. First he takes notice, "that the Canaanites, who had never done Israel the least injury, men, women, and children, were to be utterly destroyed^d." Unhappy sufferers! But the same history that tells us this, tells us also how their sins had

^c Christianity as Old &c. p. 97, 264, 272.

^d Ibid. p. 97.

deserved it^e. And what if they “had never done Israel the “least injury,” (any more than those that last died by the hand of justice had done injury to the officers that seized them, or to the executioner that despatched them,) yet certainly if they had been injurious to the *public*, (as all wicked miscreants are,) and if they had thereby grievously offended the Lord of the whole earth, he might appoint his own people, as well as any other instruments, to execute his just wrath and vengeance upon them. If the force of his objection lies only in this, that *innocent* children were to suffer with the rest, the same objection lies against all public judgments, whether *wars*, or *plagues*, or *deluges*, or *famines*, or what else soever: such arguments can terminate in nothing else but *Atheism*.

2. The Objector further pleads in the manner here following: “Would not people, if, like the children of Israel, they were “destitute of an habitation, be apt to think what the Israelites “did to the Canaanites a good precedent; and that they might “invade a neighbouring idolatrous nation, that never did them “the least harm, and extirpate not only men and women, but “even their innocent infants, in order to get possession of their “country? And I question whether the Spaniards would have “murdered so many millions in the Indies, had they not “thought they might have used them like Canaanites^f.” Dull and insipid! neither argument nor poignancy. No one would, no one could fetch in this as a precedent for ill practices, who was not beforehand resolved, with or without precedent, to commit iniquity. The case is a very plain case. If any have such commission as the Israelites had, such express orders from Heaven, then this instance is a *precedent* to act by, if in such a case they could want any: but if any men have no such commission as the Israelites had, then this is no *precedent* for their acting as the Israelites did. It is exceeding trifling to call it a *precedent*, when the most material circumstance is wanting that could make it such. But what if some will *think* it a precedent when it is none? To this I may answer, what if some will *think* any thing right they have a mind to, and make their will their law, with or without precedent? There is no accounting for what foolish, partial, wicked men may think: the only question is, what they *ought* to think. If men *reason* right, this precedent

^e Deut. ix. 4.

^f Christianity as Old &c. p. 264.

can never mislead them. But if they *reason* wrong from it, and pervert it to ill purposes, the fault then lies in their ill-reasoning : and so let the author next point his satire, if he pleases, against the *use of reason* ; which though silly employ, would yet be wiser and more pertinent than what he urges against *Scripture*.

As to what he again repeats about *innocent* infants, I have sufficiently answered it in the preceding article. I shall only add, that God takes away thousands of such innocent children every day, and perhaps more than half the species under ten years of age. How will this writer account for it? If he believes there is a God, I suppose he will allow it is God's doing, and that God has a sovereign right over the lives and fortunes of men, women, and children. But if he doubts of these plain truths, let him declare it, and speak out.

3. The Objector pretends further, that a Divine *command*, in this case, "is pleaded in vain, except it can be shewn, that the " thing supposed to be commanded is not inconsistent with the " law of nature ; which if God can dispense with in any one case, " he may in alls." Ridiculous. Here was no *dispensing* with any *law of nature* ; but the circumstance of a *Divine* command (a very material circumstance indeed) altered the whole *case*, changed the quality of the act, and made it no breach of the law of nature. For what law of nature forbids a man the executing of God's will, where the Divine right to what he would have executed is clear and indisputable? The truth is, the law of nature, the very primary law of all, (which is, to *obey God*,) demands this service from man, whenever God requires it^h.

This writer, through a cloud of darkness, can yet sometimes see the truth, and can reason right. He observes in another placeⁱ, "It is the circumstances men are under, by which we " are to judge of the tendency of actions. As for instance, the " killing a man, considered without its circumstances, is an " action neither good nor bad : but by the magistrate when the " public good requires it ; or by a private man when necessary " for self-defence, it is an action always good." Very well. Do but allow the high and mighty Magistrate of heaven and earth as much right as his deputies have that act under him, and wisdom also sufficient to judge of what concerns the *public good* ; and then certainly the Israelites acting by his order, had, at

^ε Christianity as Old &c. p. 272. ^h See Cumberland. Prolegom. s. 24.

ⁱ Christianity as Old &c. p. 345.

least, as clear a right to destroy the Canaanites, as any *executioner* can have to take away life by command of authority.

4. But the Objector, finding himself pinched here, by the plainest maxims of common sense, retires to another shift, which will prove as useless to him as the former. He alleges, that "no man can be so certain of his having a positive command from God, as he is that God has forbid it him by the light of nature^k." But why so? Is it because no man can trust to his eyes or ears, or other senses? How then can a gaoler, a sheriff, or an executioner trust to any magistrate's *warrant* for putting a criminal to death, for fear of being himself guilty of *murder*? God, who has endowed us with faculties of discernment to know when this or that man converses with us, can undoubtedly find out ways and means to make us as infallibly know when himself speaks to us. But the Objector says, that even "miracles could not be a proof of any such commission." Strange, that a message sent from heaven, and attested also by miracles, should not be as good a proof of God's commission, and as safe a rule to act by, as any warrant, under hand and seal, is of a *magistrate's* commission. But he further adds: "We can only know from the nature of the things themselves, whether miracles are done by a good or evil being." That is his great mistake: Pharaoh's magicians might have taught him better. They knew at length, and were sensible, on what side the "finger of God" was^l, without knowing, or at all considering what the nature or purport of Moses's errand was. They knew it by the prevailing, superior, uncontrolled power shewn in Moses's miracles. By the same rule may *Divine* miracles at any time be distinguished from diabolical. God never did nor ever will permit *superior* or *uncontrolled* miracles to be wrought in favour of imposture and falsehood. No such snares have ever yet been laid for mankind: but from past experience, and from the reason of the thing, and, above all, from the goodness and loving-kindness of God, we have sufficient grounds to believe and trust that no such thing ever will be, or, morally speaking, can be^m.

But besides *miracles*, there may be several other ways whereby God may manifest himself unto men; unless all supernatural

^k Christianity as Old &c. p. 272.

^l Exod. viii. 19.

^m See Mr. Locke's Discourse of &c.

Miracles, p. 453. fol. edit. Mr. Leake's Sermon on St. Stephen's Day, p. 28,

revelations or manifestations be called *miracles*, which in a strict and proper sense they are not, neither have they been so called. God manifested himself, for instance, to Adam, to Cain, to Noah, to Abraham, to Jacob, to Moses, to all the people of Israel, and to the *prophets*; and those all knew when God spake to them, as certainly as men may now know what company they are at any time in, or whom they converse with. And it would be strange indeed, as I before hinted, if God, who has taught us how to know one another, could not as infallibly teach us how to know him, and to receive commands from him.

5. The Objector has still something further to urge, and says, that if "God be infinitely wise and good, then no command, not stamped with those characters, can come from him, much less a command inconsistent with all those duties that men as men owe to one another." To which I answer, that every command which has the broad seal of Heaven set to it, which appears by sure and certain *external* proofs to be *Divine*; I say, every such command comes stamped with the characters of *wise* and *good*, because it is the command of God, who is infinitely wise and good. But when this writer talks of the command given to the Israelites as being *inconsistent*, &c. it is running back again to the same folly he set out with; not considering that the material circumstance of a *Divine* command changes the very nature and quality of the act. For it is not *murder* to take away life in obedience to an express command of God. The lives of all men are in the hands of God that gave them: and he can demand them back when, and where, and by what instrument he pleases. So let the Objector rest satisfied in this, that the Canaanites were justly destroyed; because God, who is *just*, commanded it. And let him consider whether his thus pleading for *as wicked* miscreants as ever lived, in opposition to God, the *kindest* and the *best* of beings, be not going out of his sphere, only to pass a rude and rash censure upon the *Divine* judgments, which he ought rather humbly and reverently to adore.

NUMBERS XXII. 28.

AND THE LORD OPENED THE MOUTH OF THE ASS, AND SHE SAID, &c.

The Objector here remarks, according to his usual pitch of acuteness, "what a number of ideas must Balaam's ass have, to

ⁿ Christianity as Old &c. p. 273.

“ be able to reason with his (*her*) master, when he (*she*) saw and “knew an angel^o.” Now as to the number of *ideas* which the ass must have; I believe, she had as many as asses commonly have: and he may please to count them at his leisure, for his own amusement. The text speaks of the “Lord’s opening the “mouth of the ass,” and articulate sounds came forth: but not a syllable is there concerning the *ideas* which she had, or concerning her *reasoning*. She delivered words, or sounds, which in some sense may be said to have carried reason in them; but the *reason* was not *hers*: and therefore this gentleman has complimented the ass too far, in saying that she *reasoned* with her master. He discovers again some confusion, or shortness of thought, in saying, that she “knew an angel;” as if she had been wise enough to know what an *angel* means, and to understand *angelical* appearances. The text indeed several times says, that she “saw the angel:” but where does it say that she *knew him*? So in three particulars our author has falsified, wittingly or unwittingly, and has misrepresented the case, as he commonly does. He will call this, no doubt, “trying revelation by the “test of reason^p :” for *reason* is the name he gives to all his *conceits*. Which puts me in mind of a pleasant saying of Mr. Locke’s, in one of his private letters: “To be *rational* is so “glorious a thing, that two-legged creatures generally content “themselves with the *title*.”

The Objector next has a gird upon St. Peter for speaking of the “madness of the Prophet^q :” for in opposition to the Apostle, he is pleased to observe, that “in the story itself there “does not appear any thing like madness: for that the Prophet did nothing but what the Lord enjoined him.” But what if an *inspired* Apostle might see deeper into the story, than an ordinary man at this distance can do? He ought most certainly to be believed in what he says, before his forward corrector, whose penetration is not great even in common things. But the story itself, without the help of an Apostle, sufficiently discovers the Prophet’s *madness*. He had once consulted God about *cursing* the people of Israel, and had received a very full and peremptory answer, forbidding him to go upon it, for this plain and standing reason: THOU SHALT NOT CURSE THE PEOPLE, FOR THEY ARE BLESSED^r. After so clear and flat a denial, it was

^o Christianity as Old &c. p. 254.

^p See Second Address, &c. p. 83.

^q 2 Pet. ii. 16.

^r Numb. xxii. 12, 13.

rudeness and madness, to come to God a second time upon the same errand. But the compliments and golden promises brought by the new ambassadors from King Balak began to operate strongly upon the wavering Prophet, insomuch that he forgot the reverence due to Divine Majesty, and so presumed again to consult him; which was tempting him, and making too familiar with an all-wise God. God saw the folly and the importunity of the man, and gave him leave to go with the messengers; but in such a manner, and with such a rebuke, as might have made a better man sensible that he should not have asked it, and that though he had thus obtained, or extorted leave to go, yet he might more wisely have declined it. GO WITH THEM: BUT YET THE WORD WHICH I SHALL SAY UNTO THEE, THAT SHALT THOU DO. As much as to say, go he might, since he was so eagerly set upon it, but the journey should not answer: he should not *curse* the people as King Balak would direct, but God would have the direction of that affair himself. Now Balaam's going, after such a rebuke, and upon so fruitless an errand, is one considerable argument of his *madness*^s. But a plainer and more sensible symptom of it was, (which St. Peter seems also to have had in his eye,) that "even the dumb ass's speaking with man's voice" did not bring him to himself: for he began not to recollect till the Lord "opened his eyes," and shewed him "the angel standing in the way." So thoughtless and precipitate was the man, so eager to oblige King Balak, and to receive his reward, that he could scarce think of any thing else for the time being, till repeated prodigies had been sent to recover him. I know that some, both Jews^t and Christians^u, after Maimonides, have been of opinion that this was all transacted in a *vision* or a *dream*. But their reasons, though specious, appear not to have weight sufficient to overthrow the more common and prevailing construction. Enough has been said to demonstrate the *madness* of the Prophet at his first setting out: and it is well known from the story, how wretchedly he behaved ever after; how ridiculously he came off with King Balak, and how execrable a part he afterwards acted; and how tragically the whole ended, both to himself and others, after he had run all his lengths of madness. When men are foolish, forward, and self-willed, and

^s See Le Clerc, Numb. xxii. 20.

^u See Memoirs of Literature for

^t See Patrick in loc. and Bochart. April 1710. p. 14.
Hieroz. part. i. lib. ii. cap. 14. p. 193.

for their humour, or vanity, or corrupt views, will take their own ways, notwithstanding the kindest hints offered to make them retreat, God then deserts them, and abandons them to follow their own imaginations, to their own undoing. The case was exemplified in the Prophet Balaam, who “loved the wages of unrighteousness,” and pursued his avarice and his self-conceit, till they became his ruin.

I may here add, that Balaam’s infamy and cursed policy, in the advice he gave for *debauching* God’s people, stand upon record, not only in the Old Testament^x, but in three distinct places also of the New^y. For when there started up a sect of false teachers, profligate men, attempting to seduce the people from the *purity* of the Gospel precepts, to all manner of *lewdness, wantonness, and dissoluteness*, the good Christians of that time could not think of a more *odious* name to give them, than that of Balaamites or Nicolaitanes; the first being the Hebrew name, as the other is the Greek one^z; and both very probably signifying the same thing, namely, *leaders* (that is, *misleaders*) *of the people*.

DEUTERONOMY I. 34.

AND THE LORD WAS WROTH, AND SWARE, SAYING, &c.

The Objector’s irreverent reflection here is: “If we are to admit nothing that is repugnant to the natural notion we have of God, ought we not to examine by our reason, whether God, who has no superior to invoke, can swear at all, much less be in a passion, and swear in wrath^a?” But since this gentleman pretends to *examine* every thing *by reason*, let him first *examine by his reason*, whether it be modest, reverent, or honest, to give this false and ludicrous account of *Scripture*, as if it supposed God to have *been in a passion*. That God cannot be *in a passion* is certain: neither does Scripture either assert or suppose that he may. But when God condescends to talk with men, he is pleased to make use of human words and human phrases, to be understood by men; and (as I have before observed^b, in a like case) to render his expressions more pathetic, lively, and affecting. Nevertheless, whatsoever is thus spoken

^x Numb. xxxi. 16.

^y 2 Pet. ii. 15, 16. Jude 11. Rev. ii. 14, 15.

^z דָּבָרֵינוּ Dominus Populi. Νεκρόλαος, Victor Populi. See Vitring. Ob-

servat. Sacr. tom. ii. p. 999, &c. Buddæi Eccles. Apostol. p. 372, 373.

^a Christianity as Old &c. p. 250.

^b See above, p. 180.

ἀνθρωποπαθῶς, after the manner of men, must be understood θεοπρεπῶς, in a sense suitable to the Divine Majesty, as made known to us in some measure by *reason*, and much more by *revelation*.

As to God's confirming his oracles or his decrees by an *oath*, this also is done in great compassion and condescension to human infirmities; and is an affecting instance both of the wisdom and goodness of God towards us: so far is it from being any just objection against Scripture. He has no *superior* to *invoke*: but since he can "swear by no greater, he swears by "himself," as the Apostle assures us^c. Perhaps this matter may want some clearing; and therefore I shall enlarge a little further upon it. The Objector seems to be of opinion that the invoking a superior is *essential* to every kind of *oath*. I believe it is true that in all oaths taken by *creatures*, such invoking, either tacit or express, is a necessary circumstance, necessary to the very nature and definition of an *oath* so taken. If it be equally necessary and essential to every oath, as an *oath*; then it must be allowed, that God is but improperly or figuratively said to *swear*; as he is also improperly or figuratively said to *hear*, or *see*, or wax *wroth*, and the like. But I apprehend, that an *oath* means a solemn asseveration made as strong and binding as possible, in order to beget faith and confidence in others, or to procure a firm belief of what is so sworn to. When *creatures* swear, nothing can make their asseveration so strong and binding as the *invoking* of God to be both *witness* and *avenger*. This therefore is a necessary circumstance always supposed and implied in *their* oaths; because every thing is supposed and implied that can most confirm and strengthen the asseveration. In like manner, when God himself swears, or is said to swear, we are to suppose that he enforces and strengthens his asseveration as much as is possible, or as much as is proper to beget the highest trust and confidence in his revelations^d: not by *invoking a superior*, (for in this case, and in this only, it is impracticable and absurd,) but by condescending to make use of human forms of swearing, with proper alterations, such as the case requires. God therefore swears *by himself*^e, or by

^c Heb. vi. 13.

^d Proinde, si et in promissionibus, aut comminationibus jurat, fidem in primordiis arduam extorquens, nihil Deo indignum est quod efficit Deo

credere. *Tertull. adv. Marc.* lib. ii. c. 26, p. 395.

^e Gen. xxii. 16. Exod. xxxii. 13. Jer. xxii. 5. Heb. vi. 13. Isaiah xlv. 23.

his *great name*^f, or by his *life*^g, or by his *right hand*^h, or by the *arm of his strength*ⁱ, or by his *holiness*^k, or his *truth*^l, or his *excellency*^m, or any other of his *attributes* or perfections. The meaning and import of all which expressions amount very nearly to the same: namely, that God thereby declares the thing to be as *certain* as his own being and attributes are, and as firmly to be depended upon. This manner of speaking being more awful and solemn than a naked declaration, is so much the apter to make deep impressions upon the hearers, and to beget the strongest confidence. But besides that, there is a further use in it, in some cases, for the distinguishing absolute and irrevocable decrees, from bare promises or threatenings suspended upon certain conditions, tacit or express. His general promises are under condition of the *obedience* of the persons whom he gives them to; and his general threatenings are under condition of the *impenitency* of the persons threatened: but his *sworn decrees* are absolute and irrevocable, suspended on no conditions.

Such is the end and use of those Divine asseverations, which the Scripture frequently calls *oaths* and *swearing*. And I must own I see no reason why they should not be esteemed *oaths* properly so called, having in them all that is strictly necessary or essential to make up the general nature or definition of an oath. Accordingly, I would define an oath, in the general, to be a *solemn asseveration made as strong as is possible to beget faith in others*: which definition would take in both *human* and *Divine* oaths. An *human oath* is one thing, and an *oath*, at large, is another. It is well known, the *Pagans* supposed that their *Gods* might *swear*, even their *supreme God Jupiter*ⁿ, as well as the rest: which shews that the general *idea* to which mankind have affixed the name of *swearing*, means no more than what I have said, and does not necessarily imply the “invoking a superior.” Indeed, the *Pagans* came but lamely off, in their theology, while they made their greatest *gods* swear by Styx, (or Stygian lake,) reckoning it the highest and strongest oath their gods could have: which was blundering wretchedly, and talking they knew

^f Jer. xlv. 26.

^g Jer. li. 14. Numb. xiv. 21, 28.
Isa. xlix. 18. et passim.

^h Isa. lxii. 8. ⁱ Ibid.

^k Amos iv. 2. ^l Psalm lxxxix. 35.

¹ Psalm lxxxix. 49. cxxxii. 11.

^m Amos viii. 7.

ⁿ Homer. Iliad. O'. 37. See Vos-
sius de Idololatria, lib. ii. c. 81.

not what. But the scriptural account of the *Divine* oaths is just and rational, clear of all offence; which might be an argument to our writer, if he would please to consider it, of the *truth* and *divinity* of our *Scriptures*, and that they were not contrived by man's device: for if they had, it is more than a hundred to one, but they would have blundered in this article, as much as the *Pagan* theology did. To conclude this head: if, after all, any one should dislike the general definition here given of an *oath*, yet let it be observed, that nothing material depends upon it; but it would be disputing only about *words*.

JOSHUA II. 4.

AND THE WOMAN TOOK THE TWO MEN, AND HID THEM, AND SAID THUS, THERE CAME MEN UNTO ME, BUT I WIST NOT WHENCE THEY WERE.

The censure upon this passage is as follows: "When men find the harlot Rahab celebrated, even in the New Testament, for lying to the government, and betraying her country to its most cruel enemies, are they not in danger, if they find their advantage in it, and it is for the service of those they judge to be true Israelites, to do the same?" Here are two charges against sacred Writ; *slanders* both, as usual: first, that it applauds Rahab for "lying to the government;" 2dly, that it commends her likewise for *betraying* her country.

I. As to the first, how will this gentleman be ever able to prove that she is "celebrated in the New Testament for lying?" He refers to Heb. xi. 31. and James ii. 25. in which places I find that Rahab is celebrated for her *faith* and for her *works*; but not a word is there in commendation of her *lying*. The utmost that the Objector ought to have said, if he had any regard to *truth* or *reason*, is, that a woman who had told an *officious lie*, which was wrong, is celebrated notwithstanding for her other qualities, which were right and good. I wish this gentleman, while he so freely charges others with *lying*, would himself take care to tell nothing but the *truth*. But what if Scripture commends Rahab for things truly commendable; does it therefore follow that Scripture approves every word she spake, or every circumstance of doing what she did?

Some indeed have thought, that the telling an *untruth* in that

° Christianity as Old &c. p. 263.

case was justifiable, for the saving of the lives of two *innocent* persons. Our Objector, of all men, should not have been thus severe upon the harlot Rahab, because his own doctrine in p. 347. will fully clear her of all blame, nay, and make it her *duty* to do as she did.

His words are so express, and so particularly adapted to the very case, that one would think he had had an eye to it; repenting now of the injury he had done her in page 263, and designing to make her some amends for it. "Must he not," says this gentleman, "be an ill man indeed, who would not save "an innocent person, by telling his pursuer a falsehood? This "is a duty he owes both to the pursuer and pursued." Well: put but *woman* in for *man*, and see how aptly the apology will serve for Rahab. "Must she not be an ill woman indeed, who "would not save two innocent persons, by telling their pursuer "a falsehood? This is a duty she owed both to the pursuer "and pursued." If therefore, as appears by this account, it was her *duty* to tell a falsehood, *lying* perhaps will be too harsh a name for it, as including commonly some moral obliquity in the very idea affixed to it. However that be, yet certain it is that Rahab must stand acquitted, yea and commended too, by this gentleman's casuistry, for saving *two innocent* persons by a falsehood. That the *spies* were very *innocent* men is a plain case. They had their governor Joshua's orders for what they did: and they knew that he had been set over them by appointment of God. Therefore Rahab, so far, did right in saving *two innocent* persons by an *untruth*, if there was no other circumstance that could make it criminal.

2. It is indeed pretended that she therein *betrayed* her country, that is, the men of that country, the then present *inhabitants*: and if it be fact that she did them an *injury*, or that she acted without sufficient authority, then let her stand condemned of *traitorous* practices. But I must do her the justice to observe, that she was deeply sensible that the high Lord of heaven and earth had *given* that *land*⁹ to Israel, and she acted under a full persuasion of it; which *faith* of hers is the faith so commended in the 11th to the Hebrews. Therefore, not doubting but that the God of the universe had an uncontrollable right to set up or to pull down, and to dispose of all

P Christianity as Old &c. p. 347.

⁹ Josh. ii. 9.

kingdoms and countries according to his good pleasure, she judged it reasonable to obey *God* rather than *man*; and thereupon she endeavoured, as much as in her lay, to deliver up the land to the *true owners*, to those whom God, by his donation, had made the *rightful* proprietors. She had been *treacherous* both to God and them, if she had not done it, when she *knew*, as she there expressly says, that “the Lord had given them “the land.”

The Objector however says, that “it is not pretended that “the harlot had any special command for so doing^r.” But the harlot had what was equivalent to a special command: she had sufficient intimations of what God intended for his people Israel; and she expressed her faith in him by saying, THE LORD YOUR GOD, HE IS GOD IN HEAVEN ABOVE, AND IN EARTH BENEATH^s. A glorious confession; which shews what principles she acted upon, and that she had not only a full persuasion, but a well-grounded one too, that she was then performing the *will* of God.

The sum then of the whole matter is this: two charges this gentleman has drawn up against Rahab: as to the first of them, viz. *lying*, he has himself acquitted her of all blame, by the *law of nature*, and therefore should not have made it an article against *Scripture*, if *Scripture* had approved it, which yet does not appear. And as to the second, viz. the *betraying her country*, it is so far from being true, that she had been faithless towards God, and injurious towards man, if she had not done all that she fairly could, to deliver up the land to God’s people Israel. As to others drawing her practice into precedent, the answer may be very short and full: when any one has as good reasons, or as clear a commission as she had, for delivering up any land, let them do as she did: but if they have no such reasons, and no such commission, then her practice is to them no precedent at all. Men may misapply either a text of *Scripture*, or any principle of reason, to wrong purposes: and if that be an argument against the use of *Scripture*, it is of equal force against the use of every thing else whatsoever.

JOSHUA X. 12.

SUN, STAND THOU STILL UPON GIBEON, &c.

The Objector, referring to this memorable part of history, is

^r Christianity as Old &c. p. 263.

^s Josh. ii. 11.

pleased to ask^t, "Was not the sun's standing still for a whole day together at the command of Joshua, that he might have light enough to destroy his enemies, a sufficient proof that they (the Canaanites) ought to have offered up their throats?" He had asked a little before another question^u: "If the Israelites had a Divine commission to extirpate the Canaanites, ought not the Canaanites to have known it, to prevent their resisting men acting by a Divine commission?" I am sorry that I must so often have occasion to observe of this gentleman, that while he pretends to be trying Scripture by *reason*, he discovers little else but dull *malice*: as if there were no difference between a *slanderer* of God's word and a *fair* examiner; between a false accuser and an upright judge. A taunting kind of a way he is got into, without regard either to *truth* or *decency*. Here are no less than *three* opprobrious reflections upon Scripture, or rather upon *Divine* wisdom, without any foundation. One, that the Canaanites had not *due notice* given them that Israel acted upon *Divine* warrant. A second, that the sun stood still only to give "light enough to destroy." A third, that the Canaanites were to "offer up their throats," had they known how the case stood. All this is malevolent perverting Scripture, and abusing the readers. To come to particulars.

1. As to the Canaanites wanting *due notice*; what kind of notice would this gentleman require? It was God's design in raising up his people Israel, to make himself thereby known to all the ends of the earth. The wonders he wrought in Egypt were no secret to other nations: and his bringing up his people in a body from thence was a public thing, done in the face of the world^x. Rahab the harlot soon understood, by what she had seen and heard, who the God of Israel was: and the Gibeonites, who themselves were Canaanites, having considered what had been done to Sihon king of the Amorites, and Og the king of Bashan, and what to Jericho, and to Ai, had the sense to know that God had *given that land*^y to Israel; and accordingly took care in time to compound for their own safety: which any other Canaanites also might have done, by submitting and becoming *tributaries*^z. What further *notice* would this gentleman have required in the case? Would he have had a herald sent on

^t Christianity as Old &c. p. 275.

^u Ibid. p. 274.

^x Numb. xiv. 15, 21.

^y Josh. ix. 24.

^z Deut. xx. 10, 11. Josh. xi. 19.

purpose to proclaim in every village of Canaan, that the God of Israel had commissioned his people to extirpate them, if they did not immediately submit and come in? Much would the Canaanites have regarded the God of Israel, had such a thing been done! They had other Gods of their own whom they trusted to, and whom they madly preferred. They would but have flouted the mention of the God of Israel, and have blasphemed the high name, as Pharaoh had done before, and Rabshakeh did after, and as *infidels* do at this day. Nothing could convince such men but conquering them in a *miraculous* way, if that could do it. They had had warnings sufficient, but would take no warnings, being headstrong, hardened, and incorrigible. God "executed his judgments upon them by little and little," (as the Book of Wisdom observes,) "giving them place of repentance, not being ignorant that they were a naughty generation, and that their malice was bred in them, and that their cogitation would never be changed^a." So little reason is there for pretending that they had not due notice^b.

2. As to the sun's standing still, only to give "light enough" for Joshua to destroy his enemies; it is a poor suggestion, proceeding from a narrow mind. God had higher and larger views in all the *miracles* he wrought; namely, to "declare his glory among the heathen, and his wonders among all people," to spread the knowledge of the *true God* among all lands, and to diffuse a sense of religion over the wide world. Where has our author taken up his low and unworthy thoughts of the God of Israel? Or how has he spent his time in reading Scripture, to make no better improvement?

3. As to the Canaanites being obliged to "offer up their throats," that again is a crude, ignorant thought. They were obliged to become *tributaries*, if they presently submitted, and that was all: they were not utterly excluded the benefits of *strangers* and *proselytes*, if they would timely accept of it^c. It is childish to talk of their coming to "offer up their throats." Who would ever expect it of *criminals*, that they should not endeavour either by *submission*, or *resistance*, or *escape*, to save

^a Wisdom xii. 10.

^b See Jenkins, vol. i. p. 57.

^c See Grotius de Jur. Bell. lib. ii.

c. 13. sect. 4. Jenkins, vol. i. p. 71, 72. Cleric. in Josh. ix. 7, 18. xi. 19.

Indeed Le Clerc was once of a different opinion, for some reasons that looked plausible; but, upon maturer consideration, changed his mind. See also Bishop Patrick on Deut. xx. 16.

their lives? Sure our author must think those Canaanites were very *conscientious* men, who, if they had but known of the *Divine* commission sent out to destroy them, would have come and have died with all the meekness, courage, and constancy of *martyrs*. A likely matter! And yet that is the supposition he seems to go upon, in pleading that they ought to have had more notice of the *Divine* commission, "to prevent their resistance," or to prevent their claiming a *right* to save their *lives*, if they could. But since it is morally absurd to suppose that any *criminals* (much less such as they were) would have been so conscientious or tame, he might much better have argued, that it would have been kind to have kept them entirely in the dark, that so they might the more *innocently* defend their lives; which most of them certainly would do, right or wrong, when they could.

But we are not yet come to the most sarcastical part, the most malicious taunt upon the *God of Israel*, for the sake of which the rest was brought in. He observes, that the sun's standing still "did not happen till they were defeated in Gibeon, "and consequently till then it could be no direction, to them." And what if it was not? They had intimation or direction enough besides, and more than God owed them. But he goes on: "And even after that, the Lord hardened their hearts, that they should come against Israel in battle^d." Next he says out, that he had been labouring so long with: and so we inquire a little into the case of God's *hardening* their hearts.

When God is said to *harden men's hearts*, it is not to be imagined that he secretly influences their wills, or suggests any stubborn resolutions to their minds: but knowing how obstinately they are bent upon wickedness, he judiciously gives them up to their own madness, and lets them run headlong on to their certain undoing. If we may venture to declare more particularly, in what sense God might be said to have hardened their hearts, it was, very probably, by forbearing to strike terror into them; by giving them respite, and not pursuing them constantly, and without remission. For after Joshua's second campaign, A. M. 2554^e, the wars of Canaan were at a stand for three or four years. That remission, or delay on the side of Israel, encouraged

^d Christianity as Old &c. p. 275.

^e See Mr. Bedford's Scripture Chronology, p. 493.

the Canaanites to come up against Israel, A. M. 2558, with a most prodigious army, to their own destruction. And it is of what was done at that very time that Scripture says, "It was of the Lord to harden their hearts, that they should come up against Israel in battle, that he (Israel) might destroy them utterly," &c. Thus also God hardened the heart of Pharaoh, by giving him respites, time after time, from the plagues he had been visited with. Such respites to honest and good men would have been salutary; but to the obstinate and perverse, who abuse the mercies of God, they turn to their surer and sorer destruction^f.

There is nothing in this conduct, with respect to ill men, which can reasonably be thought unworthy of the Divine Majesty, or unbecoming his wisdom, justice, or goodness; however the adversary may please to flout it, exposing himself in doing it. It must indeed be owned, there is some difficulty in the thing; and a sober sensible man might modestly ask for some account of it. But for any one hereupon to fall to scoffing and drolling, in one of the gravest subjects, and upon the most serious book in the world, and in a case that concerns the most tremendous Being, betrays such a profane levity of spirit as there is no excuse for. God has sometimes remarkably punished affronts offered even to *false* religions, and *idol deities*, because religion in general is wounded by them^g: so provoking and dangerous a thing is it, to run riot and play the buffoon in these serious and weighty concernments.

God's government of moral agents in a way suitable to his wisdom and their liberty, is a high and adorable subject, which ought never to be thought of but with reverence, nor spoke of but with awful respect. There are few things we are less capable of seeing clearly into, so as to settle any thing *a priori* about them. "Hardly do we guess aright at things that are upon the earth, and with labour do we find the things that are before us: but the things that are in heaven, who hath searched out^h?" Yet some persons are perpetually telling us what God must do; as if they

^f Indurat cor Pharaonis; sed meruerat in exitium subministrari, qui jam negaverat Deum; qui jam legatos ejus toties superbus excusserat, qui jam populo laborem operis adjecerat; postremo, qua Ægyptius olim Deus fuerat gentilis idololatriæ, ibin et

crocodilum citius colens quam Deum vivum. *Tertull. adv. Marc.* lib. ii. c. 14. conf. *Orig. Philocal.* cap. xxi. p. 56, &c. et cap. xxvii. p. 101, &c.

^g See Prideaux's Connection, pt. i. p. 136. fol. edit.

^h Wisdom ix. 16.

were of his counsels, knew the secrets of heaven, or could "find out the Almighty to perfection." Not that they know any thing more than others, seldom so much; for superior *confidence* is no sign at all of superior *understanding*. But they have a turn to serve in all this parade: they have some *conclusions* to draw, where they can come at no *premises*; and so it is to cover a *petitio principii* that they make so familiar with the tremendous Deity. If they were to say, *they think* so and so, and therefore it is so; it would be plainly abusing the reader, and betraying their own poverty. Or if they were to say, that *they think* Divine Wisdom might have ordered thus and thus, (which in reality is all that their arguments amount to,) then it would be seen plainly, that their reasoning rests only upon a fond *persuasion* of their *own*, void of *proof*, which again is doing nothing. But to turn about, and put on a bold face, confidently bearing us down that God *must* have appointed so and so, and *could not* do otherwise, unless defective in *natural* or *moral* capacity; this (though it is only the same *petitio principii* put into a profane dress, and as much begging the thing in question as before, yet) serves sometimes to amuse, or even to confound, a weak and unattentive reader. This therefore is the turn which modern *unbelievers*, wanting principles to go upon, have commonly taken. The writer I am now concerned with is so pleased with it, and so full of it, that the argumentative part of his book (if any may be called so) rests in a manner entirely upon it. He can tell us roundly, upon very trifling pretences, that God ought to have given his revelation *sooner* than in fact he has, or not at all: that he ought to have spread it *wider* than he has done, or never to have published it: and that he ought to have made it *perfect*, absolutely perfect, at once, or to have kept it to himself. These things he lays down dogmatically, without knowing, or ever considering, whether the pretended inconveniences he complains of, could have been prevented without admitting greater; or whether, upon the whole, they have not been more than counterbalanced by much greater good; that so nothing has been done but what, to one that knows all circumstances, was evidently the best and fittest to be done. However, from these and the like principles, or *postulata*, (as void of reason as of decency and modesty,) and for which he has not one syllable of proof, he draws deductions, and forms conclusions, all built upon the sand: and so instead of logic, or syllogism, or close argument, (which he appears to be a stranger

to,) he goes on romancing all the way, and tells us his dreams. For the sum of all is no more than this: that if God be no wiser than he is, then things must have been so and so¹: but if infinite wisdom sees further than he does, then he has his *premises* to seek, and must begin again. Were it a province at all fit for mortal man, to assume and dogmatize in the deep things of God, no doubt but the *wisest* and *ablest* men should be singled out for such high and arduous employment. But such men know their duty and their distance, and have the discretion and modesty to forbear: for the more real and solid knowledge men have of God and of themselves, the more humble always and resigning.

I shall just take notice further, before I end the present digression, that that so familiar and irreverent way of dictating to God, and tying him down to the fond imaginations of weak man, has been one of the stale refuges of every baffled cause, when better arguments have been wanting. The Papists have often made use of it, to support their doctrine of the necessity of an *infallible judge*: for they argue, that a *wise* and *good* God must have appointed one. The Jews also, when at a loss for other premises to go upon, are used to plead that a wise and good God ought to have made it *plainer* in the Old Testament than in fact he has, that Jesus of Nazareth was to be the *Messiah*. The Socinians are great dealers in the same exorbitant way, boasting of nothing less than *Divine* wisdom, but generally putting off their *own* conjectures for it. I observe also, that a modern writer, who has lately published a Discourse concerning Reason, is much addicted to the same practice, and too often, as well as too irreverently, ushers in his fancies under the awful cover and sanction of *Divine* wisdom, measuring it by his *own*. Strange, that those who upon every occasion almost betray a shortness of thought, insomuch that a man of ordinary sagacity, coming after them, can easily discover where their attention failed, and where they slipped some part of the account, should yet presume to be positive in the *high things of God*; where, if they happen but to come short in any one material article which God sees more than they, or but to take it in any different light from what it appears in to the *Divine* mind, all that they pretend to resolves only into airy speculation and vain amusement: but for the *presumption* they are guilty of, they must answer.

¹ Such was Marcion's way of arguing smartly and justly corrected by Tertullian, contr. Marc. lib. ii. c. 2. p. 282. formerly: for which he is both

There is indeed a sober and a just way of arguing from *Divine* wisdom or goodness, in some very plain and short cases, where we have light enough to go by, and where we have a competent view of the *whole* question, or when we argue on the side of certain fact. But the extravagant lengths which some have run, in that channel of argument, and in cases too intricate and obscure for natural reason to see halfway into, have done great mischief to *religion*, and to *science* too, and are as much faults in *reasoning*, as they are offences against *modesty* and true *piety*. All pretended arguments against *plain* Scripture facts, or *plain* Scripture declarations, are empty fallacies, good for nothing. The sitting down to consider what God *ought* to do, or *must* do, without first inquiring what he *has done*, is preposterous and absurd: it is entering upon what is *dark* and *obscure* first, in order to come at what is *clear*; it is beginning at the wrong end, and regulating Divine wisdom by *ours*, instead of regulating ours by *his*. In short, it is paying a proud compliment to *ourselves* in the first place, instead of humbly offering up the first honours to *God*. I must again beg my reader's pardon for thus digressing a little from the text, though not from my purpose; and now I return.

JOSHUA XVI. 10.

AND THEY DRAVE NOT OUT THE CANAANITES THAT DWELT IN GEZER, &c.

The reflection here is, ^kthat "though it is said, that THE LIVING GOD IS AMONG YOU, AND THAT HE WILL NOT FAIL TO DRIVE OUT FROM BEFORE YOU THE CANAANITES, &c. ^lyet Israel could not drive them out of several places: and in one instance it is said, THE LORD WAS WITH JUDAH, AND HE DRAVE OUT THE INHABITANTS OF THE MOUNTAINS, BUT COULD NOT DRIVE OUT THE INHABITANTS OF THE VALLEY, BECAUSE THEY HAD CHARIOTS OF IRON^m." What the Objector would insinuate from all is, that the Israelites, though God was with them to assist them, were not able, even by such assistance, to drive out the Canaanites. But the truth is, that the Israelites were able, and might, with God's assistance, have totally routed and destroyed the Canaanites: only they were slothful, or faint-hearted, or had corrupt views of their own, and so did not exert to the utmost for the destroying the Canaanites, as God had commandedⁿ. Instead

^k Christianity as Old &c. p. 275.

^l Josh. iii. 10.

^m Judges i. 19.

ⁿ Josh. xiii. 6. xvii. 18.

of that, they foolishly and wickedly *made leagues* with some of the *inhabitants* of Canaan, upon which God was angry with them, and thereupon determined, for a punishment of such default, to leave some Canaanites amongst them, which should be as “thorns in their sides,” and “a snare” unto them. There was a time when they might have driven them all out, all that should resist; and they ought to have done it: but as they slipped the opportunity, through sloth, or avarice, or a distrust of God’s power, or other bad principle, they afterwards could not. God would not assist them in their *late* endeavours, because they had refused to accept of his assistance at the proper season, when they might have done any thing. Such may be the account of that whole matter, if our rendering of Judges i. 19. be right. “They could not drive out, &c.” either because they attempted it too late, or because they yet wanted faith in God.

But after all, I do not think that we have any occasion for this solution in relation to Judges i. 19. because the pretended difficulty is no difficulty, if the Hebrew words may admit of another and a better rendering. The force of the objection lies only in the words, *could not*; which are not in the Hebrew at all, but are supplied by the *translators*, to fill up, as they supposed, an elliptical form of speech. The Hebrew, literally rendered, is no more than this; HE (Judah) DRAVE OUT (those of) THE MOUNTAIN, BUT—NOT DRIVE OUT. There is an ellipsis of some verb or other that should fill up the sentence, as is very frequent before the *infinitive* with *lamed*^p. It might be said, *durst not*, *would not*, *did not*, or the like, as well as *could not*, if the translators had so pleased. They supposed the verb יכל to be understood, rendering it as if it had been לֹא יכל, *he could not*, like as in Joshua xvii. 12. But we may as reasonably fill up the blank with another verb, namely הִסַּד, a verb which goes along with the same infinitive (as we suppose here) in Judges ii. 21. So then the sense and the rendering will be, *he (Judah) proceeded not to drive out &c.*^q which answers all difficulties, and makes the sense complete. It was Judah’s fault, that he was terrified with the *iron chariots*, and durst not *proceed* to attack the inhabitants of the *valley*.

Perhaps the Objector will hereupon exclaim, as he has lately done^r, and say, “how frequently do Divines, to serve a present

^o Josh. xxiii. 13. Judges ii. 1, 2, 3.

^p See Noldius’s Concord, p. 473.

^q Junius and Tremellius render, *non*

perrexit expellere, just as they render Judges ii. 21. *non pergam expellere*.

^r Second Address, &c. p. 85.

“ purpose, find fault with the English word of God.” It may be so, and to *very good purpose*: for *Divines* have a right to do it, because they *know* what they do. But what pretence have those who are *no Divines* to pass any censure at all in matters which they do not understand? But I proceed.

JUDGES III. 20, 21.

AND EHUD SAID, I HAVE A MESSAGE FROM GOD UNTO THEE. AND HE AROSE OUT OF HIS SEAT. AND EHUD PUT FORTH HIS LEFT HAND, AND TOOK THE DAGGER FROM HIS RIGHT THIGH, AND THRUST IT INTO HIS BELLY.

The Objector hereupon is pleased to say^s, “ How many precedents, besides that of Ehud, (who, on a message from the Lord, stabbed the king, to whom his people sent him with a present,) did the Popish priests plead from the Old Testament, for the assassination of the two Henries of France ?”

Well: be it so. What is the inference? An honest and sensible man would say, that from thence may be *inferred*, what wicked and perverse reasoners some *Popish priests* have been or may be: but our Objector's *inference*, which he every where carefully inculcates, is, therefore away with the *Bible*, and all *external* revelation, and trust solely to the light of nature, to your natural parts and improvements. A man that can argue thus weakly and thus wickedly, may be a fit companion for such *Popish priests*, but can never be a fit person to reprove them. How is Scripture at all to blame, for men's perverting it to an ill use (as they may any thing) through their own depravity?

The *Popish assassins* wanted the very principal thing which Ehud had, namely, a *Divine* commission. The text expressly says, THE LORD RAISED UP EHUD^t: and it is well known that all the *deliverances* which the Jews had under the Judges were directed and conducted by the immediate hand of God, according as the people, by their repentance, became fit to receive them. But did the Lord *raise up* the Popish assassins? Or was there any *special* direction sent them from heaven? A *Divine* warrant, in such a case, is a clear foundation to go upon; and that Ehud had. But is it therefore any precedent for others to act upon, who have no *Divine* warrant at all, but quite the contrary? What is *reason* and *understanding* given us for, but to

^s Christianity as Old &c. p. 264.

^t Judges iii. 15.

distinguish upon cases and circumstances? If the Objector is afraid of men's making an ill use of pretended precedents, (which are no precedents,) let him advise his readers to be *honest*, and to reason *fairly* and *justly*, without bias or corrupt affection. That is the true course to be taken in such cases: not to plead for throwing *Scripture* aside, (which is wrong judging and false reasoning,) but to interpret it with care and conscience; and then all will be right. This gentleman boasts much of *reason*; and an excellent thing he will find it to be, whenever he becomes acquainted with it: let him either talk less of it, or use it more. For as often as he runs against *Scripture*, he runs as much against *reason*; and renounces his *logic* and his *faith* at the same time. *Scripture* and *reason* are inseparable friends, which stand and fall together, wherever both are once known. *Reason* takes in *Scripture*, and rejoices in it, as the eye does in light: a man that follows the just conclusions of *reason* never can be an *infidel*.

JUDGES IV. 21.

THEN Jael, Heber's wife, took a nail of the tent, &c.

The story of Jael's slaying Sisera is a well-known story, and could not escape our author's censure; who says^u, that she had no "special command for an act of the highest treachery: for which, because it served the interest of Israel, she is declared "by the prophetess Deborah to be BLESSED ABOVE WOMEN^x."

Yet it seems that Meroz was then *cursed*, and by the "angel of the Lord" too, for not being zealous, as Jael the wife of Heber was, in the *Lord's* cause: which I collect from the opposition there appears to be between the *curse* in verse 23, and the *blessing* in verse 24. So the author may make his charge, if he pleases, not only against Deborah and Jael, but against the angel also. However, I make no question but a fair account may be given of the whole thing: or if, for want of light into all circumstances, we may happen to come short, yet the presumption certainly will lie on the side of Deborah, and the "angel of the Lord," against any man's judgment whatsoever, and is alone sufficient to decide the doubt.

1. I observe first, that it was prophesied beforehand, in relation to this fact of Jael's, that the Lord should SELL SISERA INTO THE HAND OF A WOMAN. And this was intended for a re-

^u Christianity as Old &c. p. 263. ^x Judges v. 24. ^y Judges v. 23.

buke and a punishment to Barak for his backwardness, that he refused to go to war, unless Deborah would go with him: for she said to him^z, THE JOURNEY THAT THOU TAKEST (OR RATHER, THE WAY THOU TAKEST; *this behaviour of thine*^a, viz. in refusing to go without me) SHALL NOT BE FOR THINE HONOUR: FOR THE LORD SHALL SELL SISERA INTO THE HAND OF A WOMAN. Which was to intimate, that since Barak so much insisted upon a *woman's* attending him to the battle, a *woman* should divide the honour of the day with him: and so it proved.

2. We are next to consider, that what is done in very uncommon cases, and upon occasions very extraordinary, is not to be judged of by common rules. The Israelites had been under servitude now twenty years, during which time the oppressors imagined that their conquests over Israel were so many conquests over the God of Israel, as was natural enough to think. But now the time was come for God to manifest himself in a signal manner, and to make the world know that his power was paramount to every thing, and that he was "above all gods." The battle to be that day fought was the *Lord's battle*, and the cause to be maintained was the *Lord's cause*. Any coldness (where help might be expected) was interpreted a kind of deserting the *true God*; as in the case of Meroz, who "came not to the help of the Lord." Neutrality or faintness in as many as owned the God of Israel, at such a time, was criminal. It is a poor thought to imagine, that the favours done to the people of Israel were for the sake only of *that* people. They were raised up, and placed in the view of the whole world, to be, as it were, God's throne, or theatre, whereon to display his wonders, and to proclaim his power to all the heathen countries round about. This was the Divine method of spreading the knowledge of himself among mankind, that the idolatrous nations might thereby learn and know (if disposed to attend to it) that he, and he only, was the *true God*. I say then, that God shewed by his prodigies, during the battle of that day, that his honour was nearly concerned in it; besides that a forty years' rest to *his people* depended upon it. In these circumstances, Jael acted her part on the side of the *God of Israel*, to whom she was infinitely more obliged than she could be either to the enemy's captain Sisera, or to Jabin king of Hazor. It can scarce be

^z Judges iv. 9. ^a Ratio qua te geris. Cleric. in loc. And see Patrick.

doubted, but that Jael had some *Divine* direction or impulse to stir her up to do what she did. The enterprise was exceeding bold and hazardous, above the courage of her sex: and one would think that, had she been left to herself, she would have been content to let Sisera have lain there, till Barak should come and surprise him, who was then pursuing him. The resolution she took appears very extraordinary, and so has the marks and tokens of its being from the extraordinary hand of God. In this view all is clear and right: and the Objector will not be able to prove there was any *treachery* in it. For she ought to obey *God* rather than *man*: and all obligations to man cease when brought in competition with our higher obligations towards God^b.

JUDGES IX. 13.

AND THE VINE SAID UNTO THEM, SHOULD I LEAVE MY WINE, WHICH CHEERETH GOD AND MAN, AND GO TO BE PROMOTED OVER THE TREES.

Whereupon the Objector says^c, "What strange notions must the bulk of mankind, could not their reason direct them right, have of the Supreme Being, when it is said, that WINE CHEERETH BOTH GOD AND MAN!" We desire as much *reason* as possible to *direct us right*. But there is no reason at all in the inference which the author constantly aims at; namely, to reject *Scripture*, and to abide by *reason* alone. If he meant only that men should in every thing make use of the *reason* which God had given them, (a point which nobody ever called in question,) why did he write all the tedious impertinence he has filled his book with? His design plainly is to teach us, not that reason is *useful* in interpreting Scripture, (which none can doubt of,) but that it is *alone* sufficient for every thing without Scripture; in which assertion he runs directly against reason, because no man with *reason* can reject *Scripture*: for reason duly attended to, as I before hinted, leads to Scripture, and takes Scripture in with it. But to return to our text. The Objector would insinuate, that Scripture here suggests false and unworthy notions of the Supreme Being. He does not tell his readers that the words are part of a *parable*, ingeniously contrived by Jotham, the only then surviving son of Gideon. In a parable, or fiction, every word or sentence is not to be interpreted with

^b Wits. Miscellau. tom. i. p. 352.

^c Christianity as Old &c. p. 251.

utmost rigour; unless we are to take it to be Scripture doctrine, that *trees* could talk. Jotham, to represent the forwardness and self-assurance of foolish persons, in undertaking high things which wiser and better men would decline, brings in a *fable*, setting forth how the *olive-tree*, the *fig-tree*, and the *vine*, and all the choice trees, had modestly refused a province not proper for them; but that the *bramble*, the unfittest of all, had accepted it notwithstanding, and was like to perform accordingly. Now the words here cited are the words of the *vine*, and probably run upon a *Pagan* hypothesis, allowable in a *fable* or *apologue*. So Castalio, Le Clerc, and others interpret the place: and they render the words, not *God* and *man*, but *gods* and *men*, which is better. Perhaps in such a kind of fiction, though it had a serious moral, it might be thought more *decent* to use the *Pagan* style of *gods* and *men*, than to introduce the *true God*, either by name or by implication: or Jotham, speaking to the idolatrous Sichemites, might adapt his speech to their notions, the better to be understood by them.

There is another construction which some have recommended, namely, that wine cheereth both high and low, *elohim* and *anashim*, *princes* and *peasants*; or else, *princes* and *persons of quality*. This last construction is maintained by Le Cene, and his translator Ross^d. But I prefer the interpretation of Le Clerc above mentioned.

JUDGES XI. 30.

AND JEPHTHAH VOWED A VOW UNTO THE LORD, &c.

Jephthah's vow has been a subject of much debate in the learned world. However the more disputable points be determined, the Objector will never be able to prove what he aims at^e, viz. that the God of Israel commanded or countenanced *human sacrifices*. Those that interpret that vow in the harshest sense call it rash or impious; and they censure Jephthah, as ignorant of the law of God. Others, who think the vow capable of a milder construction, acquit both the Scripture and Jephthah of all imputation in that affair. It would be tedious to enter into the detail of that matter; and it is needless, after what has been done by many learned men^f, to whose labours

^d Ross's Essay for a New Translation of the Bible, p. 122.

^e Christianity as Old &c. p. 96.

^f Le Clerc and Patrick on the text. Jenkins's Reasonableness, &c. vol. ii. cap. 18. Selden de Jure Nat. et Gent.

I can add nothing. What is most probable is, that Jephthah did not *sacrifice* his daughter, nor intend any such thing. The words of the vow do not necessarily require it, since the Hebrew may be rendered, *or I will offer*, &c. as our *margin* renders, instead of, *and I will offer*, &c. All that is certain is, that he did *devôte her to the Lord*; the result whereof probably was, that she was to continue a *virgin* all her days, and to *serve* in such a way as females might, for the use of the *sanctuary*; as in spinning, weaving, making vestments for the priests and Levites; or in grinding wheat, kneading flour, baking bread, or the like. Such kind of services, probably, she was condemned to for life. And thus was the vow executed. The reasons for this interpretation are produced at large by Le Clerc; and the chief of them are briefly summed up by Mr. Bedford; whose words, because they are much to the purpose, and will not be long in transcribing, I shall here lay before the reader:

1. "If he had sacrificed her, the Scripture would, without doubt, have censured it as a very wicked and inhuman act.

2. "In such a case, he would not have let her go up and down upon the mountains for two months: for he might suppose that she would never have returned, and then he could not have done as he had vowed.

3. "If she had gone upon the mountains, it would have been to bewail her *untimely end*, whereas all that she proposed was to bewail her *virginity*.

4. "The sacred story seems to favour this interpretation: that at the end of two months she returned to her father, who did with her according to his vow that he had vowed; the consequence of which is immediately added, *and she knew no man*. This was a great trouble to Jephthah, because by this means his family was extinct, and he had no issue to inherit his estate, or keep his name in remembrance."

I shall hereto subjoin an observation which I borrow from Le Clerc, that though Jephthah might, by the Levitical Law, have *redeemed* her even from this *servitude* and *single state*; yet, probably, being a very religious man, he was scrupulous in the matter, having made his vow in so solemn a manner, and on so

lib. iv. cap. 11. Pfeiffer. Dub. Vexat. upon the question. Himself takes the
Centur. ii. Loc. 60. p. 393. In this
last author are numbered up most of
the writers, Jews and Christians, that
have declared themselves either way
harshest side.
§ Bedford's Scripture Chronology,
p. 522.

public an occasion; and he might think it mean, in a person of his distinction, to redeem so precious a treasure as an only daughter, at the low legal price of thirty *shekels*.

I shall only add further, since the Objector seems to lay a great stress upon the maid's being yearly mourned for^b, as dead, that the Hebrew words may be translated, as the margin reads, they went yearly to *talk with*ⁱ the daughter of Jephthah^k: and if that be the true rendering, the text itself will be a proof that she was not sacrificed, but was still *alive*.

This construction, I own, is doubtful: but then the other is more so: so that this at least we are *certain* of, that the Objector cannot prove his point.

1 SAMUEL VI. 19.

AND HE SMOTE THE MEN OF BETHSHEMESH BECAUSE THEY HAD LOOKED INTO THE ARK OF THE LORD, EVEN HE SMOTE OF THE PEOPLE FIFTY THOUSAND AND THREESCORE AND TEN MEN.

So stand the words in our translation. The Objector takes notice of them only in passing, and in this manner: "What holiness, either real or relative, would the ark now have? Though it once had such legal holiness, that more than fifty thousand reapers were destroyed for peeping into it." He says no more: but that he introduced this passage to banter and expose it, cannot be doubted; because in the same place he ridicules the notion of *relative* holiness, telling us, that "all the relative holiness which concerns public worship, whether as to persons, places, or things, must be derived from the congregation;" instead of saying, what is truth, that it is derived from God, and stands in the relation which things consecrated bear to him. But I design not here to enter into the question about *relative* holiness^m, which is foreign to my purpose. All I observe is, that when he was endeavouring to banter away all just sense of *relative* holiness, it was bantering Scripture too, to tell us that fifty thousand persons were destroyed on the account of the *relative* holiness of the ark. The men of Bethshemesh (several of them) were indeed destroyed for want of reverence towards God's *holy* ark: not fifty thousand, (as the translation says,) but SEVENTY MEN, OUT OF FIFTY THOUSAND MEN; which

^b Christianity as Old &c. p. 96.

ⁱ See Le Clerc in loc. Ross's Essay for a New Translation, p. 68, &c.

^k Judg. xi. 40.

^l Christianity as Old &c. p. 174.

^m See Mede, b. i. disc. 2. p. 14, &c.

is a juster rendering of the Hebrew, and is well defended by Le Clerc in his comments upon the text. Bochart had before led the wayⁿ towards the correcting the common translations, rendering the words thus, SEVENTY MEN; viz. FIFTY OUT OF A THOUSAND MEN, a twentieth part, reckoning the whole but fourteen hundred. That was a much better rendering than the common translations; and his reasonings upon the text afforded great light to all that came after. Le Clerc's will suit as well with the letter of the Hebrew, and appears more natural and less perplexed. These things the Objector might have known, and would have considered, had he been as much disposed to examine Scripture by *reason*, as he is to expose it by abusive reflections.

I SAMUEL VIII. 7.

AND THE LORD SAID UNTO SAMUEL, HEarken UNTO THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE IN ALL THAT THEY SAY UNTO THEE: FOR THEY HAVE NOT REJECTED THEE, BUT THEY HAVE REJECTED ME, THAT I SHOULD NOT REIGN OVER THEM.

The Objector^o produces this part of Scripture to countenance some crude speculations he has entertained in *theology* and *politics*; and which were proposed many years ago by the author of the Rights, and abundantly confuted by learned hands. But let us hear what this gentleman now says: "The Jews—being upon their coming out of Egypt a free people, had a right, by the law of nature, to choose what government and governor they pleased."

That is to say; if God should not interpose to appoint them any government or governor, they were at liberty to choose for themselves: by the *permissive* law of nature, (not *preceptive*,) they had such liberty, till God should otherwise restrain it. Admitted: and what then? He goes on. "God would not act so inconsistent a part as to deprive them of any of those rights he had given them by the law of nature." No: as he had given them an *hypothetical* or *conditional* right to choose for themselves, (if himself should not interpose to choose for them,) so he could never act so "inconsistent a part," as to preclude them that right so *limited* and so *conditioned*. That is to say, he could not be so inconsistent as not to leave them at liberty while he left them at liberty, or not to leave them free so far as

ⁿ Bochart, Hieroz. tom. i. p. 370.

^o Christianity as Old &c. p. 113.

he left them free. Well; what follows? "Therefore he did not take upon him the civil administration of their affairs, till he had obtained their express consent." Ridiculous! He could never want their consent, because he never gave away, never could give away, his right of appointing them both government and governors: a right which he exercised afterwards in appointing them Saul first, and next David for their king, notwithstanding the pretended *natural* liberty. They were *free* by the law of nature while God left them free, and no longer; because their freedom stood only in his non-interposition. It was impossible for God to give his right away: for he has an unalienable right to dispose of all kingdoms; insomuch that when he leaves the people to choose for themselves, it is still God that appoints both the governor and government. *Vox populi*, in that case, is *vox Dei*; he appoints *by them*: and the choice of the people has no other force or weight with it, but as it is considered as the *means* by which *God* sets the government up, and in that alone does it stand. Therefore if God took their *consent*, (as he has been pleased to transact more *covenants* than one with men,) it was not because he had no right to *demand* it, or because they had any right to *refuse* it, but because he was pleased to condescend to human forms in his dealings with men, and to bind them the closer to him by *federal* as well as *natural* obligations. But this writer proceeds: "So that here he acted not as governor of the universe, but by a power derived from the people by virtue of the Horeb covenant." Worse than ever. This doctrine is neither *true* nor *possible*; but all over contradictory and absurd. When the people have a right to choose their governor, that right (as I before hinted) is God's, otherwise it is no right, nor has any effect: and when the people have so chosen their governor, he rules by *Divine* right, as the law of nature is *God's* law; and by that law he is then fixed in his throne, and has a right to rule. What therefore can our author mean by pretending, that God ruled by "a power derived from the people?" Suppose him to have condescended to accept of such an office conveyed by *choice*, and by *covenant*, in the manner of an earthly king; yet *covenants* convey a right only as *God* binds men by his law (natural) to observe them; and so a *Divine* right commences from the time the covenant commences. Well then, in the result, God reigned over the people by a right conveyed from himself to himself by the intervention

of the people's choice. This is all that can in common sense be made of it. He appointed himself their Governor in that way, over and above what he was before: and his power could not be derived from any one but from himself, because "all power is of God." All other *rightful* governors (whether by election or succession, or extraordinary appointment) act and rule for God, are his vicegerents and deputies: and they exercise his power and authority. Certainly then, if he pleases to exercise the same in person, and to be, as it were, his own deputy, his power cannot be derived to him from any other source but from the same fountain of power from whence *all power* is.

But the Objector has a turn to serve by all this parade about the *Horeb contract*, as appears by what follows: "And the presumption is, that where there is no such contract, God will not exercise such a power." No, not such *special* kingly power as he exercised among the Jews during their *theocracy*: that may be granted. But the author means, that he will issue out no *occasional* precepts, no *positive* commands. And what ground is there for such a presumption? Did he not issue out *positive* commands to Adam, and to Noah, and to Abraham, and many others, long before the Jewish *theocracy*? His power and right of doing it is founded in his being *Creator* and *Preserver* of all things, and King of the *whole* earth: and all the sons of Adam are naturally and necessarily born his *subjects*. If the king of Great Britain should condescend to be chosen governor in special over a petty corporation within his dominions, would that shorten or diminish his *regal* power, either over the members of that corporation, considered as his subjects, or over any other his subjects throughout the realm? No certainly. There is therefore no force at all in this author's argument, drawn from the Horeb contract: but the question about God's right to give *positive* laws stands as before, independent of it. God does not want our *leave* for the making of a law, neither needs he to wait for our *acceptance* to render it valid. ¶ For though he enacts laws for the *good* only of his subjects, yet he will be the *judge* of what is for their good: and I presume, his infinite wisdom, and his superiority over us, are sufficient to support his title. I forgot to note how the author here blundered in sup-

¶ Mr. Hobbes's and Spinoza's weak pretences to prove that God's sovereign dominion over men is founded in their *consent*, are confuted in Puffendorf, book iii. chap. 4. sect. 4. p. 254.

posing the God of Israel to be *God*, (arguing from it,) whom yet at other times he blasphemes.

I SAMUEL XV. 2, 3.

THUS SAITH THE LORD OF HOSTS; I REMEMBER THAT WHICH AMALEK DID TO ISRAEL^q, HOW HE LAID WAIT FOR HIM IN THE WAY, WHEN HE CAME UP FROM EGYPT. NOW GO AND SMITE AMALEK, &c.

The censure passed hereupon is as follows^r: "What prince can ever want a pretence of going to war, and totally extirpating those he invades, when he sees Saul was commanded by God to destroy the Amalekites, men and women, infants and sucklings, ox and sheep, camel and ass, for an injury done four hundred years before? And how for sparing Agag, (whom Samuel hewed to pieces before the Lord,) and preserving some of the cattle for sacrifice, the Lord rejected him from being king, nay, ordered Samuel, lest Saul should suspect the design, to pretend a sacrifice, when he sent him to anoint David?"

See how this ungodly man takes upon him to dispute against the Lord of the whole earth: Julian or Rabshakeh could not have done more. One would think, when men can run such desperate lengths, that they had many and strong demonstrations to trust to: but let the reader judge, by the specimen I have last recited. When any thing is reported in Scripture which this writer does not like, though reported as done by *special* order from God, he immediately concludes, that here is a *precedent* set for doing the same thing without such *special* order: as if men were as unthinking as brute creatures, and could not distinguish between acting *with* commission and acting *without* one; between having *good* authority for what they do, and having *none*. What is it by which any one can *justify* his own actions before God and the world, but this, that he had *sufficient warrant* for doing as he has done? And what is it by which we *condemn* several other actions, but this, that the actors had no warrant for them?

Now as to what was done to the Amalekites, there was God's *express* order for it: and what can we desire more than an order from heaven? As to God's dealings with nations in the way of vindictive justice, we are not competent judges of every case,

^q Exod. xvii. 8. Numb. xxiv. 20. Deut. xxv. 17.

^r Christianity as Old &c. p. 273.

because we have not the whole of the *matter* laid before us, to form a judgment by: for we fall infinitely short of that large comprehensive view of all circumstances, which the great Governor of the universe has before him. But this we may presume to say, as to the case of the Amalekites, that considering how they had all along been inveterate adversaries towards the people of God, (raised up to *reform* the world,) and how they had very probably been wicked also in other respects, like the Canaanites; it was a great instance of God's longsuffering, that he bore with them so long, and that he waited four hundred years for their repentance, before he destroyed them: so far is it from being any imputation upon his goodness, that he at length did so.

It may be noted of the Amalekites, that they were descendants of Esau^s, and therefore were by pedigree allied to the Israelites, of the stock of Abraham. They seem to have broke off very early from the other Edomites, joining with the old Horites^t, idolaters of mount Seir: so that the Amalekites soon apostatized from the religion of Abraham. These apostates were the *first* that drew sword against the Israelites, (brethren in blood,) and they did it *unprovoked*, barbarously taking advantage of them, by coming at the back of them, at a time when they were *feeble, faint, and weary*^u, which was great *inhumanity*. Besides, their *impiety* is particularly taken notice of in Scripture, that they "feared not God^x," but that their *hand* was lift up "against the throne of the Lord^y," against the throne of the God of Abraham their father; which was an aggravating circumstance. Seeing therefore that there was such a complication of *ill-nature, inhumanity, treachery, and flagrant impiety*, in what the Amalekites did, it pleased God to set a brand of the highest *infamy* upon them, and to take the most exemplary *vengeance* of them, to create the utmost abhorrence of such practices in the minds of all men. Their descendants seem to have inherited the like temper and principles with their fathers, the same rancor against Israel^z, and the same opposition to God's great and

^s Gen. xxxvi. 12.

^t See Cumberland's Orig. Antiq. p. 118, 134, 138.

^u Deut. xxv. 18, 19.

^x Deut. xxv. 19.

^y Exod. xvii. 16. So I understand the text, with our marginal transla-

tion, and several judicious interpreters, as Patrick particularly, and, in the main, Le Clerc. See also Lake-macher's Observat. Philolog. vol. ii. p. 18.

^z Judg. iii. 13. vi. 3, 33. vii. 12. x. 12.

glorious designs by Israel. It does not follow from God's assigning one reason only for destroying the Amalekites, that that was the *sole* reason: but that was sufficient to be mentioned to the Israelites, as they had concern in no more: the rest he might reserve to himself among the *arcana imperii*, which he was not obliged to divulge either to Israel his own people, or to any creature whatever.

No *prince* that has not such a Divine commission as Saul had, can make any *just* pretence from this instance, for so invading or so extirpating any nation: but *vain* or *wicked* pretences may be always made, either *from* any thing, or *for* any thing.

As to Samuel's pretending a sacrifice, it was a just pretence and a true one: for he did offer sacrifice^a, as God had commanded him. And what if he had a further intention, was he bound to declare *all* he knew, or to disclose to every man the *whole* of his errand? Secresy is of great use in all important negociations: and the concealing one design by going upon another, (to prevent giving offence, or other worse mischief,) is as righteous and as laudable a practice, as the drawing a curtain to keep off spies. The making one *good* design the cover for a *better*, is doing two good things at once, and both in a proper way: and though men have been blamed, and very justly, for using acts of religion as a cloak for *iniquity*, yet I have never heard that there could be any thing amiss in performing one act of obedience towards God, in order to facilitate the performing of another. If the author has no better arguments than these, he might more prudently forbear insulting the God of Israel, for fear he should prove at length to be (as indeed he is) the God of the whole universe, and a just avenger.

I SAMUEL XXV.

The Objector, taking occasion from what is related in this chapter, is pleased to exercise his abusive talent upon good king David; whom (as if he had a mind to outdo Doeg or Shimei) he loads most unmercifully, beyond truth and reason. He brings on the indictment thus^b: Was not David, though a prophet, and a "man after God's own heart, guilty of enormous crimes, " from the time he designed to have murdered all the males in " Nabal's family, because he would not pay contributions to him " and those men who, out of debt, discontent, and distress, joined

^a 1 Sam. xvi. 5.^b Christianity as Old &c. p. 244.

“ him ?” The sting of the satire lies, I suppose, in David’s being a “ man after God’s own heart :” for the invective would be dull and nothing worth, if it had not a dash of blasphemy to give it a poignancy, and to help off the flatness and heaviness of the thought. And what if good men have committed some faults and great ones, they may still be dear and acceptable to God for their *repenting* of those faults, and for their many *good qualities*, while those that maliciously revile and insult them shall not be held guiltless. We are not obliged to defend David, or any other good man, in every article of conduct : but where is the justice of charging them so roughly, beyond all measures of truth or decency ? David met with most provoking usage from a wicked and ungodly churl. He was at that time both a *prophet* and a *prince* of Israel. He had been anointed in order to be *king*^c, now for six years or more. He had signalized himself, not only in slaying a *lion* and a *bear*, but in conquering the Goliath of the Philistines, almost miraculously. He had married a king’s daughter, and was the second man in the realm. Saul himself had publicly declared, that he was to be his successor in the kingdom^d, as Jonathan the king’s son had before more privately done^e. This so renowned a person, and presumptive heir to the crown, being reduced to distress, and hearing that Nabal, who had been much obliged to him^f, had prepared a great feast, (being a very wealthy man,) he sent to him in the kindest and most courteous manner imaginable, only to beg a little present sustenance, *water*, and *flesh*, and *bread*, (what could best be spared,) at a time of feasting and jollity : the rude churl denied him, and returned him a most insolent provoking answer.

What man of brave spirit, at the head of his soldiers, would not have found his blood rise upon such an occasion, and almost have thought that it became him to correct a brutal man that had thus affronted his superior, nay, his *anointed* sovereign, though not yet in possession ? But David notwithstanding all, as soon as the first heats of his passion were over, repented even of his sudden warmth, and submitted to his cooler reason. Now, ought this writer to have singled out only the worst part of the character, representing even that under invidious and *false* colours ? And why must David’s cause be loaded with calumny, and Nabal’s set off with paint and varnish ? But he goes on

^c 1 Sam. xvi. 1, 12, 13.

^e 1 Sam. xxiii. 17.

^d 1 Sam. xxiv. 20.

^f 1 Sam. xv. 16.

pleading for Nabal, that "he might have incurred the fate of "the priests," that had privately harboured and assisted David. Perhaps so: and yet Nabal by refusing did not meet with a better fate; as he had no reason to expect it. Whatever hazards he had run, he ought to have had some *humanity*, and not to have let a brave man, and a general, suffer want, while himself was feasting, and in safety too, through David's civility, and the good discipline he kept over those that were in arms for him. Is this the *benevolence* which our author recommends, to refuse such a person the common offices of *humanity*, out of a dastardly fear and dread of some *possible* dangers? In short, if David's conduct in that affair was not altogether defensible, yet Nabal's certainly was unexcusable. In the one may be seen an humble, pious, great, and generous soul, with some pitiable sallies of sudden passion: in the other you see nothing but what is mean, sordid, and brutal. Let David then be the Scripture hero still, and Nabal the Objector's.

As to David's being in a manner forced to tell some *untruths* to Abimelech the priest in order to get bread; instead of insulting the hard fate of a very great and good man, (though we are not obliged to say that he was *sinless*,) it might better have become our writer to deplore the abject meanness of the world, (in such cases,) when they are so afraid for themselves, that they dare not run some risks for the preserving ever so excellent a man in extreme necessity.

And whereas this writer says, that "nothing could be more "treacherous than David's invading people that were at least in "peace with, if not allies of, the king of Gath;" he cannot prove that there was any *treachery* at all in what David did: so this is *false* accusation. Those people he invaded were most probably the remains of the Canaanites and Amalekites^h, whom God had commanded should be destroyed: and therefore as David had greater obligations to the *King of heaven* than to the *king of Gath*, he acted as a good man should.

But the worst of the calumny thrown upon David is the charging him with "leaving the world in an unforgiving temperⁱ." This is a charge of a malicious nature, and strikes at the honour of God and religion, since David is undoubtedly a saint of heaven. Well: what is the impeachment grounded upon? David upon

^g 1 Sam. xxi. 2. ^h 1 Sam. xxvii. 8. ⁱ Christianity as Old &c. p. 244.

his death-bed, reminded his son Solomon of the wickedness of Shimei, advising him, as a proper occasion should offer, to BRING DOWN HIS HOARY HEAD TO THE GRAVE WITH BLOOD^k. Shimei was an ungodly wretch, who had long before forfeited his life to the public, and whom David had spared by a kind of heroic, unexampled clemency. Twice he delivered him^l, when his great ministers were impatient to have justice done upon him. In the last instance he swore unto him, that he would not put him to death. But he spared him both times for reasons peculiar to himself, and to his own circumstances^m. It was reasonable that Shimei should have died by the hands of justice, as a *traitor* to his rightful sovereign, and a most virulent one too; having openly reviled and *cursed* the king: but it was not reasonable, in those circumstances, that David should condemn him to death; at least David thought it was not. Hereupon he promised him, that he *should not die*ⁿ: which amounted to this only, according to David's own account, that *he* (David) would *not put him to death*^o. The grant of pardon and the promise were not absolute, but expired with the life of the king; as the reasons it was founded upon were peculiar to king David. And David, knowing that such a wretch ought to have condign punishment, put Solomon in mind of doing what he did not think proper himself to do, lest Solomon, out of reverence to his father's memory, might have spared him too, when there was not the same reason for it. He gave Solomon the like instructions about Joab^p, that he also might be put to death; because he had forfeited his life long before by his wickedness, and David had spared him for reasons peculiar to his own circumstances, or for reasons of state. David is to be considered in those his dying instructions to his son Solomon, not as a *private* man acting upon resentment, but as a *king* and a *governor* giving advice to his *successor* in affairs of state. It was for the good of the public that such offenders as Joab and Shimei should suffer, at a time proper, and as prudence should direct. And therefore David, in these his last hours, performed the part of a prudent *magistrate* in relation particularly to Shimei, as before he had acted the part of a pious and a tender-hearted man. He happily reconciled both parts together, and deserved (as I conceive) commendation rather than censure

^k 1 Kings ii. 9.

^l 2 Sam. xvi. 10. xix. 22, 23.

^m 2 Sam. xvi. 11, 12. xix. 22.

ⁿ 2 Sam. xix. 23.

^o 1 Kings ii. 8.

^p 1 Kings ii. 5, 6.

for it. After I had written this, I found that Le Clerc^q had given much the same account of the thing; which confirms me the more in it that it is just and right.

2 SAMUEL XXI. 1.

THEN THERE WAS A FAMINE IN THE DAYS OF DAVID THREE YEARS, YEAR AFTER YEAR; AND DAVID INQUIRED OF THE LORD. AND THE LORD ANSWERED, IT IS FOR SAUL, AND FOR HIS BLOODY HOUSE, BECAUSE HE SLEW THE GIBEONITES.

The Objector says^r: "Are there not examples in Scripture, which, taken in their literal sense, seem to make God break in upon the common course of nature, and the ordinary rules of his providence, to punish men for crimes they were not guilty of; as God's causing, in the latter end of David's reign, a famine for three years together for the crime of Saul and for his bloody house, in slaying the Gibeonites." This objection, to do the author justice, is modestly urged, without straining, or indecent reflections: and there is a difficulty in the thing, which makes it both require and deserve a solution. But we must distinguish always between *difficulties* and *demonstrations*. God's judgments are many times unsearchable, and his counsels profound: and as we are not able to see far enough to account for them; so neither can we see far enough to pass any unerring censure upon them. All may be perfectly right, in such cases, for any thing we know: and therefore it is rash judgment to pronounce to the contrary. If the fact be sufficiently proved by *external* evidence, that is enough, where we have not light sufficient to judge of the *whole* case from the *internal* nature of the thing. We cannot pretend to have a comprehensive view of all circumstances like as God himself: neither are we able to examine the whole link or chain of Divine Providence from one end to the other.

These general things premised, we may now proceed to the particular case of the *famine* mentioned. It ought not to be said, because it cannot be proved, that the Israelites of that time were *punished for crimes* that they were no way *guilty of*. We know not how many, or who, were confederate with Saul in murdering the Gibeonites, or guilty in not hindering it. We know not how many, or who, made the crime their *own*, by *approving*

^q See Cleric. in 1 Reg. ii. 6, 9. sect. 13. p. 348.
compare Puffendorf, b. iv. chap. 2. ^r Christianity as Old &c. p. 266.

it afterwards. We know not what share of guilt might be derived upon the whole nation, for suffering so much *innocent blood* to be shed, against a national contract^s; or for not expressing their horror and detestation of it, by some *public act*. Further, we know not what other sins (which had no relation to that) the people might be guilty of, to deserve a *famine*; which sins, though God would have remitted or passed by at another time, he would not remit then, when the sins of their *fathers*, added to theirs^t, called for an act of discipline. We know not how far such an act of discipline, at that time, might be necessary to prevent the like *murders* for the time to come, or to preserve the whole nation of the Gibeonites from rudeness and insult; or to raise in the minds of the Israelites a proper regard and respect for them. We know not how much the sacredness and validity of *national oaths* or contracts might be concerned in that matter. In a word, we know not the depths of the Divine counsels, nor a hundredth part of the reasons which an all-wise God might have; and therefore it behoves us, in all such cases, to be modest and reserved in our censures, remembering that God is in heaven, and that we dwell in dust, that he knows all things, and we nothing in comparison.

But supposing the people of that time to have been ever so *innocent*, yet God had an absolute right over the lives of all, and could demand them when he pleased, without such reason as was assigned: and if he made the demand (which he had so clear a right to) at such a time, and in such a manner as might best answer the ends of *discipline*; then that which was *just* in other views, and without any such special reason, could not become *unjust* by having that additional reason to recommend it. In a word, if the thing was *righteous*, considered merely as an *act of dominion*, it could not but be *righteous* and *kind* also, by being made at the same time an *act of discipline*, for the punishment of sin, and for the promoting *godliness* among men. It is a certain and almost self-evident maxim, that whatsoever God can justly deprive men of without any respect at all to *sins*, (as he may of all worldly blessings whatever,) the same he may as justly deprive them of for the *sins of their fathers*; because this is only exercising an *act of dominion* over the children with an additional circumstance of *wholesome discipline* over the *fathers* of those children, if living,

^s Josh. ix. 23.

^t See above, p. 225.

or else of instruction and warning to *parents* in general, for the better promoting religion and righteousness in the world. I have answered this objection mildly, as the Objector made it civilly, to let the readers see, that if I do it not at other times, the fault is not mine. Rudeness, petulance, and barefaced impiety ought to be "rebuked sharply," while softer replies are proper to be given to modest inquirers, to such as "ask with meekness and "fear"."

2 SAMUEL XXIV. 1.

AND AGAIN THE ANGER OF THE LORD WAS KINDLED AGAINST ISRAEL, AND HE MOVED DAVID AGAINST THEM TO SAY, GO, NUMBER ISRAEL AND JUDAH.

The Objector has several pretences to urge^y against this part of sacred history, which must be examined in order. He asks, "How can we reconcile this story with itself? In one place^z it "is said, God moved David to number Israel: in another^a, "Satan provoked David. Did God conspire with Satan in this "act, in order to destroy a number of *innocent* persons?" In answer hereto, I may observe, first, that this is another of his English objections. For if he had been disposed to look into the original, and had known any thing of the Hebrew idiom, he might have perceived that the text does not say that *God* moved David, (for the word *God* is not in the text at all,) but *one moved*, which comes to the same with, DAVID WAS MOVED TO SAY, &c. as Castalio renders. It is a very common idiom of the Hebrew language, thus to leave out the *nominative* of the verb active, (an indefinite person understood,) and then the verb is to be rendered *passively*, and the *accusative* following supplies the place of the *nominative* wanting, as here^b. So now it is manifest, that there is no repugnancy between this text in Samuel and the other of Chronicles.

But a further objection made to the story is, that God should smite Israel, and destroy seventy thousand of them "for David's "fault in causing the innocent sheep (as he justly calls them) "to be numbered." Truly, if any one else but God had done it,

^u Tit. i. 13. 1 Tim. v. 20. Acts xii. 10.

^x 1 Pet. iii. 15. See Mr. Twells's Crit. Exam. of the New Text, &c. p. 125.

^y Christianity as Old &c. p. 266.

^z 2 Sam. xxiv. 1.

^a 1 Chron. xxi. 1.

^b See Gataker. de Stylo N. T. p. 68. Kidder, Demonstrat. part ii. p. 73, 74, 75. Bedford's Scripture Chronology, p. 559. Le Clerc. in loc. Buxt. Thesaur. Gram. p. 430. Dachsely Bibl. Hebr. Accentuat. vol. i. p. 465.

by his own authority, there might be a just handle for complaint : but God has an absolute right over the lives of all men ; and if ever he does any thing seemingly hard, he knows how to make them ample amends. But as to the *innocent sheep*, which our writer speaks of, as *justly* so called by David, he knows nothing of that matter : neither were the people *innocent* in his sense, though they were in the sense that David intended. David reflected only on their innocence in *one respect*, as to the sin of *numbering* the people : that was David's sin, not *theirs*. But they had other sins many and great, which deserved punishment, and for which probably they would have been punished before, had it not been for the tenderness God bore towards David, who must have been a sufferer in it as well as they. But now when both *king* and *people* had deserved a correction, or judgment, then God was pleased to let loose his anger upon both. I do not found this upon mere conjecture : the text itself takes notice first, that THE ANGER OF THE LORD WAS KINDLED AGAINST ISRAEL ; and then follows what relates to David, and his sin in numbering the people. So David was to be punished by losing such a number of his people : and his sin was so much the immediate *cause* of that judgment, that had it not been for *that*, along with the other, it would not have been sent. However, it cannot be said the people were strictly *innocent*, who but a few years before^c had run mad after Absalom, an unnatural rebel and usurper, deserting their rightful sovereign, one of the best of kings. What other sins they had committed, we need not inquire : that alone might be sufficient to deserve such a plague. God knows the proper times for taking vengeance of wicked men : and his judgments, if they come the slower, are the more severe.

But the Objector has further scruples against the whole story, from the appearing disagreement of the numbers in the muster-rolls of the people, comparing different places of Scripture together, and particularly three^d. This must be owned to be a scholar-like objection, and it has employed the thoughts of very learned and considerable men ; such as Buxtorf, Pfeiffer, Bochart,

^c About five or six years, according to the common chronology, placing Absalom's rebellion A. M. 2981, and this plague A. M. 2986, or 2987. Le Clerc indeed intimates a suspicion, as if this history had been misplaced,

and that it should precede Absalom's rebellion : but he offers it as a bare conjecture, assigning no reasons. *Cleric. in 2 Sam. xxiv. 1.*

^d 1 Sam. xi. 8. 2 Sam. xxiv. 9. 1 Chron. xxi. 5.

and others^e. The sum of their account is, that the difference arises by the *standing legions* (which attended monthly on the king) being reckoned in one place, and omitted in another, and so *vice versa*. I need not be more particular, because the English reader, that has a mind to examine into this matter, may see it explained more at large, either in Bishop Patrick^f, or Lightfoot^g, or in Mr. Bedford^h. Indeed Le Clerc, not satisfied with the common solution, suspects there has been some error in the numbers, owing to the negligence or rashness of copyists. I shall not pretend to judge in so nice a case, about which very probably the most learned will differ, according to the sentiments they have of the integrity of the Hebrew text; some admitting of *slight* corruptions in the text by mistakes of librarians, others admitting *none*. There appears no *absolute* necessity of supposing any here. The common solution is a very good one: and Le Clerc's main objection (founded upon a calculation of the whole number of inhabitants, and upon a supposition that the land of Judæa could not maintain them) is too precarious in both its parts, to build any thing certainly upon.

But however that question be determined, yet certainly there will be neither foundation nor colour for what our writer says afterwards, that "there is scarce a chapter (of the Old Testament) which gives any historical account of matters, but "there are some things in it which could not be there originally." This is a petulant slander, and thrown out at random, by one that knows little of the affair beyond *guesses* or *wishes*; and therefore I leave it to the readers to judge what weight it ought to carry with it. Such as have leisure and abilities to examine into the integrity and uncorruptness of the sacred code, may consult, among others, Buxtorf^k more particularly, and Wolfius^l, and Carpzov^m, in Latin, who have abundantly vindicated the same from all material objections: and if the English readers want satisfaction, they may see what will be sufficient in the books referred to in the marginⁿ.

^e Buxtorf. Anti-Crit. p. 403, 404. Pfeiffer. Dub. Vexat. p. 527. Bochart. Hieroz. part. i. lib. ii. cap. 38. p. 375.

^f Patrick on 2 Sam. xxiv. 9.

^g Lightfoot, Op. vol. i. p. 68.

^h Bedford's Scripture Chronology, p. 559.

ⁱ Christianity as Old &c. p. 267.

^k Buxtorfii Anti-Critica contra Capellum.

^l Wolfii Bibliotheca Sacra, vol. ii.

^m Carpzovii Introductio ad Libros V. T. Carpzovii Critica Sacra.

ⁿ Jenkins, vol. ii. chap. iv. v. Moses Marcus's Defence of the Hebrew Text against Mr. Whiston.

I KINGS XIII.

This chapter relates the story of the *man of God*, the Prophet of Judah, and his disobedience to God, owing to the falsehood and treachery of the *old Prophet* of Bethel. Upon which our Objector thus descants°. Speaking of the Prophet of Judah, he observes that he “went contrary to what God had “commanded him by an immediate revelation, because a known “Prophet assured him, he had afterwards a different revelation “for him: a crime so heinous in the eyes of the Lord, that he “destroyed this Prophet after a most signal manner; though he “had to plead for himself, that the Prophet, who spoke to him “in the name of the Lord, could have no interest in deceiving “him; and that there was nothing in the command but might “as well come from the Lord, as what himself had received.” He has more to object against this part of sacred history: but I think it best to stop here, and to examine his cavils so far first, and then to proceed to the rest. Here are, I think, three insinuations, intended to extenuate the Prophet of Judah’s crime, and to make his so exemplary punishment appear *hard* and *cruel*. It was a *known* Prophet that deceived him; and one that had *no interest* to serve in it; and there was nothing in the *nature* of the two commands to give light, or to discover which should be preferred. These particulars must be examined in their order.

1. As to the Prophet’s being a *known* Prophet, unless he was known to the Prophet of Judah, that circumstance is of no weight in the case. But it appears from the history, that they did not know one another: for the Prophet of Bethel, when he had found the other Prophet, asked him, if he was the “man of “God” that came from Judah^p, which he need not have done, had they been before acquainted. This therefore is one aggravation of the Prophet of Judah’s crime, that he suffered himself to be imposed upon by a *stranger*, by one that he did *not know*, and against the express command of God whom he did know.

2. As to the *old Prophet’s* having *no interest* in deceiving the other, how could the other Prophet know what views or interests a *stranger* might have? But besides that, if he had really known him, there was ground for suspicion, from the *place* he lived in, and other circumstances, that he might be moved by

° Christianity as Old &c. p. 328.

^p I Kings xiii. 14.

envy or *malice* to deceive the man of Judah, who had boldly reproved Jeroboam's idolatry which himself had winked at, and who was likely to eclipse the honour of the *old Prophet* by the signal miracles he had wrought, and by the respect the king had shewn him. So that this is a second aggravation of his fault, that he trusted too easily to a man whose *honesty* he knew nothing of, and who might probably have *corrupt views* in the business he came upon.

3. As to the commands themselves carrying nothing in them, to direct one which to prefer, that is not true; for the command given by God was founded, probably, upon two good reasons. He was not to eat in that place, for fear of giving countenance to their *idolatries*: and he was not to return "the same way," for fear of being sent after and detained; which reasons were as good against his coming back with the old Prophet. And what reason could there be for his coming back? No good end (so far as appears) could be answered in it, except it were to refresh, which was very slight. But besides the *matter* of the command, there was a most notorious difference in the *manner* of their notification. One came directly from *God*, or an *angel* of God: the other from a *man* only. There ought to have been the same proof and certainty of a *Divine repeal*, as there had before been of a *Divine command*. A prophet might *lie*; God himself, or an angel from God, could not. The *man of God* should have insisted upon a *sign*, to prove this Prophet's commission for saying what he did say; or should have waited till God himself might direct what to do. It does not follow from a man's being honoured with the gift of prophecy, that he becomes from thenceforwards impeccable. God by making a *prophet* does not unmake the *man*, or destroy his free agency. So that it is of very little moment for the Objector to observe, that the "lying Prophet had the gift of prophecy continued to "him" notwithstanding. So had Balaam before, and Judas had the *extraordinary gifts* after: which may teach us, that God does not approve of every thing that gifted men may do. Those gifts are bestowed for *public* use: but the person's being accepted or otherwise depends upon his *private* demeanour. St. Paul himself, with his extraordinary gifts, was not out of all possible danger of becoming a *castaway*⁹. Many will say to

⁹ 1 Cor. ix. 27.

our Lord, at the last day, "Have we not prophesied in thy name?" To whom, notwithstanding, he will make answer, "Depart from me, ye that work iniquity^r."

But the Objector takes notice also, that the *lying* Prophet was not *punished*: which is very true. And we are taught by this instance, not to pass any judgment, as to God's final favour or disfavour, from his outward dispensations, any further than we have *special* grounds for it. The Prophet that was *spared* appears to have been a much worse man in every view, than the Prophet that was *punished*: but his account was adjourned to another time, or to another world. Every history furnishes us with many like instances of the *best* men being taken off first, and the *worst* being left behind, to live longer and repent, or to meet with the *severer* doom. Whatever be the reason, the fact is certain, that so it oftentimes is^s: and it is no more an argument against *Scripture*, than it is against the being of God and Providence, that is, none at all: for a life to come will adjust every seeming inequality, and will set all things right.

It is thought hard that the Lord should *pronounce*, by the mouth of the *lying* Prophet, the "doom of the Prophet he so *fatally* deceived." But it appears to be right, and very suitable to the Divine Majesty, not to vouchsafe the *deceived* Prophet the favour of *immediate* revelation, at a time when he determined to take exemplary punishment upon him. Besides, the rebuke coming from the very man that deceived him, made it the more sensible and affecting: and it may serve for a very instructive lesson to every one against being too *credulous*, and giving ear to *deceivers*; lest, when they have so deceived them, Providence may so order it, that they may be the first to upbraid them with their too easy credulity.

Upon the whole, there appears nothing in the *Divine* conduct, with respect to the present article, that can be justly found fault with. Some specious shows there are, while we look no deeper than the surface: but taking the thing in its *best* light, (even according to our narrow and scanty views,) and it carries nothing amiss in it. Besides, *Divine* Wisdom may yet see infinitely more than we are able to imagine. It is not *necessary*, it

^r Matt. vii. 23. Conf. Carpazov. Introd. part. iii. p. 58.

^s See many instances numbered up by Cotta, in Tully de Natura Deo-

rum, lib. iii. c. 32, 33. It is an old objection against *Providence*; and if it be of any force, concludes for *Atheism*.

is not *possible*, for us to assign all the particular reasons either of God's *ordinary* or *extraordinary* dispensations: but in all such cases, (since God's judgments are unsearchable, and his ways past finding out,) it is sufficient for every modest man to say, "It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes."

1 KINGS XVII. 1. 2 KINGS I. 9.

The two chapters here referred to contain some part of the history of the prophet Elijah, who was too great and too good a man to escape the censure of our smart Objector, who writes thus: "Elijah's causing fire to come down from heaven, to destroy two captains with their companies, for no other fault but bluntly delivering a message from the king, and perhaps in the very words they were commanded, was not so cruel as his hindering it from raining upon the earth for the space of three years and six months; since a drought of that continuance, without dew or rain, in such a barren country as Judæa, must have, without miracles, destroyed every thing; and yet St. James from hence takes occasion to recommend the efficacy of prayer." But what does our faltering detractor here mean by throwing the blame upon Elijah? Elijah could fetch no *fire from heaven*, but what it should please *God* to send, nor *hinder it from raining* beyond what *God* should hinder. The blame therefore, if any blame there be, must be thrown upon God himself. But can our Objector talk one word of *sense* against the sovereign power of the Almighty, in such cases? To make it look like sense, he throws the fault upon a *man*: but since the things done were beyond the power of *man*, it is nonsense in that way, as much as in the other; and *blasphemy* it must be both ways. By the Scripture account, it was God that did all: and therefore, if there was nothing done but what God had a right to do, (and he is the best judge of the *wisdom* of it,) then Scripture is not justly chargeable on this head. God destroyed the two captains and their companies by fire from heaven, because they came to take his Prophet by force, and accosted him *rudely*. God will have his *prophets* revered, and not affronted, because they are allied to him; and every affront offered to them is justly resented as an indignity to God himself. But God made a distinction, even in

† Christianity as Old &c. p. 265.

that case, between *rude* and *reverent* behaviour; and therefore the *third* captain with his company, since they had been taught some modesty and good manners towards so eminent a Prophet of God most high, were used with tenderness, and came off unhurt.

As to God's withholding *rain*, who should do it but he? Or who shall call him to account for it? He best knew how long such a *barren country* as Judæa could bear a drought: though where our author has learned that Judæa, the land "flowing " with milk and honey^u," was a *barren country*, he has not told us. To be short, when this gentleman is of the counsels of Heaven, he may pretend, with a better grace, to direct how long it may be at any time proper for God to withhold *rain* or *dews*: but to pretend to it now is too assuming. Waving the *blasphemy*, it is, in the softest terms we can give it, pert and pragmatistical, intruding into a province which belongs to no mortal. The like objections would lie against all the considerable *plagues*, *dearth*s, *famines*, or *earthquakes*, which God, in his just judgment, has ever sent upon mankind. And what can such profane carping end in, but in downright *Atheism*?

2 KINGS II. 23, 24.

This place of Scripture treats of Elisha's cursing the children that mocked him: upon which our Objector thus descants^x.

"Who is not surprised to find the holy Prophet Elisha cursing, in the name of the Lord, little children, for calling him bald pate? And what is still more surprising, two she bears upon his cursing, straight devoured forty-two little children." Well: What is there at all *surprising* in that whole story? Though men of little minds, and narrow views, may sometimes be *surprised* at very plain and common things. Is it that a Prophet should *curse*? But that was part of a *Prophet's* office and business: for Prophets had commission either to *curse* or to *bless* in the name of the Lord. It would have been much more *surprising*, if any one but a Prophet should have done it, and with effect.

Was it that a Prophet should curse *little children*? But it was a good lesson of instruction to parents, to educate their children better, and not to initiate them in the Devil's service,

^u Vid. Bochart. Hieroz. part. ii. troduction. part. iii. p. 472.
lib. iv. cap. 12. p. 520. Carpzov. In-
^x Christianity as Old &c. p. 265.

before they know their right hand from their left. If the children were *little*, and *innocent* on account of their non-age, it was kind in God to take them out of the world before they should come to do that *maliciously*, and of their own accord, which they now began to do as set on and managed by others. In the mean while, it was a proper rebuke to the people of Bethel, for their irreverence and insult upon a *Prophet* of God, and therein upon *God* himself. They might learn another time to train their children up to good manners, and to the fear of the Lord. For the present, they might see how God detests *scoffers* and *mockers*, and what reverence he expects to be paid to his holy Prophets.

But perhaps our Objector is *surprised* that *two* bears could *devour* forty-two children: he may think that forty-two children were more than two bears could *eat up*. I believe so too. But then he need not suppose that they *ate* them *up*: the text does not say so. Or if he so understands *devouring*, then let the reader observe, that it is a word of his own contriving, to give, as I suppose, the better colour to his objection: but it was wrong to choose it, and worse to print it in Italic, as if it had been the very Scripture phrase; when our Bible says, rightly, *tare* them, not *devoured* them.

2 KINGS VIII. 10.

AND ELISHA SAID UNTO HIM, GO, SAY UNTO HIM, THOU MAYEST CERTAINLY RECOVER: HOWBEIT, THE LORD HATH SHEWED ME THAT HE SHALL SURELY DIE.

The Objector's representation is as follows: "The Prophet Elisha sends word to Benhadad, the king of Syria, who consults him about his recovery, that he may (or rather *shall*, or *will*, for so it ought to be rendered) certainly recover: yet he tells Hazael, who had a design upon his crown and life, (and who before had been anointed king of Syria by the Prophet Elijah².) that HE SHOULD SURELY DIE. And this looked the more ungrateful in the Prophet, because he had received FORTY CAMEL LOADS OF THE GOOD THINGS OF DAMASCUS to tell the king truth." This is a tart sarcasm upon the Prophet; and might have passed for *true* wit, if it had not been founded on *false* fact. The author was proud of it, as one may perceive by his bringing it over again, a few pages lower, lest his readers

¹ Christianity as Old &c. p. 257.

² 1 Kings xix. 15.

should not take due notice. In this other place^a, he expresses himself thus: "He (Elisha) entailed the curse of leprosy on his "man Gehazi, AND HIS SEED FOR EVER^b, for accepting without "his master's knowledge a small present from Naaman the "Assyrian; though the Prophet himself afterwards took FORTY "CAMEL LOADS OF THE GOOD THINGS OF DAMASCUS, to tell their king "the truth, and yet deceived him" Now if this censure be founded upon *truth*, and *certain* fact, it must be allowed to bear hard upon the *Prophet*; but if it should happen to be founded only on *fiction* and *romance*, then, like a gun ill charged, it recoils upon the man that holds it. Let us then examine the pretended facts.

1. The first and slightest is, that Hazael had been *anointed* King of Syria by the Prophet Elijah; which is by no means true in the strict sense of *anointed*. For it sufficiently appears from this very chapter^c, as Le Clerc has observed^d, that Hazael at this time (after Elijah's translation to heaven) knew nothing of his being appointed *king* or successor to Benhadad. There is indeed an order of God to Elijah, to ANOINT HAZAEL KING OVER SYRIA^e. But *anointing* there signifies no more than *designing*, or *recording* in the Prophet's own mind, by order from God; like as when it is said in Jeremiah, WRITE YE THIS MAN CHILDLESS^f; which comes to no more than saying, Know ye that God hath so fixed and determined. Cyrus is called the *Lord's anointed*^g, though he was never properly anointed of God: but God had, in his wise counsels, fixed and determined what Cyrus should come to, had chosen and singled him out for such and such purposes. In this sense, and no other, Elijah anointed Hazael. He wrote him down, he recorded him, in prophetic view, as a person, who according to God's foreknowledge or decree, was to be king over Syria. So one of the pretended *facts* fails.

2. The second pretended fact is, that the Prophet *received* forty camel loads of the good things of Damascus, by way of present from Hazael or Benhadad. But this is not clear. It is indeed written^h, that Hazael brought such a present with him to the Prophet: but it is no where said that the Prophet

^a Christianity as Old &c. p. 265.

^b 2 Kings v. 27. ^c 2 Kings viii.

^d Cleric. in 1 Kings xix. 15.

^e 1 Kings xix. 15.

^f Jer. xxii. 30.

^g Isa. xiv. 1. See Cumberland, Orig. Antiq. p. 461.

^h 2 Kings viii. 8, 9.

accepted it. So then, more than half the wit and pleasantry of the sarcasm is lost, for want of proof of this fact.

3. But the most material article of all is, the pretence that the Prophet *deceived* him. This can never be made out by the Objector, on any supposition, but must pass for abuse and calumny. Supposing the common rendering of the text (whether, *Thou mayest certainly recover*, or, *Thou shalt certainly recover*) to take place; it could mean no more than that Hazael should tell Benhadad, that he should recover of his disease, or, that his sickness was not mortalⁱ: which was *true*. However, I am of opinion, that neither of them is the right rendering of the place. This is one of the texts in which the Hebrew itself admits of a *various lection*. The *Keri* has one reading, and the *Chetib* another. The *Keri* (which is the *marginal* reading) is what our translation follows: the *Chetib* (which is the *textual* reading) has נָחַ instead of נָח, *not* instead of *him*. The rendering therefore of the text, according to the *Chetib*, is thus: Go, SAY, THOU SHALT SURELY NOT LIVE: FOR THE LORD HATH SHEWED ME, THAT HE SHALL SURELY DIE. So said the Prophet. But Hazael, being a wicked man, went and told Benhadad the quite contrary, and then murdered him. So stands the case, upon the foot of the *textual* reading. Interpreters have been divided about the two readings, the greater part of them following the *Masorite*, that is, the *marginal* reading; excepting only, that some take in both, as Leusden^k, in particular, does. Cappellus hesitates upon it^l. Vitringa is, I think, the last and the ablest man that has defended the *marginal* reading^m: and the substance of the dispute may be seen in him, with the several opinions or solutions of divines and critics. After him came Witsiusⁿ, who examines all that Vitringa had pleaded, and answers it; and at length gives it for the *textual* reading against the other. Vitringa having seen what Witsius had written, takes notice of it in the next edition of his Third Book of Observations^o, speaks very handsomely of Witsius for it, drops the dispute, and leaves what he had before pleaded to the judgment of the readers. Upon the whole, Witsius seems to me to have sufficiently maintained

ⁱ See Patrick and Le Clerc in loc.

ⁿ Witsii Miscellan. tom. i. præf.

^k Leusden. Clav. Hebraic. p. 225.

sect. ix. edit. 2.

^l Lud. Cappel. Crit. Sacr. p. 115.

^o Vitring. Observat. Sacr. tom. ii.

^m Vitringa, Observat. Sacr. tom. ii. lib. iii. cap. 16. p. 716.

lib. iii. p. 718.

his point, and to have cleared his construction of the text from all material objections. But whether we take this or that *reading*, or whether we follow this or that *rendering*, the pretended fact which this gentleman builds upon has nothing left to support it. The *jest* therefore at length falls, not upon the good Prophet Elisha, but upon the *jester*, who has suffered himself to be imposed upon twice by an idle tale, offering it to his readers as *true history*.

CONCLUSION.

I SHALL here again take leave of the Objector, ending with the Second Book of Kings. My readers will excuse my spending time in confuting trifles, when they consider that it is the *Bible* that this man has been trifling with; to which we can never pay too tender a regard. I have been examining his objections (as he *pretends* to have examined Scripture) by the *test of reason*. He has no right to complain of such fair and equitable dealing. For whatever fondness he may have for his perishing work, Christians ought to have as warm a zeal for *God's Word*, which endureth for ever. Besides, he will remember, that he is the aggressor, who unprovoked began the hostilities, and in a coarser, ruder, and more insulting manner, than had ever been seen amongst us, since Christianity first blessed this island. And how has this innocent, this sacred book of God's law, so offended this gentleman, that he can give it no quarter, nor allow it so much as a true and just representation; which any book whatever, even the Alcoran itself, might demand. Mr. Locke, I may observe, was no *priest*, nor a *bigot* to priests: but he understood the high worth and excellency of our *Bible*. "He employed the last years of his life in hardly any thing else. He was never weary of admiring the great views of that sacred book, and the just relation of all its parts. He every day made discoveries in it, that gave him fresh cause of admiration." Mr. Locke was a person of excellent sense and good learning, and had a fine taste. But what he so much prized and admired, our writer has so slight a notion of, that he is for throwing it off as *rubbish*: which is his mannerly expression for all *external* revelation^q. Notwithstanding which, he professes a zeal for *morality*, and places (as he says) "the whole of religion in doing good." Believe it that can, while he is labouring to

^p Character of Mr. Locke, prefixed to the last posthumous volume.

^q Christianity as Old &c. p. 421.
^r Second Address, &c. p. 92.

destroy the best, the only complete system of *morality* that ever yet appeared ; and to vilify that book which so truly places " the whole of religion in doing good." But he may safely cry up *morality* (especially his *lame* morality) when he has left it no *sanctions*, or none sufficient to support it. After sapping it in its *vitals*, he may well afford it his *compliments* ; which may perhaps be of some service to himself, but will be of none to morality. Virtue cannot live like the chameleon (as they say) upon air. Though a man says a thousand fine things of it, yet if he takes away the proper *rewards* or *penalties* which should keep it alive in the world, he strikes it all down at once, and destroys it utterly. This then is a principal article, as to which we have just reason to require very particular satisfaction. By this criterion, by this test, let this gentleman's friendship and good-will to virtue be tried.

To me it seems that he really undermines the true and proper *sanctions* on which alone virtue can subsist. For let it be observed, that the doctrine of the *resurrection* has no place at all in his scheme : but he leaves all mankind to moulder for ever in their graves. Next, as to the state of the *soul* after death, he expresses himself so sparingly and so uncertainly, that one can scarce know what to make of it. In his fourth chapter, he declares fully against future *penalties*, excepting such only as shall be for the *amendment* of the sinner ; which, in effect, is declaring against all^s, because after death there is no more *probation*. But if he admits any *probation* beyond the grave, (which may be doubted,) it will amount only to a kind of *purgatory* : and he should say, whether a *Popish* one, or what, or how long it is to last. Whatever it be, it is only substituting his own roving *fancies* in the room of the *sure* and *certain* doctrines of a *final judgment* of *heaven* and of *hell*, which Scripture teaches. And since he has taken upon him to prescribe to God, both as to the *matter* of his *laws*, that it be only *moral*, and the *justice* of his penalties ; we need not doubt but he will make all so easy, that libertines shall not be under much concern about it. In short, I can perceive little more in the whole contrivance of this author, but the old Epicurean game played over again, with some slight refinements : which may appear more fully by an induction of particulars, as follows :

^s It is plain that the Two Letters *future life*, but reject *future punishments*. See p. 2, 17, 19.

1. One principal aim of Epicurus and his followers was, to remove the fear of *future penalties*, and particularly of the *eternity* of them^t. In like manner, our writer appears to be much offended at *eternal* punishments, and takes great pains to fence against that doctrine, laying hold of any little argument, or colour of argument, to confute and overthrow it^u. And though he admits of a *future state*, I do not find that he admits the *punishments of hell*. Epicurus himself would have so compounded, to have had it made, in a manner, *all heaven and no hell*.

2. It was the way of the Epicureans, to number up the *mischiefs* which false zeal, bigotry, or hypocrisy had created under the cover of piety, and to lay them all to the charge of *religion*^x, arguing against the *use* of religion, from the *abuses* made of it. The same topic our author is so delighted with, (as it seemed to favour his purpose, and besides fell in with his predominant passion,) that he has filled whole pages with commonplace invective, which he almost naturally runs into. There is no real strength or force in the argument: but it is ten times worse here, to play it against such a religion as the *Christian* is, and in a *reformed* church too, (where it is professed in its native purity,) than it was in the Epicureans, who had had no such *light* as we have, nor known any *religion* but a very *corrupt* one.

3. The Epicureans were used to boast highly of their rescuing their disciples from *superstition*, by which they really meant all *religion*^y. And such also, in the main, is the signification of the word *superstition* in our author; while under that invidious, abusive name, he labours to throw off all *Divine* revelation, admitting no revealed religion at all, considered as *revealed*. This is the *superstition* which he endeavours to deliver mankind from: and this, I presume, is what he so glories in, when he

^t — Nam si certam finem esse viderent

Ærumnarum homines, aliqua ratione valerent

Religionibus, atque minis obsistere vatum:

Nunc ratio nulla est restandi, nulla facultas,

Æternas quoniam pœnas in morte timendum.

Lucret. lib. i. 106, &c.

^u Christianity as Old &c. p. 42, 43.

^x Relligio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta.

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum. *Lucret.* lib. i. 84, 102.

^y So the Academic observes in Cicero. Nam *superstitione*, quod gloriari soletis, facile est liberari, cum sustuleris omnem vim Deorum. *Cicero de Nat. Deor.* lib. i. c. 42. And a little lower, speaking of Atheists, and applying the same to Epicureans. Horum enim sententiæ omnium, non modo *superstitionem* tollunt, in qua inest timor inanis Deorum, sed etiam *religionem*, quæ Deorum cultu pio continetur. *Cicer.* *ibid.*

speaks of his *noble* and *generous attempt*^z, in the same vaunting way as the Epicureans of old used to do^a.

4. When the Epicureans had thrown off the *fear* of the *Gods*, and all dread of *future* penalties, their next business was, how to answer it to the world, that they had left no proper incitement to *virtue*^b or *religion*^c. Whereupon, not being able to stand the popular odium, and the just offence they should give to all men of piety or probity, they were forced to pretend a high reverence for the *Gods*^d: and as to *virtue*, they gave it out, that it was so lovely and amiable, as to be eligible purely for the *pleasures* attending it^e. Now as to these points also, our author has managed almost in the same way. For as Epicurus admitted the *deities* for fashion sake, provided they would but be confined to heaven, and lay no restraints upon mankind; so our author admits the being of *God*, provided he never interposes to give men *laws* or *rules* beyond what they shall carve out for themselves by their own *reason*, or what they will call *reason*. So far goes his reverence towards God.

Then as to *virtue*, after taking away the true and valuable sanctions, he hopes to make us amends by telling us, that "rational actions carry with them their own reward, and irrational their own punishment, *here and hereafter*." That youth "should be taught to join the ideas of *virtue* with the ideas of "beauty, pleasure, and happiness; and the ideas of *vice* with "those of deformity, grief, and misery." Not a word is there of the ideas of a *future judgment*, of hopes of *heaven*, or dread of

^z Christianity as Old &c. pref. p. iv.

^a Quare religio pedibus subjecta vicissim

Obteritur; nos exæquat victoria cælo. *Lucret.* lib. i. 79, 80.

^b Tully was sensible of this, where he says, Atque haud scio, an pietate adversus Deos sublata, fides etiam, et societas generis humani, et una excellentissima virtus justitia, tollatur. *Cicero de Nat. Deor.* lib. i. c. 2.

^c Cotta in Cicero observes, At etiam liber est Epicuri de Sanctitate. Ludimur ab homine non tam faceto, quam ad scribendi licentiam libero. Quæ enim potest esse *sanctitas* si Di humana non curant?

^d Invidiæ detestandæ gratia. *Cicero de Nat. Deor.* lib. i. c. 44.

Epicurum, ne in offensionem Athe-

niensium caderet, verbis reliquisset Deos, re sustulisset. *Ibid.* c. 30.

^e Negare Deos esse non audet, ne quid invidiæ subeat aut criminis. *Lib.* iii. c. 1.

^f Nimirum virtuti operam dandam suavitatis Epicurus, quod alitrix voluptatis, et tranquillitatis mater esset; Deos colendos ob præstantiam, sine præmiorum aut pœnarum respectu; qua doctrina sua ab intemperantiæ et libidinum sordibus fortasse revocare aliquos, ad justitiam autem et pietatem adducere vix ac ne vix quidem multos potuit. *Fabric. de Verit. Relig. Christian.* p. 374. Conf. Buddæi Isagog. p. 307.

^g Christianity as Old &c. p. 25, 26.

^h *Ibid.* p. 166.

hell, in this his new *catechism*: which yet would do youth ten times more service, than all his visionary and fantastic helps to virtue, which he substitutes in their stead. In another place he intimates, that it is mean or *servile* to do any thing “to avoid “being punished, or in hopes to be rewarded hereafter^b.” So, whatever he believes of *future* rewards or punishments, he is willing to discard them from influencing practice, or serving morality: which is preparing the way for laying them aside. For from the very same doctrine formerly sprung up the sect of the Sadducees: who being taught by their master not to serve God in a *servile* manner, with respect to *reward*, soon came to deny that there were any future *rewards* at all, or future *state*ⁱ.

I say then, that till this gentleman gives us some fuller satisfaction than he has yet done upon this head, we can by no means esteem him a friend to *virtue* or *morality*. If he does not directly and designedly undermine it, he does it in certain consequence and effect. He may flourish, as long as he pleases, upon the *loveliness of virtue*: let him try, first, if he can harangue the populace into *peace* and *order* without the help of civil *penalties*; and if that experiment succeeds, then let him try how to promote *virtue* without the *servile motives* of *future* sanctions. I am persuaded, that as *bad* men are kept in tolerable order by the former, so the *best* men are preserved in their *integrity* by the latter; and could not be without, especially under hard *trials*. And as destroying one is destroying the civil peace and safety; so the destroying or relaxing of the other is so far destroying or relaxing *virtue* and *morality*. If once we discard the consideration of *rewards* and *punishments* in a life to come, the distinctions of *good* and *evil* will make but slight impressions: *morality* will soon become lifeless *theory*, and *virtue* but an *empty* name. Mr. Barbeyrac, after Mr. Bayle, well says^k; “If the idea of rewards “and punishments in another life be not joined to the practice “of virtue, both *virtue* and *innocence* may be ranked in the

^b Christianity as Old &c. p. 367.

ⁱ See Prideaux's Connect. vol. ii. p. 53, 54.

See also Bishop Bull, who observes how this doctrine was revived here, by some wild *enthusiasts*, Crisp, Saltmarsh, &c. and how it naturally leads to *infidelity* and *atheism*. *Posth. Serm.*

vol. ii. p. 593, 594. Add Bishop Wilkins's Sermon on Heb. xi. 26, and Sharrock de Fin. p. 70, &c. South, vol. iv. Serm. p. 178. Boyle's Seraph. Love, p. 118.

^k Barbeyrac, Prolegom. to Puffend. p. 73. Conf. Lactant. lib. vi. c. 9.

“ number of those things, on which Solomon has pronounced his
“ definitive sentence : *Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.*”

To conclude, if this gentleman thinks I have any way misrepresented him here in the close ; it will be easy for him to do himself justice, in his next performance, by declaring what he believes of the *resurrection, last judgment, heaven and hell*, and upon what grounds.

POSTSCRIPT.

WHILE these papers were coming out of the press, there appeared a pamphlet, which by its *title* seemed to bear some relation to the subject in hand^a. I looked it over, but shall pass no judgment of it: it lies before the world. But there is one paragraph, in page 82, which, I thought, might require some notice. It is a report of the world's having been without revelation for four thousand years together, excepting only a thousandth part of the whole. I shall give the passage at length presently. The author of *Christianity as Old as the Creation* had said something like it before^b, (though not altogether so gross,) and I remarked upon it, very briefly, in my *First Part*, referring to Dr. Jenkins, who had long before obviated the pretence at large. I am sorry I must now be forced to do the same thing over again, and that persons who might so easily become better informed, make no scruple of deceiving themselves or others in matters of such high concernment. This is the occasion of my subjoining a Postscript: and now the author's own words shall appear at length.

“ If *reason* be not a sufficient guide in matters of religion, then
“ *five parts of six* of mankind, at this present, have no sufficient
“ guide at all in matters of religion; and for *four thousand years*
“ *together, nine hundred and ninety-nine parts of a thousand* had no
“ sufficient guide to direct them in their duties. Now this is such
“ a reflection upon the *goodness* and *justice* of the Supreme Go-
“ vernor of the universe, as cannot easily be accounted for. For
“ religion consisting in the doing our duties in our stations from
“ the sense of the being of God, if *reason* would not sufficiently
“ declare our duties in our moral relations, and *the world had no*

^a The Foundation of Natural and Revealed Religion asserted, &c. Printed for James and John Knapton.

^b *Christianity as Old &c.* p. 375, 390, 401.

^c See above, p. 204, 205.

“ *other guide*, God must be *unjust* and *cruel*, to require brick without straw : i. e. to require duty where men had not sufficient means to acquaint them with their duties.” This is that gentleman’s account of God’s dispensations to mankind ; tending to exalt the *sufficiency* of human *reason*, and to depreciate the use of *revelation*. I shall endeavour to return a clear and distinct answer to it, as follows :

1. It is very proper to premise, that since the honour of God and the dignity of Divine revelation are nearly concerned in this important question, it would undoubtedly become every serious *Christian*, and every pious man, not to heighten or enhance the pretended difficulty beyond the *truth* ; not to make a report which may but *seem* to charge God with *injustice* or *cruelty*, without very clear and certain grounds for it.

2. Since God ought never to be charged with the *faults of men*, nor to be suspected as *unjust* or *cruel*, only because men have not made use of the *means* which God has put into their hands, we must insist upon it, that all such as have had any *opportunities* of knowing God’s *revealed* will in any measure are to be reckoned among those that have had revelation ; because they might have had it if they would, and it was not owing to God’s neglect of them, but to their own folly, if they had it not. If they might have had *straw*, and would not, it is but just to demand of them their *tale of bricks*. Such therefore must be struck out of this writer’s list.

3. I may take some notice, by the way, of this gentleman’s reckoning “ nine hundred and ninety-nine parts of a thousand,” as having had no guide but *reason*. One would be glad to know what this calculation is founded upon, or whether it be chosen at all adventures in the careless way. The meaning, I suppose, is, that “ the little nation of the Jews” (as he calls them) were but *as one to a thousand*, in proportion to the whole number of mankind. But it may be doubted, whether he has made sufficient allowances for the prodigious increase of that people, beyond the common rate of the increase of mankind^d, in consequence of the many and signal promises made to their forefathers^e. To be a little more particular, we may observe, that the Jews, at their

^d See Whiston’s Theory, p. 254, xxxii. 12. Exod. i. 7, 9. xxxii. 13. &c. Numb. xxiii. 10. Deut. i. 10, 11. Isa.

^e Gen. xii. 2. xiii. 16. xv. 5. xvii. 2, xlvi. 19. Jerem. xxxiii. 22. Ezek. 4, 5, 6. xxii. 17. xxvi. 4. xxviii. 14. xvi. 7.

coming out of Egypt, were by calculation near *three millions and an half*^f. This was in the year of the world 2513, and from the flood 856, according to the Hebrew computation. Now if the Jews were but as *one to a thousand* in proportion to the *whole*, then the sum total of mankind, at that time, amounted nearly to *three thousand and five hundred millions*. A number, which the judicious in these matters will, I believe, be far from admitting; considering how ill it would suit with the observations made of the *gradual increase* of mankind, and their *periods of doubling*g: for what an immense number then must the world have at this time!

In David's days, 1300 years after the flood, the people of the Jews amounted at least to *six millions*^h. Multiply by a thousand, and then *six thousand millions* will be the sum total of mankind at that time. It is now generally supposed, that the earth's present inhabitants cannot exceed *four thousand millions*ⁱ; so far is it from being at all probable that they could be *six thousand millions*, or any thing like it, in David's time. Mr. Whiston's table makes them under *thirty-four millions*^k. In short then, admitting, not granting, this writer's hypothesis, as to the Jews being the only people then favoured with revelation, yet it is pretty plain that he has stretched and strained beyond what he had grounds for, to help out the Deists in their argument against *Scripture*.

4. But the most material article is, his report that all the world (excepting as before excepted) were without revelation, and had nothing but mere *natural* reason for their guide, four thousand years together. This must be carefully inquired into, because much depends upon it. He that makes the report ought to prove it, since his argument for the *sufficiency* of reason is entirely built upon it: and if he cannot make good his *premises*, his *conclusion* falls of course. Perhaps he may again call this, "screening one's self under the *defensive* side of the question, "instead of endeavouring to convince or convert others!" as if

^f Whiston's Theory, p. 251, 255.

^g Sir William Petty's Essay in Polit. Arithm. p. 316. Nicholls's Confer. part i. p. 76. Whiston's Chronol. of the Old Test. p. 65. and Theory, p. 252.

^h See Le Clerc in 2 Sam. xxiv. 9. He has a larger account there, of thirteen millions; wherein he seems

much to exceed.

ⁱ Whiston's Short View of the Chronology of the Old Testament, p. 65. Universal History, numb. iii. p. 160. Nicholls's Confer. part i. p. 71, &c. alias p. 41, &c.

^k Whiston, *ibid.* p. 67.

^l True Foundation of Natural and Revealed Religion, &c. p. 95.

the shewing a man that his error is built entirely upon a *groundless* supposition, were not a proper way to *convince* him of it, and to *dissuade* him from it. Besides, it is the business of a *respondent* to shew where an *objection* fails for want of *proof*. To give an adversary *needless* advantages is not prudent management, but is often betraying a cause, rather than defending it. I say then, that those who raise the objection against revelation, from the supposed numbers that have gone without it, ought to *prove* the fact; otherwise the objection drops at once.

We have reason to think that Divine *goodness* would provide better for mankind: and nothing but undoubted *proof* that in fact he did not, ought to move us from so probable a persuasion. Besides which, we consider that God *revealed* himself to man soon after he had made him, and again after his fall, and might frequently do it between that and the flood, both to good men and bad; as we are certain he did even to Cain. Consider further, that men lived to a great age in those times, Adam himself 930 years, with whom Methuselah was contemporary 243, who also lived with Noah near 600 years, and with Shem near 100, so that *revelations* might well be conveyed from hand to hand; and none could easily want them. Observe also, that a *Sabbath*^m, very probably, was instituted soon after the creation; and *sacrifices*ⁿ appointed to be as standing memorials, and *visible* observances, for the keeping up a sense of religion in the antediluvian world. These things considered, we have no reason to suspect that the Antediluvians could want *opportunities* of knowing the *true God* and his *will*, or of reviving the remembrance of them as often as need should require: consequently, there is not the least probability of their having been left entirely to the *light of nature*, without any *other guide*. We may therefore presume to strike off the first 1656 years out of the 4000; either because we can prove that all mankind had *opportunities* of knowing God's *revealed* will during that time^o; or because, at least, it never has been, never can be proved, that the Antediluvians had no other guide but *natural* reason.

After the flood, fresh revelations were given to Noah, beyond what he had before received. He lived till within two years of

^m Gen. ii. 2, 3. See Bedford's Scripture Chronology, p. 6, &c. 121. Allix's Reflections upon Genesis, ch. vii. p. 34, &c.

ⁿ Gen. iv. 3, 4.
^o See Dr. Jenkins's Reasonableness, &c. vol. i. p. 37, 46.

the birth of Abraham; and Shem lived till Isaac was fifty years old. The patriarchal religion obtained during those times, and it was a mixture of *natural* and *revealed* religion together^p, both as to *duties* and *sanctions* of duty. The great age which men then lived to could not but help to preserve a sense of religion amongst them, unless they grew culpably careless and unobserving. None could want *opportunities* either of acquiring, or, if lost, of recovering the knowledge of God and his laws, but through their own *fault*. If some nations (as particularly Chaldaea) corrupted the true religion before Abraham's days, yet it cannot be proved that *all* did^q, or that *any* had^r lost all *remembrance* of it, or that there were not yet remaining monuments of the true and ancient religion every where, or^r that there were not^r preachers of righteousness still left, (such as Melchizedek,) who might be as lights to others that should be disposed to attend to them, or to reform by them. Upon these and the like considerations, I may now take upon me to deduct at least two thousand years out of the four thousand; either because (as I before said) we can prove that the bulk of mankind, so far, were not left to the mere *light of nature*, or because it cannot be proved that they were.

Abraham from the time of his call (A.M. 2083.) became (as I observed formerly^r) the great reviver and restorer both of natural and revealed religion, by himself and his issue, and by his nephew Lot and his issue, which in process of time grew up into many and great nations. And they carrying the mark of "circumcision, the seal of the righteousness of faith," with them, (besides the outward rites of *sacrifices*, and probably of the *Sabbath*,) and conveying the same to their posterity, could not fail to perpetuate the memory of the *true* religion for a considerable time, insomuch that none could lose it but through their own *fault*; or if any lost it, there were still memorials enough left whereby to recover it, if men were disposed towards it. How long Abraham's religion (which was true religion, and acceptable to God) continued among the nations descending from him, or allied to him, we do not certainly know: but that it spread vastly wider than the small territories of Judæa is certain. The Lacedæmonians retained the memory of him for above one thousand

^p See Cumberland, Orig. Antiq. Pers. p. 16, 22. Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology, 187, 188.

^q See Shuckford's Connection, volume i. p. 304—313. Hyde's Relig. vet.

^r See above, p. 204.

six hundred years after ; and claimed kindred with the Jews as being "of the stock of Abraham^s:" and it is well known that the Persians have preserved his name to this day, as I before intimated^t.

When the people of the Jews grew up, they became, as it were, a burning and a shining light to the rest of the world, to give all nations *opportunities*, at least, of knowing in some measure the true God, and his revealed will. For "by the constitution of the Jewish law and government, as well as by the providence of God in all his dispensations towards that people, effectual care was taken, that all the necessary points of religion, which concern mankind in general, should by them be communicated to the rest of the world^u."

Egypt, that most great and flourishing kingdom of the ancient times, and which being itself corrupted, was like to become the fountain of idolatries to other nations, that kingdom, I say, had early and signal opportunities given them for the reviving the knowledge of the true God and true religion, by means of the Hebrews so long sojourning amongst them, and by the exceeding great wonders God wrought there. With what principal view God wrought them, himself declares : **THE EGYPTIANS SHALL KNOW THAT I AM THE LORD^x**. And again, with respect to Pharaoh king of Egypt, he says : **FOR THIS CAUSE HAVE I RAISED THEE UP, (kept thee still alive, instead of destroying thee,) FOR TO SHEW IN THEE MY POWER ; AND THAT MY NAME MAY BE DECLARED THROUGHOUT ALL THE EARTH^y**.

In Moses's time, **THE NATIONS HAD HEARD THE FAME OF THE God of Israel^z** : and then it was that the Lord said : **AS I LIVE, ALL THE EARTH SHALL BE FULL OF THE GLORY OF THE LORD^a**. Moses also takes particular notice of the wisdom of the *Divine* laws, and that the Gentiles all around should be apprised of it, and admire it, Deut. iv. 6.

The wars of Canaan in the time of Joshua, and after, carried in them such visible marks of a *Divine* power on the side of Israel, as served to spread the fame of the true God to all the nations around.

In David's time, the God of Israel was known far and near.

^s 1 Maccab. xii. 21. Joseph Antiq. lib. xii. c. 4. p. 530. edit. Huds.

^t See above, p. 205.

^u Jenkins's Reasonableness, vol. ii.

pref. p. 36.

^x Exod. vii. 5. xiv. 4.

^y Exod. ix. 16. ^z Numb. xiv. 15.

^a Numb. xiv. 21.

THE FAME OF DAVID WENT OUT INTO ALL LANDS, AND THE LORD BROUGHT THE FEAR OF HIM UPON ALL NATIONS^b. And what the intent of all was, David himself intimates: TO DECLARE THE GLORY OF GOD AMONG THE HEATHEN, HIS WONDERS AMONG ALL PEOPLE^c.

In the time of Solomon also, the fame of the true God was diffused all around. ALL THE KINGS OF THE EARTH SOUGHT THE PRESENCE OF SOLOMON, TO HEAR HIS WISDOM, THAT GOD HAD PUT IN HIS HEART, 2 Chron. ix. 23. Hiram, king of Tyre, learned among others TO BLESS THE LORD GOD OF ISRAEL, THAT MADE HEAVEN AND EARTH^d. The Queen of Sheba came from the southern parts of Arabia Felix (some say Ethiopia) to hear the wisdom of Solomon: and she also BLESSED THE LORD HIS GOD^e. Several of the ancients have thought that she became a *proselyte*: and the tradition among the Ethiopian Habyesines seems to favour it: but nothing certain can be determined in that matter. Such as have a mind to inquire into it may consult Ludolfus's History of Ethiopia, (lib. ii. c. 3.) and Natalis Alexander's Ecclesiastical History, tom. ii. p.159.

I have not room to mention several memorable particulars relating to God's manifestations of himself to the Gentiles; between the reign of Solomon and the *captivity*. The reader that desires information therein may turn to Dr. Jenkins. But it will be proper to take notice of some very remarkable *decrees* and *proclamations* issued out at several times by the then greatest monarchs upon earth.

Nebuchadnezzar ruled over all Chaldea, Assyria, Arabia, Syria, and Palestine. His first decree (before Christ 603.) is as follows:

I MAKE A DECREE, THAT EVERY PEOPLE, NATION, AND LANGUAGE, WHICH SPEAK ANY THING AMISS AGAINST THE GOD OF SHADRACH, MESHECH, AND ABEDNEGO, SHALL BE CUT IN PIECES, AND THEIR HOUSES SHALL BE MADE A DUNGHILL: BECAUSE THERE IS NO OTHER GOD THAT CAN DELIVER AFTER THIS SORT^f.

About forty years after (ann. 563.) he sent out a *proclamation* thus: NEBUCHADNEZZAR THE KING, UNTO ALL PEOPLE, NATIONS, AND LANGUAGES, THAT DWELL IN ALL THE EARTH; PEACE BE MUL-

^b 1 Chron. xiv. 17.

^c Psalm xcvi. 3.

^d 2 Chron. ii. 12. 1 Kings v. 7.

^e 1 Kings x. 9. See the remarkable

words of Solomon's prayer, in relation to *strangers* of the Gentiles, 1 Kings viii. 41, 42, 43.

^f Dan. iii. 29.

TIPLIED UNTO YOU. I THOUGHT IT GOOD TO SHEW THE SIGNS AND WONDERS THAT THE HIGH GOD HATH WROUGHT TOWARDS ME^f, &c.

Darius the Mede afterwards issued out his edict as follows, about the year before Christ 538.

KING DARIUS WROTE UNTO ALL PEOPLE, NATIONS, AND LANGUAGES, THAT DWELL IN ALL THE EARTH; PEACE BE MULTIPLIED UNTO YOU. I MAKE A DECREE, THAT IN EVERY DOMINION OF MY KINGDOM MEN TREMBLE AND FEAR BEFORE THE GOD OF DANIEL: FOR HE IS THE LIVING GOD, AND STEDFAST FOR EVER, AND HIS KINGDOM THAT WHICH SHALL NOT BE DESTROYED, AND HIS DOMINION SHALL BE EVEN UNTO THE END^h. Thus was the true God proclaimed, in solemn form, over the whole Persian empire, as before over the Babylonian; both of them of very wide extent.

Not long after, in the year 536, Cyrus, successor to Darius, MADE A PROCLAMATION THROUGHOUT ALL HIS KINGDOM, AND PUT IT ALSO IN WRITING, SAYING, THUS SAITH CYRUS KING OF PERSIA, ALL THE KINGDOMS OF THE EARTH HATH THE LORD GOD OF HEAVEN GIVEN ME; AND HE HATH CHARGED ME TO BUILD HIM A HOUSE IN JERUSALEM, WHICH IS IN JUDAHⁱ, &c.

Seventeen years after (ann. 519.) there was a like proclamation issued out by Darius Hystaspis, in favour of the Jews: and the reason or motive assigned for it was as follows: THAT THEY MAY OFFER SACRIFICES OF SWEET SAVOURS UNTO THE GOD OF HEAVEN, AND PRAY FOR THE LIFE OF THE KING, AND OF HIS SONS^k.

It was about this time, or a little before, that Zoroastres, borrowing his hints from the Jewish religion, (with the assistance first of Hystaspes, and next of Darius,) made a great reform all over Persia^l; setting up the worship of the *one God*, and teaching the doctrines of a *general resurrection*, and a *day of judgment*, and *everlasting rewards* of good men, with *everlasting punishments* of the wicked. Doctrines which *natural light* had not taught; and which, though before revealed to mankind, had been in a great measure sunk, or obscured by length of time. And these were what Zoroastres at that time taught, though not without a mixture of several ancient superstitions which the people were wedded to: and these are what the

^f Dan. iv. 1, 2.

^h Dan. vi. 25, 26.

ⁱ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23. Ezra i.

1, 2.

^k Ezra vi. 10.

^l See Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology, p. 34, 40, &c. Prideaux's Connect. part i. p. 169, 170. fol. edit. Hyde, Relig. vet. Pers. c. 21, 22, 23.

Magian sect in India and in Persia are said to have held from that time to this day.

There is yet another *decree*, or *proclamation*, by Artaxerxes (Longimanus) about the year 457, acknowledging the God of HEAVEN, and granting privileges to the Jews^m.

Now the inference I draw from these several decrees, or proclamations, of the then greatest potentates of the Gentile world, is, that such public and repeated notices given of the true God would of course make all nations and people (if not *culpably* careless, stupid, or prejudiced) inquisitive to know who this Jehovah, this high God was, what he had done, what people he had more particularly favoured, and why, what laws he had published, and what kind of religion he had instituted. Those nations therefore (a very considerable part of the Gentile world had *opportunities* of becoming in some measure acquainted with the true God, and with the most substantial points, at least, of *revealed* religion. And that such was God's real design, in those and the like manifestations of himself to the Gentiles, is expressly declared by his Prophet Isaiah, in these emphatical words; THAT THEY MAY KNOW FROM THE RISING OF THE SUN, AND FROM THE WEST, THAT THERE IS NONE BESIDES ME: I AM THE LORD, THERE IS NONE ELSEⁿ. God declares also, by his Prophet Ezekiel, how particular a regard he had to the Gentiles, in his dispensations towards the Jews, that his NAME SHOULD NOT BE POLLUTED, nor his honour suffer diminution in their sight^o.

I might descend much lower, and observe how the Jews were dispersed all the world over, how the Scriptures were translated into a language generally understood, how *proselytes* flowed in to them in prodigious numbers every where; and how they, and their God, and their religion became notified to the Grecian and Roman empires, (though not in so illustrious a manner,) as before to the Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian. The Gentiles were not left to mere *natural* light, but had frequent *supernatural* notices sent them from above, in every age. For from the time that the Israelites grew up to be a

^m Ezra vii. 12, 13.

ⁿ Isa. xlv. 6. See Vitringa in loc. Οὐδὲ γὰρ διὰ Ἰουδαίους μόνους ὁ νόμος ἦν, οὐδὲ δι' αὐτοὺς μόνους οἱ προφῆται ἐπέμποντο, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους μὲν ἐπέμποντο, καὶ παρὰ Ἰουδαίων, ἐδιώκοντο. πάσης δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἦσαν

διδασκάλιον ἱερὸν τῆς περὶ Θεοῦ γνώσεως, καὶ τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν πολιτείας. Athanas. de Incarnat. Verbi, tom. i. c. 12. p. 57. ed. Bened.

^o Ezek. xx. 9, 14, 22. xxxvi. 22, 23, 36.

nation, for a long course of years, or centuries of years, God visibly exerted his power in an extraordinary manner; manifesting himself, by means of the Jews, to the Gentile world. Indeed, for the last four hundred years, or thereabouts, from the time of the Prophet Malachi to the times of the Gospel, those *extraordinary* dispensations ceased. And for that time it may be said, that God left the Gentiles to "walk in their own ways," in a more emphatical sense than before, sending them no such extraordinary calls, nor affording any *miraculous attestations* or *prophecies*. And yet even during that time, they had some less awakening *opportunities* offered them by their conversing with the Jews dispersed all abroad, especially in the larger cities, Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, and by reading the Greek Scriptures, as before hinted. Now though those several intimations given to the heathen world made no *public* reform any where that we certainly know of, (unless I may except what I before mentioned in respect of Persia,) yet how many *private* converts were brought in, no one can tell: they might be numberless. But supposing them more or fewer, the question is not, (so far as Divine *goodness* or *justice* is concerned in it,) what use men really made of the Divine favours, but what they might have made.

Upon the whole, I do not think it can be proved that in the 4000 or 4007 years before Christ, the bulk of mankind, or any considerable number of them, were ever left so destitute of *opportunities*, or so barred from all access to Divine *revelation*, as the objection supposes; but that generally they might have come at the knowledge of the true God and his revealed will, if they would have used the proper care, pains, and diligence, which such a weighty concern required. And it will be much harder to shew, what nations, and when, wanted all *opportunities* of knowing the true God and his laws, than to shew which had them^o.

But I have more to add in opposition to the *report*, that the

^o Falluntur itaque, quotquot religionis Hebraicæ instituta ita angustis Palæstinæ limitibus inclusa fuisse arbitrantur, ut non eorum cognitio ad alias quoque gentes dimanarit: aut qui tam abjectum semper fuisse Judæorum nomen cavillantur, ut deridiculo tantum aliis eorum dogmata

fuerint. Non fuit sane in ea opinione Origines, cujus hæc adversus Celsum (lib. i. p. 15.) verba extant.—Καὶ γὰρ ἔπρεπε τὸν ὅλον τοῦ κόσμου δημιουργὸν, κίμους τεθειμένον ἐφ' τῷ κόσμῳ, δύναμιν παρασχεῖν τοῖς λόγοις, κρατῆσαι τὴν πανταχοῦ δυναμένην. *Witsii Ægyptiac.* p. 269.

Gentiles "had nothing but reason to guide them" all that time: on which supposition the argument for the *sufficiency* of reason entirely depends. In the full extent and latitude which the argument supposes, the fact perhaps cannot be proved of any considerable kingdom or country in any age of the world. It cannot be proved, that either the *religion* or the *morality* which the Pagans had, (so far as it was *true* and *right*,) was wrought out by mere *reason*, or that it was not in a great measure the remains of ancient *revelation*, handed down by *tradition*.

Grotius observes^q of the doctrine of the *immortality* of the *soul*, and a *future life*, that it was derived from the remotest antiquity to almost all *civilized* nations, and even to the more *barbarous* also; no probable account whereof can be given, but that it was handed down from the sons of Noah, or from the immediate sons of Adam.

After Grotius, our learned Bishop Bull says^r; "From the same original, (with *sacrifices*.) I question not, it is, that the notion of a *life to come* hath been always found among the *heathen* nations, even some of the most *barbarous* nations; of whom neither we nor our forefathers, for many ages past, had any knowledge, till the later discoveries of a new world."

Another learned writer^s observes from Cicero, "that the doctrine of the *immortality of the soul* was delivered down from all antiquity; that the ancients gave no reasons to prove it by, but received it by *tradition*; that Plato was the first who attempted to prove it by argument, in order to shew how far reason could proceed upon those grounds which were then known in the world from *revelation*."

Another judicious author^t maintains, more at large, that the doctrine of a *future life* was a tradition current in all nations, handed down from the first parents of mankind. What confirms it is, that it was more firmly believed by the *vulgar* than it was by the *philosophers*; who, by *reasoning* upon it, only rendered it more *doubtful* than before, as they wanted *certain* principles to go upon, and considered not how to trace the *tradition*

^p True Foundation of Natural and Revealed Religion, &c. p. 83.

^q Grotius de Veritat. Relig. Christian. lib. i. c. 22.

^r Bull's Posth. Sermons, p. 590.

^s Jenkins's Reasonableness, vol. i.

p. 379. See Tully, Tuscul. Disp. lib. i. cap. 12, 17.

^t Nicholls's Conference, part v. p. 222, &c. Compare Witsii Ægyptiaca, lib. ii. cap. xv. p. 178, &c.

up to its fountain head. A further argument of it is, that the *eternity* of future rewards and punishments was believed by the generality, as may be learned from Lucretius before cited^u: a notion not likely to have been suggested by *reason*, but very likely to have descended from *revelation*, conveyed by the Jews to the Gentiles: for so the Persians had it, as has been mentioned above.

I may add, that even the notion of a *Deity*, though it might be learned from *reason*, yet might more probably descend by *tradition*. Or however, it was undoubtedly kept up by the custom of *sacrifices*, derived down from our first parents; and which cannot reasonably be supposed to have been mere *will-worship*, but owing to *Divine* appointment. The religion therefore of the ancient Heathens (like that of the Mahometans at present) was ancient *revealed* religion^v, but miserably corrupted and depraved by human follies and superstitions. It is very natural to suppose it, because it is certain that all mankind were once, yea twice, of the same *true* religion, and had the same *true* worship, till they defiled it; some sooner and some later, some more and some less. What was good in the Pagan religion was, or however might be, the remains of *Divine* revelation, while what was bad was human invention. Yet bad as their religion was, it was much better than *none*: for, whatever some may pretend, even *superstition* and *idolatry*, in the general, are vastly better than *atheism*, or *no religion*^w. Therefore Epicurus's remedy for *superstition* was much worse than the disease.

I shall only observe further, that it cannot be proved that the Pagan *morality*, the soundest and best part of it, was wrought out by mere dint of *reason*. It is much more probable, as hath been argued by learned men^x, that even their moral precepts were owing to *revelation*, handed down from father to son. God

^u See also Jenkins, vol. ii. p. 265.

^v Vid. Voss. de Orig. Idololatr. lib. i. cap. i. p. 2. et passim.

Carpovius takes notice as follows: Nec dubium amplius est, universam fere Ethnicorum Theologian, cultumque illum varium, ex Mose ejusque scriptis, et populi Israelitici solennibus promanasse: quod Ger. Jo. Vossius in amplissimis illis de idololatriæ origine et progressu commentariis demonstratum dedit. *Carpov. Intro-*

duct. ad libr. Biblicos, part. i. p. 112.

Witsius, in his *Ægyptiaca*, shews the same thing. Conf. Joseph. contr. Apion. lib. ii. cap. 16. et cap. 39. Just. Mart. Apol. i. cap. 57.

^w See Barbeyrac's notes to Puffend. lib. ii. cap. 4. Fabricius de Verit. Relig. Christian. p. 337.

^x Jenkins, vol. i. p. 376, &c. Nicholls's Confer. part ii. p. 32, &c. Vid. Tertull. Apol. cap. 45.

Almighty did not leave it to his own people the Jews, to find out by *reason*, that they ought to *honour father and mother*, that they should not commit *murder* nor *adultery*; should not *steal*, nor *bear false witness*: he instructed them in those plain things, and commanded them to instruct their children in the same¹. Now, as these moral rules were conveyed from Jew to Jew in succession, so it is not improbable that the like might be conveyed by *tradition* from the sons of Noah, or from the Jews, to the Gentile world. At least, it cannot be proved, that *reason* either first discovered them, or alone supported them: and therefore it is begging the question to say, even in this respect, that the Gentiles had *no guide but reason*.

To be short, here seems to have been a great mistake in this matter, by not attending rightly, but confounding two very distinct things. It had been often said, and it is true, that the world was without the *Christian revelation* (properly so called) for 4000 years together: but it is quite another thing to say, it was without *all revelation*, and thereupon to ground an argument for the *sufficiency* of mere *natural light*, or unassisted *reason*. This fact is not true, but is plainly and evidently *false*: and the other fact, which is really true, is not at all to the purpose of proving the *sufficiency* of mere reason. For it is supposed that the world, all that time, had *nothing else* but *natural light*, when they really had *something else*, though they had not the *Christian revelation*. They had most of them *opportunities* of coming at Divine revelation directly: they all of them had something of it, indirectly, by *tradition*, though they did not make the full or the right use of either².

5. As to the present *Pagans* and *Mahometans*, which *the report* computes to be *five parts in six* of the whole world, I shall not examine into the justness of the calculation. It is sufficient for me to observe, that the author ought to reckon none in his list but such as have never heard of *Christ*, never had *opportunities* of hearing of him; because his argument, drawn from the *Divine justice and goodness*, is not concerned in any other. Let him therefore first make the proper reduction in the account,

¹ Deut. vi. 6, 7.

² Licet enim ad ea, quæ initio exposuimus, *traditione*, ac *naturæ lumine* posset perveniri; non propterea ta-

men existimandum Gentiles universos ad omnium eorum notitiam pervenisse. *Voss. de Idololatr.* lib. i. cap. 4. p. 11.

and then see what it amounts to. Can any man think it a reflection upon Divine justice or goodness, that *Mahometans* will not be *Christians*; any more than that *Papists* will not be *Protestants*? The *Mahometans* have so many *Christians* living amongst them, and besides have so much of *Christ*, and of both Testaments, in the Alcoran itself, that it must be owned they have had intimations and opportunities sufficient to bring them back to the *Christian* religion, whenever they shall be in a disposition for it. As to Pagan idolaters, there are *Christians*, more or fewer, dispersed amongst them almost all the world over, to give notice of the Christian name: to say nothing of *Jews*, who are so many standing evidences of the truth of Divine revelations, both theirs and ours. But if men will take no hints, nor embrace the opportunities which God has put into their hands, how is Divine goodness or justice at all chargeable on that score?

Besides, when it is certain that Christianity has been anciently propagated all the world over, (unless perhaps there may be some doubt of America,) and when it is known also, for what reasons God sometimes sends a *famine* of the word of God², or removes the *candlestick* from any nation³; and it may be hard to prove that he has ever removed it, or withheld it, from any that have been worthy of it, or disposed for it, or that might not have been rendered more guilty by it: and since it is not for us to know how *often*, or *when*, it may be proper for an all-wise God to interpose *extraordinarily*, for the restoring religion once lost through the follies and vices of men; neither can we presume to say, that it would have been in *all views*, or upon the whole, *better*, or *so well*, for God to have interposed oftener than in fact he has done: these things considered, it may behove us to forbear all unhandsome reflections upon the Divine conduct, lest it should be *charging God foolishly*, and to choose rather to rest the account of the whole thing, where it ought to rest, upon the incurable iniquity and perverseness of mankind.

The author of the Report conceives, that human *reason* is *sufficient* to do great matters. I believe so too, while under the conduct of *Divine reason* and *revealed* light: otherwise, as it has always made a very deplorable figure in the world, with respect to *divine* things, so it always will do. *Superstition, idolatry,*

² Amos viii. 11.

³ Revelat. ii. 5. Matt. xxi. 41, 43. Rom. i. 28.

scepticism, atheism, all have been owing to *human* reason's deserting its *Divine* guide. If reason be likely to discover all duties, why should it not discover the duty of receiving *revelation*? For to a man that believes a God, there is no clearer or more certain dictate of reason than this, that he ought to inquire seriously, impartially, and painfully after God's will, (*natural* or *revealed*.) and when he has found it, humbly and reverently to submit to it. This appears to me a much easier, shorter, and more rational way of proceeding, (if men would be *rational*,) than for every peasant, mechanic, or day-labourer, to attempt to draw out for himself an entire system of *ethics*, a scheme of duties towards God, his neighbour, and himself. In that way he must first be able to determine, whether he be made up of a *body* and a *soul*; and next, whether there will be any future state, and any distinction of *rewards* and *punishments* there: for upon those things not only the *life* of virtue, but the very *notion* of it depends^b; inasmuch as nothing can be *virtue* which is not *rational* conduct in such or such circumstances. Now, if after getting over all Epicurean objections he decides for a future state, &c. still it will require a strong head and close application, together with a *pure heart*, for a man to make just and impartial rules for *himself*, and to draw out a regular system in all its branches. If men were disposed towards such work as this, they would be much more disposed to come into *Divine* revelation.

The sum then of all is this: *Revealed* religion (as well as *natural*) has been much neglected in the world. *Human* reason, had it been content to follow *Divine* direction, had done right and well: but by affecting an independency, and striking into separate measures, it has generally gone wrong. This misconduct has been owing to stupidity, to sloth, to prejudices, to pride, or lust, or other vile affections: to the world's loving *darkness* more than *light*, their deeds being evil. Here lies the pinch of the whole thing. It was an old objection against *reason's* being the gift of God, that so very *few* had made a right use of it, or had enjoyed it in any

^b Quo dempto, quis tam esset *a-*
mens, qui semper in laboribus, et periculis viveret? *Cicer. Tusc. Disp.* lib. i. cap. 15.

Quod igitur erit discrimen virtutis ac sceleris, si nihil interest, utrumne Aristides sit aliquis, an Phalaris? utrum Cato, an Catilina? *Lactant.*

Institut. lib. iii. cap. 19. *Conf.* lib. v. cap. 19. lib. vi. cap. 9.

If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not? Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die. 1 *Cor.* xv. 32.

great perfection^c. And that was then urged as an argument for *Atheism*, as another very like it (drawn from the *small* number of those that have enjoyed revelation) has been lately urged in behalf of *Deism*^d. But they are neither of them arguments for any thing I know of; except it be for *humility* and *godly fear*. It is enough, that God has given us *faculties*, and has given us also *opportunities*, as it hath pleased him: and he is the unerring Judge how far men have *culpably* neglected or abused either. And at the last great day, men will not be condemned for any *imperfections* or *misfortunes* which they could not help, but for *faults* only. Whatever may become of poor ignorant heathens, or any that have laboured under *invincible* ignorance or stupidity, yet that (God be thanked) is not our case, neither does it at all concern us. We live in the days of light and knowledge, under the blessed sunshine of the Gospel. And as we have no ignorace to plead, but what is wilful, (and which is itself criminal,) we have no hope, nor so much as shadow of hope left us, if we “neglect so great salvation.”

From what hath been said, we may be able to judge the more distinctly of the noisy plea concerning the “sufficiency of reason.” The phrase has been variously and uncertainly used in this controversy, and in more senses than one.

1. If it means that reason is *absolutely* and in *itself* a *sufficient guide in religion*, the position is undoubtedly false. The sufficiency of reason is best seen in being sensible of its own insufficiency, and in its steady adhering to *supernatural* light, so far as it can be had: this is the first lesson of true wisdom. The further men have gone off from it, the more they have been bewildered: “professing themselves to be wise, they became fools.” What true wisdom was left in the heathen world, when *Christ* came, lay chiefly in the slender, broken *remains* of ancient *revelation*, stifled almost and smothered with innumerable *superstitions*. Some common principles relating to a *Deity*, and the *sanctions* of a world to come, served to keep up, in some mea-

^c So the Academic in Cicero. Quamobrem si mens voluntasque divina idcirco consuluit hominibus, quod iis largita est rationem, iis solis consuluit quos *bona ratione* donavit: quos videmus, si modo ulli sint, esse perpaucos. Non placet autem *paucis* a diis immortalibus esse consultum. Sequitur ergo ut nemini consultum

sit. *Cicero de Nat. Deor.* lib. iii. cap. 27. p. 319.

^d See Christianity as Old &c. p. 401, where the author says, “Can a being be denominated merciful and good, who is so only to a few, but cruel and unmerciful to the rest?” The argument is parallel, and the same answer will serve for both.

sure, the sacredness of *oaths* and *contracts*, and to support human society: and if *vulgar tradition* had not in that case overruled the *reasonings* of *philosophers*, there would not have been left even so much as that. For it is plain enough (not to mention other instances) that the doctrine of *future punishments* was almost banished from the Schools^e; while *philosophy* saw and disapproved the *superstitious* part, and, instead of correcting it, ran into a worse extreme, rejecting the *whole*: which in direct consequence was overturning all religion and morality. See from hence, what the *sufficiency* of reason amounted to, when left to its own wanderings. Neither would it succeed much better at this day, if the same experiment were again to be tried.

2. If it be said, that reason however is sufficient *hypothetically*, or by *accident*, where there is *nothing else*, (though it is putting an uncommon case,) yet neither is that true in any proper sense. For, in such a case, it is the mercy of God, through the merits of *Christ*, that is sufficient to overlook *invincible ignorance*: not that such *ignorance* is a sufficient guide. If a *blind* man may be brought into harbour for his well-meant travels, though he had quite mistaken his road; yet who would say that *blindness* was *sufficient* to direct the way? No: but his *honest endeavours* were mercifully accepted as sufficient, though he blindly wandered and went wide.

3. There is another sense of the *sufficiency* of reason, grounded upon the former. It was *sufficient*, some think, to answer all the purposes of *Divine wisdom* or *goodness*; because when God gives *nothing else*, he will require no more of a man than to make his best of it, and he may accept him on those terms: therefore it was *needless* to superadd *revelation*, as it is needless (for the same reason) to give any man more sense than an *idiot*.

True, it was needless in *one view*, but not needless in *every view*: so this is arguing (as the Schools speak) *a dicto secundum quid, ad dictum simpliciter*, from a thing's being needless in *one respect*, to its being needless *absolutely*, which is false reasoning. It was highly *needful* notwithstanding, to superadd *revelation* for many *good reasons*, respecting both this world and the next. It is a mean and an abject thought in us *Christians* to ask, why we might not have been left as much in *darkness* and in *ignorance* as the heathen world was. Shall we murmur and complain of being

^e See Lactantius, lib. iii. cap. 19. lib. ii. cap. 3. Whitby of the Necessity of the Christian Revelation, p. 149, &c. 158, &c.

favoured with *light* and *knowledge*? But this being shameful, the question commonly is turned the other way: why were not they favoured in like manner as we? The proper answer is, God knows^f: and the *times* and the *seasons* for every thing are in *his power*. His wisdom is seen in *variety* and in the *several* degrees and orders of creatures, whether of the same or of a different species. He puts some into a higher order of service and more laborious duty; for a higher reward, or else for a severer doom: he puts others into a lower order of service and easier duty; for a lower reward, or for a milder doom. The wisdom, justice, and goodness of God do not require that he should put all creatures (whether of the same or of a different species) into the same rank or order; but that he should adjust their present services and their final retributions to the order he puts them into. This he has done, and will do: and thus will the Judge of all the earth do right. If any difficulty remains, it becomes ignorant creatures of yesterday to be modest and patient, and to wait till they see the end.

^f Vid. Orig. contr. Cels. p. 165. Arnob. contr. Gent. lib. ii. in fine. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. i. cap. 2. p. 5. edit. Vales. Theod. Therapeut. Sermon. vi. p. 101. alias 579. Gregor. Nyssen.

tom. iii. p. 341. Augustin. ad Deograt. Epist. 102. Philastr. Hæres. cxxxv. p. 294. Cyrill. Alex. contr. Anthropomorph. cap. 24. p. 118.

SCRIPTURE VINDICATED;

IN ANSWER TO A BOOK

ENTITLED,

CHRISTIANITY AS OLD AS THE CREATION.

PART III.

I SAW THE LORD SITTING UPON HIS THRONE, AND ALL THE HOST OF HEAVEN STANDING ON HIS RIGHT HAND AND ON HIS LEFT. AND THE LORD SAID, WHO SHALL ENTICE AHAB KING OF ISRAEL, THAT HE MAY GO UP AND FALL AT RAMOTH-GILEAD? AND ONE SPAKE SAYING AFTER THIS MANNER, AND ANOTHER SAYING AFTER THAT MANNER. THEN THERE CAME OUT A SPIRIT, AND STOOD BEFORE THE LORD, AND SAID, I WILL ENTICE HIM. AND THE LORD SAID UNTO HIM, WHEREWITH? AND HE SAID, I WILL GO OUT, AND BE A LYING SPIRIT IN THE MOUTH OF ALL HIS PROPHETS. AND THE LORD SAID, THOU SHALT ENTICE HIM, AND THOU SHALT ALSO PREVAIL: GO OUT, AND DO EVEN SO. NOW THEREFORE, BEHOLD, THE LORD HATH PUT A LYING SPIRIT IN THE MOUTH OF THESE THY PROPHETS, AND THE LORD HATH SPOKEN EVIL AGAINST THEE.

THIS chapter contains the history of king Ahab's being deceived by four hundred false prophets, whom he had sent for to soothe and flatter him; as his way was to encourage those that would prophesy "smooth things," while he as much maligned and persecuted all such as had the fidelity and courage to tell him an ungrateful truth^a. So since that ungodly prince hated the *truth*, and loved a *lie*, God permitted him to be deceived by *liars*, and thereby to fall: which is what the true Prophet Micaiah represented beforehand to him in a lively and affecting *parable*. It is twice recorded in holy scripture; first, in the 22nd of the first of Kings, and again in the 18th of the second of Chronicles, as is here presented to the reader. Our Objector, ignorantly imagining that those four hundred prophets were *prophets of the Lord*, like Elisha, with whom he joins them, after telling us how Elisha deceived Benhadad, (that is to say, after telling us his own dreams^b,) he proceeds in his abusive manner as follows^c: "But I need not mention single prophets deceiving, or being deceived, when the Scripture tells us of four hundred being deceived at once, to the destruction of a number of innocent persons." Then he sets down at length the parable of Micaiah, out of the 18th of Chronicles, from verse 18. to the 21st inclusive.

^a See 1 Kings xxii. 8, 18, 26, 27.
2 Chron. xviii. 7, 25, 26.

hadad fairly represented, pag. 279, &c.

^b See the case of Elisha and Ben-

^c Christianity as Old &c. p. 257.

Now the sum of the matter amounts only to this: the prophets who came to Ahab were not the Lord's prophets, but Ahab's prophets. They spake at all adventures, what they presumed would please him, like fawning parasites and flattering sycophants. A spirit of *lying* was upon them all, because they were disposed to flatter the king's humour, found their gain in it, or durst do no other. This is the short and true account of the whole matter; and this is what Micaiah sets forth in the *parable* he then delivered. But because our Objector more than once confounds *false* prophets with *true*, though they agree in nothing but the *name*; and because the subject is of some importance, and may deserve a more minute discussion, I shall in this place discourse more at large upon what concerns *false prophets* in general, and those *four hundred* in particular, and Micaiah's *parable* thereto relating.

1. As to *false prophets* in general, it is no marvel that there should be such men. *Prophet* is a name of honour, and carries dignity along with it: and therefore where there are true prophets, there will be pretenders also, raised up perhaps by their own vanity or avarice, or other corrupt motives. Where there are *prophets* and *pastors* to guide and instruct honest and faithful men, there will be *anti-prophets* and *anti-pastors*, to misguide and seduce those that will be misled by them. As long as there are persons in the world that love to be soothed and flattered in their follies or vices; while they SAY TO THE SEERS, SEE NOT; AND TO THE PROPHETS, PROPHECY NOT UNTO US RIGHT THINGS; SPEAK UNTO US SMOOTH THINGS, PROPHECY DECEITS^d: I say, as long as the world loves *flattery*, there will be *flatterers*; and as long as they love *deceit*, there will be *deceivers*: and so while *false* prophecy or *false* doctrine is more acceptable than *true*, there will of course be *false prophets* or *false teachers*, as the very nature of the thing shews, and as the experience of all ages abundantly proves. The true prophets and pastors, under the Old Testament, often complained of those false teachers and seducers, those loose casuists, that studied little else but how to contrive palatable doctrines for all tastes, or to SEW PILLOWS TO ALL ARMHOLES^e. There were many such *men-pleasers*, both in Israel and Judah^f, but more particu-

^d Isa. xxx. 10. compare Micah ii. 11.

^f Jerem. xxiii. 15, 16, 21, 25, 30.

^e Ezek. xiii. 18. compare Jerem. v. 31. vi. 14. xiv. 13. xxvii. 9.

larly in Israel. For from the time that king Jeroboam had drawn the ten tribes into a revolt, and, to prevent their return, had set up altars at Dan and Bethel, in opposition to the temple of Jerusalem^ε, there was altar erected against altar, and priests against priests, to emulate the service and worship of the house of Judah. And because *prophets* also were an honour to any church or state, and the *true prophets* of the Lord were all against the idolatry of the *golden calves*; therefore the ten tribes, with their kings, were under the stronger temptation to set up and encourage *false prophets* as rivals of the true ones^h, thereby to make at least a show of outvying the other two tribes with their kings. Ahab was the sixth in the line of the *kings of Israel*, and as wicked a king as any had been since the first of the line: so it is no wonder, if there should be many false prophets in his time raised up, or however supported and encouraged by him.

2. As to the *four hundred*ⁱ lying prophets that deceived Ahab, they are called emphatically *his*^k prophets (not prophets of the Lord) by Micaiah: though they professed themselves to be the Lord's prophets, prophesying in his name^l. Jehoshaphat soon suspected them, not believing them to be *true* prophets; and therefore he desired that some other prophet, A PROPHET OF THE LORD BESIDES^m those four hundred, might be called in; sufficiently intimating that he took not them to be such: for if he had, why should he put more confidence in a single man, than in four hundred, or desire any other, after so many?

Some have thought, since the number so exactly hits, that those false prophets were the four hundred "prophets of the groves" which were constantly fed at Jezebel's tableⁿ. But it appears not likely that Ahab would presume to affront Jehoshaphat in so gross a manner, by bringing Jezebel's prophets (prophets probably of Astarte, and known idolaters) before him, and making them speak in the name of *Jehovah* the true God. Neither, on the other hand, does it appear at all probable that they were such as had been bred up in the *schools* of the *prophets*, under Elijah, or any other true prophet of God. For, besides that one may reasonably suppose such to have been better men, Jezebel, but a little before, had made so great slaughter of

^ε 1 Kings xii. 27, 28, 29.

^h See Lakemacher, *Observat. Philolog.* vol. ii. p. 224, &c.

ⁱ 1 Kings xxii. 6. 2 Chron. xviii. 5.

^k 1 Kings xxii. 22, 23. 2 Chron.

xviii. 21, 22.

^l 1 Kings xxii. 6. 11, 12, 24. 2 Chron. xviii. 10, 11, 23.

^m 1 Kings xxii. 7. 2 Chron. xviii. 6.

ⁿ 1 Kings xviii. 19.

them^o, that there could hardly be any such number as four hundred left^p; though some indeed might have been hid at that time, which Elijah knew not of^q. It remains therefore, that they were, very probably, Ahab's own prophets, such as he had set up by rewards and promises, and who accordingly knew how to suit his humour and to flatter his vanity, all agreeing to a man in the same fawning compliances and the same treacherous counsels, which pleased and tickled for the present, but proved fatal in the end.

3. Micaiah however, like an honest man and a faithful counsellor, (though he could not be heard,) discovered the whole secret, that those four hundred pretended prophets were all deceivers, and all actuated with the same spirit of *lying*. Only, instead of bluntly telling the king they were all *liars*, he takes up his *parable*, (as prophets were used to do,) declaring what he had seen in prophetic *vision*; which was the way that God had made choice of for the opening the whole matter to him. Micaiah himself, in the same chapter, says, (ver. 16,) I SAW ALL ISRAEL SCATTERED UPON THE MOUNTAINS, AS SHEEP HAVING NO SHEPHERD, AND THE LORD SAID, &c. which can be understood only of what he saw in prophetic vision, presignifying the real fact that should follow after; for the thing that he then saw was not yet come to pass. Micaiah therefore saw what he there relates, just as St. Peter SAW HEAVEN OPENED, AND A CERTAIN VESSEL DESCENDING UNTO HIM, AS IT HAD BEEN A GREAT SHEET^r, &c. Not that any thing of what St. Peter saw was *real*, excepting that such ideas, or such appearances, were *really* wrought or formed upon his mind, as he lay in a *trance*. The like representation was made to Micaiah in a vision, signifying what was doing in the matter of Ahab, and what the event would be. The moral or meaning of all was, that as Ahab loved to be cajoled and flattered, so God had permitted those four hundred men, pretending to be prophets, to abuse and impose upon him; which in conclusion would prove fatal to him. After Micaiah had thus reported his vision at full length, he then briefly explained and applied it to Ahab: NOW THEREFORE THE LORD HATH PUT A LYING SPIRIT IN THE MOUTH OF ALL THESE THY PROPHETS. It is frequent in holy Scripture, to call that the *Lord's doing* which he only *permits* to be done, because he has the supreme direction of all things, and he governs the event. Wicked

^o 1 Kings xviii. 4, 13.

^p See *ibid.* xix. 10, 14.

^q See *ibid.* xviii. 4, 13.

^r Acts x. 11, 12.

devices proceed from wicked men: but that they prevail and take effect is owing to the hand of God directing and ordering where they shall light, and what shall be the issue of them. As to the text we are now upon, the very words of the original will bear to be translated, **THE LORD HATH PERMITTED (OR SUFFERED) A LYING SPIRIT IN THE MOUTH, &c.**^s Accordingly our translators in other places often render the verb נָתַן *nathan*, by *suffer*, or *let*^t, in the sense of *permitting*. And it may be observed also of the words of God to the lying spirit, as represented in the parable, **GO OUT, AND DO EVEN SO**, they are to be understood, not in the *commanding*, but *permissive* sense; for so is the *imperative* more than once made use of in other places of Scripture^u. Therefore there is no room left for charging God as author of any deception brought upon Ahab by the sins of men.

4. As to what the Objector further intimates, of the “destruction of a number of innocent persons,” meaning, I presume, those persons who fell with Ahab in battle: he seems to have thrown it in only to fill up his period. For how can he know how *innocent* those persons were? Besides, how can he account for the fall of thousands, or of millions, that have died in the field of battle through the folly and rashness of their commanders? But the Objector frequently overshoots his mark, arguing directly for *Atheism*, rather than for *Deism*; and I suppose without knowing that he does it.

2 CHRONICLES XXXIV. 28.

BEHOLD, I WILL GATHER THEE TO THY FATHERS, AND THOU SHALT BE GATHERED TO THY GRAVE IN PEACE, NEITHER SHALL THINE EYES SEE ALL THE EVIL THAT I WILL BRING UPON THIS PLACE, AND UPON THE INHABITANTS OF THE SAME. They are the words of God by the prophetess Huldah, to good king Josiah, recorded also in the second Book of Kings^x. The Objector's cavil against this Scripture is as follows: “The prophetess Hilda assures good king Josiah “from the Lord, that he should **BE GATHERED TO HIS GRAVE IN PEACE**; and yet soon after he received a mortal wound, of which “he died.” This gentleman here attending only to the sound

^s Thus Le Clerc renders: *Jehova passus est esse spiritum mendacii in ore, &c.* 1 Reg. xxii. 23. 2 Ephemerid. xviii. 22.

^t Gen. xx. 6. Exod. xii. 23. Psalm xvi. 10. 2 Chron. xvi. 1.

^u 2 Sam. xviii. 23. 2 Kings ii. 17. Matt. viii. 32. John xiii. 27. See Glasius, lib. iii. tract. 2. can. xliii. p. 871. Guarin. Grammat. Hebr. tom. i. p. 542.

^x 2 Kings xxii. 20.

^y Christianity as Old &c. p. 257.

of words, wonders, I suppose, how a man can be said to come to his grave *in peace*, when he dies *in battle*. But the phrase *in peace* is a phrase of some latitude, admitting of more constructions than one. Josiah died *in peace*, during the public *tranquillity*, before the *troubles* of his nation came on : he lived not to SEE ALL THE EVIL WHICH God had determined to BRING UPON THAT PLACE, AND UPON THE INHABITANTS OF THE SAME ; as the text interprets itself. He was taken away from the evil to come, was *peaceably* interred, and left his nation in a *peaceable* condition. So much Huldah the prophetess intended and signified ; and so much was actually fulfilled. But I have said more than enough in answer to a frivolous objection, which scarce deserved notice ; because the text, when recited at full length, sufficiently answers for itself, and there remains no more room for cavil, as soon as we read on to the end of the sentence.

JOB II. 1. and compare JOB I. 6.

AGAIN THERE WAS A DAY WHEN THE SONS OF GOD CAME TO PRESENT THEMSELVES BEFORE THE LORD, AND SATAN CAME ALSO AMONG THEM TO PRESENT HIMSELF BEFORE THE LORD. The Objector, remarking upon this part of Scripture, puts on an air of scorn and ridicule, expressing himself thus² : “ According to the acknowledged maxims you have laid down from Divines, we must not take literally the two conferences mentioned in the first and second of Job, between *God* and *Satan* : when *Satan*, in very good company, WITH THE SONS OF GOD, PRESENTED HIMSELF BEFORE THE LORD ; who, when *Satan* would not otherwise be satisfied of Job’s integrity, permitted him to slay Job’s children and servants, and to reduce him to extremity, to make the experiment.” Whether the two conferences mentioned are to be *literally* taken or otherwise, is a question proper for *divines* and *critics* to discuss, and it has been often and freely canvassed amongst them^a. I must own, I incline to go in with those who understand both the places as containing a kind of allegorical representation or parable, setting forth many useful truths under lively and beautiful images. But yet if the *literal* construction meets with no shrewder adversaries than our Objector appears to be, nor with

² Christianity as Old &c. p. 253.

^a See particularly (besides commentators) Pfeifferi Dub. Vexat. cent. iii. loc. 31. p. 259. Matth. Mulleri

Dissertat. in Thesaur. Philolog. tom. i. p. 552. Fred. Spanhemii Histor. Jobi, cap. i. p. 13, 14.

any stronger objections than he has offered against it, it may very well stand, for any thing I can yet perceive. He thinks it not likely that *Satan* should appear in such "very good company" as the "sons of God" are. I grant that such company is too good for him: but he that can sometimes *transform* himself "into an angel of light^b," may affect also to appear in company with angels of light, and may intrude himself impudently amongst them. If good angels are "sent forth" to mankind, in order "to minister for them that shall be heirs of salvation^c," and if *Satan* also "walketh about" amongst men, "seeking whom he "may devour^d," it is not impossible, nor improbable, that the latter may sometimes PRESENT HIMSELF in company with the former, BEFORE THE LORD.

As to the second difficulty which the Objector urges, that God should permit "Satan to slay Job's children," &c. only to *satisfy* the wicked sycophant that Job was a man of *integrity*, it must be owned there would be *force* in the objection, if it had but any *truth* in it. But since the text affords no sufficient grounds for the poor suggestion, and God might have much higher ends to answer in that affair, than what the Objector has here invented, the pretended difficulty is easily got over, and so the *literal* construction of the texts may still be the true one; at least till something better than buffoonery appears against it. Nevertheless, as I before intimated, I prefer the *figurative* construction in the present instance, not condemning those that prefer the *literal*, nor commending such as are dogmatical and positive in either. I am of opinion with those who think that the structure of the Book of Job is of the dramatical^e kind, relating *true history*, but curiously set off in a poetical dress, embellished with many lively decorations such as are not to be interpreted up to the strictness of the letter, but serve to convey an excellent meaning, or moral, to the discerning readers. The *prophetic* style generally is full of lofty thoughts, bold figures, or emblems, and abounding with parables: and Job himself (who perhaps was author of the main part of the

^b 2 Cor. xi. 14.

^c Heb. i. 14.

^d 1 Pet. v. 8.

^e Probe distinguendum monemus inter *historiæ veritatem*, et *consignationis indolem* atque structuram; cum negari nequeat librum omnem poetice

digestum esse, allocutionibus et responsionibus, figuris et vario sermonis ornatu instructum, ita ut *rei gestæ enarratio* dramatico velut schemate, et habitu induta scenico exhibeatur. *Carpzov. Introduct. ad Lib. Bibl.* part. ii. p. 35.

book^f) has been deservedly reckoned by learned men in the number of *prophets*^g.

PSALM LXXXIX. 39—49.

THOU HAST MADE VOID THE COVENANT OF THY SERVANT.—LORD, WHERE ARE THY FORMER LOVINGKINDNESSES, WHICH THOU SWAREST TO DAVID IN THY TRUTH?

The Objector having previously observed that “there are texts which, if taken literally, represent God, not only as falsifying his word, but his oaths,” proceeds to mention those texts: and the *first* he instances in is Numb. xiv. 30—34. which has been considered in another place^h. “The second,” he now saysⁱ, “is in Psalm lxxxix. in the first part of which is largely set forth the promises of God to David, by covenant and oath; and in the other part, David complains of God’s breach both of his covenant and oath; and in summing up “those breaches, he says, THOU HAST MADE VOID,” &c. The gentleman seems to have read this Psalm in haste, by his ascribing it to David. The *internal* characters of the Psalm, were there nothing else, are enough to shew that David could not be the composer. I may mention a few particulars: ver. 40, it is said, THOU HAST BROKEN DOWN ALL HIS HEDGES; THOU HAST BROUGHT HIS STRONG HOLDS TO RUIN. If Jerusalem had been sacked and plundered, one could scarce have made a more doleful complaint. But what was there done at all like it in David’s time? Then again, verse 43, THOU HAST TURNED THE EDGE OF HIS SWORD, AND HAST NOT MADE HIM TO STAND IN THE BATTLE. This is plainly to be understood of some great overthrow in battle; which never was David’s case. It has been remarked of that brave and fortunate Prince, that he fought twenty battles, and was always victorious. Once, indeed, he fled from Absalom, till he could gather his forces together: but when it came to a pitched battle, David prevailed. The only time that can with any colour of probability be imagined for David’s composing this Psalm, must, I suppose, be the time of Absalom’s rebellion, when David was advanced in years: but then what sense can we make of verse 45, THE DAYS OF HIS YOUTH HAST THOU

^f Carpzov. *Introd. ad Lib. Bibl.* Bibl. part. ii. p. 44.
part. ii. p. 55, 56.

^g See Witsii *Miscellan.* vol. i.
p. 176. Carpzov. *Introd. ad Lib.*

^h See above, p. 229, &c.

ⁱ Christianity as Old &c. p. 257.

SHORTENED? Besides, who can think that David would thus complain of God's "breaking his covenant," or any thing like it, when he very well knew that his own sins in the matter of Uriah were the sole occasion of his sufferings at that time, and that God was notwithstanding as kind and gracious to him as he could reasonably expect or desire? David understood duty and decorum better than to expostulate with God in such a way, without something more of colour for doing it. There are *five* Psalms^k of his, composed under his troubles for Absalom: but there is nothing at all in them of like strain with what has been mentioned of Psalm lxxxix. These things considered, that Psalm most certainly is none of David's; nor can any considerate man pretend so much as any colour for so judging, except it be upon the old, and now generally exploded presumption, that all are David's.

It is with much greater show of probability that commentators^l and critics have ascribed this Psalm to some person living long after, under the times of the Babylonish captivity, in the days of Jehoiachim, or Jehoiachin, or Zedekiah, when there appeared to be a kind of total subversion of the royal family and government. But considering that the title of the Psalm seems to ascribe the composition of it to Ethan the Ezrahite, who is celebrated in Scripture for his wisdom^m, and who was one of the three principal men preferred by David as chief singers over the choirⁿ, and endowed with prophetic gifts^o; he is a very likely person to have been author of such a Psalm. As to the occasion which might induce him to it, there was a very remarkable one, which might happen in his time, if he lived to an advanced age. I mean the plundering of the city and temple by Shishak king of Egypt, in the fifth year of Rehoboam^p, and in the year before Christ 974. So Mr. Bedford places it; who also ascribes this eighty-ninth Psalm to the same Ethan, and as composed upon that occasion^q. The characters of the Psalm seem to suit very well with that time, and that calamitous event; but particularly the mention made of

^k Psalms iii. vii. xlii. xliii. lv.

^l Hammond, Pool, Patrick, Wells, Calmet, Le Clerc.

^m 1 Kings. iv. 31.

ⁿ 1 Chron. xv. 17, 19.

^o 1 Chron. xxv. 1—5. Note, that Jeduthan seems to have been the very

same man with Ethan; of which, see Carpvov. Introd. ad Libr. Bibl. part. ii. p. 104.

^p 1 Kings xiv. 25, 26, 27. 2 Chron. xii. 2, 3, &c.

^q Bedford's Scripture Chronology, p. 612, 613.

Rahab in verse 10. which is the name for the lower Egypt there, as in some other places of the Old Testament^r. We must suppose this Ethan to have lived to a great age, it being now above forty-five years since he was first appointed chief musician by king David. The good old man, who had seen what a glorious figure king David first, and after him king Solomon, had made, and to what a height of splendour the Hebrew name had been raised over all the earth, and knowing also what illustrious promises God had from time to time given to the house of David, must needs have been exceedingly surprised and shocked at that sudden downfall, when the king of Judah and the princes of Judah were all forced to submit themselves tamely to the King of Egypt, and to deliver up their *city* and their beautiful temple (so lately erected) to the mercy of the conqueror. Such an occasion as that was might well astonish the pious and devout Psalmist, and might extort from him those pathological expostulations which we meet with in the Psalm. It might seem as if God had “made void his covenant:” a strong way of expressing the most surprising, sudden, and prodigious change of affairs, from the utmost height of grandeur to almost the lowest ebb of disgrace. And the case was the more affecting and sensible, because it was the first calamity of that kind. But the pious composer of the Psalm, however overwhelmed with grief and trouble, yet forgot not to express his awful reverence towards God, and his entire confidence in his mercies. He never had a thought (like what the Objector supposes) of charging God foolishly with any *real* breach of covenant. He begins his song with declaring, that he will “MAKE KNOWN THE FAITHFULNESS OF “God to all generations:” and he ends with a very devout doxology in these grateful terms: BLESSED BE THE LORD FOR EVERMORE. AMEN, AND AMEN.

PSALM CIX.

The charge against this whole Psalm is, that David here “bestows the bitterest curses on his enemies.” And the accuser says, with his usual pertness and petulance, that “the holier “men in the Old Testament are represented, the more cruel “they seem to be, as well as more addicted to cursings.” He had not the sense to consider, that *blessing* and *cursing* belong

^r Psalm lxxxvii. 4. Isa. li. 9. and perhaps Job xxvi. 12.

^s Christianity as Old &c. p. 264, 265.

solely to God and God's commissioned officers : for what wonder is it, if the *holiest* men pronounced the *curses* of God upon sinners, when God generally chooses the *holiest* persons to represent him, and to speak or act for him? This gentleman may find in the Book of Judges^t, that the " angel of the Lord said, CURSE " YE MEROZ, CURSE YE BITTERLY," &c. And he may go and tell it among his friends, that the angels of God are " much addicted " to cursing." He may add, that they are *cruel* also : for an angel of the Lord went out, and at once destroyed AN HUNDRED FOURSORE AND FIVE THOUSAND of the Assyrians^u. But the Objector should learn to distinguish between cursing with *God's authority*, and cursing *without it* ; between *holy* and *profane* cursing. David being a Prophet, might curse in God's name, and with Divine warrant. But if Shimei, or a better man, without commission, should presume to denounce *curses*, he would thereby prove himself an ungodly wretch and a grievous transgressor. The people of God, the Hebrews, might *devote*, *anathematize*, or *curse* those whom God had commanded them so to devote, or curse : but had they presumed to go a step further than their commission reached, they had been guilty before God. These general things premised, let us now come to the particular case of Psalm cix.

The Psalm is undoubtedly David's, as the title imports : and it was penned by inspiration of the Holy Ghost. To both which St. Peter gives his testimony in these words: MEN AND BRETHREN, THIS SCRIPTURE MUST NEEDS HAVE BEEN FULFILLED, WHICH THE HOLY GHOST BY THE MOUTH OF DAVID, SPAKE BEFORE CONCERNING JUDAS^x, &c. Then he proceeds to quote places out of the Psalms, and particularly the eighth verse of this Psalm ; LET ANOTHER TAKE HIS OFFICE : OR, HIS BISHOPRICK LET ANOTHER TAKE^y. Le Clerc, in his comment upon this Psalm, would persuade us that the words carry no *prophecy* in them : which is directly contradicting St. Peter's words, above cited out of the Acts^z, and doing it upon very frivolous and trifling pretences. But as this is not the first time that that learned critic has been bolder than becomes him, and has^a suggested the same thing, so I may observe that he has been abundantly corrected for it by able

^t Judges v. 23. ^u Kings xix. 35.

^x Acts i. 16.

^y Acts i. 20. Τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λάβοι ἕτερος. So also the LXX.

^z Ἐδει πληρωθῆναι τὴν γραφὴν ταύ-

την, ἣν προεῖπε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον διὰ στόματος Δαβὶδ, περὶ Ἰούδα. Acts i. 16.

^a See Sentimens de quelques Théologiens sur l' Histoire Critique, p. 228.

hands^b, referred to in the margin. This Psalm therefore, as I before hinted, is prophetic of the treachery of Judas, and declarative of the Divine vengeance that should fall upon his head.

Some have pertinently enough observed of the *imprecations* occurring in the Psalms, and other places of Scripture, that they may be considered as *prophecies* or *predictions* of what shall come to pass^c, rather than a formal denouncing of vengeance, or calling down curses upon sinners. The Hebrew words, in such cases, are as capable commonly of the *future*, as of the *imperative* mood and sense^d, and may accordingly be rendered in the predicting style. The thirteenth verse, for instance, of this very Psalm, may be rendered thus; HIS POSTERITY WILL BE, (OR, SHALL BE) CUT OFF, AND IN THE GENERATION FOLLOWING HIS NAME SHALL BE BLOTTED OUT. In other places also, where the verb is really *imperative*, we may justly render the original by the *future*, because the imperative in prophetic writings is often put for the future, as the best critics in the language have shewn^e. This solution appears to be very just, if indeed there be occasion for it, and therefore I mention it. But I conceive it sufficient to say, as before, that since *prophets* have *commission* to denounce the curses of God, and they do it as God's instruments or deputies, in his name, and by his Spirit, more need not be said; neither is it material whether such imprecations be taken in the *imperative* or *future* sense. I like this account the better, because it will hold universally, which perhaps the other will not. For there are several *imprecations* in Scripture, which seem not fairly reducible to the head of *prophecies* or *predictions*. I choose therefore to rest the thing entirely upon the *Divine warrant*, as appearing to me the easiest and shortest rule, and least involved of any. He that has God's authority and extraordinary com-

^b Witsii Miscellan. vol. i. p. 215, &c. Carpov. Introd. ad Libr. Bibl. part. ii. p. 122, 123. Conf. Surenhussii Conciliat. p. 386. Jenkins's Reasonableness, vol. ii. p. 338. Eusebius in Psalm. p. 699.

^c Quando sancti viri deprecatorio more contra hostes suos rogant, non voto malitiæ, sed spiritu prophetiæ hoc quod præsciunt futurum prædicunt: vel etiam contra spirituales nequitias orant, quas incorrigibiles esse sciunt, ut justam a Domino recipiant

sententiam. Hieronym. in Thren. i. 22.

^d See Hammond's Preface to the Psalms, and Comment on Psal. xxxv. 4. Jenkins, vol. ii. p. 237, 238. Le Cene, Projet d'une Nouvelle Version, p. 702. Ross, 295.

^e Glassii Grammat. Sacr. lib. iii. tr. 3. can. 43. p. 869. Noldii Concordant. p. 1013. Guarin. Gramm. Hebr. tom. i. p. 541, 542. Vitringa in Isa. vol. ii. p. 845. Lakemacher, Observat. Philolog. vol. ii. p. 71.

mission to *curse*, may do it, must do it: he that pretends to it otherwise, calls down curses upon his own head, as being therein *injurious* towards man, and *profane* towards God. If therefore our Objector can shew that the Psalmist had no extraordinary *commission* to imprecate Divine vengeance upon transgressors, he may then justly find fault: but if David was a *prophet*, and had the *Spirit* of God, then David's imprecations were *Divine* imprecations, and there is no room left for our author's buffoonery on that head. The judicious Bishop Wilkins has a paragraph* very apposite to our purpose, which I may here insert for illustration. "Those who used these imprecations were extraordinary persons, endowed with the spirit of discerning, whereby they were enabled to judge of the incurable state of those with whom they conversed. There are some that are *cursed children*, as the Apostle speaks^f, *κατάρας τέκνα, filii maledictionis, execrandi homines*; and to such, *curses* are reserved as their portion. And therefore no wonder though such as had an extraordinary spirit of discerning their true state, do use imprecations against them, which yet can be no warrant for other persons to imitate. *As none but the magistrate may use the sword for revenge, because of his public station and calling, whereby he is authorized for it; so none but extraordinary prophetic men should use these maledictions.* If others shall presume upon it because of their example, they will justly fall under the rebuke of our Saviour, YE KNOW NOT WHAT SPIRIT YE ARE OF^g. The ordinary rule prescribed for men's practice is that of Matt. v. 44. Rom. xii. 14. BLESS, I SAY, AND CURSE NOT." I shall only add, by way of remark upon what this excellent writer has said, that I do not think he puts the case exactly right, while he puts it upon "the spirit of discerning the true state" of the persons on whom they imprecate the Divine vengeance: for though it be true that the *Prophets* or *Apostles* had such a "spirit of discerning;" yet neither would that sufficiently warrant their imprecations, if they did not *discern* also, either by *private* impulse of the *Spirit*, or *outward* direction, that it was God's will and order that they should so imprecate. When Elisha, for instance, *cursed* the little children that mocked him^h, he considered not, or had no need to consider, any thing of "the true state" of those children:

* Wilkins, Serm. xii. p. 375, 376.

^f 2 Pet. ii. 14.

^g Luke ix. 55.

^h 2 Kings ii. 23, 24.

but the Spirit of the Lord came upon him; and he had a *Divine impulse*, or direction, to curse in the name of the Lord. The like may be said of several other Scripture instances, which for brevity sake I omit. When *prophetical* or *inspired* men thus imprecate, by divine direction or impulse, there is no more in it than there was in Moses's stretching out his hands or his rod, by God's order, to call down plagues upon the Egyptians. But if any one without such *special* commission, or *inspiration*, should attempt to do the like, it would be *brutum fulmen* in respect to *others*, but highly dangerous to the person *himself*, as it is sinning against God and man with a high hand.

Before I leave this article, I may take some brief notice, by the way, of the instance which the Objector pitches upon, to prove that the *holier* men have been represented, in the Old Testament, the more *cruel*ⁱ they have appeared to be. It is the instance of David's cruelly treating the Ammonites^k, as our author pretends. It is sufficient to say, that he is no competent judge of that matter, for want of knowing the case; though it is not material whether David did right or wrong, since nothing depends upon it. However, since the accuser does not know how many or how great reasons there might be, at that time, for so humbling the proud nation of the Ammonites, nor what necessity David might then lie under, or what commission he might have to oblige him to act as he did; but since by all accounts the Ammonites were a most insulting and haughty people, and David in his general character a very kind and merciful man; the favourable presumption most undoubtedly lies on the side of David, and the blame ought to be thrown rather upon the provoking insolencies of the Ammonites, than upon so good a king. It is rash censure therefore in the Objector, to fall so rudely upon David, before he knows why; and it shews more of a disposition to *defame* at all adventures, than to pass a *righteous judgment* upon men and things.

PSALM CXXXVII. 8, 9.

O DAUGHTER OF BABYLON, WHO ART TO BE DESTROYED; HAPPY SHALL HE BE, THAT REWARDETH THEE AS THOU HAST SERVED US. HAPPY SHALL HE BE, THAT TAKETH AND DASHETH THY LITTLE ONES AGAINST THE STONES.

ⁱ Christianity as Old &c. p. 264, 265. ^k 2 Sam. xii. 31. 1 Chron. xx. 3.

The Objector brings the like charge against some parts of this Psalm, as he had before done against Psalm cix. He remarks^k, " Though the Lord bids the Jews to PRAY FOR THE PEACE OF BABYLON, WHITHER he had CAUSED them TO BE CARRIED AWAY CAPTIVES, and that IN THE PEACE THEREOF they should HAVE PEACE^l; yet is it not said in the Psalms, O DAUGHTER OF BABYLON, &c., and this for no other reason, but because she " desired of her captives ONE OF THE SONGS OF ZION^m?" However light this drolling gentleman may make of *singing a song*, in the midst of the most afflicting calamities, I am persuaded that if the case were his own, he would think such a request as that was (such an instance of cruel mocking and insult) no slight addition to the injuries before sustained. It was no common affliction which the captive Jews at that time lay under. The Prophet Isaiah, long before prophesying of the downfall of Babylon, assigns this reason for it, as from God, that she had SHEWN NO MERCY towards God's people, but had HEAVILY LAID her YOKE UPON THE ANCIENT". The Prophet Jeremiah says, ISRAEL IS A SCATTERED SHEEP; THE LIONS HAVE DRIVEN HIM AWAY: FIRST THE KING OF ASSYRIA HATH DEVoured HIM; AND LAST THIS NEBUCHADNEZZAR, KING OF BABYLON, HATH BROKEN HIS BONES^o. But if the reader would have a more lively image of the miseries of the captive Jews, let him turn to the doleful Lamentations of the same Prophet, and from thence judge what disposition they could then be in for singing *songs* of joy. It was a barbarous cruelty to demand it of them in those circumstances: besides, it would have been profaning their sacred music and devout songs, (dedicated to high and holy uses,) to have prostituted them in such a manner to the scorn, laughter, and derision of infidels. But the Objector's account of this matter is so low and ludicrous, that it will be thought I have honoured it too much in returning a serious answer to it.

The other part of his objection seems to carry more of the face of an argument, and to deserve some attention. He conceives that the *imprecations* of the Psalm against Babylon do not well comport with God's directions to his captive people to *pray for* the peace of Babylon. But from hence, if he had been used either to compare or to consider rightly, he might have learned

^k Christianity as Old &c. p. 264.

^l Jer. xxix. 7.

^m Psalm cxxxvii. 3.

ⁿ Isa. xlvii. 6.

^o Jer. i. 17. Compare Jer. li. 34, 35. Zech. i. 15.

to distinguish between the *ordinary rule of practice*, and the *extraordinary commissions given to prophets*. The Psalmist was a Prophet, and wrote by the special direction or impulse of the Holy Spirit of God; while the common people at Babylon (and prophets also in their private capacity) were to follow the ordinary rule of praying for those very enemies whose destruction was coming on, but in God's own time. In the mean season, the safety of the Jewish captives depended upon the safety of Babylon, and was wrapped up in it; and so it concerned them both, in point of duty and interest, to submit peaceably and quietly to their new masters, and to pray for their prosperity. Notwithstanding all which, they might justly hope for a deliverance at the seventy years' end; and God might instruct his Prophets to declare it beforehand, together with the manner of it. Isaiah had prophesied of the destruction of Babylon above an hundred and fifty years before, and in terms not unlike to some parts of this Psalm: he had said, **THEIR CHILDREN ALSO SHALL BE DASHED TO PIECES BEFORE THEIR EYES**^q. The Psalmist further adds, that the instrument under God, in punishing Babylon, shall be **HAPPY**, shall be *blessed* and *praised* in his deed, as having done a glorious work, in executing the Divine justice upon her, and at the same time rescuing and delivering the people of God. This prophecy, or denunciation, was fulfilled by the Medes and Persians under the conduct of Cyrus, the servant and chosen of God. And now, what harm could there be in the holy Psalmist's presignifying, in pathetic style, these high and marvellous things?

I had here closed up this article, when looking into Le Clerc's Commentary upon this Psalm, I beheld with some concern his very crude or perverse way of expressing himself on ver. 8. He says, "Those things" (those imprecations he means of the Psalmist) "were proper to those times, when it was thought lawful to entertain hatred against private and public enemies". "Under the Gospel, it is not lawful to wish any other to them than you would wish to yourself." Is this commenting upon Scripture like a serious man, or is it not rather playing the droll

^p Probably the Prophet Ezekiel himself, as Mr. Bedford supposes, placing the date of it in the year 583. before A. D. Bedford, Script. Chronol. p. 710.

^q Isa. xiii. 16.

^r Hæc sunt eorum temporum, qui-

bus odio habere inimicos et hostes fas esse putabatur. Sub evangelio fas non est optare iis, nisi quod tibi ipse optaveris. Cleric. in Psal. cxxxvii. 8. Compare Sentimens de quelques Théologiens, &c. p. 229.

with sacred Writ? By *whom* does he suppose it was *thought lawful* to hate an enemy? By the most excellent men of the Jewish church, penmen of holy Scripture, and writing by the *Spirit of God*? A profane suggestion! Neither *New Testament* nor *Old* allows any such *hatred*: it stands condemned both by the *Law*^s and the *Gospel*. And how came it to pass that the best kind of men among the Jews understood not the maxim of doing to others as they would have done to themselves, which was commanded in their *Law*^t, and escaped not the notice of the wiser Pagans^u? To be short, there is no *hatred* of an *enemy* shewn, merely in denouncing God's judgments against them by God's direction, nor in executing the sentence of God, by God's order, upon them: so the whole turn of the thought proceeds upon a false ground.

Besides, how would the Gospel preachers themselves stand clear, if all *imprecations* were inconsistent with the loving one's neighbour as one's self? St. Paul denounces curses, or imprecations, in more cases than one^x: but St. Paul was a prophet, and more than a prophet, and had commission to do it in the name of the Lord. And indeed, if it be considered, that God's design is to set both his *blessings* and his *curses* before men^y, in order to incite them to good, and to deter them from evil, and that his wisdom may judge it proper to make use of the ministry of men, as his instruments in doing it; what offence need it give to any serious and considerate person, to find that either the *Prophets* of the Old Testament, or the *Apostles* of the New, (the fittest persons for it,) have delivered, by Divine direction, the Divine *maledictions* or *curses* upon sinners? It was their duty to do it, and they therein shewed the perfection both of their love towards God and their charity towards man.

I have dwelt the longer upon this point, because it seemed to want some clearing; and because many have been apt either to take offence, or to run into gross mistakes, only for want of considering the proper and necessary distinction, before mentioned, between *holy* and *profane* cursing, between executing a command of God, and doing a thing without command, only to please our own selves. The first is as laudable and truly pious, as the latter is execrable and altogether profane. BLESS,

^s See Whitby on Matt. v. 43.

^t Levit. xix. 18, 34.

^u V. commentators on Matt. vii. 12.

^x 1 Corinth. xvi. 22. Gal. i. 8, 9.

² Tim. iv. 14.

^y Deut. xi. 26. xxx. 1, 19.

AND CURSE NOT^z: that is the ordinary rule to go by. And so sacred a rule it is, that men are effectually tied up from all *cursings* of their *own*^a, and have no power left in that case, except it be to declare *God's* curses, and those *general* only, or in the very words of Scripture. As to any thing more *special*, God seems to have reserved it to his own *special* directions, which have ceased long ago, ever since *prophecies* and *inspirations* have ceased.

ISAIAH I. 18.

COME NOW, AND LET US REASON TOGETHER, SAITH THE LORD :
THOUGH YOUR SINS BE AS SCARLET THEY SHALL BE AS WHITE AS SNOW,
&c. The Objector's reflections upon this passage are as follow^b: "Does not God here appeal to their reason for the sufficiency of *moral* things to wash away their sins, though of the deepest die? And could God and man *reason* together, except there were some notions in common to both, some foundation for such reasoning?" As to God's appealing to our *reason*, and God and man's *reasoning* together, the fact itself might be disputed, so far as this text is concerned: for the text in the original says no such thing. Le Clerc translates the words thus: COME NOW AND LET US BE CORRECTED^c: FOR THE LORD SAYS, IF YOUR SINS BE AS SCARLET, &c. His translation appears to be justifiable by the rules of grammar and criticism: and he observes very pertinently, that the Jews are not here called by the Prophet to *dispute* with God, which would be irreverent and criminal, but to submit to chastisement (as conscious of their sins) and to reform their manners. However, it is not to be doubted but that God sometimes condescends to *reason* with men, and permits them to *reason* with him: and there is no need to heap text upon text, to prove only what nobody denies, that God would have us "make use of our reason." If this gentleman himself would do so, laying aside *passion* and *prejudice*, he

^z Rom. xii. 14.

^a How shall I curse, whom God hath not cursed? *Numb.* xxiii. 8.

^b Christianity as Old &c. p. 194.

^c Tum agite, nos castigari patiemur; ait enim Jehova: Si fuerint peccata vestra instar coccini, &c. נִכְחָהוּ נִיבְּוֶחֶחַח, *castigemur, διελεγχθῶμεν, arguamur*; ut habent LXX Int. non *arguite me*, ut Vulgata, repugnante grammatica et loci sententia. Verba sunt hæc non *Dei*, sed *Pro-*

pheta Judæos hortantis ut se a Deo castigari patiantur, atque emendentur; ut ostendunt verba sequentia, *si fuerint, &c.* Itaque vertendum non fuit, *disceptemus*: non vocantur enim Judæi a Propheta, ut cum Deo *disceptent*, quod grave esset delictum; sed ut sibi peccatorum suorum probe conscii, non ægre ferant se a Deo castigari, et castigati emendentur. *Cleric. in loc.*

might appear both a wiser and a better man. But if God invites his people to *reason* with him, he does not therefore encourage them to *cavil* against him, or directly to *blaspheme* him. His intent is not that they should presume to *prescribe* to his wisdom, or *dispute* his authority as to laying any *positive* commands upon them. He would not suffer them to dispute his servant Moses's authority, in such a case, nor that of any of his *Prophets*^d: much less would he encourage any direct affront of that kind against himself. So let not this author, under pretence and cover of *reasoning* with God, turn an advocate for *petulance*, or insolent *defiance*; which is not *reason*, but *rashness*, or rather *madness*.

As to his inference in favour of *moral things*, (in opposition, I suppose, to *positive* duties, and the necessity of *redemption* by *Christ*.) it is very lame and insufficient in both its views. He does not consider, that *positive* duties stand upon a *moral* foot, and are all wrapped up, as soon as they become duties, in what he calls *moral things*. To obey God in whatsoever he commands is the first *moral* law, and the fundamental principle of all *morality*. The reason of things, and the relation we bear to God, require that God should be obeyed in matters otherwise *indifferent*: and such obedience is *moral*, and the opposite disobedience *immoral*. It is *moral duty* for a *son* to obey his *father* in things *indifferent*, or for a *subject* to obey his *prince*; much more for a *creature* so to obey his *Creator*. *Positives* therefore, while under precept, cannot be slighted without slighting *morals* also. In short, *positive* laws, as soon as enacted, become part of moral law, and are a branch of *morality*; because, as I said, *universal* obedience to God's commands is the first *moral law*, into which all law resolves.

As the reason of the thing itself shews that thus it must be, so the text of Isaiah confirms the same thing. For what are those *moral things* which the Prophet there teaches or recommends? One of them is, CEASE TO DO EVIL; LEARN TO DO WELL^e: which amounts to being RIGHTEOUS BEFORE GOD, WALKING IN ALL THE COMMANDMENTS AND ORDINANCES OF THE LORD BLAMELESS^f: which undoubtedly takes in obedience to all *positive* as well as *moral* precepts of the Lord Almighty. And what if God rejected

^d 1 Kings xiii. 4. 2 Kings vii. 2, 17.
2 Chron. xxxvi. 15, 16.

^e Isa. i. 16, 17.
^f Luke i. 6.

with some disdain the hypocritical services of the Jews of that time, their *sacrifices*^g, their *attendance* at his *temple*, or *court*^h, their *oblations* and *incense*ⁱ, their observation of *new moons* and *sabbaths*, their *solemn assemblies*^k, and even their *prayers*^l? Those heartless, sapless services, which had no godliness, no sincerity, no true love of God in them, were not the services which God required, or took delight in. God would not accept of vain compliments, nor be bribed with pretended *gifts*^m, offered only to excuse from duty, to compound for sin, and to palliate unjust dealings. God expected that their *hearts*, as well as their *bodies* and *sacrifices*, should be presented to him: he required *religious* and *devout* performances, not the outward *shell* and *carcase* of religion. In a word, he demanded both positive and moral *duties* strictly so called; not *hypocrisy*, which is a *face* only of duty, or *form* of godliness, but a *real* abominationⁿ. What then is there in this place of Isaiah tending either to *exclude*, or even to *depreciate* positive duties? Not one syllable: neither indeed is there in the whole Scriptures. Turn them over from one end to the other, and you will find nothing clear or certain concerning the distinction between *moral* and *positive*; much less will you find that ever *moral* duties are extolled in opposition to *positive*, as such: but all we shall find that looks any thing like it, or can be mistaken for it, is, either that *sincere* obedience is preferred to *superficial*, inward goodness to outward modes and forms, to mere external performances^o; or *entire* obedience preferred to *partial*; or the *great lines* of duty, the *first stamina* of religion, the *weighty* matters of the Law, preferred to the remote or minuter branches of duty, which hang upon the other, and are of

^g Isa. i. 11. ^h Isa. i. 12.

ⁱ Isa. i. 13. ^k Isa. i. 14. ^l Ibid.

^m See Deut. x. 17. 2 Chron. xix. 7. Eccles. xxxv. 12.

ⁿ Si cliens ea munera ultro, vel etiam edicta, ordine suo offerat, et solemnitas regis observet, non ex *fide* tamen, nec *corde puro*, nec *pleno* circa cætera quoque obsequia (*leg.* obsequio) nonne consequens ut rex ille, vel dives, exclamet: *Quo mihi multitudinem munerum tuorum? Plenus sum: et solennitates et dies festos, et vestra sabbata odit anima mea. Vestra* dicendo, quæ secundum libidinem suam, non secundum religionem Dei celebrando, *sua* jam, non *Dei* fecerant. *Conditionalem*

idcirco et *rationalem* demonstravit recusationem eorum quæ administranda præscripserat. *Tertull. adv. Marcion.* lib. ii. c. 22. p. 393.

^o Nec enim iis, cultum divinitus institutum Prophetæ redarguunt et taxant, sed populi *hypocrisin*, et obfirmatam ad scelera mentem, cui *externum* sacrificiorum, festorum, oblationumque *opus* prætendebant; præclare de se actum censentes, modo holocausta offerrent, et *externo* ritu sacra obirent, licet *absque fide*, absque ulla *vita emendatione*, impenitentes, indurati, sceleribus adhuc immersi. *Carpzov. Introd. ad Libr. Bibl.* part. ii. p. 60.

no further value or use, than as conformable to them, and wrapped up in them and with them.

Having seen how little colour there is, from this place of Isaiah, for excluding *positive* duties, I am next to observe, that there is as little foundation for excluding the *merits* or *satisfaction* of *Christ*. The duties there mentioned are required as *conditions*, without which no mediation or satisfaction could avail any thing: as to the *meritorious* or *efficacious* cause of salvation, that stands as before, and is not at all affected with what is there said. The redemption by *Christ* might notwithstanding be necessary to render all services (moral or positive) accepted: and it is indeed either expressly or tacitly included in all grants of pardon from God. It is a truth so plain in many places of Scripture, and particularly in the Book of Isaiah, and alluded to in this very chapter^p, that I need not say more of it. But why will our Objector appeal to *Scripture* for the “sufficiency of “moral things,” when he admits not the authority of Scripture? Or why will he here pay any regard to the words of the *God of Israel*, whom at other times he insults and blasphemeth?

ISAIAH V. 26.

AND HE WILL LIFT UP AN ENSIGN TO THE NATIONS FROM FAR, AND WILL HISS UNTO THEM FROM THE END OF THE EARTH; AND, BEHOLD, THEY SHALL COME WITH SPEED SWIFTLY. Our Objector's quarrel here is only with the single word HISS^q: and had he made it an objection against the *translation* only, and not against *Scripture* itself, he might perhaps have shewn some exactness of judgment or delicacy of taste. But by overshooting the mark, as usual, he has lost the advantage. He had been talking just before^r, of “wine cheering both God and man;” which has been considered in another place^s. Then he adds as here follows: “And what “is yet stranger, such actions are attributed to him as can only “belong to the lower rank of creatures, such as *hissing*, God “being in three places^t of the Prophets said to hiss; and in one “place^u, TO HISS FOR A FLY THAT IS IN THE UTTERMOST PART OF THE “RIVERS OF EGYPT, AND FOR THE BEE THAT IS IN THE LAND OF ASSY- “RIA.” It is not very strange, that languages should abound

^p Isaiah i. 26, 27. See Vitringa's Comment.

^q Christianity as Old &c. p. 252.

^r Ibid. p. 251.

^s See above, p. 256, 257.

^t Isa. v. 26. vii. 18. Zech. x. 8.

^u Isa. vii. 18.

with figures and metaphors, or that prophecies should contain parables and apt similitudes. What man that knows any thing of language, or letters, would expect otherwise? However, considering that the word *HISS* is apt to carry with it a low idea, one might wish that our translators had chosen a less offensive word, which might but tolerably have expressed the sense. Besides, the word *HISS* seems not *proper*, as not well answering to the original word שָׂרַק. For whether we suppose the metaphor taken from a *shepherd's* calling to his sheep^x, or from a *bee keeper's* calling to his bees^y, *HISS* is not the proper expression for either. Other words might be thought on more expressive of the metaphor, were it necessary to follow the figure: but I see no reason for such scrupulous exactness. The general word *call* would fully express the meaning; and that is sufficient in such cases. Our older translations (as Coverdale's of 1535, and Matthews's of 1537, and the great Bible of 1539) have *CALL UNTO THEM* in this place, and, I think, very wisely. The Geneva translators of 1560 first brought in *HISS UNTO THEM*: and they have been followed by Parker's Bible, and by our last translation, too closely. I commend not the older translations for having *WHISTLE*,^z in Isa. vii. 18. and *BLOW FOR THEM*, in Zech. x. 8. The same word *CALL* would have served better in all the three places. And though the metaphor perhaps would be lost, or obscured, yet decency of expression, without detriment to the sense, would be preserved, which should be looked after, and which is much preferable to a scrupulous exactness that may give offence in such cases. I observe, that the Hebrew word קָרָא is made use of in the thirteenth chapter, verse the third, in the same sense, and to the same purpose, as שָׂרַק here, and is there literally rendered *CALL*: and so might this other word be rendered also without any impropriety. Some indeed have chose *whisper*^a, instead of *hiss*; which is a word of more dignity: but it dilutes and diminishes the sense. A loud or shrill call seems to be intended in all the three places; for neither do shepherds *whisper* to their sheep, nor bee keepers to their bees. In short then, I know no better English word than *call*, to preserve the sense, and at the same time to keep up dignity of expression.

^x See Vitringa on Isa. vii. 18. Cler. Isa. v. 26.
in Isa. v. 26.

^z So Pool also, in his notes on this

^y See Bochart's Hieroz. part. ii. text.
lib. iv. c. 10. p. 506. Vitringa in

^a Lowth and Wells.

The true and full meaning of the two places in Isaiah is neither more nor less than this: that God having sovereign command over all nations and people, can convene them together from remote and distant quarters, to execute his most righteous judgments. Whenever God gives the signal, or issues out his summons, they will advance with all alacrity to perform his will, though not knowing that his hand is in it. The *fly* and the *bee* (in Isa. vii. 18.) denote the Egyptian and Assyrian armies, which should come up with speed from their respective quarters, to execute the Divine vengeance upon Palestine for their flagrant iniquities. The former would come swiftly upon them, like swarms of devouring *flies*, to infest and annoy them, and to exhaust their blood and juices: and the latter should approach as swarms of angry bees, or wasps, to sting them to death. Such is the Prophet's meaning, veiled under elegant figures; which give new life and strength to his expressions, and render the whole more poignant and more affecting.

ISAIAH XX, 3, 4.

AND THE LORD SAID, LIKE AS MY SERVANT ISAIAH HATH WALKED NAKED AND BAREFOOT THREE YEARS FOR A SIGN AND WONDER UPON EGYPT AND UPON ETHIOPIA; SO SHALL THE KING OF ASSYRIA, &c. The Objector hereupon says^b: "How many commands did God give his Prophets, which, if taken according to the letter, seem unworthy of God, as making them act like madmen, or idiots!" As for instance, "the prophet Isaiah walked for three years together naked for a sign." The Objector, to do him justice, is not singular in finding fault with this place of the Prophet, nor in his so construing it as if the Prophet went stark *naked*, and for *three whole years together*, if the *literal* interpretation is to be admitted: and upon that supposition, he has some colour for saying, that such a command "seems unworthy of God," as *making* the Prophet *act like a madman*, or an *idiot*. But he too hastily takes for granted that the *literal* interpretation must necessarily suppose, either that the prophet went entirely *naked*, or that he did so for so long a time as *three whole years*. Interpreters have taken three several ways of interpreting this and the like places in the Prophets: some suppose that what is here told was *really* and *literally* performed; others, that it was

^b Christianity as Old &c. p. 255.

transacted in *vision*; others, that it is all no more than a *parable* dictated by God to the Prophet, and by the Prophet recited to the Jews. It will be proper here to examine with some care the strength and merits of these three several interpretations, in the order as I have mentioned them :

1. I shall begin with the first of them, which may be called the *literal* construction in an emphatical sense. For though all the three constructions are *literal*, as following the *literal* signification of the words, and as opposed to *figurative* or *metaphorical*; yet the first only can be termed *literal* in a stricter sense, as opposed to *visional* (if I may so call it) and *parabolical*. For the literal construction may be pleaded as follows :

First, it is the most *ancient* construction, espoused by the primitive Fathers^c of the Church, and never disputed in those early times. Secondly, The text itself seems to be plain and express : for it is said, HE [ISAIAH] DID SO, WALKING NAKED AND BAREFOOT^d : and afterwards, MY SERVANT ISAIAH HATH WALKED NAKED AND BAREFOOT^e. Then, thirdly, The fact is represented as a SIGN and a WONDER^f, מוֹפֵת, a *strange sight* : which, if transacted in idea only, or told as a *parable*, was no *sight* to the people at all^g. Fourthly, It may be added, that if there were not these reasons for the *literal* interpretation, yet it is a safe and good rule of interpreting, never to recede from the *literal* construction without a manifest necessity ; and there is no such necessity in this case, because the objections made to it are all capable of receiving a just and rational answer, as may appear from what follows :

One pretended difficulty is, the great *indecenty* of the Prophet's going *naked* about the streets of Jerusalem. But to this it has been answered, that there is no necessity of supposing that he went altogether naked : the Hebrew word does not require any such rigorous construction : besides, if the sense were, *quite naked*, there would have been no need to add *barefoot*. Those are said to go *naked*, in the Scripture phrase, who either go without their *upper garments*^h, or have put off the habit proper to their *station* or *quality*ⁱ. Critics and commentators have vindicated the observation at large^k. The Prophet therefore went

^c Eusebius in Isa. c. xx. p. 438. Hieron. in loc. Cyrill. Alexandr. tom. ii. p. 300.

^d Isa. xx. 2.

^e Isa. xx. 3.

^f Isa. xx. 3.

^g Vid. Witsii Miscellan. vol. i. p. 89. Vitringa in loc.

^h John xxi. 7. Acts xix. 16. Mark xiv. 52. Conf. Gen. ix. 22, 23. Job xxii. 6. Matt. xxv. 36. 1 Cor. iv. 11. James ii. 15.

ⁱ 1 Sam. xix. 24. 2 Sam. vi. 20.

^k Witsii Miscellan. vol. i. p. 89.

not abroad quite naked, but *half naked*, (a fit type of the captivity, for captives are very rarely stripped quite naked,) having nothing on but a slight inner garment; which might be strange and unusual, but was neither absurd nor immodest.

Another seeming difficulty is, that he should do this for *three years* together, which appears to be a very needless waste of time for the delivering a single prophecy, not to be understood in this way till the three years' end; which yet might have been otherwise despatched, and competently understood in three days, or hours, or even less. To this it may be answered, that the Hebrew text does not say that Isaiah so walked for *three years* together: but the Masorite punctuation has carefully guarded against such construction. The LXX^l also, and Jerome^m, have been as careful in their versions, to prevent the like construction: and our oldest English versions have wisely followed them. Coverdale renders the text thus: WHEREAS MY SERVANT ESAYE GOETH NAKED AND BAREFOOTE, IT IS A TOKEN AND SIGNIFIENCE OF THE THING THAT AFTER THRE YERE SHAL COME UPON EGYPTE AND ETHIOPIA. Matthews's version is the same. The great Bible turns it better thus: LYKE AS MY SERVANT ESAY HATH WALKED NAKED AND BAREFOOTE FOR A SIGNE AND WONDRE THRE YERES UPON EGYPT AND ETHIOPIA. The Doway version I need not take notice of, because it is known to follow the Vulgate. The Geneva version first brought the English text to what it is at present: and whether those that have come after them have so prudently followed them in it, may justly be questioned. The text perhaps may best be thus rendered, conformable to the Hebrew original and the Masorite punctuation: AS MY SERVANT ISAIAH GOETH NAKED AND BAREFOOT FOR A TYPE AND EXEMPLAR OF THREE YEARS UPON EGYPT AND CUSH. So that what Isaiah did, was to signify that a three years' calamity should be brought upon the Egyptians and Cushites by the king of Assyria. That was what the Prophet intimated by going *naked* and *barefoot*. How long, or how often, is not said. It might be *three days* togetherⁿ, or *thrice* in the same day: but it was in such a way as prefigured

Vitringa in Isa. vol. i. p. 596. Noldii Concord. p. 917. Guarin. Grammat. Hebr. tom. ii. p. 240, 241. Glassius lib. v. tract. i. c. 16. p. 1923. Le Cene, Projet d'une Nouvelle Version, p. 583. Ross, his translator, (p. 280.)

^l Ὁν τρόπον πεπόρευται ὁ παῖς μου γυμνός καὶ ἀνυπόδητος· τρία ἔτη ἔσται

σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ Αἰθίοψιν. Sept. per Grab.

^m Sicut ambulavit servus meus Isaias nudus et discalciatus, trium annorum signum et portentum erit super Ægyptum et super Æthiopiā. Hieronym.

ⁿ Tantum teneo, probabile sse

three years. If the reader would see this matter discussed more at large, he may consult the very learned and judicious Vitringa upon the place.

It may still be pleaded, in opposition to the *literal* construction, that though the Prophet be supposed to have gone but *half naked*, and for *three days* only; yet even that must be thought to carry an appearance of a frantic or foolish man, and would not well comport with the gravity of so high and so eminent a Prophet of God. But to this it may be answered, that if there had not been some appearing impropriety in the action, something seemingly inconsistent with the character of so grave a man, it might not have answered the purpose it was intended for. The Prophet, who otherwise (through the iniquity of the times) could scarce obtain to be heard or attended to, was to appear in an uncommon garb, and with something particular in his manner, to strike the eyes, and to awaken the observation of all around him. This perhaps might expose him to the *derision* of unthinking and ignorant men, that could not see to the bottom of it: but the wiser and more judicious, apprehending the design, would admire and honour him the more for it. Let it be called putting on the guise and fashion of a *madman* or an *idiot*; very wise and excellent men may sometimes find reason for so doing: but if there had not been some impropriety or strangeness in the thing, it may be said that the Prophet would have been an *idiot* indeed, to expect (in such circumstances as we now suppose) any extraordinary notice to be taken of it, or regard paid to it.

Thus far I have been pleading for the *literal* construction, endeavouring at least to do justice to it, by representing fairly to the intelligent readers what may be said for it. But I intend not therefore to set aside the two other constructions, as deserving no further notice. Let them also have a fair and full hearing, and then let the readers judge.

2. Some, as I said, interpret the whole thing as transacted in *vision*. Of this mind was the famous Maimonides, as may appear from his words in Buxtorf's translation^o: and he is therein

Prophetam se hac specie per *triduum* publice ostentasse, etsi id in textu non exprimatur: ut *triduanus* ille incensus Prophetæ *triennem* afflictionem Ægyptiorum et Cuschæorum figuraret. *Vitringa in loc. p. 598.*

^o God bid him loose *the sackcloth*,

“&c. probably for *three days* together,
“&c. We suppose the time of the
“Prophet's nakedness (or *three days*)
“was typical, as well as the action.”
Bishop Chandler's Defence of Christianity, p. 204, 205.

^o Proinde non nisi in *visione* Pro-

followed by other Jewish interpreters. Our learned countryman Mr. Smith, in his *Select Discourses*, follows the same *hypothesis*, quoting Maimonides, with approbation, for it^q. Now, upon the foot of this construction, it is supposed, that Isaiah in prophetic *dream* or *vision* heard God speaking to him, (like as St. Peter heard a *voice* and saw a *vision*, while he lay in a *trance*^r;) and that in idea he transacted all that God so ordered him to do. He put off his shoes and his upper garment, walked *naked* and *barefoot*, as in a dream; and afterwards reported this prophetic dream or vision for the instruction of the Jews; like as St. Peter also reported his for the like purposes^r. And as St. Peter rehearsing the matter of his vision to the brethren, served the purpose as effectually as if the brethren themselves had seen it, so Isaiah, rehearsing his vision to the Jews, might as effectually serve his purpose, as if they themselves had seen him acting the thing related. In this way of interpreting the Prophet, all the difficulties of the *literal* construction are struck off at once; and therefore this *visional* interpretation appears to be preferable to the other, if it be not itself clogged with other difficulties as great as those. But there are some objections to be made to it; which being much the same as may be made also against the *parabolical* construction to be next mentioned, I may here pass them over, and consider them there.

3. The third construction then may be, that this narration of the Prophet is nothing else but a *parable* set down by way of narration, as parables use to be. It is first to be observed, here appear to be two parts, the *parable* itself, in verses 1, 2, and the *interpretation* or application of it in the verses following. When the Prophet Nathan delivered the parable of the ewe lamb to David, he immediately subjoined the interpretation of it, applying the whole to King David^s. In like manner, when

phetiæ factum fuit. Idem judicium est de eo quod dicitur: *Quemadmodum ambulavit servus meus Isaias nudus et discalceatus; utique in visionibus Dei et hoc factum est. Qui verò minus firmo judicio sunt præditi, illi hæc omnia ita intelligunt ac si Propheta narraret quid sibi injunctum fuerit, et quid re vera fecerit. Maimonid. Mor. Nevoch. p. ii. c. 46. p. 323.*

^p "Therefore this was done only
"in a prophetic vision (speaking of

"what Ezekiel did). The same sense likewise he passeth upon that story of Isaiah, ch. xx. 3, his walking naked and barefoot: wherein Isaiah was no otherwise a sign to Egypt and Ethiopia, or rather Arabia; where he dwelt not, and so could not more literally be a type therein than Ezekiel was here to the Jews." *Smith's Select Disc.* p. 228.

^q Acts x. 10, 17.

^r Acts xi. 4, 5, &c.

^s 2 Sam. xii.

Micaiah had entertained Ahab with a feigned narration or *parable*, he afterwards added both an interpretation and an application of the case in fiction to the case in fact^t. Now here in Isaiah, a story or parable is first told to this effect; that God came to the Prophet, and ordered him to put off his sandals and prophetic garb, and to walk naked and barefoot for *three days*, or *three years*, and Isaiah did so. Well: what means this parable? The meaning is, that the king of Assyria shall make Egypt and Cush go *naked and barefoot* for three years. This God has intimated to you beforehand, under the emblem or figure of what has been told of Isaiah, that so you may have the more lively idea of the thing, and the better retain it. Isaiah is to you, in this parable, the figure and emblem of what shall come to pass hereafter. Fix your imagination first upon him, as going naked and barefoot so long together, and therein see and bear in mind what shall come upon Egypt and Cush, whom you trust to and confide in for deliverance and protection, instead of trusting in God.

Now, taking the narration as a *parable*, and no more, it gives a lively representation of the thing intended, and may answer the purpose as well, or better, (because quicker, and told at once,) than Isaiah's really walking naked and barefoot might have done. In confirmation hereof, it may be added, that it seems a very proper method to make the Prophet himself the subject of the *parable*, while he is delivering the prophecy, and stands in sight. The representation is the more affecting, while the thing is thus transferred in a figure to the Prophet himself that relates it. The Prophet Isaiah, accordingly, speaking of himself and his two sons, says, BEHOLD, I AND THE CHILDREN WHOM THE LORD HATH GIVEN ME ARE FOR SIGNS AND FOR WONDERS (*in signa et portenta*) IN ISRAEL^u. That is to say, *signs* and *prognostications*, prefiguring things to come. מופת ordinarily signifies a *miracle*; but sometimes it denotes a *prognosticating sign*^x, or type: which is a kind of miracle, if it amounts to a real and certain prediction. And whether the Prophet be made the figure and exemplar in a *parable*, or in *real* action, it seems that he is equally מופת either way: so that there appears no

^t 1 Kings xxii.

^u Isa. viii. 18, compare Ezek. xii. 6, 11. xxiv. 24.

^x Deut. xiii. 1, 2. 1 Kings xiii. 2, 3.

Isa. xlv. 25. See also Bishop Chandler's Defence, p. 205, 210.

just objection to be drawn from the strict sense of that word, against interpreting the thing in the way of *parable*.

A further recommendation of the *parabolical* construction is, that the *unity of time* is best preserved by it. In verses the first and second of that chapter, it is noted, that in such a particular year, and at the precise time of the year, when Ashdod was besieged and taken by Tartan, the Lord spake by ISAIAH, (or to Isaiah,) ordering thus and thus: and in verse the third, as if it were the continuance of the same revelation, it is added, AND THE LORD SAID, LIKE AS MY SERVANT ISAIAH HATH WALKED, &c. One would have expected, that if this second part of what God spake had been delivered *three years*, or but *three days* after the first part, that the Prophet should have taken some notice of the distance of time, and should have expressed it thus; that after *three years*, or *three days*, the Lord came again, and said, &c. Like as we find in Ezekiel^z, where the *second* time of God's coming is noted as well as the first; one in the *evening*, the other in the *morning*. But here the thing is told in such a manner, as if the Lord had said all that he is there represented to say, at one and the same time. This is easily accounted for, if we interpret it in the way of *parable*, but not so easily on any other hypothesis. For, in the way of *literal* construction, some *years*, *days*, or at least *hours*, must have passed between God's speaking in verse the *second*, and his speaking again (though it is not said, *again*) in verse the *third*. And those that interpret it in the way of *vision* must allow as much time as was necessary for a succession of ideas in the Prophet's mind, first for his *loosing his sackcloth*; next, for his *putting off his shoes*; and then for his imaginary *walking* three years, or three days, about the streets of Jerusalem: which is a difficulty in that construction. But taking the whole to be a *parable*, there is no difficulty at all in that respect: for both the parable and the interpretation were then dictated at once, and would take up no more time in delivering to the Prophet, than he afterwards spent in delivering the same to the people.

Such are the reasons assignable for the *parabolical interpretation*: and there appears to be but one very material objection against it, that it seems to be making too bold with the text, since the story is told in as plain and express words as any real

^y See Noldius, p. 916.

^z Ezek. xii. 8.

history can be told in. But hereto it may be answered, that such is the way of delivering *parables*. Such was Nathan's parable delivered to king David: and such is the parable of the rich man and Lazarus. And such is the story of Ezekiel's digging in the walls of the temple of Jerusalem, when he was really at Babylon^a. There was no danger of such *parables* being taken for *real* history, by the persons to whom they were given: for they understood the manner of speaking perfectly well, having been much accustomed to it^b. Besides, the interpretation and application immediately following the parable, were sufficient to intimate that the whole narration was *emblematical*, and not *real* history.

Thus far I have been pleading in behalf of the *parabolical* construction, that, by laying before the reader the several pleas for three several constructions, I may be assistant to him, in some measure, for the passing a true judgment. I am of opinion that the *second* of the three, which I call the *visional*, may very justly be thrown out as useless, since it answers no difficulties but what are as well answered by the *third*, but has some difficulties of its own more than the third has: so the dispute will lie between the *first* and the *third*, between the *literal* and the *parabolical* construction. Maimonides and his followers are undoubtedly too rash in rejecting the *literal* interpretation as absurd or foolish: and others may be thought rather too scrupulous in judging it absolutely necessary to adhere to it. Very considerable men have judged differently in this matter; not because the difficulties here or there are insuperable, but because they are not so; and because either construction may be so reasonably defended as to look very plausible. Such as lay it down for an inviolable maxim that the *literal* construction ought never to be receded from but upon very *great necessity*; such, I say, must of consequence close in with the *literal* construction of this place, which carries no absurdity in it, nor any thing highly improbable: while such as think it sufficient to go upon the fairest probabilities, (be it for or against the *letter*),

^a Ezek. viii. 8. See Stillingfleet's *Letter to a Deist*, p. 131, 132. and Jenkins, vol. ii. p. 52, 53.

^b Familiare est Syris, et maxime Palæstinis, ad omnem sermonem suum *parabolas* jungere: ut quod simplex præceptum teneri ab auditoribus non potest, per similitudinem exem-

plaque teneatur. *Hieron. in Matt.* xviii. 23. tom. iv. p. 85.

See Lightfoot on *Matt.* xiii. 3. vol. ii. p. 193. Vitringa, *Observ. Sacr.* lib. iii. cap. 19. p. 762. Vitringa de *Vet. Synagog.* p. 678. Bishop Chandler's *Defence*, p. 197.

may incline in this case to take the *parabolical* construction, rather than the *literal*. But I leave it to the readers to determine as they see cause, after weighing the reasons on both sides. The main body of divines and critics have declared for the *literal* interpretation, as preferable; chiefly because there is nothing in the text or context which directly intimates that it was a mere *vision* or *parable*: a safe rule to go by in such cases^c. I have dwelt the longer on this article, because several more of like kind will come up in their turns: and if I have herein exceeded my usual bounds, this, as first occurring, was the properest place for it; and my doing it here will shorten my work as to the rest, which are to follow in their course.

ISAIAH LXIII. 17.

O LORD, WHY HAST THOU MADE US TO ERR FROM THY WAYS? I once thought to have omitted this text, because, as I have here cited it, it carries no difficulty in it. But our Objector, by curtailing it, was in hopes to make it serve his purpose. He quotes it thus: "O Lord, thou hast made us to err^d;" cutting off the rest which explain the meaning: and his intent in producing it is, to prove that God *deceived* his prophets, and his prophets the people. It is visible at first sight, that the text is foreign to his point. The meaning is no more than this: "O Lord, why hast thou so long deserted us, permitting us^e all "the while to go astray from thy commandments?" It is a pathetic expostulation with Almighty God, begging of him to return to his sinful people, to convert and heal them. If it be objected, that the words are express that "God made us to "err," it is allowed to be so in the English: but if the translators had chosen rather to say, *suffered* us to err, as Le Clero has^f, (after Junius, and Tremellius, and Piscator,) they might have done it without injuring the *letter*, or breaking in upon the

^c Ubi *visiones, ænigmata, parabolæ* et *schemata* exponuntur, Spiritus S. de figurato dictionis genere ut plurimum lectores admonuit; vel per disertam denominationem, vel per *ἀπόδοσιν* et *parabolæ* explicationem, vel per totius contextus structuram, vel per allegationem alibi factam, vel denique per alias a textu elucentes *διακρίσεως* notas. *Carpzov. Introd. ad Libr. Bibl.* part. iii. p. 352.

^d Christianity as Old &c. p. 256.

^e 'Ο προφήτης πάντα ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἀναφέρει· οὐχ ὡς τοῦ Θεοῦ αἰτίου ἡμῖν γινομένου τοῦ ἀμαρτάνειν· ἀλλ' ἐνδιόνοτος καὶ συγχωροῦντος ἐκεῖνα πράττειν ἃ ἂν τις αἰρήται. Ὡς τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν ἔχειν ἐξ ἡμῶν, τὴν δὲ ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεόν. *Euseb. in loc.* p. 583. conf. Origenis Philocal. cap. xxi. p. 56.

^f Cleric. in loc. Quare nos pateris, Jehova, aberrare a viis tuis? See also Le Cene, Projct, &c. p. 468. Ross, p. 132, 220.

rules of *grammar* or *criticisms*, and would have thereby better expressed the true sense of the passage. But it would be launching out into a beaten commonplace, to proceed further on this point; so I forbear. If the reader desires more, he may find enough among commentators upon the text, and especially in the learned Vitringa.

JEREMIAH IV. 10.

THEN SAID I, AH, LORD GOD! SURELY THOU HAST GREATLY DECEIVED THIS PEOPLE AND JERUSALEM, SAYING, YE SHALL HAVE PEACE; WHEREAS THE SWORD REACHETH UNTO THE SOUL. This text looks much more to the Objector's purpose than the former does; and is, at least, pertinently alleged^h, in order to prove that Scripture represents God as *deceiving* the prophets and people.

But to assoil this seeming difficulty, it may be proper to observe in the entrance, how, or upon what occasion, these words are brought in. Jeremiah in that chapter foretells the coming of Nebuchadnezzar upon Judah and Jerusalem: he is the LION who was to COME UP FROM HIS THICKET, to MAKE the land of Judæa DESOLATEⁱ. The prophet then goes on to describe the dreadful consternation that the *king, princes, priests, and prophets* of Judæa should be under, at that sad and unexpected turn of affairs. Hereupon the Prophet himself breaks out into a very pathetic ejaculation; AH, LORD GOD, &c. As to which, I may remark,

1. That the words may be taken *interrogatively*. So the LXX. of the common edition, and Jerome, take them: the Hebrew will bear it, though the ׀ *interrogativum*, the note of interrogation, be omitted, as in several other places of like kind^k. Our oldest English versions, as well as the later one of the Doway Bible, render thus: HAST THOU THEN DECEIVED THIS PEOPLE? &c. Indeed the Geneva translators preferred what we read at present: but then, to qualify the seeming harshness, they added an explanatory note in the margin; "By the false prophets which promised peace and tranquillitie: and thus thou hast punished their rebellious stubbornes, by causing them to hearken unto lies which would not beleve thy

^s Vid. Glassii Philol. Sacr. lib. iii. tract. 3. can. 11. p. 773. Guarin. Grammat. Hebr. tom. i. p. 522.

^h Christianity as Old &c. p. 256.

ⁱ Jerem. iv. 7.

^k See Le Cene, p. 151. Ross, p. 102.

“truth.” It were to be wished that the later English translators had either not so often followed the *Geneva version* in their over-scrupulous adherence to the very *letter* and *phraseology* of the original, or, if they resolved so to do, that they had added some marginal note also: for as too servile an adherence to the *letter*, in such cases, requires a cautionary, or explanatory note; so, if no note be intended, the translation itself ought to be a little the *freer* and *bolder* in expressing the *certain sense* of the original, so as to answer the end of strict version and note, both in one. But this I offer with submission to better judgments, if ever a proper time should come for revising and correcting our last English translation: which, though a very good one, and upon the whole scarce inferior to any, yet is undoubtedly capable of very great improvements; as Dr. Wells, Mr. Blackwall, and others have intimated¹. But to return.

As to this text in Jeremiah, it might, as I humbly conceive, have been well rendered *interrogatively*: but if we take the words as they lie in our version, then the sense is such as the Geneva translators point to; excepting that instead of “causing them to hearken,” &c. it should only be said, *suffering them*, &c. Or else the sense may be, as some very good critics^m have maintained, that God had *shown* in the event, and *exposed* to open view, the seduction of the people, by *disappointing* their fond expectations raised by *false* prophetsⁿ. The Prophet Jeremiah himself, in the same chapter, takes care to remove all pretence of charging God, by throwing the blame upon the people themselves: THY WAY AND THY DOINGS HAVE PROCURED THESE THINGS UNTO THEE; THIS IS THY WICKEDNESS, BECAUSE IT IS BITTER, BECAUSE IT REACHETH UNTO THINE HEART^o. Observe how this answers to verse the 10th. There, the sword is said to REACH UNTO THE SOUL; here, the reason for it is assigned, viz. because their WICKEDNESS had REACHED thither before. The people had been desperately wicked, would accept of no sober counsel, nor bear any just reproof: they loved *smooth* things, they delighted in *flattery* and *lies*; and therefore God

¹ Wells's General Preface to O. T. p. 5, &c. Ross's Essay for a New Translation; being an extract from the French of Le Cene. Blackwall's Sacred Classics, &c. vol. ii. cap. 3. p. 161, &c. and pref. p. xxi. &c.

^m See Glassius, Philolog. Sacr. lib.

iii. tract. 3. p. 784. Guarin. Grammat. Hebr. tom. i. p. 525. Witsii Miscellan. vol. i. p. 135, 138.

ⁿ Populum istum, per pseudoprophetas pacem denunciantes, deceptum ostendisti. Guarin. *ibid.*

^o Jer. iv. 18.

gave them up to *strong delusions*, and *suffered* them to be grossly imposed upon by *lying* prophets of their own choosing; prophets that SPAKE A VISION OF THEIR OWN HEART, AND NOT OUT OF THE MOUTH OF THE LORD^p; and that were wicked enough to say to the despisers of God and goodness, THE LORD HATH SAID, YE SHALL HAVE PEACE,—NO EVIL SHALL COME UPON YOU^q. By such *lying* prophets as these, God suffered those to be deceived who loved to be deceived, those that WALKED AFTER THE IMAGINATION OF THEIR OWN HEARTS^r. In Scripture phrase, God is frequently said to do what he *permits* to be done, because all events are in his disposal, and wait his pleasure. The device may be man's: but God directs it to better purposes than man could think of, and so by taking the thing into his own hands, and governing the issue of it, he makes it in a certain sense *his own*. I may observe, by the way, that Le Clerc takes too much freedom in his comment upon this text, and seems to forget the reverence due to an inspired writer. He fancies that the Prophet was almost beside himself, being overwhelmed with grief and anxiety, and so uttered such things as he would not have done upon cool and serious reflection^s: which is reviling God's Prophet, without any probable colour or handle for it, and betraying too much of an unbecoming levity of mind. For why must the Prophet's words be strained, in this case, to mean more than they really say, and more than the grammatical construction and Hebrew idiom require?

JEREMIAH VII. 22, 23.

I SPAKE NOT UNTO YOUR FATHERS, NOR COMMANDED THEM IN THE DAY THAT I BROUGHT THEM OUT OF THE LAND OF EGYPT, CONCERNING BURNT OFFERINGS OR SACRIFICES: BUT THIS THING COMMANDED I THEM, SAYING, OBEY MY VOICE, &c. The Objector passes a short censure upon this text; observing that, in the Old Testament, "things commanded are positively said not to be commanded^t." Then he cites part of what I have here cited, leaving the reader to imagine that Scripture contradicts itself. But such as attend

^p Jer. xxiii. 16.

^q Ibid. 17.

^r Ibid.

^s Grotius interpretatur, *Sivisti* decipi, quia sæpe apud Hebræos verba activa *permissionem* tantum significant. Verum hic plus dicit propheta, præ terrore, et dolore vix sui satis compos, cum audiret patriæ πανολε-

θρίαν nec sunt hæc ita capienda quasi sedato animo unquam censuisset a Deo verace posse quemquam decipi. — Sed anxius et perturbatus Jeremias ea dicit nunc, quæ nequaquam credebat. *Cleric. in loc.*

^t Christianity as Old &c. p. 336.

to the *sense* of Scripture more than to the *sound* of words will easily perceive how the case stands. Sacrifices, which were but *part* of duty, are here opposed to *entire* and *universal* obedience. Now the thing which God required and chiefly insisted upon was *universal* righteousness, and not *partial* obedience, which is next to no obedience, because not performed upon a true principle of obedience. God does not deny that he had required *sacrifices*: but he had *primarily* and *principally*^u required *obedience*, which included *sacrifices* and all other instances of duty as well as that: and he would not accept of such lame service as those sacrifices amounted to; for that was paying him *part* only in lieu of the *whole*.

Or we may say that sacrifices, the *outward work*, are here opposed to *obeying God's voice*: that is to say, the *shadow* is opposed to the *substance*, *apparent* duty to *real*, *hypocrisy* and empty *show* to *sincerity* and *truth*. Now the thing which God required and insisted upon was *obedience to his voice* in every thing: and he laid no stress upon *sacrifices* any further than as considered as *parts* of *true* obedience. Sacrifices separate from true holiness, or from a sincere love of God, were not the service which God required: for *hypocritical* services are no services, but abominations in his sight. He expected, he demanded *religious, devout* sacrifices: while his people brought him only outside *compliments* to flatter him, empty *formalities* to affront and dishonour him. These were not the things which God *spake of* or *commanded*: the sacrifices he spake of were pure sacrifices, to be offered up with a clean and upright heart. Those he required, and those only he would accept of, as real duty and service. The mere *opus operatum*, or outward work of offering up sacrifices, from a corrupt heart, was no *sacrificing to God*, any more than the *fasting* for strife and debate was *fasting to God*^x. Such sacrifices God detested, being a semblance only of duty, and not the duty required; a corruption and profanation of a holy rite, rather than a just and proper conformity to it. Sacrifices so profaned carried more of *human* corruption than of *Divine* institution in them, being a kind of *mock worship* which man had contrived, and not the *true worship* which God had enjoined. Enough, I presume, hath been said to take off

^u *Negatives* are often thus put for *comparatives*, Gen. xlv. 8. Exod. xvi. 8. 1 Sam. xv. 22. Hos. vi. 6. Mat-

thew ix. 13. John v. 45. See Guarin. Gramm. Heb. tom. i. p. 573.

^x See Zech. vii. 5. Isa. lviii. 4—7.

the Objector's cavils against the text. But for the further preventing some mistakes, which others have fallen into in relation to the same words, I may just observe :

1. That such as have drawn an argument from this text to prove that sacrifices have been owing to *human* invention, not to *Divine* appointment, have mistaken the point. Sacrifices were of *Divine* institution ; but the *corruption* of them is of *human* devising. God appointed *religious* and *devout* sacrifices, and men invented *hypocrisy* and *deceit*, debasing the true worship, which was of *Divine* original, into formal and empty worship, which in reality is no worship.

2. I may next observe, that such as argue from the same text for *moral* duties, in opposition to *positive*, are as widely mistaken as the former : for the text, in its true and full intent, condemns *moral* performances as much as *positive*, whenever separate from, or opposed to, true filial obedience. *Obedying God's voice* is the one thing requisite, and is what God commands and insists upon in all services, whether of a *moral* or *positive* nature. *Moral* performances are of no value but when they are really parts of sincere obedience towards God. If men are temperate in diet, chaste in their conversation, just in their dealings, or the like, only for worldly views, for health, or safety, or out of ostentation and vainglory, or for fear of human laws ; such morality being all outside show, or secular convenience, is not true morality, nor the obedience which God requires. Or if men give alms, and are strict observers of some *moral* precepts, in hopes thereby to compound with God, to be excused from other duties, and to procure, as it were, a license to sin, such moral performances are nothing worth ; they are not the *true* services which God requires, but are as empty and superficial as the *opus operatum* in *positive* duties.

On the other hand, it must be owned, that whenever *positive* duties are so performed as to become *true obedience*, they are as valuable in God's sight, as any *moral* performances whatever, because *obeying God's voice* is all in all. *Obedience* was the thing insisted upon with Adam, with Abraham, with Saul, and with many others, in *positive* instances ; and God laid as great a stress upon obedience there, as in any *moral* instances whatsoever. To conclude then, *moral* performances, without the obedience of the heart, are nothing ; and *positive* performances, without the like obedience, are nothing : but the sincere *obeying* of God's *voice* in

both is true religion and true morality. Such is the doctrine of the text which we have been considering: and while it is thus understood, it carries in it no repugnancy either to other Scriptures or to the rules of right reason.

JEREMIAH XIII. 4.

TAKE THE GIRDLE THAT THOU HAST GOT, WHICH IS UPON THY LOINS, AND ARISE, GO TO EUPHRATES, AND HIDE IT THERE IN A HOLE OF THE ROCK,—&c.

This is another of those texts which, according to our Objector, represents the prophets as “acting like madmen or idiots.” Here again I must observe, that there are three several ways of interpreting, which I have before called *literal*, *visional*, and *paraboli- cal*: and I am next briefly to examine the merits of each.

1. The commendation of the *literal* construction lies in these particulars; that it is *literal*; that it is *ancient*; and that it affords *rational solutions* of the difficulties objected to it. The *literal* construction of a text always claims the preference before any other, if there be not some very weighty reason against it, or some intimation in the text itself, that the words are figurative, or enigmatical. This is an allowed rule of interpretation, founded in the very nature and reason of things: and it is pleadable here, as well as in all other cases of like kind. The *antiquity* of the literal construction appears in some measure from the ancient fathers, Cyrill of Alexandria^z, and Theodoret^a; though Jerome, before them both, is an exception, and perhaps the first. The seeming difficulties which lie against the *literal* construction are several, and admit of various answers.

Jerome objects, that such *girdle* as is here mentioned was a *woman's girdle*^b, and not suitable to a prophet. But this is slight, since Jerome had no sufficient grounds for saying it: for *men* might wear *linen* girdles, and the high priest's was such ^c. He further objects, that Jeremiah could not at that time stir so far abroad, while Jerusalem (where he was) was closely besieged^d. But this objection, as Bochart observes, is grounded

^y Christianity as Old &c. p. 255.

^z Cyrill. Alexandr. in Oseam, tom. iii. p. 11. For though Cyrill does not particularly mention this place of Jeremiah; yet his general pleadings for the *literal* construction in other like places are as applicable here.

^a Theodoret in loc. tom. ii. p. 189.

^b Hieronymi Proœm. in Osec. Hie-

remias accinctus lumbari, veste muliebri, &c.

^c Levit. xvi. 4. See Bochart. Oper. tom. i. p. 955. edit. Lugd.

^d Quomodo exire poterat, et ire tam longe, obsessa Hierusalem, extractis per circuitum munitionibus, fossa, vallo, atque castellis? *Hieron. Proœm. in Os.*

on mistake only: for the Chaldeans were not yet come to lay siege to Jerusalem, as appears from verse 20. of that chapter. To which may be added, that chronologers now place this prophecy in the first year of Jehoiakim, 609 before the *Christian era*^e, and Nebuchadnezzar did not lay siege to Jerusalem till the year 606.

Others object, that it looks highly improbable, that so considerable a Prophet should be twice sent so long a journey, (a journey of near 200 leagues,) from Jerusalem to Euphrates, upon so slight an errand, only for the sake of *reporting* afterwards what he had done, when the reporting of a *vision* would have served the purpose altogether as well, with less waste of time and labour. But to this it may be answered, that the *burying of the girdle*, though that only is mentioned, might not be the whole of the errand: for who knows what other views or reasons infinite wisdom might have in it? Neither is it necessary to say, that Jeremiah went *twice* from Jerusalem to Euphrates: for he might stay in Chaldea till the *second* time came for his going to the Euphrates about the girdle.

If these solutions do not satisfy, the learned Bochart^f has another, which seems to cut off all the considerable difficulties at once. He observes, that פרת *Phrath* may reasonably be supposed to stand for אפרת *Ephrath*, (as it is a common thing for the initial *Aleph* to be so dropped in other names of places or persons,) and then *Ephrath* may mean *Ephratah*, that is, Bethlehem, which was but five or six miles from Jerusalem. So it was no great labour for the Prophet to go thither once and again, upon God's errand. To confirm this criticism, he argues, that if the text had intended the river Euphrates, it is somewhat strange that the Prophet should say (ver. 5.) that he hid the girdle בפרת *in Euphrates*, when it was not in Euphrates, but in a *rock* that he hid it, ver. 4. Again, he observes, that when in more than sixty other places Euphrates is mentioned, it is called *the river*, or the *great river*, and in two places only^g is simply called *Phrath*, there is the less probability that Euphrates should be here intended; especially considering that so uncommon an injunction might have required a very particular and express direction to ascertain the place. This is the sum of what

^e See Bedford's Scripture Chronology, p. 673.

^g Jerem. li. 61, 63. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 26.

^f Bochart. Oper. Posth. p. 956.

Bochart has offered for his ingenious solution of the difficulty: and I leave it with the reader to judge of as he sees reason. However, since the *literal* construction may yet appear not altogether unexceptionable, I may next proceed to mention such other constructions as have been offered; that so the readers, having all before them, may consider, upon the whole, which of them appears the best and safest to acquiesce in.

2. St. Jerome was of opinion, that all that is here told by the Prophet was performed only in idea, (*in typo*,) transacted in *vision*^h. Maimonides also, the famous Rabbi of the twelfth century, espoused the same opinionⁱ. Though it is not the opinion of all his countrymen before or after him: for Bochart^k mentions Solomon Jarchi, and Abarbenel, as differing from him; and he quotes Rabbi Kimchi as declaring directly against him^l. Nevertheless, several learned men since have thought it reasonable to interpret the whole, with Maimonides, of prophetic *vision*. Our learned Smith particularly, in his *Select Discourses*, expresses an unusual confidence in it, and a kind of zeal for it^m, as the only rational construction. Now the reasons which recommend this method of interpreting are, first, that it removes at once all the seeming or real difficulties of the *literal* construc-

^h Hieron. Procem. in Osee.

ⁱ Sicut quod de Abrahamo legitur, FUIT VERBUM AD ABRAHAMUM IN VISIONE DICENDO (Gen. xv. 1.) et in illa visione dicitur, ET EDUXIT ILLUM FORAS, ET DIXIT; SUSPICIE NUNC CÆLUM ET NUMERA STELLAS: sicut, inquam, clarum et evidens est, quod in *visione prophetica* factum fuerit quod viderit, ac si educeretur e loco in quo fuit, ut videre posset cœlum, et quod postea dictum fuerit, NUMERA STELLAS; ita dico de eo quod Jeremiæ injunctum et in mandatis datum fuit, UT ABSCONDAT CINGULUM IN EUPHRATE, et quod EUM ABSCONDERIT; deinde elapso longo tempore iterum quæsitum illud ierit, et CORRUPTUM AC PUTREFACTUM invenerit (Jerem. xiii. 4, 5, 6.) ita, inquam, aio hæc omnia in *visione prophetica* facta fuisse; neque Jeremiam e terra Israelis in Babylo-niam exivisse, aut Euphratem vidisse.

^k Bochart. Oper. Posth. p. 955.

^l Quod de cingulo dicitur, apte sensu reali intelligi potest, ut propheta

egerit plane uti ipsi fuerat a Deo præscriptum: etsi magnus et illustis vir et doctor justitiæ, Rabbi scilicet Moses Ben Maimon, id omne visione prophetica peractum scripserit. *Rabb. Kimch. ap. Bochart. ut supra.*

^m His words are, "So Jeremy xiii. "we have there a very precise narrative of Jeremiah's getting a linen girdle, and putting it on his loins; and "after a while he must needs take a "long journey to Euphrates, to hide it "there in a hole of the rock: and then "returning after many days, makes a "weary journey to the same place, to "take it out again after it was all corrupted. All which could manifestly "be nothing else but *merely imaginary*, the scope thereof being to "imprint this more deeply upon the "understanding of the prophet, that "the house of Judah and Israel, "which was nearly knit and united "to God, should be destroyed and "ruined." *Smith's Select Discourses*, p. 224.

tion. Secondly, It seems that a prophetic *vision* fully answers all the intents and purposes that the Prophet's *really* performing such things could do. It would be impertinent to pretend here, that symbolical *actions* of a prophet would be necessary to raise *attention*, or would be more forcible than mere narratives: for who, besides the Prophet himself, could see or observe all that the Prophet is supposed to have done, unless they also had attended him all the way through both his long journeys? The thing could no otherwise be notified to all the Jews at Jerusalem, but by the Prophet's *telling* it: and if he *reported a vision*, it might have made as strong an impression, and might as well have conveyed the intended instruction, as his *reporting a real fact*. Perhaps it might have answered the purpose better in some respects; because it would appear to many more *rational* and more *credible* than the other. It cannot be denied but that this looks well, and is a very plausible account of the whole affair: and had the text itself called it a *vision*, there could be no further doubt of it. But then it remains to be considered, whether the want of that single circumstance be sufficient to make us think it was not a *vision*, or whether there be not other instances of prophetic *visions* in Scripture, which are known only by the circumstances to be such, and are not called so in terms. So much in favour of the *visional* construction.

3. But there is yet a third construction, the *parabolical* construction, which deserves or requires to be heard in its turn. Much of what has been pleaded for the last is applicable to this also. For this removes all the inconveniences of the *literal* one, as much as the other: and a *parable* seems as well to answer the intended purpose, as either the report of *real fact*, or the telling a *vision*. But if it be objected that the "word of the Lord" is said (in the first ten verses of the chapter) to have come to the Prophet full four times, which argues that there were so many *real visions*; it may be answered, that that is not more plainly said, than it is said that Jeremiah went to Euphrates once and again, and performed what he was there commanded to perform: therefore the argument is not stronger for so many *real visions*, than it is for so many *real facts*. But it is a common thing for *parables* to follow the style and manner of a true narration. Why then may not the whole narrative pass for a *parable*, or an emblematical narration, like Micaiah's, who represents the Lord as doing and saying thus and thus, in a feigned narration,

but so contrived as to convey in a most lively and affecting manner the most important truths? See aboveⁿ.

There is one further advantage common both to the *visional* and *parabolical* construction, and which therefore might have been mentioned before, namely, that here we may understand by Phrath, the river Euphrates, being properly chosen in the *vision* or *parable*, to intimate that the Jews were to be carried captive over that river to Babylon: but as to Ephratah, or Bethlehem, which the learned Bochart by conjecture pitches upon, (only to take off a noted difficulty in the *literal* way,) it appears not what relation that place could have to the main subject-matter of the prophecy. And as to the criticism upon the phrase בפרת, as if it must necessarily signify *in Euphrates*, rather than *by Euphrates*, there is no certainty in it: for the Hebrew particle ב undoubtedly signifies either *in* or *by*^o, according as the circumstances of the text require. Thus far I have been pleading for the way of construction by *parable*; not making it my own, but doing justice, so far as I can, to it, and leaving it to the reader to think of it as he sees cause. I shall only add, that two very learned and judicious writers of our own, Bishop Stillingfleet^p and Dr. Jenkins^q, incline to the *parabolical* construction, as well here as in several other the like Scripture instances; and they seem to have favoured this kind of construction above the *literal* one, for such reasons as have been now mentioned^r.

JEREMIAH XV. 18.

O LORD—WILT THOU BE ALTOGETHER UNTO ME AS A LIAR, AND AS WATERS THAT FAIL? The Objector lays hold of this^s as an offensive passage: and I cannot say that he does it altogether without reason. But it is an English offence only: and I am sorry that our translators did not choose a juster rendering, or at least a more decent expression, when they might so easily have done it, and the context itself persuaded to it. The words

ⁿ Pages 312, 313.

^o See Noldii Concordant. p. 144.

^p Stillingfleet's Letter to a Deist, p. 131, 132.

^q Jenkins's Reasonableness, vol. ii. p. 50.

^r Bishop Stillingfleet speaks thus: "But you will say, these things are related as plain matters of fact, with the several circumstances belonging to them. It is true, they

"are so, but so parables use to be. "So was Nathan's to David; so is that of the rich man and Lazarus in the New Testament: so is Jeremiah's going to Euphrates to hide his girdle; for it is not very likely the Prophet should be sent eighteen or twenty days' journey into an enemy's country for no other end."

^s Christianity as Old &c. p. 256.

may be translated thus: WILT THOU BE ALTOGETHER UNTO ME AS A disappointment^t, AND AS WATERS THAT FAIL? OR, *waters not sure*. It is well known that נִכַּח often signifies, to *frustrate*, or *disappoint*^u: and it is no new thing for *Divine* wisdom to frustrate and disappoint *human* hopes and *human* expectations. Our translators in Isaiah lviii. 11. do not say, WHOSE WATERS *lie* NOT, but WHOSE WATERS FAIL NOT; because they thought *lie* an improper word to apply to *waters*: and surely *liar* is a word as improper to apply to Almighty God, if they had rightly considered it. They might very justly in that place of Isaiah have rendered *disappoint not*, as here in Jeremiah also, *disappointed*. And it is observable, that here in Jeremiah there is a plain allusion to brooks that dry up, and *disappoint* the thirsty traveller^x. The Prophet by his complaint in this place could mean no more than this, that God had in a manner deserted him for a time, had left him to struggle with difficulties and hardships unforeseen or unexpected, thereby *disappointing*, in some measure, his hopes of better success. Having suffered much and long from his cruel persecutors, he looks up to God, and pours out his complaint before him in pathetic strains, as if God had almost forsaken him, and as if the “fountain of living waters” had been in a manner dried up, or had refused to send forth its enlivening streams: a very just and elegant way of describing the uncomfortable condition which the Prophet at that time lay under. But yet, as if he had said too much, he corrects himself presently after, and expresses his entire confidence in the Divine promises to support and strengthen him, to MAKE him as A FENCED BRASEN WALL against his adversaries, to SAVE and to DELIVER him, and to rescue him OUT OF THE HAND OF THE TERRIBLEY. To conclude this article, had but the Objector taken the pains to read three verses forwards to the end of the chapter, he might easily have seen how little foundation there was for finding fault with what he had read in verse 18. excepting only the harshness of an ill-chosen word in an English translation.

JEREMIAH XX. 7.

O LORD, THOU HAST DECEIVED ME, AND I WAS DECEIVED: THOU ART STRONGER THAN I, AND HAST PREVAILED. Here again, the

^t Fies mihi ut frustratio. Cocceius
in *Lexic.*

^u Job xli. 9. Isa. lviii. 11. Mic. i. 14.

^x Compare Jer. ii. 13. xvii. 13.
Psal. xxxvi. 10.

^y Jer. xv. 19, 20, 21.

translation is harsh and faulty. But the margin had guarded the reader against misconstruction or offence, by the softening word *enticed*, put there for *deceived*. Indeed the word *enticed* much better expresses the sense of פָּתָה in this place, though it does not fully come up to it. The occasion of the words was this: the good Prophet had met with a large share of ill usage from an ungrateful people, for the faithful discharge of his prophetic office. Under these his calamitous circumstances, he looks up to God, and appeals to him, the Searcher of hearts, as his witness, that it was not through any ambition of his own that he had entered upon that invidious office^z; nor had he taken upon him, of his own accord, to reprove his countrymen: but all he had acted in that affair was done pursuant to a Divine call, and in pure obedience to Divine command. He would gladly have declined it, or even have run away from it; but God would not suffer him. Wherefore hereupon he says, speaking to Almighty God; THOU HAST OVER-PERSUADED ME, O LORD, AND I WAS OVER-PERSUADED, (so the words, I think, ought to be rendered^a.) THOU ART STRONGER THAN I, AND HAST PREVAILED. The passage carries in it a lively idea of the Prophet's great modesty and profound humility, in not affecting high things, or shining offices, but submitting however to the burden of them in obedience to the will of God. For what purpose, then, could the Objector produce this text? Let the reader observe, and marvel: he produced it to prove that prophets have been *deceived* by relying upon God's word; and of course, that the people also have been deceived by relying upon the word of those prophets^b. Never were premises and conclusion less allied, or at greater distance from each other.

JEREMIAH XXVII. 2, 3.

• THUS SAITH THE LORD TO ME; MAKE THEE BONDS AND YOKES, AND PUT THEM UPON THY NECK, AND SEND THEM TO THE KING OF EDOM, AND TO THE KING OF MOAB, AND TO THE KING OF THE AMMONITES, AND TO THE KING OF TYRUS, AND TO THE KING OF ZIDON, BY THE HAND OF THE MESSENGERS WHICH CAME TO JERUSALEM UNTO ZEDEKIAH KING OF JUDAH.

This is another text which the Objector finds fault with, as making the Prophets act like *madmen* or *idiots*^c. But his censure

^z See Jer. i. 6, 7, &c.

^a See Lowth upon the place. Vitringa in Isa. viii. 11. p. 215. Assembly's Annotations, and Pool's. De

Spagne Reformation de quelques Passages, &c. p. 22.

^b Christianity as Old &c. p. 256.

^c Ibid. p. 255.

here also is without foundation. As to the nature of the command here given by God to the Prophet, I take it to be in part figurative and metaphorical; signifying in a lively way what should be the fate of Zedekiah and the other kings in league with him. Jeremiah is commanded in another place^d, to TAKE THE WINE-CUP OF GOD'S FURY, and to CAUSE ALL THE NATIONS, whom he should be sent to, TO DRINK IT: and it follows, THEN TOOK I THE CUP AT THE LORD'S HAND, AND MADE ALL THE NATIONS TO DRINK, &c. Which means only, that he prophesied against them, and pronounced their doom. In like manner, his sending the *yokes* and *bonds* to the princes mentioned, seems to mean nothing more than his declaring from God the fate of those princes, by the token, and under the metaphor of *yokes* and *bonds*, to enliven the idea, and to make the prophecy more solemn and emphatical. The words of our learned Smith, being very apposite to our purpose, are here worth the inserting. "Just in the same mode " with this (of the Rechabites) we have another story told, xxv. " 15, 17, &c. of his taking a *wine-cup* from God, and his carrying " it up and down, far and near Jerusalem and the cities of " Judah, and the kings and princes thereof; to Pharaoh, king " of Egypt, and his servants, princes, and people: to all the " Arabians, and kings of the land of Uz: to the kings of the " land of the Philistines, Edom, Moab, Ammon; the kings of " Tyre and Sidon, and of the isles beyond the sea, Dedan, Tema, " Buz; the kings of Zimri, of the Medes and Persians, and all " the kings of the north: and all these he made to *drink* of the " *cup*. And in this fashion, chap. xxvii. he is sent up and down " with *yokes*, to put upon the necks of several kings: all which " can have no other sense than that which is merely *imaginary*; " though we be not told that all this was acted only in a *vision*: " for the nature of the thing would not permit any *real* perform- " ance thereof." Thus far he: and what he says appears to be very right in the main: only he must, I suppose, have allowed, that Jeremiah made some such *yokes* with *bonds*, (as it is certain he did put one upon himself^f.) to render the impression of what he was to say the more strong and lively. It was customary for prophets to prophesy by symbolical actions, or hieroglyphic figures; insomuch that even the false prophets took up the same practice in imitation of the true ones. The instance of Zedekiah's

^d Jer. xxv. 15, 16, 17.

^e Smith's Select Discourses, p. 226.

^f See Jer. xxviii. 10, 11, 12.

making himself *horns of iron*, and thereupon saying to Ahab, as from the Lord, WITH THESE SHALT THOU PUSH THE SYRIANS^g, &c. is a very remarkable one. And even in the New Testament we have an instance in the Prophet Agabus, who not content merely to foretell what should happen to St. Paul, represented it to the eye, in dumb show, by a symbolical action, binding his own hands and feet with Paul's girdle^h. I say then, that probably Jeremiah made several yokes, and put one upon his own neck, when he delivered his errand; and his so delivering the prophecy was *sending the yokes* to the princes mentionedⁱ. For we cannot reasonably suppose that the ambassadors took the yokes at his hands, and carried them to their respective masters. God revealed his design to the Prophet in such figurative, metaphorical language, and the Prophet reported the same as he had received it. The thing that God intended might be as clearly understood in this way, as in the plainer and simpler style of a mere prediction: but these ornamental figures and affecting images, interspersed with it, added new force and dignity to the Prophet's message, made it the more awful and solemn in the delivery, and gave it the advantage of a deeper and more durable impression.

EZEKIEL IV. 1, &c.

THOU ALSO, SON OF MAN, TAKE THREE A TILE, (a slate,) AND LAY IT BEFORE THEE, AND POURTRAY UPON IT THE CITY, EVEN JERUSALEM, &c. The Objector is much offended at some commands here given to Ezekiel, as making him also "act like a madman or an idiot^k." The Prophet was to draw Jerusalem upon a *slate*, was to lay *siege* to it, to *build a fort*, and to *cast a mound* against it: he was to set a *camp* against it, and *battering rams* round it; and was to take an *iron pan*, representing an *iron wall* between him and the city, and all this for a "sign to the house of Israel." He was moreover to lie three hundred and ninety days on his left, and then forty days together on his right side, without turning himself once during the three hundred and ninety, or the forty days; by the former, to represent God's bearing the idolatry of the

^g 1 Kings xxii.

^h Acts xxi. 11.

ⁱ Potest enim phraseologia esse allegorica, Jeremiæ haud insueta (conf. xxv. 15.) ita ut *dmissio jugi et lororum per legatos*, sit regibus per ipsorum legatos significare, servitutem hoc ipso signo ipsis portendi; cum præsertim

vix credibile sit harum gentium legatos (qui et ipsi hariolorum blanditiis irretiti erant v. 9.) vel voluisse, vel ausos fuisse juga ab Jeremia oblata, Dominis suis perferre. *Henric. Michael. Bibl. Hebraic. Hallens.* in notis ad loc.

^k Christianity as Old &c. p. 255.

house of Israel three hundred and ninety years, reckoning from the first of Jeroboam; and by the latter, to represent God's bearing the iniquity of the house of Judah forty years, reckoning from the eighteenth of Josiah. And the Prophet was to *bake his bread* with *man's dung*, or however with *cow's dung*, in token of the hard circumstances that the house of Judah should be in a little time reduced to. Now the question is, how far this description, or representation, is to be taken *literally* or *emblematically*; and whether the orders which God gave were intended as *real* commands and figures also, or only as *figures* of things to come, under the form of commands, signifying not what the Prophet was to perform, but what God in his all-wise counsels had determined to bring about.

1. As the generality of learned men have here pleaded for the *literal* interpretation, believing that the thing amounts to more than a prophetic scheme of speech; so it may be proper here, as in like cases before, to take notice of that construction. Witsius¹ and Bochart^m are two of its ablest advocates. They plead the authority of the ancient fathers, Basil, Chrysostom, Theodoret: and they endeavour to shew that all that is here commanded was practicable, and that the several circumstances mentioned carry no direct repugnancy or absurdity with them. It would be tedious to enter into particulars: I refer the reader to the authors themselves. It must be owned, that the clearing of the *literal* construction is first to be looked to, and the solutions offered are very ingenious and plausible, and such as ought to satisfy, if indeed there be a *necessity* for maintaining the *literal* hypothesis; and there are several reasons brought to prove such *necessity*ⁿ. One of the strongest of them is what Mr. Lowth^o mentions in these words: "The circumstances of this vision prove that the Prophet did *really* perform what is here related; or else it could not have been a SIGN UNTO THE HOUSE OF ISRAEL, verse 3." What force there may be in this, or other arguments offered in favour of the *letter*, may be considered presently.

2. For notwithstanding all that can be said on that side, very judicious interpreters choose to interpret in the way of *vision* or

¹ Witsius Miscell. vol. i. p. 94, &c.

^m Bochart. Oper. Posth. p. 958.
See also Lowth, Wells, in loc. Carp-zov. Introd. part. iii. p. 50.

ⁿ They are summed up in Witsius, p. 95, 96.

^o Lowth's Comment on the place, p. 256.

parable. Jerome himself is at the head of them, who declares some of the things commanded to be impracticable², but understanding them too rigorously. Maimonides also is exceeding positive in the case³, thinking the *literal* construction absurd, and expressing himself with more tartness than was necessary. He is seconded by several other learned men; particularly by Smith⁴, and by Bishop Stillingfleet⁵, and Dr. Jenkins⁶, amongst us: who conceive what is there related to be a history only of the *vision* itself, or to be a *prophetical scheme*. Another learned man, now lately, hath espoused the same sentiments, observing, that though we have in this chapter an account of such and such commands given in vision to Ezekiel, yet it is not said that he ever performed them⁷: but that like as St. Peter in a *vision* was commanded to do what he never did, (RISE, PETER, KILL AND EAT,) so Ezekiel was ordered, in the same way, to do several things which it was never intended he should perform. And as St. Peter reported his vision for the instruction of Christians; so Ezekiel reported his, for the instruction of the "house of Israel." Those *emblematical* commands, so reported, became *signs, figures, resemblances, prognostications* of what had or should come upon Israel or Judah, and in what *manner*, and *why*: and thus they were "signs unto the house of Israel," signifying things past, and prefiguring things to come. It appears not necessary to say that the Prophet *performed*, so much as in *vision*, the things there commanded: but in a vision he received

¶ Rerum natura non patitur, ut quisquam hominum per trecentos nonaginta dies in uno semper latere dormiat. Hieron. in Osee, i. 8.

¶ Ita quoque id quod dictum est ad eum: *Et tu sume tibi laterem, &c. et tu dormi super latus tuum sinistrum, &c. et tu cape tibi triticum et hordeum*: quod item alibi ei dictum legitur, *novaculam hanc tonsoriam cape tibi, et transire fac super caput tuum, et super barbam tuam*; ita, inquam, ista omnia in *visione prophetica* facta sunt, ac vidit, vel visum fuit ipsi, se ista opera facere quæ ipsi præcipiebantur. Absit enim ut Deus Prophetas suos *stultis* vel *ebriis* similes reddat, eosque *stultorum* aut *furiosorum* actiones facere jubeat. Præterquam quod præceptum illud ultimum *legi repugnasset*: fuit autem Ezechiel sacerdos magnus, et propterea ad duo illa præcepta negativa, de non radendo

angulo capitis, et angulo barbæ obligatus. Maimonid. Mor. Nev. part. ii. cap. 46. p. 323.

⁴ Smith's Select Discourses, p. 227, 228.

⁵ Stillingfleet's Letter to a Deist, p. 131.

⁶ Jenkins's Reasonableness, &c. vol. ii. p. 51.

⁷ Jussus fuit Ezechiel per 390 dies humi decumbere, in latus dextrum (leg. sinistrum) inclinatus, et vinculis constrictus, pane item vesci super stercus humanum accensum cocto: at vero nusquam dicitur propheta mandatum illud executus. Quare ambigi vix potest, quin eadem illius fuerit ratio ac ejus quod Petro datum Act. x. *jugula et comede immunda* juxta ac munda promiscue. Lakemacher, *Observat. Philolog. Helmsted.* 1730. vol. ii. p. 68.

such commands, which he afterwards considered not as formal commands, but as *types*, *emblems*, and *predictions* delivered to him in a preceptive form, in order to imprint the things intended the deeper upon his mind, and to make the representation thereof, to the people of the Jews, both more lively and more affecting. In this way of interpreting, all the difficulties of the *literal* construction are removed at once; and there appears to be no considerable objection remaining, nor any thing that can justly give offence.

But I must observe, that our Objector has betrayed some want of attention, in saying that Ezekiel was to “mix man’s dung with his bread^x :” that would have been too absurd to be commanded even in *vision*. *Man’s dung* was not ordered for the Prophet’s *food*, (as this gentleman too hastily imagined,) but for his *fuel*: and even that the Prophet excepted to, as *unclean*. Wherefore God permitted him to take other fuel, namely, *cow’s dung*, dried casings, to *bake* his bread with; which being clean and wholesome fuel, though not the most eligible, the Prophet had nothing to object against it. This circumstance of the story has been pleaded as an argument in favour of the literal construction: for why, say some, should the Prophet object to *man’s dung* at all, if all was *vision*, and none of the things commanded were to be *really* performed? But it may be replied, that a prophet under a vision or a trance, (like as in a dream,) takes the appearances as real for the time being, and retains the same sentiments of *clean* and *unclean* as before. So St. Peter, in his *trance* or *vision*, (Acts x.) made the like objection as Ezekiel did, against eating any thing *common* or *unclean*^a: and God gave answers in both cases respectively, such as were proper to each.

Objection also has been made to some things mentioned in the third and fifth chapters of the same Prophet Ezekiel: his “eating a roll^b,” and *shaving* his head and beard, and then *weighing* and *dividing* the hair^c; with several other circumstances of like nature, which God commanded him to observe. They seem all to be *emblematical*, and nothing more; *seeming*

^x Christianity as Old &c. p. 255.

^y Vid. Bochart. Oper. vol. i. p. 329.

^z Si sola imaginatione peracta fuerint omnia; non videtur tanta causa fuisse deprecandi ne stercus humanum excoqueretur: quæ indubie ma-

ior est, si cibum ita paratum re vera ori suo ingerere propheta debuerit. *Witsii Miscellan.* vol. i. p. 96.

^a Acts x. 14.

^b Ezek. iii. 1, 2.

^c Ezek. v. 1.

precepts, *real* predictions: and Divine Wisdom might the rather make choice of things improper, or some of them impracticable, that the Prophet might the sooner perceive that it was all *symbolical*; not directing him how or what to *act*, but how or what to apprehend, foresee, or foretell of things to come. That about the *roll* plainly belongs to Ezekiel's first vision; during which vision, he ate the *roll*, and therefore his eating was *visionary*, not *real*. And I may here note, what I should have noted before, that the reader may do well to consider, whether all that is related in the fourth chapter be not also supposed, though not so plainly, to be transacted in vision, by what is said chap. iii. 22, 23. THE HAND OF THE LORD WAS THERE UPON ME,—AND THE GLORY OF THE LORD STOOD THERE, AS THE GLORY I SAW BY THE RIVER CHEBAR^d. This description is much the same as in the first vision. And it is further observable, that in chap. viii. 1. it is said, THE HAND OF THE LORD GOD FELL THERE UPON ME, which are the introductory words to a long account of facts, which were undoubtedly transacted in *vision* only. If therefore the Prophet himself has obliquely intimated, as to chap. iv. that he reported nothing but a *vision*, there can then be no just objection to the *visional* construction of that chapter: and the fifth chapter is but a continuation of the same thing. But this I leave with the judicious.

In the twelfth chapter of the same prophet, we read of his "removing his household-stuff by night," as a type of the captivity, and of his "digging with his hand through the walls of his house," and his carrying off his goods in "the sight of the people;" as also of the people's coming to ask what he meant by such unusual conduct. I see no reason for thinking that the Prophet might not really perform all that and more, without difficulty, and without forfeiting either his discretion or gravity. Besides, the manner and circumstances of the whole narrative, as it stands in the Prophet, (being very different from what we meet with in several others,) plead strongly for the strict and literal interpretation. It is no less than seven times^e repeated, that the Prophet was to do, or did thus and thus, "in the sight" of the people: and he did it in the *evening*, in the "twilight"^f; and "in the morning"^g after, God came to ask him whether the house of Israel had taken notice of such

^d Ezek. i. 1, 2. ^e Ezek. xii. 3—7. ^f Ezek. xii. 7. ^g Ezek. xii. 8, 9.

his uncommon behaviour, and had inquired what it meant. These and other circumstances appear to be very cogent proofs of *real* fact, and that it is more than a narration of a *vision*, or recital of a *parable*. And therefore I cannot but think that it is going much too far from strict rule, to reject the *literal* sense here; though I know that a very pious and learned writer has done it^h, and that he had some appearance of *reason*, besides the authority of some Jewish interpreters, to countenance him in it.

EZEKIEL XII. 21, 22, 23.

AND THE WORD OF THE LORD CAME UNTO ME, SAYING, SON OF MAN, WHAT IS THAT PROVERB THAT YE HAVE IN THE LAND OF ISRAEL, SAYING, THE DAYS ARE PROLONGED, AND EVERY VISION FAILETH? TELL THEM THEREFORE, THUS SAITH THE LORD GOD; I WILL MAKE THIS PROVERB TO CEASE, AND THEY SHALL NO MORE USE IT AS A PROVERB IN ISRAEL; BUT SAY UNTO THEM, THE DAYS ARE AT HAND, AND THE EFFECT OF EVERY VISION. I have produced this passage at full length, that so the reader may see the whole meaning at once. Our Objector, according to his usual fairness and ingenuity, produces only a part of it, in order to prove that God *deceived* his Prophets by false appearances. "In another Prophet," says heⁱ, "the Lord says, 'THE DAYS ARE PROLONGED, AND EVERY VISION FAILS.'" Yes, the Lord said it, as the Lord said by the Psalmist, "There is no 'God^k;' that is, the Lord condemned the *fools* that said so, producing their sayings in order to reprove them. The words which our Objector cites as God's words were the words of *infidels*, who had turned the "grace of God into wantonness; taking

^h The words of Smith, in his Select Discourses, are as follow: "Again, chap. xii. we read of Ezekiel's removing his household-stuff in the night, as a type of the captivity, and of his digging with his hands through the wall of his house, and of the people's coming to take notice of this strange action, with many other uncouth ceremonies of the whole business, which carry no show of probability: and yet, verse the sixth, God declares upon this to him; *I have set thee for a sign to the house of Israel*: and verse the ninth, *Son of man, hath not the*

house of Israel, the rebellious house, said unto thee, What dost thou? As if all this had been done really; which indeed seems to be nothing else but a prophetic scheme. Neither was the Prophet any real sign, but only imaginary, as having the type of all those fates symbolically represented in his fancy, which were to befall the Jews: which sense Kimchi, a genuine commentator, follows, with others mentioned."
Smith, *ibid.* p. 228.

ⁱ Christianity as Old &c. p. 256.

^k Psalm xiv. i. liii. i.

“encouragement from his patience and longsuffering, to despise “his threatenings, as if they would never be fulfilled¹,” and to deride his Prophets, as if they had prophesied in vain. Any commentator almost that this gentleman could have looked into would have corrected his mistake, and might have prevented his exposing himself on this head.

EZEKIEL XIV. 9.

AND IF THE PROPHET BE DECEIVED WHEN HE HATH SPOKEN A THING, I THE LORD HAVE DECEIVED THAT PROPHET, AND I WILL STRETCH OUT MY HAND UPON HIM, AND WILL DESTROY HIM FROM THE MIDST OF MY PEOPLE ISRAEL. The remark made on this text is pointed and smart: “^mAnd if the Prophet is deceived, must not the people, who rely on that Prophet, be deceived?” Yes, certainly. But there was no occasion for pushing the point so far: it would have been mortification enough to all true lovers of the *Bible*, if it could but have been proved that God ever deceived his *prophets*. There lay the stress of the thing; and there the Objector should have rested his argument, if he had understood what he was upon.

The reader may please to observe, that Ezekiel (or God by Ezekiel) is here speaking of *false prophets*, or *anti-prophets*, as described in the foregoing chapter; such as had set themselves up in opposition to the true prophets of God. They were prophets that PROPHESED OUT OF THEIR OWN HEARTSⁿ: they were FOOLISH PROPHETS, THAT FOLLOWED THEIR OWN SPIRIT, AND SAW NOTHING^o of truth. They were such as HAD SEEN VANITY AND LYING DIVINATION, pretending to be God’s prophets, when THE LORD HAD NOT SENT THEM^p. They SEDUCED THE PEOPLE, SAYING, PEACE; AND THERE WAS NO PEACE^q. I say, it is one of the prophets of that wicked stamp^r, that Ezekiel speaks in the ninth verse of this fourteenth chapter; as may easily be perceived by what is said in the same verse, that God will STRETCH OUT HIS HAND upon the Prophet, and WILL DESTROY HIM^s: and

¹ Compare Isa. v. 19. Ezek. xi. 3. Amos v. 18. ² Pet. iii. 3, 4. and see Lowth in loc.

^m Christianity as Old &c. p. 256.

ⁿ Ezek. xiii. 2, 17. ^o Ezek. xiii. 3.

^p Ezek. xiii. 6, 7.

^q Ezek. xiii. 10, 16.

^r Non putemus de vero propheta dici, sed de pseudopropheta, qui *ωνυμους* propheta appellatur. *Hieron.* in loc.

^s See a remarkable instance of this kind in the vengeance taken upon the false prophet Hananiah, who had taught rebellion against the Lord, and made the people to trust in a lie. Jer. xxviii. 15, 16, 17. And there are two more such instances in the punishments inflicted upon two other lying prophets, Ahab and Zedekiah. Jer. xxix. 21, 22. See also verses 31, 32. of the same chapter.

in the next verse it is added, that THE PUNISHMENT OF THE PROPHET SHALL BE EVEN AS THE PUNISHMENT OF HIM THAT SEEKETH UNTO HIM. Which words carry a plain intimation that the Prophet here spoken of is understood to have been as bad as the idolaters here supposed to consult him, and to have been as much a false prophet as they were false worshippers; alike in temper and principles, and therefore also to be punished alike^t, for encouraging idol-worship under false pretences to inspiration.

Having seen then what kind of a prophet the text speaks of, it will now be the easier to explain the rest. God declares that he will DECEIVE (will *disappoint*, or will *infatuate*) such a prophet first, and next *destroy* him: he will give him up first to *strong delusions*, and then to *destruction*. The text may not improperly be rendered thus, according to Pfeiffer^u, a judicious interpreter and learned critic: IF THE PROPHET BE INFATUATED WHEN HE SPEAKETH A THING, I THE LORD WILL INFATUATE THAT PROPHET yet more. So the sense of the passage may amount nearly to the same with that of St. Paul^x, (or however the verb here may bear the like signification as ἐμώρπνε there,) GOD HATH MADE FOOLISH THE WISDOM OF THE WORLD: OR TO THAT WHICH ISAIAH SAYS; THAT FRUSTRATETH THE TOKENS OF LIARS, (lying prophets,) AND MAKETH DIVINERS MAD; THAT TURNETH WISE MEN BACKWARD, AND MAKETH THEIR KNOWLEDGE FOOLISH^y. But it is observable, that Isaiah subjoins, in the verse immediately following, THAT CONFIRMETH THE WORD OF HIS SERVANT, (Isaiah, his true prophet,) AND PERFORMETH

^t Salva res est, modo teneamus ad loc. cit. Ezéch. non de veris Dei, sed pseudoprophetis, idolorum cultoribus, sermonem esse, quos æque ac consulentes ipsos, se deceptorum Deus minatur; non errorem immittendo, sed non impediendo, permittendo, justoque judicio excæcando, mendacemque mendacis puniendo. *Carpzov. Introd. ad Libr. Bibl.* part. iii. p. 56.

De eo propheta agit qui consultoribus similis est; qui mercedem iniquitatis amans, amat iis quoque in erroribus et concupiscentiis suis adulari, dignumque se eodem judicio præstat. *Witsii Miscel.* vol. i. p. 137.

^u Recte judicat Bohlhii continuator (*De Form. Rad. Diss.* xiii. sect. 5.) formalem significationem vocis פִּרְוִי esse simplex fuit. Itaque conj. transitiva פִּרְוִי significat simplicem vel

fatuum fecit: scilicet, juste privando intellectu, seu judiciaria subtractione gratiæ illuminatricis; ut adeo verbum non exprimat malum culpæ, sed pœnæ. Q. d. Quod si propheta ita deliret, vel cum ratione insaniat, ut tale quid loquatur, ego Dominus faciam ut prorsus stultescat, adimendo ipsi omne lumen rationis, &c. *Pfeiffer. Dub. Vezat.* p. 876. alias *Oper.* vol. i. p. 411. *Conf. Le Cene,* p. 153. *Ross,* p. 102.

^x Ἐμώρπνε ὁ Θεὸς τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου; 1 Cor. i. 20.

^y Isa. xlv. 25. *Fatuos* eos redderet et *insanos*: sive quod eos ut insanos et fatuos publico risui exponeret, sive quod illos ob pœnitenda errata a se commissa in insaniam ageret. *Vitringa in Isa.* xlv. 25. p. 490.

THE COUNCIL OF HIS MESSENGERS^z. From whence may be perceived, how God illuminates the understandings, and ratifies the predictions of his own true prophets, while he *infatuates* the counsels, and *disappoints* the lying confidence of evil men and seducers. So this text of Ezekiel, rightly understood, makes nothing at all to the Objector's purpose.

EZEKIEL XX. 25.

I GAVE THEM ALSO STATUTES THAT WERE NOT GOOD, AND JUDGMENTS WHEREBY THEY SHOULD NOT LIVE. The Objector hereupon says^a: "Does not Scripture, if taken literally, suppose that God does things of the greatest moment in anger and fury? Was it not thus he gave his favourite people STATUTES WHICH WERE NOT GOOD, and judgments by which they could not live?" The Characteristics have a glance at the same thought^b, referring to Dr. Spencer, who understands this text of God's *ritual* laws; as several other interpreters, ancient and modern, have too unwarily done. God intended not here his *own statutes* or *judgments*, but the *idolatrour* statutes and judgments, the corrupt principles and practices of the heathen nations, to which he sometimes gave up and abandoned his own people, because they had first deserted and abandoned him. That this is the true, genuine, and certain sense of the text, may be made appear, as follows:

1. It is observable, that God here describes these statutes and judgments by characters directly opposite to what he gives of his *own* in the same chapter. For in the eleventh, thirteenth, and twenty-first verses, he says, I GAVE THEM MY STATUTES, AND SHEWED THEM MY JUDGMENTS, WHICH IF A MAN DO, HE SHALL EVEN LIVE IN THEM. This is the character he here gives of his *own* laws, conformable to what he had given in Leviticus, where he says, YE SHALL DO MY JUDGMENTS, AND KEEP MINE OBDINANCES, TO WALK THEREIN: I AM THE LORD YOUR GOD. YE SHALL THEREFORE KEEP MY STATUTES AND MY JUDGMENTS: WHICH IF A MAN DO, HE SHALL LIVE IN THEM^c. Which words are plainly to be understood of the whole system of the Jewish laws, *ceremonial*, *judicial*, and *moral*; to the keeping of which, *life* was promised; as to the breaking of any of them a *curse* was annexed^d. I say then, that the character of God's *own* laws (*ritual* as well as others) was, that a man should "live in them."

^z Isa. xlv. 26. compare 1 Sam. iii. 19, 20.

^a Christianity as Old &c. p. 251.

^b Characteristics, vol. iii. p. 55.

^c Levit. xviii. 4, 5. compare Rom.

x. 5. Gal. iii. 12.

^d Deut. xxvii. 26. Gal. iii. 10.

But now here in the twenty-fifth of this chapter of Ezekiel, God says, I GAVE THEM ALSO STATUTES (not *my* statutes) AND JUDGMENTS, (not *my* judgments,) WHEREBY THEY SHOULD NOT LIVE, directly contrary to what he had before said, both here and in Leviticus, of his *own* statutes at large. So that it is highly unreasonable, or rather absurd, to understand *both* of God's own statutes.

2. It is further observable, that in verse 11. of this chapter, God had spoken of his giving his own laws to his people; and he proceeds afterwards, verse 13, &c. to speak of the frowardness of the people, and of their contemning those laws of his, and of his forbearance with them in the *wilderness* notwithstanding: but that at length, by way of punishment to them, he did what he mentions verse 25. WHEREFORE I GAVE THEM ALSO STATUTES THAT WERE NOT GOOD, &c. So that these statutes cannot be the same with those laws of Moses given before, but must be different statutes.

3. After God's mentioning the statutes "whereby they should "not live," he immediately adds, (verse 26,) AND I POLLUTED THEM IN THEIR OWN GIFTS, IN THAT THEY CAUSED TO PASS THROUGH THE FIRE (to be sacrificed or consecrated in fire to Moloch^e) ALL THAT OPENETH THE WOMB, THAT I MIGHT MAKE THEM DESOLATE. This may be sufficient to intimate what kind of *statutes* and *judgments* God is here speaking of; namely, the rites and practices of the heathen, whereby God *polluted* them, that is, gave them up to their own hearts' lusts, to defile and *pollute* themselves^f: wherefore it is said in verse 31. of this chapter, WHEN YE OFFER YOUR GIFTS, WHEN YE MAKE YOUR SONS TO PASS THROUGH THE FIRE, (to be consecrated in fire,) YE POLLUTE YOURSELVES WITH ALL YOUR IDOLS, EVEN UNTO THIS DAY. The Israelites had provoked God many ways, and more especially by their frequent idolatries; and therefore God gave them up to the vilest and most deplorable idolatry of all, namely, that of sacrificing "their sons and daughters unto devils," offering them up as burnt-offerings to Moloch. These were the statutes NOT GOOD: that is to say, the *worst that could be*; for such is the force of that expression according to the Hebrew idiom^g. It is said moreover, verse 18. of the same chapter, WALK YE NOT IN

^e See verse 31. and Vitringa, Observ. Sacr. lib. ii. c. i. p. 267.

^f *Reddidit igitur Deus Israelitas, impuros, quando occulto suo judicio*

permissit, ut cultu omnium impurissimo se contaminarint. Vitringa, *ibid.*

^g Vitringa, Observat. Sacr. lib. ii. c. i. p. 265. Vitringa in Isa. vol. i.

THE STATUTES OF YOUR FATHERS, NEITHER OBSERVE THEIR JUDGMENTS, NOR DEFILE YOURSELVES WITH THEIR IDOLS. Here we have mention made of *statutes* and of *judgments*, (the same words in the Hebrew as in verse 25,) but not meaning God's statutes or judgments, but the corrupt *customs* or *manners* of their idolatrous ancestors, such as God *permitted*, or gave them up to, because they chose such: as is intimated in verse 25. I have observed, upon another occasion, that [רן] is frequently used in the *permissive* sense: and therefore, I GAVE THEM, in verse 25, may amount to no more than *I suffered* such things^h.

4. To all which may be added, that St. Stephen, in the Acts of the Apostlesⁱ, seems to be the best interpreter of the text now before us, when he says; GOD TURNED, AND GAVE THEM UP TO WORSHIP THE HOST OF HEAVEN, &c. That was giving them up to *statutes* that were *not good*, and to *judgments* whereby they *should not live*, to corrupt customs, and impure rites of the heathen. To confirm which we may observe, that by the Prophet Jeremiah^k God threatens the like judgment to his offending people. THEREFORE WILL I CAST YOU OUT OF THIS LAND INTO A LAND THAT YE KNOW NOT, NEITHER YE NOR YOUR FATHERS; AND THERE SHALL YE SERVE OTHER GODS DAY AND NIGHT; WHERE I WILL NOT SHEW YOU FAVOUR. And in this very chapter of Ezekiel, God says; GO YE, SERVE YE EVERY ONE HIS IDOLS, AND HEREAFTER ALSO, IF YE WILL NOT HEARKEN UNTO ME: BUT POLLUTE YE MY HOLY NAME NO MORE WITH YOUR GIFTS AND WITH YOUR IDOLS^l.

5. Though enough has been pleaded, as I conceive, from the context itself, as well as from other Scriptures, and from the very nature of the thing, to prove that this text ought not to be understood of the *ceremonial* laws of the Jewish state, but of quite another thing, yet it may not be improper to throw in an authority or two, to back the interpretation now given, that it may not be thought singular.

p. 247, 486. Pool's Annotations in loc.

^h "Not appointing or enjoining them, but permitting them to make such for themselves; much like that (Rom. i. 24.) giving up to a *reprobate sense*: or that 2 Thess. ii. 11. and Psalm lxxi. 11, 12, "Orders and rules which they first invented, next approved, and lastly

"made their established religion; "where all that they could love in it "was, that it was their *own*." Pool's *Annotat*.

ⁱ Acts vii. 42. Vid. Vitringa, *Observ. Sacr. lib. ii. c. 1. p. 266*.

^k Jerem. xviii. 13, compare Deut. iv. 27, 28. xxviii. 36, 37.

^l Ezek. xx. 39.

The Chaldee Paraphrast interprets the text thus: "I cast them out, and delivered them into the hand of their enemies: and they went after their own foolish lust, and made statutes which were not right, and laws by which you shall not live." Among the moderns, Vitringa has more particularly examined this matter, to whose observations I owe most that I have said upon it, and to whom, for further satisfaction, I would refer the reader. I shall throw into the bottom of the page his general judgment or decision, concerning this text, in his own words^m. Le Cene has another solution, understanding the words interrogatively, and making some other alterationsⁿ: but his solution appears not so natural or so just as what I have mentioned, and therefore I need not say more of it.

HOSEA I. 2.

AND THE LORD SAID TO HOSEA, GO, TAKE UNTO THEE A WIFE OF WHOREDOMS AND CHILDREN OF WHOREDOMS: FOR THE LAND HATH COMMITTED GREAT WHOREDOM, DEPARTING FROM THE LORD. The Objector remarks, (256,) "The Prophet Hosea, who was likewise a priest, was bid to take a wife of whoredoms, (though that by Moses's law was forbid a *priest*.) and children of whoredoms, and had three children by his wife. to whom the Lord himself gave names." It is no argument of this gentleman's discretion, to lay the stress of his objection upon a blunder in point of fact. How does it appear that Hosea was a *priest*? I know no Scripture, nor so much as tradition for it°. The Objector, perhaps, was thinking of Ezekiel, (who indeed was a *priest*.) and through forgetfulness applied it to Hosea, as it struck his fancy, and furnished him with something plausible against the literal construction of the text. Hosea, I conceive, was no priest, but a *prophet* only; and therefore might (notwithstanding what this gentleman has urged) marry "a wife of whoredoms:"

^m Chorus est eruditorum virorum qui de *præceptis ceremonialibus* hæc intelligunt, et remotione Israelitarum ab altari, utpote quibus substituti Levitæ sunt. Ego vero eos in pretio et honore habeo: nihilominus tamen libere profiteor, huic opinioni nunquam me potuisse consentire, ob rationes non leves sane et futiles, sed solidas prægnantesque; ex *serie orationis, φράσεως insolentia, verbis aliis textus immixtis, antecedentium conse-*

quentiumque nexu, et Scripturarum ἀλληλουχία petitas. *Vitring. Observ. Sacr.* lib. ii. c. i. Compare also Lowth and Wells.

ⁿ Le Cene, *Projet, &c.* p. 153, &c. Ross, p. 102.

^o Hosea was not of the family of Aaron, nor tribe of Levi, but of the tribe of Issachar, as the generality of the learned seem to agree. See *Carpzov. Introd. ad Lib. Bibl.* part. iii. p. 274.

though I understand here a wife which after marriage, however chaste before, should prove false to her marriage vow^p: and so the case of Hosea and Gomer might be the apter parallel to represent the case of God and his people Israel.

It must be owned that commentators and critics have divided upon this matter; some believing it to be a relation of *real fact*, others looking upon it as a prophetic scheme, a *vision*, or a *parable*. A clear and succinct history of the dispute, together with a summary of the reasons offered by the contending parties, may be seen in Poccoke upon the place. It would be tedious here, as well as superfluous, to repeat what he has said; and he has left but little room for addition. That very learned man, finding weighty reasons pleaded here and there, declined passing any decretory sentence, being content rather to report than to decide.^q Both parts of the question have considerable advocates and abettors: but still it must be owned, that the main stream of interpreters runs for the *literal* construction. The learned Carpzov, Professor of Divinity at Leipsic, (a very good judge of these matters,) is confident that what we here read in Hosea is a relation of *real fact*; but at the same time observing, that able and learned men are no less confident the other way^r. Augustus Pfeiffer, another eminent Leipsic Divine, (who wrote his *Dubia Vexata*, A. D. 1685.) he also is a zealous advocate for the *literal* interpretation^s, condemning, with some tartness, those that recede from it. There is another learned foreigner^t who has now very lately (A. D. 1730.) maintained the literal construction in a way somewhat peculiar: for he supposes that God's words to Hosea, though *imperatively* expressed, bear a *future* signification; not *commanding* him to take a wife of fornications, but

^p See Lowth and Wells.

^q Certum tamen, non in *visione*, sed *re vera* conjugem fornicariam ab Hosea, jussu numinis ductam, et liberos ab ea suscepisse: quod præter cæteros solide evicit Balth. Meisner. (Commentar. in Hos. i. p. 75, &c.) discussis et profigatis, quas in contrarium Polanus urget, rationibus. Quocum confer D. Steuberi Disp. in i. cap. Hoseæ T. V. Marpurg. Disp. xx. p. 235.

Utut me non fugiat, ingenti conatu oppositam nostræ sententiæ astruere allaborasse Joh. Tarnovium Exercit. Bibl. lib. ii. class. i. loc. viii. p. 605,

&c. Qui videatur. *Carpzov. Introd. ad Libr. Bibl.* part. iii. p. 277. conf. p. 284.

^r Pfeiffer. *Dub. Vexat.* Centur. iv. loc. 73. p. 433. edit. ult.

^s Quasi igitur sic Prophetam Deus allocutus esset, verba accipio: "Tu de conjugio ineundo consilium nunc cepisti; fiet autem in tam communi corruptela, ut feminam accipias scortationi deditam, et in uxorio etiam statu scortari non desituras." Symbolum igitur illa aptissima erit gentis Israeliticæ, quippe scorto adulteræque simillimæ. *Lakemacher, Observat. Philolog.* vol. ii. p. 70.

predicting to him that so it would be in such corrupt times, and making use of that instance in the way of emblem or similitude, to set forth the unfaithfulness of Israel, God's chosen people, towards him. Whether this hypothesis may be of any real service more than others, for the removing difficulties, I pretend not to say: but it shews, however, that the author is strongly persuaded that there is a necessity of maintaining the *reality* of the fact here related, as most of the interpreters, ancient and modern, have done. Poccoke observes, that this is by the Jewish expositors looked on as the ancient opinion of some of their Talmudical doctors: and amongst their later Rabbins, it is embraced by Abarbenel. The Christian Fathers, in general, may be said to espouse the same; as Irenæus^t, Basil^u, (or whoever is the author of a comment under his name,) Austin^x, Theodoret^y, and Cyril of Alexandria^z: though it appears from the two last mentioned, that the common interpretation had been then called in question by some, whom they smartly condemn for disputing so plain a case, as they supposed it to be.

Modern critics and commentators on the same side with those Fathers, are not easily numbered up; though Poccoke and Pfeiffer, taken together, go a good way towards it: and they two, with Steuberus^a, are principally to be consulted in relation to this matter, as having entered the deepest into it, and handled it most at large. I shall only add here, that the three latest commentators I have looked into, Calmet, Lowth, and Wells, all contend for the *literal* construction, for *real* fact.

Notwithstanding what has been said in favour of the literal interpretation, it will be but just to the reader to give some account of the figurative construction, that he may at least know what it is, or what it means, and why some have gone into it. I cannot represent it to better advantage than I find it

^t Irenæus contra Hæres. lib. iv. c. 20. s. 12. p. 257. edit. Bened.

^u Basil. in Isa. c. viii. p. 933. edit. Bened. N. B. The last editor allows not the commentary to be Basil's, but thinks it as ancient as the fourth century, or fifth at the latest.

^x Augustin. contra Faust. lib. xxii. c. 80. p. 410.

^y Theodoret. in loc. Oper. tom. ii. p. 704.

^z Cyrill. Alex. in loc. Oper. tom. iii. p. 11.

^a Steuberus's Dissertation has been lately reprinted in the first volume of the Thesaurus Theologico-Philologicus, among the critics, p. 938.

Pfeiffer, reckoning up the principal moderns of his side, names these following: Lyranus, Ribera, Calovius, Pappus, Gesnerus, Meisnerus, Waltherus, Glassius, Finkius, Danhawerus, Steuberus. To which I may add, Le Cene, Projet d'une Nouvelle Version, p. 436, &c. with his translator Ross, p. 114, &c.

already laid down in the words of the learned Mr. Bedford, as follows^b :

“ In the first chapter (of the Prophet Hosea) God, in a *parable*, orders him to marry an adulterous wife ; and so he takes “ Gomer, the daughter of Diblaim ; a name which may be thus “ interpreted, a complete and final desolation, the effect of a “ general corruption, like *decayed figs*, which are good for “ nothing. In this *parable* he is supposed to have children, “ by whose names he foretells several calamities : first, the ruin “ of the house of Jehu, by calling the first son Jezreel, &c.” There is nothing in this method of construing the text but what appears easy and natural ; excepting only that it is not called a *parable* in the text itself, and so it may be thought too presuming to make such of it. Jerome^c, among the Christian Fathers, and Maimonides, with several others among the Jewish interpreters, have not scrupled to depart from the *common* construction, preferring the *visional* or *paraboli- cal* : and they have been followed therein by several learned moderns^d mentioned in Pococke and Pfeiffer ; to whom more may be added that have appeared since^e. Now the ground of the difference between the two kinds of interpreters seems to lie chiefly in this : one side thinks, that while there is nothing plainly immoral or absurd in the thing itself, the *letter* of Scripture ought not to be receded from, lest the taking such a liberty should be an injury done to sacred Writ, and should lead to greater. The other side thinks, that while there is no plain force committed upon Scripture, (especially considering that the *prophetic* style is not subject to common rules,) it may be allowable to take such an interpretation as is least clogged with difficulties from the nature and reason of the thing. I may shut up this article with the calm and moderate words of the learned Pococke :

“ Seeing each is backed by great authority, and the main- “ tainers thereof will not yield to one another’s reasons, but “ keep to their own way, and accuse those that go otherwise, “ either of boldness or blindness, and some very learned men “ have not dared positively to determine in the matter ; it must “ be still left to the considerate reader to use his own judgment ;

^b Bedford’s Scripture Chronology, p. 646.

^c Hieronym. Proem. ad Osee, in Ezech. iv. 9.

^d Schafmannus, Junius, Polanus,

Drusius, Haksapanus, Pareus, Zanchius, Rivetus, Calvin, Smith.

^e Witsius, Miscellan. vol. i. p. 9. Stillingfleet’s Letter to a Deist, p. 129, 130. Jenkins, vol. ii. p. 52.

“ only with this caution, that he conceive nothing unworthy
 “ of God, or unbeseeming his holy Prophet, nor draw from the
 “ words any unsavoury or unhandsome conclusions^f.”

MICAH VI. 7.

SHALL I GIVE MY FIRSTBORN FOR MY TRANSGRESSION, THE FRUIT OF MY BODY FOR THE SIN OF MY SOUL? Here, because the sacrificing of children is mentioned among several other better things, whereby foolish men hoped to expiate their guilt, without leading a good life; our Objector from thence infers, that *human sacrifices* were required or approved by the Jewish laws. His words are: “ The Prophet Micah reckons the putting every
 “ devoted thing to death among the Jewish institutions. Here
 “ the sacrificing a man’s own children is mentioned equally with
 “ the sacrificing of beasts; which is allowed to be a Jewish
 “ institution. How absurdly must the Prophet be supposed to
 “ have argued, after he hath preferred *justice* and *mercy* to a
 “ thing commanded by God, if he should go on to prefer it to a
 “ thing abhorred by God!” The Prophet understood good reasoning much better than his corrector understands the Prophet: for he entirely mistakes the case. The Prophet’s business and design was to enumerate those vain expedients (of whatever kind they were) which men were apt to rely upon, in lieu of a good life: and because the sacrificing of their own children was one of the foolish expedients made use of for appeasing the Deity, he rejects that also, by name, among the rest, as vain and unprofitable. The Prophet very probably, had an eye to what king Ahaz (in whose reign, and after, he prophesied^h) had committed in that kind. Ahaz was one that had learned of the Moabites, or other idolaters, to sacrifice his own childrenⁱ. He MADE HIS SON TO PASS THROUGH THE FIRE^k: or, as the Hebrew may more properly be rendered^l, HE OFFERED UP (sacrificed) HIS SON IN THE FIRE, namely, to Baal, or to Moloch. In another place, it is said, plainly and directly, that HE BURNT HIS CHILDREN IN THE FIRE^m. Now because that inhuman practice was one of the foolish, as well as wicked devices whereby some considerable men hoped to appease Heaven, and to atone for sins, it was very proper for the Prophet to take notice of it among the other

^f Poccoke on Hosea, p. 6.

^g Christianity as Old &c. p. 95.

^h Micah i. 1.

ⁱ See 2 Kings iii. 27.

^k 2 Kings xvi. 3.

^l Vid. Vitringa, *Observ. Sacr. lib.*
 ii. c. 1. Cleric. in Deut. xviii. 21.

^m 2 Chron. xxviii. 3.

insufficient expedients thought of for that purpose. For though it might differ in its nature and quality from several other named, as *legal* differs from *illegal*, or as *commanded* from *forbidden*; yet since here the point to be considered was not the *nature* of the things, but their *use* or *subserviency* to the end aimed at, they are indifferently named together, as being equally *vain* and *fruitless*, one as well as the other, though not one as much as the other. In short, as this means was trusted to, as well as the other more proper expedients, so it was right to reject it also among the rest, as of no value or efficacy for the appeasing God, or procuring pardon of sins.

If our Objector cannot yet rightly apprehend the case, I shall endeavour to clear it up further by a resembling instance. Suppose we should tell the Romanists, that it is vain for them to think of appeasing God either by an *orthodox faith*, or by *hearing and praying*, or by a *zeal* for the *Church of Christ*, or even by *massacring of Protestants*, (whom they call *heretics*,) for that none of these things will stand them in any stead; a sound belief and an entire obedience to God's laws must save them, or nothing can: where would be the absurdity of such a remonstrance? It is true, that their *massacring of Protestants* is so far from being at all acceptable to God, that it is the very reverse: but yet because they fondly conceive that they merit by it, therefore in an application to them, it might be proper to mention that also, among other much better things, which they presumptuously confide in: and our so mentioning it would be no argument at all of our approving, or of our not abhorring so detestable a practice. In like manner, when the Prophet Micah took notice of *human sacrifices*, as one of the false stays which some rested upon, (among several others of a better kind,) he did not intend to signify that such sacrifices were *approved*, or were so much as *lawful*, or that they were not *hateful* and execrable in the sight of God and man. The sum of what the Prophet aimed at was this, and this only: that neither such sacrifices as the Law allowed, nor any humanly devised services which the Law had forbidden, would avail to procure the Divine mercy and favour: for a good and holy life, or universal righteousness, was the one thing necessary which God expected, and would insist upon: and without which, every thing else that could be named or invented would be altogether fruitless and vain.

ZECHARIAH III. 1, 2.

AND HE SHEWED ME JOSHUA THE HIGH PRIEST STANDING BEFORE THE ANGEL OF THE LORD, AND SATAN STANDING AT HIS RIGHT HAND TO RESIST HIM. AND THE LORD SAID UNTO SATAN, THE LORD REBUKE THEE, O SATAN; EVEN THE LORD THAT HATH CHOSEN JERUSALEM REBUKE THEE: IS NOT THIS A BRAND PLUCKED OUT OF THE FIRE? The Objector takes some notice of this textⁿ in passing, and very slightly. Having immediately before thrown a scornful reflection upon a passage in the Book of Job, which has been considered above, and observing that it is not to be taken *literally*, he adds, "The same may be said of the " Lord's saying at another time to Satan, standing at the right " hand of the angel," (at the right hand of the high priest Joshua, he should have said,) "to resist the high priest Joshua, standing " likewise before him, THE LORD REBUKE THEE, O SATAN." As to what this gentleman objects about *literally*, (a word of ambiguous meaning, and in which he loves to equivocate,) we may observe, that the words of this prophecy are undoubtedly to be interpreted *literally*, not *mystically*, or *allegorically*: but the thing was not literally or outwardly performed, being transacted in *idea* only, or in *vision*. That is to say, the Prophet Zechariah, in an heavenly ecstasy or vision, saw what is here related, had such ideas imprinted, by a Divine influx, upon his mind. As to the whole meaning of this Scripture, I may refer the reader to commentators for it, there being no difficulty that I am sensible of in it. At least, this gentleman has mentioned none, except it be such as I have before answered in considering the other texts in Job, or have now obviated by saying that the thing was transacted in *vision*, as is commonly allowed. There might be some pertinent questions asked in relation to this passage, by an able disputant, that should know how to object like a scholar and a man of parts: but since this gentleman has spared us, by his entering no deeper, it would look over-officious to engage any further in it.

I have now done with the texts of the Old Testament. There remain still some texts of the New Testament, which the Objector has been tampering with, in the same way of low criticism, and which (if God grants me life and health) will be all distinctly considered in a Fourth Part, to follow this in due time.

ⁿ Christianity as Old &c. p. 253.

A DEFENCE
OF THE
LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S;
PARTICULARLY IN RELATION TO THE
CHARGE OF PERSECUTION.
IN ANSWER TO
JONATHAN JONES, ESQ.

**Seest thou a man wise in his own conceit? There is more hope of a fool
than of him. PROV. xxvi. 12.**

A DEFENCE
OF THE
LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

THERE goes a pamphlet abroad, just published, entitled, Instructions to the Right Reverend Richard, Lord Bishop of St. David's, in Defence of Religious Liberty; by Jonathan Jones, Esq. The conceitedness of the title in some measure shews the man, and what we may expect from him. This gentleman, it seems, thinks himself qualified to be a public instructor, and to prescribe to our Prelates. It is not merely liberty of *private judgment*, that the fraternity are contending for, but liberty of setting up as apostles of infidelity, in opposition to the Christian guides, and to draw away people from paying any respect or deference to **CHRIST** and his religion. He begins with telling the world, that this excellent Prelate has published a defence of Christianity, begun and carried on with a *professed defence of persecution*. But where has this gentleman learned that the punishing of blasphemy and profaneness, or the executing the laws against irreligion and immorality, is *persecution*? We have heard of persecution for *religion*, for *conscience*, for *truth*: but what means persecution for *no religion*, *no conscience*, *no truth*? It is *prosecution* certainly that he means; only he has not been used to speak with the exactness of Divines. I pass over a page and a half which are mere impertinence, and of no significancy at all, but to shew how full the writer is of himself. He talks

magisterially about the Bishop's style, as if he were a judge of it; looks down with contempt and commiseration upon his Lordship; and with an air of superiority professes himself "heartily willing to set him right;" with more such pert, puerile insultings, quite out of character and decency; that one would take him for some young declaimer of the sect, just listed into the service, full of fire and mettle, and wanting the sedateness and caution of the older and graver infidels. "He would not offer this worthy Prelate his humble advice," he says, "without his ablest reasons, and therefore, &c.^a" What a favour is it to have his *advice*, unasked, and his *ablest reasons too!* it is mighty obliging, and very condescending in him, thus to teach his betters. His able reasons now follow in their order.

I.

The first runs thus: ^b "He (the Bishop) calls aloud upon the royal authority to draw the sword of vengeance, when he ought to remember, that prayers and tears are the only weapons of the Church." Could any thing be more impertinent or captious than this paragraph? The Bishop did remember that *prayers* and *tears* were the only weapons of the Church; and therefore it was that he called for the weapons of the State, in a matter belonging to their cognizance. But this author perhaps has blabbed out his wishes and expectations too soon, in supposing us reduced to the last refuge of *prayers* and *tears*, while there are courts of justice to support religion and virtue, and to punish offenders against either.

II.

"He (the Bishop) would have that religion to be maintained by fire and sword, which his great Master meant to establish in meekness and truth^c." His great Master and ours, undoubtedly, never meant to *make converts* by fire and sword, nor to *force belief* upon infidels: but he meant to leave the ruling powers of every state in the same condition as he found them; "to be a terror to evil doers," and to "execute wrath upon them that do evil^d." For the purpose, to correct those that needlessly and causelessly disturb the public tranquillity, to restrain those that libel the established religion, without offering any better, or any equivalent; to curb the insolence, and humble

^a Page 7.^b Ibid.^c Ibid.^d Rom. xiii. 4. 1 Pet. ii. 14.

the pride of such as fly in the face of authority, and pretend, without commission or qualifications, to instruct, and, under that colour, to insult their superiors. These and the like misdemeanors, arising from pride, and vanity, and a turbulent spirit, it concerns the magistrates to take cognizance of, and to punish as the laws direct.

III.

“ He (the Bishop) implores the vengeance of the secular arm “ in the cause of that God, who himself has said, Vengeance is “ mine, I will repay.” And where can the magistrate execute vengeance better, than in the cause of that God who gave him commission so to do, and who looks upon it as his vengeance when executed under him, and for him, by his vicegerents. True, the text says, “ Avenge not yourselves :” neither does the magistrate, in executing wrath, avenge *himself*, but the *public*; which would otherwise suffer from unruly and turbulent men. And it was never thought or imagined by any sober and intelligent man, except this forward instructor, that God had so confined all vengeance to himself, that he admitted no deputies to act under him.

IV.

“ And because his Lordship justly thought their Majesties “ had too much discernment and true religion, to persecute “ (leg. prosecute) men for God's sake, therefore he implores the “ royal power to do this execution for his own sake.” How free with his Lordship, and their Majesties too! and perfectly well qualified to judge of their *discernment*: though it may look a little too familiar towards their Majesties, to measure their discernment by his own, and to put nonsense and impertinence upon sacred royalty. I see nothing in the suggestion here against the Bishop but dull malice, like the rest. No doubt but his Lordship would have men, so obnoxious to the law, prosecuted and punished according to law, for the glory of God, the honour and welfare of his Majesty's person and government, and the good of the whole kingdom. Libelling religion in such a way as has been lately practised, if suffered to go on with impunity, may leave us neither religion, nor morals, nor strength, nor any thing but the most deplorable confusion.

* Page 7.

† Page 8.

V.

† “ His Lordship represents, that government cannot subsist
 “ if religion be taken away, because of the Divine restraints
 “ upon human hearts, which he thinks are expected in vain from
 “ laws and motives merely political.—His Lordship then should
 “ inform us how government subsisted for the first four thousand
 “ years of the world, when only the Jewish nation had Divine
 “ restraints, and all the people of the earth besides obeyed the
 “ higher powers from laws and motives merely political.—If he
 “ should reply, they had restraints upon them which they re-
 “ ceived as Divine, his Lordship will then equally advance im-
 “ posture and superstition with true and rational religion ; from
 “ whence it will follow, that the worship of false gods is of the
 “ same advantage to the higher powers as the religion of Jesus
 “ Christ^h.” Here observe, that this author directly asserts, that
 all the people of the earth (Jews excepted) “ obeyed the higher
 “ powers from laws and motives merely political.” This is
 thoughtlessly said of him, and more than he had need to have
 said ; only he has unawares discovered his principles, and shewn
 that his scheme is Atheism. A *Deist* would have said, that the
 rest of the world obeyed the higher powers from laws and motives
 of *natural* religion, which might seem a tolerable answer to the
 Bishop’s argument for *positive*. But this gentleman says roundly,
 that they obeyed upon motives *merely political*; which though
 entirely false, yet represents truly this author’s scheme, Atheism
 direct ; for whoever believes a God and a Providence, (which
 stand or fall together,) does not obey merely upon *political* mo-
 tives. The heathens, generally, did believe in one supreme God,
 and in a future state of eternal rewards and punishments, had a
 sense of the law of nature, and remains of ancient tradition, and
 some conscience ; and so by the strength of those principles,
 though mixed with much superstition, government was kept up
 and preserved in the heathen world ; and not by motives or laws
 merely political. Assyrians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, all
 had their respective religions, and all equally abhorred irreligion.
 The story of Diagoras and his prosecution for Atheism will set
 this matter in a clear light : I shall relate it in the words of the
 late learned Dean Prideaux[†] :

† Page 8.

^h Ibid.

[†] Connect. vol. i. p. 323.

" About this time happened at Athens the condemnation of
 " Diagoras the Melian. He having settled in that city, and
 " there taught Atheism, the Athenians prosecuted him for it.
 " But by flying out of that country he escaped the punishment
 " of death, which was intended for him, although not the sen-
 " tence. For the Athenians having in his absence condemned
 " him for his impious doctrine, did set a price upon his head,
 " and decreed the reward of a talent to whosoever should kill
 " him, wheresoever he should be found. And about twenty
 " years before, they had proceeded against Protagoras, another
 " philosopher, with the like severity, for only doubting of the
 " being of a God. For in the beginning of one of his books, he
 " having written thus, *Of the gods I know nothing, neither that*
 " *they are, nor that they are not, for there are many things that*
 " *hinder; the blindness of our understanding, and the shortness of*
 " *human life.* The Athenians would not endure so much as the
 " raising a doubt about this matter; but calling in all his books
 " by the common criers of the city, they caused them all pub-
 " licly to be burnt with infamy, and banished the author out of
 " their territories for ever. Both these had been the scholars
 " of Democritus, the first founder of the atomical philosophy,
 " which is indeed wholly an atheistical scheme. For though it
 " allows the being of a God in name, it takes it away in effect.
 " For by denying the power of God to create the world, and the
 " providence of God to govern the world, and the justice of God
 " to judge the world, they do the same in effect as if they had
 " denied his being. But this they durst not openly do even
 " among the heathens, for fear of punishment; the greater
 " shame is it to us, who in a Christian state permit so many
 " impious wretches to do this amongst us, with a free liberty
 " and absolute impunity." Thus far Dr. Prideaux.

Let the reader judge from hence, whether the heathen nations
 went upon motives merely political. The true ground of con-
 demning both Protagoras and Diagoras was their dissolving all
 ties of piety and conscience, by denying, or doubting of, the
 being of a God, and endeavouring to poison the minds of the
 people with such their atheistical scheme or schemes. Cicero in
 a few words may be understood to speak the sense of all the
 wiser part of the heathen world: "If we take away religion
 " towards the Gods, I question whether mutual trust, and
 " human society, and that most excellent virtue, justice, will

“not likewise be destroyed^k.” Speaking a little above of religion and sanctity, he says, “If we lose these, the consequence will be, disquiet in life and great confusion^l.”

But this we are told is “equally advancing imposture and “superstition, with true and rational religion^m.” It is indeed saying, that such mixed, imperfect religion, is better than none, is preferable to our author’s no-religion, or Atheism. It was useful to preserve government *as well* as the Christian religion is, but not *so much* as the Christian religion is, which is sufficient to take off this author’s childish playing upon the word *equally*. It was of advantage to the higher powers, but not of *so great* advantage : because no religion whatsoever is so pure or so peaceable as the religion of Christ, or so well fitted to preserve a constant and conscientious obedience to the higher powers.

VI.

“His Lordship would have the King, his sovereign, cease to “be father of his people, that he may become defender of the “faithⁿ.” No sure : but he desires his Majesty may ever continue “defender of the faith,” that so he may ever continue a “true father of his people.” But he goes on—“and implores “him to renounce that protection, which is equally due to the “subject, &c.” Cross purposes again. His Lordship only begs that his Majesty may protect his best and most religious subjects, by curbing and punishing some of the worst. I shall give the picture of infidels and infidelity in the words of the excellent Dr. I. Barrow^o :

“The naughtiness of infidelity will appear by considering its “effects and consequences, which are plainly a spawn of all vices “and villanies, a deluge of all mischiefs and outrages upon the “earth. For faith being removed, together with it all *conscience* “goeth, no virtue can remain : all sobriety of mind, all justice “in dealing, all security in conversation are packed away. No- “thing resteth to encourage men to any good, or restrain them “from any evil ; all hopes of reward from God, all fears of “punishment from him being discarded. No principle or rule “of practice is left, besides brutish sensuality, fond self-love,

^k Atque haud scio an pietate adversus Deos sublata, fides etiam, et societas humani generis, et una excellentissima virtus, justitia, tollatur. *Cicer. de Nat. Deor.* lib. i. c. 4.

^l Quibus sublatis perturbatio vitæ sequitur, et magna confusio. *Ibid.*

^m Page 8.

ⁿ Page 9.

^o Barrow’s Sermons, vol. iv. on Infidelity, p. 26. Oxf. edit. 1818.

“ private interest, in their highest pitch, without any bound or curb ; which therefore will dispose men to do nothing but to prey upon each other, with all cruel violence and base treachery. Every man thence will be a god to himself, a fiend to each other ; so that necessarily the world will thence be turned into a chaos and a hell, full of iniquity and impurity, of spite and rage, of misery and torment.”

The Instructor adds: “ This he (the Bishop) desires, to the end that his Majesty may persecute incredulous men, and force them, against their consent, to become orthodox believers.” Not one word of truth. What is desired is, that petulant, blaspheming libellers may be prosecuted according to law ; may be forced, against their will, to become modest, quiet, inoffensive, and may no longer fly in the face of the Establishment, and defy all laws, sacred and civil.

VII.

“ His Lordship represents the King's title to the crown as founded on the profession of Christianity, when he knows that it proceeded from principles of liberty, and has himself sworn, by the oath of supremacy, that the King is entirely independent on the church^q.” The laws of the land^r, I think, require, “ that whosoever shall succeed to the crown of Great Britain shall join in communion with the Established Church of England :” from whence, I suppose, the Bishop infers, and very justly, that his Majesty's title is, in part, founded on the profession of Christianity ; because he conceives that a man cannot profess the *Protestant* established religion, but he must at the same time profess the *Christian*. I see no flaw in this reasoning, (of the Bishop ;) but this author says, “ it proceeded from the principles of liberty.” And what if it did proceed from the principles of liberty ? Was there therefore any liberty left to profess another religion, or to profess none ? The legislature undoubtedly considered how necessary it would be to the happiness of these nations, and the security also of the crown, that prince and people should profess the same faith, and join in the same worship, as by law established, and by custom confirmed. And common sense must tell us, that a prince of no religion, (as this writer would have,) a professed favourer of

^p Page 9.

^q Ibid.

^r Annæ 4to.

^s Page 10.

atheism or infidelity, at the head of a *religious* people, would be as great an absurdity and incongruity, as a *Popish* prince over a *Protestant* kingdom. The Christian religion, as professed by our Church, provides best, both for the support of the crown and liberty of the subject; and so upon the principles of liberty, were there nothing else, irreligion, as leading to the most abject slavery both of prince and people, ought to be excluded. But the "Bishop^t has himself sworn, that the King is entirely "independent of the Church;" is supreme moderator and governor, he means: and what has this to do with the point in debate? The King is not the less supreme in this Church for professing to join in communion with it. For I suppose, his deserting the Church, or professing to join with none, would not make him more the head of the Church than before, or at all advance his ecclesiastical supremacy.

VIII.

"His Lordship poorly answers the popular clamour, that "they who implore the secular arm against infidels are friends "of persecution^u." I never heard before of any such *popular* clamour: there is a groundless, idle clamour of that kind, raised by an handful of men, in comparison, whom the most and best of the people abhor and detest. Some few perverse, conceited men would have a just *prosecution* for irreligion, blasphemy, and turbulency, called *persecution*; and they are singular in it: this is all I know of a popular clamour. But let us hear this writer in what follows: "His Lordship says, there is a real difference "between argument and buffoonery." His Lordship is much in the right; "as also that licentious invectives against the "founders of our religion, and the miracles which confirm the "truth of it, are no part of the liberties of a Christian nation." His Lordship's observation is a very just one, and unquestionably true. But his instructor here, instead of replying, diverts himself a while about Judge Jefferies^x, to run off from an argument which he cannot answer. When his merriment is over, he then puts on another air; an air of importance.—"I think it "an insult upon the British nation, that any bishop or church- "man whatsoever should dare to prescribe us laws, or limit our "liberty. A proceeding like this would have incurred an im-

^t Page 9.^u Page 8.^x Page 10.

“peachment in former times. Archbishop Laud was brought “to the scaffold for offences much less injurious to his country.” This is threatening language. This gentleman has forgot himself: he undertook to *instruct* the Bishop, and he does not consider that threatening is not proper for *instruction*, though it might be for *correction*. Every reader may not perceive the true meaning of all this passion and bluster; and therefore it is proper I should whisper him a secret; that this able reasoner is here perfectly gravelled, and has not one pertinent word to reply to the Bishop’s argument: such is the force of truth and reason, that its very fiercest opposers are obliged to submit to it, and can only bite the chains which they cannot get rid of. Who is it now, that *poorly* answers? The question was; whether libelling the Founder of our religion, and blaspheming his miracles, are any part of the liberties of a Christian nation? The law is the rule and the boundary of the subject’s liberty; and the law has absolutely precluded all such profane licentiousness. The Bishop speaks with the law, and this gentleman threatens him with *axe* and *scaffold*^z against law. Which is no strange thing in a man that can defy Heaven, and blaspheme Omnipotence: but yet it comes very oddly from one that is pleading on the side of mercy, and for the liberties of mankind; and who perhaps has already forfeited the protection of the laws, and owes his liberty and all that he enjoys to the lenity of the government, and to the gentleness of that very religion which he insults and blasphemes. He goes on wandering from the question, because he sees where he is pinched.—“The great council of the nation are only qualified to say what liberties “belong to the nation^a.” True, in points undetermined by law: but in things which have been long legally fixed and determined, the great council of the nation speaks by the standing laws; which are the measure of the subject’s liberties, till repealed by the same authority that gave them.

IX.

“The prosecution carried on against Woolston, at the earnest application of particular Prelates, shews what spirit they are “of^b.” As to the prosecution carried on against Mr. Woolston, if the poor man be in his senses, it is certainly right.

^y Page 19.^z Page 10.^a Page 11.^b Ibid.

Those that prosecute him, no doubt, judge him to be so. And if it be at the application of *particular Prelates*, as this writer says^c, (of which I know nothing,) as they also take him to be in his senses, they do no more than is their duty to do; acting therein, as I conceive, from a true Christian and apostolical spirit, tender of the interests of our most holy religion, zealous for the glory of God and the good of souls, watchful against deceivers and ravening wolves, that tear the flock of Christ, and continually walk about, seeking whom they may devour. It is a gross mistake to imagine that prosecuting offenders in a legal way has any thing at all of an ill spirit in it; since it is the kindest and best natured office that can be, when there is a necessity for it. To neglect it, at such times, is to expose the best men to the insults and oppressions of the worst, and is indeed ill-nature and cruelty to the *public*, which is the greatest cruelty a man can be guilty of.

X.

“They have little sincerity when they declaim against the free use of irony and ridicule, in contradistinction to the liberty of serious argument, because the judgment which they solicited and obtained in Westminster Hall is this, viz.^d

“*Christianity being part of the common law of England, all attempts to subvert or overthrow Christianity must be punishable by common law, because they tend to overthrow the common law.*

“So that by this judgment all arguments against Christianity, whether serious or ludicrous, are equally attempts to subvert Christianity, and consequently to be punished alike by common law^e.” I admit the premises according to the determination of the judges, and the inference also which this writer draws from them; namely, that arguments against Christianity, be they serious or ludicrous, are indifferently (not always in the same degree, or with the same guiltiness) attempts to subvert Christianity, and are consequently to be punished, according to the degree of their malignity, one as well as the other. I see what fallacy this author is aiming at, in *equally and alike*: I detected him before doing the same thing; and so it is enough now to have just mentioned it. As to irony and ridicule, they are either good or bad, according as they are properly or improperly employed. When they are used in a right manner, at

^c Page 11.^d Ibid.^e Page 12.

a right time, and to right purposes, the use of them is good just as the use of wine, or feasts, or any other indifferent things : but when, instead of well using them, they are abused or mis-employed, to serve the ends of pride, passion, vanity, immorality, atheism, &c., then the use of them is bad.

Those that have particularly condemned the use of *irony* and *ridicule* in the cause of profaneness, or against Christianity, did not, I presume, intend altogether to acquit even serious arguments, in the same cause, from blame : if they did, I must take leave to dissent from them. *Sobrius accessit ad evertendam rem-publicam*, is no commendable character ; such a person, in some circumstances, may be a more dangerous and a more detestable man, than a *joker* or a *buffoon* that aims at the same thing. But, I suppose, what some ingenious and very worthy persons meant, in speaking more favourably of sober reasoning, was chiefly with a view to other controversies, where some part of Christianity only, and not the whole, is struck at, and where a much greater tenderness may reasonably be allowed than to professed infidels. Or if they had not that in view, they might not perhaps accurately distinguish between the *general* case and this *particular*. A ludicrous way of writing, generally speaking, betrays a greater unaliginity, as shewing that men are advanced to the *seat* of the *scornor*. Besides that, in that way, there is less colour or pretence for *conscience*, which is a plea that the laws have justly indulged : for however a man may sometimes, with a tolerable grace, plead conscience for a modest opposition to some things established, yet he can never with any face pretend he is indispensably obliged to lampoon an establishment, or to make ballads upon it. I may add further, that childish levity, frothiness, and buffoonery, shew little or nothing of a serious regard to truth, and therefore least of all deserve any favour or indulgence. To say all in a few words ; in many cases, a ludicrous manner of opposing received doctrines may deserve censure, where a modest and serious opposition might be excusable. But in some of greater importance, neither serious nor ludicrous ought to be endured : and one of these cases is, when any persons endeavour to poison the minds of the people with atheistical principles of irreligion and infidelity. Be the poison ever so soberly administered, it is poison still, and will do mischief, more or less, in any vehicle whatever. But to proceed.

XI.

“ Observe what an essential difference there is between the judgment of the law, and the Lord Bishop of London : one says, whatever denies the truth of Christianity, tends to subvert it ; while the other maintains, and does verily believe, the more freely it is discussed, the more firmly it will stand.^f” The judgment of the law and the judgment of the Bishop may both be very right, and very consistent with each other : for the one speaks of the *natural* and *general* tendency of a thing ; the other of the *accidental* effect. I hope it may be said without offence, that rebellion often serves *accidentally* to strengthen a government, while its *natural* or *general* tendency is destructive of it. For which reason a rebel, though accidentally serviceable to the crown, yet deserves to be hanged for rebelling ; and he must take it as a favour, if, after he is caught, he escapes the gallows.

XII.

“ It is not the punishment of buffoonery that men of sense oppose : but they can never approve a judgment, which, if carried into a precedent, must be a total restraint upon all religious inquiries, and all arguments in general on any subject, whether pleasant or grave.^g” As to his men of sense, and their approving or disapproving ; it matters not. Their sense, one may be sure, is of a pitch with his own, and we have seen what that is : and as they are parties in this case, their judgment is corrupt and biassed. But as to his plea, that all *religious inquiries* will be restrained, he should have said *irreligious*, which is quite the contrary, and alters the whole state of the argument. For he must not bear us in hand, that libelling Christ Jesus, flouting his miracles, running riot against both Testaments, and poisoning the minds of the people, can come under the soft name of *religious inquiries*. Mere inquiries do not satisfy these gentlemen, but they deal abroad their instructions, obtruding themselves as guides, listing proselytes, and forming a sect ; which is something more than making inquiries. However, there is field large enough left for *religious inquiries* within the bounds of decency, and without falling foul upon all revealed religion. But the fault lies in their ignorance, or their ill taste. They know

^f Page 12.^g Page 13.

nothing or relish nothing of the many innocent, useful inquiries, within the compass of theology, which are agreeable entertainment to wise men and scholars, and where there is room enough for a latitude of thought. It is a glorious liberty which we Englishmen enjoy, as it stands bounded by law: and we have good reason to thank God for it, and to wish it may never be abridged. But he that asks more, weakens our securities, and endangers what we have, and paves the way for slavery and bondage; whether it be Popery or prevailing infidelity, that this outrage and licentiousness should at length conclude in, the tyranny of either would be unsupportable, and our valuable liberties would expire. As to the tyranny of *Popery*, it is out of question; and, I think, as little doubt can be made of the other. Do but imagine all fear of God discarded, conscience and the expectation of future reckoning thrown off, and thereupon every wild passion let loose, and every lust excited; and what could be further added to make an hell upon earth? It is a pretty amusement for these gentlemen to be drawing infidel schemes, while they sit secure by the prevalence of religion still remaining amongst us: but if once their schemes were to prevail, and become general, they would soon find, that they themselves would no longer have liberty or leisure to sit down to write either in favour of infidelity or against it.

XIII.

“ When any of my Lords the Bishops do thus declare against persecution, whilst they are carrying on prosecution, or when they declare for liberty, whilst they thus solicit such a general restraint, all good Christians are highly concerned and deeply affected; and they have a due sense of that unblemished integrity and inviolated sincerity which ought ever to accompany the episcopal character^h.” Grave banter and contemptible grimace! As if this writer or his clan knew any thing of *good Christians*, or would regard their sentiments if they did: when their professed design is, (if they could effect it,) that there should not be one *good Christian*, nor so much as a Christian left in the kingdom. As to the difference between *persecution* and *prosecution*, enough hath been said above, whither I refer the reader.

^h Page 13.

XIV.

“ His Lordship maintains, that infidels who hate superstition “ must naturally favour the Pope: and that because they “ declaim against all sort of superstition, therefore they must “ approve the worst sort; namely, the Roman Catholic religion.” This is misrepresentation. I am confident that his Lordship has no suspicion of their favouring either the Popish or any religion. But wiser men than they have been made dupes of: and it is demonstrable, and has often been demonstrated, that they are really doing their dirty work for the Papists, whether they know it or no. A nation of atheists or infidels never was, never will be: but when they shall have shattered the fences, and broken down the barrier, which is the established Church, *Popery* will flow in like a torrent upon us. This consequence is very plain, but not altogether so plain as the being of a God and a providence, or as the truth of Christianity, or of human liberty, moral virtue, or a future reckoning; so that it is very possible that they who are blind in so many other respects may be here blind also.

XV.

“ And as he could not wholly deny his good liking of persecution, yet to soften that terrifying word, his Lordship will have “ it to be only nominal in England, while he allows it to be real in “ the Church of Rome. Thus fire and fagot are real persecution; but pillory, fine, and imprisonment, are only nominal^k.” This again is malicious perverting the Bishop’s sense, and grossly abusing the reader. His Lordship justly supposes the legal penalties to be no persecution, or persecution falsely so called. The Preston rebels might have called it persecution when they were punished; and with more colour of reason, because many of them might act upon *conscience*, misinformed. But the teachers of infidelity are plainly disturbers of the public peace, and have no pretence at all to *conscience*, in doing it. It is not the gentleness of the penalty, as being pillory and fine, (rather than fire and fagot,) that makes our legal penalties in this case no persecution: but it is that the penalties are just, and that infidel teachers are grievous *offenders* both against Church and State.

^l Page 14.^k Ibid.

XVI.

“ His Lordship would make her Majesty’s learning to preside
 “ in the debate between his Lordship and Woolston, though the
 “ royal authority is implored to prejudge the controversy, which
 “ is an insult to her high understanding, and a mockery of her
 “ illustrious person ; for he asks that judgment from her know-
 “ ledge, which is beforehand awarded by her power^l.” This
 gentleman is mistaken, if he imagines that her Majesty was
 desired to judge whether Christianity or infidelity ought to have
 the preference with her. That would indeed be an “ insult to
 “ her high understanding, and a mockery to her illustrious
 “ person,” to suppose that she could have a thought towards
 infidelity, or entertain any doubt of the truths of Christianity.
 But the dispute was laid before her Majesty to apprise her of
 the folly, madness, wickedness, and outrageousness of the in-
 sults made upon religion, that so her royal wisdom might judge
 of them, and of the necessity of suppressing them.

XVII.

“ The queen must undoubtedly relish his doctrine very ill, if
 “ we consider her frequent and pious interpositions, at foreign
 “ courts, in behalf of unhappy men distressed for their religious
 “ opinions^m.” Revery and chicanery ! What, because the Queen
 has a tenderness for men of *true religion*, therefore she must
 have the like for men of *no religion* ! because she supports those
 that maintain the Christian faith, therefore she must support
 those that oppose and overthrow it ! because she favours inno-
 cent, honest men, therefore she must of course favour evil men
 and delinquents ! which is just as much sense and as good logic,
 as if it were said, because she loves those that love their king
 and country, therefore she must of consequence love traitors or
 rebels. Is there not as wide a difference as possible in the
 cases, insomuch that the inference from the premises is the very
 reverse of what this writer draws from them. For if “ we con-
 “ sider her frequent and pious interpositions abroad in behalf of
 “ unhappy men” there, because they profess the true Christian and
 Protestant religion, how is it possible she should interpose in behalf
 of *infidels* at home, who are destroying that very religion which
 these distressed foreigners maintain ? Would not that be pulling

^l Page 15.^m Page 16.

down with one hand what she builds up with the other! Insolent affront to majesty, and unpardonable, if it were not contemptible. I know, the party are perpetually harping upon it, that Christ and his Apostles, and our first reformers, opposed establishments. They did so, and they had good cause for doing it. They disturbed the peace of the world, but they had an equivalent to offer, and made us more than sufficient amends for it: otherwise their attempts had been irregular and unjustifiable; and they had died impostors and rioters, and not martyrs. But what equivalent do these gentlemen offer us for disturbing the peace of the world? Rewards in heaven? They believe no such thing; or if they do, what rewards are we to have for infidelity or irreligion? Oh, but they give us *truth*. No, but it was the primitive martyrs, and the reformers that gave us *truth*; else why are they appealed to as examples? If our new doctors are in the true scheme, then the primitive martyrs and our reformers disturbed the peace of the world for no good end, for error only and mischief, and for the deception of mankind, and are no precedents to follow. Either therefore condemn them for causelessly disturbing the world, and then appeal thither for precedents: or if they did well, then these men, who teach directly contrary, do amiss, and can claim no countenance from their examples.

XVIII.

“ Their (the Indians) present condition is a much more eligible state than conversion on any such terms; for all men had better be savages than slaves; and whilst Christianity, by the cruelties of wicked men, is against liberty and happiness, it has but a poor recommendation to favour and esteemⁿ.” On the contrary, it would be to very little purpose to endeavour the conversion of the Indians, if every apostate Christian shall be suffered to publish scandalous libels against Christianity, to flout its Founder, to spread lies and slanders of him and his miracles, to misrepresent his doctrine, and to throw all the malicious reflections they can invent upon it, to hinder honest and well meaning men from looking into it, or from seeing the truth. Such conduct is wicked and immoral, and falls under the correction of the magistrate, as much as any other cheat or imposture. There can be no true liberty where such licentiousness is suffered with impunity. This is part of the savageness of corrupt nature,

ⁿ Page 17.

and is a contradiction to modesty, civility, humanity, and to every other virtue that can preserve society and make mankind happy. Not to mention what has been before hinted, that to seduce men to *infidelity* is making them slaves to every lust, passion, and folly imaginable; and what is more, it makes them tigers and cannibals to each other, while there is neither fear of God, nor conscience, nor future account to restrain them. Where every man is a tyrant, or disposed to be so, *slavery* is inevitable, and the most dreadful slavery that can be imagined. Yet these are the men that talk, as they love to talk idly, of the *liberties* of mankind.

XIX.

“ If every man by law ought to believe, what necessity have “ they for doctors to convert them^o?” We are not talking of forcing belief upon any man, but of repressing insults and petulance against the religion established; of correcting their conceitedness and arrogance, in not being content to enjoy their opinions to themselves, but striving to impose their irreligion, blasphemy, and profaneness, upon all men; which in reality is persecuting the establishment, and persecuting the truth.

Enough has been said in answer to the *introduction*. There follows a mock dedication to the Queen, a boyish performance, and thrown in, I suppose, to oblige the bookseller. What is argumental in it has been considered; the other trash is below notice. All I shall observe of it is, that besides the ludicrous, unmannerly insult upon a venerable Prelate, and Lord of Parliament, there is a breach of duty and decency in making so free with majesty, in one continued strain of flam and banter, which must give great offence to as many as have any reverence for crowned heads. Such fooling, if not properly animadverted upon, and seasonably suppressed, may arrive to a greater height, and be attended with very mischievous effects.

There is one objection, not mentioned in the book itself, but in the mock dedication, which, upon second thoughts, I have a mind to take notice of, for the insulting manner wherewith it is urged, and not for its strength, pertinence, or ingenuity. The author thus words it: ^p “ For, Madam,” speaking to the Queen, “ they are so far from trusting in their arguments offered for “ Christianity, that even when they offer them, they endeavour

^o Page 19.^p Page 5.

“ effectually to deter all men from answering them ; whilst they
 “ implore the civil magistrate to sheath the sword of vengeance
 “ in the heart of religious liberty,” &c. But let it be considered,
 if any man were to write against his Majesty’s title to the crown,
 (as these men write against our blessed Lord’s title to the Mes-
 siahship,) whether it would be thought disturbing his Majesty’s
 right, or the arguments by which it is defended, to have the
 traitor punished according to his deserts. Or suppose a minister
 of state, or peer of the realm, had been traduced by lies and
 slanders, would it argue any distrust in his cause or character,
 if, besides a written vindication of himself and confutation of the
 libel, he should further demand to have the libeller punished as
 the law directs? A vindication in such cases may be of use to
 undeceive those that have been imposed upon by misreport ; but
 perhaps may neither spread so fast nor so far as the calumny
 had done, or at least will be short of reparation even for the
 time present ; and as to the time to come, the libeller, if he is
 impudent and insolent, (as undoubtedly he will be, if not awed
 by penalties,) may immediately repeat the same calumnies, or
 invent new ones ; or if he does not, others may, and probably
 will, while encouraged by the impunity of the first libeller. So
 that though a vindication be ever so full and satisfactory, it may
 be further necessary to punish offenders, in order to prevent their
 repeating the offence, and to deter others from following their
 example.

Now to apply this reasoning to the point in hand ; this gentle-
 man may please to know that the defenders of Christianity have
 no distrust at all in their arguments or replies, nor any great
 idea of the adverse party, either as to their learning or their
 logic, especially in a cause so wretched and despicable : yet he is
 so far right, that those who prosecute infidels do discover a *dis-*
trust, (for every punishment is a kind of *caveat*, and implies
 distrust,) though nothing like to what he vainly imagines ; but
 the meaning of it is, 1. That be their arguments or replies ever
 so full and unanswerable, yet possibly they may not spread fast
 enough or far enough to undo the mischiefs which infidels have
 been doing. 2. That if they could get over that suspicion, yet
 they can by no means trust in the honesty, good sense, or
 modesty of infidels, who, if they escape with impunity, will
 presently renew the same wicked calumnies, though abundantly
 before confuted. Arguments are feeble artillery against insult :

and though they want no strength proper to them, yet they will no more stop a lying tongue, or scolding pen, than put by a sword, or turn off a bullet. 3. They can have no well grounded assurance as to other persons, but that they, at least, may revive the same calumnies, or invent greater, if not deterred by some exemplary severities. 4. They cannot altogether trust to the ingenuity, attention, or impartiality of several readers; and therefore they think it by no means proper, that libels against Christianity should be thrown among them, though answers also should be immediately sent after them: for where a constitution is infirm, the antidote may be insufficient to expel the poison. 5. They think it would be tedious, trifling, and endless, to permit every ignorant impertinent disputant to pelt Christianity, and impose upon weak readers, only that wiser and good men, who could employ their time better, may be constantly exercised in works so much below them; answering scurrilities. It would be reasonable in any other parallel case; then be it so in this. If it be reasonable to suffer men to be assaulted and wounded because surgeons may heal; or poison to be administered, because physicians may cure; or firebrands to be thrown abroad, because somebody may quench them; then may it be reasonable to permit infidels to propagate irreligion, because the pious Clergy may (if perchance they may) stop the effect of it. In all other cases of like nature, wise men are used to trust more to early precautions than to after remedies.

I shall conclude with observing how this libertine sect, within a very few years, have grown in assurance, and improved in confidence. When the author of the Grounds, &c. first published his piece, he was so modest as not to claim toleration or indulgence for himself, or his followers, directly; he knew it would be a gross affront to our laws and constitution, as well as to common sense; but being an artful man, he shuffles in his pleas for liberty under Mr. Whiston's name, in which view they looked tolerable, because there is much more to be said for a man of conscience and integrity, a mistaken believer, than for an infidel; and the pleas for liberty in one case are much stronger and more rational than in the other. However, it was not long before the *literal scheme* came abroad, which directly and with open face claimed a right to oppose publicly the legal establishment, in behalf even of *infidelity*. The same demand was pursued in some smaller pamphlets, and with a very unbecoming fierceness and

bitterness against the Bishop of Lichfield and Dr. Rogers. The latter replied to them in a set treatise, a very complete and finished performance upon the subject, which for closeness of argument, and strength of reason, as well as purity of style, is inimitable, and will stand the test. Notwithstanding which, this writer here carries on the same claim of liberty, against plain and express law; and not content with that, threatens bishops with *scaffolds*, and judges with the *bar* of the House, for standing by our constitution. His words are; "However terrible inferior tribunals may shew themselves, the proudest men that ever swelled in *scarlet* have often *kneeled* at the bar of that most august judicature⁹." This because the judges in Westminster Hall determined in favour of Christianity, as above mentioned. These are brisk advances in so short a time, and are sufficient to let us see what spirit they are of.

⁹ Page 11.

ADVICE
TO
A YOUNG STUDENT.
WITH A
METHOD OF STUDY
FOR
THE FIRST FOUR YEARS.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Essay was, for the most part, drawn up above thirty years ago, by an University Tutor^a, for the private use of his own pupils: and some improvements were afterwards made to it by a judicious friend. It was never intended for the public view, because, in the very nature of it, it should be often changing, in some parts, according as new and better books should come out. Besides, it might be thought assuming in a private Tutor to make his directions public, as if he affected to prescribe to other young Scholars, who might better be left to take directions from their proper Tutors.

But since this little Tract has, without the Author's knowledge, and contrary to his intentions, found a way to the press^b, incorrect in many things, and altered also in method to its disadvantage, it is thought proper to reprint it more correct, restoring it to its first state; that it may appear as perfect now as ever it has been.

To this edition are added such books in the sciences as have lately been published, and are now in use, without prescribing however to the Tutors of the Universities, who are the properest judges.

^a Dr. Waterland. ^b In the Republic of Letters for December 1729.

ADVICE

TO

A YOUNG STUDENT.

THE INTRODUCTION.

THE design of this is to be instead of a perpetual guide and monitor to a young student, till he takes a degree. I suppose him not without a tutor to direct, instruct, and admonish him, as occasion may require; but be a tutor ever so diligent, with any considerable number of pupils, he cannot be so particular and frequent in his instructions and advice to each of them as might be wished, or may be necessary to their well doing. To remedy this inconvenience, I have drawn up this system or manual of rules and directions, to be ready at hand for a young student's use, from the time of his first coming to college. He will find here more perhaps than any tutor can have time to say to every one of his pupils; and this small treatise lying on the table before him, may serve better than a tutor's repeating and inculcating such advices a thousand times over: or if a tutor is absent, or busy, or forgetful, or indisposed, or any other ways hindered, the student may go on in his business and his duty, if he will but carefully observe the rules that are here prescribed. It is, I am afraid, too true, that many young students miscarry, making little or no progress in their studies, or throwing them entirely aside, and giving themselves up to idleness and debauchery, for want of being put into a good method at first, or of a right understanding of what they ought to do: for, being at a loss where to begin, and how to proceed, they often throw away a great deal of time, either in fruitless or improper studies, or in doing nothing at all: and being tired of this, they afterwards seek out for pastimes; and falling in with

bad company, take ill courses, and so run headlong to their own ruin.

If the following papers may any way serve to prevent such *fatal miscarriages*, and help any young student to be both a *better man* and a *better scholar*, than otherwise he might be, (and it is to be hoped that with God's blessing, and due care, they may,) then the design of them is sufficiently answered, in obtaining so good an end.

I shall begin with some few advices and directions to a good and sober life; and afterwards proceed to lay down a method of study, with special rules and instructions relating thereto.

CHAP. I.

Directions for a religious and sober Life.

IT is not my design to give you your whole duty towards God, your neighbour, and yourself; which would be too large a task, and is needless, because you may find it done already by many excellent authors in print; some of which you should constantly have by you. You are to consider, that you are sent to the University, to be trained up for God's glory, and to do good in the world: remember therefore, in the first place, and above all things, to serve your Creator night and day. This is your greatest wisdom, and will be your greatest happiness: without this you must be wretched and miserable, both now and for ever. Endeavour then first to be *religious*, next to be *learned*: it is something to be a good scholar; but it is much more to be a good Christian. A sober man, with but a moderate share of learning, will be always preferable in the sight of God, and even of men too, or however of all wise men, to the most learned who want grace or goodness. Now in order to live a religious and sober life, observe carefully the following directions:

1. Be constant, morning and evening, to the prayers at chapel. This is a plain necessary duty; and no young student can reasonably hope for God's blessings on his studies, or any thing else, who slights and neglects it. Custom will make rising in the morning both easy and pleasant, provided you go to sleep in due time; which you should by all means do. Never sit up late at night, no, not to study; for besides that learning so got is too dearly bought at the expence of your health or eyesight, sitting up late will certainly tempt you to miss prayers

the next morning, or perhaps make you sleep over them, and disorder you all the day, and so hinder your progress in study much more than a few hours over night can further it.

2. Besides public prayers, be sure always to use in your chamber some short private devotions: have some book of devotion for this purpose, such as the Whole Duty of Man, the New Whole Duty of Man, Taylor's Golden Grove, and Nelson's Devotions, at least so long, as till you can gain a facility of praying *extempore*; which may be very proper in such private addresses, when you can do it readily.

3. Read a chapter of the Old or New Testament (but oftener of the New) every morning before you kneel down to pray: this will prepare you better for devotion, and will take up but little time. Do the same at night: half an hour may serve for each; and this will be no hinderance to your studies, or, however, so small, that it is not worth considering, in comparison of the great benefit you will reap by it; and God will bless you the more for it, enabling you to become both a wiser and a better man.

4. Have two or three religious books to read at fit seasons, for your instruction and improvement in piety and holiness; and peruse them often. Those beforementioned, with Thomas a Kempis, Nelson's Festivals, Goodman's Winter Evenings Conference, and the Gentleman Instructed, may perhaps be sufficient.

5. Never go to any tavern, or alehouse, unless sent for by some country friend; and then stay not long there, nor drink more than is convenient.

6. Covet not a large and general acquaintance; but be content with a very few visitants, and let those be good. Time is too precious to be thrown away upon company and visits: besides, there is danger of having your mind drawn off from your studies, or of being led aside by bad example or conversation.

7. Stay not out of your college any night beyond the regular hour, on any consideration whatever. If you once break the *rule*, when there seems to be good reason for it, you will be inclined to do so afterwards without any such reason. It is therefore much better to submit now and then to an inconvenience, than to break in upon a fixed and *stated rule*. Come in always before the gates are shut, winter and summer.

8. I must in a particular manner advise you to be obliging and yielding to your seniors in college, for the sake of peace and order. Bear with some little rudeness and some imperious carriage, if any be so foolish as to use them towards you: not but that you may have redress upon any the least grievance, by complaining to your tutor; yet it is better to yield and comply in some small matters, which will shew a good temper, and make you mightily beloved, and then you will have little or no occasion for complaints. Depend upon it, good nature and civility will by degrees gain the love of all, and will make you very easy amongst your companions.

9. Keep yourself always employed, excepting at those times that are allowed for recreation. Avoid idleness, otherwise called *lounging*: when you think you have nothing to do, you will be easily drawn to do ill. Idleness is the forerunner of *vice*, and the first step to *debauchery*: you must therefore use yourself to business, and never give way to laziness and sloth. And that you may not be at a loss what to do, and how to employ your time, I shall next proceed to set you out work, and to direct you how to begin and go on with it.

CHAP. II.

A Method of Study.

YOUR studies should be of three kinds, and all of them carried on together, convenient and proper seasons being allowed to every one. *Philosophy*, *classical* learning, and *divinity*, are the three kinds I mean. I omit law and physic, because I suppose you are designed for a Divine. As to the students of law and physic, because they are but few, it will be easy for a tutor to give particular directions to such by word of mouth, so far as concerns them in distinction from his other pupils. The generality of students are intended to be Clergymen, and as such must take the arts in their way. They must be acquainted with mathematics, geography, astronomy, chronology, and other parts of physics; besides logic, ethics, and metaphysics; all which I comprehend under the general name of *philosophy*, as being parts of it, or necessary by way of introduction to it. To *classical* learning, I refer the study of the languages, and of oratory, history, poetry, and the like; and all these are preparatory to *divinity*, or subservient to it. I shall treat of them

severally in a distinct chapter, so far as is necessary to my design ; and afterwards give you a general scheme of the method to be used, the time to be allowed, and the books to be read, with other matters relating to them.

CHAP. III.

Directions for the Study of Philosophy.

1. BEGIN not with philosophy, till your tutor reads lectures to you in it: it is not easy to understand without a master; and *time* is too precious to be thrown away so, especially when it may be usefully laid out upon classics. At first, after you have been at philosophy lectures, look no further than your lecture book, without special directions from your tutor, or from this paper: it will be time misspent, to endeavour to go further than you can understand. Get your lectures well every day; and that may be sufficient in these studies, for the first half year at least.

2. Set aside your mornings and evenings for philosophy, when you begin to understand it; leaving your afternoons for classics. The former is a study which requires a cool clear head, and therefore mornings especially are the fittest time for it.

3. After you come to have a competent knowledge in philosophy, take short notes of any question which you find discussed in any author: set down the question in a little paper book, and under it the name of the book, with the chapter and page: by this means, if you have been diligent, in two or three years' time you will have a collection of the most considerable questions in philosophy, and will know upon occasion what books to consult *pro* and *con* upon any question.

4. Set a mark in the margin of your book, when you do not understand any thing, and consult other books which may help to explain it: or if you cannot thus master the difficulty, apply to some friend that can, or to your tutor.

CHAP. IV.

General Directions for the Study of Classics.

1. LET your afternoons, as much of them as can be spared from afternoon lectures, if you have any, be spent in reading classic authors, Greek and Latin.

2. Begin with those mentioned in this paper, taking them in order as they lie : read the first through before you begin the second, and so on, unless you are very much straitened in your time.

3. Read not too fast, but be sure to understand so far as you have read : one book carefully read over, and thoroughly understood, will improve you more, than twenty huddled over in haste, in a careless manner. Pass by no difficulty, but consult Dictionaries, Lexicons, and notes ; and if none of these answer your doubts, inquire of some friend, or of your tutor.

4. Some books may be laid aside, after they have been once carefully read over and understood : others must be read over and over, for patterns and models to form your own style by in prose or verse. Of the latter sort are three especially, and those perhaps are enough ; Terence, Tully, Virgil.

5. Be provided with some books of Greek and Roman antiquities, which you may once read over, and afterwards consult upon occasion. Kennet's Roman Antiquities and Potter's Greek Antiquities may suffice : you may add to them Echard's Roman History.

6. Have a *quarto* paper book for a commonplace, in Mr. Locke's method, to refer any thing curious to ; any elegancies of speech, any uncommon phrases, or any remarkable sayings. This will keep you from sleeping over your book, will awaken your attention and observation, and be a great help to your memory. And though I do not suppose but that it may be thrown aside after two or three years, when your judgment is riper, and when the observations you have made at first cease to be new or extraordinary ; yet such a book will be of great use to you in the mean time. I speak this, because some perhaps may condemn commonplace books, as being generally useless in a few years. But regard not that : you must begin with little things, if you would do any thing great ; and it will be a pleasure to you to observe how you improve.

7. Endeavour in your exercises, prose or verse, not to copy out, but to imitate and vary the most shining thoughts, sentences, or figures which you meet with in your reading. When you are to make an oration, (after you have considered well the matter,) read one of Tully's on a similar subject. Consider the argumentative part by itself, which Freigius's analytical notes will assist you in ; and then you will best distinguish the orna-

ments which oratory adds, and the art of ranging and managing each topic, and become able to imitate him, allowing for the difference of the subject. However, the bare reading of his compositions will make your thoughts more free and more just than otherwise. Thus Tully improved by Demosthenes, and Virgil by Homer; not to mention many others, ancient or modern, who have thus made excellent use of their reading in their compositions.

8. It would be very convenient for you to have a map before you, and chronological tables, when you read any history; and sometimes it may be requisite in books of oratory and poetry. You may be taught in an hour or two's time, by your tutor, how to use the maps or tables.

CHAP. V.

General Directions for Divinity.

SOME foundation should be laid in *divinity* within the first four years, for these reasons:

1. Because many design for *orders*, soon after they take a degree; and must therefore be prepared in that time, or not at all.

2. Because it will require a long time to be but competently skilled in divinity; and therefore it should be begun with very early: and if it be not, it will hardly be carried to any great perfection afterwards.

3. It is very good for a student to have all along in his eye what he is *designed for*, and to spend some part of his time and thoughts upon it. Nevertheless I would allow no more than the spare hours in *Sundays* and *holydays*, before and after the duty of those days: and I suppose time may be found in each of them for reading and abridging two sermons, as I shall direct hereafter. The preparatory studies of philosophy and classics must not be neglected for divinity, in the first four years; for they are the foundation, without which a man can hardly be a judicious, it is certain he cannot be a learned Divine. I therefore allow all other time, except *Sundays* and *holydays*, to these, and *them* to divinity. Only I should advise such as design immediately to leave the University and take *orders*, to allow something more to the last; their mornings to philosophy, afternoons to classics, and nights and *holydays* to divinity; or,

however, to the reading the best English writers, such as Temple, Collier, Spectator, and other writings of Addison, and other masters of *thought* and *style*. I could give several reasons for this; but they are very obvious, and will be easily understood from what I shall observe presently about English sermons.

I must be larger in my *advices* about *divinity* than I have been about the two former; because the method I propose may seem perhaps *new* and *strange*, and the reasons for it not sufficiently understood without particular explication.

I advise by all means to begin with *English sermons*: the reasons for it are these:

1. They are the easiest, plainest, and most entertaining of any books of divinity; and therefore fittest for young beginners.

2. They contain as much and as good divinity as any other discourses whatever, and might be digested into a better *body of divinity* than any that is yet extant.

3. The reading of them, besides the knowledge of divinity, teaches the best method of making sermons in the easiest manner, by example, and furnishes a man insensibly with words and phrases suitable to the pulpit, making him master of the English style and language.

4. When any one has read over and abridged most of the best *English sermons*, he will have good *hints* in great number upon any practical subject, and be prepared to treat of it with judgment, accuracy, and in a good method. But because the abridging of sermons may be thought a tedious and painful work, I shall obviate the objection, by shewing what I mean, and giving a specimen of it.

Get a *quarto* paper book; and after you have carefully read a sermon once or twice over, take down the general and particular heads, marking the first with numbers in the middle of the paper, the other at the side, as you see here:

Sharp's first Sermon.

Let us therefore follow after the things that make for peace.

Rom. xiv. 19.

I.

Consider what is due from us to the *Church*, in order to *peace*.

1. Every member of the *Church* is bound to external com-

- munion with it, where it may be had : without this, neither the ends of *Church-society* nor privileges can be obtained.
2. Every member is bound to join in communion with the *Church established* where he lives, if the terms of communion be lawful.
 3. Every member is obliged to submit to all the laws and constitutions of the *Church* ;
 - 1st, As to the orderly performance of *worship* :
 - 2dly, As to the maintaining *peace* and *unity*.
 4. Nothing but *unlawful terms* of communion can justify a *separation*.
 5. From hence it follows, that neither *unscriptural impositions*, nor *errors*, nor *corruptions* in doctrine or practice, while *suffered* only, not *imposed* ; nor, lastly, the pretence of *better edification*, can justify a *separation*.

II.

Consider what is due from us to particular Christians, in order to *peace*.

1. That in matters of *opinion*, we give every man leave to judge for himself.
2. That we lay aside all *prejudice* in the search after truth.
3. That we quarrel not about *words*.
4. That we charge not men with all the *consequences* deducible from their *opinions*.
5. That we abstract men's *persons* from their *opinions*.
6. That we vigorously pursue *holiness*.

III.

Motives to the duty laid down.

1. From the nature of our *religion*.
2. From the cogent precepts of Scripture.
3. From the unreasonableness of our *differences*.
4. From their ill $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Virtue.} \\ \textit{The civil estate.} \\ \textit{Christianity.} \\ \textit{The Protestant religion.} \end{array} \right.$ *consequences* to

Here you have the divisions and subdivisions, the substance of the whole sermon in a very little compass ; and by having it thus in little, you will both comprehend and retain it better. Do thus with two sermons every *Sunday* and *holyday*, which need

not take up more than three hours each ; and in three or four years' time, you can hardly imagine how much it will improve you in practical divinity ; and of how great use it will be to you ever after.

If you have been careful in your three first years to read over and abridge most of the best sermons in print, as I shall point out to you, next endeavour to get a general view of the several controversies on foot, from Bennet's books ; and some knowledge of *Church-history*, from Mr. Echard, and Du Pin's *Compendious History of the Church*, in four volumes 8vo ; and then, if you have time, undertake Pearson on the Creed, and Burnet on the Articles. But I shall be more particular in appointing what books are to be read, in the following pages.

CHAP. VI.

A Course of Studies, Philosophical, Classical, and Divine, for the first four Years.

HAVING given general directions for your studies of three kinds, I shall now shew you more particularly what books are to be read, and in what order ; and appoint you your work for every year till you take a *degree*.

I begin the year with January, though few come so early to college : if you happen to come later, yet begin with the books first set down, and take the rest in order, without minding what months are appointed for them ; only keep as near as may be to the proportion of time set for the reading of them.

One thing more I must note, viz. that I do not expect one and the same task should serve for all capacities : some may be able to do more, others less, than I have prescribed ; but let all do what they can. The former may read many other books besides those here mentioned, as they have leisure, and as their own fancy or judgment may lead them : the latter may be content with only some part of what is here set down ; or, by the advice of their tutor, choose some shorter and easier way of getting a moderate share of learning, suited to their circumstances and capacities.

Upon the whole ; let the method prescribed be a general standing rule to steer the course of your studies by. Where exceptions are necessary, your own prudence, or your tutor, will direct you what to do.

Books to be read in the first year.

	PHILOSOPHICAL.	CLASSICAL.	RELIGIOUS.
Jan. Feb.	Wingate's Arithm.	Terence.	Sharp's Sermons. Calamy's Sermons.
Mar. April	Euclid.	Xenophontis Cyri Institutio.	Sprat's Sermons. Blackhall's Sermons.
May June	Euclid. Wallis's Logic.	Tully's Epistles. Phædrus's Fables.	Hoadly's Sermons. South's Sermons.
July Aug.	Euclid's Elements.	Lucian's Select Dialogues. Theophrastus.	South's Sermons.
Sept. Oct.	Salmon's Geography.	Justin. Cornelius Nepos.	Young's Sermons.
Nov. Dec.	Keill Trigonometria.	Dionysius's Geography.	Scot's Sermons and Discourses, 3 vols.

Remarks on the Books mentioned in the first column.

Wingate's Arithmetic. This book is designed for an introduction to mathematics, and is one of the plainest in its kind : and because arithmetic and geometry are requisite to a thorough knowledge in philosophy, I refer them to that head.

Euclid may follow, or be begun at the same time with the former, if your tutor reads lectures in it ; otherwise let it alone till he does. I shall not trouble you with the reasons why I prefer Euclid to any other elements of geometry as most proper to begin with ; see Mr. Whiston's preface to Tacquet, with which I agree entirely, for other reasons besides those there mentioned. You may, if you have time, when you have gone through five or six books in Euclid, take Pardie's Geometry, and you will be pleased to find the same things you have learnt before in a different and somewhat shorter method ; besides some other things, which will be new and diverting.

Wallis's Logic, or some other, I suppose, may by this time be read by your tutor : the use of it chiefly lies in explaining *words* and *terms of art*, especially to young beginners. As to the true art of *reasoning*, it will be better learnt afterwards by other

books, or come by use and imitation. The most proper way will be to read *reasoning* authors, to converse with your equals freely upon subjects you have read, and now and then to abridge a close written discourse upon other subjects, as well as sermons. The conduct of the understanding is admirably taught by Mr. Locke, in a posthumous discourse that bears his name. The study of the mathematics also will help more towards it than any rules of logic.

Keill's Trigonometry may now be read, but I suppose your tutor to help you. Trigonometry is very necessary to prepare you for reading of astronomy, which cannot be competently understood without it. Some insight into other parts of the mathematics, particularly Conic Sections, if you have time and inclinations for it, may be highly useful, and you may carry on mathematics and philosophy together through the whole four years. I suppose you have some notion of Algebra, from the rudiments of it in arithmetic; but it would now be very proper to advance somewhat further in it, for the better understanding the books of philosophy mentioned hereafter; for which I shall name Hammond's, Maclaurin's, and Simpson's Algebra; but the former may be sufficient.

Remarks on the Books contained in the Second column.

Terence is as easy as any to begin with, and the most proper, because you must read it very often, to make yourself master of familiar and pure Latin.

Xenophon comes next, as being pure and easy Greek; and you are to take care so to read alternately the Greek and Latin authors, that you may improve in both languages.

By the way, let me here mention one thing relating to the Hellenistical language: it would not be improper to bring your Septuagint with you to chapel every day, to read the lessons in Greek. I need not add any thing about the other classics in this column, the reasons being much the same with what hath been observed of the two first; but read over the general directions given for the study of *classics*, and apply them as you see occasion.

Remarks on the third column.

It being almost indifferent what Sermons are read first, provided they be good, I have not been curious about placing them.

If some of these Sermons may be sooner had than others, begin with which you please.

A short character of the Sermons is this: Sharp's, Calamy's, and Blackhall's, are the best models for an easy, natural, and familiar way of writing. Sprat is fine, florid, and elaborate in his style, artful in his method, and not so open as the former, but harder to be imitated. Hoadly is very exact and judicious, and both his sense and style just, close, and clear. The other three are very sound, clear writers; only Scot is too swelling and pompous, and South is something too full of *wit* and *satire*, and does not always observe a *decorum* in his style.

Books to be read in the second year.

	PHILOSOPHICAL.	CLASSICAL.	RELIGIOUS.
Jan. Feb.	Harris's Astronomical Dialogues. Keill's Astronomy.	Cambray on Eloquence. Vossius's Rhetoric.	Tillotson's Sermons, vol. i. fol.
Mar. April	Locke's Hum. Und. Simpson's Con. Sect.	Tully's Orat.	
May June	Milnes's Sectiones Conicæ.	Isocrates. Demosthenes.	Tillotson's Sermons, vol. ii. fol.
July Aug.	Keill's Introdect.	Cæsar's Comment. Sallust.	
Sept. Oct.	Cheyne's Philosoph. Principles.	Hesiod. Theocritus.	Tillotson's Sermons, vol. iii. fol.
Nov. Dec.	Bartholin. Phys. Rohaulti Phys.	Ovid's Fasti. Virgil's Eclog.	

Remarks on the first column.

Harris's Astronomical Dialogues, and Keill's Astronomical Lectures, are plain and intelligible, and will give a good general view of that science.

Locke's Human Understanding must be read, being a book so much (and I add so justly) valued, however faulty the author may have been in other writings.

Simpson's Conic Sections may be read by any one who understands Euclid, and will be necessary to those who would

understand astronomy. I have also mentioned Milnes's Conic Sections.

Keill is more difficult, and perhaps not to be attempted *proprio Marte*, or without the help of your tutor.

Cheyne will for the most part be very easy, after you understand the two former: and you may join Bentley's Sermons, and Huygens's Planetary Worlds, if you have time; which will at once improve and entertain you. Rohault's Physics are chiefly valuable for the optics, which are there laid down in the easiest and clearest manner: as to the rest, the excellent notes that go along with it are its best commendation. You may pass over many chapters with only a cursory view, and entirely omit the three last parts, only observing the notes at the bottom of the pages, which are every where good. Read Desagulier's and Rowning's Mechanics, Statics, and Optics, along with Rohault, which will very much contribute to the right understanding such parts of him, or his editor, as are upon those subjects. You may add Bartholin's Physics for the heads of a system. But I suppose by this time you will be able to observe some *defects*, and correct some *mistakes* of that author, as you read him.

Remarks on the second and third columns.

Cambray on Eloquence, or some other rhetoric, should be read; not only to learn oratory, but to be able to read any orations with judgment, and to improve by them. Yet Vossius may serve, if you want time to peruse the other. You may add to both these, Rapin's Works in two volumes, which will give you a good taste of oratory and polite writing, and direct you to form a judgment of authors ancient and modern. And this is all I need say of the books mentioned in the second column.

The third contains only Tillotson's Sermons; the character of which is too well known to need any enlargement. There is one or two ^apoints of doctrine, particularly that of *hell-torments*, justly exceptionable; but that has been so much taken notice of, and so fully confuted by other writers, particularly by the learned Mr. Lupton, in a Sermon before the University of Oxford, and Dr. Whitby, in his Appendix to the Second of the Thessalonians, that it is needless for me to caution you any

^a A second point I had in view concerns the *Satisfaction*, which is modestly and judiciously examined by an ingenious Lady, in a very good book, entitled, *The Religion of a Church of England Woman*, p. 339, &c.

further against it. He seems to have followed his author too close; the most exceptionable part of the sermon being almost a verbal translation of Episcopus.

Books to be read in the third year.

	PHILOSOPHICAL.	CLASSICAL.	RELIGIOUS.
Jan. Feb.	Burnet's Theory, with Keill's Remarks.	Homeri Ilias, edit. Clarke.	Norris's Practical Discourses, 1st and 2nd parts.
Mar. April	Whiston's Theory, with Keill's Remarks.	Virgil's Georgics. —— Æneids.	Norris's Practical Discourses, 3rd and 4th parts.
May June	Wells's Chronology. Beveridge's Chron.	Sophocles.	Clagget's Sermons, two vols.
July Aug.	Ethices Compend. Puffendorf's Law of Nature, &c.	Horace.	Atterbury's (Lewis) Sermons, two vols.
Sept. Oct.	Puffendorf. Grotius de Jure Belli.	Enripides, King's edit.	Atterbury's (Franc.) Sermons.
Nov. Dec.	Puffendorf. Grotius.	Juvenal. Persius.	Stillingfleet's Sermons.

Remarks on the first column.

The two Theorists, with Keill upon them, may now be useful: there is a great deal of curious learning and philosophy in them, which a student may very much improve himself by.

Chronology is a necessary part of learning, and ought to be well understood: the two authors here mentioned may serve at present; if you would carry it further, get Strauchius, and join it with them.

Some general view of ethics may be proper here, before you go further: besides the Ethic. Compend. Hutcheson and Fordyce are the latest and best systems you will meet with. Puffendorf and Grotius are admirable books, and should be studied carefully: they are excellent foundation for casuistical divinity; and to them may be added Sanderson's Prelections. There is an abridgment of Puffendorf, done by himself, which may be usefully read after the larger, to help the memory: but I would not advise you to begin with it, unless you are much straitened in time; for it is too short and full to give you a distinct knowledge of the matters it treats of.

Remarks on the second and third columns.

I shall say little of the classics here mentioned, being well known. I place Homer before Virgil, because the latter takes much from him. It might be proper to read Bossu of Epic Poetry, before you undertake them. Euripides perhaps need not be read at large, but only the select plays in octavo.

I need not say much of the Sermons in the third column. Norris is a fine writer for style and thought, and commonly just, except in what relates to his World of Ideas, where he sometimes trifles. You may see in the Appendix some other Sermons, besides these mentioned; which, if you have time to spare, are very well worth reading and abridging.

Books to be read in the fourth year.

	PHILOSOPHICAL.	CLASSICAL.	RELIGIOUS.
Jan. Feb.	Hutcheson's Metaphysics.	Thucydides.	Jenkins's Reasonableness of Christianity.
Mar. April	Newton's Optics.	Thucydides.	Clarke's Lectures. Grot. de Verit. R. C.
May June		Livy.	Bennet of Pop. Abridg. L. C.
July Aug.	Gregory's Astronomy.	Livy.	Pearson on the Creed, with King's Crit. Hist.
Sept. Oct.		Diogenes Laertius.	West on the Resurrection.
Nov. Dec.		Cicero's Philosoph. Works.	Burnet's Articles.

Remarks on the books for the fourth year.

Metaphysics are chiefly useful for clear and distinct conceptions. Hutcheson will give a general view of their design, and the parts belonging to them. The two following books in this column are placed last, as being more difficult to understand than any before mentioned, requiring much *thought* and close *application* to be a master of them.

The like account is to be given of the classic authors in the next column.

As to the books of divinity, in the last column; see *general directions for divinity* towards the end.

You may wonder all this time that I say nothing of Hebrew, which must be owned to be extremely necessary to a *Divine*. I am very sensible of it; but yet, unless you have learned something of it at school, (which if you have done, take care to carry it on with your other studies,) I say, unless this be the case, you may conveniently defer the learning of it till you have taken a *degree*; for then you may lay aside all other studies for a few months, till you make yourself master of it. And now if you design for *orders* presently, it will not be improper to apply yourself wholly to *divinity* for some time: wherefore I shall add an *appendix*, yet further to direct you how to proceed in it after you are Bachelor. Or if you design not presently for *orders*, you may proceed in philosophical and classical learning, and read as many as you can of the books following, or choose out such as are most agreeable and useful. The moral authors, Greek and Latin, I would especially recommend to your perusal.

GREEK AUTHORS.

Aristot. Rhetorica.
 Epictetus.
 Marcus Antoninus.
 Herodotus.
 Plutarch.
 Homeri Odys.

Aristophanes.
 Plato de Rebus Div.
 Callimachus.
 Herodian.
 Longinus.
 Veteres Orator. Græc.

LATIN AUTHORS.

Plinii Epist. et Panegyri.
 Senecæ Opera.
 Lucretius.
 Plautus.
 Q. Curtius.
 Suetonius.
 Tacitus.
 Aulus Gellius.

Lucanus.
 Florus.
 Martialis.
 Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius.
 Manilius.
 Ovidii Epist. et Metamorph.
 Eutropius.

PHILOSOPHICAL.

Salmon's Geography.
 Newtoni Princip.
 Saunderson's Algebra.
 Smith's Optics.

Musschenbroek's Philosoph.
 Baker on the Microscope.
 Chambers's Dictionary.
 Hale's Statics.

AN APPENDIX.

Supposing now that you have in four years gained a competent skill in Greek and Latin authors, and in the arts and sciences, and that you have laid some foundation in English Divinity, from reading sermons; and that you have a general view of the controversies on foot from the books mentioned, and some insight into Church-history; next (if not done already) learn Hebrew: then take in hand some good commentator, Grotius or Patriok, and read it through. You may take Josephus's History along with it, and Dupin's Canon of the Old Testament. From thence proceed to the New Testament, which also read carefully over with some commentator, Grotius, Hammond, or Whitby; the last I should prefer to be read through, and the others to be consulted on occasion. From thence go on to the Church-writers, taking them in order of time; first seeing a character of their works in Dupin, or Cave, or Bull: and let Bingham's Ecclesiastical Antiquities be consulted, where he treats of such matters as you meet with, that have any difficulty in them. Thus go on till you come to the fourth century, at least, if your time, business, and other circumstances will permit. If not, you must be contented to take the easier and shorter way; and study such books as may more immediately serve to furnish you as a preacher: which may be these that follow, besides those before mentioned.

Bull's Latin Works, fol. Grab. edit.

Nelson's Life of Bull, with his English Works, in 4 vols, 8vo.

Nelson's Feasts and Fasts.

Stanhope's Epistles and Gospels, 4 vols.

Kettlewell's Measures of Obedience.

————— On the Sacrament.

————— Practical Believer.

Scot's Christian Life, 5 vols.

Lucas's Inquiry after Happiness, 2 vols.

Hammond's Practical Catechism.

Fleetwood's Relative Duties.

Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ.

Burnet's History of the Reformation.

F. Paul's History of the Council of Trent.

Clarendon's History.

Cosin's Canon of Scripture.

Stillingfleet's Cases, 2 vols.

Norris's Humility and Prudence, 2 vols.

———— Reason and Faith.

Wilkins's Natural Religion.

Dean Sherlock's Works.

Potter's Church Government.

Ostervald's Causes of Corruption.

Sherlock, Bishop of London, on Prophecy, Trial of the Witnesses, &c.

West on the Resurrection.

Observations on the Conversion of St. Paul.

Wollaston's Religion of Nature.

Conybeare's Defence of Revealed Religion.

Butler's Analogy.

Watts's Scripture History.

Archdeacon St. George's Examination for Holy Orders.

Stackhouse's History of the Bible.

Nichols's Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.

Wake's Catechism.

Clagget's Operations of the Spirit.

Chillingworth.

Cave's Primitive Christianity.

SERMONS.

Lucas's

Barrow's

Hickman's (2 vols.)

Bragg's

Beveridge's

Fiddes's (3 vols.)

Fothergill's

Seed's (4 vols.)

SERMONS.

Butler's

Waterland's

Blair's (4 vols.)

Abernethy's

Bishop Sherlock's

Balguy's (2 vols.)

Dodwell's (2 vols.)

A

RECOMMENDATORY PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION OF THE

SERMONS OF THE REV. JAMES BLAIR, M. A.

COMMISSARY OF VIRGINIA, PRESIDENT OF WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE, AND RECTOR OF WILLIAMSBURG IN THAT COLONY.

In 4 vols. 8vo. London, 1740.

THE worthy author living (if he yet lives) at too great a distance to attend this edition, or to give it a new *preface*, I was desired to take that small trouble upon me: which I do with the more pleasure, partly, out of a grateful respect to a person, by whose pious and learned labours I have been so agreeably instructed; and partly, to excite others to give them the more serious and careful perusal. I should have been glad to have had it in my power to oblige the public with some account of the life and character of this good man; who, while he has shined abroad, in a far distant land, has been but a little known here; except it be by these his *printed works*, which appear to be a fair and full portraiture of his mind. As to the rest, all that I can at present learn will lie within a very small compass. He was born and bred in Scotland; and was ordained and beneficed in the *episcopal* Church there: but meeting with some discouragements, under an unsettled state of affairs, and having a prospect of discharging his ministerial functions more usefully elsewhere, he quitted his preferments there, and came over into England, some time in the latter end of King Charles the Second's reign. It was not long before he was taken notice of by the then Bishop of London, (Dr. Compton,) who prevailed

WATERLAND, VOL. IV.

E 6

with him to go as *missionary* (about the year 1685) into Virginia, where by his regular conversation, exemplary conduct, and unwearied labours in the work of the ministry, he did good service to religion, and gained to himself a good report amongst all : so that the same Bishop Compton, being well apprised of his true and great worth, made choice of him, about the year 1689, as his Commissary for Virginia ; a very weighty and creditable post, the highest office in the Church there : which, however, did not take him off from his pastoral care, but only rendered him the more shining example of it to all the other Clergy within that colony.

While his thoughts were wholly intent upon doing good in his office, he observed with true concern, that the *want of schools* and proper seminaries for religion and learning, was such a damp upon all great attempts for the propagation of the Gospel, that little could be hoped for, without first removing that obstacle. Therefore he formed a vast design of erecting and endowing a college in Virginia, at Williamsburg, the capital of that country, for professors and students in *academical* learning. In order thereto, he had himself set on foot a voluntary subscription, amounting to a great sum : and not content with that, he came over into England, in the year 1693, to solicit the affair at Court. The good Queen (Queen Mary) was so well pleased with the noble design, that she espoused it with a particular zeal ; and King William also, as soon as he became acquainted with its use and excellency, very readily concurred with the Queen in it. Accordingly, a patent passed for the erecting and endowing a college, called from the founders the William and Mary College : and Mr. Blair, who had had the principal hand in laying, and soliciting, and concerting the design, was appointed *President* of the College^a. Our author, it seems, has now been a *Minister* of the Gospel fifty-eight years, or thereabouts ; a *Missionary* fifty-four years ; *Commissary* fifty years ; and *President* of the College about forty-six : a faithful labourer in God's vineyard from first to last ; an ornament to his *profession* and his several *offices*, and now in a good old age, hourly waiting for (if not before this gone to enjoy) the *high prize* of his calling.

^a See some account of this matter in Bishop Burnet's *History of his Own Time*, vol. ii. p. 119. and in Dr. Humphreys's *Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, p. 9, 10, 11.

As to the Discourses here following, they had the advantage of being composed at a mature age, after a *course* of serious *studies*, after much *experience* in the work of the ministry, after wide and large observations made upon men and things; and, in short, after an improved experimental knowledge gained in the school of Christ. They had their *first impression* in the year 1722; drawn into public light by the repeated importunities of several worthy Prelates, and other Clergy of our Church, (who had perused a *few* of them in manuscript,) and by the particular encouragement of the then Metropolitan, Archbishop Wake, and of Dr. Robinson, then Bishop of London, to whom the Sermons were dedicated. When that impression was gone off, and copies were become very scarce, the executors of the late Rev. Dr. Bray (to whom the author had previously transferred his copyright) thought of a *new* impression, and communicated their design to the worthy author: who accordingly, in the year 1732, revised the work, corrected the *errata* of the *press*, added *indexes* of *texts* and *matters*, and prepared a new dedication, addressed to the *Right Reverend Father in God*, EDMUND, *Lord Bishop of London*. How the edition then intended came to be retarded till this time, I know not; neither is it of moment to inquire: it is well that now at last the public once more enjoys this valuable treasure of *sound Divinity*, of *practical Christianity*. But when I say *practical*, let no one be so weak as to take that for a *diminutive* expression; which is indeed the highest and brightest commendation that a *work* can have; whether we look at the intrinsic *use* and *value* of it, or at the real *difficulties* of performing it to a degree of exactness, or at the talents requisite for it. A man bred up in the schools, or conversant only with books, may be able to write *systems*, or to discuss *points*, in a clear and accurate manner: but that and more is required in an able *guide*, a complete *practical Divine*, who undertakes to bring down the most important truths to the level of a *popular audience*; to adapt them properly to *times*, *persons*, and *circumstances*; to guard them against *latent* prejudices and *secret* subterfuges; and lastly, to enforce them with a becoming earnestness, and with all the prudent ways of insinuation and address. A person must have some knowledge of men, besides that of *books*, to succeed well here; and must have a kind of *practical sagacity* (which nothing but the grace of God, joined with recollection and wise observa-

tion, can bring) to be able to represent Christian truths to the life, or to any considerable degree of advantage.

As to the subject here made choice of, it is the highest and the noblest that could be, viz. our Lord's *Divine* Sermon on the Mount: and as it is here explained with *good judgment*, so it appears likewise to be pressed with *due force*; in a clear and easy, but yet masculine style, equally fitted to the capacities of *common* Christians, and to the improved understandings of the *knowing* and judicious. One peculiar commendation must, I believe, be allowed to our author, that he happily hit upon a *new key* (which Divines before him had not thought on) for the fuller opening the occasion, the views, the retired meaning and connection of our Lord's *Divine* Sermon. Not that the *thought*, with respect to the Jewish expectations of a *temporal kingdom* was at all *new*; but the *application* of it to this case, and the use made of it for the unravelling some of the darker parts of our Lord's discourse, and the clearing their coherence; *that* was *new*, and appears to be of excellent service: particularly in the *eight beatitudes*, (for the setting every one of them upon a *distinct* foot, and not running several of them, too confusedly, one into another,) as also in several other texts.

But to return; our author has, in my opinion, very aptly joined the *commentator*, *preacher*, and *casuist* all in one: and I cannot but approve the *example* he has himself given, and the *model* which he has so handsomely recommended to others, ^bfor the *composition* of *sermons*. It is extremely proper that the *text* and the *sermon* should not appear as *strangers* to each other, but rather as near *kindred*, discovering the same *features*; that so the discourse itself may almost point out to discerning judges from what place of Scripture it derived its birth. This is certainly right in the general; but is yet so to be understood as to leave room for *excepted cases*, where excursions may be *needful* on account of some *special* occasion, season, circumstances, &c., and where any decent handle for a neat *transition* may prudently and properly be taken. But I cannot say any thing better, or so well upon this head, as the author himself has done in the Dedication and Preface before referred to, and therefore I dismiss it, and proceed.

One particular I cannot forbear to take notice of, (which an

^b In his Dedication to Bishop Robinson, and his Preface.

attentive reader may often observe in the course of these Sermons,) how happy a talent the author had in deciding points of great moment in a very *few* and *plain* words, but the result of *deep consideration*, and discovering a great *compass* of thought. I shall single out a few instances only, from among many, for a *taste* to the reader.

Of the Value of good Works.

“ I am apprehensive, that by our unwary confutation of the Popish errors concerning *merit* and *supererogation*, we have too much depreciated *good works* themselves; whereas it is most certain they ought to be highly had in estimation; not only as the genuine *signs* and *fruits* of a lively faith, but as necessary *conditions* of *salvation*; and not only of salvation, but of our *growth* in *grace*, and of our advancement to *higher degrees* of *glory*.” Here, very briefly and justly, is pointed out a dangerous *extreme*, with the rise and occasion of it, and the proper cure for it, or correction of it.

For the justifying the term *conditions*, the reader, who has any scruple, may consult Bishop Bull in his *Harmonia*, &c., and Bishop Stillingfleet in his *Answers* to Mr. Lobb. Our author says that and more, improving and enforcing the same thought with two very pertinent and weighty considerations.

What makes a good Work.

“ To make any work a *good work*, it must be 1. *Lawful* in itself. 2. *Suitable* to our *station* and *circumstances* in the world. 3. *Designed* for promoting something that is good for the *service* of God, for the *good* of our *neighbour*, or the *salvation* of our own *souls*. 4. Something within the *reach* of our own *talents* and *abilities*. If it wants any of these *conditions*, it cannot be one of those *good works* meant in my text^d.” He goes on to explain the several particulars at large, in a very clear and just manner. A *good work* might have been more briefly *defined*: but it could not have been more wisely, or more distinctly *guarded* against every evasion and illusion of *self-flattery*; whereby many are persuaded that they are doing *good works*, while they are really doing *works of darkness*.

^c Vol. i. Serm. xxi. p. 374.

^d Vol. i. Serm. xxxi. p. 506.

Of false Prophets.

“ I cannot believe that they are all *wicked* men in their *hearts* and *lives*, who are infected with any heretical, dangerous doctrine. It is probable the *sheep's clothing* may extend further than the bare *hypocritical* outward show, even to the *good habits* of the mind, and a *regular course* of life: by which they are much better furnished and qualified to give a *credit* to their *false* doctrines. But now here seems to be prescribed a plain, easy way of discerning *false* teachers from *true*, and a way which lies level to the *meanest* capacity. It is only by observing the *fruits* and *consequences* of every doctrine, what it is *apt to produce* where it is thoroughly sucked in and believed, and then judging how far these fruits resemble the doctrine and spirit of Christianity^e.”

Of Enthusiasm.

“ The *Spirit* of God having given us a *clear* rule to walk by, (namely, the rule of the *holy Scriptures*,) whatsoever preacher shall deliver any doctrine, either in the *general disparaging* the *holy Scriptures* and preferring *enthusiasm*, or in particular setting up the *private spirit* to assert any thing *contrary* thereto; it requires no great depth of learning to observe, that such doctrine *strikes* at the *root* of all *revealed religion*, and opens a door for the *destruction* of it^f.” Here the *secret* views or *remote* tendency of all enthusiasm is briefly laid open. *Enthusiasm*, in the *bad* sense, appears to be a subtle device of *Satan* upon *ill meaning* or *unmeaning* instruments, (making use of their *ambition*, *self-admiration*, or other *weakness*,) to draw them by some plausible suggestions into a vain conceit that they have something *within* them either of *equal* authority with *Scripture*, or *superior* to it^g. And when once they have thus got

^e Vol. iv. p. 249, 274.

^f Vol. iv. p. 274.

^g They will not perhaps directly say that their *private spirit* is of authority *superior* to that of *Scripture*: but they often make it so in effect, more ways than one: 1. By making the *Scripture* submit to be *judged of* by the *private spirit*, and not the *private spirit* by the *Scripture*. 2. By

making the guidance of the *private spirit* to *supersede* even the *reading*, or the *use* of the *Scripture*, after a time, when supposed perfect enough not to need any longer the *help* of the *written word*. 3. By setting up a pretence of *infallibility* in a man's *private breast*, warranting him to substitute his own *interpretations* in the room of the *Divine laws*.

loose from that *Divine restraint*, under a pretence of *Divine impulses*, then there is nothing so *wild* or *extravagant*, that those free rangers, following their own new lights, are not capable of.

I shall conclude this *Preface* with recommending a few seasonable reflections to the consideration of serious and conscientious Christians amongst us.

1. One is, how particularly happy they may think themselves, in their having three several sets of excellent Discourses^h on our Lord's *Divine Sermon* in their *own language*, (such perhaps as are not to be met with in any other,) and in their constantly living under the care and direction of faithful guides, judicious and *well-studied Divines*: for those, at last, are, *under God*, in the use of *his word*, the safest counsellors they can have to confide in. Let those who boast of *Divine impulses*, or *immediate inspirations*, bring together all the choice things they can meet with, that have been invented and uttered by those of *their way* for seventeen centuries, and see whether they are at all fit to be compared or named with the weighty and solid compositions of the judicious and *well-read Divines*, early and late: who yet have pretended to no more than the *ordinary assistances* of the *Holy Spirit*, in the use of God's *written word*, and of other *outward* means of Divine providential appointment, without any direct, *immediate* inspiration at all. What then has the *good Spirit* been doing for his supposed *favourites* all the time? Or rather, what has not some *evil spirit* been doing through a long tract of centuries, in seducing many to father *Satan's suggestions*, or their own *weak fancies*, upon the *blessed Spirit* of God?

2. It may be of use to every serious Christian, wisely to consider how many different kinds of instruments the *Tempter* commonly makes use of to corrupt their *faith*, or to debauch their *morals*. They are reducible to *three* kinds. 1. *Open* enemies to God and religion. 2. *Disguised* enemies, hypocrites under a *feigned* covert of friends. 3. Well-meaning, but injudicious, indiscreet friends; friends in *heart*, but rashly and undesignedly doing the *work* of *enemies*. All these must be carefully guarded against, in their turns, as occasions happen, by as many as *love* not to be *deceived*, or really *love* their *own souls*. For if any man suffers himself to be deluded, or led

^h Besides Mr. Blair's, there is also Bishop Blackhall's and Mr. Gardiner's.

aside, when he may avoid it; it signifies little whether it was by the *rude* attacks of one, or by the smooth *hypocrisy* and *treachery* of another, or by the *weakness* or *madness* of a third. The fault is, to be *mised* at all, so far as may be prevented: and the rule of Scripture is, to stand firm and steadfast in *true doctrine* and *holy life*, against all *seducers*, of what kind soever, and never to be *mised* by any. But what I have here briefly hinted is pursued at large, and to much greater advantage, in the following Discourses, from which I shall no longer detain the reader.

DANIEL WATERLAND.

WINDSOR,
Dec. 24, 1739.

REGENERATION
STATED AND EXPLAINED
ACCORDING TO
SCRIPTURE AND ANTIQUITY,
IN A
DISCOURSE ON TITUS III. 4, 5, 6.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE substance of the following Discourse was at first drawn up in the form of Two Sermons, which were delivered at Twickenham first, and next at Windsor. Having been severally pressed by some of both audiences (whose judgments I ought to value) to let the Two Sermons appear, I fell to transcribing, digesting, and enlarging them, till they turned out such as is here seen. And I thought it not improper to superadd, at the bottom of the pages, a convenient number of authorities, or explanatory notes, for the use of such learned readers as may be disposed to examine things with care, or may be inquisitive to know from whence many of the thoughts were taken, or on what foundation they stand. This is all that I conceived necessary to advertise the Reader.

TITUS iii. 4, 5, 6.

But after that the kindness and love of God our Saviour toward man appeared, not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost; which he shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour.

ST. PAUL in these words has briefly taught us God's method of saving both Jew and Gentile, under the Christian dispensation. He did it, and does it, of free *grace*, and accordiug to the riches of his *pure mercy*; not for or by any righteousness which *we* have done or do by our own *unassisted abilities*^a, but "by the "washing or (laver) of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy "Ghost:" that is to say, by the sacrament of Christian *Baptism*, considered in both its *parts*, the *outward* visible *sign*, which is *water*, and the *inward* things *signified* and exhibited, viz. a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness, therein wrought by the Holy Spirit of God. I interpret the text of *Water-baptism*, as the *ancients* constantly did^b, and as the rules of true criticism require. For though some *moderns* have endeavoured to explain away the *outward* part, resolving all into the *inward*

^a Si quæras cujusmodi opera a justificatione et salute excludat Apostolus, clare hic respondet ipse: ἀ ἐποίησαμεν ἡμεῖς, pronomine ἡμεῖς emphatice addito: quæ fecimus ipsi, h. e. ex propriis viribus. Deinde *operibus* hujusmodi, ex ingenio humano profectis, opponit *gratiam* illam Dei, ex mera sua misericordia in nos per Christum largiter effusam, qua *regeramur* ac *renovamur*, quaque *sola* operibus vere bonis idonei reddimur. Quodque *prioribus* ademerat, *his* concedit operibus: h. e. per hæc, non per illa, nos servatos affirmat. Cum enim dicit Paulus, servari nos διὰ ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου, intelligit omnes illas virtutes ac bona opera quæ a corde

per *Spiritum Sanctum* renovato fluunt. *Bull. Harmon. Apost.* dissert. ii. c. 12. p. 485. edit. Lond. 1721.

^b *Baptisma* enim esse in quo homo vetus moritur et novus nascitur, manifestat et probat beatus Apostolus dicens: *Servavit nos per lavacrum regenerationis*. Si autem in lavacro, id est, in *baptismo*, est regeneratio, quomodo generare filios Deo hæresis per Christum potest, &c. *Cyprian.* ep. lxxiv. p. 140. edit. Benedict. item epist. i. p. 2. Conf. Origen. in Matt. p. 391. ed. Huet. Theophil. ad Autol. lib. ii. c. 25. p. 153. Chrysostom. ad Illumin. Catech. 1. tom. ii. p. 228. ed. Bened.

part or thing signified, namely, the grace of the Spirit; yet with how little reason or success they have attempted it is well known to the more *judicious*, who have abundantly vindicated the ancient construction^c. The latter part of the text is nearly parallel to those words of our Lord; "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven^d." And the general doctrine both of our Lord and St. Paul in those texts is, that *water* applied outwardly to the body, together with the *grace* of the Spirit applied inwardly to the soul, *regenerate* the man^e: or, in other words, the Holy Spirit, in and by the use of Water-baptism, causes the *new birth*. But it is observable, that while our Lord's words make mention only of the *new birth*, that is, of *regeneration*, the Apostle here in the text distinctly speaks both of a *regeneration* and a *renovation*, as two things, and both of them wrought ordinarily in one and the same *Baptism*, here called the laver of *regeneration*, and of *renewing*. Indeed the words of the *original* may be rendered, by the laver of *regeneration*, and by the *renewing*; and so some have translated or interpreted them^f. But the common rendering appears to be preferable, as best warranted by the *reading*, and by the ancient *versions*, and by the general doctrine of the New Testament in relation to *Baptism*, as ordinarily carrying with it, in *adults* at least fitly prepared, both a *regeneration* and a *renovation*: which though distinct in name and notion, (as appears from this text, and from several other texts of the New Testament, to be hereafter mentioned,) are yet nearly allied in end and use; are of one and the same original, often go together, and are perfective of each other. In discoursing further, my design is,

I. To explain the name and notion of *regeneration*, shewing

^c See Whitby on the text. Wolfius, Cur. Crit. in loc.

^d John iii. 5. That this text also was anciently understood of *Water-baptism*, and ought to be so, has been abundantly proved by the best learned moderns, viz. Hooker, vol. ii. book v. numb. 59. p. 243. Ox. ed. Maldonate in loc. Lightfoot, tom. i. p. 571, &c. Wall, Infant Baptism, part i. p. 6, 22. part ii. p. 165. Defence, p. 11, 24, 153, 237. Wolfius, Cur. Crit. in loc. vol. i. p. 811, &c. Beveridge's Sermons, vol. iii. serm. xi. p. 319, &c.

^e *Aqua* igitur exhibens forinsecus sacramentum gratiæ, et *Spiritus* ope-

rans intrinsecus *beneficium gratiæ*, solvens vinculum culpæ, reconcilians bonum naturæ, *regenerant* hominem in uno *Christo*, ex uno *Adamo* generatum. *Augustin. Epist. ad Bonifac.* xcviij. p. 264. edit. Bened. Conf. Origen. in Johann. p. 124, 125. ed. Huet.

^f Per lavacrum regenerationis, et renovationem Spiritus Sancti. So Jerome, in his Comment on the place, tom. iv. p. 435. edit. Bened. As if *διὰ* were understood before *ἀνακαταβάσεως*. And so some of the critics, in Poole's Synopsis.

what it is, and what it contains; as also what concern it has with Christian Baptism, called the laver, or fountain of it.

II. To consider what the *renewing* mentioned in the text means, and how it differs from or agrees with *regeneration*; and what connection both have either with *Baptism* here, or with *salvation* hereafter.

III. To draw some proper *inferences* from the whole, for preventing mistakes in these high matters, and for our better improvement in Christian knowledge and practice.

I.

First, I propose to treat of *regeneration*, shewing what it means, and what it contains, and what relation it bears to Christian Baptism, called the *laver*, or fountain of it. *Regeneration*, passively considered, is but another word for the *new birth* of a Christian: and that new birth, in the general, means a spiritual *change* wrought upon any person, by the Holy Spirit, in the use of *Baptism*; whereby he is translated from his *natural* state in *Adam*, to a *spiritual* state in *Christ*. The name, or the notion, probably, was not altogether *new* in our Lord's time: for the Jews had been used to admit converts from heathenism into the Jewish Church, by a *baptism* of their own; and they called the admission or reception of such converts by the name of *regeneration*, or *new birth*; as it was somewhat like the bringing them into a *new world*. Such *proselytes* were considered as *dead* to their former state of darkness, and born anew to light, liberty, and privileges, among the children of Israel, and within the Church of God. The figure was easy, natural, and affecting; and therefore our Lord was pleased, in his conference with Nicodemus, to adopt the same kind of language, applying it to the case of admitting converts both from *Judaism* and *Paganism* into Christianity; transferring and sanctifying the rite, the figure, and the name to higher and holier, but still *similar* purposes. Such is the account given of this matter by many learned and judicious writers. It appears extremely probable, from

§ Selden, de Jur. Nat. et Gent. lib. ii. c. 2, 3, 4. Elderfield of Regeneration, Hebrew and Christian. Wall, Infant Baptism, introduct. p. 95, &c. Defence, p. 22, 26, 35, 211, 318. Wotton, Miscellan. Disc. vol. i. p. 103, &c. Vitringa, Observ. Sac. lib.

ii. c. 6. p. 322. Others referred to in Fabricius, Bibl. Antiq. p. 386. Archbishop Sharpe, vol. iii. serm. xiii. p. 280. Deylingius, Observ. Sac. part. iii. dissert. 34. p. 323, 324. Wesselius, dissert. xv. de Bapt. Proselytorum, p. 444, &c.

the authorities commonly cited for it; and it is particularly favoured by those words of our Lord to Nicodemus, expressing some kind of marvel at his slowness of apprehension; "Art thou a master of Israel, and knowest not these things^h?" Some doubts have been raised on this head, and some very learned persons have expressed their diffidence about it: but, all things considered, there does not appear to be sufficient reason to make question of itⁱ. So much for the *name* and *notion* of regeneration, and the *original* of it, together with the *occasion* of our Lord's applying it to this case. Indeed, he *improved* the notion, by the addition of the *Spirit*: and he *enlarged* the use of the rite, by ordering that *every one*, every convert to Christianity, every candidate for heaven, should be baptized^k. *Every one* must be born of water and the Spirit: not *once* born of water, and *once* of the Spirit, so as to make *two* new births^l, or to be regenerated *again* and *again*, but to be once new born of *both*, once born of the Spirit, in or by water; while the Spirit primarily or effectively, and the water secondarily or instrumentally, concurs to one and the same birth, ordinarily the result of *both*^m, in virtue of the Divine appointment.

Hence it was, that the ancient Doctors of the Church, in explaining this article, were wont to consider the *Spirit* and the *water* under the lively emblem of a *conjugal* union, as the *two parents*; and the new-born Christian as the *offspring* of bothⁿ.

^h John iii. 10.

ⁱ The very learned Wolfius several times speaks doubtfully of it, Cur. Critic. vol. i. p. 53. 815. vol. ii. p. 445. But it will be proper to compare Wesselius, who has appeared since, and who has professedly treated this argument, and done it in a very accurate way, recapitulating all that had been urged on both sides the question, and at length deciding in favour of what I have mentioned. The title of the book is, Johannis Wessellii Dissertationes Academicæ, ad selecta quædam loca V. et N. Testamenti. Lugd. Batavorum A. D. 1734.

^k "What alterations were intended to be made by our Lord, he himself declared: he told Nicodemus, that *except a man (ris, i. e. every one, without distinction of sexes) be born again, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.* He there shews that

"Baptism was instituted for *all mankind*, in opposition to their doctrine *who taught that children of proselytes born after proselytism, needed not to be baptized.*" *Wotton, Miscell. Disc.* vol. i. p. 111.

^l Vid. Marckii. Dissertat. Syllog. ad N. Test. dissert. xxi. p. 355, 356.

^m Neque enim Spiritus sine aqua operari potest, neque aqua sine Spiritu: *Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian.* p. 330. edit. Bened. conf. p. 148, 149, 260. Cyrill. Catech. iii. p. 41.

Nos pisciculi, secundum Ixθvv nostrum, Jesum Christum, in aqua nascimur, nec aliter quam in aqua permanendo salvi sumus. *Tertullian. de Bapt. c. i.* p. 224. Conf. Ger. Voss. Opp. tom. vi. p. 269.

ⁿ See my Christian Sacrifice explained, Appendix, vol. v. chap. ii. § iii. and Sacramental Part of the Eucharist explained, vol. v. ad princ.

The Holy Spirit was understood to *impregnate*, as it were, the waters of the font, (like as he once *overshadowed* the blessed Virgin,) in order to make them conceive and bring forth that *holy thing* formed after Christ; namely, the *new man*. Whatever aptness or justness there may or may not be in the *similitude*, (for *figures* of speech ought not to be strained to a *rigorous exactness*;) yet one thing is certain, that the ancients took in *Baptism* to their notion of *regeneration*. A learned writer has well proved at large, beyond all reasonable contradiction, that both the Greek and Latin Fathers, not only used that word for *Baptism*, but so *appropriated* it also to *Baptism*, as to *exclude* any other conversion, or repentance, not considered with *Baptism*, from being signified by that name^o; so that according to the ancients, *regeneration*, or *new birth*, was either *Baptism* itself, (including both *sign* and *thing*;) or a change of man's spiritual state considered as wrought by the *Spirit* in or through *Baptism*. This new birth, this *regeneration*, could be but *once* in a Christian's whole life, as *Baptism* could be but *once*: and as there could be no *second* *Baptism*, so there could be no *second* new birth. *Regeneration*, with respect to the regenerating agent, means the first *admission*, and with respect to the *recipient*, it means the *first entrance* into the spiritual or Christian life: and there cannot be two *first entrances*, or two *admissions*, any more than two *spiritual lives*, or two *Baptisms*. The analogy which this new *spiritual* life bears to the *natural*, demonstrates the same thing^p. There are, in all, *three* several *lives* belonging to every good

And to the authorities there referred to may be added Theodorus Mopsuestenus, Apollinarius, and Ammonius, cited in Conderius's Greek Catena on John iii. 5. p. 89.

Some considered the *Church* and the *Spirit* as the two parents, as St. Austin often does, and Leo the First, and others: but still the notion was much the same, because the *Church* was supposed to be a parent only in and by the use of *Water-baptism*.

^o Wall, *Infant Baptism*, part i. xcv. 22, 25, 28, 29, 30. Defence, p. 12, 34, 41, 277, 318, 323, 327, 329, 333, 343. Append. p. 4, 6. Comp. Archbishop Sharpe, vol. iii. serm. xiii. p. 280, &c. Suicer. Thesaur. tom. i. p. 243, 396, 639, 1352. tom. ii. p. 278, 549, 554. Canguis, Glossar. Græc. p. 1084.

Bingham, xi. 1, 3. p. 462.

^p Cum ergo sint duæ nativitates— una est de terra, alia de cœlo; una est de carne, alia de spiritu; una est de mortalitate, alia de æternitate; una est de masculino et fœmina, alia de Deo et Ecclesia. Sed ipsæ duæ *singulæ* sunt; nec illa potest *repeti*, nec illa.— Jam natus sum de *Adam*, non me potest *iterum* generare *Adam*: jam natus sum de *Christo*, non me potest *iterum* generare *Christus*. Quomodo uterus non potest *repeti*, sic nec *Baptismus*. *Augustin. in Johan. tract. xi. p. 378. tom. iii. par. 2. edit. Bened. Conf. Prosper. Sentent. 331. p. 246. apud Augustin. tom. x. in Append. Aquinas Summ. par. iii. qu. 66. art. 9. p. 150.*

Christian, and *three births* of course, thereto corresponding^q. *Once* he is born into the *natural* life, born of Adam; *once* he is born into the *spiritual* life, born of *water* and the *Spirit*; and *once* also into a *life of glory*, born of the *resurrection* at the last day. I mention that *third* birth, into a life above, because that birth also seems to have the name of *regeneration*, in the New Testament^r. But my present concern is only with the *regeneration* proper to this life, which comes but *once*, and admits not of a *second*, during this mortal state^s. This *regeneration*, in the *active* sense, is what St. Peter speaks of, where he says, "God hath begotten us again unto a lively hope^t." And afterwards, in the same chapter, but in the *passive* sense, "Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but incorruptible, by the word of God^u:" that is, by the *words* used in the *form of Baptism*; or else by the *word* preached, conducting men to *faith* and *Baptism*. These texts relating to the *new birth*, speak of it as a *transient* thing, once performed, and retaining its *virtue* during the whole spiritual life. But when the phrase of *born of God* is found to denote a *permanent state*^x, it is to be understood of a person who *has been* born of God, and *abides* entirely in that *sonship*, that spiritual and salutary state which he was *once* born into: so the phrase, *born of a woman*, is often used as equivalent to *son of a woman*, by a figure of speech^y, and is easily understood. *Regeneration*, on the part of the *Grantor*, God Almighty, means *admission* or *adoption*^z into sonship, or spiritual citizenship: and on the part of the *grantee*, viz. man, it means his *birth*, or entrance into that state of sonship, or citizenship. It is God that *adopts*, or *regenerates*, like as it is God that *justifies*^a. Man does not *adopt*, *regenerate*, or *justify* himself, whatever hand he may other-

^q Vid. Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. xl. p. 637. Origen. in Matt. Orat. ix. fol. 23. Lat. ed. p. 391. ed. Huet. Augustin. contr. Julian. lib. ii. p. 540, 541.

^r Matt. xix. 28. See Commentators, and Bishop Pearson on the Creed, art. i. p. 28. and particularly Olearius in Matt. p. 540.

^s Οὐκ ὀνόματι δευτέρας ἀναγεννήσεως, οὐδὲ ἀναπλάσεως, κ. τ. λ. Nazianz. Orat. xl. p. 641. Conf. Nicet. Serron. Comment. p. 1048. Semel perceptam parvulus gratiam non amittit nisi propria impietate, si ætatis accessu tam malus evaserit. Tunc enim etiam propria incipiet habere peccata; quæ non

regeneratione auferantur, sed *alia* curatione sanentur. August. ad Bonifac. tom. ii. ep. 98. p. 264. ed. Bened. Conf. Damascen ad Hebr. vi. 6. Opp. tom. ii. p. 237, et sequ.

^t 1 Peter i. 3. ^u 1 Peter i. 23.

^x 1 John iii. 9. iv. 7. v. 1, 4, 18.

^y Job xiv. 1. xv. 14. xxv. 4. Matt. xi. 11. Luke vii. 28.

^z Rom. viii. 15. Gal. iv. 5. Ephes. i. 5. John i. 12. Note, that our *adoptive* sonship is opposed to our Lord's *natural* Sonship, the foundation of our *adoption*.

^a Vid. Bull's Harmon. Apost. par. ii. c. 2. p. 418.

wise have (but still under *grace*) in *preparing* or *qualifying* himself for it. God makes the *grant*, and it is entirely *his act*: man *receives* only, and is acted upon; though sometimes *active* in qualifying himself, as in the case of *adults*, and sometimes entirely *passive*, as in the case of *infants*. The thing granted and received is a change from the state natural into the state spiritual; a translation from the *curse* of *Adam* into the *grace* of *Christ*. This *change*, *translation*, or *adoption*, carries in it many Christian blessings and privileges, but all reducible to two, viz. *remission of sins*, (absolute or conditional,) and a *covenant claim*, for the time being, *to eternal happiness*. Those blessings may all be forfeited, or finally lost, if a person revolts from God, either for a time or for ever; and then such person is no longer in a *regenerate* state, or a state of *sonship*, with respect to any *saving* effects: but still God's original grant of adoption or sonship in Baptism stands in full force, to take place as often as any such revolter shall return, and not otherwise: and if he desires to be as before, he will not want to be *regenerated* again, but renewed, or reformed. *Regeneration complete* stands in two things, which are, as it were, its two *integral* parts, the *grant* made over to the person, and the *reception* of that grant. The grant once made *continues* always the same: but the reception may *vary*, because it depends upon the condition of the recipient^b.

II.

Having said what I conceived sufficient upon the first article, respecting *regeneration*, I now proceed to the second, which is *renovation*; and which I understand of a *renewal* of *heart*, or *mind*. Indeed, *regeneration* is itself a kind of *renewal*; but then it is of the *spiritual state*, considered *at large*; whereas *renovation*, the other article in the text, seems to mean a more *particular* kind of *renewal*, namely, of the inward *frame*, or *disposition* of the man: which is rather a *capacity*, or *qualification*, (in *adults*,) for *salutary* regeneration, than the regeneration itself. *Regeneration* may be granted and received (as in *infants*) where that *renovation* has no place at all, for the time being: and therefore, most certainly, the notions are very distinct. But of this I may say more hereafter in a proper place. It may here be further noted, that *renovation* may be, and should be, with respect to

^b "As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God." John i. 12. Rom. viii. 14, 15.

adults, *before*, and *in*, and *after* Baptism. *Preventing* grace must go before, to work in the man *faith* and *repentance*, which are qualifications previous to Baptism, and necessary to render it *salutary*. Those first addresses, or influential visits, of the Holy Spirit, turning and preparing the heart of man, are the preparative *renewings*, the first and lowest degrees of *renovation*^c. Afterwards, in Baptism, the same Spirit fixes, as it were, his *dwelling*, or residential *abode*, renewing the heart in *greater* measure^d: and if his motions are still more and more complied with after baptismal regeneration, the *renewing* grows and improves through the whole course of the spiritual life^e. Therefore, though we find no Scripture exhortations made to *Christians* (for Nicodemus was a *Jew*) to become *regenerated*, yet we meet with several exhortations to them to be again and again *renewed*. For example; “Be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind^f;” “Be renewed in the spirit of your mind^g.” The “inward man” is said to be “renewed day by day^h.” And when Christians have once fallen off, the *restoring* them again is not called *regenerating* them, but “renewing them again unto repentanceⁱ.” Of this *renovation* of the heart, we may best understand the phrase of “putting on the new man^k,” amount-

^c *Spiramen* est modicæ virtutis aliqua gratia, in audienda lege Dei multorum *primum*: *Spiritus* autem, perfectionis est *plentitudo*. *Spiramen* itaque datur ab infantia et *catechumenis*: *Spiritus* autem in incremento *doctrinæ fideique*, et salutaris *Baptismi* plena Dei gratia, ut intelligere, et ad majorem jam possit scientiam pervenire. *Philastr. contr. Hær.* n. 147. p. 329. ed. Fabric.

^d *Spiritus ubi vult spirat*; sed quod fatendum est, aliter adjuvat *nondum inhabitans*, aliter *inhabitans*: nam *nondum inhabitans* adjuvat *ut sint fideles*, *inhabitans* adjuvat *jam fideles*. *Augustin. ad Xyst. ep.* 194. p. 720.

In quibusdam tanta est *gratia* fidei quanta non sufficit ad obtinendum regnum cælorum: sicut in *catechumenis*, sicut in ipso *corpore* Christi, et sancto Dei *templo* deputentur. *Augustin. de Divers. Q. ad Simplicium*, tom. vi. lib. 1. p. 89. ed. Bened.

^e Hæc *Spiritus donatio*, quæ *jus-*

tificationem sequitur, a *gratia* ejusdem *Spiritus* hominis *conversionem præveniente* et operante *bifariam* imprimis differt. *Primo*, Quod animæ jam a vitiis purgatæ *Spiritus* divinus *arctius* atque *intimius* quam antea *unitur*, in ipsam *altius* penetrat, *plenusque* ejus facultates omnes pervadit. Unde in *Scripturis* dicitur *Spiritus* divinus ante *conversionem* hominis, quasi *ad cordis ostium pulsare*, post *conversionem* vero *interiora* domus *intrare*. *Apoc.* iii. 20. Deinde, quod sanctissimus ille *Spiritus* in anima, quam antea veluti *inviserat* tantum, et *gratia* sua *præveniente* in domicilium sibi *preparaverat*, jam *habitat* et quasi *sedem* suam *figit*; nunquam inde discessurus, nisi per peccatum aliquod *gravius* foras extrudatur. *Bull. Apolog. contra Tullium*, p. 15. alias p. 643.

^f Rom. xii. 2.

^g Ephes. iv. 23, or, *by the spirit of your mind*. See Bishop Bull's *Posth.* p. 1135, 1136.

^h 2 Cor. iv. 16.

ⁱ Hebr. vi. 6.

^k Ephes. iv. 24. Coloss. iii. 10.

ing to much the same with "having on the breastplate of righteousness^l;" and "putting on the armour of light^m," and "putting on bowels of mercies," with other Christian virtues or gracesⁿ. Of the same import is the phrase of *putting on Christ*; plainly in one of the places^o, and probably in the other also^p: though some interpret the former of *renovation*, and the latter of *regeneration*^q. Lastly, the phrase of *new creature*^r may properly be referred to *renovation* also, and is so interpreted by the *ancients*^s generally: or if it be referred to *regeneration*, as ordinarily including and comprehending *renovation* under it, that larger construction of it will not perhaps be amiss.

The *distinction*, which I have hitherto insisted upon, between *regeneration* and *renovation*, has been carefully kept up by the Lutheran Divines especially^t, as of great use. And it is what our Church appears to have gone upon, in her *offices* of Baptism, as likewise in the Catechism. She clearly expresses it in one of her Collects, wherein we beg of God, that we being *regenerate* and made his children by adoption and grace, may daily be *renewed* by his Holy Spirit, &c.^u: such is the *public* voice of our Church. What the *private* sentiments of some Divines have been, or how far they have overlooked, or not attended to this so necessary distinction, is not material to inquire: but that it never has been lost amongst us may appear from the words of a very judicious Divine of this present age^x. The difference between these two may be competently understood from what has been already said: but to make it still clearer, it may be drawn out more minutely, in distinct articles, as follows: 1. *Regeneration* and *renovation* differ in respect to the *effective* cause or agency: for one is the work of the *Spirit* in the use of *water*; that is, of the Spirit *singly*, since *water* really *does* nothing, is no *agent* at all; but the other is the work of the *Spirit* and the

^l Ephes. vi. 14. ¹ Thess. v. 8.

^m Rom. xiii. 12. ⁿ Coloss. iii. 12.

^o Rom. xiii. 14. See Whitby and Wolfius in loc.

^p Gal. iii. 27. Vid. Wolfius in loc.

^q Deylingius, *Observ. Sacr.* tom. iii. dissert. 42. p. 406.

^r 2 Cor. v. 17. Gal. vi. 15. See Whitby and Wolfius; and Bishop Beveridge, vol. ii. serm. vii.

^s See the passages collected in Suicer, tom. ii. p. 178, 179.

^t Vid. Gerhard, *Loc. Comm.* tom. iv. p. 495, 503, &c. conf. tom. iii.

p. 713, &c.

^u Collect for Christmas-day.

^x "There is a mighty difference between *regeneration* and *renovation*: we can be *born* but *once*, because we can *live* but *once*; and therefore Baptism, which gives life, cannot be *repeated*: but we can *recover often*, and grow and be *nourished often*, because we can *sink and droop often*." *Dean Stanhope, Boyle's Lect.* serm. viii. p. 249. Compare Archbishop Sharpe, vol. iii. serm. xiii. p. 279.

man together. Man *renews* himself at the same time that the Spirit *renews* him: and the *renovation* wrought is the result of their *joint agency*; man concurring and operating in a *subordinate* way. "It is God that worketh in us both to will and "to do:" but still it is supposed, and said, that we both *will* and *do*. It is God that *renews, cleanses, and purifies* the heart^z: and man also *renews, cleanses, and purifies* his own heart^a; that is, he bears his part in it, be it more or less. No man *regenerates* himself at all; that is, he has no part in the *regenerating act*, (which is entirely God's,) whatever he may have in the *receptive*: and if in this sense only it be said, that man is purely *passive* in it, it is true and sound doctrine. Nevertheless, he may and must be *active* in preparing and qualifying himself for it, and in receiving it, supposing him to be *adult*. He is not his own *regenerator, or parent*, at all, in his new birth: for that would be a *solecism* in speech, and a contradiction in notion: he is, however, his own *renewer*, though in part only, and in subordination to the *principal agent*. 2. Another difference between *regeneration* and *renovation* (before hinted) is, that *regeneration* ordinarily is in or through *Baptism* only, a transient thing, which comes but once^b: whereas *renovation* is before, and in, and after *Baptism*, and may be often repeated; continuing and increasing from the first *preparations* to Christianity, through the whole progress of the Christian life. So it is in *adults*: but in *infants*, regeneration commences *before* renovation; which again shews how distinct and different they are. 3. A third observable difference is, that *regeneration* once given can never be *totally* lost, any more than *Baptism*; and so can never want to be *repeated* in the *whole* thing; whereas *renovation* may be

^y Phil. ii. 13.

^z Psalm xix. 12. li. 2, 10. Jerem. xxiv. 7. Ezekiel xi. 19. xxxvi. 26. Acts xv. 9. Tit. iii. 5. 1 John i. 9.

^a Psalm cxix. 9. lxxiii. 13. Isa. i. 16. Ezek. xviii. 31. 2 Cor. vii. 1. James iv. 8. 1 Peter i. 22. 1 John iii. 3. Conf. Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. i. p. 16, 17. ed. Bened.

^b The late learned Regius Professor of Divinity, at Cambridge, Dr. Beaumont, in his MS. Commentary on Rom. xii. 2, writes thus:

Sed scrupulum hic injicies: nonne enim Apostolus commonefacit fratres suos, adeoque Christianos, per Bap-

tismum *reginitos*, adeoque et *avakai-vwov* istam adeptos? Quid opus igitur actum agere? Nil sane. Nec monet eos baptismata iterare: *semel nascimur, renascimur semel*: unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptismata, Ephes. iv. 5. Quoniam vero ipsi *renati* ex baptismali puritate non raro relabuntur ad *veteris hominis* inquinamenta, ex usu eorum est assidua per poenitentiam *renovatio*. Hinc Chrysostomus, &c. Then he quotes Chrysostom's words on Rom. xii. 2. Hom. xx. p. 659. tom. ix. ed. Bened. and afterwards adds, Similia videas apud Photium et Theophylactum.

often repeated, or may be totally lost. *Once regenerate and always regenerate*, in some part, is a true maxim in Christianity, only not in such a sense as some *moderns* have taught^c. But a person once *regenerated* in Baptism can never want to be regenerated again in this life, any more than he can want to be *rebaptized*. So much for the *difference* between *regeneration* and *renovation*^d: let us next consider how far they *agree*, or how near they are *allied*. As one is a renewal of the *spiritual state*, and the other a renewal of the *heart and mind*, it must follow, that so far as a renewal of *mind* is necessary to a renewal of *state*, so far it is a necessary ingredient of the *new birth*, or an *integral part* of it. A grant is suspended, frustrate, as to any *beneficial* effect, while not properly received: and while there is an insuperable bar to the salutary reception of it, it cannot be *savingly received* or *applied*. Therefore in the case of *adults*, regeneration and renovation must go together: otherwise the regeneration is not a *salutary* nor a complete *regeneration*, wanting one necessary ingredient of it, namely, a *capacity* or *qualification*.

But this may still be more clearly understood by applying those *general* principles to four *special* cases, which I shall next endeavour to do, and then shall take leave of this head. The *four cases* are: 1. The case of *grown* persons coming to Baptism in their *integrity*, and so continuing afterwards. 2. The case of *infants* brought in their *innocency*, and leading the rest of their

^c Those I mean who have taught that the *regenerate* can never *finally* fall from *grace*. See our Sixteenth Article on this head.

^d Vossius distinguishes *regeneration* from *renovation* by what they respectively *contain*, thus:

Quemadmodum vero ad *regenerationem*, pressius sumptam, pertinet *remissio* peccatorum; ita ad *renovationem* refertur *mortificatio* veteris, et *vivicificatio* novi hominis: quæ idcirco *Baptismo* tribuuntur. *Voss. de Bapt.* Disp. ix. Thes. 6. Opp. tom. vi. p. 270. Gerhard distinguishes nearly the same way in his *Common-Places*, tom. iii. p. 714. tom. iv. p. 495, 504.

Regenerationis vocabulum quandoque *generale* est, ipsam quoque *renovationem* in ambitu suo complectens: interim tamen, proprie et accurate loquendo, *regeneratio* a *renovatione*

distincta est. Tom. iv. p. 495. *Renovatio*, licet a *regeneratione* proprie et specialiter accepta distinguatur, individuo tamen et perpetuo nexu cum ea est conjuncta—Per *Baptismum* homo non solum *renascitur*, (id est, peccatorum *remissionem* consequitur, *justitiam Christi* induit, *filius Dei*, et *hæres vitæ æternæ* efficitur,) sed etiam *renovatur*: hoc est, datur ipsi *Spiritus Sanctus*, qui *intellectum*, *voluntatem*, et omnes *animi vires renovare* incipit, ut amissa *Dei imago* in ipso incipiat *instaurari*, &c. p. 504. *Regenerationis* vox quandoque sumitur *γενικῶς*, ut et *remissionem* peccatorum, et *renovationem* simul complectatur; quandoque vero *ειδικῶς* accipitur, ut *remissionem* peccatorum ac *gratuitam justificationem* tantummodo designat. *Gerhard*, tom. iii. p. 714.

lives according to that beginning. 3. The case of such grown persons or infants so baptized, but *falling off* afterwards. 4. The case of grown persons coming to Baptism in *hypocrisy* or *impenitency*; but repenting afterwards and turning to God. The considering how the affair of *regeneration* or *renovation* may respectively stand in each of these cases, may perhaps serve to clear up the whole matter to greater satisfaction.

1. I begin with the case of *grown* persons, called *adults*, coming to Baptism fitly prepared by faith and repentance, and afterwards persevering to the end. This was a common case in the earliest days of Christianity, when the whole world wanted to be converted. *Grown* persons were then the most, and the most considerable candidates for Baptism. When the discipline of the Church came to be settled into something of a regular and standing form, those candidates for Baptism were trained up beforehand, by proper instructions, and were therefore called *catechumens*^e. Afterwards they were to be admitted to *Baptism*, when fitly prepared, in order to be effectually “born of water” and the Spirit,” and so made living members of Christ, children of God, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven. *Faith* and *repentance* alone, though both of them were antecedently *gifts* of the Spirit, were not supposed *ordinarily* to make them *regenerate*, or to entitle them to *salvation*, without *Baptism*, by the Scripture accounts^f. There might be some special cases, or uncommon circumstances, where *martyrdom* supplied the place of *Water-baptism*, or where *extremities* were supposed to *supersede* it; in which cases inward regeneration might be perfected without the outward *sign* and *sacrament* of it: but, according to the *ordinary* rule, faith and repentance were to be perfected by *Baptism*, both for the making *regeneration* and the giving a title to *salvation*^h. For without *Baptism* a person is not *regenerate*; at least, not in the eye of the Church, which must judge by the *ordinary* rule,

^e Bingham, x. 1, 4.

^f Mark xvi. 16. John iii. 5. Ephes. v. 26. 1 Cor. xii. 13. 1 Pet. iii. 21.

^g Bingham, x. ii. 19, 20, 21. p. 42, &c. alias p. 431. Augustin. de Bapt. lib. iv. cap. 22. Hooker, vol. ii. b. v. n. 50. p. 245. Ox. edit.

^h Nisi quis nascitur ex aqua et Spiritu, non ibit in regnum Dei: id est, non erit sanctus. Ita omnis anima eo usque in Adam censetur, donec in Christo recenseatur: tam diu im-

munda quamdiu recenseatur: peccatrix autem quia immunda, recipiens ignominiam ex carnis societate. Tertull. de Anima, cap. xl. p. 294.

ⁱ Ἀρχὴ μοι ζωῆς τὸ Βάπτισμα, καὶ πρώτη ἡμερῶν ἐκείνη ἢ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας ἡμέρα. Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. cap. x. p. 22. tom. 3. ed. Bened. Conf. cap. xii. p. 23, 24. Item Bull. Apolog. p. 650, alias 23. Damascen. de Rect. Fid. lib. iv. cap. 9. p. 261. Vossius de Bapt. Opp. tom. vi. p. 269.

and which cannot *dispense*, whatever God himself may please to do in such cases. Till Baptism succeeds, the solemn and saving *stipulation*^k between God and the party does not pass in due form; nor the awful *consecration* of the man to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost^l. He is not yet *buried* with Christ *into death*, nor *planted* in the likeness of his *resurrection*^m; nor indeed *clothed* with Christ, the baptismal garmentⁿ. Therefore, in strictness, he is not a *member* of Christ, nor a *child* of God, nor a *citizen* of Christ's kingdom; but an *alien* still, having no *covenant claim* to the Gospel privileges^o. But when a penitent becomes *baptized*, then commences his *new birth*, his *death unto sin*, in the plenary remission of it, (by the *application* of the merits of Christ's death,) and his new *life unto God*, through Jesus Christ once raised from the grave, and from thenceforth ever *living unto God*^p. And now that *renovation* which in some degree was *previous* to regeneration, becomes, in greater degrees, a *fruit* and *complement* of it; and it *grows* more and more by the *in-dwelling* of that same *Spirit*, whose remote addresses and distant overtures first brought the man to that *faith* and *repentance*, which prepared him for salutary Baptism, and for true and complete sonship, or Christian adoption. More need not be said of the first of the *four* cases, and therefore now I proceed to a second.

2. The second is the case of *infants*. Their innocence and incapacity are to them instead of *repentance*, which they do not need, and of actual *faith* which they cannot have. They are capable of being *savingly born* of *water* and the *Spirit*, and of being *adopted* into *sonship* with what depends thereupon; because, though they bring no *virtues* with them, no *positive*

ⁱ Institutio sacramentorum, quantum ad Deum autorem, *dispensationis* est; quantum vero ad hominem obedientem, *necessitatis*: quoniam in potestate Dei est *præter ista* hominem salvare; sed in potestate hominis non est *sine istis* ad salutem pervenire. Hugo de Sacrament. lib. i. cap. 5. in Hooker, vol. ii. p. 249. Ox. edit.

^k See 1 Pet. iii. 22.

^l Matt. xxviii. 19.

^m Rom. vi. 3, 4, &c.

ⁿ Gal. iii. 27.

^o As we are not naturally *men* without *birth*, so neither are we *Christian* *mén*, in the eye of the Church of God,

but by *new birth*; nor, according to the manifest ordinary course of Divine dispensation, *new born*, but by that *Baptism* which both *declareth* and *maketh* us Christians. In which respect, we justly hold it to be the *door* of our *actual entrance* into God's house, the first apparent beginning of life, a seal perhaps to the *grace* of *election* before received; but to our *sanctification* here, a step that hath not any before it. Hooker, vol. ii. b. 5. n. 60. p. 249. Ox. edit.

^p Rom. vi. 10, 11. Mark xvi. 16. Acts viii. 37. x. 47.

righteousness, yet they bring no *obstacle* or *impediment*. They *stipulate*, they enter into *contract*, by their sureties, upon a presumptive and interpretative consent: they become *consecrated* in solemn form to *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*: pardon, mercy, and other *covenant privileges*, are made over to them^q; and the Holy Spirit translates them out of their state of *nature* (to which a *curse* belongs) to a state of *grace, favour, and blessing*: this is their regeneration^r. Wherefore in our public offices, formed upon the ancient rules and precedents, we pray, that the infants brought to be baptized may be “washed and sanctified “with the Holy Ghost,”—may receive remission of their sins by spiritual regeneration,—may be “born again,” and that “the “old Adam may be so buried, that the new man may be raised “up in them.” We declare afterwards, that they “are regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ’s Church:” giving thanks also to God, that “it hath pleased him to regenerate them with his Holy Spirit, and to receive them for his “own children by adoption, and to incorporate them into his “holy Church^s.” It may reasonably be presumed, that from the time of their *new birth* of water and the Spirit, (which at that very moment is a renewal of their *state* to God-ward,) the renewing also of the *heart* may come gradually on with their first dawns of *reason*, in such measures as they shall yet be capable of; in a way to us imperceptible, but known to that Divine Spirit who *regenerates* them, and whose *temple* from thenceforth they are^t, till they defile themselves with *actual* and *grievous* sin. In this case, it is to be noted, that regeneration *precedes*, and renovation can only *follow* after^u: though

^q Certe nemo neget, infantes capaces esse beneficii ἀφέσεως τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν, quod δικαιῶσι, justificationem, appellare solemus: est enim id beneficium externum et οὐρανοῦ, quod in infantes ad Christi Jesu intercessionem propter ejus ὑπακοήν, Spiritu Sancto pro illorum conversione et renovatione, spondente (liceat hic humano more balbutire) conferri potest. Vitringa, *Obs. Sacr.* lib. ii. cap. 6. p. 338.

^r Omnes enim venit [Dominus] per semetipsum salvare; omnes, inquam, qui per eum renascuntur in Deum; infantes, et parvulos, et pueros, et juniores, et seniores. *Iren.* lib. ii. cap. 22. p. 147. ed. Bened.

Conf. Voss. tom. vi. p. 278, 307.

^s Public Baptism of Infants. Compare Office of Private Baptism, where it is said, that the infant is now by the laver of regeneration in Baptism, received into the number of the children of God: and the Catechism, Q. the second, with the Answer: and the latter part concerning the Sacrament of Baptism. Compare also the Office of Confirmation, repeating the same doctrine.

^t Vid. Augustin. Epist. clxxxvii. cap. 8. p. 686.

^u In baptizatis infantibus præcedit regenerationis sacramentum, et si Christianam tenuerint pietatem, sequetur in corde conversio, cujus mys-

infants may perhaps be found capable of receiving some seeds of *internal grace* sooner than is commonly imagined^z. But enough of this.

3. A third case which I promised to speak to is, that of those who fall off after they have once been savingly *regenerated*. If such persons *fall away*, by desertion and disobedience, still their baptismal *consecration*, and their *covenant state* consequent, abide and stand; but without their *saving* effect for the time being: because, without present *renovation*, the *new birth*, or *spiritual life*, as to salutary purposes, is, in a manner, sinking, drooping, ceasing. Their regenerate state, upon their revolt, is no longer such, in the *full saving* sense, wanting one of its *integral* parts; like as a ruined house ceases to be an *house*, when it has nothing left but *walls*. But yet as an house, while there are *walls* left, does not need to be *rebuilt* from the ground, but *repaired* only, in order to become an *house* again as before; so a person once savingly *regenerated*, and afterwards losing all the *salutary* use of it, will not want to be *regenerated* again, or *born anew*, but to be *reformed* only. Which when done, his regeneration before decayed, and as to any *saving* effect, for the time, well-nigh ruined, but never *totally* lost^y, becomes again *whole* and *entire*. To be short, *perfect* regeneration is to the *spiritual* life what *perfect* health is to the natural: and the *recoveries* of the *spiritual health*, time after time, are not a *new* regeneration, but a restoring or improving of the *old*. To be *born anew* would be the same thing as to have *all* done over again that God had before done to make a man a Christian, and to put him into a *covenant state*: but since he who is once a Christian is always a Christian, and there is no such thing as a *second* Baptism, it is plain that there

terium præcessit in corpore.—In infantibus qui baptizati *moriuntur*, eadem gratia omnipotentis implere credenda est; quod non ex impia voluntate, sed ex ætatis indigentia, nec corde credere ad justitiam possunt, nec ore confiteri ad salutem. *Augustin. de Bapt.* lib. v. cap. 24. p. 140. Conf. Nazianz. Orat. xxxvii. p. 609.

^x Vid. Vitringa, *Observ. Sacr.* lib. ii. cap. 6. p. 329. alias 339. *Vossius* de Bapt. Disp. vi. Opp. tom. vi. p. 278.

^y Regenerationis gratiam ita etiam

hi non minuunt qui dona *non servant*, sicut *lucis* nitorem loca *immunda* non polluunt. Qui ergo gaudes Baptismi perceptione, vive in *novi hominis* sanctitate; et tenens fidem quæ per dilectionem operatur, habe bonum quod nondum habes, ut *prosit* tibi bonum quod habes. *Prosper. Sentent.* 325. *apud Augustin.* tom. x. p. 245. *Append.*

Spiritualis enim virtus sacramenti ita est ut *lux*, et ab illuminandis *pura* accipitur, et si per *immundos* transeat, non inquinatur. *Augustin. in Johan.* Tract. v. n. 15. p. 327. tom. iii. part. 2.

can be no such thing here as a second *new birth*, or a second *regeneration*. But of this I said enough before.

4. The *fourth* case, which yet remains to be considered, is the case of those who receive Baptism (like Simon Magus suppose) in *hypocrisy* or *impenitency*. Do they therein receive any thing of the Lord? Or if they do, what is it? Are they thereby regenerated, or born again, born of *water* and of the *Spirit*? I answer, they are either born of *both*, or of *neither*: for otherwise, "born of water and of the Spirit" would not mean *one birth*, but *two*; and so a person might happen to have *two* new births, one of *water* first, and another of the *Spirit* afterwards; which cannot reasonably be supposed. Besides that, the being born of *water* only, which really does nothing of itself, could amount only to a *washing*, (nothing better than *being born* of the *flesh*,) and therefore could not be true or valid *Baptism* in Christian account. Shall we then say, that the ungodly and impenitent are in Baptism *born* of the *Spirit*? That is a point, which, I apprehend, can neither be affirmed nor denied *absolutely*, but with proper *distinctions*. It was anciently a kind of maxim or ruled case in the Church, that all *true* and *valid* Baptism must be so made by the *Spirit*^z. And though some seem to have denied it, or to have demurred upon it^a, yet they really admitted the same thing in other words, by admitting that all *true* Baptism was *Christ's* Baptism, and carried a *sanctity* with it^b: therefore that part of

^z That was a maxim among the Cyprianists especially, (see above, p. 434.) and so it came down to Jerome, who is very express on that head.

Apparet Baptisma non esse sine *Spiritu Sancto*.—Illud nobis monstraretur, *verum* esse Baptisma quo *Spiritus Sanctus* adveniat.—Ecclesiæ Baptisma sine *Spiritu Sancto* nullum est.—Cum Baptisma Christi sine *Spiritu Sancto* nullum sit.—*Spiritus Sanctum*, quem nos asserimus in *vero Baptismate* tribui. *Hieron. adv. Lucif.* p. 293, 294, 295. tom. iv. ed. Bened. Conf. *Epist.* lxxxii. ad Oceanum, p. 651. tom. iv.

^a St. Austin was one of those; he writes thus: *Spiritus Sanctus* disciplinæ fugiet fictum, nec tamen eum fugiet *Baptismus*.—Potest Baptisma esse et unde *se aufert* *Spiritus Sanctus*.—*Induunt* autem homines Chris-

tum, aliquando usque ad *Sacramenti* perceptionem, aliquando et usque ad *vitaë sanctificationem*.—Si Baptisma esse *sine Spiritu non potest*, habent et *Spiritum hæretici*, sed ad *perniciem*, non ad *salutem*: sicut habuit Saul, 1 *Reg.* xviii. 10.—Sicut habent *avari*, qui tamen non sunt *templum Dei*.—Si autem non habent *avari Spiritum Dei*, et tamen habent Baptisma, potest esse *sine Spiritu* Baptisma. *Augustin. de Bapt.* lib. v. cap. 23, 24. p. 157. tom. ix.

^b *Baptismus Christi*, verbis evangelicis *consecratus*, et per adulteros, et in adulteris *sanctus est*, quamvis illi sint impudici et immundi: quia ipsa ejus *sanctitas* pollui non potest, et *sacramento suo divina* virtus adassistit, sive ad *salutem* bene utentium sive ad *perniciem* male utentium. *Augustin. de Bapt.* lib. iii. cap. 10. p. 113. tom.

the dispute was only about *words*, both sides agreeing in the main things. The real and full truth of the case I take to lie in the particulars here following: 1. It is certain in the general, that the *Holy Spirit*, some way or other, has an hand in every *true* and *valid* Baptism: God never fails as to his part in an awful *Sacrament*, however men may guiltily fail in theirs. 2. The *Holy Spirit* is in some sort *offered* to all that receive Christian Baptism: for the very nature of a *sacrament* requires that the *sign* and the *grace* should so far go together: and the *unworthy* could not be guilty of *rejecting* the *grace* while they *receiv*e the *sign*, if both were not *offered* them. 3. As the *Holy Spirit* *consecrates* and sanctifies the *waters* of Baptism, giving them an *outward* and *relative* holiness; so he *consecrates* the *persons* also in an *outward* and *relative* sense, whether good or bad, by a *sacred* dedication of them to the worship and service of the *whole Trinity*: which *consecration* is for ever binding, and has its effect; either to the *salvation* of the parties, if they repent and amend, or to their greater *damnation*, if they do not. 4. I must add, that even the *unworthy* are by their Baptism put into a Christian state: otherwise they would be as mere Pagans still, and would want a *new Baptism* to make them Christians. Therefore as they are by Baptism translated out of their *natural* state into the state Christian, they must be supposed to have *pardon* and *grace*, and all Gospel-privileges *conditionally* made over to them, though not yet *actually* applied, by reason of their disqualifications. A grant which will do them no manner of *service*^c, but *hurt*, if they never repent: but if ever they do repent and turn to God, then that *conditional* grant, suspended, as it were, before, with respect to

ix. Conf. p. 115, 176, 199, 268, 296. et contr. Epist. Parmen. lib. ii. cap. 13. p. 44, 45. 80. tom. ix.

N. B. As St. Austin allows that *sanctity* goes along with all *true* and *valid* Baptism, and as all *sanctification* is of and from the *Holy Spirit*, he must of consequence admit all that Jerome contended for; namely, that all *valid* Baptism is so made by the *Spirit*. Only, he denied such *valid* Baptism in ill men to be *saving* for the time being: and Jerome also denied the same; both agreeing that Baptism might be *true* and *valid*, as sanctified by the *Spirit*, though not *salutary* to some persons in such and

such circumstances.

^c Nihil quippe profruit Simoni Mago visibilis Baptismus, cui sanctificatio invisibilis defuit. *Augustin. super Levit.* q. lxxxiv. p. 524. tom. iii.

Note, that *sanctificatio* is here used in a different meaning from what St. Austin used it in, when he spake of a *sanctification* going along with all *true* and *valid* Baptism, though not *saving*. There he meant an *outward* sanctification, such as I have before described: here he means the *inward sanctification* of any one's heart and mind, necessary to make his Baptism, which was before *valid*, to become *saving* also.

any *saving* effects, begins at length to take place effectually; and so their Baptism, which had stood waiting without any *salutary* fruit for a time, now becomes *beneficial* and *saving* to the returning penitents. At the same time their *regeneration*, begun in Baptism, and left unfinished, (like an *indenture* executed on one side only, or like a *part* without a *counter-part*,) comes at last to be complete, that is, actually *salutary*; not by a formal *regeneration*, (as if nothing had been done before,) but by the *repentance* of the man, and by the *sanctification* or *renovation* of the heart and mind through the *Spirit*, which had been hitherto wanting.

I have now run through the *four* several cases proposed, observing how the affair of *regeneration* and *renovation* stands under each; in order to give the more distinct idea of both, and to remove the main difficulties which appeared to concern either of them. From this account may be collected these particulars: 1. That *regeneration*, as containing grants of *remission*, *justification*, *adoption*, *covenant claim* to life eternal, is a very different notion from *renovation*, which contains only a *renewal* of *heart* and *mind*. 2. That *regeneration* is in some cases (as particularly in the case of baptized infants) not only different in *notion*, or distinct in *theory*, but really and actually *separate* from *renovation* for the time being. 3. That in other cases, *regeneration*, while it takes in *renovation* to render it *complete* or *salutary* to the *recipient*, (and is in fact joined with it,) yet even there it differs from *renovation*, as the *whole* differs from a *part*. 4. That suppose what case, or what circumstances you please, the two *words* or *names* stand, or ought to stand, for different *notions*, for different *combinations* of *ideas*, and never are, or at least never ought to be, used as *reciprocal*, *convertible* terms. Nothing now remains, but to draw some corollaries or inferences from the general principles before laid down, by way of application, for our further improvement.

III.

I proceed therefore to my *third* head of discourse, according to the method chalked out in the entrance above.

1. The first reflection I have to make is, that it is very *improper* language at least, to call upon those who have once been *regenerated*, in their infancy, who have had their *new birth* already at the *font*, to be now regenerated; or to bid them expect a *new birth*. Such applications might properly be directed to Jews, Turks, or Pagans, or to such *nominal* Christians as have thrown

off *Water baptism* : for such really want to be *regenerated*, or *born again*, being still in their *natural* state. But as to others, who are or have been *savingly regenerated* of *water* and the *Spirit*, they should be called upon only to *repent* or *reform*, in order to preserve or repair that *regenerate* state which the *Spirit* once gave them, and which he gave not in vain. There is no instance, no example in Scripture, (as I before hinted,) of any exhortation made to Christians, to become *regenerated*, or *born anew*, but to be *reformed* only, or *renewed* in the *inner man* ; which is a very different notion from the other, as I have before manifested at large. Even Simon Magus, who had been baptized in iniquity, was not exhorted to be *regenerated* afterwards, or *born again*, but to *repent*^d. Our Lord himself, in the Book of Revelations, made use of the like language towards the *revolting* churches ; not bidding them become *regenerate*, but ordering them to *repent*^e : and the wicked prophetess or sorceress, Jezebel, had time given her ; not to be *regenerated* again, but to *repent*^f. The only place I know of in Scripture that looks at all favourable to the notion of a *second* regeneration here, is a text of St. Paul's, where, writing to the *revolting* Church of Galatia, and calling them *his children*, he introduces himself under the emblem of a *pregnant* mother, and says ; " My little children, of whom I travail in birth " again, till Christ be formed in yous." But then consider what an infinite difference there is between the force and import of the two *figures* : one, of a minister's *instrumentally* forming the *minds* and *manners* of his people to *faith* and *holiness*^h ; and the other, of the Spirit's *authoritatively* adopting them into *Divine sonship*, and into *citizenship* with all the family of heaven. The *minister's* instrumental work of *converting* or *renewing* (as even the Spirit's renewing) may often be undone, and may come over and over again : but the *regeneration* of *water* and the *Spirit*, the *consecration* and *adoption* unto God, is quite another thing. Therefore that *lower* sort of *sonship* of a *disciple* towards his *teacher* or *master*, may fail, and be quite extinct : but that *higher* kind of

^d Acts viii. 22.

^e Rev. ii. 5, 16. iii. 3, 19.

^f Rev. ii. 20, 21.

^g Gal. iv. 19.

^h See that *figure* or *emblem* explained in the *ancient* testimonies collected by Suicer, in his Thesaurus, under the word *τέκνα*, vol. ii. p. 1243, 1585. And compare Perkins, in answer to the ob-

jection about a *second* regeneration, as drawn from Gal. iv. 19. For though he intended his *answer* for the service of another *hypothesis*, which I have nothing to do with, yet the substance of it is true and just upon any hypothesis. See Perkins's Comment on the Epistle, amongst his Works, vol. ii. p. 293. 294.

sonship, or *adoption*, once made in *Baptism*, has an abiding force and virtue in it, and never wants to be *reiterated*, as it can never be totally *frustrated*, or made void. In short then, the Galatians might be begotten again to St. Paul, because that meant no more than the being *reinstucted* in the faith and *reclaimed* in manners: but they could not be begotten again to *God*, unless they were to have been *rebaptized*, which the Apostle had no thought of.

The mistake in this matter, I imagine, first arose from the misinterpreting some texts¹, which plainly import a *Water-baptism*, of an inward Baptism of the *Spirit* only. From hence, by degrees, *outward* Baptism came to be thrown out of the idea of *regeneration*^k: the next step was to confound renewal of *state* with renewal of *mind*, and so to throw the former out of the idea of *regeneration*, making it the same with what the text calls *renovation*. In a while, *conversion* and *repentance* came to be used as terms equivalent to *regeneration*: and the consequence thence naturally following would terminate in rejecting the doctrine of *infant regeneration*, as infants are incapable of *conversion* or *repentance*: and the next consequence to that would of course bear hard upon *Infant Baptism*. But that I mention by the way only, as an instance of the *gradual* alterations made in the signification of *words* or *names*, and of the *mischiefs* from thence arising. Indeed most errors, which have crept into the Church, have either been originally founded in *abuse of words*, or kept up by it.

2. Having shewn how *improper* the language is, when *Christians* are called upon to be *regenerated*, I may next observe how *mischievous* also it is many ways, and therefore cannot be looked upon as a mere *verbal* business, or an innocent *misnomer*. 1. The telling of the common people that they ought now to be *re-*

¹ As John iii. 5. and also Tit. iii. 5. See above, p. 427, 428.

^k How mischievous this is, and how contrary to the *ancient* doctrine of *Fathers*, (grounded upon *Scripture*,) may appear from the large commendations they gave of *Baptism*, including *sign* and *thing*; such as *laver of life*, *fountain of life*, *garment of incorruption*, *key of the heavenly kingdom*, *water of life*, *living water*, *quickenig water*, *heavenly donative*, *grace*, *health*, *life*, *seal*, *unction*, *choice gift of God*, *viaticum*, *pledge of resurrection*; *tre-mendous mystery*, such as *unites us to*

Christ, makes us of the *same flesh* with him, or the *temple* of the *Holy Spirit* and of *Christ*. The authorities to this purpose are collected by Albertinus, de Eucharistia, and the places of his book are referred to in his Index, under *Baptismus*. Now though those high expressions ought to be understood *cum grano salis*, in a *qualified* sense; yet certainly it is a great mistake to speak slightly of *Water-baptism*, or not to take it in as the *ordinary* and *necessary*, though instrumental cause of *regeneration*, *sanctification*, and perfect *renovation*.

generated, which few will rightly understand, instead of telling them plainly that they ought, with the help of God's grace, speedily to *repent* and *amend*, (which is all the meaning, if it has any *good* meaning,) is giving them only a *dark* lesson instead of a *clear* one, and throwing *mists* before their eyes in a most momentous article, nearly affecting Christian practice and the spiritual life. 2. The calling upon Christians to be *regenerated*, in a new and wrong sense of the word, when they have been used to *another* and better sense in our *public* offices, and have been taught that they have been *regenerated* long ago, will not only be apt to confound their understandings, but may fill them with many a vain *scruple*, such as may give great disturbance to weak minds. 3. Another inconvenience may be, that if, instead of reminding them to preserve or repair that *regeneration* which they received in their Baptism, they are called upon to receive a *second*, they may thereby be led off from looking back to their *baptismal vows*, (which are excellent lessons of true Christian piety,) and may be put upon quite another scent, nothing near so useful or edifying to them. 4. A further mischief likely to happen in that way is, that many, instead of carefully searching into their lives past, to see wherein they have *offended*, (which is one of the first steps towards *conviction*, and *remorse*, and serious *amendment*,) may be apt to go in quest of what they will call *impulses*, or *inward feelings* of the Spirit; which commonly are nothing more than warm fancies, towering imaginations, and self-flattering presumptions. And this may probably take them off from a cool, careful, and impartial examination into their past life and conduct, by the safe and unerring rule of God's *written* commandments. 5. But what is worst of all, and what has frequently happened, is, that when men become more ambitious of the *honour* and *authority* which the name of the *Spirit* carries with it, than of squaring their lives by the *rules* of that Spirit, laid down in the Gospel, they will be prone to follow any invention or imagination of their own, and will be presumptuous enough to father it upon the blessed Spirit of God¹. It is a

¹ Simon Magus, of the first age, ambitious of the *thing*, for the sake chiefly of the *name*, gave it out that he was *some great one*, Acts viii. 9. or *some great power of God*, Acts viii. 10, 18, 19. Among the Samaritans he pretended to be as the oracle of

God the *Father*; among the Jews, of the *Son*; and among the Gentiles, of the *Holy Ghost*. *Iren.* lib. i. cap. 18. p. 99. Conf. Domini Massuet. pref. p. 55.

Montanus, of the second century, boasted highly and vainly of the

glorious and a most desirable privilege, to be divinely inspired, divinely illuminated, divinely conducted: and as it is so honourable, and so desirable, we need not wonder, if pure *self-flattery*, indulged too far, should lead many, almost *imperceptibly*, (for what more insinuating than the *illusions* of self-love?) into a serious persuasion that they themselves are the *happy favourites* of that Divine Spirit. How compendious a method may it seem of arriving suddenly to *deep learning* without study, and to *profound wisdom* without pain of thought; without the irksome labour of languages, history, and critical inquiries, ordinarily requisite to form a *judicious* interpreter of God's word, and a skilful guide of souls. While others are content to wait for *wisdom* till an advanced age, and in the mean while to go on in the *slow* methods of *labour* and *industry*, (as God has appointed,) these more early proficientes affect to become wise *at once*, wise in a most *eminent* degree, at a much cheaper and easier rate. Who would not wish to be so signally blessed, if it might be in *these days*; or if he knew of any *certain warrant* to bear him harmless, in his making so familiar with the *tremendous* name of the Holy *Spirit* of God? But humble and modest men, who have a due *reverence* for the *Spirit*, and some knowledge of *themselves*, dare not presume so far; being well aware that the setting up a *private spirit*, an imaginary *inspiration*, as a rule of conduct, has been one of the subtlest engines of Satan in all past ages. God has permitted it, probably, for the *trial* of his *faithful* servants, that they may be *proved* and *exercised* every way; and may learn to be as much upon their guard against

Spirit, and deceived many. See Lee's History of Montanism, per tot.

Faustus the Manichee, of the fourth century, being excessively vain, was full of the like big pretences; as St. Austin observes:

Non enim *parvi* existimari se vult, sed *Spiritum Sanctum*, consolatorem et ditatorem fidelium tuorum, auctoritate plenaria, personaliter in se esse persuadere conatus est. *Augustin. Confess.* lib. v. cap. 5. p. 111. ed. Bened.

Something of like kind has been perhaps in every age since. But the all-wise conduct of Divine Providence is very observable in all; that *Scripture inspiration* for seventeen hundred years has maintained its *sole* privi-

lege; and all the other, so far as they have been considered as such, have passed off as *dreams*.

That vanity seems to have commenced first here in England, (since the Reformation, I mean,) or however to have first made some figure, about an hundred years ago, set up by persons who having neither *commission*, nor *talents*, nor *furniture* proper for the *ministry*, professed themselves *saints*, and *sons* of *inspiration*, as the shortest way to silence all objections, and to stop further examination. See Thomas Collier's Letters to the Saints in Taunton, (bearing date A. D. 1646.) in Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 51, &c.

any *surprise* of their understandings, as against any seduction of their *wills*. There are, as I hinted, strong temptations inclining forward men to set up their pretensions to a *private spirit*. It flatters the *pride*, *laziness*, and *vanity* of corrupt nature: most men love to indulge their *own* way and humour, and to get from under the *sober standing rules* of order, decency and regularity. They would be their own *masters* and *lawgivers*, and even make laws for others: and if they can but once persuade themselves, (and what will not blind *self-love* persuade a man into?) that they are *full* of the *Spirit*, they soon grow regardless of the open laws of God and man, affecting to conduct both themselves and others by some *secret* rules of their own breasts. This is a very dangerous *self-deceit*, and not more *dangerous* than it has been common in all ages and countries, as before hinted. If none but *hypocrites* or *ill-designing* men were to be drawn into this snare, the temptation would be *coarsely* laid, and be the less apt to deceive: but the *well-meaning* pretenders to the *Spirit*, who, through a *secret* unperceived *self-flattery*, or a complexional melancholy, first deceive *themselves*, they are of all men the fittest to deceive *others*. Their artless simplicity, their strong and endearing professions are very apt to win upon some of the best natured and best disposed, though unguarded Christians; which the *tempter* knows full well: and he never exercises a deeper or a more refined policy, than when he can thus decoy some very sincere and devout Christians, in a *pious* way, turning their *graces* into *snares*, and, as it were, foiling them with their own artillery.

It may be useful to observe the train whereby this illusion passes upon the easy credulity of less thinking persons. Instead of *repentance* and *amendment* of life, (to which the world should be exhorted,) *regeneration* by the *Spirit* is the phrase given out: from regeneration by the *Spirit* it appears but a small and slight transition, to go on to *inspiration*; for that is a good word, when used in a just and sober sense; and it is frequently so used in our Church Liturgy^m. But the word will also bear a much *higher* sense, as when ascribed to the *Apostles*, or *sacred penmen*; and it is natural for self-admirers to take advantage of

^m In what sense *inspiration* may be justly owned, and in what not, may be clearly seen in Dr. Clagget's Treatise against Owen; Dr. Steb-

bing's Abridgment of it; Dr. Bennet against Quakerism; Mr. Leslie's Snake, &c. sect. xxii. p. 314, &c.

it, and to boast of it in an extravagant way, till at length they make their own presumptions so many dictates of the *Spirit*. The final result is, the setting up a *new rule* of Christian faith, or conduct, undermining, if not directly confronting the rule of God's *written* word, laid down in the Gospelⁿ. Such has been the train, and such may be again, if we take not care to think and speak *soberly, humbly, and reverently* of what concerns the works and ways of the *Divine Spirit*, as we ought to do.

3. It may perhaps be expected that I should here say something upon a question heretofore raised, and often revived, about some pretended *marks* or *tokens of regeneration*. Those who first began to talk in that way (and who have been long dead) might be pious and well meaning men: but they were not very happy in the *use* of their *terms*, or in the *choice* of their *marks*. They should not have asked for *marks of regeneration*, if they thereby meant *proofs* of a *conversion* subsequent to Baptism; which it is certain they did mean: but they should rather have asked for *marks of renovation*, or of a *renewed* heart and mind. And what *marks* could a man pitch upon to satisfy *himself*, in such case, but a *good conscience*? or what *marks* to satisfy *others*, but a *good life*? Then again, in drawing out their *marks*, care should have been taken to be *short* and *clear*; and more particularly to have made choice of none which many a sincere Christian may happen to want, and many a reprobate may chance to have.

ⁿ N. B. *Scripture* and *right reason* are undoubtedly the *rule* whereby every man ought to steer; though infinite ways have been invented, either to *elude* the rule, or to *change* it into something else, under some specious *names* or colours. They that *divide* *Scripture* and *reason* more than half destroy the rule: but they that set aside *both*, for the sake of what they call *inspiration*, or *immediate revelation*, totally destroy the rule, and set up caprice and fancy, or what every body pleases, in its room.

They who contended lately for the *light of reason*, as a rule superior to *Scripture*, or as the *only* rule, and who plainly meant nothing but to bring every rule to their *own way and will*; even they were fond of the name of *inspiration* in their sense; pretending to be inspired, illuminated, or conducted by the *Spirit*, or *Holy Spirit*. See a pamphlet entitled, The

Infallibility of Human Judgment, printed in 1721. p. 44, 45. See also Tindal's Christianity, &c. p. 182, 194, 330. quarto edition.

A pamphlet was published in 1731, entitled, A Demonstration of the Insufficiency both of Reason and Revelation: and the purport of it was, to intimate that *immediate inspiration* was the one thing sufficient, p. 48. Which being what every man pleases to *make* it, or to *call* by that *name*, it is obvious to see how that principle, or pretended principle, sets a man loose from true *religion* and sound *reason*, to follow his *own devices*, under those feigned *names*. All that espouse that loose principle may not perhaps see what it leads to, nor mean to push it so far: but such plainly is the *natural* tendency of it; and it has been but too often exemplified in *fact*.

There was a great defect in those *marks*, that the difference of circumstances in different persons was not sufficiently considered. Some good Christians there are, (I hope many,) who having been regenerated at the font, have been so preserved and protected by God's *grace*, in conjunction with their own pious, persevering endeavours, as never to have experienced any considerable decays of the *spiritual* life, or *regenerate* state. Must they be called upon to recollect the *day, week, month, or year* of their *conversion, or regeneration*, who from their Christian infancy have never been in an *unconverted* or *unregenerate* state at all? Or must the *same* marks (suppose of strong conviction, fearful compunction, stinging remorse nigh to despair, and the like) be sought for in such persons, who have loved and served God sincerely all their days; and who have found religion and righteousness to sit so easy upon them, (as God's service is perfect freedom,) that they have been all along strangers to those pangs, struggles, conflicts, which ungodly men must of course feel in the correcting their evil habits, upon their conversion to godliness? Those pretended marks are manifestly too *particular* to serve all cases, and too *uncertain* to be depended on in any: they appear to have a tendency to *perplex* some, and to *deceive* others; and therefore may prudently be thrown aside as things of *human* invention^p; and in the mean while it will be safe and right to have recourse to *Divine law*. Ask our Lord for a *mark* of a true disciple, and his resolution lies in few words, short and full: "If ye love me, keep my commandments^q:" that is his *mark* of what some call *regeneration*. If you consult St. Paul upon the same point, he will say, "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God^r:" and, "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance: against such there is no law^s." If you ask St. John, who seems to have written a good part of his First Epistle on purpose to confute some of his own time, who vainly boasted of being *born of God*, while they took no care to maintain *good works*^t; I say, if you consult him, he

^p See more of what concerns the pretended *marks* of *regeneration* in an excellent sermon of Archbishop Sharpe, vol. iii. serm. xiii. p. 299, &c.

^q John xiv. 15. ^r Rom. viii. 14.

^s Gal. v. 22, 23.

^t They seem to have been the Simonians, who, among other monstrous opinions, taught that men are

saved by *grace* only, and not according to their *good works*. *Secundum enim ipsius gratiam salvari homines, sed non secundum operas justas*. *Iren.* lib. i. c. 23. p. 100. ed. Bened. Conf. Theodorit. Hæret. Fab. lib. i. c. 1. Bull's Harmon. dissert. i. p. 419. alias p. 13. diss. ii. p. 438. alias p. 33.

will tell you, "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin:" and, "In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil: whosoever doth not righteousness is not of God."¹ The man is known by his *heart* and *life*, tried by the rule of God's *commandments*. These are unerring, infallible *marks*; marks which every *good* Christian has, and every *bad* one wants. But if any scruple should remain about the *application* of this rule to every one's conscience, (because we have all of us *infirmities*, and "in many things we offend all"²;) the *safest* rule whereby to judge of our own particular state, as conform to the *Scripture rule*, I conceive to be this: if we sincerely take care to do the *best we can*, are daily gaining ground of our *vices* and our *passions*, and find ourselves, after the strictest examination, to be upon the *improving* hand, then may we comfortably believe that our *regeneration* yet abides, *salutary* and *entire*, and that we are in a state of *grace* and *salvation*³.

But above all things, beware of ever trusting to *inward feelings*, *secret impulses*, or the like, as *marks* of a good state, till you have thoroughly tried and examined them by the unerring rule of God's *written word*. What are any *impulses*, considered barely in themselves, but some *strong inclinations*, *motions*, or *affections*, which men feel in their breasts, and cannot presently distinguish from the *natural* workings of their own minds? But suppose them by their unusual *strength*, or *warmth*, or their *uncommon manner* of affecting us, to import something *supernatural* or *extraordinary*, (I only make the *supposition*, not affirming that *supernatural* motions are often, or in these days, so distinguished,) then consider, that there are *evil spirits* to tempt and deceive, as well as a *good Spirit* to enlighten and sanctify; and there is no certain way of knowing (without well considering the nature and tendency, the justice or injustice of what we are *moved to*) from *whence* the *impulse* cometh. Judas probably had a *strong impulse* upon him to betray his Lord; for Satan had

¹ 1 John iii. 9, 10. "Ὁ ποιῶν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, one that makes sin, a sin maker: and on the other side, he, the general course and tenor of whose life and conversation is upright and unblamable, is called ὁ ποιῶν τὴν δικαιοσύνην, one that makes righteousness.—By the first, we understand one who gives his mind to sin, and makes a practice of it. By the latter, we understand

"one who gives himself wholly to virtue, and makes it his aim and study to live a good life." Bishop Blackhall, on the Sermon on the Mount, vol. i. serm. x. p. 335.

² James iii. 2.

³ Compare Archbishop Sharpe's larger resolution of the same case, vol. iii. serm. xiii. p. 300, 301, 305, 306.

entered into him^z. What *fair colours* the tempter might lay before him, to calm a rebuking conscience, and whether he might not persuade him, that it would be only giving our Lord an opportunity of setting forth his Divine power and glory in his own *rescue*^a, is more than we can certainly know: but *self-flattery* is apt enough to invent or to lay hold on *soft colourings* and *good meanings*; and there is scarce any wickedness whatever, but what is capable of being so *varnished* by a subtile wit. Ananias was perhaps another instance of *strong impulses*, moving him to "lie to the Holy Ghost," (a grievous sin, and near akin to "lying of the Holy Ghost^b,") Satan had "filled his heart^c." He also might have been deceived by *good meanings*, such as the tempter had artfully suggested, and thrown as *mists* before his eyes: but the thing was *evil in itself*, and he ought to have known it. It is certain that the *persecutors* of the Church of Christ, *some* of them at least, had a very *good meaning* in it, "thinking to do God service^d" by it; yet nobody can doubt but that they therein acted *wickedly*: and we have warrant sufficient from the general rule of Scripture (that "he that committeth sin is of the devil^e") to say, that they were *moved* and *actuated* by *Satan* in what they so did, though with a *zeal for God*, and a *pious* intention to serve him. Therefore again, it is exceeding dangerous to trust either to *warm impulses* or to *godly intentions*, without first strictly inquiring into the *nature* of the acts, and into the *lawfulness* of the *means* to be made use of for compassing the *end* aimed at. If any man "does evil that good may come," he is a *transgressor*: it is acting *wickedly* for God, and dishonouring him most highly, in attempting to serve him by *sin*. Pious intentions or godly aims will never bear a man out in *unwarrantable* practices: the *end* must be *good*, and the *means* also, or else the action is *wicked*, and the man an *ungodly* man. Therefore, at last, as I before hinted, there is no *safe* rule to go by, but the rule of *right* reason in conjunction with God's *written* word: by these every *impulse* must be scanned

^z Luke xxii. 3. John xiii. 2, 27.

^a See Dr. Whitby's Comment on Matt. xxvii. 3.

^b The confident reporting a fact, which nearly concerns the *Holy Ghost*, by a person who *knows not* that fact to be a *truth*, is so like the calling upon God as *witness* to a *false*, or at least a *doubtful* fact, that I scarce see

how to distinguish it, or how to excuse it from being equally criminal. There cannot however be too much *caution* used in matters of that *high* nature, so nearly affecting the honour of the *tremendous* Deity.

^c Acts v. 3, 4.

^d John xvi. 2. Acts xxvi. 9.

^e 1 John iii. 8. John viii. 44.

and tried, both as to *end* and *means*, before we can pass any certain judgment of it, whether it comes from Satan, (if it be really *supernatural*^f) or from the *Spirit* of God. If *God in the soul* (as some term it) commands any thing contrary to *God in the Bible*, as for instance, to be *disobedient* to lawful superiors in things good or lawful, to break comely *order* and *regularity*, (on which depends the very *life* of religion and the *being* of a church,) or to *invade* other men's provinces, or so much as to *take offence* if not permitted to do so : or, if the supposed *God in the soul* is observed to blow men up with *spiritual* pride and *self-admiration*, and a supercilious *contempt* of others, teaching them to reject all remonstrances of sound *reason* to the contrary, as *carnal reasons*, and all remonstrances offered from *Scripture* as coming merely from *natural* men, (which is, in short, resolving to stop their ears against *Scripture* and *reason*, to follow their own fancies ;) I say, if the supposed *God in the soul* either prescribes such practices, or instils such principles of error and confusion ; then may we be assured, that it is not the *God of heaven* that does it, but the " God of this world," (if any,) which sometimes " blinds " the minds of them that believe not, lest the glorious Gospel of " Christ" (the *sovereign* rule of Christian faith and conduct) " should shine upon them^h." Great care should be taken, not to invert the right order of things, not to begin at the wrong end. Say not, *we are favourites of heaven, we have the Spirit ; therefore our hearts are right, and our ways good ;* for that would be drawing a very *precarious* conclusion from *dark* and *disputable* premises : but say rather, (after *impartial* examination,) *our hearts are right, and our ways good, and therefore we have the Spirit.* For he that is *led* by the Spirit, and *walks* by the *written* rules of the Spirit, he, and he only, can upon sure

^f I put in that restriction, as being aware of a middle opinion, which looks upon most of those cases as *compassionate* cases, arising from some unhappy *distemper* of mind, some *complexional* disorder. See Meric Casaubon concerning Enthusiasm, printed A. D. 1655. and Dr. Henry More's Enthusiasmus triumphatus, printed in 1656.

^g See the pamphlet before mentioned, entitled, A Demonstration of the Insufficiency both of Reason and Revelation, p. 48—54. And compare

Dr. Bennet's Confutation of Quakerism, (chap. v. p. 44—61.) in answer to the fond pretences raised from a *mistaken* distinction between the *natural* and *spiritual* man : a distinction, as by some used, contrived only to fence against all conviction or persuasion ; and to set up that monstrous *infallibility* in every *private* man's breast, which is justly detested by all sober men, when pretended to by any *public* person, or by any *collective* body of men whatsoever.

^h 2 Cor. iv. 4.

grounds say, that he *has the Spirit*ⁱ. And when he can say it, let him say it to *himself*, and to *God*, (whom he ought to thank for so inestimable a blessing,) and let him not rashly *boast* of it^k before the world, nor censoriously *judge* or *despise* others; for that would be directly copying after the *proud Pharisee*, and would infallibly *quench* the Spirit. Common *modesty* and *decency*, and above all, our *common Christianity*, forbids all such *boasting* of the ordinary *graces*; which would amount to the same with blazing it abroad, how *pure*, how *holy*, how *righteous* we take ourselves to be, above others. Neither will it avail us, in such cases, to urge that we *know* it, and that we *thank God* for it, ascribing nothing to *ourselves*: for did not even the proud Pharisee do the same, when he said, "God, I thank thee, that "I am not as other men are!" &c. Christianity is an humble, quiet, peaceable, and orderly religion; not noisy or ostentatious, not assuming or censorious, not factious or tumultuous: they who think otherwise of it are altogether strangers to it, and know nothing yet, as they ought to know, of the life and spirit of true Christianity.

4. And here, in the next place, it may not be amiss to throw in some few thoughts concerning a *passionate* religion, and the nature or danger of it. Indeed all our *passions* ought to centre in God, and they can never be better spent than upon his glory and service. But *passion*, even in that case, without *reason*, *judgment*, or sound *discretion* in the use of *just* and *proper* means, works in like manner as any other wild and turbulent passion does; for *passion*, as such, is *blind*. *Violent* passions and unruly

ⁱ Rom. viii. 1, 4, 5, 14. Gal. v. 16, 18. To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them. Isaiah viii. 20.

Hence it appears that God's ordinary way of enlightening men is by the *outward* word written, and not by his *immediate* teaching or inspiration, without such *outward* means. The *Spirit's* work is the *opening* and *disposing* the hearts of men to receive instruction from the *written* word; to improve by *mediate* (not *immediate*) revelation. See Whitby's Comment on James i. 18. p. 678, 679.

^k I said *rashly*, to exclude some very rare and extraordinary cases,

where a person may *commend* himself. St. Paul did so: but then he *knew* that what he said was strictly *true*: he *knew* that there was a very great *necessity* for it: he *knew* that he had *God's warrant* for so doing in that case, writing by *inspiration*, and able to give *miraculous proof of Christ speaking in him*: he did it not for *preeminence over true Apostles*, but to hinder *false Apostles* from assuming a *preeminence over him*, to the *destruction of Christianity*: those were circumstances, which so justify his *self-commendation*, as to leave every other, if in *different* circumstances, or *differently* managed, without excuse.

^l Luke xviii. 11.

affections are the worst guides imaginable, whether in *religion* or in any other affairs of *moment*. For like as an over zealous and over officious *admirer* often forgets the good counsel of a *wise* friend whom he undertakes to *serve*, overlooks his instructions, disturbs all his affairs, crosses his interests, exposes his reputation, and makes it at length necessary for his friend to discard him for his ill-managed fondness: so an heady, unthinking *religionist*, through his *eagerness* and *impatience* in the cause of God, often forgets God's *sacred laws*, and overlooks his all-wise *commandments*; and in conclusion, rather disturbs, obstructs, and exposes religion, than serves it; and therefore cannot reasonably expect a *reward* for it. True religion requires both a *warm* heart and a *cool* head; especially in a *minister* of it, if he proposes to do any good service in his function. It is easy for warm zealots to throw reflections upon the wiser and more considerate guides, who come not up to their degrees of *intemperate* heat and ferment: but a small knowledge of mankind will suffice to shew, that they who will not be converted by cool, calm, and rational measures, will not be wrought upon, as to any good and lasting effect, by eagerness or passion. The world, indeed, is generally *bad*, always was, and always will be: but still we must not venture upon affected, irregular, unjustifiable courses, in order to reclaim it; which in reality would not *reclaim* it, but make it *worse*. Men must be brought to God, in God's own way, if at all. When the ministers of Christ have done all that was *just*, *prudent*, or *proper*, and the effect does not answer, they must not presume to grow as *mad* in one way, as *sinner*s are in another, in hopes to recover them to their *senses*. Is any man zealous for the Lord God of hosts? It is well that he is so. But still there is one thing of as great, or greater importance than any, and which ought to be looked to in the *first* place; namely, to rest contented with God's *approved* and *authorized* methods of *reforming* the world; to submit to his *wisdom* rather than our *own*; to proceed no further than God has *warranted*; but to *stop* where God requires it, as well as to *run* where he has *sent*. God will be served, as becomes an *awful* Governor of the universe, not with *amorous* freedoms or *fond* familiarities, but with reverence and respectful fear; at a becoming *distance*, in due form and solemnity, and with the strictest *order* and *regularity*. He struck Uzzah with death for his over officiousness^m; con-

^m 2 Sam. vi. 7. 1 Chron. xiii. 9, 10.

demned Saul for intermeddling where he had nothing to doⁿ; and reproved the Prophets, or pretended prophets, for *prophesying lies in his name*, and *running* where they were not *sent*^o. Under the New Testament, some transformed themselves into *Apostles of Christ*, and gloried of their being *ministers of righteousness*, even above St. Paul: they were sharply rebuked by the same St. Paul; and were by him put in mind, that they were Satan's ministers in doing it, and only copied after him; for Satan knew how to be *transformed*, when occasion should serve, "into an angel of light^p." It seems, Satan could encourage righteousness *in part*, without being *divided* against himself; inasmuch as he was sure to gain ten times more in the *whole*, if the artifice should succeed: because, in the last issue, it would turn to the utter destruction and dissolution of the religion of Christ. The same would be the case, were once a *private spirit* set up, under any pretence whatever, in opposition to the only true and sober rule of God's *written* word, by which every *spirit* must be tried. It is in vain to say here, as some have done, that *spiritual* men only, that is, *themselves*, must judge of the *written* word: for, first, the question is, whether they are really *spiritual* men; a fact which stands only on their *own* partial testimony: besides, they undoubtedly mistake the phrase of *spiritual men*, if they understand it of themselves as favoured with *immediate* revelation. It deserves also to be considered, whether a formed resolution to hearken to no *reason* but their *own*, nor to give ear to *Scripture* itself, but as interpreted by *private fancy*, be not sealing up their eyes against *instruction*, and fatally giving themselves up to strong *delusions*.

5. But to return, and to conclude with what I began with; all I have to observe further is, to remind you, that as we have had our *regeneration* once in our *infancy*, (most of us,) it now lies upon us to *preserve* or to *repair* and *improve* it, by a daily *renewing* of the *inner* man, by a *sedate*, regular, uniform obedience to all God's commandments. That will be the only sure *mark* of our love towards God, and likewise of his love towards us. Take we due care, that something of the *wisdom* of the *serpent* may always

ⁿ 1 Sam. xiii. 9—14.

^o Jerem. xiv. 14, 15. xxiii. 21, 22. xxvii. 14, 15. xxix. 9.

^p 2 Cor. xi. 13, 14, 15. Compare 2 Cor. x. 2. It may be added, that the Pharisees pretended to a greater

strictness in religion than was found in our Lord's *disciples*, or even in Christ himself, whom they rudely and madly charged as *loose* in comparison, Luke vii. 34.

accompany the *innocence* of the *dove*; and that *religion* and *discretion* may constantly go hand in hand. As to the open attacks of *infidels*, they perhaps may help to *confirm* and *harden* the *ill-disposed*, the *dissolute*, and *profane*, who probably would not return, (or very few of them,) though they had no such *advocates* to appear for them: but there may be *more* danger in attempts made to draw aside even the *well-disposed*, the *good*, and *godly*; who, if not beguiled in some *religious* shape, would probably persevere in their *salutary* courses to their dying day. Such persons deserve the kindest and most compassionate care of their faithful guides. May they continue firm and steadfast in that *good way* they are in; that which our pious Reformers, about two hundred years ago, following the *ancient* models, have chalked out for them. Those were excellent men, and in a sober sense *full of the Spirit*; which shined forth in their wise counsels and their exemplary lives, visible, in a manner, to all *good men*; unless we may except *themselves*, whose great humility and modesty would scarce permit them to see what could not be hid from the observing world. Under such a regular and authorized ministry, as was then most justly established, our Church (God be thanked) has subsisted and flourished, and does to this day. They who stand here, stand *safe*; while walking by the same rule, and minding the same thing; daily labouring and endeavouring to "have always a conscience void of offence towards God and towards men." Which that we may all do, God of his mercy grant, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

A REVIEW OF THE DOCTRINE

OF

THE EUCHARIST,

AS LAID DOWN IN

SCRIPTURE AND ANTIQUITY.

Ut autem *litteram* sequi, et *signa* pro *rebus* quæ iis significantur accipere, servilis infirmitatis est; ita *inutiliter* signa interpretari, male vagantis erroris est.

Augustin. de Doctrin. Christian. lib. iii. cap. 9. p. 49.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN the latter part of the sixth chapter, I have followed the common opinion of learned Protestants, (Mr. Bingham, Dr. Wall, &c.) in relation to *Infant Communion*, as prevailing in the fifth century, under a notion of its strict *necessity*, built upon John vi. 53. Though I had some scruple about it; as may appear by my manner of expressing myself, and by the reference to Thorndike in note ^k.

Having since looked somewhat deeper into that question, I think it now just to my readers to advertise them, that I apprehend that *common opinion* to be a *mistake*; and that though the practice of giving Communion to *children* at *ten* or at *seven* years of age (or somewhat sooner) was *ancient*, and perhaps *general*, yet the practice of communicating *mere infants*, under a notion of its *necessity*, and as built upon John vi, came not in before the eighth or ninth century, never was *general*; or however lasted not long in the West, where it first began. My reasons for this persuasion are too long to give here: but I thought this short hint might be proper, to prevent misconceptions as to that Article.

THE INTRODUCTION.

MY design in this work is to treat of the Sacrament of the *Holy Communion*, according to the light which Scripture and right reason afford, making use of such helps and means for the interpreting Scripture, as God's good providence, in former or later ages, has furnished us with. The subject is of very great weight in itself, and of near concern to every Christian; and "therefore ought to be studied with "a care proportioned to the importance of it: that so we may govern "both ourselves and our people aright, in a matter of such consequence; avoiding with great caution the extremes on both hands, "both of excessive *superstition* on one hand, and of *profane neglect* on "the other. We are now visibly under the extreme of *neglect*; and "therefore we ought to study by all means possible to inspire our "people with a *just respect* for this holy institution, and to animate "them to desire earnestly to partake often of it; and in order to that, "to prepare themselves seriously, to set about it with *reverence* and "*devotion*, and with those *holy purposes*, and *solemn vows*, that ought to "accompany it^a."

But before I enter upon the main subject, it may not be improper here to throw in some *previous* considerations, in order to prepare my readers for what they will find in this treatise, that they may the more easily form a true and sound judgment of the subject-matter of it.

I. The first consideration is, that Scripture alone is our complete *rule of faith and manners*, "containing all things necessary to salvation, so "that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not "to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of "faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation^b."

Whatever Scripture contains, either *in express words* rightly understood, or *by consequence* justly deduced, is *Scripture doctrine*, and ought to be religiously believed and obeyed; allowing only for the different degrees of *importance* belonging to different Scripture truths, or Scripture precepts.

II. For the right understanding of Scripture, it is of great moment to know what the most *eminent* writers, or teachers, ancient and modern, have thought before us on the same subject; and more especially to observe what they unanimously *agreed in*. For, as they had the same *Scriptures* before them, and the same *common reason* to direct them, and used as much *care* and *diligence*, and were blessed with as great

^a Bp. Burnet on Article XXXI. p. 484.

^b Bp. Burnet on Article VI.

integrity as any of us now can justly pretend to, their judgment is not to be slighted, nor their instructions to be despised. The *responsa prudentum*, the *reports*, *precedents*, and *adjudged cases* are allowed to be of considerable weight for determining points of *law*: and why should they not be of like weight, ordinarily, for the determining points of *theology*? Human law there, and Divine law here, is properly the authentic rule of *action*: but the *common reason* of mankind is properly the rule of *interpretation* in both cases: and that common reason shines out the brightest, and appears in greatest perfection, in the *united verdict* of the wisest and most excellent men. It is much easier for *one*, or for some *few* fallible interpreters to be deceived, than for *many*, other circumstances supposed equal. Nothing less than very *clear Scripture*, or as *clear reason*, ought to weigh any thing against the concurring sentiments of the *Christian world*: and even in such a case, some fair account ought to be given, how it came to pass, that such *clear Scripture* or *clear reason* had hitherto escaped the notice, or missed of the acceptance of the wisest and best of men.

A very judicious writer of our own has observed, that "variety of judgments and opinions argueth *obscurity* in those things whereabout they differ; but that which all parts receive for truth, that which, every one having sifted, is by no one denied or doubted of, must needs be matter of *infallible certainty*." This he applies to the *general doctrine* of the Holy Communion, as being "*instrumentally* a cause of the real participation of Christ, and of life in his body and blood^d." And it is of this that he says, "that all sides at length, for aught he could see, were come to a general agreement: all approve and acknowledge to be most true, as having nothing in it but that which the words of Christ are on all sides confessed to enforce; nothing but that which the Church of God hath always thought necessary; nothing but that which alone is sufficient for every Christian man to believe concerning the *use* and *force* of this Sacrament: finally, nothing but that wherewith the writings of all *antiquity* are consonant, and all Christian *confessions* agreeable^e." Thus wrote that excellent person in the year 1597. The Zuinglians by that time had corrected, or more clearly explained their principles: and Socinus was scarce yet known on this side the water, or had made no figure with respect to this subject, or none worth the mentioning, in opposition to a prescription of 1500 years before him, and to the united voice of all the churches in his time. It is a maxim of prudence, as in all other matters, so also in the interpreting Scripture, to *consult with the wise*, and to take to our assistance the most *eminent lights* we can any where find, either among ancients or moderns. To be a little more particular, I may here observe something distinctly of each.

^e Hooker, b. v. p. 310.

^d Compare p. 306.

^e Page 306.

1. As to *ancients*, some lived in the very infancy of the Church, had personally known our blessed Lord in the flesh, or conversed with the Apostles, and afterwards governed their respective churches, as venerable bishops, many years, often administering the Holy Communion, and at length dying martyrs. Is it at all likely, that such men as they were should not understand the true Scripture doctrine concerning the *Sacraments*, or that they should affect to delude the people committed to their charge, with *superstitious* conceits, or fond expectations? A man must be of a very odd turn of mind, who can deliberately entertain so unworthy a thought of the *apostolical* Fathers, or can presume to imagine that he sees deeper into the *use* or *force* of those sacred institutions than those holy men did. It is reasonable to conceive, that the New Testament was penned with a very particular view to the capacities of the *first* readers or hearers; not only because it was natural to adapt the style to the then current language and customs, but also because much depended upon making the Gospel plain and intelligible to the first converts, above all that should come after. If the earliest Christians, after the Apostles, could not readily understand the religion then taught, how should it be handed down with advantage to others of later times? But if the Scripture doctrine should be supposed comparatively *obscure* to those that come *after*, yet so long as the *earlier* Christians found it perfectly *clear*, and left behind them useful memoirs whereby we may learn how they understood it, there will be sufficient security against any dangerous mistakes in succeeding ages, by looking back to the sense of the most early interpreters. Great regard therefore ought to be paid to the known sense and judgment of the *apostolical* Fathers^f. The later Fathers, of the second, third, and fourth centuries, have their weight also, in proportion to their known integrity, and abilities, and fame in all the churches; and more especially in proportion to their *early* standing, their nearness to the *fountain head* §.

2. As to *moderns* of best note, they agree with the ancients in the main things, and may be usefully consulted on the present subject. Some of them have been eminently skilled in *Jewish antiquities*, and others in *ecclesiastical*. Some have excelled in *criticism* and the *learned* languages: others in *clearness* of conception and accuracy of judgment: all are useful in their several ways, and may suggest many things which upon due inquiry will be found to be right, and which no single writer, left to himself, and without consulting them, would ever have thought on. A man that affects to think by himself will often fancy he sees that in Scripture which is not there, and will overlook what there really is: he will run wide in his conjectures, criticize in a wrong place, and

^f Of this see more in Abp. Wake's *Importance of the Doctrine of the Apostolical Fathers*, Introd. chap. x. Trinity asserted, vol. iii. ch. vii. p. 601—

‡ This argument is considered at large 666.

fall short in most things, for want of compass, and larger views, or for want of a due consideration of consequences here or there. Truth is of wide extent, and is all over uniform and consistent : and it may require *many eyes* to look out, and search round, that every position advanced may agree with all truths, natural and revealed, and that no heterogeneous mixture be admitted to deform and deface the whole system. How often does it happen, that a man pleases himself with a thought, which strikes him at first view, and which perhaps he looks upon as demonstration : and yet further inquiries into other men's labours may at length convince him that it is mere delusion, justly exploded by the more knowing and judicious. There are numberless instances of that kind to be met with among men of letters : which should make every writer cautious how he presumes too far upon his own unassisted abilities, and how he opposes his *single* judgment to the *united* verdict of wise, great, and good men. It requires commonly much pains and care to trace a notion quite through ; to run it up to its first principles, and again to traverse it to its remotest consequences, and to clear it of all just objections, in order to be at length rationally satisfied, that it is sound and good, and *consistent throughout*. Different churches, or parties, have their different interpretations of the same texts, and their different superstructures built upon the same principles. They have respectively their several pleas, pretences, arguments, solutions, for the maintaining a debate either in the *offensive* or *defensive* way. A subject thus comes to be narrowly scanned, and minutely viewed on every side ; and so at length a consistent chain of truth may be wrought out, by a careful hand, from what the finest wits or ablest heads among the several contending parties have happily supplied.

But perhaps it may here be asked ; Is then every man obliged to look deep into religious controversies ? Are not the Scriptures alone sufficient for any plain and sincere Christian to conduct himself by, whether as to faith or manners ? I answer : 1. Common Christians must be content to understand Scripture as they may, under the help of such *guides* as Providence has placed over them, and in the conscientious use of such *means* as are proper to their circumstances : which is all that ordinarily can be required of them. 2. Those who undertake to *direct* and *guide* them are more particularly obliged to *search* into religious *controversies*, and to "prove all things" (as far as lies in their power) in order to lead others in the right way. 3. Those guides ought, in their inquiries or instructions, to pay a proper regard and deference to other guides of eminent note, ancient and modern, and not lightly to contradict them, or vary from them ; remembering always, that themselves are *fallible*, and that *new* notions (in religion especially) are not comparable, generally speaking, to the *old, proved, and tried*. 4. If any man interpreting Scripture in a *new sense*, pretends that

his doctrine at least is *old*, being *Scripture doctrine*; he should be told, that his interpretation however is *new*, and very *suspicious*, because *new*, and so not likely to be *Scripture doctrine*. The *novelty* of it is itself a strong presumption against it, and such as nothing can overbalance but very *clear* and *plain* reasons on that side. The judgment of ten thousand interpreters will always be of considerable weight against the judgment of some *few*, who are but *interpreters* at best, and as *fallible* as any other: and it must argue great conceitedness and self-sufficiency, for a man to expect to be heard, or attended to, as a *scripturist*, or a *textuary*, in opposition to the *Christian world*; unless he first fairly considers and confutes what the ablest writers have pleaded for the *received* construction, and next as fairly proves and enforces his own. That there is very great weight and force in the united voice of the *Christian world*, is a point not to be denied by any: and indeed those that affect to set up *new* notions are themselves aware of it, and tacitly, at least, confess the same thing. For they value such *authorities* as they are any way able to procure, or even to torture so far as to make them speak on their side: and they pride themselves highly in the *number* of their *disciples*, (as often as they chance to succeed,) thinking it a great advantage to their cause, if but the *multitude* only, or the *vulgar herd*, approve and espouse the same thing with them. Socinus, for instance, while he slighted, or pretended to slight, the concurring judgment of all churches, ancient and modern, yet felt a very sensible pleasure in the applauses of some *few* individuals, whom he had been able to deceive: and he looked upon their *approbation* as a *confirming* circumstance that his sentiments were true and right. This kind of natural logic appears to be common to our whole species: and there are few, I believe, so sanguine, (unless disordered,) as to confide entirely in their own judgment, or not to suspect their own best reasonings, however plausible they may at first appear, if they have nobody else to concur with them and support them. Therefore again I conclude as before, that it is of great moment to know and consider what *others* have thought before us, and what the *common reason* of mankind approves: and the more numerous or the more considerable the persons were or are who stand against us in any article, the less reason, generally, have we to be confident of our own *private* persuasions.

I shall only add, that in subjects which have already passed through many hands, and which have been thoroughly sifted and considered by the ablest and best heads, in a course of 1700 years, there appears to be a great deal more room for *judgment* than for *invention*; since little *new* can now be thought on that is worth notice: and it is much wiser and safer to take the most *valuable* observations of men most eminent in their several ways, than to advance poor things of our own, which perhaps are scarce worth the mentioning in comparison.

III. I must further premise, in relation to our present subject, that as there may be two extremes, viz. of *superstition* on one hand, and of *profaneness* on the other, it appears to be much safer and better to lean towards the former extreme, than to incline to the latter. Where there is room for *doubt*, it is prudent to err rather on that side which ascribes *too much* to the Sacrament, than on that which ascribes *too little*. 1. Because it is erring on the side of the *precepts*: for Scripture gives us *express* cautions^b against paying too little regard to this holy Sacrament, but never cautions us at all, or however not expressly, against the contrary extreme. 2. Besides, since we attempt not, and desire not to carry the respect due to the Sacrament at all higher than the *ancient churches*, and the primitive *saints* and *martyrs* have carried the same before, it will be erring on the *humble, modest, pious* side, if we should happen to run into an extreme, after such bright examples. And this again is much *safer* (for who would not wish that his lot may be amongst the *saints*?) than it can be to deviate into the contrary extreme of *irreverence*, and to come so much the nearer to the *faithless* and *unbelieving*, who have their portion in this life.

It may be pleaded perhaps, that a person does no harm, or risks no danger, by erring on the *lessening* side, because God will certainly perform what he has really *promised* of the Sacraments to every *worthy* receiver, whether believed or no. But then the question is, how a man can be thought a *worthy* receiver, who, without sufficient grounds, *disbelieves* the promises, much more if he confidently rejects them, and teaches others also to do so. Schlictingius pleads in this case, that the *effect* of the Sacrament will be the same to every one that receives, though he disbelieves the doctrine of its being a *mean of grace*ⁱ, or the like: as if he thought that the *outward act* of receiving were all, and that the inward qualification of *faith* were of no moment. But that was his great mistake. They who disbelieve and openly deny the *inward graces* of the Sacrament are *unworthy* receivers for that very reason, and ordinarily forfeit all right and title to the promised *graces*.

It may be further pleaded, on the same side, that the notion of the Sacraments, as *means of grace*, (supposing it erroneous,) is apt to lead men to rely upon the *Sacraments* more than upon their own serious *endeavours* for the leading a good life, or to rest in the *Sacraments* as

^b 1 Cor. xi. 27, 29.

ⁱ Articulus de cœna Domini et baptismo (si vera est vestra sententia, qua cœnam Domini et baptismum *media* esse statutis per quæ Deus *spirituales effectus* in animis hominum operetur) exprimit quidem causam salutis instrumentalem: sed tamen *ignoratus* aut *repudiatus* salutem non adimit, dummodo quispiam cœna Domini et baptismo utatur; adhibitis enim istis divinitus ordinatis *instrumentis*

effectum sequi necesse est. Schlicting. *adv. Balthas. Meisn.* p. 6. Conf. Socin. de Cœna, tom. i. p. 767.

To which Abr. Calovius well answers:

— Negare nos, sacramenta *talibus modis* esse quæ illico *effectus* sequatur, etiamsi *fides* non accedat: *fides* autem locum habere nequit in iis qui negant et impugnant directe *media salutis* divinitus instituta. *Abr. Calov. contr. Socin.* tom. i. part. 2. p. 251.

sufficient without keeping God's commandments. But this is a suggestion built upon no certain grounds. For suppose we were deceived (as we certainly are not) in our high conceptions of the use and efficacy of this Sacrament; all that follows is, that we may be thereby led to frequent the Sacrament so much the oftener; to come to it with the greater reverence, and to repeat our solemn vows for the leading a good life, by the assistance of Divine grace, with the more serious and devout affections. No Divines amongst us, that I know of, ever teach that the use of the outward Sacrament is of any avail without inward faith and repentance, or entire obedience. Our Church at least, and, I think, all Protestant churches have abundantly guarded against any one's resting in the bare outward work. The danger therefore on this side is very slight in comparison. For what if a man should erroneously suppose that upon his worthy receiving he obtains pardon for past sins, and grace to prevent future, will not this be an encouragement to true repentance, without which he can be no worthy receiver, and to watchfulness also for the time to come, without which the Divine grace can never have its perfect work? Not that I would plead for any pious mistake, (were it really a mistake,) but I am answering an objection; and shewing, that there is no comparative force in it. Were the persuasion I am pleading for really an error, reason good that it should be discarded: religion wants not the assistance of pious frauds, neither can it be served by them. But as we are now supposing it doubtful on which side the error lies, and are arguing only upon that supposition, it appears to be a very clear case, that religion would suffer abundantly more by an error on the left hand, than by an error on the right; and that of the two extremes, profaneness, rather than superstition, is the dangerous extreme.

Add to this, that corrupt nature generally leans to the diminishing side, and is more apt to detract from the burden of religion than to increase the weight; and therefore the stronger guard ought to be placed there. Men are but too inclinable of themselves to take up with low and groveling sentiments of Divine things: and so there is the less need of bending Scripture that way, when the words are fairly capable of an higher meaning, yea, and require it also, as shall be shewn in the sequel.

If it should be asked, what temptation any serious Christian can have to lessen the promises or privileges belonging to the Sacraments? I answer, that pure good nature and mistaken humanity may often tempt men to be as easy and indulgent as possible, in their casuistry, for the relieving of tender consciences, and for the quieting the scruples of their brethren. The guides of souls are sometimes apt to be over officious that way, and much more than is proper; like as indulgent parents often ruin their children by an excessive fondness, considering their

present uneasiness more than their *future well-being*. When Epicurus set himself to take off the *restraints* of religion, no doubt but he thought he was doing the most *humane* and the *best-natured* office imaginable. It had the *appearance* of it, in some respects, (though *upon the whole* it was altogether the reverse,) and that was his chief temptation to it. It is not improbable that the same kind of *good nature*, ill directed, has tempted many otherwise learned and valuable guides to be too *indulgent casuists*, and to comply too far with the humour of the world. *Strict notions* of the Sacraments require as *strict observance* of the same Sacraments, which demands the more *intense care*, and greater *abstraction* of thought; all which is irksome and painful to flesh and blood: there lies the temptation to *low* and *diminishing* conceptions of the Sacraments, both in clergy and people.

But are there not temptations likewise to an over-scrupulous *severity*? Undoubtedly there are. Sometimes *education*, *temper*, *prejudice*; sometimes indiscreet *zeal*, or a spice of *enthusiasm*: but in the general, and for the most part, the making religion bend to the humours and fashions of the world is the *sin* which most *easily besets us*; and therefore there it is that we ought to appoint the double guard. To conclude this article, all *extremes* are wrong, and it may require some care and good discernment to observe in every instance the *golden mean*: but still there may be greater sin and danger on one side than on the other; and I have thought it of some moment to determine thus briefly, to which of the extremes we may, in our circumstances, most securely and wisely lean.

IV. There is another consideration very proper to be hinted here in the entrance, relating to the prejudice often done to our venerable Sacraments, by representing them under the detracting or diminishing name of *positive duties*: as if they were to be considered as *duties* only, rather than *religious rites* in which *God* bears a *part*; or as if that part which belongs to us, and is really *duty*, were a *single* duty, and not rather a band and cement of all duties, or a kind of sponson and security for the present and future performance of the whole duty of man. How this matter stands will be seen distinctly in the sequel. But it is proper to hint something of it here beforehand, lest the reader, by attending to a false light, should set out under a mistake of the main question. Let it be previously understood, what it is that we assert and maintain, for the removing of prejudices, and for the preventing any wrong suspicion, either of our exalting a bare *external* duty above faith, hope, and charity, or of our recommending any *single* duty in derogation to the rest.

1. In the first place therefore, let it be carefully noted, that it is not merely a *duty* of ours, but a *sacred rite*, (in which *God* himself bears a *part*.) that we are labouring to exalt, or rather to do justice to. The

doctrine of our Church, and of all Christian churches, early and late, is much the same with what our Homilies teach us: namely, that "in the Sacraments God embraces us, and offereth himself to be embraced by us;" and that they "set out to the eyes, and other outward senses, the inward workings of God's free mercy, and seal in our hearts the promises of God^k."

A learned writer observes and proves, that a *sacrament* relates to that which "flows from God to us:" and he adds, that "it is a thing neither denied nor forgotten by any, but is evident from what the Scriptures teach concerning Baptism and the Lord's Supper^l." Indeed the Socinian way is to exclude *God*, as it were, out of the Sacraments, and to allow him no part in them, but to reduce all to a bare *human performance*, or *positive duty*: but we have not so learned Christ. We are so far from thinking the sacramental transaction to be a bare *duty* of ours, that we conceive there is great use and efficacy in a sacrament, even where the *recipient* performs no *duty* at all, nor is capable of any, as in the case of *infants* receiving Baptism. It is further observable, that *Baptism* is frequently mentioned together with *repentance*, in the New Testament, as distinct from it; though *repentance* alone, as it signifies or implies *entire obedience*, fully expresses all that is properly and merely *duty* on our part. A plain sign that *Baptism*, as a *sacrament*, carries more in the idea of it than the consideration of bare *duty*, and that it comes not, in its whole notion, under the head of *duties*, but of *rites*, or *contracts*, or *covenants*, solemn transactions between God and man. *God* bears his part in it, as well as we *ours*: and therefore it is looked upon as *distinct* from bare *duties*, and spoken of accordingly.

I suppose it might be on these and the like considerations, that some *Divines* have conceived, that a *sacrament*, properly, is rather an application of *God* to men, than of *men* to *God*. Mr. Scandret, distinguishing a *sacrament*, according to its precise formality, from a *sacrifice*, observes, that it is "an outward visible sign of an invisible grace or favour from God to man^m." And Dr. Rymer takes notice, that, according to our Church Catechism, "a sacrament is not supposed, in its *most essential* part, an application made by men to God, but one *made by God to man*.—A gracious condescension of God's, by which he converses with men, and exhibits to them spiritual blessings, &c.—God's part is indeed the *whole* that is strictly and properly *sacramental*: the outward and visible signs exhibited are in

^k Homily on the Common-Prayer and Sacraments.

^l Towerson on the Sacraments, p. 12. Vossius, to the same purpose, says: Quemadmodum fides est quasi manus nostra, qua nos querimus et accipimus: sic verbum et sacramenta esse quasi ma-

nus Dei quibus is nobis offert et confert quod a fide nobis petitur et accipitur. Voss. de Sacram. Vi et Effic. p. 252. vol. vi. Opp.

^m Scandret, Sacrifice of the Divine Service, p. 54.

“ effect the *voice of God*, repeating his promise of that inward and “ spiritual favourⁿ.” Dr. Towerson long before had observed, that there is a *difficulty* as to “ shewing that a sacrament relates equally to “ that which passeth from us to God, and that it imports our duty and “ service^o.” He conceived no difficulty at all, as to *God’s part* in a sacrament ; that was a clear point : but he thought it not so easy to prove, that the strict and proper sense of the word *sacrament* includes *man’s part* at all. However, it is very certain that the whole transaction, in the case of *adults*, is between two parties, and that the application is *mutual* between God and man. And this must be acknowledged particularly in the Eucharist, by as many as do allow of a *Consecration-prayer*, and do admit that service to be part of our *religious worship*, as also to be a *federal* rite. But from hence may appear how widely they mistake who consider a sacrament as a bare *human performance*, a discharge of a *positive duty* on man’s part, and nothing more, throwing out what belongs to God, and what is most strictly *sacramental*. It is sinking or dropping the noblest and most essential part of the *idea*, and presenting us with a very lame and insufficient account of the *thing*. But a more minute explication of this matter, together with the proofs of what we maintain, will come in hereafter : all I intended here was only to give the reader some previous conception of the state of the main question, that he may understand the more clearly what we are about.

2. Next, I must observe, that that part in a sacrament which is really *ours*, and which, so far as concerns adults, is properly *duty*, is yet such a duty as is supposed to comprehend, one way or other, *all duty* : for receiving *worthily* (as shall be shewn in its place) implies present *repentance*, a heart turned to *God* and to *universal* obedience, and a serious resolution so to abide to our life’s end. It has been thought somewhat strange, by those who have imbibed wrong notions of the case, that *all Christian privileges* should be supposed to follow a *single duty*, when they really belong to the *whole system* of duties. But when it is considered, that these privileges are never conceived to be annexed to this *single duty*, in any other view, or upon any other supposition, but as it virtually carries in it (or in the idea of *worthy* reception) *all duty*, the main difficulty will vanish ; for it may still be true, that those Christian privileges go along with the *whole system* of duties, and with nothing short of it. We never do annex all Christian privileges to this single duty, but as this duty is conceived, for the time being, to *contain* all the rest ; for that we take to be implied in receiving *worthily*. Whether we are right in interpreting *worthy* reception in so comprehensive a sense, is not now the question, but may be considered in its

ⁿ Rymer, General Representation of Revealed Religion, p. 286, 287.

^o Towerson on the Sacraments, p. 12.

place: all I am concerned with here is to ward off a charge of *inconsistency*, with respect to our doctrine on this head.

But to shew the weakness of the charge yet more plainly, let the same objection be urged in a very common case of *oaths* to a government, or of *subscription* to articles, to which many *State-privileges* and *Church-privileges* are ordinarily annexed. What, may some say, shall all those privileges be given, merely for the labour of repeating an *oath*, or of writing a *name*? No, certainly: the *outward work* is the least and the lowest part of what the privileges are intended for, if it be any part at all, in a strict sense. The privileges are intended for persons so *swearing*, or so *subscribing*, upon a presumption that such *oath* carries in it *all dutiful allegiance* to the sovereign, and that such *subscription* carries in it *all conformity* in faith and doctrine, to the Church established. Of the like nature and use are our sacramental ties and covenants. They are supposed, when *worthily* performed, to carry in them all dutiful allegiance to God, and a firm attachment to Christ; a stipulation of a good conscience, and, in a word, *universal righteousness*, both as to *faith* and *manners*: all which is solemnly entered into for the *present*, and stipulated for the *future*, by every sincere and devout communicant. To be short, *repentance*, rightly understood, and a due attendance on the *Sacraments*, taken together, do in our account make up the *whole system* of Christian practice for the time being: therefore in annexing all Gospel-privileges to *worthy* receiving, we do not annex them to *one duty* only, but to *all*, contained, as it were, or summed up (by the *supposition*) in that one. All the mistake and misconception which some run into on this head, appears to be owing to their abstracting the *outward work* from the *inward worthiness* supposed to go along with it, and then calling that a *single duty*, which at best is but the *shell* of duty in itself, and which, in some circumstances, (as when separate from a *good heart*,) is no duty at all, but a grievous *sin*, a *contempt* offered to the body and blood of Christ, and highly provoking to Almighty God.

Thus far I have taken the liberty of premising a few things in the entrance; not for the *anticipating* what I am hereafter to prove, but for the removing those *prejudices* which appeared to lie in the way. And now I proceed, with God's assistance, to what I intend upon the subject of the Eucharist, otherwise styled the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or the Holy Communion.

¶ What Tertullian observes of the sacrament of Baptism is justly applicable to both Sacraments.

Lavacrum illud *obsignatio est fidei*, quæ fides a *pœnitentiæ* fide incipitur et commendatur. Non ideo abluihur ut *delinquere desinamus*, sed quia *desimus*, quoniam jam *corde loti* sumus. Hæc enim

prima audientis intinctio est, *metus integer*, deinde quoad Dominum senseris, *fides sana*, conscientia semel *pœnitentiæ* amplexata. Ceterum, si ab aquis peccare desistimus, necessitate, non sponte innocentiam induimus. *Tertull. de Penit.* cap. vi. p. 125. Rigalt.

CHAP. I.

Of the most noted or most considerable Names, under which the Holy Communion hath been anciently spoken of.

BEFORE I come directly to treat of the *thing*, it may be proper to observe something of the *names* it has anciently gone under: which I shall endeavour to range in chronological order, according to the time when each name may be supposed to have come up, or first to have grown into vogue.

A. D. 33. *Breaking of Bread.*

The oldest name given to this holy ceremony, or religious service, seems to have been that of *breaking bread*, taken from what the disciples saw done by our Lord in the solemnity of the *institution*. I choose to set the date according to the time of the first *clear* instance^a we have of it rather than according to the time when St. Luke related it in his history; because very probably he followed the style of those who then celebrated it. St. Luke, in his history of the Acts, speaking of the disciples, says: "They continued steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers^b." The circumstances of the text plead strongly for interpreting it of the *Holy Communion*: and the Syriac version (which is of great antiquity) renders it "breaking of the Eucharist^c;" which is some confirmation of the same construction. A little lower, in the same chapter, mention is again made of the disciples, as "continuing daily in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house^d;" or rather "in a house," set apart for holy uses^e.

St. Luke a third time takes notice of the "breaking of bread:"

^a I said, first *clear* instance; because though Luke xxiv. 30, 35, has been understood of the Eucharist by some *ancients*, and more *moderns*, (Romanists especially,) and I see no absurdity in the interpretation, nor any thing highly improbable, or that could give *just* advantage to the Romish cause with respect to *communion in one kind*; yet since it is a *disputed* construction, and such as cannot be ascertained, I call that instance not *clear*, but pass it off as none, because it is *doubtful*.

^b Acts ii. 42.

^c The same phrase occurs in the

Recognitions, lib. vi. n. 15. *Eucharistiam frangens cum eis.*

^d Acts ii. 46. Our translation in the phrase *from house to house* (κατ' οίκον) follows Beza, who renders *donatim*, and has been found fault with by Scaliger, Mede, Beveridge, and Cave, referred to in Wolfius Cur. Crit. pag. 1048. Compare Johnson's *Unbloody Sacrifice*, vol. ii. p. 98.

^e Erant autem privata illa *ἱερῶτα* loca a Judæis semper *sacris usibus* destinata; saltem ex quo Daniel propheta ascendisse in *cænaculum* ad orandum diceretur. Pearson, *Lect. in Act. Apost.* p. 31.

where also the Syriac version renders as before, "breaking of the Eucharist." The circumstances confirm it: it was on the "first day of the week," and St. Paul is observed to have "preached unto them." St. Paul also himself seems to allude to this name, when speaking of this Sacrament he says, "The bread which we break, is it not the Communion &c.^f?" They who would see more concerning this *name* may consult, besides commentators, the authors referred to at the bottom of the pages. I may just observe, by the way, that scruples have been raised against the construction here given; and some have thought that the texts might *possibly* be interpreted either of a *love-feast*, or else of a *common meal*. I think, very hardly, and not without some violence. However, even Whitby and Wolfius, who appear to hesitate upon Acts ii. 42, 46, yet are positive enough with respect to Acts xx. 7, as relating to the Eucharist: and since there is no ground for scruple, excepting only that the Romanists make an ill use of this construction, and that may easily be obviated a better way^h, I look upon the construction here given as sufficiently supported. And it is some confirmation of it, that Ignatius, of the apostolical times, makes use of the same phrase of *breaking bread*, where he is plainly speaking of this holy Sacramentⁱ.

A. D. 57. *Communion*. Κοινωνία.

The name of *Communion* has been long famous, and was undoubtedly taken from St. Paul's account of this Sacrament, where he teaches that the effect of this service is the *Communion* of the body and blood of Christ^k. He does not indeed directly call the Sacrament by that *name*, as others have done since; he was signifying what the *thing* is, or what it does, rather than how it was then *called*^l. But as his account gave the first occasion for the *name* of *Communion*, I thought it not amiss to date it from thence. I find not that this name became frequent in the *earlier* centuries: the Canons called *apostolical* are of *doubtful* age. The Roman clergy, in a letter to the clergy of Carthage,

^f 1 Cor. x. 16.

^g Casaubon. ad Annal. Eccles. Exerc. xvi. p. 378. alias p. 528. Buxtorf. de Coena Domini, p. 312, 313. Suicer. Thesaur. in voc. κλάσις, p. 105. Johan. Vorstii Philolog. Sac. part. ii. p. 200. Towerson on the Sacraments, p. 166.

^h Vid. Casaubon. ad Annal. Eccl. Exercit. xvi. n. 48. p. 379.

ⁱ Ένα ἄρτον κλώντες. Ignat. ad Ephes. cap. xx. p. 19.

^k 1 Cor. x. 16.

^l Non appellat Paulus Coenam Domini Communionem tanquam *proprio* ejus *nomine*; sed vim et efficaciam Sacramenti hujus exprimens, ait eam esse *communione*m, sive *participationem* corporis Christi. Casaubon. Exercit. xvi. n. 47. p. 361.

make use of the name *Communion* in the time of St. Cyprian^m, that is, about the middle of the third century. But in the age next following, it became very common, both in the Greek and Latin Fathers. The Spanish Fathers, in the Council of Elvira, (A. D. 305.) make use of it more than forty times: the Councils of Arles and of Ancyra (in 314 and 315) made use of the same. The Council of Nice, in the year 325, speaks of the same Sacrament under the name of *Communion*ⁿ, in their thirteenth Canon. Hilary, about the middle of the same century, styles it sometimes the *Communion of the Holy Body*, sometimes the *Sacrament of the Holy Communion*, sometimes the *Communion of the everlasting Sacraments*^o. A little later in the same century, Basil sometimes has the single word *Communion*^p to denote the Eucharist: at other times he calls it the *Communion of the good Thing*, or of the *Sovereign Good*^q. I need not descend to lower *Fathers*, amongst whom the *name* became very frequent: Suicer^r has collected their testimonies, observing withal the several accounts which they gave of the *name*, all reducible to three. 1. The Sacrament is so called, because of the *communion* we therein hold with Christ and with each other. 2. Because we are therein made *partners* of Christ's *kingdom*. 3. Because it is a religious *banquet*, which we partake of in *common* with our fellow Christians.

A. D. 57. *Lord's Supper*.

I am willing to set down the name of *Lord's Supper* as a Scripture name, occurring in St. Paul's Epistles^s; which appears to be the most prevailing opinion of learned Protestants. Not that I take it to be a *clear* point at all, or so much as capable of being proved: but I incline rather to those, both ancients and moderns, who interpret that place of the *love-feast*, kept in imitation of our Lord's *Last Supper*, which was *previous* to the original Eucharist. Thus much however is certain, that in the apostolical times the *love-feast* and the *Eucharist*, though distinct,

^m Si qui in hanc tentationem inciderunt, cœperint apprehendi infirmitate, et agant pœnitentiam facti sui, et desiderent *communione*, utique subveniri eis debet &c. *Apud Cyprian. Epist.* ii. p. 8. Bened. ed.

ⁿ Κοινωνίας πάλιν τυχών. *Concil. Nicæn. can.* xiii. p. 330. Harduin.

^o Hilarius Pictavens. p. 169, 223, 740. edit. Bened.

^p Κοινωνίαν οἴκοι κατέχοντες, ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν μεταλαμβάνουσιν. ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ δὲ καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἕκαστος καὶ τῶν ἐν

λαφ̄ τελούντων, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλείστον, ἔχει κοινωνίαν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτε βούλεται μεταλαμβάνει δι' ἐαυτοῦ. *Basil. Epist.* xciii. p. 187. edit. Bened. alias *Epist.* 289.

^q Κοινωνία τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ. *Epist. Canon. prima ad Amphiloχ.* p. 272. *Epist. secunda*, p. 293.

^r Suicer. Thesaur. in Κοινωνία. Conf. Casaubon. Exercit. xvi. n. 47. p. 361, &c. alias 504, &c.

^s 1 Cor. xi. 20.

went together, and were nearly allied to each other, and were both of them celebrated at one meeting. Without some such supposition as that, it was next to impossible to account for St. Paul's quick transition, in that chapter, from one to the other. Whether therefore *Lord's Supper* in that chapter signifies the *love-feast* only, or the *Eucharist* only, or *both together*, one thing is clear and unquestionable, that they were both but different parts of the same solemnity, or different acts of the same meeting: and there is no occasion to be scrupulously nice and critical in distinguishing to which of the parts the *name* strictly belongs^t.

Maldonate, the Jesuit, in his Contents upon Matt. xxvi. 26. took upon him to reproach the Protestants in an unhandsome manner, for speaking of the Eucharist under the name of a *Supper*; which he thought irreverent, and not warranted by *Scripture, antiquity, or sound reason*^u. The learned Casaubon some time after appeared in behalf of the Protestants^x, and easily defended them, as to the main thing, against the injurious charge. Albertinus, long after, searched with all diligence into ancient precedents and authorities for the *name*, and produced them in great abundance^y, more than sufficient to confute the charge of *novelty, rashness, or profaneness* on that head. The truth of the matter seems to be, that though there is no clear proof that the name of *Supper* is a Scripture name, yet some Fathers (as high as the fourth century) thought that it was, so understanding 1 Cor. xi. 20. And many interpreters of good note have followed them in it. Indeed it does not appear that the *text* was so construed before the latter end of the fourth century, or that the name of *Lord's Supper* was much in use as a name for the Eucharist. Irenæus once has the name of *God's Supper*, but means quite another thing by it^z. Tertullian has the same^a for *Lord's Table*, referring to 1 Cor. x. 22. not to 1 Cor. xi. 20. He has also the phrase of *Lord's Banquet*^b, [or *Lord's Day Banquet*,] and

^t Quid rei sit *cæna* hæc, accuratius inquirere non est opus: sive enim Christianorum *Agapæ*, sive ipsa *Eucharistia* significetur, nil interest, dummodo concedatur (quod nulla prorsus ratione negari potest) *Eucharistiæ* celebrationem cum *Agapis* esse conjunctam. *Sam. Basnag. Annal.* tom. ii. p. 296.

^u Calvinistæ sine Scripturæ auctoritate, sine veterum auctorum exemplo, sine ratione, nullo judicio, *cænam*

vocant. *Maldonat.* p. 556.

^x Casaubon. *Exercit.* xvi. n. 32. p. 368. alias 513.

^y Albertinus de *Eucharistia*, lib. i. cap. 1.

^z *Cæna* Dei. Iren. lib. iv. cap. 36. p. 279. ed. Bened.

^a Non possumus *cænam* Dei edere, et *cænam* *dæmoniorum*. *Tertullian. de Spect.* cap. xiii. p. 79.

^b *Convivium Dominicum*. *Tertull. ad Uzor.* cap. iv. p. 168.

Banquet of God^c, meaning the *love-feasts* then in use, which he elsewhere styles the *Supper of Christians*^d. But St. Basil very plainly interprets *Lord's Supper* in that text, of the Eucharist^e: which even Fronto Ducæus, in his notes upon the place, confesses; endeavouring at the same time to bring off Maldonate as fairly as the matter would bear, while, in reality, he yields the main thing, with respect to the *Fathers*, at least. However, it must be owned that Basil is the first who directly so interprets the text, and that the *Fathers* were not all of a mind about it, and that the appellation of *Supper* was not very common till after the *fourth* century; and that even in the later centuries the name of *Lord's Supper* was a name for that supper which our Lord made *previous* to the Eucharist. The third Council of Carthage (A. D. 418.) speaks of "one day in the year in which "the *Lord's Supper* was celebrated^f:" where it is plain that *Lord's Supper* does not mean the Eucharist, but the supper proper to Maundy-Thursday, kept in imitation of our Lord's *Paschal* Supper, previous to the Eucharist. And the like is mentioned in the Trullan Council, (A. D. 683.) in their 29th Canon^g. So that *Lord's Supper* was not then become a familiar name, as now, for the *Eucharist*, but rather eminently denoted the *supper* previous to it; either our Lord's *own*, or that which was afterwards observed by Christians as a memorial of it, being a kind of *love-feast*. I shall only add further, that Hilary the Deacon (A. D. 380. or nearly) in his comment upon 1 Cor. xi. seems to dislike the name of *supper*^h, as applied to the Eucharist, and therefore could not interpret the text as Basil of that time did.

A. D. 96. *Oblation*. Προσφορά.

The name of *oblation* may, I think, be fairly carried up as high as to Clemens of Rome, who upon the lowest computation wrote his famous Epistle as early as the year 96. The more common date is 70, or thereabout: but a learned and considerate writerⁱ,

^c Convivium Dei. *Tertull. de Virgin. Vel. cap. viii. p. 172.*

^d Cæna nostra de nomine rationem sui ostendit: id vocatur quod dilectio apud Græcos. *Tertull. Apoll. cap. 39.*

^e ὡς περ οὐδὲν κοινὸν σκευὸς ἐπιτρέποι ὁ λόγος εἰσφέρεισθαι εἰς τὰ ἅγια, οὕτως οὐδὲ τὰ ἅγια εἰς κοινὸν οἶκον ἐπιτελείσθαι.—μήτε τὸν κοινὸν δεῖπνον ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν, μήτε τὸ κυριακὸν δεῖπνον ἐν οἰκίᾳ καθυβρίσειν. *Basil. Regul. Brev. p. 310, p. 525. ed. Bened. alias 657. Conf. Theodorit. in 1 Cor. xi. 20.*

^f Μῖας ἐτησίας ἡμέρας ἐν ᾗ τὸ κυριακὸν δεῖπνον ἐπιτελεῖται. *Concil. Carthag. Can. xlv. p. 567. Bevereg. edit.*

^g Μῖας ἐτησίῳ ἡμέρας, ἐν ᾗ τὸ κυριακὸν δεῖπνον ἐπιτελεῖται. *Concil. Trull. Can. xxix. p. 188.*

^h Ostendit [Christus] illis mysterium Eucharistiæ inter cæmandum celebratum, non cænam esse: medicina enim spiritalis est, quæ cum reverentia degustata, purificat sibi devotum. *Pseud. Ambros. in loc.*

ⁱ Lardner, *Credibility of Gospel Hist. part ii. vol. i. p. 50—62.*

who very lately has reexamined the chronology of that Epistle, has with great appearance of probability brought it down to A. D. 96: and there I am willing to rest it.

Clemens speaks of the *oblations* and *sacred functions* of the Church, referring, very probably, to the *Eucharistical service*^k: neither can he without some violence be interpreted to mean any thing else. In another place, he still more plainly refers to the same, where he says; "It would be no small sin in us, should we cast off those from the episcopal function, who holily and without blame *offer the gifts*!" Here he expressly speaks of *gifts offered*, (that is, of *oblation*,) and by *sacerdotal* hands. The *gifts* were brought to the altar, or communion table, by the *people*, and were recommended to God's acceptance by the officiating bishop, or presbyter. So there was first a kind of *lay oblation*, and next a *sacerdotal* oblation of the same *gifts* to God. Those *gifts* consisted partly of *alms* to the poor, and partly of *oblations*, properly so called, to the *Church*; and out of these last was usually taken the *matter* of the Eucharist, the *bread* and *wine*^m. The *oblation*, as I before hinted, was twofold; hence the whole service of the Eucharist came to be called the *oblation*: and to communicate, or to administer, in Church language, was to *offer*. There was a *third* kind of *oblation*ⁿ which came up afterwards, in the third century: or, to speak more accurately, the *commemoration*, which was always a part of the Eucharistical service, came by degrees to be called an *oblation*, (but not within the two first centuries, so far as I can find,) and then commenced a kind of *third oblation*; not a *new thing*, but an old service under a *new name*.

Justin Martyr, though he does not directly call the Eucharist by the name of *oblation*, yet he does obliquely, where he says,

^k Πάντα τάξει ποιῆν ὀφείλομεν— τὰς τε προσφοράς καὶ λειτουργίας ἐπιτελεῖσθαι—οἱ οὖν τοῖς προστεταγμένους καιροῖς ποιούντες τὰς προσφοράς αὐτῶν, εἰπρόσδεκτοὶ εἰσι καὶ μακάριοι. *Clem. Rom. Ep.* c. xl. p. 164. edit. Cant.

Vitringa, upon these words, allows that they refer to the *Eucharist*. Preces haud dubie intelliguntur cum *sacris Eucharistiae*, quibus Clemens stas horas, ad exemplum sacrorum templi, defini vult. *Vitring. de Vet. Synag.* p. 115. conf. Basnag. *Annal.* vol. i. p. 371.

^l Ἀμαρτία γὰρ οὐ μικρὰ ἡμῖν ἔσται, εἰὰν τοὺς ἀμέμπτως καὶ ὁσίως προσενέγ-

κοντας τὰ δῶρα, τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀποβάλωμεν. c. xliv. p. 178. Compare Johnson's *Unbl. Sacrifice*, part i. p. 75, 78, &c.

^m See Bingham. *Eccles. Antiq.* b. xv. ch. 2. sect. 1, 2. Deylingius, *Observ. Miscellan.* p. 301. *Constitut. Apostol.* lib. viii. c. 27, 30. L'Arroque, *Hist. of the Eucharist*, part i. ch. iv. p. 30, &c.

ⁿ Of the *third oblation*, or *threefold oblation*, see L'Arroque, *Hist. of the Eucharist*, part i. c. 8. Sam. Basnag. *Annal.* tom. i. p. 371. Pfaffius, *Disser. de Oblat. Vet. Eucharist.* p. 283, 293.

that the *oblation* of *fine flour*, under the law, was a type of the *bread* of the *Eucharist*^o; and where he speaks of the Eucharistical elements as being *offered* to *God*^p. Elsewhere he speaks plainly of the *lay offering*, brought by the people to the administrator^q: and I presume, he is to be understood of an offering to be presented to *God*, by the hands of the Minister, brought to the Minister in order to be recommended by him to the *Divine* acceptance.

Irenæus, of the same century, makes frequent mention of the *oblation* of the Eucharist, understanding by it the *whole* service as performed by clergy and people, according to their respective parts or provinces^r. He supposes the *oblation* made to *God*, made by the *Church*, in and by the proper officers: and though the *oblation* strictly speaking, according to its primary signification, means only one part of the service, or two, (*viz.* the people's bringing their *offerings* to the altar, and the administrator's presenting *the same* to *God*,) yet from this part or parts of the service, the whole solemnity took the name of the *oblation* at that time, and such name became very common and familiar afterwards. For since the very *matter* of the Eucharist was taken out of the *oblations* received from the people, and solemnly *offered* up afterwards to *God* by the Ministers, it was very natural to give the name of *oblation* to the whole solemnity.

Tertullian speaking of the Devil, as imitating the mysteries of the Church, takes notice, among other things, of his instructing his votaries to *baptize* and to celebrate the *oblation of bread*^s: as much as to say, that they also had their Eucharist in their way; *oblation* being here the name for the whole service. In another place, he uses the single word *offer*, for the whole action of administering and receiving the Communion^t. Elsewhere he makes

^o Ἡ τῆς σεμιδάλεως προσφορά— τύπος ἦν τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας. *Just. Dial.* p. 119. *Jebb.* 220. Thirlby.

^p Προσφερομένων αὐτῷ θυσιῶν, τουτέστι τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας, καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου ὁμοίως τῆς εὐχαριστίας. *Just. Dial.* p. 120. *Jebb.* alias 220.

^q Ἐπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος, καὶ οὗτος λαβῶν, αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ &c.

— Ἄρτος προσφέρεται, καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ. καὶ ὁ προεστὸς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, ἀναπέμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ, λέγων τὸ Ἀμήν. *Just. Mart. Apol.* i. p. 96, 98.

^r Novi Testamenti novam docuit oblationem, quam Ecclesia ab Aposto-

lis accipiens, in universo mundo offert Deo, ei qui alimenta nobis præstat, primitias suorum munerum &c. *Iren.* lib. iv. c. 17. p. 249. edit. Bened.

Ecclesiæ oblatio, quam Dominus docuit offerri in universo mundo, purum sacrificium repertum est &c.— Non genus oblationum reprobatum est: oblationes enim et illic, oblationes autem et hic, p. 250. Hanc oblationem Ecclesia solam puram offert fabricatori, offerens ei cum gratiarum actione, ex creatura ejus, p. 251.

^s Tinguuit et ipse quosdam—celebrat et panis oblationem. *Tertull. de Præscript.* c. xl. p. 216.

^t Ubi ecclesiastici ordinis non est concessus, et offers, et tinguis, et sacer-

mention of *oblations* for the *dead*; and at the *anniversaries* of the *martyrs*^u: and by *oblations* he could intend nothing but the *Eucharistical solemnities* celebrated on those days^x.

We have seen proofs sufficient of the name of *oblation* for the two first centuries. But it is observable, that all this time we meet only with oblation of *gifts*, or *first fruits*, or of *bread, wine*, or the like: no oblation of *Christ's body*, or *blood*, or of *Christ* absolutely, as we shall find afterwards. Hence it is, that some very learned men have thought that, according to the ancients, the *oblation* was considered always as previous to *consecration*, and that the elements were *offered* in order to be *consecrated* ^y: which indeed is true according to that sense of *oblation* which obtained for two centuries and a half: but a *new sense*, or *new application* of the word, or name, came in soon after, and so it will here be necessary to distinguish *times*.

I shall now pass on to Cyprian, to shew how this matter stood, upon the *change* of language introduced in his time. We shall find him plainly speaking of the *offering* *Christ's body* and *blood* ^z. This must be understood of an oblation subsequent to consecration, not in order to it: for *Christ's body* and *blood*, whether real or symbolical, are *holy*, and could want no sanctification or consecration. He further seems to speak of *offering* *Christ* himself^a, in this Sacrament, unto God, but under the symbols of *consecrated* bread and wine. That may be his meaning: and the meaning is good, when rightly apprehended; for there was

dos es tibi solus. *Tertull. de Exhort. Cast. c. vii. p. 522. Conf. de Veland. Virg. c. ix. p. 178.*

^u *Oblationes* pro defunctis, pro natalitiis annua die facimus. *Tertull. de Coron. c. iii. p. 102. Conf. de Exhort. Cast. c. xi. p. 523.*

^x See Bingham, book xxiii. ch. 3. sect. 12, 13. Deylingius, *Observat. Miscellan. p. 95.*

^y "It is manifest, that it is called an *oblation*, or *sacrifice*, in all liturgies, according to the style of the most ancient Church-writers, not as *consecrated*, but as *presented*, and *offered* (whether by the people, as the custom was, to him that ministered, or by him that ministered, to God) to be *consecrated*." *Thorndike, Relig. Assembl. p. 379.*

Consecrationi autem *oblationem* propositam olim fuisse, adeo perspicuum ex veterum dictis, *liturgiisque* antiquissimis, maxime Græcis, esse arbitra-

mur, ut nihil clarius esse possit. *Pfaff. Fragm. Iren. in præfat.*

^z Obtulit [Dominus] hoc idem quod Melchisedech obtulerat, id est panem et vinum, suum scilicet *corpus* et *sanguinem*. *Cyprian. Ep. lxxiii. p. 105. edit. Bened. Unde apparet sanguinem Christi non offerri, si desit vinum calici &c. p. 107.*

^a Nam si Jesus Christus Dominus et Deus noster ipse est summus sacerdos Dei Patris, et sacrificium Patri seipsum primus obtulit, et hoc fieri in sui commemorationem præcepit, utique ille sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur, qui *id quod Christus fecit*, imitatur, et sic incipit *offerre* secundum quod ipsum Christum videat obtulisse. *Ibid. p. 109. Quia passionis ejus mentionem in sacrificiis omnibus facimus (passio est enim Domini, sacrificium quod offerimus) nihil aliud quam quod ille fecit, facere debemus, p. 109.*

nothing new in it but the *language*, or the manner of expression. What the elder Fathers would have called, and did call, the *commemorating* of Christ, or the *commemorating his passion*, his *body* broken, or *blood* shed; that Cyprian calls the *offering* of Christ, or of his *passion*, &c. because, in a large sense, even *commemorating* is *offering*, as it is presenting the thing or the person so commemorated, in the way of prayer and thanksgiving, before God. I do not invent this account for the clearing a difficulty, but I take it from Cyprian himself, whose own words shew that the Eucharistical *commemoration* was all the while in his mind ^b, and that that was all he meant by the *oblation* which he there speaks of, using a new name for an old thing. I shall shew in due time, that the later Fathers who followed Cyprian's language in this particular, and who admitted this *third* oblation (as some have called it) as well as he, yet when they came to explain, interpreted it to mean no more than a solemn *commemoration*, such as I have mentioned.

I must further observe, that though Cyprian sometimes advances this new kind of language, yet elsewhere he follows the more ancient way of speaking, and understands *oblation* as other Fathers before him had done. Thus, when he speaks of the *sacrifice offered* in the Eucharist by the *poor*^c, he means it of the *lay oblation* which was previous to consecration; as also when he speaks of the clergy's *presenting* the *oblations* of the people^d, he is to be understood of the *first* and *second* oblations, both of them previous to consecration. And when he observes, that an *oblation* cannot be *sanctified* where the Spirit is not given^e, he uses the word *oblation* for what was antecedent; and it amounts to the same as if he had said, that such an oblation could not be *consecrated*, could not be made the *body* and *blood* of Christ. But enough hath been said of the *name* of *oblation* in this place: the *thing* will be more distinctly considered hereafter.

A. D. 104. *Sacrament.*

The name of *Sacrament*, as applied to the Eucharist, though no Scripture name, yet certainly is of great antiquity. The younger Pliny, in his Letter to the Emperor Trajan, will afford

^b Calix qui in *commemorationem* (alias *commemoratione*) ejus offertur, p. 104. Quotiescunque ergo calicem in *commemorationem* Domini et passionis ejus offerimus, id quod constat Dominum fecisse, faciamus, p. 109.

^c Partem de sacrificio quod pauper obtulerit, sumis. *Cypr. de Op. et*

Elem. p. 242.

^d Qui communicando cum lapsis, et offerendo *oblaciones* eorum &c. Ep. xxviii. p. 38.

^e Nec *oblatio* illic sanctificari possit, ubi Spiritus Sanctus non est. Ep. lxiv. p. 112.

us a good argument of it, in what he reports of the *Christians*, and from the *Christians*, as meeting on a certain day (the Lord's Day) and binding themselves by a *sacrament* to commit no wickedness, but to lead good lives^f. As Pliny there reported what the Christians had told him, it is reasonable to judge, that they had made use of the word *sacrament* to him, which they understood in the Christian sense, however Pliny or Trajan might take it: and so this testimony will amount to a probable proof of the use of the name of *sacrament* among the Christians of that time. That the name, as there used, is to be understood of the *Eucharist*, is a very clear case, from all the circumstances of the account. I know not how a late learned and judicious writer came to understand it of the sacrament of *Baptism*. The generality of the best learned men^h interpret it of the *Eucharist*, and with very good reason: for the account refers to what the *whole* assembly were wont to do, at the same time; they could not all come to receive *Baptism*, though they might to receive the *Eucharist*. Then the mention of the Sacrament, as taken in the Antelucan meetings, tallies exactly with Tertullian's account of the *Eucharist*, as we shall see presently: besides that the hint given of the *love-feast*, as following soon after, confirms the same thingⁱ.

I go on then to Tertullian, who makes express mention of the *Sacrament of the Eucharist*, as received in his time, but with some difference, as to the circumstances, from the *original Eucharist* of our Lord's own celebrating^k. For that (he observes) was after supper, this before daylight, fasting: in that, the company helped one another, or every man took his part from the table^l; in this, the Bishop or Presbyter in person gave the

^f Adfirmabant autem, hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ sæ, vel erroris, quod essent soliti, stato die, ante lucem convenire, cæmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem: seque *sacramento* non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis, morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium. *Plin. Epist. xcviij. lib. x. p. 819. ed. Amstel. Conf. Tertullian. Apol. c. ii. p. 24, 25. Lugd.*

^g Dr. Wall, *Inf. Bapt. part. ii. chap.*

ix. p. 396. third edition.

^h Vid. Bevereg. *Vindic. Can. p. 199. Tentzel. Exercit. Select. part. ii. p. 127. Vitringa, de Vet. Synagog. p. 1116. Renaudotius Liturg. Orient. tom. i. p. 5, 6. Bingham xv. 7, 8.*

ⁱ See Bingham, *book xv. c. 7. sect. 8.*

^k *Eucharistiæ Sacramentum, et in tempore victus, et omnibus mandatum a Domino; etiam Antelucanis cætib; nec de aliorum manu quam præsidentium sumimus. Tertull. de Coron. c. iii. p. 102.*

^l Luke xxii. 17. See Archbishop Potter on Ch. G. p. 259. edit. 3rd.

bread and cup to each communicant. But what I have principally to take notice of here is the use of the phrase, *Sacrament of the Eucharist*, conformable to the like phrases, which the same author makes use of to denote *Baptism*, calling it the *Sacrament of water*^m, and *Sacrament of sanctification*ⁿ. In the same century, Cyprian calls the *Eucharist* the *Sacrament of the cup*^o; and elsewhere, the *Sacrament of the Lord's passion and of our redemption*^p.

If it should now be asked, in what precise meaning the name of *sacrament* was thus anciently applied to the *Eucharist*; as the word *sacrament* is of great latitude, and capable of various significations, (some stricter and some larger,) I know of no certain way of determining the precise meaning of the *name*, as here applied, but by considering what was meant by the *thing*. Gerard Vossius^q has perhaps given as clear and accurate an account of the word *sacrament* as one shall any where meet with: but after all, I am of opinion, that it is not the *name* which can here add any light to the *thing*, but the *thing* itself must be first rightly understood, in order to settle the true and full import of the *name*. When it is applied to *Baptism* and the *Eucharist*, it must be explained by their *common* nature, being a *general* name for such a certain number of ideas as go to make up their general nature or notion. A collection of those several ideas is put together in the *definition* given in our *Church Catechism*. The like had been endeavoured before, in our Twenty-fifth Article: and that is again digested into a more technical form, by Bishop Burnet in his Exposition^r. His definition may be looked upon as a good summary account of what our *Church*, and the *Protestant churches* abroad, and the *primitive churches* likewise, believed concerning *Baptism* and the *Eucharist* in common: the particulars of their faith, so far, is therein collected into one large complex idea, and for conveniency is comprised in the single word *sacrament*. And yet it must be observed, that this word *sacrament*, as applied to those two religious rites, admits of a threefold acceptation in Church writers: sometimes denoting barely the *outward sign* of each, sometimes the *thing*

^m Sacramentum aquæ. *Tertull. de Bapt.* c. i. p. 224. c. xii. p. 229.

ⁿ Sacramentum sanctificationis. *Ibid.* c. iv. p. 225.

^o Sacramentum calicis. *Cyprian. de Lapsis*, p. 189.

^p Sacramentum Dominicæ passionis, et redemptionis nostræ. *Cyprian. Ep.* 63.

^q Vossius de Sacram. Vi et Efficacia. *Opp.* tom. vi. p. 247, &c.

^r Burnet on Art. XXV. p. 268, 269.

signified, and sometimes *both together*, the whole action, service, or solemnity^s.

The Socinians, observing that the *received* sense of the word *sacrament* is against their whole scheme, have often expressed their dislike of it. Smalcus particularly complains of it, as an *unscriptural* name, and besides *barbarous Latin*, and leading to *superstition* and *idolatry*; and therefore he moves to have it totally laid aside^t. He was offended, it seems, at the *name*, because it served to keep up the sense of something *mysterious*, or *mystical*, of a *sign* and somewhat *signified*, viz. *grace* &c. to which he had an aversion. Volkelius, more complaisant with respect to the *name*, turns all his resentment upon the *thing*, flatly denying that the Eucharist is a *sacrament*^u: his reason is, because it neither *exhibits* nor *seals* any *spiritual grace*. His master Socinus had intimated as much before^x. The sum is, that the strict sense of the Sacrament, as implying an *outward sign* of an *inward grace*, can never suit with their schemes, who allow of no *inward grace* at all.

I may here note by the way, that while the Socinians reject the *invisible grace*, the Romanists destroy the *visible sign*, and both run counter to the true notion of a *sacrament*, by their opposite extremes: from whence it is manifest, of what moment it is to preserve the word *sacrament*, and to assert to it its *true* and *full sense*. For though the word, as here applied, is not in Scripture, yet the *notion* is there, and the *general doctrine* is there: and the throwing that *notion*, or that *general doctrine*, under the name of *sacrament*, is nothing more than collecting several *Scripture ideas*, or *Scripture truths*, and binding them up together in a *single word*, for the better preserving them, and for the ease and conveniency of speech. But as to the *proof* of those doctrines or those truths, I cannot enter into it now, but must reserve it for a more proper place, and proceed in the account of ancient *names*.

^s Vid. Lamb. Daneus. Isag. part. iv. lib. 5. p. 441.

^t Vox *sacramenti*, in hac significatione, *barbara*, vel saltem *sacris literis incognita* est; ab hominibus vero otiosis (qui ceremoniis hujusmodi nescio quid præter sacram Scripturam *superstitiosum*, aut etiam *idololatricum* ex parte, tribuere non sunt veriti) ad legendum dolum usurpata: præstat igitur aliis nominibus appellari in

Christi cœtu hanc ceremoniam. Smalcus *contr. Frantz.* p. 347.

^u Satis constat nec alteram appellationem, nimirum *sacramentum* corporis Christi, veram esse. Si enim hæc actio ne *sacramentum* quidem est, quo pacto, quæso, *corporis Christi sacramentum* erit? Volkelius. *de Ver. Relig.* lib. iv. cap. 22. p. 678.

^x Socinus de Baptism. Aquæ, cap. xiv.

A. D. 107. *Eucharist.*

Another name, as famous as any, is the name *Eucharist*, signifying properly *thanksgiving* or *blessing*, and fitly denoting this holy service, considered as a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. I set the date no higher than Ignatius's Epistles, because there it first certainly occurs: though one can make no doubt of its having obtained in the *apostolical* age, when it is considered how familiarly Ignatius makes use of it. Some have thought that St. Paul himself led the way as to this name, 1 Cor. xiv. 16. But that construction of the text appears too *conjectural* to build upon, and is rejected by the generality of interpreters: I think, with good reason, as Estius in particular hath manifested upon the place. I content myself therefore with running up that name no higher than Ignatius's time.

After him, Justin Martyr^z, Irenæus^a, Clemens of Alexandria^b, Origen^c, and others, make familiar use of that name, as is well known. One may judge how extensive and prevailing that name, above any other, anciently was, from this consideration, that it passed not only among the Greeks, but among the Orientalists also, (as may be seen in the Syriac version before mentioned,) and likewise among the Latins; who adopted that very Greek word into their own language; as is plain from Tertullian^d and Cyprian^e, in many places.

A. D. 150. *Sacrifice. Θυσία.*

Justin Martyr is the first I meet with who speaks of the Eucharist under the name of *sacrifice* or *sacrifices*. But he does it so often, and so familiarly^f, that one cannot but conceive, that it had been in common use for some time before: and it is the more likely to have been so, because *oblation* (which is near akin to it) certainly was, as we have seen above.

^y Ignatius, Epist. ad Smyrn. c. 7, 8. ad Philadelph. c. 4.

^z Justin. M. Apol. 96. Dialog. p. 220, 386. Thirlby.

^a Irenæus, p. 251, 294, 341, 360, ed. Bened.

^b Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. ii. cap. 2. p. 178, ed. Oxon.

^c Origen. contr. Cels. lib. viii. sect. 57. p. 784, ed. Bened.

^d Tertullian. p. 102, 135, 215, 220, 562, 570. Rigalt.

^e Cyprian. Tract. p. 132, 147, 230. Ep. p. 34, 37, 38, 39, 117, 118, 125, 190, 191, 223. Ox. edit.

^f Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπων ὑφ' ἡμῶν

τῶν ἐθνῶν προσφερομένων αὐτῷ θυσίων, τουτέστι τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας, καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου ὁμοίως τῆς εὐχαριστίας, προλέγει τότε—Just. Dialog. p. 220, edit. Lond.

— θυσίας δὲ παρέδωκεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς γίνεσθαι, τουτέστιν ἐπὶ τῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου—*Ibid.* p. 386.

— ὅτι μὲν οὖν καὶ εὐχαὶ καὶ εὐχαριστίαι, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀξίων γινόμεναι, τέλειαι μόναι καὶ εὐάρεστοί εἰσι τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαι, καὶ αὐτὸς φημι· ταῦτα γὰρ μόναι καὶ Χριστιανοὶ παρέλαβον ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐπ' ἀναμνήσει δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν ξηρὰς τε καὶ ὑγρὰς. *Ibid.* p. 387.

Irenæus of the same century mentions the *sacrifice* of the Eucharist more than once, either directly or obliquely. Tertullian, not many years later, does the like^b. Cyprian also speaks of the *sacrifice* in the Eucharist, understanding it, in one particular passage, of the *lay oblation*ⁱ. This is not the place to examine critically what the ancients meant by the *sacrifice* or *sacrifices* of the Eucharist: it will deserve a distinct chapter in another part of this work. But, as I before observed of *oblation*, that, anciently, it was understood sometimes of the *lay offering*, the same I observe now of *sacrifice*; and it is plain from Cyprian. Besides that notion of sacrifice, there was another, and a principal one, which was conceived to go along with the *Eucharistical* service, and that was the notion of *spiritual sacrifice*, consisting of many particulars, as shall be shewn hereafter: and it was on the account of one or both, that the Eucharist had the name of *sacrifice* for the two first centuries. But by the middle of the third century, if not sooner, it began to be called a *sacrifice*, on account of the *grand sacrifice* represented and commemorated in it; the *sign*, as such, now adopting the name of the *thing signified*. In short, the *memorial* at length came to be called a *sacrifice*, as well as an *oblation*: and it had a double claim to be so called; partly as it was in itself a *spiritual* service or *sacrifice*, and partly as it was a representation and commemoration of the high tremendous *sacrifice* of Christ God-man. This last view of it, being of all the most awful and most endearing, came by degrees to be the most prevailing acceptation of the *Christian sacrifice*, as held forth in the Eucharist. But those who styled the Eucharist a *sacrifice* on that account, took care, as often as need was, to explain it off to a *memorial* of a sacrifice rather than a strict or proper *sacrifice*, in that precise view. Cyprian, I think, is the first who plainly and directly styles the Eucharist a *sacrifice* in the *commemorative* view, and as *representing* the grand sacrifice^k. Not that there was any thing *new* in the doc-

¶ Ecclesiæ oblatio, quam Dominus docuit offerri in universo mundo, purum sacrificium reputatum est apud Deum &c.—

—Sacrificia in populo, sacrificia et in ecclesia.—Iren. lib. iv. c. 18. p. 250. omni autem loco sacrificium offeretur ei, et hoc purum. Lib. iv. c. 17. p. 249.

^b Non putant plerique sacrificiorum orationibus interveniendum—Accepto corpore Domini et reservato, utrumque salvum est, et participatio

sacrificii, et executio officii. Tertull. de Orat. c. xiv. p. 135, 136. Aut sacrificium offertur, aut Dei sermo administratur. De cultu Fem. lib. ii. c. 11.

ⁱ Locuples, et dives es, et Dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ corban omnino non respicis, quæ in Dominicum sine sacrificio venis, quæ partem de sacrificio quod pauper obtulit sumis. Cyprian. de Op. et Eleemos. p. 242. Bened. alias 223.

^k Passionis ejus mentionem in sa-

trine, but there was a *new application* of an old name, which had at the first been brought in upon other accounts. I shall endeavour to set that whole matter clear in a chapter below : for the present these few hints may suffice, and so I pass on.

A. D. 150. *Commemoration, Memorial.* Ἀνάμνησις, Μνήμη.

Justin Martyr, if I mistake not, once names the Eucharist a *commemoration* or *memorial*; where he takes notice, that the Christians offered up spiritual sacrifices, *prayers* and *lauds*, in the *memorial of their food dry and liquid*^l, that is, in the Eucharist of bread and wine. I know not how otherwise to construe ἀνάμνησις there, but as a *name* of the whole service. It was natural enough, because many of the other *names* which have been used to denominate the *whole* service, (as *breaking bread*, *oblation*, *sacrifice*, and *Eucharist*,) manifestly took their original from some noted *part* of the solemnity, and were at first but *partial* conceptions of it. Now since the *commemoration* or *memorial* was always a considerable *part* of the solemnity, (as the learned well know,) it is reasonable to suppose, that that also might be made use of in like manner, as a *name* for the whole service.

I am aware that our excellent Mr. Mede gives a very different turn to that passage of Justin, translating it thus: “In that thankful remembrance of their food both dry and liquid, wherein also is commemorated the passion which the Son of God suffered by himself.” He interprets it of *agnizing* God as the “giver of our food both dry and liquid^m.” But that construction must needs appear harsh and unnatural. Justin no where else does ever speak of the *remembrance* of our *food*, but constantly understands the Eucharistical *remembrance* or *commemoration* to refer to Christ only, his *incarnation* and *passion*, his *body* and *blood*ⁿ: nor do I know of any one *Father* who interprets the memorial of the bodily food. Besides, it suits not well with our Lord’s own account in his *institution* of the Sacrament, which speaks of the remembrance of *him*, not of the remembrance of our *bodily food*. Add to this, that were the sense of the place such as Mr. Mede imagined, Justin would rather have expressed it by a thankful remembrance of the

crificiis omnibus facimus: passio est enim Domini sacrificium quod offerimus. Cyprian. Ep. lxiii. p. 109. Bened.

^l Ἐπ’ ἀναμνήσει δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν ξηρᾶς τε καὶ ὑγρᾶς, ἐν ἧ καὶ τοῦ πάθους

δὲ πίνουθε δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ μύμηται. Just. Dial. 387.

^m Mede, Christian Sacrifice, b. ii. ch. 5. p. 460.

ⁿ Vid. Just. Mart. Dialog. p. 220, 290.

Divine goodness in giving us our food, than by a thankful remembrance of *our food*, which appears flat and insipid in comparison. Seeing then that Mr. Mede's construction of that place in Justin is far from satisfactory, I choose to acquiesce in the sense which I before mentioned, till I see a better; understanding the *memorial of food*, as equivalent to *memorial of Christ's passion, made by food*, viz. by *bread and wine*. The word *also* refers not there to *memorial*, as if there were two memorials, but to the *lauds*; besides which there was *also a memorial of the passion*.

Origen has a passage relating to the Eucharistical *memorial*, where he appears to denominate the whole service by that eminent part of it^o. Eusebius styles the Eucharist, the *memorial of our Lord's body and blood*^p, and also simply a *memorial*; which he observes to have succeeded in the room of *sacrifice*^q. He calls it also the *memorial of the sacrifice*^r, and *memorial of the grand sacrifice*^s. I need not descend lower, to fetch in more authorities for the use of this *name*: only, I may just give a hint, that all those Fathers who interpreted the name *sacrifice*, as applied in such a particular view to the Eucharist, by a *memorial of a sacrifice*, may as reasonably be understood to call the Eucharist a *memorial*, as to call it a *sacrifice*. Those Fathers were many; and Chrysostom may be esteemed their chief: who while he follows the ordinary language in denominating the Eucharist a *sacrifice*, (considered in its *representative* view,) yet intimates withal, that its more proper appellation, in that view, is a *memorial of a sacrifice*^t. I may further take notice, that St. Austin comes very near to what I have been speaking of, where he calls the Eucharist by the name of the *sacrament of*

^o Si referantur hæc ad mysterii magnitudinem, invenies *commemorationem* istam habere ingentis propitiationis effectum.—Si respicias ad illam *commemorationem* de qua dicit Dominus, *hoc facite in meam commemorationem*, invenias quod ista est *commemoratio* sola, quæ propitium facit hominibus Deum. *Origen. in Levit. Hom. xiii. p. 255. ed. Bened.*

^p Τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τὴν ὑπόμνησιν. *Euseb. Demonst. Evangel. lib. i. cap. 10. p. 27.*

^q Μνήμην καὶ ἡμῖν παραδοῦς, ἀντὶ θυσίας τῆς Θεοῦ διηλεκτικῶς προσφέρειν. *Ibid. p. 38. Conf. Apost. Const. lib. vi. cap. 23.*

^r Τοῦτου δὴτα τοῦ θύματος τὴν μνήμην ἐπὶ τραπέζῃ ἐκτελεῖν, διὰ συμβόλων τοῦ

τε σώματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου αἵματος. *Ibid. p. 30.*

^s Τὴν μνήμην τοῦ μεγάλου θύματος. *Ibid. p. 40.*

^t Προσφέρομεν μὲν, ἀλλ' ἀνάμνησιν ποιούμεθα τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ. —τὴν αὐτὴν θυσίαν αἰεὶ ποιούμεν, μᾶλλον τε ἀνάμνησιν ἐργαζόμεθα θυσίας. *Chrysost. in Epist. ad Hebr. cap. x. Hom. 17. p. 856. Compare Theodorit. in Hebr. viii. 4. p. 433. Pseud-Ambros. in Hebr. cap. x. Primasius, in Hebr. cap. x. Hesy chius, in Levit. p. 31. Eulogius, apud Phot. cod. 280. p. 1609. Fulgentius, de Fide ad Petr. cap. lx. p. 525. Fragm. 618. Cumenius, in Hebr. x. p. 846. Theophylact. in Hebr. x. 1. p. 971.*

commemoration, or *sacramental memorial*^u. To conclude this article, let the reader observe and bear in mind, that the names of *oblation* and *sacrifice*, as applied to the Eucharist in one particular point of view, do both of them resolve into the name *memorial*: and so far they are all three to be looked upon as *equivalent* names, bearing the same sense, pointing to the same thing. This observation will be of use, when we come to consider the Eucharist in its *sacrificial view* under a distinct chapter below.

A. D. 249. *Passover*.

The name of *Passover* has been anciently given to the Eucharist, upon a presumption that as *Christ* himself succeeded to the *paschal lamb*, so the *feast* of the *Eucharist* succeeded in the room of the *paschal feast*. *Christ* is our *Passover*, as the name stands for the *lamb*^x: the Eucharist is our *Passover*, as that same name stands for the *feast*, *service*, or *solemnity*.

Origen seems to have led the way; and therefore I date the notion from his time: not that he speaks so fully to the point as some that came after, neither had he precisely the same ideas of it; but he taught more confusedly, what others after him improved and cleared. Origen takes notice, that "if a man considers that *Christ our Passover was sacrificed for us*, and that he ought to *keep the feast by feeding upon the flesh of the Logos*, he may celebrate the *Passover* all his life long, *passing on to Godwards in thought, word, and deed, abstracted from temporal things*." I give his *sense*, rather than a *literal* rendering. Here we may observe, that the Christian *Passover feast*, according to him, consists in the *eating of the flesh of the Logos*; which is certainly done in the *Eucharist* by every *faithful* receiver, as Origen every where allows: but then Origen's common doctrine is, that the *flesh of the Logos* may be eaten also out of the Eucharist; for the receiving *spiritual nutriment* any way, is with him *eating the flesh of Christ*^z. So that this passage

^u Sacramentum memoriæ. *Augustin. contr. Faust.* lib. xx. cap. 21. p. 348. Compare l'Arroque, *Hist. of the Eucharist*, part i. chap. 8. p. 88, 89.

^x 1 Cor. v. 7. John i. 29.

^y Ἐπι δὲ ὁ νοήσας, ὅτι τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός, καὶ χρὴ ἐορτάζειν ἐσθίουσα τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ λόγου· οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε οὐ ποιῆι τὸ πάσχα, ὅπερ ἐρμηνεύεται διαβατήρια, διαβαίνων αἰεὶ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ

πάσῃ πράξει ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ βίου πραγμάτων ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ σπεύδων. *Origen. contr. Cels.* lib. viii. p. 759. edit. Bened. alias p. 392.

^z Bibere autem dicimur sanguinem Christi, non solum sacramentorum ritu, sed et cum sermones ejus recipimus, in quibus vita consistit. Sicut et ipse dicit, *Verba quæ locutus sum, spiritus et vita est.* *Origen. in Num.* Hom. xvi. p. 334. edit. Bened.

which I have cited from him does not make the *Eucharist*, in particular, or *solely*, to be the Christian *paschal feast*: but the taking in *spiritual food*, be it in that way or any other, that is the *keeping our Passover*, according to his sense of it. Hilary, of the fourth century, seems directly to give the name of *Passover* to the *Christian Eucharist*^a. Nazianzen, a great admirer of Origen, improves the thought, applying it directly and specially to the *Eucharist*, in these words: "We shall partake of the *Passover*, which even now is but a *type*, though much more plain than the *old one*: for I am bold to say, that the *legal Passover* was an obscurer *type* of another *type*^b."

St. Jerome, who was once Nazianzen's scholar, follows him in the same sentiment, styling the Eucharist *the true sacrament of the Passover*, in opposition to the *old one*^c. But no one dwells more upon that thought, or more finely illustrates it, than the great St. Chrysostom in divers places. He asks why our Lord celebrated the *Passover*? And his answer is, because the *old Passover* was the figure of the *future one*, and it was proper, after exhibiting the *shadow*, to bring in the *truth* also upon the *table*^d: a little after he says, it is our *Passover to declare the Lord's death*^e, quoting 1 Cor. xi. 26. And he adds, that whoever comes with a pure conscience, celebrates the *Passover*, as often as he *receives the communion*, be it to-day, or to-morrow, or at any time whatever^f. And he has more in the same place, to the same purpose. In another work he speaks thus: "When the *sun of righteousness* appeared, the *shadow* disappeared:— therefore upon the self-same *table* both the *Passovers* were celebrated, the *typical* and the *real*^g." A little lower, he calls the Eucharist the *spiritual Passover*^h. Isidorus Pelusiota after-

^a Judas proditor indicatur, sine quo *pascha*, accepto calice et fracto pane, conficitur. *Hilar. in Matt.* cap. xxx. p. 740. ed. Bened.

^b Μεταληψόμεθα δὲ τοῦ πάσχα νῦν μὲν τυπικῶς ἔτι, καὶ εἰ τοῦ παλαιοῦ γυμνότερον· τὸ γὰρ νομικὸν πάσχα, τολμῶ καὶ λέγω, τύπου τύπος ἦν ἀμυδρότερος. *Nazianz. Orat.* lii. p. 692.

^c Postquam *typicum pascha* fuerat impletum, et agni carnes cum apostolis comederat, assumit *panem*, qui confortat cor hominis, et ad verum *pascha* transgreditur *sacramentum*: ut quomodo in præfiguratione ejus Melchisedec, summi Dei sacerdos, panem et vinum offerens fecit, ipse

quoque veritatem sui corporis et sanguinis repræsentaret. *Hieronym. in Matt.* cap. xxvi. p. 128. ed. Bened.

^d Chrysostom. tom. i. *Orat. contr.* Jud. 3. p. 610. ed. Bened.

^e Πάσχα δὲ ἔστι, τὸ τὸν θάνατον καταγγέλλειν. *Ibid.* p. 611.

^f Πάσχα ἐπιτελεῖ, κἂν σήμερον, κἂν αὔριον, κἂν ὅποτεροῦν μετὰ σὺν τῆς κοινωνίας. *Ibid.* p. 612.

^g Ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τραπέζῃ ἑκάτερον γίνεται πάσχα, καὶ τὸ τοῦ τύπου, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας. *Chrysost. de Prodit. Jud.* Hom. i. tom. 2. p. 383. Ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς τραπέζης, καὶ τὸ τυπικὸν πάσχα ὑπέγραψε, καὶ τὸ ἀληθινὸν προσέθηκε. *Ib.*

^h Τὸ πνευματικὸν πάσχα. *Ibid.*

wards styles it the *divine* and *true* Passoverⁱ. And St. Austin observes, that the Jews celebrate their *Passover in a lamb*, and we receive *ours* in the *body* and *blood* of the Lord^k. These are authorities sufficient for the *name* of *Passover* as applied to the Eucharist: for like as Baptism is in Scripture account the *Christian circumcision*^l, so is the Eucharist, in Church account at least, the *Christian Passover*.

A. D. 385. *Mass. Missa.*

There is one name more, a Latin name, and proper to the *western* churches, which may just deserve mentioning, because of the warm disputes which have been raised about it ever since the Reformation. It is the name *mass*, in Latin *missa*; originally importing nothing more than the *dismissal* of a church assembly^m. By degrees it came to be used for an *assembly*, and for *Church service*: so easily do words shift their sense, and adopt new ideas. From signifying Church service in general, it came at length to denote the *Communion service* in particular, and so that most emphatically came to be called *the Mass*. St. Ambrose is reasonably supposed to be the earliest writer now extant who mentions *mass* in that emphatical senseⁿ. Higher authorities have been pretended: but they are either from the spurious Decretal Epistles, or from *liturgical* offices of *modern* date in comparison^o.

So much for the *ancient names* of the Sacrament: not that I took upon me to number up all, but those only which appeared to me most considerable. More may be seen in Hospinian, Casaubon, Suicer, or Turretin, collected into one view, with their proper authorities. It is time for me now to proceed directly to the consideration of the *Sacrament* itself; in the mean while hoping that my readers will excuse it, if I have hitherto detained them too long in the *preliminaries*, intended to open and clear the way to the main subject.

ⁱ Τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἀληθινὸν πάσχα. *Isidor. Pelus.* lib. iv. Epist. 162. p. 504. ed. Paris.

^k Aliud est *pascha* quod adhuc Judæi de ove celebrant, aliud autem quod nos in corpore et sanguine Domini accipimus. *Augustin. contr. Lit. Petilian.* lib. ii. cap. 37.

^l Coloss. ii. 11.

^m Hence *Missa Catechumenorum*,

and *Missa Fidelium*. See Cangius's *Glossarium in Missa*; and Casaubon. *Exercit.* xvi. n. 59. p. 418. alias 582.

ⁿ Missam facere cœpi. *Ambros. Epist.* 20. *ad Marcellin.* p. 853. ed. Bened.

^o Compare Deylingius, *Observat. Miscellan.* p. 262, 272, &c. Bingham, b. xiii. chap. 1.

CHAP. II.

Of the Institution of the Holy Communion.

IT will be proper to begin with the *institution* of this Sacrament by Christ our Lord, as recorded by St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. Paul. It is an argument of the great weight and importance of it, that we have it *four* times recorded in the New Testament, only with some slight variations, while what one or more omit, another supplies. The most complete as well as shortest view of the whole may be taken by throwing all into one, in some such manner as here follows :

Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. 1 Cor. xi.

“ The night in which the *Lord Jesus* was betrayed, as they were eating, or did eat, Jesus took bread, and giving thanks, blessed it, and brake it, and gave it unto his disciples, and said ; *Take, eat, this is my body, which is given and broken for you ; do this in remembrance of me.* After supper likewise, having taken the cup, and given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, *Drink ye all of this, for this cup is my blood of the new covenant, the new covenant in my blood, which is shed for you, for many, for the remission of sins : this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me,* (and they all drank of it.) *Verily I say unto you, I will drink no more of this fruit of the vine, until that day, when I shall drink it new with you in the kingdom of my Father, in the kingdom of God.* And when they had sung an hymn, they went out to the mount of Olives.”

The circumstance of *time* is the first thing here observable : it was “ in the night in which he was betrayed ” that our Lord instituted this holy Sacrament. Our Lord designed it (besides other uses) for a standing *memorial* of his *passion* : and to shew the more plainly that he did so, or to render it the more affecting, he delayed the *institution* to the last period of his life.

A more material circumstance is, that he began the institution *as they were eating*, or after they had been eating : here the question is, what had they been *eating* ? It is commonly supposed the *paschal lamb*. For St. Matthew, in the same chapter relates, that on the first day of *unleavened* bread, the disciples came and asked, “ Where wilt thou that we prepare for thee to “ eat the Passover ? ” And the Lord made answer, that he would “ keep the Passover with his disciples,” and the disciples actually prepared the Passover^q. St. Mark reports the same^r.

^p 1 Cor. xi. 23.

^q Matt. xxvi. 17, 18, 19.

^r Mark xiv. 12—16.

St. Luke confirms it, and adds this further circumstance, that our Lord, upon his sitting down to supper, said, "With desire have I desired to eat this Passover with you, before I suffer^s." Nevertheless, it seems from St. John's account, that the day of the legal *Passover* was not yet come, that it was "before the feast of the Passover" that our Lord had his *supper*^t; that part of Friday, passion-day, was but the *preparation*^u of the paschal feast. These seeming differences have occasioned very long and intricate disputes between Greeks and Latins, and among learned men both ancient and modern, which remain even to this day. I shall not presume to take the place of a moderator in so nice a debate, but shall be content to report as much as may serve to give the reader some notion of it, sufficient for my present purpose. There are three several schemes or opinions in this matter: 1. The most *ancient* and most *prevailing* is, that our Lord kept the *legal* Passover, and on the *same day* with the Jews: and those who are in this sentiment have their probable *solutions* with respect to St. John's accounts, while they claim the three other Evangelists as entirely theirs. 2. The second opinion is, that our Lord *anticipated* (for weighty reasons) the *time* of the Jewish Passover, and so kept his before theirs: or rather, he kept his Passover at the true *legal* time, when the Jews (or some at least of the Jews) postponed theirs *illegally*. This opinion has also its *difficulties*, and the maintainers of it have contrived some plausible *solutions*. 3. The third opinion is, that our Lord kept no *Passover* properly so called, but had a *supper*, and afterwards instituted the Eucharist, the *mystical* or *Christian* Passover; called *Passover* in such a sense as *Baptism* is called *Circumcision*, succeeding in its room. This last opinion had some patrons of old time, and more of late, and seems to gain ground. I shall here transcribe what a learned and judicious writer of our own has lately pleaded in behalf of it, though it may be thought somewhat prolix. It is in his notes on Matt. xxvi. 17^x.

"Here occurs a question and a difference between the words of St. John and the other *three*, concerning the day of the week on which the Jews kept the Passover that year 4746. A. D. 33. It is plain by all the four Gospels, that this day on which Christ did at night eat the *Passover* (or what some call the Passover) was Thursday. And one would think by read-

^s Luke xxii. 15. ^t John xiii. 1, 2. ^u John xix. 14. compare xviii. 28.

^x Dr. Wall's Critical Notes on the New Testament, p. 33.

ing the *three*, that that was the night on which the Jews did eat their *Passover lamb*. But all the texts of St. John are clear, that they did not eat it till the next night, *Friday night*, before which night Christ was crucified and dead, having given up the ghost about the ninth hour, viz. three of the clock in the afternoon. St. John does speak of a *supper* which Christ did eat on *Thursday night* with his Apostles, chap. xiii. 1, 2, but he does not call it a *Passover supper*, but on the contrary says it was *before the feast of the Passover*, πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα: by which, I think, he means *the day before the Passover*, or the *Passover eve* as we should say. Now this was the *same night*, and the *same supper* which the *three* do call the *Passover*, and Christ's *eating the Passover*. I mean, it was the night on which Christ was (a few hours after supper) apprehended; as is plain by the last verse of that 13th chapter. But the next day (*Friday*, on which Christ was crucified) St. John makes to be the *Passover day*. He says, (chap. xviii. 28,) the Jews would not go into the judgment-hall on *Friday morning*, lest they should be defiled, but that they might *eat the Passover*, viz. that evening. And chap. xix. 14. speaking of *Friday noon*, he says, it was the *preparation of the Passover*. Upon the whole, John speaks not of eating the *Passover* at all: nor indeed do the *three* speak of his eating any *lamb*. Among all the expressions which they use, *of making ready the Passover; prepare for thee to eat the Passover; with desire have I desired to eat this Passover with you, &c.* there is no mention of any *lamb* carried to the *temple* to be slain by the Levites, and then brought to the house and roasted: there is no mention of any food at the supper beside bread and wine: perhaps there might be bitter herbs. So that this seems to have been a *commemorative supper* used by our Saviour instead of the proper *paschal supper*, the eating of a *lamb*; which should have been the next night, but that he himself was to be sacrificed before that time would come. And the difference between St. John and the *other* is only a difference in *words*, and in the *names* of things: they call that the *Passover*, which Christ used *instead* of it.

“ If you say, why then does Mark xiv. 12. call *Thursday* the *first day of unleavened bread*, when they *killed the passover*, and Luke xxii. 7. the day of *unleavened bread* when the *passover must be killed*? we must note, that their day, (or *συχθήμερον*) was from *evening to evening*. This *Thursday evening* was the

“ *beginning* of that natural day of twenty-four hours, towards “ the *end* of which the *lamb* was to be killed : so it is proper in “ the Jews’ way of calling days to call it that day.” Thus far Dr. Wall.

Deylingius, a learned Lutheran, has more minutely canvassed the same question, and maintained the same side γ . I shall not take upon me to say positively which of the three opinions is the best, or clogged with fewest difficulties. If the last of the three be preferred, then the Eucharist is as properly the *Christian Passover*, as Baptism is the *Christian Circumcision* ; and we have the authority of our Lord himself, or of his disciples, for so calling it, if they gave that *name* to the whole transaction. But whatever *hypothesis* we follow, there will be proof sufficient that the *Eucharist* succeeded in the room of the *Passover*, like as *Baptism* succeeded in the room of *Circumcision*.

It appears to be well agreed among the learned of all parties, that the Christian *Eucharist* succeeded in the place of the Jewish *Passover* : and good use has been often made of the observation, for the explaining the *nature* of the Eucharist, as well as the *phrase* of the institution. Buxtorf has laboured with most advantage in this argument in his two tracts, (one against Scalliger^z, and the other against Cappellus^a.) and has so exhausted the subject, especially as to what concerns the *forms* and *phrases*, that he seems to have left but small gleanings for those that come after him. Yet some additional improvements have been since thrown in by learned hands ^b. The *resembling* circumstances common to the Jewish and *Christian Passover* may be divided into two kinds : some relating to the *things* themselves, some to the *phrases* and *forms* made use of here and there. It may not be improper to present the reader with a brief detail of those *resembling* circumstances.

I. Of the first sort are these : 1. The Passover was of *Divine* appointment, and so is the Eucharist. 2. The Passover was a *sacrament*, and so is the Eucharist. 3. The Passover was a *memorial*^c of a great deliverance from temporal bondage ; the Eucharist is a *memorial* of a *greater* deliverance from *spiritual*

γ Deylingius, *Observat. Sacr.* tom. i. p. 233—249. Lipsiæ 1720. Compare his *Observationes Miscellanæ.* Lips. 1736. where he again strongly maintains the same opinion, from p. 239 to p. 248.

^z Buxtorf. *Dissertat. vi. de Cœnæ*

Dominicæ primæ Ritibus et Forma.

^a *Vindiciæ Exercitat. de Cœna Domini adv. Lud. Cappel.* p. 338, &c.

^b Pfaffius de *Oblat. vet. Eucharist.* p. 165, &c. Bucherus, *Antiqu. Biblicæ*, p. 360, &c.

^c *Exod. xii. 14. xiii. 9. Deut. xvi. 3.*

bondage. 4. The Passover *prefigured* the death of Christ^d before it was accomplished, the Eucharist *represents* or *figures* out our Lord's death now past. 5. The Passover was a kind of *federal* rite between God and man, so also is the Eucharist. 6. As no one was to eat of the Passover before he had been *circumcised*^e, so no one is to partake of the Eucharist before he has been *baptized*. 7. As the Jews were obliged to come *clean* to the Passover^f, so are Christians obliged to come well *prepared* to the Communion^g. 8. As slight *defilements* (where there was no *contempt*) did not *debar* a man from the Passover, nor *excuse* his neglect of it^h, so neither do smaller offences, where there is an *honest* heart, either forbid or excuse a man's absentsing from this sacrament. 9. As a *total* contempt or neglect of the Passover was crime great enough to render the offender liable to be "cut off from Israel," so a total contempt or neglect of the holy Communion is in effect to be *cut off* from Christianity. 10. As the Passover was to *continue* as long as the Jewish law should stand in force, so must the Eucharist *abide* as long as Christianity^k. I have thrown these articles together in a short compass for the present, only to give the reader a brief *general* view of the *analogy* between those two Sacraments; and not that he should take the truth of every particular for granted, without *further proof*, if any thing of moment should be hereafter built upon any of them.

II. The other sort of *resembling* circumstances concern the particular *forms* and *phrases* made use of in the *institution*: and it is in these chiefly that the great masters of Jewish antiquities, before referred to, have obliged the Christian world. I shall offer a short summary of these likewise.

1. In the *paschal* supper, the master of the house *took bread* and *blessed* it in a prayer of thanksgiving to God: and the rule was, never to begin the blessing till he had the bread *in hand*, that so the prayer of benediction directed to God, might at the same time be understood to have *relation* to the *bread*, and might draw down a *blessing upon it*^l. It is obvious to see how applicable all this is to our Lord's conduct in the first article of the *institution*.

^d Vid. Vitrings, Observ. Sac. tom. i. lib. 2. cap. 9. p. 415, &c.

^e Exod. xii. 43—48. ^f Num. ix. 6.

^g 1 Cor. xi. 27, 28, 29.

^h Num. ix. 10. ⁱ 2 Chron. xxx. 18.

^j Exod. xii. 15. Num. ix. 13. Conf.

Bucher. Antiqu. p. 402.

^k 1 Cor. xi. 26.

^l See Pfaffius de Oblat. vet. Eucharist. p. 171, &c. Bucherus, Antiqu. Evangel. p. 368, &c. Buxtorf. de Cœna Domini, p. 310.

2. The *breaking* of the bread, after benediction, was a customary practice in the Jewish feasts^m: only in the *paschal* feast, it is said, that the bread was first *broken* and the benediction followedⁿ. But whether our Lord varied *then*, in a slight circumstance, or the Jews have varied *since*, may remain a question.

3. The *distributing* the bread to the company, after the *benediction* and *fraction*, was customary among the Jews^o: and here likewise our Lord was pleased to adopt the like ceremony.

Several learned men have suggested^p, that the words "This is my body," might be illustrated from some old Jewish forms made use of in the Passover feast; as, *This is the bread of affliction*, &c. and, *This is the body of the Passover*: but Buxtorf (who best understood these matters) after considering once and again, constantly rejected the former, and demurred to the other instance^q, as not *pertinent*, or not *early* enough to answer the purpose: and Bucherus^r, who has carefully reexamined the same, passes the like *doubtful* judgment; or rather rejects both the instances as *improper*, not being found among the Jewish *rituals*, or being too *late* to come into account. So I pass them by. Justin Martyr, I cannot tell how, was persuaded, that Esdras, at a Passover, had said to the Jews, *This Passover* (i. e. paschal lamb) *is our Saviour and our refuge*^s, and that the Jews after Christ's time had erased the passage out of the Septuagint. He was certainly mistaken in his report: but the words are worth the observing, as discovering what the Christians in his time thought of the *Passover* as a *type* of Christ, and how they understood *paschal* phrases, parallel to "This is my body," &c.

4. The words, "This do in remembrance of me," making part of the *institution*, are reasonably judged to allude to the ancient *paschal* solemnities, in which were several *memorials*^t: and the

^m Buxtorf. 313. Bucherus, 372.

ⁿ Lightfoot, Temple Service, c. xiii. sect. 7. p. 964. and on Matt. xxvi. 26. p. 259. Pfaffius, p. 178.

^o Buxtorf. 316. Bucherus, 374.

^p See particularly Pfaffius de Oblat. p. 179. And Deylingius, (Miscellan. Sacr. p. 228, &c.) who refers to such authors as have espoused the *first* of the instances, after Baronius and Scaliger.

^q Buxtorf. Dissert. vi. de Cœna, p. 301. Dissert. vii. Vindic. p. 347, 348.

^r Bucherus, Antiq. Evangel. p. 375. Compare Deylingius, (Miscellan. Sacr. p. 228, &c.) who absolutely rejects one and doubts of the other.

^s Καὶ εἶπεν Ἐσδράς τῷ λαῷ, τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα ὁ σωτήρ ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡ καταφυγὴ ἡμῶν. *Just. Mart. Dial.* p. 292. edit. Thirlby. Conf. Wolfius, 1 Cor. v. 7.

^t Ἀνάμνησις ritus Hebræorum re-dolet: habebant namque Judæi, in celebratione *agni paschalis*, plures ejusmodi ἀναμνήσεις et recordationes, &c. *Bucherus*, p. 379.

service itself is more than once called a *memorial* in the Old Testament, as before noted.

5. In the ancient *paschal* feast, the master of the house was wont to take cup after cup (to the number of *four*) into his hands, consecrating them one after another by a short thanksgiving; after which each consecrated cup was called a *cup of blessing*. It is judged by the learned in Jewish antiquities ^u, that the *third* or *fourth* cup (Buxtorf is positive for the *fourth*) was what our Lord was pleased to sanctify, by taking it into his hand, and giving thanks over it. It is doubted what the words *after supper* mean; whether *in the close* of the paschal supper, as some think ^x, or *after they had eaten bread*, as others construe ^y: but the difference is not of moment, and so I pass on.

6. At the institution of the passover it was said, "The blood shall be to you for a token upon the houses where you are; and when I see the blood, I will pass over you, and the plague shall not be upon you ^z," &c. The *blood* was the *token* of the covenant in that behalf, between *God* and his *people*; as circumcision before had been a *token*^a also of a like *covenant*, and called *covenant*^b as well as *token*. In the institution of the *Communion*, our Lord says, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood which is shed for you, for many, for the remission of sins." The *cup* is here by a figure put for *wine*; and *covenant*, according to ancient Scripture phrase, is put for *token* of a covenant; and wine, *representative* of Christ's blood, answers to the blood of the Passover, *typical* of the same blood of Christ ^c: and the

^u Pfaffius de Oblat. Euch. p. 173. Buxtorf. in Lexic. Talmud. p. 614, 616. Dissert. vi. p. 300. Lightfoot on Matt. xxvi. 27, p. 259. Bucherus, p. 380—384. Zornius Opusc. Sac. tom. ii. p. 14, &c. Hooper on Lent, part ii. cap. 3. p. 173.

^x Lightfoot, p. 259, 260.

^y Τὸ μετὰ δεῖπνήσαι [1 Cor. xi. 25.] non vertendum est, *post cœnam communem*, qualis nunquam fuit, sed *remote post cœnam paschalem*: vel, quod vero similis est, proxime et immediate *post esum panis consecrati*; cui expositioni respondet recensio historica Luc. xxii. 20. ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνήσαι, *postquam comedant*, scil. *panem consecratum*, quam versionem sequuntur Arabs et Persæ. Sic Græcis δεῖπνον quidem *ιδίως cœnam*, sed *παχυλῶς* et *καταχρηστικῶς sæpe cibum* et quodvis *epulum* conno-

tat; qua notione Hesiodus dixit δεῖπνον ποιεῖν, *comedere*, cibum sumere, &c. Bucher. p. 362.

^z Exod. xii. 13. ^a Gen. xvii. 11.

^b Gen. xvii. 10. *This is my covenant*, &c. and v. 13. *my covenant shall be in your flesh*, &c.

^c Deus speciali mandato *sacrificia et primitias* offerendas ordinavit, maxime *effusionem sanguinis*, ut ab initio homines haberent unde *effusionis* per *Christum tacite* recordari possent. Dan. ix. 24. Heb. ix. et x. Rom. iii. Præter cæteras oblationes Deo factas, commemorabilia sunt sacrificia in festo *expiationum*.—Tum quoque *sacrificium agni paschalis*, et *quotidiani*, seu *jugis sacrificii*, attendi debet. *Hos igitur ad ritus et oblationes* alludit Christus cum ait, Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ αἷμα μου τὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν

remission of sins here, answers to the *passing over* there, and preserving from *plague*. These short hints may suffice at present, just to intimate the *analogy* between the Jewish Passover and the Christian Eucharist in the several particulars of moment here mentioned.

7. At the paschal feast there was an *annunciation* or *declaration*^d of the great things which God had done for that people: in like manner, one design of the Eucharist is to make a *declaration* of the mercies of God in Christ, to “shew the Lord’s “death till he come.”

8. Lastly, at the close of the paschal supper, they were wont to sing an *hymn*^e of praise: and the like was observed in the close of the *institution* of the Christian Eucharist; as is recorded in the Gospels.

The many *resembling* circumstances, real and verbal, which I have here briefly enumerated, do abundantly shew that this *holy Eucharist* was in a great measure copied from the *paschal feast*, and was intended to *supply its place*, only heightening the design, and improving the application. The use of the observation may appear afterwards, when we come to consider more minutely either the *general* intent or the particular *parts* of this Christian service.

CHAP. III.

Of the Commemoration or Remembrance of Christ in the Holy Communion.

SINCE the *end* or *design* of any thing is always considered as *first in view*, antecedent in natural order to the performance, so the rules of just method require, that in treating of this Sacrament we should begin with some account of the proximate *end* and *design* of it; namely, the *commemoration* or *remembrance* of Christ, “This do in remembrance of me^f;” and particularly of his *death* and *passion*, “shew the Lord’s death *till he come* &c.” I call it the *proximate* or immediate end, because the *ultimate* end of all is the *happiness of man*, or, what is coincident therewith, the *glory of God*. Our blessed Lord seeks not his *own* glory, but the *good* of his creatures, in all that he appoints them

ἀμαρτιῶν. Observant præterea viri docti vinum rufum, quale in illis regionibus crescebat, ac in primis in cæna paschali bibebatur, egregiam nobis sanguinis memoriam relinquere. Bucher. *Antiq. Evan.* p. 389.

^d See Lightfoot, vol. ii. p. 778.

Pfaffius, p. 181.

^e See Lightfoot, vol. ii. p. 258, 260, Pfaffius, p. 181.

^f Luke xxii. 19. 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25. Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

^g 1 Cor. xi. 26. Τὸν θάνατον τοῦ κυρίου καταγγέλλετε ἄχρις οὗ ἂν ἴληθῃ.

to do. He is not capable of receiving *advantage*, or any *real* addition to his own *glory*, by any of our *commemorations* or *services*: but all these things are graciously appointed for our present and future *benefit*; and we may be confident that Christ, the Captain of our salvation, would prescribe nothing in a *particular* manner, which does not as *particularly* contribute to that end. Some Divines, of a refined and elevated way of thinking, will not allow that God can have any *end* but *himself*, in any thing that he does, because he can have no *higher*: but then they do not mean that God proposes to himself any *increase* of happiness or of *essential* glory, to which nothing can be *added*; but that, as he is naturally *benevolent*, and as he takes delight in his *own* being and attributes, (the most *worthy* of his love,) so he delights in the *exercise* of his goodness, and chooses it as worthy of *himself*, and, in this sense, acts only for himself. In such a sense as this, our blessed Lord may be said to have acted for *himself*, or for his *own* glory, in what he did for mankind: but it can in no sense be allowed, that he receives any *advantage* by what *we* say or do; and therefore the *ultimate* end (so considered) of our commemorations or services is the *benefit* accruing from thence to *ourselves*: what they are we shall see in due time and place. This being premised for clearer conception, or to prevent mistakes, I now proceed.

The commemoration of our *Lord's dying for us* includes two things; the consideration of him as *Lord*, and as *dying*; one expressing his *personal* dignity, the other expressing his *meritorious* sufferings relative to us. The *first* of the two may suffice for the present: the *second* may be reserved for a distinct chapter.

I here take for my ground the words of our Lord; "This do "in remembrance of me." The Greek words *εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν* may bear three several renderings (or four): 1. *In remembrance of me.* 2. *In commemoration of me.* 3. *For a memorial of me, or, for my memorial.* They differ not *much* in sense, but yet as they do *differ*, they may deserve a *distinct* consideration. The *second* includes the first; and the *third* includes both the former, not *vice versa*: so they rise, as it were, in sense, and are so many distinct gradations, as shall be shewn presently.

I. I begin with the first and lowest, this do "in remembrance "of me." The Socinians, (some of them at least,) not content with supposing this *remembrance* or *commemoration*. to be one

considerable *end* or part of this Sacrament, make it to be the *only* end or use of it^h; yea and sometimes go so far as to say, that it constitutes the very *nature* or *essence* of this holy rite: for they interpret the words, "This is my body," so as to mean, this *action*, this eating and drinking, is the *memorial* of Christ's body brokenⁱ, &c. Which is overdoing, and neglecting to distinguish between the *thing* itself, and the *end* or *design* of it; between what is done, and for what purpose it is done. We eat bread and we drink wine in the Sacrament, the symbols of Christ's body and blood; and we do so for this reason, among others, that Christ may be *remembered*, and the *merits* of his passion celebrated. But this I hint by the way only, and pass on to what I design. *Remembrance* of Christ is undoubtedly a *principal* end of this Sacrament. It is not declared by the *institution* itself, in what view, or under what capacity we are here to remember him; but that must be learned from other places of Scripture, which declare *who* and *what* he is: for certainly we are to *remember* him in such a light as the Old and New Testament have represented him in. This appears to be an allowed principle on all hands: for none think themselves obliged to stop in the bare words of the *institution*, without carrying their inquiries further into the whole compass of Scripture, when they see proper. The Socinians themselves will not scruple to allow that Christ may or ought to be *remembered* in the Sacrament as *Lord*, in their sense, or as *Master*, or *Saviour*, or *Head*, or *Judge*, though there is not a word of *Lord*, or *Master*, or *Saviour*, or *Head*, or *Judge*, in the bare form of the *institution* as delivered by Christ: but those names or titles are to be fetched from other places of Scripture. Therefore, I say, it is allowed by all parties, that we ought to remember Christ, in the holy Communion, according to *what he is*, by the Scripture account of him. This foundation being laid, I go on to the superstructure: and for the more distinct conception of what this *remembrance* implies or contains, I shall take leave to proceed by several steps or degrees.

^h Et hæc quidem quam explicuimus, *mortis Christi annuntiatio* proprius est, atque *unicus* Cœnæ Dominicæ finis &c. *Volkel. de Cæn. Dom.* p. 687.

ⁱ Hæc *actio* frangendi et comedendi panem, est *corpus*, hoc est *commemoratio* Christi corporis pro nobis fracti. *Smalc. cont. Frantz.* p. 315.

Corpus Christi et sanguinem Christi

pro *memoriali signo* corporis Christi fracti, et sanguinis fusi sumimus: *commemorationem* autem, istius sacri ritus *finem* *usumque* esse dicimus. *Schlichting. contr. Meissn.* p. 761. Ritus istius *naturam* in panis fractione et esu, et e poculo potu, perque hæc in mortis Christi *representatione* quadam, sitam esse dicimus. *Ibid.* p. 785, 786.

1. It is not sufficient to remember Christ merely as a very *great* and *good* man, a *wise* instructor, and an *admirable* teacher, while he lived, received up into celestial *bliss* and *glory* when he died: for all this comes vastly short of what *sacred Writ* declares of him; and is indeed no more (if so much) than what the Pagans themselves, the Platonists, particularly of the *second* and *third* centuries, were ready to admit. For, being struck with the fame of his undoubted *miracles*, and with the inimitable force of his admirable *precepts*, *holy* life, and *exemplary* death, they could not but revere and honour his *memory*; neither could they refuse to assign him a place among their chief *sages* or *deities*^k. And all the plea they had left for not receiving Christianity was, that his *disciples* (as was pretended) had revolted, or degenerated, and had not duly observed the wholesome instructions of their high leader^l. Those Pagan *philosophers* therefore, as I said, *remembered* Christ, in as *high* a view as this article amounts to: a Christian remembrance must go a great deal *higher*.

2. It is not sufficient to remember Christ merely as an eminent *prophet*, or one of the *chief* prophets, an *ambassador* from *heaven*, and one that received his *Gospel* from above, wrought *miracles*, lived a *good* life, was *deified* after death, and will come again to *judge* mankind: for all this the Mahometans themselves (or some sects amongst them) can freely own, and they pay a suitable regard to his *memory* on that score^m. It is all vastly below what the Scriptures plainly testify of him, and therefore does not amount to a Christian remembrance of him.

3. Neither yet is it sufficient to remember Christ as our *Head*, *Lord*, and *Master*, to whom we owe such regard as *disciples* do to their *leader* or *founder*: for all this is no more than what the Jews justly ascribed to Moses, who was but the *servant* of

^k See this particularly proved in a very learned and curious dissertation, written by Laurence Mosheim, and lately inserted, with improvements, into his Latin translation of Cudworth, vol. ii. Confer. Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 18. Christum, Servatorem nostrum, virum magnum, divinum, et sapientissimum fuisse non inficiabantur, qui egregia et divina plane docuisset, cumque a Judæis injustissimo supplicio necatus fuisset, in cœlum ad Deos commeasset. *Moshem. ibid.* p. 23. Hence perhaps it was, that the Emperor Alex. Severus, (of the third century,) along with the images of Apollonius and Orpheus, had others of Abraham and Jesus Christ,

receiving them as *deities*. *Lamprid. Vit. Severi.*

^l Descivisse scilicet a sanctissimi præceptoris sui scitis Christianos Platonici criminabantur—atque castam et sanam ejus disciplinam variis erroribus inquinasse.—1. Quod *divinis* Christum *honoribus* afficerent; nec enim a suis id postulasse Christum. 2. Quod *Deos* negligerent, et eorum cultum extinctum vellent; Christum enim ipsum a Diis haud alienum fuisse. *Moshem. ibid.* p. 24.

^m See Reland. de Religione Mohammedica, p. 25, 33, 34, 44, 45, 212, 224. David Millius, Dissert. x. de Mohammedismo, p. 344, 345, 346.

Christⁿ. And it is no more than what many *nominal* Christians, ancient and modern, many half-believers have owned, and what all but declared *apostates* or *infidels* must own. And it comes not up to what the Scriptures fully and frequently teach, and therefore does not amount to a *due* remembrance of him.

4. Neither, lastly, is it sufficient to remember Christ as *higher* than the *angels*, or *older* than the system of the world: for that is not more than many *misbelievers*, of former or of later times, have made no scruple to own, and it is still *short* of the Scripture accounts.

For, according to the whole tenor both of Old and New Testament, Jesus Christ is not merely our *Lord*, *Master*, *Judge*, &c. but our *Divine* Lord and Master; *Lord* in such a sense as to be *Jehovah* and *God of Israel*, God before the creation, and by whom *all* creatures were made^o; who “laid the foundation of “the earth,” and even the “heavens are the works of his “hands^p;” who has a rightful claim to be *worshipped* and adored, by *men*, by *angels*^q, by the “whole creation^r.” And no wonder, since he is described in sacred Writ as “God with us^s,” as “Lord God^t,” “true God^u,” “great God^x,” “mighty God^y,” “over all, God blessed for ever^z.” Such is the Scripture account of our blessed *Lord*, and his *personal* dignity; and therefore as such we ought to *remember* him as often as we think of him, and more particularly at the *Communion table*. For since the *value* of what our Lord has done or suffered rises in proportion to the *dignity* of the person so doing or suffering, it is manifest that we cannot *duly* or *suitably* remember him in the Sacrament, if we entertain not those *high* and *honourable* conceptions of him, which such his *personal* dignity demands. If the sending of the *only-begotten Son* into the world, to suffer, bleed, and die for us, was really the highest instance of *Divine* love which could possibly have been given: and if we are obliged, in return, to express our thankfulness in a way *suitable* thereto: and if such a suitable return is altogether impracticable without a *just* sense of the favour granted; and if no *just* sense can be had of it, while we take away the most endearing and enforcing consideration, which most of all enhances the *value* of it: if

ⁿ Heb. iii. 2—6.

^p Heb. i. 10.

^r Rev. v. 13.

^t Luke i. 16, 17.

^x Tit. ii. 13.

^z Rom. ix. 5.

^o John i. 1, 2, 3.

^q Heb. i. 6.

^s Matt. i. 23.

^u 1 John v. 20.

^y Isa. ix. 6.

The reader who desires to see these several texts explained, and objections answered, may please to compare my Eight Sermons, and particularly the sixth.

these *premises* be true, the *conclusion* is plain and necessary, that as often as we *remember* Christ in the Eucharist, we ought to remember him not barely as a *wise* man, or a *good* man, or an eminent *prophet*, or *chief martyr*, or as our particular *Master*, or *Founder*, or *Redeemer*, but as an *almighty* Saviour and Deliverer, as the *only-begotten* of the Father, "very God of very God," of the same *Divine* nature, of *glory equal*, of *majesty coeternal*. He that remembers him in any *lower* sense than this, in *opposition* to this, is not worthy of him; neither can he be esteemed by sober and discerning Christians as a worthy partaker of the holy Communion.

To confirm this reasoning drawn from Scripture texts, I shall subjoin some *human*, but very *ancient* authorities. They are what all writers, so far as I can perceive, in some degree value, and think it an *honour* to have, if they can but contrive any colourable pretensions to them^a: and it is only when disappointment makes them despair, that they affect to contemn what they cannot arrive to. Justin Martyr is a very early writer, born about the year 89, (as appears probable,) and writing within forty or fifty years of the latest Apostle. It is worth the while to know what so early and so considerable a person thought of a *Christian Sacrament*, which he had so often frequented; especially when he gives us a formal, solemn account of it, in the name of his *Christian brethren*, and in an address to the Emperor. "This food we call the *Eucharist*, of which none "are allowed to be partakers but such only as are *true believers*, "and have been baptized in the *laver of regeneration* for the "*remission of sins*, and *live* according to Christ's *precepts*. For "we do not take this as *common bread* and *common wine*: but "as Jesus Christ our Saviour was *made flesh* by the *Logos* of "God, and had *real flesh* and blood for our salvation, so are we "taught that this food, which the very same *Logos* blessed by "prayer and thanksgiving, is turned into the nourishment and "substance of our flesh and blood, and is in some sense the "flesh and blood of the *incarnate Jesus*^b." I chose to follow Mr. Reeves's translation of this passage, though somewhat *paraphrastical*, because he has very well hit off the sense. What I have to observe upon it, as suitable to my present purpose, is, that particular notice is twice taken of the *incarnation* of the

^a See my Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity, vol. iii. p. 655, 656.

^b Justin. Martyr. Apol. i. cap. 86. p. 96. edit. Thirlby. Reeves, vol. i. p. 120, 121.

Logos, (that is, of *God incarnate*, according to Justin's known doctrine of the *Logos* being *God*,) and the Sacrament is not only supposed to be a *commemoration*^c, but a kind of *emblem* of it by Justin's account^d, as the intelligent reader will observe. The reason is, that the Sacrament of the Eucharist is the Sacrament of the *passion*^e, and God the Son, by becoming incarnate, first became *passible*. All which will be made plainer by another passage of the same Justin, in his Dialogue with the Jew^f, which is as follows: "That prayers and thanksgivings, made by those
 " who are *worthy*, are the only *sacrifices* that are perfect and
 " well pleasing to God, I also affirm: for these are the only ones
 " which Christians have been taught to perform even in that
 " *remembrance* [or memorial] of their food both dry and liquid,
 " wherein also is commemorated the *passion* which *God of God*
 " suffered in his own person, [or for them.]" I have no need to take notice here of more than is to my present purpose. The words *God of God* are what I point to, as a proof that the *Divinity* of Christ was an important article of the Eucharistical *remembrance*. If any should incline to read *Son of God*, (upon conjecture, for it is no more,) instead of *God of God*, in that place, it will still amount to the same, because Justin always understood the phrase of *Son of God* in the highest and strongest sense, as meaning *God of Gods*. But I see no necessity of admitting any new *conjectural* change of $\delta \Theta\epsilon\acute{o}s$ into $\delta \upsilon\acute{o}s$, since $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}s$ is very frequently our Lord's title in Justin^h, yea, and $\delta \Theta\epsilon\acute{o}s$ more than onceⁱ. But I proceed.

I shall subjoin a passage of Origen, containing the like elevated sentiments of the remembrance made in the holy Communion. "Thou that art come to Christ, (the true High

^c Εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ τε σωματοποιήσασθαι αὐτὸν διὰ τοὺς πιστεύοντας εἰς αὐτὸν δι' οὗς καὶ παθητὸς γέγονε. *Just. Mart. Dial.* p. 290.

^d How his was understood, see explained in a Charge on the Doctrinal Use of the Sacraments, p. 25.

^e Εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ πάθους οὗ ἔπαθεν. *Ibid.* p. 220.

^f Ὅτι μὲν οὖν καὶ εὐχαί, καὶ εὐχαριστίαι, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀξίων γινόμεναι, τέλειαι μόναι καὶ εὐάριστοι εἰσι τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαι, καὶ αὐτὸς φημί. Ταῦτα γὰρ μόναι καὶ Χριστιανοὶ παρέλαβον ποιεῖν καὶ ἐπ' ἀναμνήσει δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν ξηρᾶς τε καὶ ὑγρᾶς, ἐν ἧ καὶ τοῦ πάθους ὁ πέποιθε δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ μέμνηται. *Just. Mart. Dial.* p. 387.

A conjectural emendation has been offered, directing us to read δι' αὐτοῦς, $\delta \upsilon\acute{o}s$ τοῦ Θεοῦ. *Mede, Opp.* p. 362. Thirlby in loc. I see not why $\delta \Theta\epsilon\acute{o}s$ τοῦ Θεοῦ may not mean the same with $\delta \Theta\epsilon\acute{o}s$ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ: perhaps ἐκ might have been negligently dropped. The learned editor ingeniously says, *istud Θεὸς admodum sane invidus multo, propter sequentia*.

^g Ὅς καὶ λόγος πρωτότοκος ὢν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ Θεὸς ὑπάρχει. p. 94. *conf.* 406, 408, 411.

^h *Just. Mart.* p. 204, 210, 233, 250, 261, 263, 265, 273, 291, 303, 328, 408, 409.

ⁱ *Just. Mart.* p. 251, 326, 378.

“ Priest, who by his blood has reconciled God to thee, and thee
 “ to the Father,) rest not in the blood of the flesh, but consider
 “ rather *the blood of the Logos*, and hear him declaring, *This is*
 “ *my blood which shall be shed for you, for remission of sins*: the
 “ initiated in the mysteries well understand both the flesh and
 “ the blood of *God the Word*.” So I translate the last words,
 as most agreeable to Origen’s usual phraseology: but if any one
 chooses rather to say, *Logos of God*, it comes to the same thing.
 The sum is, that the life and soul, as it were, of the Eucharistical
remembrance, lies in the due consideration of the *Divine* dignity
 of the Person whose passion we there remember^l. And indeed
 every man’s own reason must convince him that it must be so, if
 he ever seriously calls to mind the Scripture accounts of our
 blessed Lord, which I have above recited. Hitherto I have con-
 fined myself to the strict notion of *remembrance*.

II. I am next to advance a step further to *commemoration*,
 which is remembrance and somewhat more. For to a bare
 remembering it superadds the notion of *extolling, honouring,*
celebrating, and so it is collecting all into one *complex* idea of
commemorating. This do “ in commemoration of me:” which is
 the *second* rendering of the same words. Some perhaps might
 wonder why the Socinians, of all men, should reject the notion
 of *remembering*, and choose that of *commemoration*, (which is
 really *higher*,) yea, and should strongly insist upon it, and make
 it a point. They certainly do so, as may appear from their own
 writings^m: and what is stranger still, they assign such odd

^k Tu qui ad Christum venisti, (Pontificem verum qui sanguine suo Deum tibi propitium fecit, et reconciliavit te Patri) non hæreas in sanguine carnis; sed disce potius *sanguinem Verbi*, et audi ipsum tibi dicentem, quia *hic sanguis meus est*, qui pro vobis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Novit qui mysteriis imbutus est, et carnem et sanguinem *Verbi Dei*. Origen. in *Levit.* Hom. ix. p. 243, 244. ed. Bened. Conf. Clem. Alex. *Pædagog.* lib. ii. cap. 2. p. 186. τὸν λόγον ἐκχεόμενον &c.

^l Great use was afterwards made of this consideration in the Nestorian controversy: of which see Cyrill. Alex. Ep. ad Nestor. p. 72. et Anathem. xi. cum Explanat. p. 156. Item Apologet. advers. Oriental. p. 192, 193.

^m Apparet, *graviter errasse* illos qui existimarunt verbum *commemoratio-*

nem, quod in Græco est ἀνάμνησιν, mutari debere in *recordationem*: neque enim dicit Paulus mortem Domini *recordamini*, sed mortem Domini *annuntiatis*, quod profecto non *recordationem*, sed *commemorationem* et *prædicationem* omnino significat—non est quod quis ex verbo illo (ἀνάμνησιν) colligat cœnam Domini in *eum finem* institutam fuisse, ut nobis suggerat et in *memoriam* revocet mortem ipsius Domini—*Commemoratio* autem ista, et *prædicatio* mortis Christi, id necessario conjunctum habet, ut gratiæ agantur Christo, tum vero *Deo, patri ejus*, cujus mandato animam suam posuit. *Socin. de Usu et Fin. Cœnæ Domini*, p. 4, 5.

Quod nonnulli per *commemoratio-*
nem in verbis Christi quibus ritum hunc instituit, *recordationem* intelligunt, vel hanc pro illa vocem repo-

reasons for it, that one would scarce think them in earnest, if we were to look no further. For what if St. Paul does speak of *declaring*, or *showing* our Lord's *death*, may not *ἀνάμνησις* still signify *remembrance*? Is it not proper first to *remember*, and then to *declare*; or to *declare* it now, in order to *remember* for the future? Why should one *exclude* the other, when both are consistent, and suit well together? And though a person is supposed, before his coming to the holy Communion, to have the Lord's death in mind, confusely, or in the *general*, may he not still want to have it *more* in mind, and to remember it in *particular*, with all its circumstances, upon a close recollection, assisted by an *external* solemnity performed before his eyes? Besides, if we should not want to *call it to mind*, yet we may want to *keep it in mind* for the future: and who sees not how serviceable the sacramental solemnity may be for that very purpose? Add to this, that it is particularly said with respect to the Passover, "Thou shalt sacrifice the passover, &c. that thou mayest remember the day when thou camest out of Egypt, all the days of thy life." Which is exactly parallel, so far, to the *remembrance* appointed in the Eucharist. How trifling would it be to urge, that the Israelites were supposed to *remember* the *day* before their coming to the Passover, and therefore could have no need to refresh their *memories* by coming; or to urge, that because they *ought* always to *bear it in mind*, therefore it could not be one *end* or *use* of the Passover, to *remind* them of it, or to keep it in *remembrance* all their days.

One may judge from hence, that Socinus's pretended reasons against the notion of *remembrance* were mere shuffle and pretence, carrying more of *art* and *colouring* in them, than of *truth* or *sincerity*: he had a turn to serve in favour of an *hypothesis*, and that was all. The turn was this: he had a mind to make the *ἀνάμνησις* (which is one *end*, or *use*, or *part* of the Sacrament) to be the *whole* of the Sacrament, its *whole nature* and *essence*, as I before hinted, and to interpret the words, "This is my body" and "This my blood," to mean, this *bread* and *wine*, or rather this *action*, is an *ἀνάμνησις*, a *commemoration*, and nothing more.

nunt, arbitantes in eum finem ritum hunc sacrum esse institutum, ut nobis mortem Domini in memoriam revocet, in eo manifeste errant; cum qui ritum hunc sacrum obire recte velit, ac mortem Domini hac ratione annuntiare, eum Christi mortis probe et

semper memorem esse oporteat. *Cra-cov. Catechism.* sect. vi. cap. 4. p. 229. *Conf. Schlichting.* in 1 Cor. xi. 25. et contr. *Meisner.* p. 805, 814, 816. *Wolzogen.* in Matt. xxvi. p. 416.

▪ Deut. xvi. 2, 3.

He could not pretend to say, that this *material* thing, or this *external* action, is a *remembrance*, (which denotes an *internal* perception,) and therefore he substitutes *commemoration* in its stead, an *outward* act, an *external* service, and then resolves the *whole* of the Sacrament into that, confounding the *end* or *use* of the thing with the *thing* itself. This was his fetch; and so he hoped to be rid at once of all supposed present *graces* or *benefits* accruing to *worthy* receivers, making the *sign* and *thing signified* to be all one, and indeed to be *sign* only.

However, though Socinus had no good views in interpreting *ἀνάμνησις* by *commemoration*, and was undoubtedly wrong in excluding *remembrance*; yet setting aside his foreign fancies, it is very right to interpret the word by *commemoration*; but so as to *include* both an inward *remembrance* of benefits, and an outward *celebration* of the same, together with *devout* praises and thanksgivings to Christ our Lord for them, and to all the three Persons of the ever blessed Trinity. It is scarce possible for a considerate devout mind to stop short in a bare *remembrance*, (though remembrance is always supposed, and is by this sacred solemnity reinforced,) but it will of course break out into thankful praises and adorations. We accept therefore of what Socinus and his brethren so much contend for, that the Greek *ἀνάμνησις*, in this case, does amount to a *commemoration*, and is better rendered by that word than by *remembrance*; because the *word* will bear it, and because the circumstances shew that *remembrance* alone, without *commemoration* superadded, is short of the *idea* intended by it.

I may further note, though it is but the natural and obvious consequence of what I have before said, that this commemoration must be understood in as *high* and as *full* a sense as the *remembrance* spoken of above: we must commemorate our Lord in a manner suitable to his *Divine* nature and dignity, and according to *what he is* by the Scripture accounts. We must commemorate him as *God*, purchasing the Church with his *own blood*^o. We must commemorate his *passion* as St. Paul has done, and in like words with these: "Who, being in the form
" of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: but
" made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of
" a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: and being

^o Acts xx. 28. For the reading of Observ. Sacr. tom. i. p. 213. and the text, see Mill. in loc. and Pearson Pfaffius de Var. Lect. p. 161. on the Creed, p. 129. and Vitringa,

“found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became “obedient unto death, even the death of the cross^p.” In another place, the same Apostle, speaking of the “redemption by “the blood” of Christ, and of his making “peace through the “blood of the cross,” closes one, and ushers in the other, with a large account of the supereminent *dignity* of his *Person*, as “born before the creation;” adding, that “all things were “created by him, and for him, and by him consist^q.” This is the right way of celebrating or commemorating his *passion*, as it is declaring the infinite *value* of it. To speak of him only as *man*, or as a *creature*, though otherwise in a devout way, is not *honouring*, but *dishonouring* him and his sufferings; is not *commemorating*, but *blaspheming* his name. St. Paul, in another place, going to speak of our Lord’s *passion*, introduces it with a previous description of his *personal* dignity: “appointed heir of “all things, by whom also he made the worlds; who being the “brightness of his glory, and the express image of his Person, “and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he “had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of “the Majesty on high^r.” But as remarkable a passage as any, is that of the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the Apostle, to enhance the *value* of Christ’s sufferings, expresses himself thus: “If the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer “sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh; “how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the “eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your “conscience from dead works to serve the living God^s!” By *eternal Spirit*, I understand Christ’s *Divine nature*, as the most judicious interpreters do^t: and so from hence it is plain how the *merit* of Christ’s sufferings rises in proportion to the dignity of the Person; and it is the *Divinity* that stamps the *value* upon the suffering *humanity*. And hence also it is that St. John so emphatically observes, that it is the blood of Jesus Christ *his Son* (that Son whom the Apostle every where describes under the most lofty characters, as particularly John i.) which “cleans- “eth us from all sin^u.” Such is the Scripture way of *commemorating* our Lord and his passion, and such the way of all

^p Phil. ii. 6, 7, 8. See my fifth Sermon, vol. ii. Second Defence, vol. ii. p. 548. and Third Defence, vol. iii. p. 59.

^q Coloss. i. 14—20. Compare my

Sermons, vol. ii. p. 56, &c. 103, &c.

^r Heb. i. 2, 3. ^s Heb. ix. 13, 14.

^t See Bull. Opp. p. 19. and Wolfius in loc.

^u 1 John i. 7.

the ancient churches of God : be this our pattern, as it ought to be, for our *commemorations* in the holy Communion.

III. But I observed, that there was a *third* or a *fourth* rendering of the same words, *εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν* : for a *memorial of me* ; or, for *my memorial*, which is more strictly literal. This rendering is not much different from the two former, but contains and includes both : for a *memorial* supposes and takes in both a *remembrance* and a *commemoration*. Whether it superadds any thing to them, and makes the *idea* still *larger* or *fuller*, is the question. If it carries in it any tacit allusion to the *sacrificial* memorials of the Old Testament, it may then be conceived to add to the idea of *commemoration* the idea of *acceptable* and *well pleasing*, viz. to Almighty God. I build not upon *ἀνάμνησις* being twice used in the Septuagint as the name for a *sacrificial* memorial^x ; for the *usual* sense of the word, in the same Septuagint, is different, having no relation to *sacrifice* : but thus far may be justly pleaded, from the nature and reason of the thing, that the *service* of the Eucharist (the most proper part of *evangelical worship*, and most *solemn* religious act of the Christian Church) must be understood to ascend up “for a memorial before God,” in as strict a sense, at least, as Cornelius’s alms and prayers were said so to do^y ; or as the “prayers of the saints” go up as sweet odours, mystical *incense*^z, before God. Indeed, the *incense* and *sacrificial* memorials of the Old Testament were mostly *typical* of *evangelical worship* or *Christian services*, and were *acceptable* to God under that view ; and therefore it cannot be doubted but the true rational *incense*, viz. Gospel services, rightly performed, (and among these more especially the *Eucharistical service*,) are the *acceptable memorials* in God’s sight. Whether there was any such *allusion* intended in the name *ἀνάμνησις*, when our Lord recommended the observance of the Eucharist as *his memorial*, cannot be *certainly* determined, since the name *might* carry in it such an allusion, or might be *without it* : but as to the *thing*, that such *worship* rightly performed has the *force* and *value* of any *memorial* elsewhere mentioned in Scripture (*sacrificial* or other) cannot be doubted ; and the rest is not worth disputing, or would make too large a digression in this place.

^x Levit. xxiv. 7. Numb. x. 21.

^y Acts x. 4.

^z Rev. v. 8. viii. 3, 4. Psalm cxli. 2.

Compare Malach. i. 11. Vid. Vitringa,

in Apocalyps. p. 214, &c. 333, &c. Dodwell, Incensing no Apostolical Tradition, p. 36, 37, 38.

Before I dismiss the word ἀνάμνησις, it may not be improper to note, that it occurs but once more in the New Testament, where St. Paul speaks of the “commemoration of sins^a,” made once a year, under the Old Testament, on the great day of expiation; when the High Priest was to “confess all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins^b.” There was ἀνάμνησις ἁμαρτιῶν, *commemoration of sins*: but under the Gospel it is happily changed into ἀνάμνησις τοῦ Χριστοῦ, *commemoration of Christ*. There *sins* were remembered; here *forgiveness* of sins: a remarkable privilege of the Gospel economy above the *legal*. Not but that there was *forgiveness* also under the Old Testament, *legal* and *external* forgiveness *by the law*, and *mystical* forgiveness *under the law*, by virtue of the sacrifice of Christ foreordained, and foreshadowed: but under the Gospel, forgiveness is clearly and without a figure declared, and for *all sins* repented of; and there is *no remembrance* of them more^c; no *commemoration* of them by *legal* sacrifices, but instead thereof a continual *commemoration* of Christ’s sacrifice for the “remission of sins,” in the Christian Sacraments. There must indeed be *confession* of sins, and *forsaking* them also under the Gospel dispensation: but then it is without the burden of *ritual* expiations and *ceremonial* atonements: for the *many* and *grievous* sacrifices are all converted into one easy (and to every good man delightful) *commemoration* of the all-sufficient sacrifice in the holy Communion. But I return.

Hitherto I have been considering the Eucharistical commemoration as a memorial *before God*, which is the highest view of it: but I must not omit to take notice, that it is a memorial also *before men*, in the same sense as the *paschal* service was. Of the Passover it is said; “This day shall be unto you for a memorial, and you shall keep it a feast to the Lord^d.” It is here called a *feast* to the Lord, and a *memorial* to the people: not but that it was a *memorial* also to *the Lord*, in the large sense of memorial before mentioned, (as every *pious* and *grateful* acknowledgment to *God* for mercies received is.) But in the *stricter* sense of *memorial*, it was such only to the people. It is further said in the same chapter, of the *paschal* service; “Ye shall observe this thing for an ordinance to thee and to thy sons for ever.—And when your children shall say unto you, “What mean you by this service? ye shall say, It is the sacri-

^a Ἀνάμνησις ἁμαρτιῶν κατ’ ἐναντίον. Heb. x. 3.

^b Vid. Levit. xvi. 21.

^c Jer. xxxi. 34.

^d Exod. xii. 14.

“fice of the Lord’s Passover, who passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when he smote the Egyptians, and delivered our houses^e.” And in the next chapter^f; “It shall be for a sign unto thee upon thine hand, and for a memorial between thine eyes, that the Lord’s law may be in thy mouth,” &c. In such a sense as this, the service of the Eucharist is a *memorial* left to the Church of Christ, to perpetuate the *memory* of that *great deliverance* from the bondage of sin and Satan (of which the former deliverance from Egyptian bondage was but a *type*) to all succeeding generations. By this solemn service, besides other uses, God has admirably provided for the bulk of mankind, that they may be constantly and visibly *reminded* of what it so much concerns them both to know and attend to. It is to the illiterate instead of books, and answers the purpose better than a thousand monitors without it might do. Jesus Christ is hereby “set forth crucified^g,” as it were, *before their eyes*, in order to make the stronger impression.

I may further observe, that as all the *Passovers*, after the *first*, were a kind of representations and commemorations of that *original*^h, so all our *Eucharistical Passovers* are a sort of commemorations of the *original* Eucharist. Which I the rather take notice of, because I find an ancient *Father*, (if we may depend upon a Fragment,) Hippolytus, who was a disciple of Irenæus, representing the thing in that view: for commenting on Prov. ix. 2, “Wisdom hath furnished her table,” he writes thus: “Namely, the promised knowledge of the Holy Trinity; and also his precious and undefiled *body* and *blood*, which are daily administered at the mystical and sacred *table*, sacrificed for a *memorial* of that *ever memorable* and *original* table of the “mystical Divine Supperⁱ.” Upon which words I may remark, by the way, that here is mention made of the *body* and *blood* as *sacrificed* in the Eucharist twenty or thirty years before Cyprian, if the Fragment be certainly Hippolytus’s, and then it is the *earliest* in its kind, though not higher than the *third* century. As to his making all succeeding Eucharists *memorials* of the *first*, the notion interferes not with their being memorials also of

^e Exod. xii. 24, 26, 27.

^f Exod. xiii. 9. Compare Deut. xvi. 3.

^g Gal. iii. 1.

^h See Johnson’s Unbloody Sacrifice, part ii. p. 44.

ⁱ Καὶ ἡτοιμάσατο τὴν ἐαυτῆς τράπεζαν τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος

κατεπαγγελιομένην. Καὶ τὸ τίμιον καὶ ἄχραντον αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα, ἅπερ ἐν τῇ μυστικῇ καὶ θείᾳ τράπεζῃ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἐπιτελοῦνται, θυόμενα εἰς ἀναμνησιν τῆς ἀειμνήστου καὶ πρώτης ἐκείνης τοῦ μυστικοῦ θείου δείπνου. Hippolyt. vol. i. p. 282, ed. Fabric.

our *Lord* and his *passion*, as before explained, but all the several views will hang well together.

Thus far I have been considering the Christian Eucharist as a *remembrance*, and a *commemoration*, and a *memorial* of Christ our Lord. I could not avoid intermixing something here and there of our Lord's *death* and *passion*, which have so close an affinity with the subject of this chapter: nevertheless that article may require a more *distinct* consideration, and therefore it may be proper to have a *separate* chapter for it.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Commemoration of the Death of our Lord made in the Holy Communion.

IT is not sufficient to commemorate the *death* of Christ, without considering what his death *means*, what were the *moving* reasons for it, and what its *ends* and *uses*. The subtillies of Socinus and his followers have made this inquiry necessary: for it is to very little purpose "to shew the Lord's death till he "come," by the service of the Eucharist, if we acknowledge not *that Lord* which the Scriptures set forth, nor *that death* which the New Testament teaches. As to *Lord*, who and what he is, I have said what I conceived sufficient, in the preceding chapter: and now I am to say something of that *death* which he suffered, as a willing *sacrifice* to Divine *Justice* for the *sins* of mankind. It is impossible that a man should come *worthily* to the holy Communion, while he perverts the prime *ends* and *uses* of the *sacrifice* there commemorated, and sets up a *righteousness* of his *own*, independent of it, frustrating the *grace* of God in Christ, and making him to have "died in vain."

The *death* of Christ, by the Scripture account, was properly a vicarious *punishment* of sin, a true and proper *expiatory sacrifice* for the *sins* of mankind: and therefore it ought to be *remembered* as such, in the *memorial* we make of it at the Lord's table. I shall cite some texts, just to give the reader a competent notion of the Scripture doctrine in this article; though indeed the thing is so plain, and so frequently inculcated, from one end of the Scriptures to the other, that no man (one would think)

J Quidam vero, quomodo aliquando Judæi, et Christianos se dici volunt, et adhuc ignorantes Dei justitiam suam volunt constituere, etiam temporibus nostris, temporibus apertæ gratiæ, &c.—Quod ait Apostolus

de lege, hoc nos istis dicimus de natura; si per naturam justitia, ergo Christus gratis mortuus est. *Augustin. Serm. xiii. in Johan. vi. Opp. tom. v. p. 645, 646, edit. Bened.*

who is not previously disposed to deceive himself, or has imbibed strong prejudices, could either reject it or misconceive it.

1. That the sufferings of Christ had the nature of *punishments*, rather than of mere *calamities*, is proved from what is said by the Prophet Isaiah, as follows: "He hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows.—He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed.—The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.—For the transgression of my people was he stricken.—When thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, &c. He was numbered with the transgressors, and bare the sin of many^k." What can all these words mean, if they amount not to *punishment* for the sins of mankind? Evasions have been invented, and they have been often refuted.

To the same purpose we read in the New Testament, that "he was delivered for our offences^l," that he "died for all," was "made sin for us," when he "knew no sin^m;" "was made a curse for usⁿ," "died for our sins^o," "gave himself for our sins^p," "tasted death for every man^q," and the like. To interpret these and other such texts of dying for our *advantage*, without relation to *sin* and the *penalty* due to it, is altogether forced and unnatural, contrary to the custom of language, and to the obvious import of very plain words.

2. That our blessed Lord was in his death a proper *expiatory sacrifice*, (if ever there was any,) is as plain from the New Testament as words can make it. He gave "his life a ransom for many^r," was "the Lamb of God" which was to "take away the sins of the world^s," "died for the ungodly^t," "gave himself a ransom for all^u," once "suffered for sins, the just for the unjust^v," "gave himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet smelling savour^y." "Christ our Passover was sacrificed for us^z," "offered up himself^a," "to bear the sins of many^b," has "put away sin by the sacrifice of himself^c." We have been "redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot^d."

^k Isa. liii. 4—12. conf. Outram. de Sacrific. p. 319, &c.—328. 1 Pet. ii. 24. and Outram. p. 329, &c.

^l Rom. iv. 25.

^m 2 Cor. v. 14, 15, 21. John xi. 51, 52.

ⁿ Gal. iii. 13. ^o 1 Cor. xv. 3.

^p Gal. i. 4. ^q Heb. ii. 9.

^r Matt. xx. 28.

^s John i. 29.

^t Rom. v. 6.

^u 1 Tim. ii. 6, 8.

^x 1 Pet. iii. 18. compare ii. 21. iv. 1.

^y Ephes. v. 2.

^z 1 Cor. v. 7.

^a Heb. vii. 27. x. 12. ix. 14.

^b Heb. ix. 28.

^c Heb. ix. 26. compare x. 12.

^d 1 Pet. i. 19.

These are not mere *allusions* to the sacrifices of the Old Testament, but they are interpretative of them, declaring their *typical* nature, as prefiguring the *grand sacrifice*, and centering in it: which, besides other considerations, appears very evidently from the whole design and tenor of the Epistle to the Hebrews; signifying, that the legal sacrifices were *allusions* to, and *pre-figurations* of the *grand sacrifice*.

3. That from this sacrifice, and by virtue of it, we receive the benefit of *atonement*, *redemption*, *propitiation*, *justification*, *reconciliation*, *remission*, &c. is no less evident from abundance of places in the New Testament. "Through our Lord Jesus Christ we have received the atonement," and "we are reconciled to God by his death^e." "Him God hath set forth to be "a propitiation through faith in his blood^f." "He is the propitiation for our sins,—for the sins of the whole world^g." "We are justified by his blood^h," "redeemed to God by his bloodⁱ," "cleansed from all sin by his blood^k," "washed from our sins "in his blood^l;" and the *robes* of the *saints* are *washed* and *made white* only in the *blood* of the Lamb^m. By himself he "purged "our sinsⁿ," viz. when he shed his blood upon the cross: and our *redemption* is through his *blood*^o. He hath *reconciled* us to God by the *cross*^p, "in the body of his flesh through death^q." "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not "imputing their trespasses unto them^r." His *blood* was "shed "for many, for the remission of sins^s," "and without shedding "of blood is no remission^t." It is this "blood of sprinkling" that "speaketh better things than the blood of Abel^u:" and it is by the "blood of Jesus" that men must *enter* into "the "holiest^v," as many as enter. I have thrown these texts together without note or comment; for they need none, they interpret themselves. Let but the reader observe, with what variety of expression this great truth is inculcated, that our salvation chiefly stands in the *meritorious* sufferings of our Saviour Christ. The consideration whereof made St. Paul say, "I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, "and him crucified^x:" namely, because this was a most *essential* article, the very sum and substance of the Gospel. "In these

^e Rom. v. 10, 11. ^f Rom. iii. 25.

^g 1 John ii. 2. ^{iv} 10.

^h Rom. v. 9.

ⁱ Rev. v. 9.

^k 1 John i. 7.

^l Rev. i. 5.

^m Rev. vii. 14.

ⁿ Heb. i. 3.

^o Ephesians i. 7. compare 1 Co-

rinthians vi. 20. Coloss. i. 14.

^p Eph. ii. 16.

^q Coloss. i. 22.

^r 2 Cor. v. 18, 19.

^s Matt. xxvi. 28.

^t Heb. ix. 22.

^u Heb. xii. 24.

^v Heb. x. 19.

^x 1 Cor. ii. 2.

“ and in a great many more passages that lie spread in all the
 “ parts of the New Testament, it is as plain as words can make
 “ any thing, that the *death* of Christ is proposed to us as our
 “ *sacrifice and reconciliation*, our *atonement and redemption*. So
 “ it is not possible for any man, that considers all this, to
 “ imagine, that Christ’s death was only a *confirmation* of his
 “ Gospel, a *pattern* of a holy and patient suffering of death,
 “ and a necessary *preparation* to his resurrection.—By this all
 “ the *high commendations* of his death amount only to this, that
 “ he by *dying* has given a vast credit and authority to his Gospel,
 “ which was the powerfulest mean possible to redeem us from
 “ sin, and to reconcile us to God. But this is so contrary to
 “ the *whole design* of the New Testament, and to the *true im-*
 “ *portance* of that great *variety of phrases*, in which this matter
 “ is set out, that at this rate of expounding Scripture we can
 “ never know what we may build upon; especially when the
 “ *great importance* of this thing, and of our having right notions
 “ concerning it, is well considered.”

The least that we can infer from the texts above mentioned is, that there is some very particular *virtue, merit, efficacy*, in the *death* of Christ, that God’s *acceptance* of sinners, though *penitent*, (not *perfect*,) depended entirely upon it. Common sacrifices could never “make the comers thereunto perfect^z :” but it was absolutely *necessary* that the *heavenly things* should be *purified* with some *better sacrifice*^a. Which is so true, that our Lord is represented as *entering* into the holy of holies (that is heaven) “by his own blood^b,” where “he ever liveth to make intercession for” those that “come unto God by him^c.” The *efficacy* even of his intercession above (great and powerful as he is) yet depends chiefly upon that circumstance, his having entered thither by “his own blood;” that is to say, upon the *merit* of his death and passion, and the *atonement* thereby made. His *intercession* belongs to his *priestly* office, and that supposes the *offering* before made: for there was a *necessity* that he should “have somewhat to offer^d,” and nothing less than *himself*^e. Seeing therefore that, in order to our *redemption*, Christ suffered

^y Bishop Burnet on Article II. p. 70, 71.

^z Hebr. x. 1. ^a Hebr. ix. 23.

^b Hebr. ix. 12. Note, it is not only said that Christ entered into heaven by his *own* blood, but he is there also considered as the *Lamb slain*: Rev. v. 6. Which further shews wherein

principally the *virtue* of his *intercession* consists.

^c Hebr. vii. 25. conf. Rom. viii. 33. 34. Hebr. ii. 17. ix. 24. 1 John ii. 2.

^d Hebr. viii. 3. v. 1.

^e Hebr. ix. 14, 25, 26, 28. Compare i. 3.

as a *piacular* victim, (which must be understood to be *in our stead*,) and that there was some *necessity* he should do so, and that his prevailing *intercession* at God's right hand now, and to the end of the world, stands upon that ground, and must do so; what can we think less, but that some very momentous reasons of *justice* or of *government* (both which resolve at length into one) required that so it should be. We are not indeed competent judges of all the reasons or measures of an all-wise God, with respect to his dealings with his creatures; neither are we able to argue, as it were, *beforehand*, with sufficient certainty, about the *terms* of acceptance, which his *wisdom*, or his *holiness*, or his *justice*, might demand. But we ought to take careful heed to what he has *said*, and what he has *done*, and to draw the proper conclusions from both. One thing is plain, from the terms of the *first covenant*, made in Paradise, that Divine wisdom could have admitted man *perfectly innocent* to perfect happiness, without the intervention of any *sacrifice*, or any *Mediator*: and it is no less plain, from the terms of the *new covenant*, that there was some *necessity* (fixed in the very reason and nature of things) that a *valuable* consideration, atonement, or *sacrifice*, should be offered, to make *fallen man* capable of eternal glory^f. The truth of the thing *done* proves its *necessity*, (besides what I have alleged from *express* Scripture concerning such *necessity*,) for it is not imaginable that so great a thing would have been done upon earth, and afterwards, as it were, constantly *commemorated* in heaven^g, if there had not been very strong and pressing *reasons* for it, and such as made it as *necessary*, (in the *Divine* counsels,) as it was necessary for a God of infinite perfection to be *wise* and *holy*, *just* and *good*. When I said, *constantly commemorated in heaven*, I had an eye to Christ's *continual intercession*^h, which is a kind of *commemoration* of the sacrifice which he once offered upon the cross, and is always *pleading the merit of*. Which

^f Si non fuisset peccatum, non necesse fuerat Filium Dei agnum fieri, nec opus fuerat eum in carne positum jugulari, sed mansisset hoc quod in principio erat, *Deus verbum*: verum quoniam intravit peccatum in hunc mundum, peccati autem necessitas *propitiationem* requirit, et propitiatio non fit nisi per *hostiam*, necessarium fuit provideri hostiam pro peccato. *Origen. in Num.* Hom. xxiv. p. 362.

^g Est ergo duplex, ut *legalium* quarundam victimarum, ita *Christi oblationis*, prior *mactationis*, altera *ostentionis*

legalium victimarum; prior *peracta in templo*, altera in ipso *penetrabili*: *Christi prior in terris*, posterior in *caelo*. Prior tamen illa non sacrificii præparatio, sed sacrificium: posterior non tam sacrificium, quam *sacrificii facti commemoratio*. *Grot. de Satisfact.* in fine.

^h Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, (which are the figures of the true,) but into *heaven* itself, now to *appear* in the *presence of God for us*. *Hebrews ix.* 24.

shews still of what exceeding great moment that *sacrifice* was, for the reconciling the *acceptance* of *sinful* men, with the *ends* of *Divine government*, the manifestation of *Divine glory*, and the unalterable perfection of the *Divine attributes*. And if that *sacrifice* is represented and pleaded in *heaven* by Christ himself, for remission of sins, that shews that there is an *intrinsic* virtue, value, merit in it, for the purposes intended: and it shews further, how rational and how proper our *Eucharistical* service is, as *commemorating* the same *sacrifice* here below, which our Lord himself *commemorates* above. God may reasonably require of us this *humble* acknowledgment, this self-abasement, that after we have done our best, we are *offenders* still, though *penitent* offenders, and have not done all that we ought to have done; and that therefore we can claim nothing in virtue of our *own righteousness* considered by itself, separate from the additional virtue of that *all-sufficient* sacrifice, which alone can render even our *best services* accepted¹.

If it should be objected, that we have a *covenant claim* by the Gospel, and that that covenant was entirely owing to *Divine mercy*, and that so we resolve not our right and title into any strict merits of our own, but into the *pure mercy* of God, and that this suffices without any respect to a *sacrifice*: I say, if this should be pleaded, I answer, that no such *covenant claim* appears, separate from all respect to a *sacrifice*. The covenant is, that persons so and so *qualified* shall be acceptable *in* and *through* Christ, and by *virtue* of that very *sacrifice* which he entered *with* into the holy of holies, and by which he now *intercedes* and *appears* for us. Besides, it is not right to think, nor is it modest or pious to say, that in the economy of every man's salvation, the *groundwork only* is God's, by settling the covenant, and the *finishing* part ours, by performing the conditions; but the true order or method is for our Lord to be both the *Author* and *Finisher* of the whole. The *covenant*, or rather, the *covenant charter*, was given soon after the fall to mankind in general, and has been carried on through successive generations by new stipulating acts in every age: so likewise was the *atonement* made (or *considered* as made) *once for all*, but is *applied* to particulars, or individuals, *continually*, by means of Christ's constant abiding *intercession*. Therefore it is not barely

¹ See our XIth Article, with Bishop Burnet's Notes upon it, and Mr. Welchman's.

our performing the *conditions*, that *finishes* our salvation, but it is our Lord's *applying* his merits to our *performances* that finishes all. Perhaps this whole matter may be more clearly represented by a distinct enumeration of the several concurring means to the same end. 1. The Divine *philanthropy* has the first hand in our salvation, is the *primary* or *principal* cause. 2. Our performing the duties required, *faith* and *repentance*, by the aid of Divine grace, is the *conditional* cause. 3. The *sacrifice* of Christ's death, recommending and rendering *acceptable* our imperfect performances, is the *meritorious* cause. 4. The Divine *ordinances*, and more particularly the two Sacraments, (so far as distinct from *conditional*,) are the *instrumental*^k causes, in and by which God *applies* to men fitly disposed the *virtus* of that sacrifice. Let these things be *supposed* only, at present, for clearer conception: *proofs* of every thing will appear in due time and place. By this account may be competently understood the end and use of *commemorating* the sacrifice of our Lord's passion in the *holy Communion*. It corresponds with the commemoration made *above*: it is suing for pardon, in virtue of the *same* plea that Christ himself sues in, on our behalf: it is acknowledging our indispensable *need* of it, and our *dependence* upon it; and confessing all our other righteousness to be as *nothing* without it. In a word, it is at once a service of *thanksgiving* (to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost) for the sacrifice of our redemption, and a service also of *self-humiliation* before God, angels, and men.

If it should be objected here, that *showing forth* our Lord's death, cannot well be understood of *showing* to God, who wants not to have any thing *shewn* to him, all things being naked before him; it is obvious to reply, that he permits and commands us, in innumerable instances, to *present* ourselves and our *addresses* before him: and though the very word *καταγγέλλειν*, which St. Paul makes use of in this case^l, is not elsewhere used for *showing to God*, yet *ἀναγγέλλειν*, a word of like import, is^m; so that there is no just objection to be drawn merely from the phraseology. As to the reason of the thing, since *addresses to God* have always gone along with the *representation* made in

^k I understand *instrument* here in no other sense, but as deeds of conveyance, or *forms* of investiture, such as a *ring*, a *crossier*, *letters patent*, *broad seal*, and the like, are called *instruments*: which shall be explained

hereafter.

^l 1 Cor. xi. 26. Τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου καταγγέλλετε.

^m Ἀναγγέλλω σήμερον Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ μου. κ. τ. λ. Deut. xxvi. 3. Conf. Psal. xxxviii. 18.

the Communion, and are part of the *commemoration*, it must be understood that we *represent*, what we do represent, to *God*, as well as to men.

Having thus despatched what I intended concerning the *remembrance*, *commemoration*, or *memorial* of our Lord, and of his passion, made in this Sacrament, I might now proceed to a new chapter. But there is an incidental point or two to be discussed, which seem to fall in our way, and which therefore I shall here briefly consider, before I go further.

1. It has been suggested by someⁿ, that the notion of *remembrance*, or *commemoration*, in this service, is an argument against *present* receiving of *benefits* in, or by it: Christ and his benefits are to be *remembered* or *commemorated* here; therefore neither *he* nor his *benefits* are supposed to be *actually* received at the time. This is not the place proper for examining the question about *present* or *actual* benefits: but it may be proper, while we are stating the notion of *remembrance*, to obviate an objection drawn from it, in order to clear our way so far. I see no force at all in the argument, unless it could be proved that the word *remembrance* must always be referred to something *past* or *absent*: which is a supposition not warranted by the customary use of language. "Remember thy Creator:" does it follow, that the Creator is not present? "Remember the Sabbath "day" (when present, I suppose) "to keep it holy." Let *remembrance* signify *calling to mind*^o; may we not call to mind *present* benefits, which are *invisible*, and which easily slip out of our thoughts, or perhaps rarely occur, being thrust out by *sensible* things? Or let it signify *keeping in mind*; if so, there is no impropriety in saying, that we keep in mind what is *present* and *not seen*, by the help of what *is seen*. Let it signify *commemorating*: may not a man commemorate a *benefaction*, suppose, which is in

ⁿ Jam constat homines ibi non *participare*, vel *sortiri*, vel *accipere* sanguinem Christi: participatio enim, vel sortitio, *rei presentis* est; at benedictio, quæ hoc loco idem est quod *commemoratio*, *rei præteritæ* esse solet. *Smalc. contr. Frantz.* p. 331.

Notandum *recordationem* rebus vere et realiter *præsentibus* nullo modo tribui posse: non enim dici possumus eorum recordari quibus tunc cum *recordatio* mere ad *præterita* pertineat. *Przypcovius ad 1 Cor. xi. 20.* p. 91.

^o Archbishop Tillotson, explaining

the Scripture notion of *remembrance*, says; "*Remembrance* is the *actual* "thought of what we do *habitually* "know.—To *remember* a person, or "thing, is to call them to mind upon "all proper and fitting occasions, to "think *actually* of them, so as to do "that which the *remembrance* of them "does require, or prompt us to." *Serm. liv.* p. 638. fol. edit.

I see not why *present* benefits may not thus be *remembered*, and deserve to be so, rather than *past*, or *absent*, or *distant* benefits.

some sense *past*, but is *present* also in its *abiding* fruits and influences, which are the strongest motives for commemorating the same? Indeed it would be hard to vindicate the wisdom of *commemorating* what is *past* or *absent*, were there not some *present* benefits resulting from it. I presume, if a *benefaction* were wholly lost or sunk, the usual *commemoration* of it would soon sink with it: the *present* benefits are what keep it up. We do not say that Christ's *death*, or Christ's *crucifixion*, is now *present*; we know it is *past*: but the *benefits* remain; and while we remember one as *past*, we *call to mind*, or *keep in mind*, the other also, as *present*, but *invisible*, and therefore easily overlooked. I see no impropriety in this manner of speaking: nor if a person should be exhorted to *remember* that he has a *soul* to be *saved*, that such an admonition would imply, that his *soul* is *absent* from his body.

2. Another incidental question, like the former, is, whether, from the notion of *remembrance* in this sacrament, a conclusive argument may be formed against the *corporal presence*, and particularly against *transubstantiation*? Notwithstanding that we have many clear demonstrations against that strange doctrine, yet I should be far from rejecting any *additional* argument, provided it were solid and just: but I perceive not of what use the word *remembrance* can be in this case, or how any certain argument can be drawn from it. The words are "remembrance of me:" therefore, if any *absence* can be proved from thence, it must be the absence of what ME there stands for, that is, of the *whole person* of Christ; and so it appears as conclusive against a *spiritual* presence, as against a *corporal* one, and proves *too much* to prove any thing. Surely we may *remember* Christ, in strict propriety of expression, and yet believe him to be *present* at the same time; especially considering that he is "always present with his Church, even to the end of the world^p," and that "where two or three are gathered together in his name, there" is he "in the midst of them^q;" and he has often told us of his *dwelling* in good men. So then, since it is not said, remembrance of *my body*, but remembrance of *me*, and since it is certain, that one part at least of what ought to be *remembered* is *present*, (not *absent*.) therefore no argument can be justly drawn merely from the word *remembrance*, as necessarily inferring the *absence* of the thing remembered.

But if it had been said, *remembrance* of *my body*, or *blood*, yet neither so would the argument be conclusive, if we attend strictly

^p Matt. xxviii. 20.

^q Matt. xviii. 20.

to the Romish persuasion. For they do not assert any *visible* presence of Christ's *body* or *blood*, but they say, that his natural body and blood are *invisibly*, or in a *spiritual manner*, present, under the *accidents*, or *visible* appearances of bread and wine. Now what is *invisible* is so far imperceptible, unless by the *eye of faith*, and wants as much to be *called to mind* as any *absent* thing whatsoever. Therefore *remembrance*, or calling to mind, might be very proper in this case: for what is out of *sight* may easily slip out of *mind*.

If any particular *restrained* sense of *remembrance* should be thought on, to help out the argument; there will still remain a great difficulty, namely, to prove that *ἀνύμνητος*, in the words of the institution, must necessarily be confined to such a *restrained* sense: which being utterly incapable of any certain proof, the argument built thereupon must of consequence fall to the ground. Seeing, therefore, that there are two very considerable flaws in the argument, as proving *too much* one way, and *too little* the other way, it appears not prudent to rest an otherwise clear clause upon so precarious a bottom, or to give the Romanists a very needless handle for triumph in this article, when we have a multitude of other arguments, strong and irresistible, against the *corporal* or local presence in the holy Communion.

As to the *continuance* of the Eucharistical service till our *Lord comes*, there is a plain reason for it, because the *Christian* dispensation is bound up in it, and must expire with it. And there is no necessity of supposing, as some do, any allusion to the *absence* of his *body*. The text does not say, *till his body appears*, but *till he come*: that is, till he comes to put an *end* to this sacramental service, (and to all other services proper to a state of probation,) and to assign us our reward. The reference is to the *ultimate end*, where this and all other *probationary* duties, as such, must *cease*, and to which they now *look*, expecting to be so *crowned* and completed: so that if there be an *antithesis* intended in the words, it is between *present service* and *future glory*, not between *present* and *absent* body.

However, though the argument will not bear in the view before mentioned, yet it is right and just to argue, that the *sign*, or *memorial* of any thing, is not the *very thing* signified or commemorated, but is *distinct* from it. Bread and wine, the *symbols*

† Quia futuri adventus Domini oculos positione præteriti ejus beneficii, donec ipse adveniens desiderium hoc nostrum impleat. Przypocivius ad 1 Cor. xi. 24.

of Christ's natural body and blood, are not literally that very *natural* body and blood; neither is the *sacrament* of Christ's passion literally the *passion* itself: thus far we may argue justly against *transubstantiation*, but supposing at the same time the *strict* sense of the word *sacrament* to be the true one. The argument is as good against the Socinians also, only by being transversed: for the *things* signified and commemorated are not the *signs* or *memorials*, but something else. And therefore, to make out the true notion of sacramental *signs*, there must be *inward* and *invisible* *graces* as well as *outward visible signs*: of which more in the sequel.

Having done with the first and principal *end* of the Sacrament, namely, the *commemoration* of Christ as described in Scripture, and of his *death* according to the true *sacrificial* notion of it; I now proceed to shew *how* this commemoration is performed, or by what kind of *service* it is solemnized, and what is further intimated or effected in and by that service.

CHAP. V.

Of the Consecration of the Elements of Bread and Wine in the Holy Communion.

THE first thing we have to take notice of in the Sacramental service is the *consecration* of the elements: "Jesus took bread " and blessed it^s." "The cup of blessing which we bless^t," &c. Here the points to be inquired into are, 1. Whether the elements of bread and wine in the Eucharist are *really blessed, consecrated, sanctified*, and in what sense. 2. Supposing they are *blessed*, &c. by whom or how they are so. 3. What the *blessing* or *consecration* amounts to.

1. The first inquiry is, whether the elements may be justly said to be *blessed* or *consecrated*: for this is a point which I find disputed by some; not many, nor very considerable. Smalcius, a warm man, and who seldom knew any bounds, seems to have been of opinion, that no proper, no sacerdotal *benediction* at all belonged to the bread and cup *before receiving*, nor indeed *after*; but that the communicants, upon receiving the elements, gave *praise* to God, and that was all the *benediction* which St. Paul speaks of^u. So he denies that any *benediction* at all passed to

^s Matt. xxvi. 26.

^t 1 Cor. x. 16.

^u Notandum insuper est, verba Pauli, *calix benedictionis*, non significare *calicem benedictum* (ut Frantzius, una cum Pontificiis, aliquid divinum

sibi et suis hac re arrogantibus, interpretatur) sed *calicem, quo sumpto benedicimus*: mox enim additur, quem *benedicimus*, nempe *omnes* qui ad mensam Domini accedimus. *Valent. Smal. contr. Frantz. p. 331.*

the elements. And he asserts besides, that whatever *benediction* there was, it was not so much from the administrator, or officiating minister, as from the *communicants* themselves: for which he has a weak pretence from St. Paul's words, *we bless*, that is, says he, *we communicants* do it. Thus far Smalcus. But the cooler and wiser Socinians go not these lengths. Crellius expressly allows, that a *benediction* is conferred upon the *cup*, as it is *sanctified* by thanksgiving, and made a kind of *libation* unto God^x. He goes further, and distinguishes sacramental consecration from that of *common meals*, as amounting to a *sanctification* of the elements for high and sacred purposes^y. The Racovian Catechism allows also of a *sanctification* of the elements, made by prayer and thanksgiving^z. Wolzogenius, afterwards, seems to waver and fluctuate between *inclination* and *reason*, and scarce knows where to fix; sometimes admitting a *consecration* of the elements, and soon after resolving all into bare *giving of thanks* to God^a. I suppose all his hesitancy was owing to his not understanding the notion of *relative holiness*, (which he might have admitted, as Crellius did, consistently with his other principles,) or to some apprehension he was under, lest the admitting of a real *sanctification* should infer some secret operation of the *Holy Ghost*. However, to make *Scripture* bend to any *preconceived* opinions is not treating *sacred* Writ with the reverence which belongs to it. St. Paul is express, that the *cup*, meaning the wine, is *blessed*, or sanctified, in the Eucharist: and if the *wine* be really *sanctified* in that solemn service, no man of tolerable capacity can make any question as to the *bread*, whether that be not *sanctified* also.

It is of small moment to plead that *εὐχαριστεῖν* and *εὐλογεῖν*

^x Benedictio autem ista refertur primum ad Deum et Christum, et ingratiarum actione (unde etiam hicritus antiquitus *Eucharistiæ* nomen obtinuit) consistit: sed simul etiam *transit ad calicem*, quatenus divini nominis benedictione et gratiarum actione *sanctificatur* calix iste, et sic Domino quodammodo libatur. Crellius in *1 Cor.* x. 16. Opp. tom. ii. p. 306.

^y Non tantum eam gratiarum actionem, quæ etiam in *vulgari* ciborum et potus usu adhibetur, intelligi arbitramur, qua scilicet gratiæ aguntur pro poculo isto; sed maxime eam qua gratiæ aguntur *pro Christi fuso pro nobis sanguine*. Hac enim gratiarum

actione imprimis poculum istud, quo ad Christi sanguinis fusionem repræsentandam utimur, *sanctificatur* et *consecratur*. Crellius, *ibid.* p. 306.

^z Qui calici huic *benedicunt*, id est, *cum* gratiarum actione, et nominis Domini celebratione *sanctificant*, &c. *Racov. Catech.* sect. vi. c. 4. p. 237. edit. 1659.

^a Vox *benedicendi*—significat usitatam illam gratiarum actionem, seu *consecrationem* panis, &c.—Calicem *benedicere* est, Deum pro potu, qui est in calice, extollere, eique gratias agere. *Wolzog. in Matt.* xxvi. 26. p. 408.

are often used promiscuously, and that the former properly signifies *giving thanks*, and that bread and wine (for thus do some trifle) cannot be *thanked*: for since the words are often used promiscuously, and since *εὐλογεῖν* is taken *transitively* in this very case by the Apostle^b, it is next to self-evident that *εὐχαρισθεῖν*, so far as concerns this matter, cannot be taken in a sense *exclusive* of that *transitive* signification of *εὐλογεῖν*: for to do that is flatly to contradict the Apostle. No doubt but either of the words may (as circumstances happen) signify no more than *thanking* or *praising* God; but here it is manifest, that, in this rite, both God is *praised* and the elements *blessed*: yea both are done at the same time, and in the self-same act; and the Apostle's authority, without any thing more, abundantly proves it. If the reader desires any thing further, in so plain a case, he may please to consult three very able judges of Biblical language, or of Greek phrases; Buxtorf I mean, and Vorstius, and Casaubon, who have clearly and fully settled the true meaning of *εὐχαριστεῖν* and *εὐλογεῖν*, both in the *general*, and with respect to this *particular* case: I shall refer^c to the two first of them, and shall cite a few words from the third^d. But to cut off all pretence drawn from the strict sense of *εὐχαριστεῖν*, as importing barely, *thanksgiving unto God*, it may be observed, that that word also is often used *transitively*^e, as well as *εὐλογεῖν*, and then it imports or includes *benediction*: so far from truth is it, that it must necessarily *exclude* it. I may further add, that the *benedictions* used^f in the *paschal* solemnity may be an useful comment upon the *benediction* in the Eucharist. There the *laying hand* upon the bread, and the *taking up* the cup, were significant intimations of a *blessing* transferred to the bread and wine, in virtue of the thanksgiving service at the same time

^b 1 Cor. x. 16. Τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν.

^c Buxtorf. de Cæna Domini, p. 311. Conf. Bucher. Antiq. Evangel. p. 369. Johan. Vorstius de Hebraism. N. T. part. i. p. 166, &c.

^d Evangelistæ et Apostolus Paulus — duobus verbis *promiscue* utuntur, ad declarandam Domini actionem, *εὐλογεῖν*, et *εὐχαριστεῖν*. — utraque vox a parte una, totam Domini actionem designat: nam Christus in *eodem actu*, et Deum Patrem *laudavit*, et *gratias* ei egit, et hoc amplius panem *sanctificavit*; hoc est, *consecravit* in usum Sacramenti, &c. Casaub. *Exercit.* xvi. p. 517. Conf. p. 533. et Albertin. de

Eucharist. lib. i. c. 4. p. 8, &c.

^e *Εὐχαρισθηθέντος ἄρτου—εὐχαρισθηθείσαν τροφήν. Just. Mart. Apol.* i. p. 96. conf. 98. *ποτήρια εὐχαριστεῖν—τοῦ (ποτηρίου) εὐχαριστημένου. Iren.* lib. i. c. 13. p. 60. *ὑδωρ ψιλὸν εὐχαριστοῦσιν. Clem. Alex. Strom.* i. p. 375.

Note, that for the expressing this *transitive* sense of the Greek word, some have contrived, not improperly, the English word *eucharistize*, importing *thanksgiving* towards God, but so as at the same time to express the *benediction* imparted to the elements in the same act.

^f See above, chap. ii. p. 495.

performed. And by the way, from hence may be understood what St. Chrysostom observes upon 1 Cor. x. 16. "The cup of blessing, which we bless, &c." on which he thus comments: "He called it the *cup of blessing*, because while we *hold it in our hands*, we send up our hymns of praise to God, struck with "admiration and astonishment at the ineffable gift, &c." That circumstance of holding the thing *in hand* while the *prayers* or *praises* were offering, was supposed to signify the derivation of a *benediction*, or *consecration* upon it. It is not material to dispute, whether the consecration formerly was performed by *thanksgiving*, or by *prayer*, or by *both* together: the *forms* might differ in different churches, or at different times. But the point which we are now considering is, whether a *benediction* is really *conveyed* to the elements in this service, and whether they are really *sanctified*, or *made holy*. That they are so, is plain from the testimony of St. Paul before recited.

2. As to Smalcio's pretence, before mentioned, concerning the *benediction* of the *communicants*, after their receiving the elements, it is a groundless fiction, and a violent perverting of the plain meaning of the text. In the paschal service, the *benediction* was performed by the *master of the feast*, (not by the *whole* company,) and before *distribution*: so was it likewise in the *institution* of this sacrament by *our Lord*. And all antiquity is consonant, that a *sacerdotal* blessing was *previous* to the delivering the sacred symbols^b, made *sacred* by that *benediction*. And this is confirmed from hence, (as before hinted,) that an *unworthy* communicant is guilty of *profane irreverence*; viz. towards what is supposed *holy*, before he receives it. As to St. Paul's expression, *we bless*, it means no more than if he had said, we Christians bless, meaning, by the *proper officers*. To strain a common idiom of speech to the utmost rigour is not right: it might as well be pleaded, that St. Paul must be present

ε Ποτήριον δὲ εὐλογίας ἐκάλεσεν, ἐπειδὴν αὐτὸ μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοντες, οὕτως αὐτὸν ἀνυμνοῦμεν, θαυμάζοντες, ἐκπληγόμενοι τῆς ἀφάτου δωρεᾶς. κ. τ. λ.

Note, though Chrysostom here makes mention of hymns only, in accounting for the name of *eulogy*, or *blessing*, yet he did not mean that hymns only were used at that time in *consecrating*, for he elsewhere plainly speaks of prayer besides, *prayer* for the descent of the Holy Ghost.

Ὅτ' ἂν δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κἀλη, καὶ τὴν φρικωδεστάτην ἐπιτελή

θυσίαν, καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ πάντων συνεχῶς ἐφάπτηται δεσπότου, πού τάξομεν αὐτὸν, εἰπέ μοι; *De Sacerdot.* lib. vi. c. 4. p. 424. ed. Bened. Compare Theophyl. on John vi. who speaks as fully to the same purpose.

^b Εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προσετώματος, καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος παντός τοῦ λαοῦ, οἱ καλουμένοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι διδάσων ἐκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου, καὶ οἴνου, καὶ ὕδατος. *Just. Mart.* p. 96. See Archbishop Potter on Church Government, p. 262, &c.

in person at every consecration; for ordinarily, when a man says *we*, he includes *himself* in the number. It must be owned, that it depends upon the *disposition* of every communicant, to render the *previous* consecration either *salutary* or *noxious* to himself: and if any man has a mind to call a *worthy* reception of the elements, a *consecration* of them to himself, a secondary consecration, he mayⁱ; for it would not be worth while to hold a dispute about words. But strictly speaking, it is not within the power or choice of a communicant, either to *consecrate* or to *desecrate* the symbols, to make the sacrament a *common* meal, or otherwise: it is a *religious* and *sacred* meal even to the most unworthy; and that is the reason why such are liable to the judgment of God for abusing it: for if it were really a *common meal* to them, it would do them no more *hurt*, than any other ordinary entertainment. *Holy* things are fit for *holy* persons, and will turn to their nutriment and increase: but to the *unholy* and *profans*, if they presume to come near, the sanctified instruments do as certainly turn to their detriment and condemnation. There are proofs of this, in great abundance, quite through the Old Testament, and I need not point out to the reader what he may every where find.

One thing more I may note here in passing, for the preventing cavils or mistakes. When we speak of *human* benedictions, and their *efficacy*, we mean not that they have any real virtue or efficacy in *themselves*, or under any consideration but as founded in *Divine* promise or contract, and as coming *from* God *by* man. If the prayer of faith *saved* the *sick*^k, it was not properly the *human* prayer that did it, but *God* did it *by* or upon such prayer, pursuant to his promise. In like manner, whatever *consecration*, or *benediction*, or *sanctification* is imparted in the Sacrament to *things* or *persons*, it is all God's doing; and the ground of all stands in the *Divine* warrant authorizing men to administer the holy Communion, in the *Divine* word intimating the effect of it, and in the *Divine* promise and covenant, tacit or express^l, to send his blessing along with it.

ⁱ Igitur non sacrificia sanctificant hominem, non enim indiget sacrificio Deus: sed conscientia ejus qui offert, sanctificat sacrificium, pura existens, &c. *Iren.* lib. iv. c. 18. p. 250.

N.B. Here, *sanctifying* means rendering *salutary*: not that that *alone* does it, but it is a condition *sine qua non*.

^k James v. 15.

^l I say, *tacit* or *express*: because our Lord's declaring, and St. Paul's declaring *what is done* in the Eucharist, do amount to a *tacit promise* of what shall be done always. Wherefore the Socinians do but trifle with us, when they call for an *express* promise. Are not the words, "this is my body,"

3. The third and most material article of inquiry is, what the *consecration* of the elements really *amounts to*, or what the *effect* of it is? To which we answer, thus much at least is certain, that the bread and wine being “sanctified by the word of God and “prayer^m,” (according to the Apostle’s *general* rule, applicable in an eminent manner to this *particular* case,) do thereby contract a *relative holiness*, or *sanctification*, in some degree or other. What the *degree* is, is no where precisely determined; but the measures of it may be competently taken from the *ends* and *uses* of the service, from the near *relation* it bears to our *Lord’s person*, (a Person of infinite dignity,) and from the *judgments* denounced against *irreverent* offenders, and perhaps from some other considerations to be mentioned as we go along.

For the clearer conception of this matter, we may take a brief survey of what *relative holiness* meant under the Old Testament, and of the *various degrees* of it. I shall say nothing of the relative holiness of *persons*, but of what belonged to *inanimate things*, which is most to our present purpose. The *court* of the temple was *holy*ⁿ, the *temple* itself *more holy*, and the *sanctuary*, or *holy of holies*, was still more so^o: but the *ark* of God, laid up in the sanctuary, appears to have been yet *holier* than all. The *holiness* of the *ark* was so great, and so tremendous, that many were struck dead at once, only for presuming to look into it with eyes impure^p: and Uzzah but for touching it (though with a pious intent to preserve it from falling) was instantly smitten of God, and died upon the spot^q. Whatever God is once pleased to *sanctify* by his more peculiar *presence*, or to claim a more special *property* in, or to *separate* to *sacred* uses, that is *relatively holy*, as having a nearer *relation* to God; and it must of course be treated with a *reverence* and *awe* suitable. Be the thing what it will, be it otherwise ever so mean and contemptible in itself, yet as soon as God gives it a *sacred* relation, and, as it were, seals it with his own signet, it must then be looked upon with an eye of reverence, and treated with an awful respect, for fear of trespassing against the *Divine majesty*, in making that *common* which God has *sanctified*.

&c. and “is it not the communion,”
&c. tantamount to a *Divine promise* of every thing we contend for? But this is not the place to explain that whole matter: thus much is evident, that *what the word of prayer did once make the sacramental bread* and wine to be, that it will always make it.

^m 1 Tim. iv. 5.

ⁿ 1 Kings viii. 64.

^o The Rabbins reckon up *ten degrees* of such relative holiness. Vid. Deylingius, *Observat. Miscellan.* p. 546.

^p 1 Sam. vi. 19.

^q 2 Sam. vi. 7. 1 Chron. xiii. 9, 10.

This notion of *relative holiness* is a very easy and intelligible notion: or if it wanted any further illustration, might be illustrated from familiar examples in a lower kind, of *relative sacredness* accruing to inanimate things by the relation they bear to *earthly majesty*. The *thrones*, or *sceptres*, or *crowns*, or *presence-rooms* of princes are, in this lower sense, *relatively sacred*: and an offence may be committed against the majesty of the sovereign, by an *irreverence* offered to what so peculiarly belong to him. If any one should ask, what is *conveyed* to the respective things to make them *holy* or *sacred*? we might ask, in our turn, what was *conveyed* to the ground which Moses once stood upon, to make it *holy ground*?^r or what was *conveyed* to the *gold* which the temple was said to *sanctify*^s, or what to the *gift* when the altar *sanctified* it? But to answer more directly, as to things common becoming *holy* or *sacred*, I say, a *holy* or *sacred relation* is conveyed to them by their *appropriation* or use; and that suffices. The things are *in themselves* just what they before were^u: but now they are considered by *reasonable* creatures as coming under *new* and *sacred* relations, which have their *moral* effect; insomuch that now the honour of the *Divine* majesty in one case, or of *royal* in the other case, becomes deeply interested in them.

Let us next apply these general principles to the particular instance of *relative holiness* supposed to be conveyed to the symbols of bread and wine by their *consecration*. They are now no more *common* bread and wine, (at least not during this their *sacred* application,) but the communicants are to consider the *relation* which they bear, and the *uses* which they serve to. I do not here say *what*, because I have no mind to anticipate what more properly belongs to another head, or to a distinct chapter hereafter: but in the *general* I observe, that they contract a *relative holiness*^v by their consecration, and that is the *effect*. Hence it is, that some kinds of *irreverence* towards these *sacred* symbols amount to being "guilty of the body and blood of the "Lord^x," the Lord of glory; and hence also it was that many

^r Exod. iii. 5. ^s Matt. xxiii. 17.

^t Matt. xxiii. 19.

^u "When certain things are said to be *holy* or *sacred*, no moral quality of holiness inheres in the *things*, only an *obligation* is laid upon *men*, to treat them in such a particular manner: and when that obligation ceases, they are supposed to fall again into promiscuous and ordinary

"use." Puffendorf, *Law of Nature*, ch. i. concerning *moral entities*.

^v The ancients therefore frequently gave the title of *holy*, *holy of the Lord*, or even *holy of holies*, and the like, to the sacred elements. Testimonies are collected by Suicer, tom. i. p. 56, 62. Albertin. p. 345, 346, 376. Grabe, Spicil. tom. i. p. 346.

^x 1 Cor. xi. 27.

of the Corinthians, in the apostolical age, were punished as severely for offering *contempt* to this holy solemnity, as others formerly were for their irreverence towards the *ark* of God: that is to say, they were smitten of God with *diseases* and *death*.

Enough hath been said for the explaining the *general* nature or notion of *relative holiness*: or if the reader desires more, he may consult Mr. Mede, who professedly considers the subject more at large^z. Such a *relative holiness* does undoubtedly belong to the elements once *consecrated*. The ancient *Fathers* are still more particular in expounding the sacerdotal *consecration*, and the Divine *sanctification* consequent thereupon. Their several sentiments have been carefully collected, and useful remarks added, by the learned Pfaffius^a. It may be proper here to give some brief account of their way of explaining this matter, and to consider what judgment it may be reasonable to make of it. Mr. Aubertine has judiciously reduced their sentiments of *consecration* to *three* heads, as follows^b: 1. The power of *Christ* and the *Holy Spirit*, as the *principal*, or properly *efficient* cause. 2. *Prayers, thanksgivings, benedictions*, as the *conditional* cause, or *instrumental*. 3. The *words* of our Lord, "This is my body, "this is my blood," as *declarative* of what then was, *promissory* of what should be always. I shall throw in a few remarks upon the several heads in their order.

1. As to the power of *Christ* and the *Holy Spirit*, (in conjunction with God the Father,) I suppose, the ancients might infer their joint operations in the *Sacraments*, partly from the *general* doctrine of Scripture relating to their joint concurrence in promoting man's salvation^c, and partly from their being jointly *honoured* or *worshipped* in sacramental services^d; and partly also from what is particularly taught in Scripture with respect

^y 1 Cor. xi. 30.

^z Mede's Works, p. 399, &c. and 823. Dissertationum Trigæ. Lond. A. D. 1653.

^a Pfaffius, Dissert. de Consecratione veterum Eucharistica, p. 355. Compare l'Arroque, Hist. of the Eucharist, part i. ch. 8. p. 65, &c.

^b Albertin. de Eucharist. lib. i. c. 7. p. 34.

^c Matt. xxviii. 18, 19. John xiv. 16, 26. Rom. v. 5, 6. 1 Cor. xii. 4, 5, 6. 2 Cor. i. 21, 22. xiii. 14. Ephes. i. 17, 21, 22. 2 Thess. ii. 13, 14.

Tit. iii. 4, 5, 6. 1 Pet. i. 2.

^d *Baptism* in the name of all three. Matt. xxviii. 19. As to the *Eucharist*, Justin Martyr is an early witness, that the custom was to make mention of all the *three Persons* in that service.

"Ἐπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προσετώτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος, καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος, καὶ κράματος· καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν, αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὄλων, διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, ἀναπέμπτει. *Apol.* i. p. 96.

to our *Lord's* concern in the Eucharist, or the *Holy Spirit's*. It is observable that the doctrine of the Fathers, with regard to *consecration*, was much the same in relation to the *waters* of Baptism, as in relation to the *elements* in the Eucharist. They supposed a kind of *descent* of the *Holy Ghost*, to *sanctify* the waters in one, and the *symbols* in the other, to the *uses* intended: and they seem to have gone upon this *general* Scripture principle, (besides particular texts relating to each sacrament,) that the *Holy Ghost* is the immediate fountain of all *sanctification*. I believe they were right in the main thing, only not always accurate in *expression*. Had they said, that the *Holy Ghost* came upon the *recipients*, in the *due use* of the sacraments, they had spoken with greater exactness; and perhaps it was all that they really meant. They could not be aware of the disputes which might arise in after times, nor think themselves obliged to a philosophical strictness of expression. It was all one with them to say, in a confuse general way, either that the *Holy Ghost* sanctified the "receivers in the use of the outward symbols," or that he "sanctified the symbols to their use:" for either expression seemed to amount to the same thing; though in strictness there is a considerable difference between them. What Mr. Hooker very judiciously says, of the *real presence* of Christ in the Sacrament, appears to be equally applicable to the *presence* of the *Holy Spirit* in the same: "It is not to be sought for in "the *Sacrament*, but in the *worthy receiver* of the Sacrament.— "As for the Sacraments, they really *exhibit*; but for ought we "can gather out of that which is written of them, they are not "really, nor do really contain in themselves, *that grace* which "with them, or by them, it pleaseth God to bestow^e." Not that I conceive there is any absurdity in supposing a peculiar presence of the *Holy Ghost* to *inanimate* things, any more than in God's appearing in a burning bush^f: but there is no proof of the fact, either from direct Scripture, or from that in conjunction with the reason of the thing. The *relative holiness* of the elements, or symbols, as explained above, is very intelligible, without this other supposition: and as to the rest, it is all more rationally accounted for (as we shall see hereafter) by the presence of the *Holy Spirit* with the *worthy receivers*, in the use of the symbols.

^e Hooker, Eccl. Polity, b. v. p. 307, 308. Archbishop Cranmer had said the same thing before, in his preface to his book against Gardiner: I shall

have another occasion, lower down, for citing his words. Conf. Sam. Ward, Determinat. Theolog. p. 62.

^f Exod. iii. 2. Acts vii. 30.

than by I know not what presence or union with the symbols themselves.

2. The second article, mentioned by Albertinus, relates to *prayers, thanksgivings, and benedictions*, considered as *instrumental* in consecration. It has been a question, whether the earlier Fathers (those of the three first centuries) allowed of any proper *prayer*, as distinct from *thanksgiving*, in the Eucharistical consecration. I think they did, though the point is scarce worth disputing, since they plainly allowed of a *sanctification* of the elements, consequent upon what was done by the officiating minister. But we may examine a few authorities, and as briefly as possible.

Justin Martyr, more than once, calls the *consecrated* elements by the name of *eucharistized* food^b, which looks as if he thought that the *thanksgiving* was the *consecration*: but yet he commonly makes mention both of *prayers* and *thanksgiving*¹, where he speaks of the Eucharistical service; from whence it appears probable, or *certain* rather, that *consecration*, at that time, was performed by *both*.

Irenæus^k speaks of the *bread* as receiving the *invocation of God*, and thereby becoming more than *common* bread. Some would interpret it of *prayer* for the *descent of the Holy Ghost*; but, as I apprehend, without sufficient authority. Irenæus might mean no more than *calling* upon *God*, in any kind of *prayer* or *thanksgiving*, or in such as Justin Martyr before him had referred to. Irenæus, in the same chapter, twice speaks of *thanksgiving*^m, as used before or at the consecration: but nothing can be certainly inferred from thence, as to his *excluding prayer*, and resolving the consecration into bare *thanksgiving*.

Origen has expressed this whole matter with as much judgment and exactness, as one shall any where meet with among the ancient Fathers. He had been considering our Lord's words, "Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a manⁿ;" upon which he immediately thought with himself, that by parity

^ε Vid. Vossius de Sacrament. Vi et Efficacia, A. D. 1648. tom. vi. p. 252. de Bapt. Diss. v. p. 274. Harmon. Evangel. 233. A. D. 1656.

^b Εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρου—εὐχαριστήθεισαν τροφήν. *Apol.* i. p. 96.

¹ Λόγω εὐχῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας. *Apol.* i. p. 19. Τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν. *Ibid.* p. 96. Εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας. p. 98. Εὐχαὶ καὶ εὐχαριστίας. *Dial.* p. 387.

^k 'Ο ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβανόμενος τὴν ἔκκλησιν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστίν, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία. *Iren.* lib. ix. c. 18. p. 251.

^l Pfaffius in Præfat. ad Fragm. Anecdota et in Lib. p. 96.

^m Offerens ei cum gratiarum actione—Panem in quo gratiæ actæ sint. *Iren.* p. 251.

ⁿ Matt. xv. 11.

of reason, it might as justly be said, that what *goes into the mouth* cannot *sanctify* a man. And yet here he was aware, that according to the vulgar way of conceiving or speaking, the sacramental elements of bread and wine in the Eucharist were supposed to *sanctify* the receiver, having themselves been *sanctified* before in their consecration. This was true in some sense, and according to a popular way of speaking; and therefore could not be denied by Origen, without wary and proper distinctions. He allows, in the first place, that the elements were really *sanctified*; namely, by *the word of God and prayer*^o: but he denies that what is so sanctified, *sanctifies* any person by its *own proper virtue*^p, or considered according to its *matter*, which goes in at the mouth, and is cast off in the draught; admitting, however, that the *prayer* and *word* (that is, God by them) do *enlighten* the *mind* and sanctify the heart (for that is his meaning) of the *worthy* receiver. So he resolves the virtue of the Sacrament into the sacerdotal *consecration*, previous to the *worthy* reception: and he reckons *prayer* (strictly so called) as part of the consecration. The sum is, that the *sanctification*, properly speaking, goes to the *person* fitly disposed, and is the *gift of God*, not the work of the *outward* elements, though *sanctified* in a certain sense, as having been *consecrated* to holy uses. Thus by carefully distinguishing upon the case, he removed the difficulty arising from a common and *popular* way of expressing it. Nevertheless, after this^q, in his latest and most correct work, he did not scruple to make use of the same popular kind of expression, observing that the eucharistical bread, by prayer and thanksgiving, was made a sort of holy, or sanctified *body*, *sanctifying* the worthy receivers^r. Where we may note, that he again takes in both *prayer* and *thanksgiving*, to make the consecration. And we may observe another thing, by the way, worth the noting, that by *body* there, he does not understand our Lord's *natural*

^o Ἁγιασθέντος λόγῳ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξει ἄρτου—τὸ ἁγιαζόμενον βρῶμα διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως. Orig. in Matt. p. 254.

^p Οὐ τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ ἁγιάζει τὸν χρώμενον, p. 253. Κατ' αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ὑλικόν, εἰς ἀφεδρῶνα ἐκβάλλεται, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιγενομένην αὐτῷ εὐχὴν, κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως, ὠφέλιμον γίνεται, καὶ τῆς τοῦ νοῦ αἰτίον διαβλήψεως, ὀρώντος ἐπὶ τὸ ὠφελοῦν. καὶ οὐχ ἡ ὕλη τοῦ ἄρτου, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἰρημένος λόγος ἐστὶν ὁ ὠφελῶν τὸν μὴ ἀναξίως τοῦ Κυρίου ἐσθίοντα αὐτόν. p. 254.

^q The Homilies on St. Matthew are supposed to have been written in the year of our Lord 244, and his book against Celsus A. D. 249. Origen died in 253.

^r Ἡμεῖς δὲ τῷ τοῦ παντὸς δημιουργῷ εὐχαριστοῦντες, καὶ τοὺς μετ' εὐχαριστίας καὶ εὐχῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς δοθείσι προσαγομένους ἄρτους ἐσθίομεν. σῶμα γενομένους διὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἁγίων τι, καὶ ἁγιάζον τοὺς μετ' ἡγιαῖτος προθέσεως αὐτῷ χρώμενους. Origen. contr. Cels. lib. viii. p. 766. edit. Bened.

body, but the *sanctified bread*, which he elsewhere calls the *symbolical* and *typical* body³; that is to say, representative body, as distinguished from the *real* body, or *true food* of the soul, which none but the *holy* partake of, and all that do so are *happy*. Origen's doctrine therefore, with respect to this article, lies in these particulars: 1. That the bread and wine, before consecration, are *common food*. 2. That after consecration by prayer and thanksgiving, they become *holy, typical, symbolical* food, representative of *true food*. 3. That *unworthy* receivers eat of the *symbolical* food only, without the *true*. 4. That *worthy* receivers, upon eating the *symbolical* food, are *enlightened* and *sanctified* from above, and consequently do partake of the *true* spiritual food, in the same act. I shall proceed no lower with the *Fathers*, under this article, having said as much as I conceive sufficient for illustrating Mr. Aubertine's second particular.

3. The third will still want some explication: where we are to consider what effect the words of our Lord, "This is my body," are conceived *now* to have in the Eucharistical *consecration*. It is not meant (as the Romanists are pleased to interpret) that the pronouncing those words makes the consecration: but the words *then* spoken by our blessed Lord are conceived to operate now as virtually carrying in them a *rule*, or a *promise*, for all succeeding ages of the Church, that what was *then* done when our Lord himself *administered*, or *consecrated*, will be *always* done in the celebration of the Eucharist, pursuant to that original. If the elements were then *sanctified* or consecrated into representative symbols of Christ's body and blood, and if the worthy receivers were then understood to partake of the *true spiritual* food, upon receiving the *symbolical*; and if all this was then *implied* in the words, "This is my body," &c. so it is now. What the Sacrament then was, in meaning, virtue, and effect, the same it is also at this day. Such was the way of reasoning which some of the *Fathers* made use of; and it appears to have been perfectly right and just. It was with this view, or under this light, that they took upon them to say, that our Lord's words *then* spoken, were to have their effect in every *consecration* after; namely, as being directly *declaratory* of what then was, and virtually *promissory* of what should be in like case for all times to come. The same Lord is our High Priest in heaven,

³ Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ τυπικοῦ καὶ συμβολικοῦ σώματος, πολλά ἔν τε καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγοντο τοῦ λόγου, δε γέγονε σὰρξ, καὶ ἀληθινὴ βρώσις, ἦν τινα

ὁ φαγὼν πάντως ζήσεται εἰς τὴν αἰῶνα, οὐδενὸς δυναμενὸν φαύλου ἐσθίειν αὐτήν. Origen. in Matt. p. 254.

recommending and enforcing our *prayers* there, and still constantly ratifying what he once said, "This is my body," &c. For, like as the words once spoken, "Increase and multiply, and replenish the earth," have their effect at this day, and in all ages of the world; so the words of our Lord, "This is my body," though spoken but *once* by him, stand in full force and virtue, and will ever do so, in all ages of the Christian Church. This is the sum of St. Chrysostom's reasoning upon this head; which it may suffice barely to refer to^t: Mr. Pfaffius has collected from him what was most material, illustrating all with proper remarks^u. The use I would further make of the notion is, to endeavour from hence to explain some short and obscure hints of the elder *Fathers*. For example, Justin Martyr speaks of the elements being *eucharistized* or *blessed* by the prayer of the *word* that came from him^x [God]. Why might not he mean the very same thing that Chrysostom does, namely, that Christ, our High Priest above, now ratifies what he once said on earth, when he *blessed* the elements with his consecration prayers, in the *institution* of the Eucharist? It is he that *now* sanctifies the *symbols*, as he *then* did, and, as it were, presides over our Eucharistical services, making the bread to become *holy*, which before was *common*, and giving the *true food* to as many as are qualified to receive it, along with the *symbolical*; that is, giving *himself* to dwell in us, as we also in him. There is another the like obscure hint in Irenæus, which may probably be best interpreted after the same way. He supposes the elements to become *Christ's body* by receiving *the words*. He throws two considerations into one, and does not distinguish so accurately as Origen afterwards did, between the *symbolical* food and the *true food*. In strictness, the elements first become *sanctified* (in such a sense as inanimate things may) by *consecration* pursuant to our Lord's institution, and which our Lord still ratifies; and thus they are made the *representative* body of Christ: but they are at the same time, to *worthy receivers*, made the means of their spiritual union with Christ himself; which Irenæus points at in what he says of the

^t Chrysost. Homil. i. de Proditione Judæ, tom. ii. p. 384. ed. Bened.

^u Pfaffius de Consecratione Vet. Eucharistica, p. 389, &c. Compare Bingham, b. xiv. ch. 3. sect. 11. Albertin. lib. i. c. 7. p. 33. and Covel's Account of the Greek Church, p. 47, 48, 63, &c.

^x Τὴν δὲ εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐ-

τοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν. *Just-Mart.* p. 96. Conf. Albertin. p. 31.

^y Ὅποτε οὖν καὶ τὸ κεκραμένον ποτῆριον, καὶ ὁ γεγονὸς ἄρτος ἐπιδέχεται τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ γίνεται ἡ εὐχαριστία σῶμα Χριστοῦ, &c. *Iren.* lib. v. c. 2. p. 294.

— προσλαμβάνειν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, εὐχαριστία γίνεται. *Ibid.*

bread's receiving the *Logos*, but should rather have said it of the *communicants* themselves, as receiving the *spiritual* presence of Christ, in the worthy *use* of the *sacred* symbols. But this matter must come over again, and be distinctly considered at large. All I had to do here was, to fix the true notion of *consecration* in as clear and distinct a manner as I could. The sum is, that the *consecration* of the elements makes them *holy symbols*, relatively holy, on account of their *relation* to what they represent, or point to, by *Divine* institution: and it is *God* that gives them this *holiness* by the ministry of the word. The *sanctification* of the communicants (which is *God's* work also) is of *distinct* consideration from the former, though they are often confounded: and to this part belongs what has been improperly called making the symbols become *Lord's body*; and which really means making them his body *to us*; or more plainly still, making us partakers of our Lord's *broken body* and *blood shed* at the same time that we receive the *holy* symbols; which we are to explain in the sequel. I shall only remark further here, what naturally follows from all going before, that the consecration, or sanctification of the *elements* in this service, is *absolute* and *universal* for the time being; and therefore all that communicate *unworthily* are chargeable with *profaning* things *holy*: but the sanctification of *persons* is *hypothetical* and *particular*, depending upon the *dispositions* which the communicants bring with them to the Lord's table.

Having done with the *consecration* of the elements, I should now proceed to the *distribution* and *manducation*. But as there is a *sacramental* feeding and a *spiritual* feeding; and as the *spiritual* is the *nobler* of the two, and of *chief* concern, and what the other principally or solely *looks to*, I conceive it will be proper to treat of this first: and because the sixth chapter of St. John contains the doctrine of *spiritual* feeding, as delivered by our Lord himself, a twelvemonth, or more, before he instituted the Sacrament of the Eucharist, I shall make that the subject of the next chapter.

CHAP. VI.

Of Spiritual Eating and Drinking, as taught in John vi.

THE discourse which our Lord had at Capernaum, about the *eating* his *flesh* and *drinking* his *blood*, is very remarkable, and deserves our closest attention. His strong way of expressing himself, and his emphatical repeating the same thing, in the same or in different phrases, are alone sufficient to persuade us,

that some very *important* mystery, some very *significant* lesson of instruction is contained in what he said in that chapter, from verse the 27th to verse the 63rd inclusive.

For the right understanding of that discourse, we must take our marks from some of the *critical* parts of it, and from other explanatory places of Scripture. From verse the 63rd, as well as from the nature of the thing, we may learn, that the discourse is mostly *mystical*, and ought to be *spiritually*, not literally understood^z. “It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life.” I am aware that this text has been variously interpreted^a, and that it is not very easy to *ascertain* the construction, so as not to leave room even for reasonable doubt. I choose that interpretation which appears most natural, and which has good countenance from *antiquity*, and many judicious interpreters^b: but the *reason* of the *thing* is sufficient to satisfy us, that a great part of this discourse of our Lord’s cannot be *literally* interpreted, but must admit of some *figurative* or *mystical* construction.

A surer mark for interpreting our Lord’s meaning in this chapter is the *universality* of the expressions which he made use of, both in the *affirmative* and *negative* way. “If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever^c.” “Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life^d,—dwelleth in me, and I in him^e.” So far in the affirmative or positive way: the propositions are *universal affirmatives*, as the schools speak. The like may be observed in the *negative* way: “Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you^f.” The sum is: *all* that feed upon what is here mentioned have life; and *all* that do not feed thereupon have no life. Hence arises an argument against interpreting the words of *sacramental feeding* in the Eucharist. For it is not true that all who receive the Communion have life, unless we put in the restriction of *worthy*, and *so far*. Much less can it be true, that all who never have, or never shall receive, have not life: unless we make several more restrictions, confining the proposition to persons living *since* the time of the institution, and

^z Origen. in Levit. Hom. vii. p. 225.
Eusebius de Eccl. Theol. l. iii. c. 12.
Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. xvi. p. 251.
Mystag. iv. 321. Chrysostom. in loc.
Athanasius ad Serap. Ep. iv. p. 710.
ed. Bened. Augustinus in Psalm.

xcviii.

^a Vid. Albertin. de Eucharist. p. 243, &c.

^b Vid. Albertin. p. 244.

^c John vi. 51.

^d John vi. 54.

^e John vi. 56.

^f John vi. 53.

persons *capable*, and not destitute of *opportunity*; making exceptions for good men of *old*, and for *infants*, and for many who have been or may be *invincibly* ignorant, or might never have it in their power to receive the Communion, or to know any thing of it. Now an interpretation which must be clogged with a multitude of restrictions to make it bear, if at all, is such as one would not choose (other circumstances being equal) in preference to what is clogged with *fewer*, or with *none*ꝛ.

Should we interpret the words, of *faith in Christ*, there must be *restrictions* in that case also; viz. to those who have *heard* of Christ, and who do not only believe in him, but *live* according to his laws. And exceptions must be made for many good men of old, who either knew nothing of Christ, or very obscurely; as likewise for *infants* and *idiots*; and perhaps also for many who are in utter darkness without any fault of theirs: so that this construction comes not fully up to the *universality* of the expressions made use of by our Lord.

But if neither of these can answer in that respect, is there any other construction that will? or what is it? Yes, there is one which will completely answer in point of *universality*, and it is this: all that shall finally *share* in the death, passion, and atonement of Christ, are *safe*; and all that have not a part therein are *lost*^h. All that are *saved* owe their salvation to the *salutary* passion of Christ: and their *partaking* thereof (which is *feeding* upon his *flesh* and *blood*) is their *life*. On the other hand, as many as are excluded from *sharing* therein, and therefore feed not upon the atonement, have no life in them. Those who are blessed with capacity and opportunities, must have *faith*, must have *sacraments*, must be in *covenant*, must receive and obey the Gospel, in order to have the *expiation* of the death of Christ *applied* to them: but our Lord's *general* doctrine, in this chapter seems to *abstract* from all particularities, and to resolve into this; that whether with *faith* or without, whether in the *sacraments* or out of the *sacraments*, whether *before* Christ or *since*, whether in *covenant* or out of *covenant*, whether *here* or *hereafter*, no man ever was, is, or will be *accepted*, but in and

ꝛ Conf. Albertin. de Eucharist. p. 234, 235.

^h *Nisi manducaveritis*, inquit, carnem Filii hominis, et sanguinem biberitis, non habebitis vitam in vobis. Facinus, vel flagitium videtur jubere: figura est ergo, præcipiens *passioni*

Dominicæ communicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoria, quod pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa et vulnerata sit. Augustin. de Doctrin. Christian. lib. iii. cap. 16. p. 52. tom. iii. Bened.

through the *grand propitiation* made by the *blood* of Christ. This I take to be the main doctrine taught by our Lord in that chapter, which he delivers so earnestly, and inculcates so strongly, for the glory of the Divine *justice, holiness, goodness, philanthropy*; and for humbling the *pride* of sinners, apt to conceive highly of their *own worth*; as also for the convincing all men, to whom the Gospel should be propounded, of the absolute necessity of *closing* in with it, and *living* up to it. That *general* doctrine of *salvation by Christ alone, by Christ crucified*, is the great and important doctrine, the burden of both Testaments; signified in all the sacrifices and services of the old law, and fully declared in every page almost of the New Testament. What doctrine more likely to have been intended in John the sixth, if the words will bear it; or if, over and above, the *universality* of the expressions appears to require it? *Eating* and *drinking*, by a very easy, common figure, mean *receiving*¹: and what is the thing to be *received*? Christ himself in his whole person: "I am the bread of life^k.—He that eateth me, even he shall live by me^l." But more particularly he is to be considered as giving his *body* to be broken, and as shedding his *blood* for making an atonement: and so the *fruits of his death* are what we are to *receive* as our spiritual food: his "flesh is meat indeed," and his "blood is drink indeed^m." His *passion* is our *redemption*, and by his *death* we *live*. This meat is administered to us by the *hand of God*; while by the *hand of faith*, ordinarily, we take it, and in the use of the *sacraments*ⁿ. But God may *extraordinarily* administer the same meat, that is, may *apply* the same *benefits* of Christ's death, and *virtue* of his atonement, to subjects *capable*, without any act of theirs; as to *infants, idiots, &c.* who are merely *passive* in receiving it, but at the same time offer no *obstacle* to it.

The xxviiith Article of our Church says, that "the means whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the supper is faith." That sacrament is supposed to be given to none but *adults*; and to them, not only *faith* in general, but a *true* and *right* faith, and the same *working by love*, is indispensably

¹ So *eating* and *drinking* damnation (1 Cor. xi. 29.) is *receiving* damnation.

^k John vi. 35, 48, 51.

^l John vi. 57.

^m John vi. 55.

ⁿ *Sacramenta* sunt media offerentia et exhibentia *ex parte Dei*: fides

medium recipiens et apprehendens *ex parte nostra*: quemadmodum igitur *manus donans, et manus recipiens* non sunt opposita sed relata, et subordinata, ita quoque *Sacramenta et fides* non sunt sibi invicem opponenda. *Gerhard. Loc. Comm. par. iv. p. 309.*

requisite, as an *ordinary* mean°. All which is consonant to what I have here asserted, and makes no alteration as to the exposition of John vi., which speaks not principally of what is required in adult Christians, or of what is requisite to a *worthy* reception of the *holy Communion*, but of what is *absolutely* necessary at all times, and to all persons, and in all circumstances, to a *happy resurrection*; namely, an interest in, or a participation of the *atonement* made by Christ upon the cross. He that is taken in, as a *sharer* in it, is *saved*: he that is *excluded* from it, is *lost*.

Some learned writers having observed that our Lord in that chapter attributes much to a man's *believing* in him, or *coming* to him, as the means to *everlasting life*, have conceived that *faith*, or *doctrine*, is what he precisely meant by the *bread of life*, and that *believing* in Christ is the same with the *eating* and *drinking* there spoken of. But the *thing* to be received is very distinct from the *hand* receiving; therefore *faith* is not the *meat*, but the *mean*. Belief in Christ is the *condition* required, the *duty* commanded: but the *bread of life* is the *reward* consequent. Believing is not *eating* or *drinking* the fruits of Christ's passion, but is *preparatory* to it, as the *means* to the end°. In short, *faith*, ordinarily, is the *qualification*, or one qualification; but the body and blood is the *gift* itself, and the *real inheritance*. The *doctrine* of Christ, lodged in the *soul*, is what gives the soul its proper temperature and fitness to receive the heavenly food: but the heavenly food is *Christ himself*, as once *crucified*, who has since been *glorified*. See this argument very clearly and excellently made out at large by a late learned writer^p. It may be true, that *eating* and *drinking* wisdom is the same with *receiving* wisdom: and it is no less true, that *eating* and *drinking* flesh and blood, is *receiving* flesh and blood; for eating means receiving. But where does *flesh* or *blood* stand for *wisdom* or for *doctrine*? What rules of *symbolical* language are there that

° Ἡς οὐδενὶ ἄλλω μετασχεῖν ἐξόν ἐστιν, ἢ τῷ πιστεύοντι ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ δεδιδραγμένα ὑφ' ἡμῶν—καὶ οὕτως βιοῦντι ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς παρέδωκεν. *Just. Mart. Apol. i. p. 96.*

°° *Credere* in Christum, et *edere* Christum, vel carnem ejus, inter se tanquam *prius* et *posterius* differunt; sicuti ad Christum *venire* et Christum *bibere*. Præcedit enim *accessus* et *apprehensio*, quam sequitur *potio*, et

manducatio: ergo *fide* Christum prius recipimus, ut *habit*et ipse in nobis, fiamusque ipsius vivæ carnis et sanguinis *participes*, adeoque unum cum ipso—Itaque, notione definitioneque aliud est *spiritualis manducatio* quam *credere* in Christum. *Lamb. Danaeus Apolog. pro Helvet. Eccles. p. 23.*

^p Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, p. 393, &c.

require it, or can ever admit of it? There lies the stress of the whole thing, *Flesh*, in symbolical language, may signify *riches, goods, possessions*^q: and *blood* may signify *life*: but Scripture never uses either as a *symbol of doctrine*. To conclude then, eating wisdom is receiving *wisdom*; but eating Christ's flesh and blood is receiving *life* and *happiness* through his blood, and, in one word, receiving *him*; and that not merely as the object of our *faith*, but as the fountain of our *salvation*, and our *sovereign good*, by means of his death and passion.

To confirm what has been said, let us take in a noted text of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which appears decisive in this case. "We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat which "serve the tabernacle^r." Whether the Apostle here speaks of spiritual eating *in the Sacrament*, or *out of the Sacrament*, is not now the question: but that he speaks of *spiritual eating*, cannot reasonably be doubted. And what can the *eating* there mean, but the *partaking* of Christ *crucified*, participating of the benefits of his *passion*? That is the proper Christian eating, such as none but Christians have a clear and covenanted right to. The Apostle speaks not in that chapter of eating *doctrine*, but of eating *sacrifice*. The references there made to the *Jewish sacrifices* plainly shew, that the Apostle there thought not of eating the *doctrine* of the cross, but of eating, that is, partaking of, the *sacrifice* or *atonement* of the cross^s. Therefore let this be taken in, as an additional explication of the *eating* mentioned in John vi. so far at least as to shew that it must refer to some *sacrifice*, and not to mere *doctrines*.

I am aware that many interpreters of good note among the ancients^t, as well as many learned moderns, have understood *altar* in that text directly of the *Lord's table*, and the *eating*, of *oral manducation*: which construction would make the text less suitable to my present purpose. But other interpreters^u,

^q See Lancaster's Symbolical Dictionary, prefixed to his Abridgment of Daubuz, p. 45.

^r Hebr. xiii. 10. Compare Rev. vi. 9. Zornius, Opusc. Sacr. tom. ii. p. 542.

^s Mihi perspicuum videtur esse, *aram* hic poni pro *victima* in ara Deo oblata. Sensus verborum hic est, ut puto: Jesu Christi qui vera est pro peccatis hominum victima, nemo fieri particeps potest, qui in ceremoniis et externis ritibus Judaicis, religionis arcem censet esse positam. *Moshem*.

ad Cudworth, p. 3.

^t Theodoret, Eucumenius, Theophylact, Primasius, Sedulius, Haymo, Remigius, Anselm. Plerique tam veteres quam recentiores significari volunt quam recentiores significari volunt *estiam* Dominicam. *Estius in loc.*

^u Chrysostom. in Hebr. Hom. xi. p. 807. Cyrill. Alex. de Adorat. lib. ix. 310. Compare Lightfoot, Opp. tom. ii. part. 2. p. 1259—1264. Outram. de Sacrif. p. 332, &c. Wolfius, Cur. Crit. in loc.

of good note also, have understood the *altar* there mentioned of the altar in heaven, or of the altar of the *cross* (both which resolve at length into one,) and some have defended that construction with great appearance of reason. Estius, in particular, after Aquinas and others, has very ingenuously and rationally maintained it, referring also to John vi. 51. as parallel or similar to it, and understanding both of *spiritual* eating, abstracted from *sacramental*^x. In this construction I acquiesce, as most natural and most agreeable to the whole context: neither am I sensible of any just objection that can be made to it. The Apostle did not mean, that they who served the tabernacle *had no right to believe in Christ*; that indeed would be harsh: but he meant that they who served the tabernacle, *not believing* in Christ, or however still *adhering* too tenaciously to the *legal* oblations, had no right or title to *partake* of the *sacrifice* or *atonement* made by Christ. The thought is somewhat similar to what the same Apostle has elsewhere signified; namely, that they who affected to be *justified* by the *law*, forfeited all benefit arising from the *grace* of the Gospel, and *Christ* could *profit* them nothing^y.

But for the clearer perception of *spiritual* feeding, and for the preventing *confusion* of ideas, it will be proper to distinguish between what it is *primarily*, and what *secondarily*; or between the *thing* itself, and the *effects, fruits, or consequences* of it. 1. *Spiritual* feeding, in this case, directly and primarily means no more than the eating and drinking our Lord's body *broken*, and blood *shed*; that is, partaking of the *atonement* made by his *death* and *sufferings*: this is the prime thing, the ground and basis of all the rest. We must first be *reconciled* to God by the *death* of his *Son*, before we can have a just claim or title to any thing besides^z: therefore the foundation of all our spiritual privileges is, our *having a part* in that *reconcilement*; which, in strictness, is *eating* and *drinking* his flesh and blood in St. John's phrase, and *eating* of the *altar* in St. Paul's. 2. The result, fruit, or effect of our thus eating his *crucified* body, is a right to be fellow-heirs with his body *glorified*: for if we are made partakers of his *death*, we shall be also of his *resurrection*^a. On

^x Huc etiam pertinet, quod corpus Christi, in cruce oblatum, panis vocatur, fide manducandus. Ut Joann. vi. Panis, inquit, quem ego dabo, caro mea est, quam ego dabo pro mundi vita: scilicet, in cruce. Estius in loc. Compare Bp. Moreton on the Sacra-

ment, b. vi. chap. 3. p. 416.

^y Gal. v. 2, 3, 4.

^z Coloss. i. 20, 21, 22. Ephes. ii. 13, 16.

^a Rom. v. 9, 10, 11. Phil. iii. 10, 11. Rom. vi. 5—8.

this is founded our *mystical union* with Christ's *glorified* body, which neither supposes nor infers any *local* presence: for all the *members* of Christ, however *distant* in place, are thus mystically *united* with Christ, and with each other. And it is well known, that *right* or *property*, in any possession, is altogether independent of *local* presence, and may as easily be conceived without it as with it^b. 3. Upon such *mystical union* with the *body* of Christ *glorified*, and making still part of his whole *Person*, follows a gracious vital *presence* of his *Divine* nature abiding in us, and *dwelling* with us^c. Upon the same follows the like gracious vital *presence*, and *indwelling* of the other two *Divine* Persons^d: and hereupon follow all the *spiritual graces*, wherewith the true members of Christ are enriched.

This orderly ranging of ideas may contribute very much towards the clearing our present subject of the many perplexities with which it has been embarrassed; and may further serve to shew us, where the ancients or moderns have happened to exceed, either in sentiment or expression, and how far they have done so, and how they were led into it. The *ancients*, in their account of *spiritual feeding*, have often passed over the direct and immediate feeding upon Christ considered as *crucified*, and have *gone* on to what is properly the result or consequence of it, namely, to the *mystical union* with the *body glorified*, and what hangs thereupon. There was no fault in so doing, more than what lies in too quick a *transition*, or too confused a blending of ideas.

I am aware that much dispute has been raised by contending parties about the sense of the *ancients* with respect to John vi. It may be a tedious inquiry to go through: for there is no doing it to the satisfaction of considering men, without taking every Father, one by one, and reexamining his sentiments, as they lie scattered in several places of his writings, and that with some

^b Pro tanta conjunctione asserenda inter nos et Christum, non opus *præsentia corporali* aut *substantiali* corporis Christi, quam statuere multi conantur in Eucharistia. Nam ea nil plus vel commodi vel utilitatis habebimus quam si Christum quoad *corpus* suo loco sinamus in cælis. Videmus enim *Christianos* posse esse *invicem membra*, et quidem *conjunctissima*, tametsi aliquis eorum degat in Britannia, alius in Gallia, et alius in Hispania. Quod si de *membris* ipsis conceditur, cur de *capite* idem fateri erit absurdum, ut hac *spirituali* con-

junctione simul possit in *cælis* esse, ac *spiritualiter* nobiscum *conjungi*? Quod idem in *matrimonio* usu venire intelligimus, ubi sancta Scriptura prædicat, virum et uxorem *unam carnem* esse: quod non minus verum fateri coguntur adversarii cum una conjuges habitant, quam si *locorum intervallo* nonnunquam disjungantur. *Pet. Martyr. in 1 Cor. xii. 12, 13. fol. 178. Conf. Albertin. de Eucharist. p. 230, 231.*

^c John vi. 56. John xv. 4. Matt. xxviii. 20. xviii. 20.

^d John xiv. 16, 17, 23. 1 Cor. iii. 16. vi. 19. 2 Cor. vi. 16.

care and accuracy. It may be of some use to go over that matter again, after many others, if the reader can but bear with a little *prolixity*, which will be here unavoidable. There have been two *extremes* in the accounts given of the *Fathers*, and both of them owing, as I conceive, to a neglect of proper *distinctions*. They who judge that the *Fathers* in general, or almost universally, do interpret John vi. of the *Eucharist*, appear not to distinguish between *interpreting* and *applying*: it was right to *apply* the *general* doctrine of John vi. to the particular case of the *Eucharist*, considered as *worthily* received; because the *spiritual feeding* there mentioned is the *thing signified* in the *Eucharist*, yea and *performed* likewise. After we have sufficiently proved, from other Scriptures, that in and by the *Eucharist*, ordinarily, such *spiritual food* is conveyed, it is then right to *apply* all that our Lord, by St. John, says in the *general*, to that *particular case*: and this indeed the *Fathers* commonly did. But such *application* does not amount to *interpreting* that chapter of the *Eucharist*. For example; the words, "except ye eat the flesh of Christ, &c. you have no life in you," do not mean directly, that *you have no life without the Eucharist*, but that you have no life without *participating of our Lord's passion*: nevertheless, since the *Eucharist* is one way of *participating of the passion*, and a very considerable one, it was very pertinent and proper to urge the doctrine of that chapter, both for the clearer understanding the *beneficial* nature of the *Eucharist*, and for the exciting Christians to a frequent and devout reception of it. Such was the use which some early *Fathers* made of John vi. (as our Church also does at this day, and that very justly,) though I will not say that some of the later *Fathers* did not extend it further: as we shall see in due place.

As to those who, in another extreme, charge the *Fathers* in general as interpreting John the sixth of *digesting doctrines* only, they are more widely mistaken than the former, for want of considering the *tropological* way of commenting then in use: which was not properly *interpreting*, nor so intended^e, but was the more frequently made use of in this subject, when there was a *mixed* audience; because it was a rule not to divulge their *mysteries* before incompetent hearers, before the *uninitiated*, that is, the *unbaptized*. But let us now take the *Fathers* in their order, and

^e See my Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity asserted, vol. iii. p. 640, 692, &c. and preface to Scripture Vindicated, p. 160 of this vol.

consider their real sentiments, so far as we can see into them, with respect to John vi.

Ignatius never formally cites John vi., but he has been thought to favour the *sacramental* interpretation, because he believed the Eucharist to be a pledge or *means of an happy resurrection* : for it is suggested that he could learn that doctrine only from John the sixth^f. But this appears to be pushing a point too far, and reasoning inconsequently. Ignatius might very easily have maintained his point, from the very words of the *institution*, to as many as knew any thing of *symbolical* language : for what can any one infer less from the being symbolically *fed* with Christ's *body crucified*, but that it gives a title to an inheritance with the *body glorified*? Or, if the same Ignatius interpreted 1 Cor. x. 16. (as he seems to have done) of a *mystical* union with the *blood of Christ*, then he had *Scripture ground* sufficient, without John vi., for making the Eucharist a *pledge* or *means* of an happy resurrection. John the sixth may be of excellent use to us for explaining the *beneficial* nature of the Eucharist, *spiritual manducation* being presupposed as the *thing signified* in that Sacrament : but it will not be prudent to lessen the real *force* of other considerable texts, only for the sake of resting all upon John vi. which at length cannot be proved to belong directly or primarily to the *Eucharist*.

It seems that Ignatius had John vi. in his eye, or some phrases of it, in a very noted passage, where he had no thought of the *Eucharist*, but of eating the *bread of life*, after a more excellent way, in a state of glory. The passage is this : “ I am
“ alive at this writing, but my desire is to die. My love is cru-
“ cified, and I have no secular *fire* left : but there is in me living
“ *water*, speaking to me within, and saying, *Come to the Father*.
“ I delight not in corruptible food, nor in the entertainments of
“ this world. The *bread of God* is what I covet ; *heavenly bread*,
“ *bread of life*, namely, the *flesh* of Christ Jesus the Son of God,
“ who in these last times became the Son of David and of Abra-
“ ham : and I am athirst for the *drink of God*, namely, his
“ *blood*, which is a feast of love that faileth not, and life ever-
“ lasting. I have no desire to live any longer among men ;
“ neither shall I, if you will but consent^h.”

^f See Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 387, 388.

^g Ἐν ποτηρίῳ, εἰς ἔνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ. Ignat. ad Philad. sect. iv. p. 27. Compare Chrysostom on 1 Cor.

x. 16. who interprets *communion* there mentioned by ἔνωσις. αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ ἄρτου τούτου ἐνώμεθα.

^h Ζῶν γὰρ γράφω ὑμῖν, ἐρῶν τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν· ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται· καὶ

Here we may take notice of *heavenly bread, bread of God, bread of life*, our Lord's own phrases in John vi. And Ignatius understands them of spiritual food, of feeding upon the *flesh* of Christ, the *Son of God* incarnate. *Drink of God*, he interprets in like manner, of the *blood* of Christ; which is the noblest *feast*, and *life eternal*. Learned men have disputed, whether he intended what he said of *sacramental* food, or of *celestial*; whether of enjoying Christ in the *Eucharist*, or in *heaven*. To me it appears a clear point, that he thought not of *communicating*, but of *dying*: and the *Eucharist* was not the thing which he so earnestly begged to have, (for who would refuse it!) but *martyrdom*, which the Christians might endeavour to protract, out of an over-officious care for a life so precious. However, if the reader is desirous of seeing what has been pleaded on the side of the *Eucharist*, he may consult the authors referred to at the bottomⁱ, and may compare what others have pleaded on the contrary side^k. I see no impropriety in Ignatius's feeding on the *flesh* and *blood* of Christ in a state of glory^l, since the figure is easily understood, and is made use of by others^m besides Ignatius. Our enjoyment in a world to come is entirely founded in the *merits* of Christ's *passion*: and our Lord's *intercession* for us (as I have above hinted) stands on the same bottom. Our spiritual food, both above and below, is the enjoyment of the same Christ, the *Lamb slain*. The *future feast* upon the *fruits* of his atonement is but the continuation and completion of the *present*. Only here it is under *symbols*, there it will be without them: here it is remote and imperfect, there it will be proximate and perfect.

It has been strongly averred, that Irenæus understood John vi. of the *Eucharist*; though he never directly quotes it, nor ever plainly refers to it: but it is argued, that *by the Eucharistical*

οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλοῦλον· ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν, καὶ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔσωθέν μοι λέγον· δεῦρο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· οὐχ ἡδομαι τροφῇ φθοράς, οὐδὲ ἡδομαι τοῦ βίου τούτου· ἄρτον Θεοῦ θέλω, ἄρτον οὐράνιον, ἄρτον ζωῆς, ὅς ἐστιν σὰρξ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ υἱοῦ, τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ γενομένου ἐν ὑστέρω ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ καὶ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ πόμα Θεοῦ θέλω τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, ὃ ἐστιν ἀγάπη ἀφθαρτος, καὶ αἰένος ζωῆς. Οὐκ ἔτι θέλω κατὰ ἀνθρώπου σῆν· τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς θελήσητε. *Ignat. ad Roman. cap. 7, 8.*

ⁱ Smith. Not. in Ignat. p. 101, 102. Grabe, Spicileg. tom. ii. p. 229. John-

son's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 387. alias 392.

^k Casaubon. Exercit. xvi. num. 39. Albertinus, de Eucharist. lib. ii. c. i. p. 286. Halloixius, Vit. Ignat. p. 410. Ittigius, Hist. Eccles. sæc. ii. p. 169, 170.

^l A learned writer objects that the "eating of Christ's flesh in another world, is a way of expression somewhat unaccountable." *Johnson's Unbloody Sacr.* part i. p. 389. alias 394.

^m Athanasius de Incarn. et contr. Arrian. p. 883. Damascen. tom. i. p. 172. Augustin. tom. v. p. 384.

symbols (according to Irenæus) *we have the principle of a blessed immortality conveyed to our bodies, for which there is no appearance of proof in Scripture*, but in John vi. : therefore here is as clear proof of his so interpreting that chapter, as if he had *cited it at length*ⁿ. How inconclusive this kind of reasoning is, and how injurious besides to our main cause, is visible enough, and has been intimated before, in answer to the like pretence concerning Ignatius. It appears the worse with respect to Irenæus, because he manifestly did found his doctrine on 1 Cor. x. 16, and expressly quoted it for that very purpose^o. He judged, as every sensible man must, that if the *Eucharist*, according to St. Paul, amounts to a *communion*, or *communication* of our Lord's *body* and *blood* to every faithful receiver, that then such receiver, for the time being, is therein considered as *symbolically* fed with the *crucified* body, and of consequence entitled to be fellow-heir with the body *glorified*^p. He draws the same conclusion^q, though more obscurely, from the words of the institution, "This is my "body," &c. And the conclusion is certain, and irresistible when the words are rightly understood. Therefore let it not be thought that we have *no appearance of proof*, where we have strong proof; neither let us endeavour to loosen an important doctrine from its firm pillars, whereon it may stand secure, only to rest it upon weak supports, which can bear no weight.

Had Irenæus been aware that John vi. was to be interpreted directly of the *Eucharist*, strange that he should not quote that rather than the other, or however along with the other, when he had so fair an occasion for it. Stranger still, that when he so frequently and so fully speaks his mind concerning the *Eucharist*, and with the greatest reverence imaginable, that he should never think of John the sixth all the time; that he should never make any use at all of it for advancing the honour of the *Sacrament*, had he supposed that it strictly belonged to it, and was to be interpreted of it. The silence of a man so knowing in the Scriptures, and so devoutly disposed towards this holy Sacrament, is

ⁿ Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, p. 387, alias 392.

^o Vani autem omnimodo, qui — carnis salutem negant, et regenerationem ejus spernunt, dicentes, *non eam capacem esse incorruptibilitatis*. Si autem non salvetur hæc, nec Dominus sanguine suo redemit nos, neque *calix Eucharistie communicatio sanguinis*

ejus est, neque panis quem frangimus, communicatio corporis ejus est. Iren. lib. v. cap. 2. p. 293. ed. Bened.

^p See the argument explained in a Charge, upon the Doctrinal Use of the Sacrament, vol. v. p. 110, &c.

^q Irenæus, lib. iv. cap. 18. p. 251. lib. v. cap. 2. p. 294.

a strong presumptive argument (were there nothing else) of his understanding John vi. very differently from what some have imagined.

There is one place in Irenæus, which seems to carry some remote and obscure allusion to John vi. The *Logos*, the *Divine nature* of our Lord, according to him, is the *perfect bread of the Father*, and *bread of immortality*; and he talks of *eating* and *drinking* the same *Logos*, or *Word*^r. If he had John vi. then in his eye, (which is not improbable,) he interpreted it, we see, not of *sacramental* manducation, but of *spiritual*; not of the *signs*, but of the things *signified*, apart from the *signs*. Only it is observable, that while he speaks of our feeding upon the *Logos*, he explains it as done through the medium of the *flesh*: it is the *human nature*, by which we are brought to feast upon the *Divine*. St. Chrysostom gives the like construction of *bread of life*, in John the sixth, interpreting it, so far, of our Lord's *Divine nature*^s. But I proceed.

Our next ancient writer is Clemens of Alexandria, who flourished about A. D. 192. In the first book of his *Pædagogoe*, chapter the sixth, he quotes several verses^t of our Lord's discourse in St. John, commenting upon them after a dark, allegorical way; so that it is not easy to learn how he understood the main doctrine of that chapter. I shall take notice of some of the clearest passages. After speaking of the *Church* under the figure or similitude of an *infant*, brought forth by Christ with *bodily pain*, and *swaddled* in his *blood*, he proceeds thus: "The *Word* is all things to the infant, a *father*, a *mother*, a *preceptor*, a *foster*: *Eat*, says he, *my flesh*, and *drink my blood*. "These are the proper aliments which our Lord administers: "he reaches out *flesh*, and he pours out *blood*; and nothing is "wanting for the growth of the infants. O wonderful mystery! "he bids us lay aside the old carnal corruption, together with "the *antiquated* food, and to partake of the *new food* of Christ, "receiving *him*, if possible, so as to lay him up within our- "selves and to inclose *our Saviour* in our *breasts*^u." There is

^r 'Ο ἄρτος ὁ τέλειος τοῦ πατρὸς— ὡς ὑπὸ μασθοῦ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ τραφίτες—ἐθισθίντες τρώγειν καὶ πίνειν τὸν Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν τῆς ἀθανασίας ἄρτον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ πατρὸς. *Iren.* lib. iv. cap. 38. p. 284.

^s Καὶ πρῶτον περὶ τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ διαλέγεται, λέγων, ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς. οὐδὲ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ σώματος

τοῦτο εἶρηται. περὶ γὰρ ἐκείνου πρὸς τῷ τέλει λέγει· καὶ ὁ ἄρτος δὲ ἐν ἐγὼ δώσω, ἢ σὰρξ μου ἐστίν. Ἄλλα τῶς περὶ τῆς θεότητος. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνη διὰ τὸν Θεὸν λόγον ἄρτος ἐστίν. *Chrysost.* in *Joh.* Hom. xlv. p. 264. tom. viii. ed. Bened.

^t John vi. 32, 33, 51, 53, 54, 55.

^u 'Ο λόγος τὰ πάντα τῷ ἡπίφ. κ.

another passage, near akin to this, a few pages higher, which runs thus :

“ Our Lord, in the Gospel according to St. John, has otherwise introduced it under *symbols*, saying, *Eat my flesh, and drink my blood*; allegorically signifying the clear liquor of *faith*, and of the *promise*, by both which the *Church*, like man, compacted of many members, is watered and nourished, and is made up or compounded of both; of *faith* as the *body*, and of *hope* as the *soul*, like as our Lord of *flesh* and *blood*.” These hints appear to be very obscure ones, capable of being turned or wrested several ways. Some therefore have appealed to these and the like passages, to prove that Clemens understood John vi. of *doctrines*, or *spiritual actions*. Others have endeavoured so to explain them, as to make them suit rather with the *Eucharist*. Perhaps both may guess wide. In the first passage, Clemens says nothing of receiving either *doctrines* or *Eucharist*, but of receiving *Christ himself*: in the second, he does indeed speak of receiving *faith* and the *promise*; but then he owns it to be an *allegorical* or *anagogical* view of the text; from whence one may infer that he intended it not for the *primary* sense, or for strict interpretation. The doctrine which Clemens most *clearly* expresses, and uniformly abides by, is, that *Christ himself* is our food and nutriment^a: and, particularly, by *shedding* his blood for us^b.

At the end of Clemens, among the *excerpta Theodoti*, there is a pretty remarkable passage; which, though it belongs to a Valentinian author, may be worth the taking notice of^c. Commenting on John vi. he interprets the *living bread*, of the person of Christ: but as to our Lord’s saying, ver. 49, “ The bread which I will give is my flesh,” he proposes a twofold construction. 1. He understands it of the *bread* in the *Eucharist*. 2. Correct-

τ. λ. *Clem. Pædag.* lib. i. cap. 6. p. 123. ed. Oxon.

^a Ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ κατ’ Ἰωάννην εὐ-αγγελίῳ. κ. τ. λ. *Clem. ibid.* p. 121.

^b Dr. Whitby, Dr. Claget, Basnage *Annal.* tom. i. p. 320.

^c Johnson’s *Unbloody Sacrifice*, part i. p. 255, &c.

^a Ὁ κύριος, ἡ τροφή τῶν νηπίων. *Clem. ibid.* p. 124. ἡ τροφή, τουτέστι κύριος Ἰησοῦς. *Ibid.* ἡμῖν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστὸς ἡ τροφή τοῖς νηπίοις. p. 125. ἄρτον αὐτὸν οὐρανῶν ὀμολογεῖ ὁ λόγος. *Ibid.* πολλαχῶς ἀλληγορεῖται ὁ λόγος, καὶ βρώμα, καὶ σὰρξ, καὶ τροφή, καὶ

ἄρτος, καὶ αἷμα, καὶ γάλα. p. 126.

^b Τροφεὺς ἡμῶν λόγος, τὸ αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐξέχεεν αἷμα, σώζων τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα. *Clem. ibid.* p. 124. Τὸ αὐτὸ ἄρα καὶ αἷμα, καὶ γάλα τοῦ κυρίου πάθους καὶ διδασκαλίας σύμβολον. p. 127.

^c Ὁ ζῶν ἄρτος, ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς δοθεὶς, ὁ νιὸς ἐστὶν, τοῖς ἐσθίειν βουλομένοις. ὁ δὲ ἄρτος ἐν ἐγῶ δώσω, φησὶν, ἡ σὰρξ μου ἐστίν. ἤτοι φ’ τρέφεται ἡ σὰρξ διὰ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, ἢ ὅπερ καὶ μᾶλλον, ἡ σὰρξ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἄρτος οὐράνιος, συναγωγὴ εὐλογημένη. *Excerpti. Theod. apud Clem.* p. 971.

ing his first thought, he interprets *bread* to mean the *Church*; having, as I conceive, 1 Cor. x. 17, in his eye; "we being many "are one bread, and one body." Of what weight or authority a Valentinian gloss ought to be in this case, I pretend not to say: but this is the first *clear* precedent we shall meet with in *antiquity*, for interpreting any part of John the sixth directly of the *Eucharist*. And it is observable, that it was offered only in the *conjectural* way, and another interpretation presently subjoined as *preferable* to it.

Tertullian quotes two verses out of John vi. And he interprets the *bread* there mentioned, not of the *sacramental* bread, but of *Christ himself*; not of the *signs*, but of the things *signified*. Presently after, he quotes part of the words of the institution, "This is my body," referring to the Eucharist: and there he does not say that our Lord's body is *that bread*, (as he had said before, that Christ, or the *Logos*, is our bread,) but that the Lord's body is *understood*, or *considered*, in bread: as much as to say, the Eucharistical bread is *by construction* that natural body of Christ which is the true bread. And for this he refers not to John vi. but to the words of the *institution*. Tertullian here joined together the *spiritual food* mentioned in John vi. in the *abstract* way, and the same as conveyed in the *Eucharist*; but he did not interpret John vi. of the Eucharist^d.

It has been suggested by some^e, that Tertullian understood John vi. merely of *faith*, or *doctrines*, or *spiritual* actions: and it is strenuously denied by others^f. The passage upon which the dispute turns is part of his reply to Marcion; who took a handle from the words, "the flesh profiteth nothing," to argue against the resurrection of the body.

"Though he says, *the flesh profiteth nothing*, yet the sense is to "be governed by the subject-matter. For because they thought "it an *hard* and intolerable *saying*, as if he had intended *really* "to give them his *flesh* to eat; therefore in order to resolve the "affair of salvation into *the spirit*, he premised that *it is the spirit* "that quickeneth, and then subjoined, that *the flesh profiteth no-* "thing; namely, towards quickening. He shews also what he

^d *Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie*, spiritualiter potius intelligamus: Christus enim *panis* noster est, quia *vita* Christus, et *vita* panis: *Ego sum*, inquit, *panis vite*. *Joh. vi. 35.* Et paulo supra, v. 33. *Panis est sermo Dei vivi, qui descendit de cælis.* Tum quod et corpus ejus in pane cen-

setur: *Hoc est corpus meum.* Tertull. *de Orat.* cap. vi. p. 131.

^e Dr. Claget, Dr. Whitby, &c. Compare Basnag. *Annal.* tom. i. p. 320.

^f Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 358, &c.

“ would have them understand by *spirit*: the words that I speak
 “ unto you, they are spirit and they are life, conformable to what
 “ he had said before; he that heareth my words, and believeth in
 “ him that sent me, hath everlasting life, &c.—Therefore as he
 “ makes the word the quickener, because the word is spirit and
 “ life, he calls the same his *flesh*, inasmuch as the word was made
 “ *flesh*; which consequently is to be hungered after for the sake
 “ of life, and to be *decoured* by the ear, and to be *chewed* by the
 “ understanding, and *digested* by faith: for a little before also he
 “ had pronounced the heavenly bread to be his flesh, &c.^f”

All that one can justly gather from this confused passage is, that Tertullian interpreted the *bread of life* in John vi. of the *Word*; which he sometimes makes to be *vocal*, and sometimes *substantial*, blending the ideas in a very perplexed manner: so that he is no *clear authority* for construing John vi. of *doctrines* &c. All that is certain is, that he supposes the *Word made flesh*, the *Word incarnate*, to be the *heavenly bread* spoken of in that chapter.

There is another place in Tertullian, where by *flesh* and *bread* in John vi. he very plainly understands, not the *sacramental*, but *natural* body of Christ, not *doctrine*, but literally *flesh*; as indeed our Lord evidently meant it. For as to verses 53, 54, &c. the figure is not in the word *flesh*, but in the words *eating* and *drinking*, as learned men have very justly observed^h.

^f Etsi carnem ait nihil prodesse, ex materia dicti dirigendus est sensus. Nam quia durum et intolerabilem existimaverunt sermonem ejus, quasi vere carnem suam illis edendam determinasset; ut in *spiritum* disposeret statum salutis, præmisit, *spiritus est qui vivificat*: atque ita subjunxit *caro nihil prodest*: ad vivificandum scilicet. Exequitur etiam quid velit intelligi *spiritum*: *Verba que locutus sum vobis, spiritus sunt, vita sunt*. Sicut et supra, *Qui audit sermones meos, et credit in eum qui me misit, habet vitam æternam, et in judicium non veniet, sed transiet de morte in vitam*. Itaque sermonem constituens vivificatorem, quia *spiritus et vita sermo*, eundem etiam *carnem* suam dixit, quia et *sermo caro erat factus*: proinde in causam vitæ *appetendus*, et *deorandus* auditu, et *ruminandus* intellectu, et fide *digerendus*; nam et paulo ante, carnem suam panem quoque cœlestem pronuntiarat, &c. *Tertull. de Resurr. Carn. cap.*

xxvii. p. 347.

^g *Panis quem ego dedit pro salute mundi, caro mea est*. Quod si *una caro*, et *una anima*, illa tristis usque ad mortem, et illa *panis* pro mundi salute; salvus est numerus duarum substantiarum, in suo genere distantium, excludens carneæ animæ unicam speciem. *De Carn. Christi, cap. xiii. p. 319.*

^h Figura autem non est in *carne*, vera enim Christi caro ad vitam est manducanda: superest igitur ut sit in *manducandi* vocabulo, quod a *corporis* organis, ad facultates animæ figurate transferatur. *Albertinus, p. 525. Caro et sanguis nihil aliud designant quam quod verba præ se ferunt, ac proinde nec ænigma, nec parabola sunt*—At id nullo modo evincit vocabulum *manducandi* non esse *metaphoricum*, aut manducationem illam de *manducatione spirituali* non esse intelligendum. *Ibid. 526.*

But then this is to be so understood, that the *eating* and *drinking* the natural body and blood amount to *receiving the fruits* of the blood shed, and body slain; otherwise there is a *figure* in the words *body* and *blood*, as put for the *fruits* of them, if *eating* amounts simply to *receiving*. But I pass on.

Much dispute has beenⁱ about Origen's construction or constructions (for he has more than one) of John vi. The passages produced in the debate are so many, and the pleadings here and there so diffuse, that it would be tedious to attend every particular. I shall endeavour to select a few critical places, from whence one may competently judge of his sentiments upon the whole thing.

Origen's general observation relating to that chapter is, that it must not be *literally*, but *figuratively* understood^k. He commonly understands the *living bread* of the Divine *Logos*, as the true nutriment of the soul^l, the *Logos*, but considered as incarnate^m. At other times, he allegorizes the *flesh* of Christ in a very harsh manner, making it a name for high mysterious *doctrines*ⁿ. All that he should have said, and probably all that he really meant, was, that the mind is prepared and fitted for enjoying the *fruits* of Christ's *body* and *blood*, the benefits of his *passion*, by those Divine truths, those heavenly contemplations. He should have distinguished the *qualifications* for receiving, from the *thing* to be received. *Believing* in Christ is not *enjoying* him, but it is in order to it: and the *doctrine* of the atonement is not the *atonement* itself, whereon we are to *feed*. But I return to our author.

In another place he observes, that the *blood* of Christ may be drank, not only in the use of the *Sacraments*, but by *receiving his words*; and he interprets the *drinking his blood* to mean, the

ⁱ See Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 360—373.

^k Si secundum *literam* sequaris hoc ipsum quod dictum est, *nisi manducaveritis carnem meam, et biberitis sanguinem meum*, occidit hæc *litera*. Origen. in *Levit. Hom.* vii. p. 225. ed. Bened.

^l *Ego sum panis vivus, &c.* Qui hæc dicebat *verbum* erat, quo animæ pascuntur. — Intuearis quomodo justus semper et sine intermissione *manducet de pane vivo*, et repleat *animam suam*, ac satiet eam *cibo celesti*, qui est *verbum Dei* et sapientia ejus. Origen. in *Levit. Hom.* xvi. p. 266. ed. Bened.

^m Αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀληθὴς βρῶσις, σὰρξ Χριστοῦ, ἥτις λόγος οὐσα, γέγονε σὰρξ· κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον· καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο. Origen. *περὶ εὐχ.* p. 244.

ⁿ Ubi enim *mysticus sermo*, ubi *dogmaticus* et *Trinitatis fide* repletus profertur et solidus, ubi *futuri seculi*, amoto velamine *literæ*, legis spiritualis sacramenta panduntur, ubi *spes animæ*, &c. — Hæc omnia *carnes* sunt *verbi Dei*, quibus qui potest perfectio intellectu *vesci*, et corde purificato, ille vere festivitatis paschæ immolat sacrificium, et diem festum agit cum Deo et angelis ejus. Origen. *Homil. in Num.* xxiii. p. 359, 360.

embracing his *doctrines*^o. Here again he mistakes the *means* for the *end*, the *qualification* for the *enjoyment*, the *duty* for the *blessing*, or *reward*, just as he did before. However, he is right in judging, that the *Sacraments* are not the *only means*, or instruments, in and by which God *confers* his *graces*, or *applies* the *atonement*, though they are the most considerable.

It should be noted that Origen, in the passage last cited, was commenting upon Numb. xxiii. 24. "Drink the blood of the slain:" and he had a mind to *allegorize* it, as his way was, into something *evangelical*. So he thought first of the *blood of Christ*; and could he have rested there, he need not have looked beyond the benefits of the grand sacrifice: but it happened that *slain* was in the *plural*, and so to make his *allegory* hit, he was necessitated to take in *more than one*; therefore he pitched upon the *Apostles* to join with Christ, as *slain* for Christ. The next thing was to interpret *blood* in such a sense as might equally fit both Christ and his Apostles, and so he interpreted it to mean *doctrines*: and now the "blood of the slain" turns out, at length, *doctrines of the slain*, and the allegory becomes complete^p. I thought it proper thus briefly to hint how Origen fell into that odd construction, because he may be looked upon, in a manner, as the father of it: whatever weight the admired Origen may justly have as to other cases, he can have but little in this, where he manifestly trifled.

I shall cite but one passage more from him; a very remarkable one, and worth the noting. After having spoken of the outward *sign* of the Eucharist, he goes on thus: "So much for the *typical* and *symbolical* body. But I might also have many things to say of the *Logos* himself, who became *flesh* and *true food*, and of which whosoever eats, he shall live for ever, no wicked man being capable of eating it. For were it possible for an ill man, as such, to feed upon him who was made flesh, the *Logos*, and the *living bread*, it would not have been written that *whosoever eateth of this bread shall live for ever*^q." Here

^o *Bibere autem dicimur sanguinem Christi, non solum sacramentorum ritu, sed et cum sermones ejus recipimus, in quibus vita consistit, sicut et ipse dicit: Verba quæ locutus sum, spiritus et vita est. Est ergo ipse vulneratus, cujus nos sanguinem bibimus, id est, doctrinæ ejus verba suscipimus. Origen. in Num. Hom. xvi. p. 334. Conf. Hom. vii. in Levit. p. 225.*

^p Sed et illi nihilominus vulnerati

sunt, qui nobis verbum ejus prædicarunt. Ipsorum enim, id est, *Apostolorum* ejus *verba* cum legimus, et vitam ex eis consequimur, *vulneratorum sanguinem bibimus. Orig. ibid.*

^q Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ τυπικοῦ καὶ συμβολικοῦ σώματος· πολλὰ δ' ἂν καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγοιτο τοῦ λόγου, ὃς γέγονε σὰρξ, καὶ ἀληθινὴ βρώσις, ἣν τινα ὁ φαγὼν πάντως ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, οὐδενὸς δυναμένου φαῦλου ἑσθίειν αὐτήν.

we may observe, that Origen interprets the *true food*, and *living bread*, not of *doctrines*, nor of the *sacramental bread*, (the *typical, symbolical body*,) but of *Christ himself*, of the *Word made flesh*: and as to the *eating* that true food, he understands it of a *vital union* with the *Logos*, a spiritual participation of Christ. This is a just construction of John vi. and falls in with that which I have recommended in this chapter. A learned writer, who had taken uncommon pains to shew that the *Fathers* interpreted John vi. of the *Eucharist*, was aware that this passage of Origen was far from favouring his hypothesis, and therefore frankly declared that he "could not pretend to understand it^r;" observing however, that it could not at all favour another opinion, espoused by Dr. Whitby and others; meaning the *doctrinal interpretation*. The truth is, that it favours neither, but directly overthrows both: and had that very ingenious and learned author been aware of any *middle* opinion, which would stand clear of the difficulties of both *extremes*, it is more than probable that he would have closed in with it.

Cyprian, who was but a few years later than Origen, comes next to be considered. The most observable passage, so far as concerns our present purpose, occurs in his Exposition of the Lord's Prayer: I have thrown it to the bottom of the page^s, for the learned reader to judge of, and may here save myself the trouble of translating it. But I shall offer a few remarks upon it. 1. Cyprian, in this passage, does not interpret *bread of life* of the Eucharistical bread, but of *Christ himself*^t, thrice over. 2. He seems to give the name of *Lord's body* in the Eu-

εἰ γὰρ οἶόν τε ἦν ἔτι φαῦλον μὲν ὄντα ἐσθίειν τὸν γενόμενον σάρκα, λόγον ὄντα, καὶ ἄρτον ζῶντα, οὐκ ὡν ἐγγράπτω, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ φαγὼν τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. *Orig. in Matt.* p. 254. ed. Huet.

^r Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 373.

^s *Panis vitæ Christus est: et panis hic omnium non est, sed noster est* — *Christus eorum qui corpus ejus contingunt, panis est.* Hunc autem panem dari nobis quotidie postulamus, ne qui in Christo sumus, et Eucharistiam quotidie ad cibum salutis accipimus, intercedente aliquo graviore delicto, dum abstenti et non communicantes a *caelesti pane* prohibemur, a Christi corpore separemur, ipso prædicante et monente: *Ego sum panis vitæ, qui de caelo descendi: si quis*

ederit de meo pane, vivet in æternum. Panis autem quem ego dederò, caro mea est pro sæculi vita. Quando ergo dicit in æternum vivere si quis ederit de *ejus pane*, ut manifestum est eos vivere qui *corpus ejus* attingunt et Eucharistiam *jure communicationis* accipiunt, ita contra tenendum est et orandum, ne dum quis abstentus separatur a *Christi corpore*, procul remaneat a salute, comminante ipso et dicente: *nisi ederitis carnem filii hominis et biberitis sanguinem ejus, non habebitis vitam in vobis.* Et ideo panem nostrum, id est, *Christum*, dari nobis quotidie petimus, ut qui in Christo manemus et vivimus, a sanctificatione ejus et corpore non recedamus. *Cypr. de Orat. Domin.* p. 209, 210. ed. Bened. alias 146, 147.

^t Compare Albertinus, p. 377, 378.

charist to the *sacramental bread*, as representative and exhibitiv of the natural body. 3. But then a communicant must receive *worthily*, must receive *jure communicationis*, under a *just right* to communion, otherwise it is nothing. 4. Therefore it concerns every one to preserve to himself that right by suitable behaviour, and not to incur any just forfeiture by misbehaviour. 5. For, if he incurs just censure, and is justly debarred from communion, he is shut out from Christ. Such is the form and process of Cyprian's reasoning: and it must be owned that John vi. is very pertinently alleged by him, in order to convince every serious Christian of the necessity of his continuing in a state *fit* for the *reception* of the *holy Communion*, and not such as shall disqualify him for it. For since our Lord there lays so great a stress upon *eating his flesh* and *drinking his blood*; and since communicating *worthily* is *one way* of doing it; and since, if we are rendered morally unfit for that, we must of course be morally unfit for *all other ways*, and so totally debarred from *feeding upon Christ* at all, for life and happiness: these things considered, it is very obvious to perceive, that John vi., though not particularly pointing to the *Eucharist*, is yet reductively applicable to it, in the way of argumentation, and is of very great force for the exciting Christians to a reverential regard for it, and to a solicitous care that they may never, by any fault of theirs, be debarred from it. In short, though John vi. doth not directly speak of the *Eucharist*, yet Christians, in the due use of that sacrament, do that which is there mentioned, do really *eat his flesh* and drink his *blood*, in the *spiritual sense* there intended; therefore Cyprian had good reason to quote part of that chapter, and to *apply* the same as *pertinent* to the *Eucharist*, in the way of just inference from it, upon known Christian principles.

Cyprian elsewhere quotes John vi. 53. ["except ye eat the "flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life "in you,"] in order to enforce the necessity of *Baptism*^u. Either he thought that the *spiritual feeding*, mentioned in St. John, was common both to *Baptism* and the *Eucharist*, and might be indifferently obtained in either sacrament: or else the turn of his thought was this, that as there is *no life* without the *Eucharist*, and as *Baptism* must *go before* the *Eucharist*, *Baptism*

^u Ad regnum Dei nisi baptizatus et renatus fuerit pervenire non posse. In Evangelio cata Johannem. Nisi quis renatus fuerit, &c. Item illic: Nisi ederitis carnem filii hominis et biberitis sanguinem ejus, non habebitis vitam in vobis. Cyprian. Testimon. lib. iii. c. 25. p. 314.

must of course be necessary in order to come at the kingdom of God. If this last was Cyprian's thought, then indeed he interpreted John vi. directly of the Eucharist: but I incline to understand him according to the other view first mentioned; and the rather because we shall find the same confirmed by the African Fulgentius, in his turn.

Novatian of the same age appears to understand John vi. of *spiritual* manducation at large, feeding upon a *right faith* (which of course must take in faith in the merits of Christ's passion) and *conscience undefiled*, and an *innocency of soul*. He refers to John vi. 27, and immediately after adds, that *righteousness* and *continence*, and the other *virtues* are the *worship* which God requires: he had before intimated, that they were the *true*, the *holy*, and the *clean* food^x. But, I presume, all this was to be so understood as not to exclude the salutary virtue of *Christ's atonement*: only the subject he was then upon led him not to speak plainly of it. In another work, he understands *Christ himself* to be the *bread of life*, and makes it an argument of his *Divinity*, referring to John vi. 51. So that if we take the author's *whole* sense on this head, *Christ*, or the *fruits* of his *death*, together with our own *faith* and *virtues*, are our *bread of life*, our spiritual food, as taught in John vi.

We may now come down to the fourth century, where we shall meet with Eusebius, a writer of considerable note. His common way is, to interpret the *bread of life*, or *heavenly bread*, of Christ himself, of the heavenly *Logos* become incarnate^z. He understands John vi. of *spiritual* eating, and intimates that Judas received the *bread from heaven*, the *nutriment* of the *soul*: not meaning what he said of Judas's receiving the *sacramental* bread in the *Eucharist*; but, I conceive, his meaning was, that Judas had been blessed with *heavenly instructions* and *Divine graces*, though he made an ill use of them. He had *tasted* of the *heavenly*

^x Cibus, inquam, *verus*, et *sanctus*, et *mundus* est *fides recta*, *immaculata conscientia*, et *innocens anima*. Quisquis sic pascitur, Christo convescitur: talis epulatur conviva est Dei; istæ sunt epulæ quæ *angelos* pascunt; istæ sunt mensæ quæ *martyres* faciunt. — Hinc illa Christi — *operamini autem non escam quæ perit, sed escam permanentem in vitam æternam, quam filius hominis vobis dabit; hunc enim Pater signavit Deus*. Justitia, inquam,

et continentia, et reliquis Deus virtutibus colitur. *Novat. de Cib. Judaic.* c. v. p. 140. edit. Welchm.

^y Si homo tantummodo Christus, quomodo refert, *Ego sum panis vitæ æternæ*, &c. — cum neque *panis vitæ* homo esse possit, ipse mortalitatis, &c. *Novat. de Trin.* c. xiv. p. 46. conf. c. xvi. p. 54.

^z Eusebius in Psalm. p. 81, 267, 471. In Isa. p. 586.

gift, of the blessed influences of the *Divine Logos*, but fell away notwithstanding^a.

Eusebius, in another place, interprets flesh and blood in John vi. of our Lord's *mystical body and blood*, as opposed to *natural*^b. And when he comes afterwards to explain this *mystical* body and blood, he interprets the same of *words and doctrines*^c, grounding his exposition on John vi. 63. "The words that I speak," &c. A learned author^d endeavours to make Eusebius contradict himself in the same chapter: but he is *consistent* so far, which will evidently appear to any one that reads him with attention. However, I think his interpretation of John vi. to be forced and wide. It was very odd to make *doctrines* the *mystical body and blood*, and to say, that the *doctrines*, or *words* then spoken, were what our Lord intended afterwards to "give for the life of the "world:" such construction appears altogether harsh and unnatural. Besides, since Eusebius interpreted *bread of life* of our Lord's *Divine* nature, he ought certainly to have understood that *bread* which our Lord was to *give*, to be the *human nature*, the *natural* body and blood. But my business here is not so much to *dispute*, as to *report*: and it is plain enough, that Eusebius followed Origen in this matter, and that both of them favoured the same *mystical* or *allegorical* construction; whether constantly and uniformly, I need not say.

Athanasius was contemporary with Eusebius, as a young man with one grown into years. He occasionally gives us his thoughts upon John vi. 61, 62, 63. in these words: "Here he has made "mention of both, as meeting in himself, both *flesh* and *spirit*; "and he has distinguished the *spirit* from the *flesh*, that they "believing not only the *visible* part of him, but the *invisible* also, "might learn that his discourse was not *carnal*, but *spiritual*. "For, how many men must the body have sufficed for food, if it "were to have fed all the world? But for that very reason he "intimated beforehand the Son of man's ascension into heaven, "to draw them off from corporeal imaginations, and to teach

^a Συνέστιος δὲ ἂν τῷ διδασκάλῳ, οὐ τὸν κοινὸν ἄρτον αὐτῷ μόνον συνέσθιεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς θρεπτικῷ μεταλαμβάνειν ἠξιοῦτο· περὶ οὗ ἔλεγεν ὁ σωτὴρ· ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβὰς, καὶ ζωὴν διδοὺς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Euseb. in Psalm. p. 171.

^b Οὐ περὶ ἧς ἀνείληφε σαρκὸς διελέγετο, περὶ δὲ τοῦ μυστικοῦ σώματός τε

καὶ αἵματος. Euseb. Eccles. Theol. contr. Marcell. p. 179.

^c Ὅστε αὐτὰ εἶναι τὰ ῥήματα καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ, τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸ αἷμα, ὧν ὁ μετέχων αἰεὶ, ὡσανεὶ ἄρτον οὐρανίῳ τρεφόμενος, τῆς οὐρανίου μετέξει ζωῆς. Euseb. ibid. p. 180.

^d Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 373, 374.

“ them that the flesh which he had been speaking of, was to be “ *heavenly meat* from above, and *spiritual food*, which he would “ give them: For, says he, the words which I have spoken, they “ are *spirit* and *life*. As much as to say, That which outwardly “ *appears*, and is to be given for the salvation of the world, is “ this *flesh* which I bear about me: but this, with the *blood* “ thereof, shall be by me *spiritually* given for food, *spiritually* “ dispensed to every one, for a preservative unto all, to secure “ to them a resurrection to life eternal^e.” Thus far he. The observations which I have hereupon to offer are as follow: 1. Our author very justly construes the *flesh* which Christ was to give, of his *natural* body; and supposes no *figure* in the word *flesh*. 2. He as rightly supposes some *figure* to lie in the words, *given for meat*, which he would have to be *spiritually* understood. 3. The *spiritual*, or hidden meaning, according to our author, is, that the *flesh* is joined with *spirit*, the *humanity* with the *Divinity*, and therefore in the giving his *flesh* to eat, he at the same time imparts his *Divinity* with the happy influences of it. 4. The *flesh*, or human nature, being all that was seen, we ought to raise our minds up to the *Divinity* united to it, and veiled under it; and so may we *spiritually* feast upon it, and be sealed to a happy resurrection by it.

Such is Athanasius's comment upon John vi. worthy of himself, and (like most other things of his) neat, clear, and judicious. Here is not one word of the *Eucharist*: neither do I see any certain grounds to persuade us, that he had it in his mind; though I am sensible that the generality of the learned do conceive that he had^f. The thought appears juster and finer^g, without that supposition, than with it, so that there is no necessity at all for it. He could hardly understand *flesh* of Christ's *natural* flesh, and still imagine it to be given in the *Eucharist*, unless he had added, *virtually*, constructionally, or in *effect*, which

^e Athanas. Epist. iv. ad Serapion, p. 710. ed. Bened.

^f The reader may compare, if he pleases, Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, (part i. p. 167, 374.) which interprets Athanasius of the *Eucharist*. However, it is very certain, that this passage is no way favourable to those who would construe John vi. of *precepts* or *doctrines*.

^g He seems to express the same thought, where, without any view to the *Eucharist*, he says: *As our Lord*

by putting on a body was made man, so are we men made divine by the Logos, being assumed through his flesh, and so of consequence heirs to eternal life. Ὡς γὰρ ὁ κύριος ἐνδυσάμενος τὸ σῶμα, γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος οὕτως ἡμεῖς καὶ ἄνθρωποι παρὰ τοῦ λόγου τε θεοποιούμεθα, προσληφθέντες διὰ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ λοιπὸν ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομοῦμεν. Athanas. Orat. iii. p. 584. Conf. Sermo Major. in Nov. Collect. p. 6, 7. de Incarnat. contra Arian. p. 874, 876.

he does not: his construction of *spiritual* is, that our Lord's Divine *spirit* goes along with that *natural* flesh, to make it salutary food to us. Besides, to interpret our Lord's giving his flesh "for the life of the world," of his giving it symbolically in the *Eucharist* (rather than *really* on the *cross*) is too low and too jejune a sense to be fathered upon a person of his great discernment. Add to this, that he speaks expressly of *spiritual* man-education, not of *oral*, or *corporal*, and therefore cannot be understood to interpret John vi. of *sacramental* eating and drinking^h. My persuasion therefore is, that the passage relates not at all to the *Eucharist*, but to our Lord's becoming *man*, in order to bring us up to *God*; or, in short, to his taking our *humanity*, and making an *atonement* for us, in order to *feast* us with his *Divinity*, and so to *raise* us up to himself. In another place, Athanasius distinguishes the *bread* which *is Christ*, from the *bread* which *Christ gives*, (referring to John vi.) and he resolves the latter into the *flesh* of our Lord, but as operating in virtue of the *Holy Spirit*. He observes, that we receive that *heavenly bread* here, as the *firstfruits* of what we are to receive hereafter, inasmuch as we receive the *flesh of Christ*, which is a *quickenning spirit*ⁱ. He had before supposed that Christ had insinuated the union of the *Logos* with his *humanity*, and now here he supposes, that a *conjunction* of the *Spirit* is insinuated likewise; since the *Logos* and the *Spirit* are inseparable. But nothing is here said directly of the *Eucharist*; so that it cannot be hence certainly inferred that Athanasius interpreted John vi. of the *Eucharist*, or that he so much as *applied* it that way: his thoughts, in both these passages, seem to have been intent upon quite another thing. A learned man, to make this last passage look the more favourable to his *scheme*, renders part of it thus: "We have the first-fruits of the future repast in this present life, in the communion of the body of our Lord^k:" where the whole force of the plea lies in the phrase *communion of the Lord's body*, and the idea which it is apt to convey to an English reader. Let but the

^h Vid. Chamier, de Eucharist. lib. xi. c. 5. p. 613.

ⁱ "Οτι πάλιν ὁ Κύριος λέγει περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ζῶν, ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς. ἀλλαχοῦ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καλεῖ ἄρτον οὐράνιον, λέγων τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὲς ἡμῖν σήμερον· ἐδίδαξε γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι αἰτεῖν τὸν ἐπιούσιον ἄρτον, τουτέστι τὸν μέλλοντα, οὐ ἀπαρ-

χὴν ἔχομεν ἐν τῇ νῦν ζωῇ, τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ κυρίου μεταλαμβάνοντες, καθὼς αὐτὸς εἶπε· ὁ ἄρτος δὲ ὃν ἐγὼ δώσω, ἡ σὰρξ μου ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς. πνεῦμα γὰρ ζωοποιῶν ἡ σὰρξ ἐστὶ τοῦ Κυρίου. Athan. de Incarn. p. 883.

^k Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 375.

place be rendered literally, *partaking of the flesh of the Lord*¹, and the idea vanishes. It is certain, that *flesh* there means *natural* flesh, not *sacramental*, or *symbolical*; because it is the *firstfruits* of the *future repast*, (which will be *real*, not *sacramental*,) and means, according to our author, partaking of the *Holy Spirit*. Therefore one would wonder how any attentive reader should conceive, that Athanasius here speaks *directly* and *positively*, or at all, of *oral* manducation. That he speaks of *spiritual* manducation is self-evident: and he might mean it of spiritual manducation *at large*; for he says nothing of the *Eucharist* in particular, to confine it to that *single* form, or instance of it.

Cyril of Jerusalem, in his Catechetical Lectures to the *uninitiated*, interprets John vi. 64. of *good doctrine*^m. But in what he says to the *initiated*, he *applies* John vi. 54. to the *Eucharist*ⁿ. To reconcile both places, or both constructions, we may fairly presume, that he supposed our Saviour, in verse the 64th, to intimate, that what he had said was, in the general, true and sublime doctrine, but withal *spiritual*; and in verse the 54th, to intimate, that his *flesh* and *blood* were to be *spiritually* fed upon by the *faithful*. Thus both parts are consistent: for this doctrine of *spiritual* manducation was spiritual doctrine. And Cyril here *applies* that very doctrine to the case of the *Eucharist*, because he had ground sufficient, from other Scriptures, to conclude, that such *spiritual* manducation was a privilege of that sacrament, though not of that only. So he did not directly *interpret* John the sixth of the *Eucharist*, but he so *applied* it, and that very properly.

Hilary, of that time, undertaking to prove that we are *one with Christ* by a *closer* union than bare *will* and *consent* amount to, draws an argument from the sacrament of the *Eucharist* (as he does likewise in the same place from the sacrament of *Baptism*) to prove a *real* and *permanent*, but spiritual union between Christ and his *true* members. The thread of his argument is this: In and by the eucharistical food, we spiritually receive the *Word*

¹ It is a thought which Athanasius dwells much upon, that Christ took our flesh upon him, to make himself *one* with us; and that we are *partakers* of him, by being partakers of the *same flesh*. *Orat.* iii. p. 571, 572, 573, 582, 583, 588. *Sermo Major.* p. 7. de *Incar.* contr. Arian. p. 875.

^m Περὶ δὲ τῆς καλῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος λέγει· τὰ ῥήματα δ' ἐγὼ

λελάληκα ὑμῖν πνεῦμά ἐστι, καὶ ζωὴ ἐστίν· ἀντὶ τοῦ πνευματικά ἐστι.— Τὰ ῥήματα δ' ἐγὼ λελάληκα ὑμῖν, πνεῦμά ἐστίν· ἵνα μὴ λαλιᾶν χειλέων τοῦτο εἶναι νομίσησ, ἀλλὰ τὴν καλὴν διδασκαλίαν. *Cyrrill. Hierosol. Catech.* xvi. sect. 13, 14, p. 250, 251.

ⁿ *Cyrrill. Hierosol. Catech.* xxii. *Mystagog.* iv. c. 4. p. 520, 521.

incarnate, and are *mystically* united with the *natural* flesh and blood of Christ, our bodies with his body: and we are thereby truly and substantially (therefore not in consent only) united with Christ°. To confirm the *reality* of such union, he appeals to John vi. 55, 56. "My flesh is meat indeed—he that eateth " my flesh—dwelleth in me, and I in him." It is observable, that he distinguishes the *eucharistical food* from the *food* mentioned in John vi., for *in* or *by* the *former*, we receive the *latter*, according to him. Therefore he does not interpret John vi. of the *Eucharist*; but, taking it for an acknowledged principle, that by the *due* use of *one*, we come at the *other*, he pertinently *accommodates* or *applies* the doctrine of John vi. to the Eucharist. In a word, Hilary does not teach that the Eucharist is that *flesh* and *blood* of Christ mentioned in John vi. but that the *flesh* and *blood* there mentioned is received in or by the Eucharist, is *spiritually* or *mystically* received; *sub mysterio*, as he expresses it^p.

Basil says, "It is good and profitable to communicate daily " of the sacred body and blood of Christ, since he himself plainly " says; *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal " life*." He argues justly, because the consideration drawn from John vi. is and ought to be of great force: not that John vi. speaks of the *outward Sacrament*, but of *spiritual* manducation at large, and of *inward grace*; which, as we learn from other Scriptures, does ordinarily (where there is no impediment) go along with the Sacrament. Basil therefore does not *interpret* John vi. of the *Sacrament*, but he *applies* the general doctrine there taught to one particular instance whereunto it ordinarily belongs: elsewhere he interprets it of *spiritual* (not *oral*) manducation of the flesh of Christ.

° Si enim vere verbum caro factum est, et vere nos verbum carnem cibo Dominico sumimus; quomodo non naturaliter manere in nobis existimandum est &c.—vere, sub *mysterio*, carnem corporis sui sumimus. *Hilar. de Trin.* lib. viii. sect. 13. p. 954. *Conf. Chrysost.* in Johan. Hom. xlvi. p. 272, 273. *Bened. Cyrill. Alex. de Trin.* Dial. i. p. 407. and compare my Charge, vol. v. p. 1113.

^p Ipse enim ait, *caro mea vere est esca* &c.—Ipsius Domini professione, et fide nostra, vere caro est, et vere sanguis est: et hæc accepta atque hausta id efficiunt, ut et nos in Chris-

to, et Christus in nobis sit. *Ibid.* sect. 14. p. 956. If any one wants to see the whole argument cleared and vindicated, against such as hold the *corporal presence*, he may consult Albertine, p. 411, &c. or Bishop Moreton, p. 358—374. or Chamier, p. 648, &c.

^q Τὸ κοινωνεῖν δὲ καθ' ἐκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ μεταλαμβάνειν τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καλὸν καὶ ἐπωφελές· αὐτοῦ σαφῶς λέγοντος. ὁ τρώγων μὲν τὴν σάρκα, καὶ πίνων μὲν τὸ αἶμα, ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον. *Basil. Epist.* 289.

^r Basil. in Psalm. xxxiii. 8.

Gregory Nyssen is sometimes cited^s, as one that interprets John vi. of the *Eucharist*; but upon slender presumptions, without any proof. Macarius also is made another voucher^t, and with little or no colour for it. Ambrose is a third^u: and yet neither does he speak home to the point, as every careful reader may soon see. I pass them over for the sake of brevity.

Jerome interprets the *heavenly bread*, of *Christ himself*, and calls it *angels' food*; intimating thereby that it is eaten in *heaven*, but plainly teaching that it was eaten by the *Patriarchs* of old, and is now eaten, not only in the *Eucharist*, but in the sacrament also of *Baptism*^x. From all which it is evident, that he interpreted John vi. of *spiritual feeding* at large. It is a mistake to imagine^y, that he meant *sacramental bread* and *wine*, where he speaks of the *wheat* of which the *heavenly bread* is made, and of the *wine* which is *Christ's blood*^z. All he intended was, that the *wheat* and the *wine*, mentioned in the prophecy of *Isaiah*, mystically pointed to the *real flesh* and *blood* of *Christ*; who is himself that *wheat* which makes the *heavenly bread*, according to his own allusion, where he resembles himself to *wheat* falling, and bearing much fruit^a.

Chrysostom interprets John vi. 51. of *Christ's natural* body, not of the *sacramental*^b. Elsewhere, distinguishing between the bread which *is Christ*, and the bread which *Christ gives*, he in-

^s Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, p. 385. It is argued, that Greg. Nyssen must have understood John vi. of the Eucharist, because he made it a *pledge of the resurrection*; which is no argument at all, as was observed under Ignatius and Irenæus.

^t Johnson, p. 385. Vid. Macar. Orat. iv. p. 22.

N. B. Macarius may as reasonably be thought to interpret John iv. 14. of the Eucharist, as John vi. in that place. It is absurd to imagine that he so interpreted either; unless he supposed Moses (whom he there mentions) to have received the *Eucharist*.

^u Johnson, *ibid.* Ambrose there plainly distinguishes the *sacramental* bread from the bread mentioned in John vi.

^x Panis qui de cælo descendit corpus est Domini, et vinum quod discipulis dedit, sanguis illius est Novi Testamenti &c.—Nec Moyses dedit nobis panem verum, sed Dominus Jesus: ipse conviva et convivium, ipse comedens et quod comeditur.—

Hunc panem et Jacob Patriarcha comedere cupiebat, dicens, *Si fuerit Dominus mecum, et dederit mihi panem ad vescendum* &c.—Quotquot enim in Christo baptizamur, Christum induimus, et panem comedimus angelorum, et audimus Dominum precantem, *meus cibus est, ut faciam* &c. Hieronym. *Hedibæ*. tom. iv. p. 171, 172. ed. Bened.

^y See Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 376.

^z Triticum quoque de quo panis cælestis efficitur, illud est de quo loquitur Dominus, *caro mea vere est cibus: rursumque de vino, et sanguis meus vere est potus*. Hieron. in *Isa.* c. lxii. p. 462.

^a John xii. 24. Compare Jerome in Ose. c. vii. p. 1285.

^b Ὑπὲρ τούτων τὸ ἴδιον ἐξίχεεν αἷμα, ὑπὲρ τούτων τὴν σφαγὴν κατεδέξατο, ὁ γὰρ ἄρτος, φησὶν, ἡ σὰρξ μου ἐστίν, ἢ ἐγὼ δώσω ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς. Chrysost. de *Anathemate*, tom. i. p. 692. ed. Bened. Conf. Hom. xlv. in Johann. p. 271.

terprets the former of our Lord's *Divine nature*^c: of the latter he offers a twofold construction, so as to comprehend both our Lord's own natural *body*, and any salutary *doctrines*, inasmuch as *both* of them strengthen the soul^d. He takes notice that our Lord there speaks of *spiritual food*^e, and that by the Eucharistical food we partake of the spiritual, and become really *one* with Christ^f. The thought is the same with what we have seen in Hilary before cited: and it proves very evidently, that Chrysostom did not understand the food spoken of in John vi. of the *sacramental food*, since he makes them as distinct as *means* and *end*, or as the *instrumental* cause and *principal*, while he supposes that by the due use of *one* we come at the *other*. I shall not now give myself the trouble of particularly examining every plea that has been offered, or every passage that has been alleged, to make Chrysostom appear favourable to another hypothesis. If the reader does but bear in mind the proper *distinction* between *interpreting* of the Eucharist, and *applying* a text or texts to the Eucharist, he will need no further solution. I shall only observe further, that no one of the later *Fathers* has better expressed the true and full meaning of our Lord in John the sixth, than Cyril of Alexandria has done, where he teaches, that "no soul can ever attain to freedom from sin, or escape the tyranny of Satan, or arrive to the city above, *but by participating of Christ, and of his philanthropy*^h;" presently after quoting John vi. 53. (together with John viii. 34.) in proof of what he had said.

Hitherto we have seen nothing in the *Fathers* that can be justly thought *clear* and *determinate* in favour of *oral* manducation, as directly and primarily intended in John vi. Many, or most of them have *applied* that general doctrine of *spiritual feeding* to the particular case of the Eucharist, because we are *spiritually* fed therein: but they have not *interpreted* that chapter directly of the *Eucharist*, because it has not one word of the outward *signs* or *symbols* of the spiritual food, but abstracts from all, and rests in the *general* doctrine of the use and ne-

^c Chrysostom in Johan. Hom. xlv. p. 264. cited above, p. 574. Conf. Hom. xlv. p. 270.

^d Ἄρτον δὲ ἦτοι τὰ δόγματα λέγει ἐνταῦθα τὰ σωτήρια, καὶ τὴν πίστιν τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν, ἢ τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ. ἀμφότερα γὰρ νευροὶ τῆν ψυχὴν. Chrysost. in Joh. Hom. 45. p. 270.

^e Μένονται τροφῆς πνευματικῆς. Ib. p. 271.

^f Μὴ μόνον κατὰ τὴν ἀγάπην γενώ-

μεθα ἀλλὰ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα, εἰς ἐκείνην ἀνακρασθῶμεν τὴν σάρκα διὰ τῆς τροφῆς γὰρ τοῦτο γίνεται, ἥς ἐχαρίσατο. Ibid. p. 272.

^g See Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 384.

^h Εἰ μὴ διὰ τῆς Χριστοῦ μετοχῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας &c. Cyrill. Alexandr. Glaph. in Exod. ii. de Host. Agni, p. 267.

cessity of *spiritual nutriment*, the blood of Christ, in some shape or other, to everlasting salvation. Thus stood the case, both in the Greek and Latin churches, for the first four centuries, or somewhat more. But about the beginning of the *fifth* century arose some confusion. The frequent *applying* of John vi. to the Eucharist came at length to make many, among the Latins especially, *interpret* it directly of the *Eucharist*: and now some thought John vi. 53. as decisive a text for the necessity of the Eucharist, as John iii. 5. was for the necessity of *Baptism*. Hereupon ensued a common practice of giving the Communion to mere *infants*. Pope Innocent I is believed to have been the first or principal man that brought up such doctrine of the *necessity* of communicating infants^l: he was made Bishop of Rome A. D. 402. It appears very probable, that from the time of his Synodical Epistle, A. D. 417, the doctrine generally ran, in the Latin churches at least, that “unless you receive the “Eucharist, you have no life in you.” St. Austin is supposed to have construed the text in that way, especially from the time of Pope Innocent^k. But in some places of his works he interprets that chapter, or some parts of it, with clearer and better judgment. Particularly in his *Doctrina Christiana*, lib. iii. cap. 16. quoted above^l: and also in another work of his, where he plainly distinguishes the *Sacrament of Christ's body* from the *spiritual food* mentioned in John vi.^m There are two noted passages of his, where he seems to interpret the *living bread* of eating *doctrine*, of *believing* onlyⁿ: but he only *seems* to do so, when he really does not. For he intends no more than this, that *faith* is the *mean* whereby we receive that *living bread*; it

^l See Wall's *Hist. of Infant Baptism*, part ii. ch. 9. p. 441, &c. 3rd edit. *Defence*, p. 36, 384. Bingham, b. xv. c. 4. sect. 7. Compare Mr. Pierce's *Essay on Infant Communion*, who carries it much higher than others, upon suggestions which bear a plausible appearance, and are worth examining by some person of learning and leisure. But in the mean while, I acquiesce in Dr. Wall's account, as one that was well considered, and which, in my opinion, cannot be far from the truth.

^k See Wall, *ibid.* p. 441, 442, 443. Vossius, *Histor. Pelag.* lib. ii. part. 3. p. 167. But Thorndike disputes it, [*Epilog.* p. 176, &c. *De Jur. Finiend.* p. 285.] with some show of reason.

^l See above, p. 537.

^m Panis quotidianus aut pro iis omnibus dictus est quæ hujus vitæ necessitatem sustentant, aut pro Sacramento corporis Christi quod quotidie accipimus, aut pro spirituali cibo de quo idem Dominus dicit, *Ego sum panis*, &c. *Augustin. de Sermon. Domini in Monte*, lib. ii. c. 7. *Conf. de Civit. Dei*, lib. xxi. c. 25.

ⁿ Ut quid paras dentes, et ventrem? *Crede, et manducasti*. Credere enim in eum, hoc est manducare panem vivum. *Augustin. in Johan. tract.* 25, 26. *Augustinus hunc cibum tripliciter interpretatur: videlicet de propria Domini carne,—interdum etiam de Sacramento carnis hujus; nonnunquam de societate fidelium. Albertin.* p. 691, 699.

is the *qualification* requisite for the reception of it^o. A man must have had *faith* to be *healed*, as we often read in the Gospels; and *healing* certainly followed upon the *faith* of the person: and it might be right to say, *Believe*, and thou art *healed*: but yet *faith* and the *cure* following were not the same thing, but very distinct, both in nature and notion^p.

It may be proper to go on to Fulgentius of the next age, A. D. 507, a great admirer and follower of St. Austin, to see how this matter stood among the Africans in his time. He had a question put to him, upon a scruple raised from John vi. 53. concerning the case of such as having been *baptized*, happened to be prevented by death from receiving the *holy Communion*: and he determined that they were *safe*, because *Baptism* exhibits the *body* and *blood* of Christ to faithful recipients, as well as the *Eucharist*^q. He strengthens his determination of the case by the authority of St. Austin, in a long citation from him: and at length concludes, that receiving *Baptism* is receiving the *body* and *blood* of Christ, because it is receiving the *thing signified* in the other sacrament^r. He certainly judged very right: and it is an instance to shew how plain good sense *overruled*, though it did not abolish, a wrong interpretation of John vi., and removed, in some measure, the uneasy scruples arising naturally from the then prevailing construction. The proper inference from Fulgentius's wise and wary resolution of the case is, that John vi. ought not to be rigorously understood of any *particular* way of *spiritual feeding*, but simply of *spiritual feeding*, be it in what way soever: be it by *Baptism*, or by the *Eucharist*, or by any other *sacraments*, (as under the old law,) or by any kind of

^o Non perspexit—ab Augustino ipso, his verbis, fidem ut *causam*, manducationem vero ipsam spiritua-lem ut *effectum* inter se conferri et collocari. Alioqui, si *credere*, et *manducare* una et eadem res esset ex Augustini mente, quid hac oratione fuerit ineptius? *Crede et manducasti*, id est, *manduca et manducasti*. *Lamb. Danaei Apolog. pro Helvet. Eccl.* p. 1477. Opusc. ed. Genév. Conf. Calvin. Institut. lib. iv. c. 17. p. 280.

^p Compare Johnson, Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 377.

^q In ipso lavacro sanctæ regenerationis hoc fieri providebit. Quid enim agitur sacramento sancti Baptismatis, nisi ut credentes *membra* Domini nostri Jesu Christi fiant, et ad compagem corporis ejus ecclesiastica unitate per-

tineant?—Tunc incipit unusquisque *particeps esse* illius unius *panis*, quando cæperit memorem esse, illius unius corporis, &c.

^r Unumquemque fidelium *corporis sanguinisque* Domini *participem* fieri, quando in Baptismate membrum esse illius corporis Christi efficitur nec alienari ab illo *panis calicisque consortio*, etiamsi antequam panem illum comedit, et calicem bibat, de hoc sæculo in unitate corporis Christi constitutus abscedat. *Sacramenti* quippe *illius* participatione et beneficio non privatur, quando ipse hoc quod illud sacramentum *significat* invenitur. *Fulgent. ibid.* p. 227, 228. Conf. Cyrill. Alexandr. Glaphyr. in Exod. lib. ii. p. 270. in Johann. ix. 6. p. 602.

means which *divine* wisdom shall choose, or has in Scripture signified.

From this summary view of the *ancients* it may be observed, that they *varied* sometimes in their constructions of John vi. or of some parts of it: but what prevailed most, and was the *general* sentiment wherein they united, was, that Christ himself is properly and primarily our *bread of life*, considered as the *Word made flesh*, as *God incarnate*, and *dying* for us; and that whatever else might, in a *secondary* sense, be called *heavenly bread*, (whether *sacraments*, or *doctrines*, or any *holy service*.) it was considered but as an *antepast* to the other, or as the *same thing* in the main, under a different form of expression.

I shall here throw in a few words concerning the sentiments of *moderns*, before I close this chapter. Albertinus* will furnish the reader with a competent list of Schoolmen, and others of the Roman communion, who have rejected the *sacramental* interpretation of John vi. A more summary account of the same may be seen in Archbishop Wake†, in the collection of pamphlets written against Popery in a late reign. I know not whether the authorities of that kind may be looked upon as so many *concessions* from that quarter, (though the Romanists, generally, contend earnestly for the *sacramental* construction,) because there may be reasons why the more considering Romanists should think it *prudent* to give another construction, inasmuch as John vi., if interpreted directly of the Eucharist, would furnish a strong argument for *infant communion*, which they have long laid aside; and it would be diametrically opposite to a noted principle of theirs, of denying the *cup* to the *laity*. I cannot say how far these two considerations may have inclined the shrewder men amongst them to reject what I call the *sacramental* construction of John vi.

But the *Reformers*, in general, for very weighty reasons, have rejected the same: the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* abroad, and our *own* most early and most considerable *Divines*, have concurred in discarding it. It would be tedious to enter into a particular recital of authorities; and so I shall content myself with pointing out two or three of the most eminent, who may justly be allowed to speak for the rest. Archbishop Cranmer stands at the head of them: he had considered that matter as closely

* Albertinus de Eucharistia, lib. i. c. 30. p. 209.

† Discourse of the Eucharist, printed in 1687, p. 20. He numbers up thirty

in all, thus: two popes, four cardinals, two archbishops, five bishops, the rest doctors and professors.

perhaps as any man before or after him, and determined in the main as judiciously. He writes thus:

“ Whoe ever said or taught before this tyme, that the *Sacrament* was the cause why Christ said, *Yf wee eate not the fleshe of the Sonne of man, wee have not lyfe in us?* The *spiritual* eating of his flesh, and drincking of his blood by faith, by digesting his *death* in our myndes, as our only *pryce, raunsom,* and *redemption* from eternal dampnation, is the cause wherfore Christe sayd, that *if wee eate not his fleshe, and drincke not his blood, we have not lyfe in us: and if wee eate his fleshe and drincke his blood, wee have everlasting lyfe.* And if Christ had never ordeyned the *Sacrament*, yet should wee have eaten his fleshe and dronken his blood, and have had therby everlasting lyfe, as al the faithful dyd before the *Sacrament* was ordeyned, and doe daily, when thei receave not the *Sacrament*.—That in the vi. of John Christ spake nether of *corporall* nor *sacramental* eating of his fleshe, the *tyme* manifestly sheweth. For Christ spake of the same *present* tyme that was *then*, saying: *The bread which I will give is my fleshe, &c.* At whyche tyme the *sacramental* bread was not yet Christes fleshe: for the *Sacrament* was not yet ordeyned; and yet at that tyme, all that beleved in Christ did *eat his flesh* and *drincke his blood*, or elles thei coule not have dwelled in Christ, nor Christ in them^u.

“ This symilytude caused oure Saviour to say, *My fleshe is very meate, and my blood is very drynke.* For there is no kynde of meate that is comfortable to the soule, but only *the death of Christes blessed body*; nor no kynde of drynke that can quenche her thirst, but only the *bloude sheddyng* of our Saviour Christ which was shed for her offences^x.

“ I mervail here not a litle of Mr. Smith’s either dulnes or maliciousnes, that cannot or will not see, that Christ in this chapter of St. John spake not of *sacramental* bread, but of *heavenly bread*; nor of his *flesh* only, but also of his *blood*, and of his *Godhead*, calling them *heavenly bread* that giveth everlasting life. So that he spake of himselfe wholly, saing, *I am the bread of life, &c.* And nether spake he of *common* bread, nor yet of *sacramental* bread, for nether of them was given upon the crosse *for the lyfe of the world*. And there can be nothing more *manifest*, than that in this sixth chapter of

^u Archbishop Cranmer on the Sacrament, p. 22.

^x Cranmer, p. 41. Conf. Calvin. in Job. vi. 54.

“ St. John, Christ spake not of the *Sacrament* of his flesh, but of his *very flesh*. And that as wel for that the *Sacrament* was *not then instituted*, as also because Christ said not in the *future* tense, the bread which I will give *shall be* my flesh, but in the *present* tense, the bread which I will give *is my flesh*: which *sacramental* bread was neither *then* his flesh, nor was *then* instituted for a sacrament, nor was after *given for the life of the world*.—When he said, *the bread which I wil give is my flesh*, &c. he meant nether of the *materiall* bread, nether of the *accidents* of bread, but of his *own flesh*: which although of itself it *availeth nothinge*, yet being in *unity of Person* joyned unto his *Divinity*, it is the same heavenly bread that he gave to *death upon the crosse for the life of the world*.”

Thus far that excellent person has shewn, by convincing reasons drawn from the chapter itself, that John vi. ought not to be *interpreted* of the Eucharist. Nevertheless, he very well knew, and did not forget to observe, that it may properly be *applied* or accommodated to the Eucharist, and is of great weight and force for that very purpose.

“ As the bread is outwardlie eaten indeede in the Lordes Supper, so is the very body of Christ inwardly by faith eaten indeede of all them that come thereto in such sorte as thei ought to doe; which eating nourysheth them unto everlasting lyfe. And this eating hath a *warrant signed by Christ himselfe in the vi. of John*, where Christ saith, He that eateth my flesh, and drincketh my bloud, hath lyfe everlasting^z. You be the first that ever *excluded* the wordes of Christe *from his Supper*. And St. Augustine mente, as well *at the Supper*, as at all other tymes, that the eating of Christes flesh is not to be under-
“ *stande carnally with our teeth, &c.*”^a”

The sum then of Archbishop Cranmer’s doctrine on this head is; 1. That John vi. is not to be interpreted of *oral* manducation in the Sacrament, nor of spiritual manducation as *confined* to the Eucharist, but of spiritual manducation *at large*, in that or any other sacrament, or out of the Sacraments. 2. That *spiritual* manducation, in that chapter, means the feeding upon Christ’s *death* and *passion*, as the *price* of our redemption and salvation. 3. That in so feeding we have a spiritual or mystical *union* with his *human nature*, and by that with his *Godhead*, to which his

^y Cranmer, p. 450. Compare Bishop Jewel, Defence of Apology, p. 306, &c. Answer to Harding, p. 78, 239,

240. Fryth, Answer to More, p. 21, 27.

^z Cranmer, p. 11. ^a Ibid. p. 35.

humanity is joined in an *unity of Person*. 4. That such *spiritual* manducation is a privilege belonging to the Eucharist, and therefore John vi. is not *foreign* to the Eucharist, but has such relation to it as the inward thing *signified* bears to the *outward signs*.

To Archbishop Cranmer I may subjoin Peter Martyr, who about ten years after engaged in the same cause, in a large Latin treatise printed A.D. 1562. No man has more clearly shewn, in few words, how far John vi. belongs not to the Eucharist, and how far it does. He considers the general principles there taught as being *preparatory* to the *institution* of the Eucharist, which was to come after. Our Lord in that chapter gave intimation of *spiritual food*, with the use and necessity of it: afterwards, in the institution, he added *external symbols*, for the notifying one particular act or instance of *spiritual* manducation, to make it the more solemn and the more affecting. Therefore John vi. though not directly spoken of the Eucharist, yet is by no means *foreign*, but rather looks forward towards it, bears a tacit *allusion* to it, and serves to reflect light upon it: for which reason the ancient *Fathers* are to be commended for connecting the account of *inward grace* with the *outward symbols*, the *thing signified* with the *signs* afterwards added, and so *applying* the discourse of that chapter to the case of the Eucharist^b.

From what has been observed of these two eminent *Reformers*, we may judge how John vi. was understood at that time: not of *doctrines*, nor of *sacramental* feeding, but of *spiritual* feeding at large, feeding upon the *death* and *passion* of Christ our Lord. This, I think, has been the prevailing construction of our own *Divines* all along: and though it has been much obscured of late

^b De sexto capite Johannis, an ad Eucharistiam pertineat, nos ita respondemus. Sermonem ibi de *Sacramento cœnæ* non institui; ibi enim cœna cum *symbolis* non ordinatur. Nam nec *panis*, nec *calicis*, nec *gratiarum actionis*, nec *fractionis*, nec *distributionis*, nec *testamenti*, nec *memoriæ*, nec *annuntiationis* mortis Christi mentio ulla eo loco instituitur. Huc spectabant illi, qui dixerunt illud caput *ad Eucharistiam non pertinere*, &c.

Quoniam *res ipsa* (id est, corporis et sanguinis Christi *spiritualis* manducatio et potus) ibi luculenter traditur, ad quam postea Evangelistæ, ad finem historię suæ, declarant Chris-

tum adjunxisse *symbola externa* panis et vini, idcirco nos caput illud a Sacramento Eucharistiæ *non putamus esse alienum*.—Imo *Patres* illos libenter recipimus, qui illa verba ad hoc negotium *transtulerunt*. Quid enim aliud sibi volunt *panis* et *vinum*, quæ postea addita sunt in cœna, nisi ut magis excitemur ad *manducationem illam* corporis et sanguinis Domini, quæ multis verbis diligentissime tractata fuerat in *sexto Johannis*. Satis ergo apparet quemadmodum nos ista conjungimus. *Petr. Mart.* p. 114, 115. Conf. Chamier, de Eucharist. lib. xi. c. 3, &c.

(for half a century, perhaps, or more) by one or other *hypothesis*, yet has it never been lost^c, neither, I suppose, ever will be. A late very judicious Prelate of our Church, in a sermon on John vi. 53, has well expressed the sense of our Church in this matter, in the words here following: "The *body* and *blood* of Christ are to be understood in such a sense as a *soul* can be supposed to feed upon a *body*, or to receive strength and nourishment by *feeding* upon it. But now the *body* of Christ can be no otherwise as *food* for the strengthening and refreshing our souls, than only as the *spiritual benefits* of that *body* and *blood*, that is to say, the *virtue and effects of Christ's sacrifice* upon the cross, are communicated to it; nor is the *soul* capable of receiving those benefits otherwise than by *faith*. So that the *body* and *blood* of Christ, in the sense of our Church, are only the *benefits of Christ's passion*; that is to say, the *pardon of sin*, and the *grace* of the *Holy Spirit*, and a *nearer union with Christ*: and our *eating* and *drinking* of that *body* and *blood*, is our being *partakers* of those *benefits*; and the *mouth* whereby we thus eat and drink, that is, the *means* whereby we are made partakers of those benefits, is our true and lively faith^d." This account is formed upon our Catechism, and upon the old principles of our first *Reformers*, and the next succeeding *Divines*, before any refined speculations came in to obscure or perplex a plain notion, and a very important truth. All I have to observe further upon it, by way of explanation, is as follows: 1. When the learned author says, that "the *soul* is not capable of receiving those benefits otherwise than by *faith*," I understand it of *adult Christians*, and of what they are *ordinarily* capable of: God may *extraordinarily* apply the benefits of Christ's passion wherever there is no *moral* obstacle, as he pleases. And it should be noted, that, properly speaking, we do not *apply* those benefits to ourselves, we only *receive*, or (by the help of God's grace) *qualify* ourselves for receiving: it is *God* that *applies*^e, as it is also God that *justifies*;

^c Dean Fogg, in his excellent Compendium of Divinity, published A. D. 1712, has fully and distinctly expressed the sense of John vi. in two lines:

Christus ibi loquitur, non de manducatione sacramentali, sed spirituali, et de pane significato, non significante. Fogg. Theolog. Specul. Schema, p. 309.

Dr. Wall says; The words of our Saviour to the Jews, John vi. 53, do

no way appear to belong to the sacramental eating, which was not then instituted. Wall, Inf. Bapt. part ii. c. 9. p. 448. third edit.

^d Archbishop Sharp, vol. vii. serm. xv. p. 366.

^e Fides magis proprie dicitur accipere et apprehendere, quam vel polliceri, vel prestare. Sed verbum Dei et promissio cui fides innitur, non vero fides hominum, presentia reddit

and he does it ordinarily in and by the *sacraments* to persons *fitly* prepared. 2. When it is said, that the *body* and *blood* of Christ, in the sense of our Church, *are only the benefits of Christ's passion*, I so understand it, as not to exclude all reference to our Lord's *glorified body* now in heaven, with which we maintain a *mystical union*, and which is itself one of the *benefits* consequent upon our partaking of Christ's passion; as seems to be intimated by the author himself, where he reckons a *nearer union with Christ* among the *benefits*. 3. The judicious author rightly makes *faith* to be the *mouth* only, by which we receive, not the *meat* or *drink* which we do receive; the *means* only of spiritual nutriment, not the *nutriment* itself: for the nutriment itself is *pardon* and *grace* coming down from above, flowing from the *spiritual* and *gracious* presence of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, whose *temple* we are, while we are *living* members of Christ.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning Sacramental or Symbolical Feeding in the EUCHARIST.

AFTER considering *spiritual manducation* by itself, independent of any particular modes, forms, or circumstances, it will next be proper to take a view of it, as set forth in a *sensible* way, with the additional garniture of *signs* and *symbols*. Under the Old Testament, besides the ordinary *sacrifices*, the *manna* and the *waters* of the rock were *signs* and *symbols* of spiritual manducation, according to St. Paul's doctrine, where he teaches, that the ancient Israelites "did all eat the same spiritual meat, " and did all drink the same spiritual drink^f" which Christians do; the same with ours as to the spiritual signification of it: so I understand the place, with many judicious interpreters, both *ancients*^g and *moderns*^h. As the heavenly meat and drink of the true Israelites was *Christ*, according to the Apostle, and Christ also is *ours*, the Apostle must be understood to teach, that they fed upon the same heavenly food that we do; only by different *symbols*, and in a *fainter* light. The symbols are there called *spiritual* meat and drink, that is, *mystical*; for they *signified* the

que promittit; quemadmodum inter *reformatos* et *pontificios* aliquot consensus est in Collatione Sangermani habita 1561. Male enim a multis Romanensibus nobis objicitur, quasi crederemus hanc Christi præsentiam et communicationem in sacramento, per nudam *fidem* tantum effici. *Cosin. Histor. Transubst.* c. ii. sect. 8. p. 17, 18.

^f 1 Cor. x. 3, 4.

^g Austin, Bede, Bertram, and others.

^h Besides commentators, see Archbishop Cranmer on the Sacrament, p. 86, &c. Bishop Jewel, Treatise on the Sacrament; Mede, Discourse xliii. p. 325, &c. Bishop Moreton on the Sacrament, book v. c. 2. sect. 3. p. 314.

true food, which none but the *true* Israelites were fed with, while *all* received the *signs*. In the New Testament, the *bread* and *wine* of the Eucharist are the appointed *symbols* of the spiritual blessings, but under clearer and brighter manifestations. For proof hereof we must look back to the original *institution* of the Sacrament, and particularly to the words, "This is my body," &c. and "This is my blood," &c. To undertake the exposition of them is entering into the most perplexed and intricate part of the whole subject; made so by an odd series of incidents, in a long tract of time, and remaining as a standing monument of *human infirmities*: in consideration whereof, *moderns*, of all parties, may perhaps see reason not to bear themselves high above the *ancients*, in point of wisdom or sagacity. The plain obvious notion, which nobody almost could miss of for six or seven centuries, came at length to be obscured in *dark* ages, and by degrees to be almost totally lost. It was no very easy matter to recover it afterwards, or to clear off the mists at once. Contentions arose, even among the elucidators: and what was worst of all, after that in every scheme proposed, at the *Reformation*, some difficulties remained, which could not of a sudden be perfectly adjusted, there appeared at length some enterprising persons, who, either for shortening disputes, or for other causes, laboured to depreciate the *Sacraments* themselves, as if they were scarce worth the contending for: which was pushing matters to the most dangerous and pernicious extreme that could be invented. But I pass on.

For the clearer apprehending what that *plain* and *easy* notion was, which I just now spake of, I choose to begin with a famous passage of St. Bernard, often quoted in this subject, and very useful to give the readers a good general idea of the *symbolical* nature of the Sacraments. He compares them with *instruments* of *investiture*, (into *lands*, *honours*, *dignities*.) which are *significant* and *emblematical* of what they belong to, and are at the same time *means* of conveyanceⁱ. A *book*, a *ring*, a *crozier*, and the like, have often been made use of as *instruments* for such purpose. They are not without their *significancy* in the way of instructive *emblem*: but what is most considerable, they are instruments to *convey* those rights, privileges, honours, offices, possessions, which in silent language they point to. Those small

ⁱ Variæ sunt investituræ secundum ea quibus investimur: verbi gratia, investituræ canonicus per *librum*, abbas per *baculum* et *annulum* simul: sicut,

inquam, in ejusmodi rebus est, sic et divisiones gratiarum diversis sunt traditæ sacramentis. *Bernard. de Cæn. Domini*, serm. i. p. 145.

gifts or *pledges* are as nothing in themselves, but they are highly valuable with respect to *what* they are pledged of, and what they legally and effectively *convey*: so it is with the *signs* and *symbols* of both *Sacraments*, and particularly with the *elements* of bread and wine in the Eucharist. They are, after consecration, called by the *names* of what they are *pledges* of, and are ordained to *convey*; because they are, though not *literally*, yet in *just construction* and *certain effect*, (standing on *Divine* promise and *Divine* acceptance,) the very things which they are called, viz. the *body* and *blood* of Christ to all *worthy* receivers. In *themselves* they are *bread* and *wine* from first to last: but while they are made use of in the holy service, they are *considered*, *construed*, *understood*, (pursuant to *Divine* law, promise, covenant,) as standing for what they *represent* and *exhibit*. Thus frequently, in human affairs, things or persons are *considered* very differently from what they really are in themselves, by a kind of *construction of law*: and they are supposed to be, to all intents and purposes, and in full *legal effect*, what they are presumed to serve for, and to supply the place of.

A *deed* of *conveyance*, or any like *instrument* under hand and seal, is not a *real* estate, but it *conveys* one; and it is in *effect* the estate itself, as the estate goes along with it; and as the *right*, *title*, and *property* (which are *real* acquirements) are, as it were, bound up in it, and subsist by it^k. If any person should seriously object, in such a case, that he *sees* nothing but *wax* and *parchments*, and that he does not apprehend how they can be of any extraordinary *value* to him, or how he is made *richer* by them; he might be pitied, I presume, for his unthinking ignorance or simplicity: but if, in a contrary extreme, he should be credulous enough to imagine, that the *parchments* themselves are really and *literally* the estate, are so many *houses* or *tenements*, or *acres* of *glebe*, inclosed in his cabinet, he could not well be presumed to be far short of distraction. I leave it to the intelligent reader, to make the application proper to the present subject. I have supposed, all the while, that the cases are so

^k Our very judicious Hooker has explained this matter much the same way, in these words, as spoken by our Lord:

“This hallowed food, through the concurrence of *Divine* power, is in *verity* and *truth*, unto faithful receivers, *instrumentally* a cause of that mystical participation, whereby

“as I *make myself wholly theirs*, so I *give them in hand* an actual *possession* of all such saving grace as my sacrificed body can yield, and as their souls do presently need: *this is to them my body.*” Hooker, vol. ii. p. 337. Conf. Cosin. Histor. Transubst. p. 57, 58.

far parallel: but whether they really are so must now be the point of inquiry; for I am sensible that the thing is too important to be taken for granted.

Come we then directly to consider the words, "This is my body," and "This is my blood." What can they, or what do they mean?

1. They cannot mean, that this *bread* and this *wine* are really and literally that body in the same *broken* state as it hung upon the cross, and that blood which was spilled upon the ground 1700 years ago. Neither yet can they mean that this bread and wine literally and properly are our Lord's *glorified body*, which is as far distant from us, as *heaven* is distant: all *sense*, all *reason*, all *Scripture*, all *antiquity*, and *sound theology*, reclaim against so wild a thought.

2. Well then, since the words cannot be understood *literally*, or with utmost *rigour*, they must be brought under some *figure* or other, some softening explication, to make them both *sense* and *truth*.

3. But there may be danger of undercommenting, as well as of interpreting too high: and men may recede so far from the *letter* as altogether to dilute the meaning, or break its force. As nothing but *necessity* can warrant us in going from the *letter* at all, we ought not to go further than such necessity requires. There appears to be something very solemn and awful in our Lord's pointed words, "This is my body," and "This is my blood." Had he intended no more than a bare *commemoration*, or *representation*, it might have been sufficient to have said, *Eat this bread broken*, and *drink this wine poured out*, in remembrance of me and my passion, without declaring in that strong manner that the bread and wine *are* his body and blood, at the same time commanding his Disciples to *take* them as such. We ought to look out for some as high and significant a meaning as the nature of the thing can admit of, in order to answer such *emphatical* words and gestures.

4. Some, receding from the *letter*, have supposed the words to mean, this bread and this wine are my body and blood *in power and effect*, or in *virtue and energy*: which is not much amiss, excepting that it seems to carry in it some obscure conception either of an *inherent* or *infused* virtue resting upon the bare *elements*, and operating as a *mean*, which is not the truth of the case; excepting also, that it leaves us but a very dark and confused idea of what the Lord's *body* or *blood* means, in that way of speaking, whether *natural* or *sacramental*, or both in one.

5. It appears more reasonable and more proper to say, that the bread and wine are the body and blood (viz. the *natural* body and blood) in *just construction*, put upon them by the law-giver himself, who has so appointed, and who is able to make it good. The symbols are not the body in *power* and *effect*, if those words mean *efficiency*: but, suitable dispositions supposed in the recipient, the *delivery* of these symbols is, in *construction* of Gospel law, and in *Divine* intention, and therefore in certain *effect* or *consequence*, a delivery of the *things* signified. If God hath been pleased so to order that these outward elements, in the due use of the Eucharist, shall be *imputed* to us, and *accepted* by him, as pledges of the *natural* body of our Lord, and that this *constructional* intermingling his body and blood with ours, shall be the same thing in *effect* with our *adhering* inseparably to him, as *members* or *parcels* of him; then those outward symbols are, though not *literally*, yet *interpretatively*, and to all *saving* purposes, that very body and blood which they so represent *with effect*: they are appointed instead of them¹.

This notion of the Sacrament, as it is both intelligible and reasonable, so is it likewise entirely consonant to Scripture language; considered first in the *general*; next, with respect to the Jewish *sacrifices* and *sacraments*; then with regard also to Christian *Baptism*; and lastly, with respect to what is elsewhere taught of the *Eucharist*. Further, it appears to have been the *ancient* notion of all the Christian churches for six centuries or more; and was scarce so much as *obscured*, till very corrupt and ignorant ages came up, and was never totally lost, though almost swallowed up for a time by the prevailing growth of *transubstantiation*. These particulars I shall now endeavour to prove distinctly, in the same order as I have named them.

1. I undertake to shew that the interpretation here given is favoured by the *general* style or phraseology of Scripture; which abounds with examples of such *figurative* and *constructional* expressions, where one thing is *mentioned* and another *understood*, according to the way which I have before intimated. I do not here refer to such instances as are often produced in this subject; as *metaphorical* locutions, when our Lord is styled a *door*, a *vine*, a *star*, a *sun*, a *rock*, a *lamb*, a *lion*, or the like; which amount only to so many *similitudes* couched, every one respec-

¹ Τὸ ποτήριον ἐν τῷ αἵματι ἡγεί- nus, who wrote about A. D. 401.
σθαι, is the phrase of Victor Antioche- Vid. *Albertin.* p. 832.

tively, under a single word. Neither do I point to other well known instances, of *seven kine* being *seven years*, and *four great beasts* being *four kings*, and the *field* being the *world*, *reapers* being *angels*, and the like: which appertain only to *visional* or *paraboli- cal* representations, and come not up to the point in hand. The examples which we are to seek for, as similar and parallel to the expressions made use of by our Lord in the *institution*, must be those wherein some *real thing* is in *just construction* and *certain effect* allowed to be *another thing*.

Moses was a *God* to Pharaoh^m, not literally, but in *effect*. The walking *tabernacle*, or moving *ark*, being a *symbol* of the Divine presence, was *considered* as God walkingⁿ among his people. *Faith* was reckoned to Abraham as righteousness^o, or sinless perfection; not that it strictly or literally was so, but it was so *accepted* in God's account. John the Baptist was Elias^p, not literally, but in *just construction*. Man and wife are *one flesh*^q, not in the utmost strictness of speech, but *interpretatively*, or in *effect*; they are *considered* as one. He that is joined to an *harlot* is *one body*^r, not literally, but in *construction* of Divine law: and he that is joined unto the Lord is *one spirit*^s, is *considered* as so, and with *real effect*. The *Church* is our *Lord's body*^t, interpretatively so. Levi paid tithes in Abraham, not literally, but *constructionally*, or as one *may say*^u. Abraham received his son Isaac from the dead, not really, but in *just construction*, and in a *figure*^x. The Apostle tells his new converts; "Ye are our epistle," and the "epistle of Christ^y;" that is to say, *instead* of an epistle, or *equivalent* thereto; the same thing in *effect* or *use*. These examples may suffice to shew, in the *general*, that Scripture is no stranger to the *symbolical* or *constructional* language, expressing *one thing* by *another thing*, considered as equivalent thereto, and amounting to the same as to *real effects* or *purposes*.

2. This will appear still plainer from the *sacrificial* language and usage in the Old Testament. *Blood*, in *sacrificial* language, was the *life* of an animal: and the shedding the blood for sacrifice, together with the sprinkling it, were understood to be giving *life for life*^z. The *fumes* of some sacrifices were *considered* as

^m Exod. vii. 1.

ⁿ Levit. xxvi. 11, 12. Deut. xxiii. 14.

^o Gen. xv. 6. Rom. iv. 3, 9, 22.

Gal. iii. 6.

^p Matt. xvii. 12. Mark ix. 13-

^q 1 Cor. vi. 16.

^r Ibid.

^s 1 Cor. vi. 17.

^t Ephes. i. 23. See Spinkes against Transubstant. p. 29, 30.

^u Hebr. vii. 9. ^x Hebr. xi. 19.

^y 2 Cor. iii. 2, 3.

^z Gen. ix. 4. Levit. xvii. 10, 11.

sweet odours^a, grateful to God when sent up with a pure mind. The *altar* was considered as God's *table*^b: and what was *offered* upon it, and consumed by *fire*, was construed and accepted as God's *meat, bread, food, portion, or mess*^c. Not that it was *literally* so, but it was all one to the supplicants; with whom God dealt as kindly, as if it had really been so: it was the same thing in legal account, was *symbolically* the same, and therefore so named. The *laying hands* upon the *head* of the victim was, in construction of Divine law, *transferring* the legal offences upon the victim^d: more particularly, the people's performing that ceremony towards the *scape-goat* was considered as *laying* their *iniquities* upon him, which accordingly the goat was supposed to *bear away* with him^e; all which was true in *legal* account. The priests, in eating the *sin offering* of the people, were considered as eating up their guilt, incorporating it with themselves, and discharging the people of it^f: and the *effect* answered. But when the people feasted on the *peace-offerings*, it was symbolically eating *peace*, and maintaining amity with God: to which St. Paul alludes in a noted passage^g, to be explained hereafter. From hence it may be observed, by the way, that *symbolical* phrases and *symbolical* services were what the Jews had been much and long used to, before our Lord's time: which may be one reason why the Apostles shewed no surprise at what was said to them in the *institution* of the Eucharist, nor called for any explanation.

From the Jewish *sacrifices*, we may pass on to their *sacraments*, which, taking the word in a large sense, were *many*, but in the stricter sense were but *two*, namely, *Circumcision* and the *Pass-over*. With respect to those also, the like *figurative* and *symbolical* language prevailed. We find St. Paul declaring of the *manna* and of the *waters* of old, that they were *spiritual* food; and accordingly he does not scruple, while speaking of the *rock* from whence the waters flowed, to say that "that rock was *Christ*^h." It typified Christ: yea and more than so, the *waters* which it yielded, typified the blood and water which should afterwards flow from our Lord's *side*, and were to the *faithful* of that time *spiritual* pledges of the *benefits* of Christ's passion, like as the sacramental *wine* is nowⁱ. This consideration

^a Gen. viii. 21. Exod. xxix. 18. et passim.

^b Ezek. xli. 22. xliv. 16. Mal. i. 7, 12.

^c Levit. iii. 11. xxi. 6, 8, 17, 21, 22, 25. Numb. xxviii. 2, 24. Ezek. xliv. 7.

^d Levit. i. 4. viii. 14, 15.

^e Levit. xvi. 21, 22.

^f Levit. x. 17. Hos. iv. 8.

^g 1 Cor. x. 18. Compare Levit. vii.

18. and Ainsworth in loc.

^h 1 Cor. x. 4.

ⁱ See above, p. 570.

fully accounts for the strong expression which the Apostle in that case made use of, "that rock was Christ:" it was so in effect to every true Israelite of that time.

Circumcision of the *flesh* was a *symbolical* rite, betokening the true *circumcision* of the *heart*; which was the *condition* of the *covenant* between God and his people, on their part^k, and God's *acceptance* of the same on his part^l, to all saving purposes: therefore circumcision had the name of *covenant*, and the *sign* was called what it *literally* was not, but what it really and truly *signified*, and to the faithful *exhibited*^m.

The like may be observed of the *Passover*, which was feasting upon a *lamb*, but was called the *Lord's Passover*, as looking backwards, plainly, to the angel's *passing over* the Hebrews, so as to preserve them from the *plague*ⁿ then inflicted on the Egyptians, and mystically looking forwards to God's *passing over* the sins of mankind, for the sake of Christ the true *paschal lamb*^o. Such is the customary language of Scripture in those cases, denominating the *signs* by the things *signified*, and at the same time *exhibited* in a qualified sense.

3. I proceed to the consideration of *Baptism*, a sacrament of the New Testament; a *symbolical* rite, full of figure and mystery; *representing* divers graces, blessings, privileges, and *exhibiting* the same in the very act: for which reason the Scripture language concerning it is very strong and emphatical, like to what our Lord made use of with respect to the Eucharist. St. Paul does not barely intimate that we *ought to be* buried with Christ in Baptism, or that we *signify* his burial, but he says plainly, *we are buried*; and likewise that we *have been planted* together in the likeness of his death, and that our old man *is crucified*, and that we *are freed from sin*, and *dead with Christ*^p. The reason is, because the things there mentioned are not merely *represented*, but *effectuated* always on God's part, if there be no failure or obstacle on ours. The *spiritual* graces of Baptism go along with the ceremony, in the *due* use of it, and are supposed by the Apostle to be conveyed at that instant.

^k Deut. x. 16. xxx. 6. Levit. xxvi. 41. Jerem. iv. 4. Rom. ii. 28, 29.

^l Gen. xvii. 7.

^m Gen. xvii. 10, 13, 14.

ⁿ Exod. xii. 11, 12, 13.

^o 1 Cor. v. 7.

^p Rom. vi. 4, 6, 7, 8. De ipso baptismo Apostolus, *consepulti*, inquit,

sumus Christo per baptismum in mortem. Non ait sepulturam significavimus, sed prorsus ait, consepulti sumus: sacramentum ergo tantæ rei non nisi ejusdem rei vocabulo nuncupavit. Augustin. Ep. 98. ad Bonifac. p. 268. edit. Bened.

1. Actual remission of sins^q. 2. Present sanctification of the Spirit^r. 3. Actual communion with Christ's body, with Christ our head^s. 4. A certain title, for the time being, to *resurrection* and *salvation*^t. 5. A putting on Christ^u. I take the more notice here of the last article of *putting on Christ*, as being of near affinity with *feeding upon Christ* in the other sacrament. Both of them express a near conjunction and close intimacy: but the latter is the *stronger* figure, and the more *affecting* emblem. Christ is, in a qualified sense, our *clothing*, and our *food*; our baptismal *garment*, and our eucharistical *banquet*: but what enters *within us*, and is *diffused* all over us, and becomes *incorporate* with us, being considered as a *symbol* of Christ, expresses the most intimate union and coalition imaginable. Probably this *symbol* was made choice of for the *Eucharist*, as it is the top perfection of Christian worship or service. Baptism is for *babes* in Christ, this for *grown men*: Baptism *initiates*, while the Eucharist *perfects*: Baptism *begins* the spiritual life, the Eucharist carries on and *finishes* it. And therefore it is that the Eucharist has so frequently been called τὸ τέλειον^x, the *perfecting service*, and the *Sacrament of sacraments*^y; or emphatically *the Sacrament*, which obtains at this day. I may add that, though Baptism represents the *burial* and the *resurrection* of our Lord, and entitles us to a partnership in both, yet there is something still more awful and venerable in representing (not merely his *acts* or *offices*, but) his very *Person*, in part, which is done in the Eucharist, by the symbols of bread and wine, representing his *body* and *blood*.

From what hath been said under this last article concerning *Baptism*, we may observe, that it is not *literally* going into the grave with Christ, neither is it *literally* rising from the dead

^q Acts xxii. 16. ii. 38. Coloss. ii. 13. 1 Cor. vi. 11.

^r John iii. 5. Acts ii. 38. 1 Cor. xii. 13. vi. 11. Ephes. v. 26. Tit. iii. 5. Hebr. x. 22.

^s 1 Cor. xii. 13.

^t Rom. vi. 8, 9. Tit. iii. 5. 1 Pet. iii. 21. Coloss. ii. 11, 12, 13. Add 1 Cor. xv. 29. For so I understand *baptizing for the dead*; in order to have our *dead* bodies *raised*. Vid. Chrysostom. in 1 Cor. x. Hom. xxiii. p. 389. et in 1 Cor. xv. 29. Hom. xl. p. 513. ed. Sav. Isidor. Pelus. Epist. lib. i. Ep. 221. Theodorit. in 1 Cor. xv. 29.

^u Gal. iii. 27. Conf. Wolfius in loc. Deylingius, Obs. Sacr. tom. iii. p. 330.

^x Vid. Casaub. Exercit. xvi. n. 48. p. 411. alias 572. Suicer. Thesaur. tom. ii. p. 1259.

Conjunctioni nostræ cum Christo, cujus instrumenta sunt *verbum* Dei et sacramenta, veluti *colophonem* imponit participatio corporis et sanguinis Christi in cœna Dominica: nullus enim restat alius modus, quo in terris versantes *arectius* cum Christo, capite nostro, jungamur. *Casaub. ibid.*

^y Τελετῶν τελετή. *Pseudo-Dionys.* cap. iii. p. 282.

with him; but it is so *interpretatively* and in certain *effect*, proper dispositions supposed on our part: and it is not barely a *representation* of a thing, but a real *exhibition*. So likewise in the Eucharist: the elements are not literally what they are called, but they are *interpretatively* and *in effect* the same thing with what they stand for. Such appears to be the true account of the *symbolical* phrases of the institution.

4. To this agrees what we meet with further in St. Paul's account of this Sacrament. It is the *Communion* of the body and blood of Christ². Which expresses *communication* on the part of the donor, and *participation* on the side of the receiver. There is communication from God, and a participation by us, of Christ's *crucified* body directly, and of the body *glorified* consequentially. Yet this *grant* and this *reception* of our Lord's body are not to be understood with utmost rigour, but after the manner of *symbolical* grants and conveyances; where the *symbols* are construed to be in *real* and *beneficial* effect, what they supply the place of. But of this text I may have occasion to say more in a distinct chapter, and so may dismiss it for the present.

St. Paul, in the same Epistle, speaks of the *unworthy* receiver, as "guilty of the body and blood of the Lord," and as "eating and drinking damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's "body^a:" all which is easily and naturally accounted for, upon the principles before mentioned. Our Lord's *body* is interpretatively *delivered*, with all the emoluments thereunto pertaining, to as many as receive *worthily*: the same *body* is interpretatively *offered*^b to as many as receive, though ever so *unworthily*. The *unworthy* receiver, through his own fault, disqualifies himself from *partaking* of what is *offered*, namely, from partaking of the *things signified*: which being our Lord's own *body* and *blood*, he is therefore guilty, not only of profaning *holy things*, (as even the *symbols* themselves, when consecrated, are *holy*;) but also of slighting and contemning our Lord's own *body* and *blood*, which had been *symbolically* offered to him^c. He incurs the

² 1 Cor. x. 16.

^a 1 Cor. xi. 27, 29.

^b Credentibus fit corpus vivificum, quia illi panis cœlestis et corporis Christi vere sunt *participes*: aliis vero tam non recipientibus quam non credentibus licet *antitypon* sit, tamen illis nequaquam est, nec fit corpus Christi. *Cosin. Histor. Eccl.* p. 69.

^c Non idcirco vocat Paulus *reos* quod ipsum corpus Christi *ederint*,

neque idcirco illi iudicium sibi accersunt quod *sumpserint*, sed quod *sumere* corpus Domini neglexerint. *Lamb. Danaus Apolog. pro Helvet. Eccl.* p. 30. alias 1479.

N.B. This account is right as to *fact*, that the *unworthy do not receive the body*, but as to *guilt* in approaching the holy table, it is insufficient; because, by this account, there would be no difference between *absenting*,

just judgment of God, for *not discerning*, that is, *not esteeming*, *not reverencing*, *not receiving*^d the Lord's body when he might, and when both duty and interest required his most grateful and most devout acceptance. Nay further, he is guilty of contemning the *blood of the covenant*, and the *author* of our salvation, by so *profane* an use of what so nearly concerns both. This must be so, in the very nature of the thing, if we suppose (as we here do) that the sacramental symbols are *interpretatively*, or in *just construction*, by Divine appointment, the *body* and *blood* of Christ. But this point also must be more minutely considered in its proper place.

5. I proceed, in the last place, to examine the sentiments of the *ancients* on this head: and if they fall in with the account here given, we can then want nothing to set this matter in the clearest light, or to fix it beyond all reasonable dispute.

A. D. 107. *Ignatius.*

Ignatius, occasionally reflecting on some persons who rejected the use of the Eucharist, delivers his mind as here follows: "They abstain from the *Eucharist* and *prayer*, because they admit not the Eucharist to be the *flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ* which *suffered* for our sins, and which the Father of his goodness *raised* from the dead: they therefore thus gainsaying the *gift of God*, die in their disputes^e." It is to be noted, that those misbelievers (probably the old *visionaries*, in Greek *Docetæ*) did not allow that our Lord had any *real* flesh or blood, conceiving that his *birth*, *passion*, and *resurrection* were all imaginary, were mere *show* and *appearance*. Thereupon they rejected the *Eucharist* and the *prayers* thereto belonging, as founded in the doctrine of our Lord's *real humanity*. Now, Ignatius here intimates that the elements of bread and wine in

and *unworthy* receiving; both being equally a *neglect* of the same thing. There must be more in *unworthy* reception: it is not merely neglecting the *inward grace*, but it is *profaning* also the *outward means*.

^d The wicked receive the *signs* of the Lord's body and blood; that is, not the thing signified. So the *Fathers* distinguish commonly on this head. The testimonies of Origen, Ambrose, Jerome, Chrysostom, Austin, and others, may be seen collected and explained in Albertinus, p. 549, 586. Sometimes

the Fathers do indeed speak less accurately, of the *unworthy* receiving the *body* and *blood*, meaning the outward *symbols*, giving the name of the thing signified to the *signs*, by a metonymy. Compare Moreton, p. 320.

^e Εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχονται, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν παθοῦσαν, ἣν τῇ χρηστότητι ὁ πατὴρ ἤγειρεν ὁ οὐκ ἀντιλέγοντες τῇ δωρεᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ, συζητοῦντες ἀποθνῆσκειν. *Ignat. ad Smyrn. cap. 7.* Vid. Albertin. p. 286, &c.

the Eucharist are, in just construction, the *body*, or *flesh* and *blood* of Christ as *dying*, and as *raised* again : therefore he bore about him a *real* body. The Eucharist being *representative*, and also interpretatively *exhibitive* of such *real* flesh and blood, was itself a standing memorial of the *truth* of the Church's doctrine concerning our Lord's *real* humanity. Ignatius could not imagine that the symbols were *literally* flesh and blood ; no one was then weak enough to entertain so wild a thought : but if they were *constructionally* or *interpretatively* so, it was sufficient, being all that his argument required. The Eucharist, so understood, *supposed* a real body of flesh and blood belonging to our blessed Lord, both as *dying* and *rising again* : for, without that supposition, the Eucharist was no Eucharist at all, a representation of nothing, or a false representation^f ; and that the misbelievers themselves were very sensible of, and therefore abstained from it. I may further observe, that Ignatius here supposes not, with the *consubstantiators*, a natural body of Christ *locally present*, and a sacramental one besides ; but it is all one *symbolical* body in the Eucharist, supplying the place of the natural, in real effect, and to all *saving* purposes. The Eucharist, that is, the bread and wine, *is* (constructionally) *the flesh of Jesus, &c.* It is not said, that it is *with* the flesh, or that one is *in, with, or under* the other : so that Mr. Pfaffius had no occasion to triumph here^g.

That Ignatius admitted of *real* and *beneficial* effects will be plain from another passage.—“ Breaking one bread, which is the “ *medicine of immortality, a preservative* that we should not die, “ but should live for ever in Jesus Christ^h.” In what sense he understood the thing so to be, will appear more fully when we

^f Chrysostom's reasoning, in like case, is here very apposite, in Matt. Hom. liii. p. 783. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἀπέθανεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, τίνος σύμβολα τὰ τελούμενα ; *If Jesus did not really die, what are the eucharistical elements symbols of?* N. B. The argument did not require or suppose a *corporeal presence* : a *symbolical* one was sufficient to confute the gainsayers, if Chrysostom had any judgment. Conf. Pseud. Origen. Dialog. contr. Marcion, p. 853.

^g Pfaffius (p. 263.) appears to triumph over Albertinus, with respect to this passage of Ignatius : but Albertinus had very *justly* explained it, and defended his explication, with

great learning and solid judgment, beyond all reasonable dispute ; as every impartial reader will find, who will but be at the pains to look into him, p. 286, &c.

^h Ἐνα ἄρτον κλώντες, ὅς ἐστι φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, διὰ παντός. *Ignat. ad Ephes.* cap. 20. This was no *flight*, but the standing doctrine of the author, which he expresses without any *figure* elsewhere. *Epist. ad Smyrn.* cap. 7. συνέφειν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀγαπᾶν, ἵνα καὶ ἀναζῶσιν. *It behoves them to celebrate the feast of the Eucharist, (so I understand ἀγαπᾶν, with Cotelerius in loc.) that they may rise to life.*

come to other *Fathers*, somewhat later in the same century. There is one place more of this apostolical writer worth the reciting. "The flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ is but one, and "the cup one unto the *unity of his blood*ⁱ." He alluded, probably, to 1 Cor. x. 16. "communion of the blood of Christ," and so the meaning is, for the *uniting* us to Christ, first, and then, in and through him, to one another, his *one blood* being the cement which binds head and members all together.

A. D. 140. *Justin Martyr*.

Justin, another early Christian teacher and martyr, comes next: I shall cite as much from him as may suffice to clear the point in hand. "This food we call the Eucharist: which no one "is allowed to partake of, but he that believes our doctrines to "be true, and who has been baptized in the laver of regeneration "for remission of sins, and lives up to what Christ has taught. "For we take not these as *common* bread and *common* drink: "but like as Jesus Christ our Saviour, being incarnate by *the* "Word of God, bore about him both flesh and blood for our "salvation; so are we taught that this food which is blessed by "the prayer of *the Word* that came from him [God], and which "is *changed* into the nourishment of our flesh and blood, is *the* "*flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus*. For the Apostles in their "commentaries, called the *Gospels*, have left it upon record, that "*Jesus* so commanded them; for he *took bread*, and when he "had given thanks, he said, *Do this in remembrance of me; this* "*is my body*: in like manner also he took the cup, and when he "had given thanks, he said, *This is my blood*^k." Upon this passage of Justin, may be observed as follows: 1. That he supposed the elements to be *blessed* or sanctified by virtue of the *prayer* of the *Word* or *Logos*, first made use of in the *institution*, and remaining in force to this day, in such a sense as I have explained above, in the chapter of *Consecration*. 2. That Justin also supposed the same elements, after consecration, to continue still *bread* and *wine*, only not *common* bread and wine: for while he says, it is not *common* bread, he supposes it to be *bread*. 3. That while he supposes the consecrated elements to be *changed* into our bodily *nutriment*, he could not have a thought of our Lord's *natural* body's admitting such a *change*. 4. That

ⁱ Μία γὰρ σὰρξ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἓν ποτήριον εἰς ἔνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ. *Ignat. ad Philad.* cap. 4.

^k Justin Martyr. *Apol.* i. p. 96, 97. edit. Lond. See also above, chap. iii. p. 503, where part of the same passage is cited for another purpose.

nevertheless he does maintain that such consecrated food is, in some sense or other, *the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus*; and he quotes the words of the *institution* to prove it. 5. He supposes no other flesh and blood *locally* present in the Eucharist, but that very consecrated food which he speaks of; for that is *the flesh and blood*. Therefore he affords no colour for imagining *two bodies*, natural and sacramental, as *locally* present together, in the way of *consubstantiation*. 6. It remains then, that he could mean nothing else but the *representative* or *symbolical* body of Christ, answering to the *natural*, (once upon the cross, and now in heaven,) as *proxies* answer to their *principals*, as authentic *copies* or *exemplifications* to their originals, in use, value, and legal effect. For, that Justin cannot be understood of a bare *figure*, or naked *representation*, appears from hence, that he supposes a *Divine* power, the power of the *Logos* himself, (which implies his *spiritual* presence,) to be necessary for making the elements become such symbolical *flesh* and *blood*: whereas, if it were only a *figure*, or *representation*, men might easily make it themselves by their *own* power, and would need only the original commission to warrant their doing it. 7. Though Justin (addressing himself to Jews or Pagans) does not speak so plainly of the great Christian *privileges* or *graces* conferred in the Eucharist, as Ignatius, writing to Christians, before him did, yet he has tacitly insinuated the same things; as well by mentioning the previous *qualifications* requisite for it, as also by observing that the [symbolical] *flesh* and *blood* of Christ are *incorporate* with ours: from whence by just inference all the rest follows, as every grace is implied in such our interpretative *union* with Christ *crucified* or *glorified*. Besides that our author supposed, as I before noted, a real spiritual presence of the *Divine* nature of our Lord in or with the elements, to make them *effectually* the body and blood of Christ: and he carries it so high, as to draw a comparison from the *presence* of the *Logos* to our Lord's *humanity*, whereof the Eucharist is a kind of *emblem*, though in a loose general way, faint and imperfect¹. Thus much however is *common* to both: that there is a *presence* of the *Logos* with something *corporeal*; a presence with something considered as his *body*; and a presence *operating* in conjunction with that body for the *uniting* all his *true* members together under him their *head*. But that such *comparisons* help

¹ See the Doctrinal Use of the Sacraments considered, vol. v. p. 114.

to clear the subject is more than I will say; being sensible that they are far from *exact*, and may want *distinctions* to make them bear, or otherwise may be apt to *mislead*: it is enough, if we can but come at the true and full sense of the authors.

A. D. 176. *Irenæus*.

Irenæus's doctrine of the Eucharist, so far as concerns this present chapter, may be understood from the passages here following, together with some explanatory remarks which I mean to add to them.

"How can they say that the flesh goes to corruption, and never more partakes of life, when it is fed with the body of our Lord, and with his blood?—As the terrestrial bread upon receiving the *invocation* of God is no longer *common* bread, but the *Eucharist*, consisting of two things, *terrestrial* and *celestial*; so also our bodies, upon receiving the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, having an assurance of a *resurrection* to all eternity^m. But if this flesh of ours has no title to *salvation*, then neither did our Lord redeem us with his own blood, nor is the cup of the Eucharist *the communion* [communication] of his blood, nor the bread which we break *the communion* [communication] of his body. For it is not *blood*, if it is not of the *veins* and *flesh*, and whatever else makes up the substance of the human frame, such as the *Word* was really madeⁿ." A little after, the author adds this large explanatory passage, worth the noting: "The creature of the *cup* he declared to be his own *blood*, with which he imbues our blood; and the creature of *bread* he affirmed to be his own body, out of which our bodies grow up. When therefore the mingled cup and the created bread receive the *Word of God*, and the Eucharist becomes Christ's body, and by these the substance of our flesh grows and consists, how can they say, that the *flesh* is not capable of the *gift of God*, (namely, *life eternal*,) when it is fed with the body and

^m Πῶς τὴν σάρκα λέγουσιν εἰς φθορὰν χωρεῖν, καὶ μὴ μετέχειν τῆς ζωῆς, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ τρεφομένην;—ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβάνομενος ἐκκλησίων [forte ἐπίκλησιν] τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐκ ἔτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστίν, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία, ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα, ἐπιγίγει τε καὶ οὐρανίου· οὕτως καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν μεταλαμβάνοντα τῆς εὐχαριστίας μηκέτι εἶναι φθαρτὰ, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰς αἰῶνας ἀναστάσεως ἔχοντα.

Iren. lib. iv. cap. 18. p. 251. ed. Bened.

ⁿ Si autem non salvetur hæc [caro] videlicet nec Dominus sanguine suo redemit nos, neque calix Eucharistiæ *communicatio sanguinis ejus est*, neque panis quem frangimus *communicatio corporis ejus est*. Sanguis enim non est nisi a venis et carnibus, et a reliqua quæ secundum hominem est substantia, qua vere factum est Verbum Dei. *Iren.* lib. v. cap. 2. p. 293.

“ blood of Christ, and is member of him? To this purpose “ speaks St. Paul in his Epistle to the Ephesians, that *we are* “ *members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones*, Ephes. v. 30.— “ The flesh is nourished by the cup which is his *blood*, and is “ increased by the bread which is his *body*. And like as a “ branch of the vine put into the ground brings forth fruit in its “ season, and a grain of wheat falling into the ground and there “ dissolved, riseth again with manifest increase, by the Spirit “ of God that containeth all things; and those afterwards by “ Divine wisdom serve for the use of man, and receiving the “ *Logos* [Word] of God, become the Eucharist, which is the “ body and blood of Christ: so also our bodies being fed by it, “ [viz. the Eucharist,] and laid in the ground, and dissolving “ there, shall yet arise in their season, by means of the *Divine* “ *Logos* vouchsafing them a resurrection to the glory of God the “ Father °.”

From these several passages thus laid together, I take the liberty to observe: 1. That our author had no notion of the elements being *changed*, upon consecration, into the *natural* body of Christ; for he supposes them still to remain as the *earthly* part, and to be converted into *bodily* nutriment; which to affirm of our Lord's body, *crucified* or *glorified*, would be infinitely absurd. 2. Neither does our author at all favour the notion of Christ's *natural* body being literally and locally present *under* or *with* the elements: for the *heavenly thing* supposed to supervene⁹ in the consecration, and to be *present*, is not Christ's natural body, but the *Logos*, or *Divine nature* of our Lord, or the *Holy Spirit*. Or if he did suppose the *heavenly thing* to be Christ's *glorified* body, yet even that amounts to no more than saying that our *mystical union* with his body is made or strengthened in the Eucharist; not by any *local presence* of that body, but as our *mystical union* with all the *true* members is therein perfected, at whatever distance they are: so that whether we interpret the *heavenly part* of the *Logos*, or of the *body* of Christ, Irenæus will not be found to favour the *Lutheran* notion of the *presence*. 3. But least of all does he favour the *figurists* or *memorialists*;

° Irenæus, lib. v. p. 294.

P Compare a fragment of Irenæus, p. 343, concerning Blandina; from which it is manifest that the Christians despised the Pagans for imagining that Christ's body and blood were supposed to be *literally* eaten in the Eucharist: they rejected the thought

with abhorrence.

9 In like manner, Nazianzen makes *Baptism* to consist of two things, *water* and the *Spirit*; which answers to Irenæus's *earthly* and *heavenly* parts in the Eucharist. *Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. xi. p. 641.*

for his doctrine runs directly counter to them almost in every line. He asserts over and over, that Christ's *body* and *blood* are eaten and drank in the Eucharist, and our bodies thereby *fed*; and not only so, but *insured* thereby for a happy *resurrection*: and the reason he gives is, that our *bodies* are thereby made or continued *members* of Christ's *body, flesh, and bones*: and his conclusion is built on this principle, that *members* follow the *head*, or that the *parts* go with the *whole*: which reasoning supposes that the sacred *symbols*, though not *literally*, are yet *interpretatively, or constructionally*, the body and blood^r. 4. To make the symbols answer in such view, he supposes the concurrence of a *Divine* power to secure the effect, a *spiritual* presence of the *Logos*. 5. One thing only I conceive our author to be inaccurate in, (though perhaps more in expression than real meaning,) in superinducing the *Logos* upon the *symbols* themselves, rather than upon the *recipients*, which would have been better. But in a popular way of speaking, and with respect to the main thing, they may amount to the same: and it was not needful to distinguish *critically* about a mode of speech, while there was no suspicion of wrong notions being grafted upon it, as hath since happened. 6. Lastly, I may note, that these larger passages of Irenæus may serve as good comments upon the shorter ones of Ignatius before cited: and so Ignatius may lend antiquity to Irenæus's sentiments, while Irenæus's add light and strength to his.

A. D. 192. *Clemens of Alexandria.*

This Clemens was a person of infinite reading, and of great reputation in the Christian Church. His pieces are all of them *learned*, though not always so *clear* as might be wished. In a very *full* head, ideas are often *crowded*, and have not *room* to be

^r N. B. The Lutherans know not how to allow, in their way, that our bodies are so *fed* with the *Lord's body*, which they suppose to be *locally* present; or that any *feeding* is a pledge of a *happy* resurrection, since they suppose the feeding *common* both to *good* and *bad*. Hence it is, that they can make no sense of Irenæus's argument. See Pfaffius, p. 72, 73, 84, 85, 104. Deylingius, *Observ. Miscellan.* p. 75, 76. They might perceive, if they pleased, from this plain mark, that their scheme has a *flaw* in it, and cannot stand. The mistake is owing to the want of considering the nature of *symbolical* lan-

guage and *symbolical* grants. Our bodies are not *literally*, but *symbolically* fed with our Lord's body; which in *effect* is tantamount: there lies the whole mystery of the matter; and thereupon hangs Irenæus's argument. Good men are considered in that action as *so fed*; and it will be *imputed* to them, and *accepted* by God, as if it *literally* were so. Deylingius concludes, *however it be*, (that is, though he can make no consistent sense of his author,) yet Irenæus is clear for *real presence*. Not at all in the Lutheran or the Popish sense; but only so far as *symbolical* and *effectual* amount to *real*.

distinctly ranged. Our author appears to have had elevated sentiments of the Christian Eucharist, but such as require close attention to see to the bottom of. He writes thus:

“The blood of the Lord is twofold, the *carnal* by which we are redeemed from corruption, and the *spiritual* by which we are anointed: to drink the blood of Jesus is to partake of our Lord’s immortality. Moreover, the power of the *Word* is the *Spirit*, as *blood* is of the *flesh*. And correspondently, as *wine* is mingled with *water*, so is the *Spirit* with the *man*: and as the mingled cup goes for *drink*, so the *Spirit* leads to *immortality*. Again, the mixture of these two, viz. of the *drink* and of the *Logos* together, is called the *Eucharist*, viz. glorious and excellent *grace*, whereof those who partake in faith are *sanc-tified*, both body and soul. The Father’s appointment mystically tempers *man*, a *Divine* mixture, with the *Spirit* and the *Logos*: for, in very deed, the *Spirit* joins himself with the *soul* as sustained by him, and the *Logos* with the *flesh*, for which the *Logos* became *flesh* ^s.” What I have to observe of these lines of Clemens may be comprised in the particulars here following:

1. The first thing to be taken notice of, is the *twofold* blood of Christ: by which Clemens understands the *natural* blood shed upon the cross, and the *spiritual* blood exhibited in the Eucharist, namely, *spiritual* graces, the unction of the *Holy Spirit*, and union with the *Logos*, together with what is consequent thereupon. As to parallel places of the *Fathers*, who speak of the *anointing*, in the Eucharist, with the *blood* of Christ through the *Spirit*, the reader may consult Mr. Aubertine^t; or Bishop Fell in his notes upon Cyprian^u. St. Jerome seems to have used the like distinction with Clemens between the *natural* and *spiritual*

^s Διττὸν δὲ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ κυρίου· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ σαρκικὸν ὃ τῆς φθορᾶς λελυτρώμεθα· τὸ δὲ πνευματικόν, τουτέστιν ὃ κεχρίσμεθα· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν πνίον τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, τῆς κυριακῆς μεταλαβεῖν ἀφθαρσίας. Ἰσχυρὸς δὲ τοῦ λόγου τὸ πνεῦμα, ὡς αἷμα σαρκός. Ἀναλόγως τοῖνυν κίρνεται, ὁ μὲν οἶνος τῷ ὕδατι, τῷ δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ πνεῦμα. Καὶ τὸ μὲν εἰς πίστιν [leg. πόσιν] εὐωχεῖ, τὸ κράμα· τὸ δὲ εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν ὀδηγεῖ, τὸ πνεῦμα· ἡ δὲ ἀμφοῖν αἴθις κράσις, ποτοῦ τε καὶ λόγου, εὐχαριστία κέκληται, χάρις ἔπιουμένη καὶ καλή· ἥς οἱ κατὰ πίστιν μεταλαμβάνοντες, ἀγιάζοντες καὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν· τὸ θεῖον κράμα, τὸν ἀνθρώ-

πον, τοῦ πατρικοῦ βουλήματος πνεύματι καὶ λόγῳ συγκίρναντος μυστικῶς· καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθὸς μὲν τὸ πνεῦμα φκείωται τῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φερομένη ψυχῇ· ἡ δὲ σὰρξ, τῷ λόγῳ· δι' ἣν ὁ λόγος γέγονε σὰρξ. Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. ii. c. 2. p. 177, 178. Compare Johnson’s Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 188.

^t Albertinus de Eucharistia, p. 380.

^u Cyprian. Ep. lxx. p. 190. Note that the words in that edition are, *Eucharistia est unde baptizati unguuntur, oleum in altari sanctificatum*. But in the Benedictine edition, p. 125, the latter part is corrected into *oleo in altari sanctificato*.

body and blood of Christ κ . If we would take in all the several kinds of our *Lord's body*, or all the notions that have gone under that name, they amount to these four: 1. His *natural* body, considered first as mortal, and next as immortal. 2. His *typical* or *symbolical* body, viz. the outward *sign* in the Eucharist. 3. His *spiritual* body, in or out of the Eucharist, viz. the *thing signified*. 4. His *mystical* body, that is, his *Church*. But I proceed.

2. The next observation to be made upon Clemens is, that he manifestly excludes the *natural* body of Christ from being literally or locally *present* in the Sacrament, admitting only the *spiritual*; which he interprets of the *Logos* and of the *Holy Spirit*, one conceived more particularly to sanctify the *body*, and the other the *soul*, and both inhabiting the regenerate man. Which *general* doctrine, abstracting from the case of the Eucharist, is founded in *express Scripture* γ , and may by just and clear consequence be applied to the *Eucharist*, in virtue of the words of the *institution*, and of John vi. and other texts, besides the plain nature and reason of the thing.

3. Another thing to be observed of Clemens is, that as he plainly rejects any corporal and local presence, so does he as plainly reject the low notions of the *figurists* or *memorialists*: for no man ever expressed himself more strongly in favour of *spiritual graces* conveyed in the Eucharist.

4. It may be further noted, which shews our author's care and accuracy, that he brings not the *Logos* and *Holy Spirit* so much upon the *elements*, as upon the *persons*, viz. the worthy receivers, to sanctify them both in body and soul. He does indeed speak of the mixture of the *wine* and the *Logos*; and if he is to be understood of the *personal*, and not *vocal*, Word, he then supposes the Eucharist to consist of two things, *earthly* and *heavenly*, just as Irenæus before him did: but even upon that supposition, he might really mean no more than that the *communicant* received both together, both at the same instant. They were only so far *mixed*, as being both administered at the *same time*, and to the *same person*, receiving the one with his *mouth*, and the other with his *mind*, strengthened at once both in *body* and in *soul* κ . Clemens, in another place, cites part of the *insti-*

γ Dupliciter vero sanguis Christi et caro intelligitur: vel *spiritualis* illa atque divina, de qua ipse dixit Joh. vi. 54, 56; vel caro, et sanguis, quæ *crucifixæ* est, et qui militis effusus est lan-

cea. *Hieronym. in Eph.* c. i. p. 328.

γ John xiv. 16, 17, 23. 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17. vi. 19. 2 Cor. vi. 16.

κ Signum signatumque *conjunctim* considerantur, tanquam *unum aggre-*

tution, by memory perhaps, as follows: "He blessed the wine, " saying, *Take, drink; this is my blood*. The blood of the grape " mystically signifies the *Word* poured forth for many, for the " remission of sins, that holy torrent of gladness^a." Three things are observable from this passage: one, that the wine of the Eucharist, after consecration, is still the *blood of the grape*: another, that it is called the blood of Christ, or blood of the *Logos*, (as Origen also^b styles it,) *symbolically* signifying and exhibiting the fruits of the *passion*: lastly, that those fruits are owing to the union of the *Logos* with the suffering humanity. These principles all naturally fall in with the accounts I have before given.

A. D. 200. *Tertullian*.

The sentiments of the *African* Christians, in those early days, may be probably judged of by Tertullian, a very learned and acute writer, who thus expresses them. "*Bread is the Word* " of the living God, which came down from heaven; besides " that his *body* also is *understood* in bread: *This is my body*. " Therefore in asking our *daily bread*, we ask for *perpetuity* in " Christ, and to be *undivided* from his body^c." Here our author teaches, that the *Divine* nature of our Lord is our *bread*, and likewise that his *human* nature is our *bread* also, given us in or under the symbol of the sacramental bread. So Rigaltius^d interprets the passage, quoting a similar passage of St. Austin: but the reader may compare Albertinus^e. We can allow the Romanists here to understand Christ's *real* and *natural* body given in the Sacrament, but *mystically*, *spiritually*, and

gatum, idque ob *conjectam* amborum *exhibitionem* et *participationem* in usu legitimo. Quam conjunctionem vulgo vocant *unionem sacramentalem*, sed non usque adeo convenienter; cum non *signatum* cum *signo*, sed *nobiscum* uniatur, eoque potius, minus saltem ambigue, *conjunctioni pacti* debeat nominari. *Vossius, de Sacram. Vi et Effic.* p. 250. Conf. Bucer. Script. Anglican. p. 544.

^a Καὶ εὐλόγησέν γε τὸν οἶνον, εἰπὼν, λάβετε, πίνει· τοῦτό μου ἐστὶν τὸ αἷμα. Αἷμα τῆς ἀπέλου τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχεόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εὐφροσύνης ἄγιον ἀλληγορεῖ νάμα. *Clem. Pædag.* lib. ii. cap. 2. p. 186. I have altered the common *pointing*, for the improving the sense.

^b Origen. in Levit. Hom. ix. p. 243. See above, p. 505, and compare Cyril.

Alexandr. contra Nestor. l. v. p. 123.

^c Panis est *Sermo Dei vivi*, qui descendit de cœlis. Tum quod et corpus ejus in pare censetur: *Hoc est corpus meum*. Itaque petendo *panem quotidianum*, perpetuitatem postulamus in Christo, et individuitatem a corpore ejus. *Tertullian. de Orat.* c. vi. p. 131, 132.

^d Sic videtur explicari posse: Per panis sacramentum commendat corpus suum: quemadmodum Augustinus l. i. Quæst. Evang. 43. dixit, *Per vini sacramentum commendat sanguinem suum*. *Rigalt. in loc.*

^e Albertinus de Eucharist. p. 344. He understands it thus: that bread is a *name* for the sacramental *body*, as well as for *common bread*, and for *spiritual* food, i. e. Christ himself.

interpretatively given; as a *right* may be given us to a *distant* possession. Tertullian seems to understand *body*, of the *body glorified*, because he speaks of our being *undivided* from it, and may best be explained of the *mystical union* between Christ and his members, perfected in this Sacrament: which kind of union, as I have more than once hinted, supposes no *local corporal presence*, nor infers any.

Tertullian elsewhere speaks of our bodies as being fed with the *body and blood* of Christ, that our *souls* may be *feasted with God*, or may *feed upon God*^f. There I understand *body and blood* of Christ, of the *sacramental, symbolical* body and blood, that is, of the *bread and wine*, which *literally* nourish the *body* of man, and *symbolically* the soul. *Signs* often bear the names of the *things signified*, as Tertullian more than once intimates with reference to this very case^g. And when he says, that Christ *made the bread his own body*^h, he must be understood of the *symbolical* body, (the *figure*, or *symbol* of the natural body,) representingⁱ and exhibiting the thing signified.

But I must observe further, that when Tertullian builds an argument for the *resurrection* of the body upon this consideration, that our *bodies* are fed with the *symbolical* body of Christ, (as I have explained it,) he cannot be understood to mean less than that the symbolical body is *constructionally* or *interpretatively* the real body; and so our bodies are *literally* fed with one, while *mystically* and *spiritually* fed with the other also. Without this supposition, there is no force at all in his argument for the *resurrection*. Our bodies are *considered* as *fed* with Christ's natural body, therefore they are considered as *pertaining to*, or *mingled* with his body; therefore they are in construction *one flesh* with him; therefore, as his body is *glorified*, so also will *ours* be, head and members together. Such is the tour of the argument, such the chain of ideas that forms it^k. Which is confirmed by what he adds, viz. that *soul* and *body* being partners in the *work*, will share also in the *reward*. What is the *work*? The work of

^f Caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur, ut et anima de Deo saginetur: non possunt ergo separari in mercede, quas opera conjungit. *Tertull. de Resur. Carn.* cap. viii. p. 330. Conf. Albertin. p. 340.

^g Panem corpus suum appellans. *Tertull. adv. Jud.* cap. x. p. 196. contr. Mar. lib. iii. cap. 19. p. 408.

^h Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis corpus illum suum fecit,

HOC EST CORPUS MEUM dicendo: id est, figura corporis mei. *Contr. Marc.* l. iv. cap. 40. p. 458.

ⁱ Panem, quo ipsum corpus suum representat. *Contr. Marc.* lib. i.

^k A collection of other ancient testimonies, so far as concerns that argument, may be seen in Johnson, (Unbl. Sac. part ii. p. 110, &c.) though he does not account for it in the same way.

feeding upon Christ: both feast together here upon the *same Lord*, therefore both shall enjoy the same Lord hereafter. Which inference implies that even our *bodies* are in some sense (namely, in the *mystical* and *constructional* sense) fed with our Lord's natural body, as *crucified*, or as *glorified*. Enough has been said, to give the reader a competent notion of Tertullian's doctrine on this head. I shall only take notice further, that the acute and learned Pfaffius, following the Lutheran hypothesis, has collected many testimonies seemingly *favoured* that side, but then, very ingenuously, has matched them with *others* which are directly *repugnant* to it; and he has left them facing each other¹, unreconciled, irreconcilable. How easily might all have been set right, had he but considered a very common thing, called *construction of law*, or duly attended to the *symbolical language*, which *Scripture* and *Fathers* abound in. To what purpose is it to cite *Fathers* in any cause, without *reconciling* the evidence? Self-contradictory evidence is *null* or *none*. But I proceed.

A. D. 240. *Origen.*

Bulinger, in his treatise against Casaubon, cites a passage as Origen's, which runs thus: "He that partakes of the *bread*, "partakes also of the *Lord's body*: for we look not to the "objects of sense lying before us, but we lift up the soul by faith "to the body of the *Logos*. For he said not, *This is the symbol*, "but *This is the body*; to prevent any one's thinking that it "was a type^m." Albertinus throws off this passage as spurious, and as the product of some modern Greekⁿ. Huetius comes after, and blames him for arbitrarily *cutting* the knot^o, as he supposes. But there would be no great difficulty in *untying* the knot, were it certain that the words are Origen's. I will suppose that they are; and indeed I see no good reason why they may not. He seems to have intended nothing more but to raise up *vulgar* minds from grovelling apprehensions, to heavenly contemplations. Such exhortations to the populace are frequent in other *Fathers*. Origen admits not of naked *signs*, or mere *figures*: he was no *Sacramentarian*. He thought,

¹ Vid. Pfaffius de Consecrat. Vet. Euchar. p. 465, 470, 471.

^m Καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἄρτου μετέχων, τοῦ σώματος κυρίου μεταλαμβάνει· οὐ γὰρ προσέχομεν τῇ φύσει τῶν αἰσθητῶν προκειμένων, ἀλλ' ἀνάγομεν τὴν ψυχὴν διὰ πίστεως ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ λόγου σῶμα. οὐ

γὰρ εἶπε, τοῦτό ἐστι σύμβολον, ἀλλὰ τοῦτό ἐστι σῶμα· δεικτικῶς, ἵνα μὴ νομίζῃ τις τύπον εἶναι. *Bulng. contr. Casaub.* p. 617.

ⁿ Albertin. de Eucharist. lib. ii. cap. 3. p. 367.

^o Huetii Origeniana, p. 182.

very rightly, that the words of the *institution* were too strong and emphatical to submit to so low a meaning. He conceived that, under the *symbolical* body, was to be understood the *natural* body of Christ, the body of the *Logos*. If we take in another passage of Origen's, out of one of his Homilies^p, and join it with this, there will then appear a threefold, elegant gradation in his whole account, as thus: Look not to the *typical* body, but raise your minds higher up to the *natural* flesh of Christ: yea, and stop not there, but ascend still higher, from *human* to *Divine*, conceiving that *flesh* as personally united with the *Divine* Logos, or as the *body* of God. All which is true and sound doctrine, and very proper subject-matter for Christian exhortations: I need not add, that the whole is extremely suitable to what I have been maintaining all along in this chapter.

A. D. 250. *Cyprian*.

It is frequent with Cyprian to speak of the *sacred* elements under the name of our *Lord's body* and *blood*. I need not cite passages to prove what no one who has ever looked into that author can doubt of: in what sense he so styled them, pursuant to the words of the *institution*, is the single question. He says, in a certain place, that our Lord, in the original Eucharist, *offered up bread and wine*, viz. *his own body and blood*^q. It is plain, that he thought not of *transubstantiation*, since he calls the elements *bread* and *wine*, even after consecration, and supposes besides, that Christ offered the same in substance that Melchizedeck had offered long before the incarnation. Neither could Cyprian think of *consubstantiation*, since he admits of no other *body* and *blood* as there present, and literally offered, but the same individual *bread* and *wine*: they were the *body* and *blood*. But how were they such, since they were not so, strictly and literally? I answer, they were *figuratively* such, according to our author: not that the elements were by him supposed to be mere *figures*, or *memorials*, or *representations*; but what they represented, that they represented with *effect*, and so amounted in just *construction* and *beneficial* influence to the same thing. This was the notion he had of them, as will sufficiently appear from several clear passages. He supposes the *natural* blood of Christ by which we

^p Non hæreas in sanguine carnis, sed discite potius sanguinem Verbi, &c. Origen. in *Levit. Hom.* ix. p. 243.

^q Sacrificium Deo Patri obtulit, et obtulit hoc idem quod Melchisedech

obtulerat, id est, panem et vinum, suum scilicet corpus et sanguinem. *Cypr. Epist.* lxxiii. p. 105. ed. Bened. alias p. 149.

are redeemed, to be *in the cup*, in some sense or other, when the *sacred wine* is there: the wine *represents* it, stands for it, and is *interpretatively* the same thing. He could not well mean less than this, by saying, that the blood is *signified* (*ostenditur*) in the wine, and that it is supposed to be in the cup, *videtur esse in calice*, is *looked upon* as being there. Not literally to be sure, but constructionally, and in effect: for the *effects*, according to him, upon every faithful receiver, are *remission of sins*^s, and *spiritual strength* against the adversary^t, and *life eternal*^u. So far was he from the low and degrading notions of the *figurists* in this article; and yet sufficiently guarded (as I have before hinted) against another extreme.

There are no more considerable authorities to be met with, so far as concerns this article, till we come down to the *fourth* century, and so on; and there they are innumerable: all following the same tenor of doctrine, all, when rightly understood, teaching the same thing, in the main, with what I have here represented from their predecessors; so that I know not whether it might not be tedious to my readers, to proceed any further in a recital of this kind. But I may single out one, as it were, by way of specimen, leaving the rest to be judged of by that: and that one may be Cyril of Jerusalem, as proper a sample perhaps as any.

A. D. 348. *Cyril of Jerusalem.*

I do not know any one writer, among the ancients, who has given a *fuller*, or *clearer*, or in the main *juster* account of the holy Eucharist, than this the elder Cyril has done; though he has often been strangely misconstrued by contending parties. The true and ancient notions of the Eucharist came now to be digested into somewhat of a more regular and accurate form, and the manner of speaking of it became, as it were, fixed and settled upon rules of art. Cyril expresses himself thus, "Receive " we [the Eucharist] with all fulness of faith, as the *body* and

^r Nec potest videri sanguis ejus, quo redempti et vivificati sumus, esse in calice quando vinum desit calici, quo Christi sanguis ostenditur, qui Scripturarum omnium Sacramento ac testimonio prædicatur. *Ep.* lxiij. p. 104.

^s Epotato sanguine Domini et poculo salutari, exponatur memoria veteris hominis, et fiat oblivio conversationis pristinae sæcularis, et mæstum pectus et triste, quod prius peccatis argentibus premebatur, Divinae indulgentiæ lætitia resolvatur. *Cypr. Ep.*

lxiii. p. 107. alias 153.

^t Protectione sanguinis et corporis Christi muniamus; et cum ad hoc fiat Eucharistia, ut possit accipientibus esse tutela, quos tutos esse contra adversarium volumus, munimento Dominicæ saturitatis armemus. *Epist.* liv. p. 77. alias *Ep.* lvii. p. 117.

^u Manifestum est eos vivere qui corpus ejus attingunt, et Eucharistiam jure communicationis accipiunt. *Cyprian. de Orat.* p. 209, 210.

“ *blood* of Christ: for, under the *type* [or *symbol*] of bread, you “ have his *body* given you, and under the *type* [*symbol*] of wine, “ you receive his blood; that so partaking of the body and “ blood of Christ, you may become *flesh of his flesh*, and *blood of “ his blood*. For, by this means, we carry Christ about us, in as “ much as his body and blood is *distributed* into our *members*: “ thus do we become, according to St. Peter, partakers of the “ Divine nature^x.” The doctrine here taught is, that in the Eucharist we receive (not *literally*, but *symbolically*) the *natural* body and blood of Christ; just as the priests of old, in eating the *sacrifices symbolically*, but *effectually*, ate up the sins of the people, or as the faithful Israelites, in eating *manna* and drinking of the *rock*, effectually fed upon Christ. The *symbolical* body and blood are here supposed by our author to supply the place of the *natural*, and to be in *construction* and *beneficial* effect (not *substantially*) the same thing with it; and so he speaks of our becoming by that means *one flesh* and *one blood* with Christ, meaning it in as high a sense, as all the members of Christ are *one body*, or as man and wife are *one flesh*. We *carry* Christ about us, as we are *mystically* united to him. His body and blood are *considered* as *intermingled* with ours^y, when the *symbols* of them *really* and *strictly* are so: for the *benefit* is completely the same; and God *accepts* of such *symbolical* union, making it, to all *saving* purposes and intents, as effectual, as any the most *real* could be. Cyril never thought of any presence of Christ’s *natural* body and blood in the Sacra-

^x Μετὰ πάσης πληροφορίας, ὡς σώματος καὶ αἵματος μεταλαμβάνωμεν Χριστοῦ ἐν τυπῇ γὰρ ἄρτου, δίδοται σοι τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἐν τυπῇ οἴνου δίδοται σοι τὸ αἷμα. ἵνα γένη, μεταλαβὼν σώματος καὶ αἵματος Χριστοῦ, σύσσωμος καὶ σύναμος αὐτοῦ. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ χριστοφόροι γινόμεθα, τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος εἰς τὰ ἡμέτερα ἀναδιδομένου μέλη. οὕτω, κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Πέτρον, θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως γινόμεθα. *Cyrrill. Hierosol. Mystag.* iv. sect. 3. p. 320. edit. Bened.

^y Chrysostom, in like manner, speaks of Christ’s *intermingling* his body with ours, in the Eucharist; but explains it, at length, by the *mystical union* therein contracted, or perfected between Christ the *head*, and us his *members*. — ἀνεμίξεν ἑαυτὸν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἀνέφυρε τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ἔν τι ὑπάρξωμεν, καθάπερ

σῶμα κεφαλῆ συνημμένον. *Chrysost. in Joh. Hom.* xlvii. p. 272. Conf. in *Matt. Hom.* lxxxiii. p. 788.

“ To shew the fervour of his affection towards us, he has *mingled* “ himself with us, and *diffused* his “ own body into us, that so we may “ become *one thing*, as a *body* joined “ with the *head*.” Compare Cyril of Alexandria. In *Joh.* p. 365, 862. De *Sanct. Trin.* p. 407. *Isidor. Pelus. lib.* iii. ep. 195. p. 333.

N. B. Chrysostom elsewhere speaks as highly of *Baptism*, and of the *mingling* with our Lord’s body, in that Sacrament also; [in *Coloss. Hom.* vi. p. 201.] all which means nothing but the *mystical union*. Chamier has discussed this whole matter at large, if the reader desires further satisfaction. De Eucharist. lib. xi. cap. 8, 9. p. 633, &c.

ment, excepting in *mystery* and *figure*, (which he expresses by the word *type*,) and in real *benefits* and *privileges*.

He goes on to observe, that our Lord once told the Jews (John vi. 54.) of *eating his flesh*, &c. And they not understanding that it was spoken *spiritually*, [but taking the thing literally,] were offended at it, as if he had been persuading them to *devour his flesh*². Hence it appears further, that our author was no friend to the gross, literal construction. He proceeds as follows: "Under the New Testament we have *heavenly bread*, "and a *cup of salvation*, sanctifying both body and soul: for as *bread* answers to *body*, so the *Logos* suits with the *soul*^a." This thought may be compared with another of Clemens above, somewhat like, and somewhat different. But both agree in two main points, that the Eucharist *sanctifies* the worthy receiver both in body and soul, and that Christ is properly *present* in his *Divine* nature. Wherefore Cyril had the more reason for pressing his exhortation afterwards in high and lofty terms: "Consider them [the elements] not as mere *bread* and *wine*; "for by our Lord's express declaration, they are the *body* and "blood of Christ. And though your *taste* may suggest that to "you, [viz. that they are *mere* bread and wine,] yet let your "faith keep you firm. Judge not of the thing by your *taste*, but "under a full persuasion of *faith*, be you undoubtedly assured, that "you are vouchsafed the *body* and *blood* of Christ^b." This he said to draw off the minds of his audience from low and carnal apprehensions, that so they might view those mysteries with the eye

² Ἐκεῖνοι μὴ ἀκηκοότες πνευματικῶς τῶν λεγομένων, σκανδαλισθέντες ἀπήλθον εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, νομίζοντες ὅτι ἐπὶ σαρκοφαγίαν αὐτοῦ προτρέπεται. Cyril. *ibid.* p. 321.

Toutée, the Benedictine, here blames our learned Milles for rendering, *quæ spiritualiter dicebantur, non intelligerent*, instead of *quæ dicebantur, spiritualiter non intelligerent*. The criticism appears too nice, making a *distinction* without a *difference*; for the sense is the same either way. The Capernaïtes were here censured for not *spiritually* construing what was *spiritually* intended; for taking *literally*, what was meant *spiritually*: which is what either translation at length resolves into.

^a Ἐν τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ, ἄρτος οὐράνιος, καὶ ποτήριον σωτηρίου, ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀγιάζοντα ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἄρτος σώματι κατάλληλος, οὕτω καὶ ὁ λόγος τῇ ψυχῇ ἄρμόδιος. Cyril. *ibid.* p. 231.

^b Μὴ πρόσχε οὖν ὡς ψιλοῖς τῷ ἄρτῳ καὶ τῷ οἴνῳ· σῶμα γὰρ καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ, κατὰ δεσποτικὴν τυγχάνει ἀπόφασιν. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἡ αἰσθησίς σοι τοῦτο ὑποβάλλει, ἀλλ' ἡ πίστις σε βεβαιούτω, μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς γεύσεως κρίνης τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως πληροφοροῦ ἀνευδιόστως σώματος καὶ αἵματος Χριστοῦ καταξιωθείς. *Ibid.* p. 321.

N. B. The first Nicene Council (if we may credit Gelasius) had words to the same effect with these of Cyril: not with any intent to declare the *nature* or *substance* of the consecrated elements, (which none could doubt of,) but to engage the *attention* to their appointed *use*, and to the *graces* therein signified and conveyed. Vid. Gelas. Cyzicen. part. 2. concil. tom. i. p. 427. ed. Hard. conf. Albertin. p. 384, &c. Bishop Moreton has largely explained it, b. iv. chap. 11. sect. ii. p. 302, &c.

of *faith*, and not merely with the eye of *sense*; might look through the outward *sign* to the inward thing *signified*, and regale their *spiritual taste* more than the *sensual*. This is what Cyril really meant: though some moderns, coming to read him either with *transubstantiation* or *consubstantiation* in their heads, have amused themselves with odd constructions of very innocent words.

As to his exhorting his audience not to take the elements for *mere* bread and wine, it is just such another kind of address as he had before made to them, first in relation to the *waters* of *Baptism*, and next with regard to the *Chrism*. "Look not to this laver, as to *ordinary* water, but (attend) to the *grace* conferred with the water^c." Would any sensible man conclude from hence, that the *water* was *transubstantiated*, according to our author, into some other substance? Let us go on to what he says of the *Chrism*. "Have a care of suspecting that this is *ordinary ointment*, [or mere ointment;] for, like as the sacramental bread, after the invocation of the Holy Spirit, is no more bare *bread*, but the *body* of *Christ*, so also this holy unguent is no more bare ointment, nor to be called *common*, after the invocation; but it is the *grace* of *Christ* and of the Holy Spirit, endowed with special energy by the presence of his *Godhead*: and it is *symbolically* spread over the forehead and other parts of the body. So then the body is anointed with the visible unguent, but the soul is sanctified by the enlivening Spirit^d."

I cite not this, as approving all that Cyril has here said of the *Chrism*, (not standing upon Scripture authority,) but to give light to what he has said of the *Eucharist*, which he compares with the other, while he supposes the cases parallel. He conceived the *elements* in one case, and the *unguent* in the other, to be *exhibitive* symbols of *spiritual* graces, instrumentally conveying what they represent. The bread and wine, according to his doctrine, are *symbolically* the body and blood: and by *symbolically* he means the very same thing which I have otherwise

^c Μη ὡς ὕδατι λιτῶ, πρόσεχε τῷ λουτρῶ, ἀλλὰ τῇ μετὰ τοῦ ὕδατος διδόμενη χάριτι. *Cyrrill. Catech.* iii. p. 40. Vid. Albertin. 429. conf. Chrysostom. in Matt. Hom. lxxxiii. p. 787.

^d Ἄλλ' ὄρα μὴ ὑπονοήσης ἐκεῖνο τὸ μύρον ψιλὸν εἶναι· ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἄρτος τῆς εὐχαριστίας, μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, οὐκ ἐστὶ ἄρτος λιτὸς, ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἄγιον τοῦτο μύρον οὐκ ἐστὶ ψιλόν, οἷδ' ὡς ἂν

εἶποι τις κοινὸν μετ' ἐπίκλησιν· ἀλλὰ Χριστοῦ χάρισμα καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου, παρουσία τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος ἐνεργητικὸν γινόμενον. ὅπερ συμβολικῶς ἐπὶ μετώπου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σου χρίεται αἰσθητηρίων. καὶ τῶ φαινομένῳ μύρῳ τὸ σῶμα χρίεται, τῶ δὲ ἀγίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῶ πνεύματι ἡ ψυχὴ ἀγιάζεται. *Mystag.* iii. p. 317. Conf. Gregor. Nyssen. de Baptism. tom. iii. p. 369.

expressed by saying, that they are the body and blood in *just construction* and *beneficial* effect. What Cyril feared with respect to *Baptism*, and the *Eucharist*, and the *Unction*, was, that many in low life (coming perhaps from the *plough*, the *spade*, or the *pale*) might be dull of apprehension, and look no higher than to what they *saw*, *felt*, or *tasted*. Upon the like suspicion was grounded the ancient solemn preface to the Communion Service, called *Sursum Corda* by the Latins: wherein the officiating minister admonished the communicants to *lift up their hearts*, and they made answer, *We lift them up unto the Lord^c*.

To make the point we have been upon still plainer, let Cyril be heard again, as he expresses the thing in a succeeding lecture. "You hear the Psalmist with divine melody inviting you to the communion of the holy mysteries, and saying, *Taste and see how gracious the Lord is*. Leave it not to the bodily palate to judge: no, but to *faith* clear of all doubting. For the tasters are not commanded to taste *bread* and *wine*, but the *antitype* [symbol] of the *body* and *blood* of Christ^f." Here our author plainly owns the elements to be *types*, or *symbols*, (as he had done also before,) and therefore not the *very things* whereof they are symbols; not *literally* and strictly, but *interpretatively*, *mystically*, and to all *saving* purposes and intents; which suffices^g. It is no marvel, if Mr. Toutté^h and other Romanists interpret Cyril to quite another purpose: but

^e "Ἄνω τὰς καρδίας. Cyril. *Mystag.* v. p. 326. Cyprian. de Orat. Domin. p. 213. alias 152. conf. Bingham, b. xv. c. 3. sect. 3. Renaudot. Liturg. Orient. vol. i. p. 226.

^f Ἀκούετε τοῦ ψάλλοντος, μετὰ μέλους θεοῦ προτροπομένου ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων, καὶ λέγοντος, γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ κύριος. μὴ τῷ λάρυγγι τῷ σωματικῷ ἐπιτρέπετε τὸ κριτικόν. οὐχί, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀνευδοιάστῳ πίστει. γεύόμενοι γὰρ οὐκ ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου κελεύονται γεύσασθαι, ἀλλὰ ἀντιτύπου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. *Mystag.* v. p. 331.

^g Deylingius seems to wonder at Mr. Aubertine and Mr. Claude for under-commenting, as he conceives, with respect to Cyril: Deyling. *Observ.* Miscell. p. 157. But he attempts not to confute what they had said: it was wiser to forbear. The utmost that any one can justly make of the very strongest expressions in Cyril, can amount only to a *mystical* union

of Christ's body with the *faithful* communicants, as *members* of him; which is such an union as St. Paul resembles to that whereby man and wife are *one flesh*, (Eph. v. 30, 31.) and which undoubtedly is a *moral* union, independent of *local* presence.

^h Toutté, *Dissert.* iii. prefixed to his new edition of Cyril, c. ix. p. 204, &c. The reader may compare Albertinus, (p. 422.) who had sufficiently obviated every thing pleadable on the side of the Romanists. Compare also Johnson, (*Unbloody Sacrifice*, part i. p. 257.) who has well defended Cyril on this head, and Deylingius, who in a set discourse has replied to Toutté. (Deyling. *Observat.* Miscell. *Exercit.* ii. p. 163, &c.) Only I may note, by the way, that he has strained some things in favour of the Lutheran principles, and has better confuted the Romanists, than he has established his own hypothesis.

one may justly wonder how the learned and impartial Dr. Grabe should construe Cyril in that *gross* sense, which he mentions under the name of *augmentation*ⁱ. I presume, he read Cyril with an eye to modern *controversy*, and did not consider him as speaking to *mechanics* and *day-labourers*: or, he was not aware of the *difference* there is, between telling men what they are to *believe*, and what they ought to *attend* to, which was Cyril's chief aim. As to *believing*, he very well knew that every one would believe his *senses*, and take bread to be *bread*, and wine to be *wine*, as himself believed also: but he was afraid of their *attending* so entirely to the report of their *senses*, as to forget the reports of *sacred Writ*, which ought to be *considered* at the same time, and with closer *attention* than the other, as being of *everlasting* concernment. In short, he intended no lecture of *faith* against *eyesight*: but he endeavoured, as much as possible, to draw off their *attention*^k from the objects of *sense* to the object of *faith*, and from the *signs* to the *things signified*.

It has been urged, as of moment, that Cyril compared the *change* made in the Eucharist to the *miraculous* change of water into wine wrought by our Lord in Cana of Galilee^l. It is true that he did so: but *similitudes* commonly are no arguments of any thing more than of some *general* resemblance. There was *power from above* in that case, and so is there in this: and it may be justly called a *supernatural* power^m; not upon the *elements* to change their nature, but upon the *communicants* to add *spiritual* strength to their souls. The operation in the Eucharist is no *natural* work of any creature, but the *supernatural* grace of God's Holy Spirit. Therefore Cyril's thought was not much amiss, in resembling one *supernatural* operation to another, agreeing in the *general* thing, differing in *specialities*. In a large sense of the word *miracle*, there are miracles of *grace*, as well as miracles of *nature*; and the same *Divine* power operates in both, but in a different way, as the ends and objects are different.

ⁱ Grabe, ad Iren. lib. v. cap. 2. in notis, p. 399. Conf. Deyling. Observat. Miscellan. p. 177.

^k In Sacramentis non quid sint, sed quid ostendant, attenditur; quoniam signa sunt rerum, aliud existentia et aliud significantia. Augustin. contr. Maz. lib. iii. cap. 22. conf. de Doctrin. Christian. cap. 7.

^l Cyril. Mystag. iv. sect. 2. p. 320.

^m Neque quaeritur aut controversitur an panis et vinum *supernaturali* virtute, et omnipotentia *divina* a com-

muni elementorum usu, in sublimiorem usum et dignitatem transmutentur: fatemur enim in *Sacramentis* omnino necesse esse, cœlestem et *supernaturalem* mutationem supervenire, nec posse fieri *Sacramentum* nisi per *omnipotentiam Dei*, cujus solius est *Sacramenta* in ecclesia *instituire*, ipsisque *efficaciam* tribuere. Cosin. *Hist. Transsubst.* cap. iv. p. 45, conf. p. 124. Compare Johnson, *Unbloody Sacrifice*, part i. p. 258. alias 261. Albertin. 855.

I shall proceed no further with the *Fathers* on this head, because it would be tedious, and in a manner endless. None of them, that I know of, carried the doctrine higher than this Cyril did; but most of them, somewhere or other, added particular guards and explanationsⁿ. All intended to say, that the elements keeping their own nature and substance, and not admitting a coalition with any other bodily substance, are *symbolically* or in *mystical construction*, the body and blood of Christ; being *appointed* as such by Christ, *accepted* as such by God the Father, and *made* such in *effect* by the *Holy Spirit*, to every *faithful* receiver. So ran the general doctrine from the beginning and downwards: neither am I aware of any considerable change made in it till the dark ages came on, the eighth, ninth, tenth, and following centuries^o. The corruptions which grew up by degrees, and prevailed more and more till the happy days of reformation, are very well known^p, and need no particular recital.

Luther first, and afterwards Zuinglius, attempted a reform in this article: but it was difficult to clear off the thick darkness all at once; and so neither of them did it to such perfection as might have been wished. One threw off *transubstantiation* very justly, but yet retained I know not what *corporal, local* presence, and therefore did not retrench enough: the other threw off all corporal and local presence very rightly, but threw off withal (or too much neglected) the *spiritual presence* and *spiritual graces*: which was retrenching a great deal too much^q. It must

ⁿ For a *specimen*, we may take notice of Facundus, as late as the middle of the sixth century, who writes thus:

Sacramentum corporis et sanguinis ejus, quod est in pane et calice consecrato, corpus ejus et sanguinem dicimus: non quod proprie corpus ejus sit panis, et poculum sanguis, sed quod in se mysterium corporis ejus sanguinisque contineant. Hinc et ipse Dominus benedictum panem et calicem, quem discipulis tradidit, corpus et sanguinem suum vocavit. Quocirca, sicut Christi fideles, Sacramentum corporis et sanguinis ejus accipientes, corpus et sanguinem Christi recte dicuntur accipere; sic et ipse Christus Sacramentum adoptionis filiorum cum suscepisset, potuit recte dici adoptionem filiorum accepisse. *Facund. Heremian.* lib. ix. cap. 5. conf. Ephræm. Antioch. in Phot. Cod. 229. p. 793.

^o See l'Arroque, Hist. of the Eucharist, part ii. cap. 12, 13, &c.

^p In the year 787 the second Council of Nice began with a rash determination, that the sacred symbols are not *figures* or *images* at all, but the *very body and blood*. About 831, Paschasius Radbertus carried it further, even to *transubstantiation*, or somewhat very like to it. The name of *transubstantiation* is supposed to have come in about A. D. 1100, first mentioned by Hildebertus Cenomanensis of that time, p. 689. edit. Benedict. A. D. 1215, the doctrine was made an article of faith by the Lateran Council, under Innocent the Third. Afterwards, it was reestablished in the Trent Council, A. D. 1551, and at length in Pope Pius's Creed, A. D. 1564.

^q Vid. Calvin. de Cœna Domini, p. 10. et contr. Westphal. p. 707, 774.

however be owned, that apologies have been since made for Zuinglius, as for one that erred in *expression* rather than in real *meaning*, or that corrected his sentiments on second thoughts^r. And it is certain that his friends and followers, within a while, came into the old and true notion of *spiritual* benefits^s, and left the low notion of naked *signs* and *figures* to the Anabaptists of those times; where they rested, till again revived by the Socinians, who afterwards handed them down to the Remonstrants.

Calvin came after Zuinglius, and refined upon his scheme, steering a kind of middle course, between the extremes. He appears to have set out right, laying his groundwork with good judgment: and had he but as carefully built upon it afterwards, no fault could have been justly found. In the first edition of his Institutions, (printed at Basil A. D. 1536,) he writes thus: "We say that they [the body and blood] are *truly* and "*efficaciously* exhibited to us, but not *naturally*. By which we "*mean*, not that the *very substance* of his body, or that the *real* "*and natural* body of Christ are *there given*, but all the benefits "*which Christ procured for us in his body. This is that presence* "*of his body which the nature of a Sacrament requires*." This came very near the truth, and the whole truth: only there was an *ambiguity*, which he was not aware of, in the words *there given*; and so, for want of a proper *distinction*, his account was too *confused*. He should have said, that the *natural* body is *there given*, but not *there present*, which is what he really meant. The *mystical union* with our Lord's *glorified* body is *there* (or in that service) strengthened, or *perfected*; as a *right* may be given to a *distant* possession: and such *union* as we now speak of, requires no *local* presence of Christ's body. Here that great man and illustrious reformer was somewhat embroiled, and could never sufficiently extricate himself afterwards. He was well aware, that to assert only an application of the *merit* or *virtue* of Christ's passion, in the Eucharist, came not fully up to many strong expressions of the ancient *Fathers* relating to our union with the *natural* and now *glorified* body: nay, it appeared to fall short of St. Paul's doctrine, which represents the true disciples of Christ, as *members of his body, of his flesh, and of his*

^r See Archbishop Wake, Discourse on the Holy Eucharist, p. 83.

^s See Hooker, vol. ii. p. 327.

^t Dicimus, *vere et efficaciter* exhiberi, non autem *naturaliter*. Quo scilicet significamus, non *substantiam*

ipsam corporis, seu verum et naturale Christi corpus illic dari, sed omnia quæ in suo corpore nobis beneficia Christus præstitit. Ea est corporis presentia quam Sacramenti ratio postulat. Calvin. Instit. apud Wake, p. 47.

bones^v. I say, Calvin was well aware of this difficulty, and more especially after he had been warmly pressed on that head, in his disputes with the Lutherans. So he found himself to be under a necessity of bringing in the *natural* body some way or other^w, but did it a little confusedly, and out of course. He made it the *ground*^x, instead of reckoning it among the *fruits*: and he supposed the glorified body to be, as it were, *eaten* in the Eucharist, when he should only have said, that it became more perfectly *united* with ours: and he further invented an obscure and unintelligible notion of the *virtue of Christ's flesh* being brought down from heaven and diffused all around, by the power of the *Holy Spirit*^y. All which perplexity seems to have been owing to the wrong stating of a notion, which yet was *true* in the main, and which wanted only to be better adjusted, by a more orderly ranging of ideas, or by new casting it; which has been done since.

Our Divines, who came after Calvin, had some advantage in point of *time*, and a greater still in the rule or method which they pitched upon, as most proper to proceed by: which was, not to strike out any new hypotheses or theories by strength of wit, but to inquire after the *old paths*, and there to abide. Archbishop Cranmer took this method: he was a judicious man, and a well-read Divine; and more particularly in what concerns the *Eucharist*. We have the sum of his doctrine in the first page of his preface.

“ Where I use to speake sometymes, (as the olde authours “ doo,) that Christe is in the Sacramentes, I meane the same as “ they dyd understand the mattier: that is to say, not of “ Christes *carnall presence* in the outwarde Sacrament, but

^v Ephes. v. 30.

^w Neque enim mortis tantum ac resurrectionis suæ *beneficium* nobis offert Christus, sed *corpus ipsum* in quo passus est et resurrexit. Concludo, realiter, hoc est vere, nobis in cœna dari *Christi corpus*, ut sit animis nostris in *cibus* salutarem.—Intelligo, *substantia corporis* pasci animas nostras, ut vere *unum* efficiamur cum eo: vel, quod idem valet, *vim ex Christi carne vivificam* in nos per *Spiritum* diffundi, quamvis longe a nobis distat, nec misceatur nobiscum. *Calvin. in 1 Cor. xi. 24. p. 392. Conf. contr. Westphal. p. 774. 784.*

^x Vid. Beza, Orat. apud Placæi Comment. de Stat. Relig. p. 112. Bi-

shop Cosin follows the same way of speaking; *Histor. Transubstan. p. 35, 43, 44, 45.*

^y Plus centies occurrit in scriptis meis, adeo me non rejicere *substantia* nomen, ut ingenue et libere profitear spiritualem vitam, incomprehensibili *spiritus* virtute ex *carnis Christi substantia* in nos diffundi. *Calvin. contr. Westphal. p. 842. conf. 843.*

Corpus quod nequaquam cernis, spirituale est tibi alimentum. Incredibile hoc videtur, *pasci nos Christi carne*, quæ tam procul a nobis *distat*? meminimus, *arcanum et mirificum esse*. Spiritus Sancti opus, quod intelligentiæ tuæ modulo metiri sit nefas. *Calvin. in 1 Cor. xi. 24. p. 392.*

" sometyes of his *sacramentall presence*; and sometye by
 " this woorde *sacrament* I meane the whole mynistration and
 " receyvyng of the Sacramentes, eyther of *Baptisme* or of the
 " *Lordes Supper*. And so the olde writers many tymes dooe
 " say, that *Christe* and the *Holy Ghoste* be *present* in the Sacra-
 " mentes; not meanyng by that manner of speache, that
 " *Christe* and the *Holy Ghoste* be presente in the *water, bread,*
 " or *wyne*, (whiche be only the outward vysible Sacramentes,)
 " but that in the dewe mynistration of the Sacramentes, accord-
 " yng to *Christes* ordynance and institution, *Christe* and his
 " *Holy Spirite* be *truly* and *indeede* present by their mighty and
 " sanctifying *power, virtue, and grace* in all them that *worthily*
 " receyve the same. Moreover, when I saye and repeate many
 " tymes in my booke, that the *body* of *Christ* is *present* in them
 " that *worthily* receive the Sacramente, leaste any man shulde
 " mystake my woordes, and thynke that I mean, that although
 " *Christe* be not corporally in the outward visible *sygnes*, yet hee
 " is corporally in the *persones* that duely receive them; this is
 " to advertise the reader, that I meane no suche thyng: but
 " my meanyng is, that the *force, the grace, the virtue, and benefyte*
 " of *Christes bodye* that was crucifyed for us, and of his *bloudde*
 " that was shedde for us, be *really* and *effectually* present with
 " all them that *duely* receive the *Sacramentes*. But all this I
 " understande of his *spiritual* presence, of the whyche hee saythe,
 " *I wyll bee with you untyll the worldes ende*: and, *Wheresoover*
 " *two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the*
 " *myddes of them*: and, *He that eateth my fleshe, and drynketh my*
 " *bloude, dwelleth in me, and I in hym*. Nor no more truly is
 " he *corporally* or *really* presente in the due mynistration of the
 " *Lordes Supper*, than he is in the due mynistration of *Bap-*
 " *tisme*." It is observable, that our judicious author wisely
 avoids saying any thing of the *eating* of *Christ's glorified* body,
 for he speaks of the *crucified* only, and justly explains the *spi-*
ritual manducation of it. He drops all mention here of the
mystical union with the body *glorified*, and so his account may be
 thought a little *defective* as to that particular: but he frequently
 takes notice of it in his book, as one of the effects or fruits
 of the *spiritual* manducation in the Eucharist, which strengthens

^z Cranmer's Answ. to Gardiner, edit. 1551. In the edition of 1580. there is added, to the passage cited, as follows: "That is to say, in both *spiritually* by *grace*: and whereso-

ever in the Scripture it is said that
 " Christ, God, or the Holy Ghost is
 " in any man, the same is understood
 " *spiritually* by *grace*."

and confirms the *worthy* receivers as *members* of Christ's natural body^a.

I may spare myself the trouble of reciting the sentiments of Bishop Ridley, and Bishop Latimer, and Mr. Bradford of that time, and of Bishop Jewel who came not long after: for they all agreed, in the main things, with Archbishop Cranmer, who may therefore be looked upon as *instar omnium*, while in him we have all. I shall only take notice how our acutest Divines have, time after time, hit off the difficulties which were once very perplexing, by the use of proper *distinctions*, between the body *crucified* and the body *glorified*; as likewise between *manducation* and *union*. It will be sufficient to name two of them: one wrote as early as the days of Queen Elizabeth, and the other as late as King James the Second.

Dr. William Barlow^b, in the year 1601, published a treatise entitled, A Defence of the Articles of the Protestant Religion; which he dedicated to Bancroft, then Bishop of London: he occasionally says something upon our present subject, which may be worth the noting, though the style is not the most commendable.

^c " Great difference there is (perchance *not observed by many*) " between our *eating* of Christ, and our *uniting* with him.—

" 1. We *eat* him as our *Passover*^d; that as the Israelites ate " the one *mortuum et assum, dead and roasted*^e, so we him " *crucifixum et passum, dead and slain*. And so that speech of " St. Austin is true, we have him here *in pabulo* as he was *in* " *patibulo*, torn and rent: as himself ordained the Sacrament *in* " *pane fracto, not integro, the bread broken, not the whole loaf*; " thereby signifying, yea saying, that in doing it we must re- " member him, not as *living* among us, but as *dying* for us; " *ut in cruce, non in caelo, as he was crucified, not as he is glori-* " *fied*. Whereby we conclude, first, for his *presence*, that his " body is so far forth there *quatenus editur, as it is eaten*: but " his body is *eaten* as *dead and slain*; so himself appointed it, " *This is my body*, and stayeth not there, but adds withal, *which* " *is given for you*. And his blood is drunk, not as *remaining in* " *his veins*, but as *shed*: so himself speaketh, *This is my blood of*

^a Cranmer, p. 16, 27, 43, 44, 161, 174, 199. Compare Jewel, Answ. to Harding, art. v. p. 254, &c.

^b The same that published a relation of the Hampton-Court Conference in 1604, and was made Bishop of Ro-

chester in 1605, translated to Lincoln in 1608, died 1613.

^c Barlow's Defence, &c. p. 124, &c.

^d 2 Cor. v. 7.

^e Exod. xii. 9.

“ *the new testament shed for many.* Now, his body *bruised*, and his blood *poured out*, can no otherwise be *present* in the Eucharist, but by a *representation* thereof in the bread *broken*, and in the wine *effused*, of the one side; and on the communicant’s part, by a *grateful recordation* of the benefits, a *reverent valuation* of the sacrifice, a *faithful application* of his merits in his whole passion: and therefore his *presence* must be *sacramental*, and our eating *spiritual*; for, *non quod videtur, sed quod creditur, pascit*, saith St. Austin.

“ 2. For the *union*, we are united to him *ut viventi*, as our *living head, et nos vivificant*, and making us his lively members. It is true which Christ saith, that *he which eateth my flesh, abideth in me, and I in him*^f. Not that this *union* is first begun in our participation of that holy Supper, (for none can truly *eat* the body of Christ, unless he be first *united* with him, and ingrafted into him: *nec vere edit corpus Christi, qui non est de corpore Christi*, saith St. Austin.) because *prima unio*, saith Aquinas, the *first union* between God and man is begun in *Baptism* by one *Spiritus*, as the Apostle speaketh, and continueth, by faith, hope, and charity; all these the operation of the same Spirit.

“ But if we truly *eat* the body, and *drink* the blood of Christ, then by the power of the Holy Ghost, and faith cooperating, this *union* is *strengthened*, the vigour and effects whereof, after a *true* participation, we shall feel within ourselves more *forcible* and *lively*.—Is not Christ as *present* in Baptism, as in the Eucharist? for in them both we *communicate* with him; *bred anew* in the one, *fed anew* in the other: and yet Christ’s *real presence* is not challenged for Baptism. If they say no, because of the Eucharist it was said, *This is my body and blood*, not so of Baptism; I answer: As much, if not more, was spoken by the Apostle; *They which are baptized have put on Christ*^h. Put him on we cannot, unless he be *present*: and the *putting him on* is even the very same which he elsewhere calleth *Christ’s dwelling in us*ⁱ, namely, that in Baptism we

^f John vi. 56.

^g 1 Cor. xii. 13.

^h Gal. iii. 27. Conf. Phot. Amphiloeh. apud Wolf. Cur. Crit. vol. ult. p. 737.

ⁱ Ephes. iii. 17. N. B. The observation here urged appears to be perfectly just, and may be of great use for discovering the weakness of the

pleas made for the *real* and *local* presence in the other Sacrament. The learned Buddæus, for instance, pleads, that the *giving* of the body cannot be understood without such *real presence* of the body; and that no *communion* can be without such *real presence*: *Koinonia inter res quæ sibi invicem presentes non sunt, esse nequit. Insti-*

“ are so transformed, as now not we, but Christ alone doth live
 “ within us^k; as near an *unity* as may¹. And in truth St.
 “ Austin is out of doubt, that in Baptism the true member of
 “ Christ *corporis et sanguinis Domini particeps fit, is partaker*
 “ *of the body and blood of the Lord^m*: and therefore no reason
 “ withstands, but that he should be really present in *both*, or in
 “ *neither*.” Thus far Bishop Barlow, whose words I have here
 quoted at length, chiefly for the sake of the *distinction* (as it is
 a very good one) between the *manducation* and the *union*; the
 former relating properly to Christ considered as *crucified* and
slain, and the latter to Christ considered as *glorified*, and *living*
 for evermore. We *eat* him as from the cross; that is, we
 partake of the *merits* of his passion: and one of the *fruits* of
 his passion is our *mystical union* with his body now *glorified* in
 heaven. One thing only I think wants correcting in Barlow’s
 account, that he seems to make the union *antecedent* in natural
 order to the manducation; which, I conceive, was *needless* with
 respect to his argument, and is besides wrong in itself, since our
reconciliation by the *death* of Christ is, in natural order of con-
 ception, *prior* to all the blessings and privileges arising from it.
 It is true that Baptism must be *before* the Eucharist, and that
 the *mystical union* is begun in Baptism: but then (as our author
 himself afterwards very justly observes) we partake of our
 Lord’s body *broken*, and blood *shed*, that is, of his *death* and
passion, even in Baptism; and that is the *ground* and *foundation*
 of all our other Christian privileges.

Another excellent writer, whom I had in my eye, and now
 intend to cite, is Dr. Aldrich, who in the year 1687 published a
 valuable pamphlet, entitled, a Reply to Two Discourses, where,
 in a very clear and elegant style, and with great acuteness, he
 has hit off the main difficulties relating to the *real presence*. He
 writes thus:

tut. Theol. Dogmat. lib. v. cap. i. p.
 1094. The argument manifestly proves
 too much; proving (as Barlow well
 notes) that Christ is so *really present*
 in *both* Sacraments, or in *neither*. If
 Christ means *whole* Christ, he must
 be as much present in *body*, to be
put on in Baptism, as to be *orally*
 taken in the Eucharist: but who sees
 not that this is straining *figurative*
 expressions to a most extravagant
 excess?

^k Galat. ii. 20.

¹ I may here note, that the learned
 Wolfius on Gal. iii. 27. allows, that
 the *putting on* Christ, implies *arctis-
 simam communionem*, (p. 740,) the
closest communion. Now compare
 Buddæus’s argument, or maxim,
 built upon the word *communion*, as
 implying *real presence*, and then judge
 of the *conclusion* resulting from the
 premises.

^m See Fulgentius above, p. 564.

“ The *natural* body of our blessed Saviour comes under a twofold consideration in the Eucharist :

“ 1. As a *body dead* : under which notion we are said to *eat* it in the Sacrament, and to *drink* the blood as *shed* ; as appears by the words of the institution, *Take and eat ; this is my body, which is given or broken for you : drink ye all of this ; for this is my blood, which is shed for you* : in which words, as Mr. Bradford long ago observed, what God has joined, we are not to put asunder.

“ 2. As a *glorified body* : in which condition it now sits at the right hand of God, and shall there continue till the restitution of all things, imparting grace and influence, and all the benefits purchased by the sacrifice of the dead body, to those that, in the holy Eucharist most especially, are through faith and the marvellous operation of the Holy Ghost, *incorporated* into *Christ*, and so *united* to him, that they dwell in Christ and Christ in them, they are one with Christ and Christ with them, they are made *members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones* ; and by partaking of the spirit of him their head, receive all the graces and benefits purchased for them by his bitter death and passion.

“ Wherefore it is evident, that since the body *broken*, and blood *shed*, neither do nor can now really exist, they neither can be really *present*, nor literally *eaten* or *drank* ; nor can we really *receive* them, but only the *benefits* purchased by them. But the body which now exists, whereof we *partake*, and to which we are *united*, is the *glorified* body : which is therefore *verily* and *indeed* received—and by consequence said to be *really present*, notwithstanding its *local* absence ; because a *real participation* and *union* must needs imply a *real* presence, though they do not necessarily require a *local* one. For it is easy to conceive, how a thing that is locally absent may yet be really *received*,—as we commonly say, a man *receives* an *estate*, or *inheritance*, when he receives the *deeds* or *conveyances* of it.—The *reception* is confessedly *real*, though the thing itself is not *locally* or *circumscriptively* present, or literally *grasped* in the arms of the receiver.—The Protestants all agree, that we *spiritually eat* Christ's body, and *drink* his blood ; that we neither eat, nor drink, nor receive the *dead* body, nor the blood *shed*, but only the *benefits* purchased by them ; that those benefits are *derived* to us by virtue of our

“ *union* and *communion* with the *glorified body*^m, and that our
 “ *partaking* of it and *union* with it is effected by the mysterious
 “ and ineffable operation of the Holy Spirit.—

“ Now though it be easy, as I said before, to conceive how a
 “ natural substance may be said to be really *received*, though
 “ not locally *present*, it is not so easy to conceive it *really pre-*
 “ *sent*, when at the same time it is *locally absent*. Therefore the
 “ Church of England has wisely forborne to use the term of *real*
 “ *presence*, in all the books that are set forth by her authority.
 “ We neither find it recommended in the Liturgy, nor the
 “ Articles, nor the Homilies, nor the Church’s, nor Nowell’s
 “ Catechism.—So that if any Church of England man use it,
 “ he does more than the *Church* directs him: if any reject it, he
 “ has the Church’s example to warrant him.—Yet it must
 “ not be denied but the term may be safely used among *scholars*,
 “ and seems to be grounded upon Scripture itselfⁿ.—

“ So much for the use of the *word*; which when we of the
 “ Church of England use, we mean thus: A thing may be said
 “ to be really *received*, which is so *consigned* to us, that we can
 “ really *employ* it to all those *purposes* for which it is *useful* in
 “ itself, and we have *occasion* to use it. And a thing thus *really*
 “ *received* may be said to be *really present*, two ways, either
 “ *physically* or *morally*, to which we reduce *sacramentally*.—
 “ In the holy *Eucharist*, the *Sacrament* is physically, the *res*
 “ *sacramenti* morally present; the elements *antecedently* and
 “ *locally*; the very body *consequentially* and *virtually*, but both
 “ *really present*.—When we say that Christ is *present*—in
 “ the *Sacrament*, we do not mean in the *elements*, but in the
 “ *celebration*.—This doctrine is sufficiently removed from what
 “ the pamphlet calls *Zuinglianism*, (how truly, I will not now
 “ inquire,) for we do not hold that we barely receive the *effects*
 “ and *benefits* of Christ’s *body*, but we hold it *really present* in as
 “ much as it is *really received*, and we *actually* put in *possession*
 “ of it, though *locally absent* from us^o.”

I have transcribed thus much, because the account is just,
 and because the *pamphlet* and *defence* of it are not, it may be,
 commonly known. The sum of all is, that *sacramental* or *sym-*
bolical feeding in the Eucharist is feeding upon the body *broken*
 and blood *shed*, under the signs and symbols of *bread* and *wine*:

^m How this is to be understood, 1 Cor. v. 3.

see above, p. 541, 542.

ⁿ Here the author refers to several
 texts, Matthew xviii. 20. xxviii. 20.

^o Dr. Aldrich’s Reply to Two Dis-
 courses, p. 13—18.

the result of such feeding, is the strengthening or perfecting our *mystical union* with the body *glorified*; and so, properly speaking, we feed upon the body as *dead*, and we *receive* it into closer *union* as *living*, and both in the Eucharist when *duly* celebrated.

Nothing now remains, before I close up this chapter, but to hint very briefly the use of the foregoing principles for the clearing off difficulties, and for the removing the objections raised by contending parties of various kinds.

1. To the Romanists, who plead warmly for *the very body and blood* in the Eucharist, we make answer, that we do receive the *very body and blood* in it, and through it, as properly as a man *receives* an *estate*, and becomes *possessed* of an *inheritance* by any deeds or conveyances: and what would they have more? Will nothing satisfy, except the *wax* and *parchments* be transubstantiated into *terra firma*, or every *instrument* converted into *arable*? Surely, that is pushing points too far, and turning things most serious into perfect ridicule.

2. To the Lutherans, who seem to contend for a *mixture* of the *visible* elements with the body *invisible*, we have this to reply, that we readily admit of a *symbolical* delivery, or conveyance, of one by the other; which effectually answers every good end and purpose, as it suits also extremely well with the Scripture phraseology in those cases. And though we admit not, that our Lord's body is *locally* present in the Sacrament, or any where so *present* but in heaven; yet so long as it is really united in *one mystical body* with ours, or rather is considered as the *head* with the *members*, we think, that may suffice; and we need not desire any closer alliance, on this side heaven, than such an *union* amounts to,

3. To the Calvinists of the ancient stamp, (if any such remained now,) we might reply, that though we *eat* not Christ's *glorified* body in the Eucharist, yet we really *receive* it, while we receive it into closer *mystical union* than before: and, though we know nothing of the *diffusion* of any *virtue of Christ's flesh*, (which would not profit,) yet we have the power and presence of his *Godhead* with us, and, at the same time, a *virtual* or *mystical union* with his *body*, sufficient to make us, in Divine *construction* and Divine acceptance, *one with him*: "For we are members of "his body, of his flesh, and of his bones"."

4. To the Zuinglian Sacramentarians, old Anabaptists, Soci-

P Ephes. v. 30.

nians, and Remonstrants, who will not admit of any *medium* between *local corporal* presence, and *no presence* at all as to *beneficial* effects, no *medium* between the *natural* body itself, and mere *signs* and *figures*; to them we rejoin, that there is no necessity of falling in with either *extreme*; because there is a *medium*, a very just one, and where indeed the *truth* lies. For though there is no *corporal presence* yet there is a *spiritual* one, exhibitivè of Divine *blessings* and *graces*: and though we *eat* not Christ's *natural* glorified body in the Sacrament, or out of it, yet our *mystical union* with that very body is strengthened and perfected in and through the Sacrament, by the operation of the *Holy Spirit*. This appears to be both sense and truth; and shall be more largely made out in the sequel.

5. To those who admit not that the *natural* body of Christ is in any sense *received* at all, but imagine that the *elements*, as impregnated or animated with the *Spirit*, are the *only body* received, and are made our *Lord's body* by such union with the *Spirit*⁹; I say, to those we make answer, that the union of the *Spirit* with the *elements* (rather than with the *persons*) appears to be a *gross notion*, and *groundless*: and if it were admitted, yet could it not make the elements, in any just sense, our *Lord's body*, but the notion would resolve into a kind of *impanation* of the Spirit, for the time. Besides that the consequence would be, that the *Lord's body* is received by *all* communicants, *worthy* or *unworthy*^r, which is not the truth of the case. Wherefore to avoid all such needless suppositions and needless perplexities, let us be content to teach only this plain doctrine; that we *eat* Christ *crucified* in this Sacrament, as we partake of the *merits* of his *death*: and if we thus have part in his *crucified* body, we are thereby *ipso facto* made partakers of the body *glorified*; that is, we *receive* our Lord's body into a *closer union* than before, and become his *members* by repeated and stronger ties; pro-

⁹ This seems to be Mr. Johnson's notion, in the Unbloody Sacrifice, &c. part i. p. 247. And it is very near akin, so far, to that of the modern Greek Church, as represented by Mr. Claude in his Catholic Doctrine of the Eucharist, part i. book iii. c. 13. p. 218.

^r If the elements are supposed to be *united* to, or *enriched* with the *Spirit*, all that *receive* must of course receive the *Spirit*, and be *sanctified* by him. For the *presence* of the *Spirit*, in this case, is not to be under-

stood merely of the *essential* presence extending equally to all creatures, but of a *gracious* presence: and if such *gracious* presence is vouchsafed to the *unworthy* as well as *worthy*, then the *benefits* must be *common* to all, and none can eat and drink their own damnation. The *fundamental* error of this *hypothesis*, (as also of the Lutheran and the Romish) is the connecting the *grace* of the Sacrament with the *elements*, instead of looking for it in the *persons* only.

vided we come worthily to the holy table, and that there is no just obstacle, on our part, to stop the current of *Divine graces*.

I may shut up this account with the excellent words of Archbishop Cranmer, as follows, only put into the modern spelling :

“ The first Catholic Christian faith is most *plain, clear, and comfortable*, without any difficulty, scruple, or doubt: that is to say, that our Saviour Christ, although he be sitting in heaven, in *equality* with his Father, is our life, strength, food, and sustenance; who by his *death* delivered us *from death*, and daily nourishes and increases us to *eternal life*. And in *token* hereof, he hath prepared *bread* to be eaten, and *wine* to be drunk of us in his *holy Supper*, to put us in *remembrance* of his said *death*, and of the celestial *feeding, nourishing, increasing*, and of all the *benefits* which we have thereby: which *benefits*, through *faith* and the *Holy Ghost*, are *exhibited* and given unto all that *worthily* receive the said holy Supper. This the husbandman at his plough, the weaver at his loom, and the wife at her rock, can remember, and give thanks unto God for the same: this is the very doctrine of the *Gospel*, with the consent wholly of all the old ecclesiastical doctors.”

My readers, I hope, will excuse it, if in the course of this chapter I have been obliged sometimes to *suppose* some things, which are hereafter to be *proved*: I could not avoid it, without rendering the whole intricate and obscure. What relates to *spiritual graces* in particular, as conveyed in the Eucharist, shall be distinctly considered in its place, and the *proofs* produced at large: but there was no *explaining* what *sacramental* or *symbolical* feeding means, (which was the design of this chapter,) without taking some previous and general notice of the *spiritual graces*, which are the *food* conveyed from heaven, by and under the *symbols* of bread and wine in the Eucharist.

CHAP. VIII.

1 Cor. x. 16, &c. *explained, and vindicated from Misconstructions.*

ST. PAUL'S doctrine concerning the *Eucharist*, in the tenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, though but occasionally delivered, will yet deserve a distinct chapter by itself, as it is of great moment, and much depends upon a true and faithful construction of it. It will be proper, in the first

* Cranmer against Gardiner, p. 396. first edit.

place, to produce the whole passage, but correctly rendered, as near as may be to the Greek original.

Verse 16. *The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a communion of the blood of Christ? the bread which we break, is it not a communion of the body of Christ?*

17. *For since the bread is one, we, being many, are one body: for we are all partakers of that one bread.*

18. *Behold Israel after the flesh: are not they who eat of the sacrifices communicants of the altar?*

19. *What say I then? that the idol is any thing, or that what is offered in sacrifice to the idol is any thing?*

20. *But I say, that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God: and I would not have you become communicants of devils.*

21. *You cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils: you cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils.*

I have varied a little from the common rendering, partly for better answering the difference of phrase in the Greek, between *μετέχειν* and *κοινωνεῖν*, (be they equivalent or otherwise[†]) and partly for the better expressing the three *communions*, here brought in as corresponding to each other in the analogy; namely, that of *Christ's body and blood* in the first place, next, that of *the Jewish altar*, and lastly, of *devils*. Our translation has, in some measure, obscured the *analogy*, by choosing, in one place, the word *partakers* (though it means the same thing) instead of *communicants*, and in another place, by saying *communion with devils*, instead of saying *of devils*: *κοινωνοὺς τῶν δαιμονίων*, v. 20. I use the phrase *communicants of*, to express the *participating in common* of any thing: which perhaps is not altogether agreeable to the strict propriety of the English idiom. But I could not think of any thing better, that would answer the purpose in other respects; and since I have now intimated what I mean by it, the *phrase*, I suppose, may be borne with. But let us come to the business in hand.

Before we can make a just use of St. Paul's doctrine in this

[†] In strictness, *μετέχειν* signifies the taking a *part* or *parcel* of any thing, with others, who have likewise their separate *shares* or *parcels* of it: but *κοινωνεῖν* is the partaking with others, in *commune*, of the same *whole*, *undivided* thing. Notwithstanding, the

words are sometimes used promiscuously. Chrysostom, upon the place, takes notice of the *distinction*, and makes his use of it, for explaining the text, and doing justice to the subject.

place, as concerning the *holy Communion*, it will be necessary to understand the *argument* which he was then upon, with the *occasion* of it. The Christians of Corinth, to whom the Apostle writes, were encompassed with Pagan *idolaters*, and were in great danger of being insidiously drawn in, by specious pretences, to eat of *meats* which had been *offered* up, in the way of *sacrifice*, to their *idols*. Such *eating* (if Christians were aware that the *meat* had been so *offered*) was, in just construction, *participating* in common with the Pagan idolaters, of *devils*, to whom those *idols*, or *statues*, belonged. Whereupon St. Paul exhorts his new converts, to beware of such *dangerous* practice, reminding them of the grievous judgments of God, which formerly came upon their forefathers the Israelities, for the sin of *idolatry*. "Neither be ye idolaters," says he, "as were some of them^u:" and a little lower, "Wherefore, my dearly beloved, flee from *idolatry*^x." But because they seemed not yet fully sensible, that such practice of theirs was really *idolatry*, but they had several artificial evasions to shift off the charge, (as, that an *idol* was *nothing* in itself, and that they had no *design* by eating of such *meats*, to signify any *consent* of theirs with *idolaters*, or to give any *countenance* to them,) I say, because the new converts were not readily convinced of the *sin* and *danger* of such practice, the Apostle undertakes to *argue* the case with them, in a very friendly, but strong and pressing manner, both upon *Jewish* and *Christian* principles, prefacing what he had to urge with this handsome compliment to them: "I speak as to wise men," (I appeal to your own *good sense* and *sagacity*,) "judge ye what I *say*." Then he proceeds to argue in the way of *parallel*, or by parity of reason, from the case of the *Christian Eucharist*, and the *Jewish feasts* upon peace-offerings, in order to infer from both, that as the *Eucharist* is interpretatively a *participating* of Christ's *body* and *blood*, and as the *Jewish feasts* were *participating* of the *altar*; so the *eating* of *idol-meats* was interpretatively a *participating* of *devils*. To take the Apostle's argument in its just and full view, we must consider him as bearing in mind *two* distinct things which he had upon his hands to prove by one and the same argument: the first was, that eating of the *idol-sacrifices* (knowingly) was *interpretatively* consenting with the *idolaters*, or *communicating* with them, though they might *mean* nothing less; and the second was, that such consenting with the idolaters was

^u 1 Cor. x. 7.^x 1 Cor. x. 14.^y 1 Cor. x. 15.

interpretatively, or in effect, *participating of devils*. Such being the case, it could not but appear to be of very *dangerous* consequence, knowingly to *eat* of things *offered* to *idols*.

From this view of the Apostle's argument, I pass on to consider what we may hence infer with respect to his *doctrine* of the *Eucharist*, thus *occasionally* delivered as the true and *well-known* doctrine of Christ. His account of it is briefly expressed, in its being a *communion* of Christ's *body* and *blood*; that is to say, of the body considered as *broken*, and of the blood considered as *shed*; as is very plain from the terms of the *institution*: and it is not improbable that the Apostle here so *distinctly* mentioned *both*, to intimate that they were to be considered as *divided* and *separate*, which was the case at his *crucifixion*, and not after. By *communion*, the Apostle certainly intended a *joint communion*, or *participating in common* with others, as appears by the words immediately following; "We being many are one body," &c. Besides that his *argument* required it, as I have already hinted. For he was to convince the Corinthians, to whom he wrote, that *eating of idol-meats* was interpretatively *consenting* with idolaters, and of consequence partaking *in common* with them, of what they were supposed to *partake of*. And I presume, that it was with this particular view, and to make out his *whole* argument, consisting of *two* main points, that the Apostle threw in the words of verse the 17th. So then, we may thus far construe the Apostle's doctrine of the Eucharist to mean, that *Christians* feeding upon the *consecrated* symbols, in due manner, are supposed therein to be *joint partakers* of, or *communicants* in Christ's *body* and *blood*, whatever that means, and also to be mystically united with each other. Now we come to the main point of all, namely, what that *partaking*, or that *communion* of our Lord's *body* and *blood*, strictly or precisely signifies. *Moderns* have been strangely divided about it, (though it was anciently a very *plain* thing,) and perhaps it may be thought a piece of respect due to them, to mention their several *interpretations*, though we must reject all but *one*, as *late* devices, and more or less foreign to the Apostle's argument.

1. To say that the *communion* of our Lord's *body* and *blood* means the receiving his *natural* flesh and blood into our *mouths*, under the *forms*, *accidents*, or *appearances* of bread and wine, is manifestly a *forced* and *late* interpretation; not heard of for eight hundred years or more, and, besides, absurd, contradictory, and impossible. If we may trust to our *reason* or to our *senses*,

(and if we may not, what is there that we can trust to?) the bread and wine do remain, after *consecration*, the same in *substance* as before, changed only as to their *uses, relations, or offices*. Besides, Christ's body *broken* and blood *shed* 1700 years ago, are no more in that capacity, nor ever will be; and therefore it is absolutely impossible that they should be literally *present* in the Sacrament, or made *food* to the communicants. To all which may be added, that the elements, after consecration, are still expressly called *bread* and *wine* in this very place, and therefore supposed to be what they are called.

2. To say that the *communion* of our Lord's *body* and *blood* means the receiving his *natural* flesh and blood into our *mouths, together with the symbols*, would be running into the like absurdities with the former. Christ's body as *crucified*, and blood as *spilled*, are no more: his body *glorified* is as far distant as *heaven* and earth, and therefore not *present* in the Sacrament; or if it were, could not properly be *eaten*, nor be of *use* if it could, since the "flesh profiteth nothing." Besides, the text speaks not of *two bodies, or bloods*, as present in the Sacrament. The symbolical body and blood (bread and wine) are there present: the rest is present only in a *figure*, or under certain *construction*. A *mystical* union of Christ's glorified body with our bodies is indeed *intimated* in the text, or may, by just *consequence*, be inferred from it; but the *direct* doctrine of the text relates only to the body as *crucified*, and to the blood as *shed*: and therefore here the proper *distinctions* should be made between the *eating* Christ's dead body, and the *uniting* with his *living* body, (as above^z.) as also between the *express doctrine* of the text, and the *consequences* deducible from it by the help of *reason*, and of *other texts* compared.

3. To say that the *communion* here signifies the *eating* Christ's *glorified* body by *faith*, or with the *mind*, is not a just interpretation: because whatever is *corporeal* cannot be literally the *food* of the *soul*; as also because what is represented and eaten in the Sacrament is not the body *glorified*, but the body *crucified* and blood *shed*, which are no more, and which therefore cannot be received either with *mouth* or *mind*, excepting only in a qualified and figurative sense. A *mystical union* indeed (as before said) with Christ's *glorified* body is strengthened or perfected in the Eucharist: though that is a doctrine rather *insinuated*, than

^z See above, p. 603, &c.

expressed here ; while certainly collected both from the nature of the thing, and from divers other texts of the New Testament.

The three constructions hitherto mentioned have been all owing to too strict and servile an adherence to the *letter*, without reason, and against reason, and not countenanced by the *ancients* rightly understood. There are some other constructions which are faulty in the *contrary extreme*, receding too far from the *letter*, and degrading the Sacrament into a kind of *empty* or *fruitless* ceremony. There is the less excuse for so doing, considering how highly the Apostle speaks of the Sacrament, both in this and the next chapter : for though *necessity* will justify our receding from the *letter*, as far as such necessity extends, yet *reason* requires that we *adhere* to it as closely as we may, and *extremes* are always bad. But I proceed to take notice of some misconstructions in this way of under-commenting.

4. Some interpret *communion* here to mean no more than a *joint partaking* of the outward *signs, symbols, or memorials* of Christ's body and blood. But St. Paul must undoubtedly mean a great deal more, by his *emphatical* expressions ; and his *argument* also requires it, as shall be shewn in due place. He does not say, that the Service is a *commemoration* of Christ's body and blood, but a *partaking* or *communion* of them^a. So likewise, with respect to the Jews, he does not say that they *commemorated* the altar, but they were *partakers* of the altar : and the *idolaters* whom he speaks of did not barely *commemorate* devils, (if they did it at all,) but they were *partakers* of devils. Besides, to interpret the *communion* of a joint partaking of the *symbols, or memorials*, is inventing a sense too flat and jejune to be fathered upon the Apostle ; for indeed it is mere *tautology*. It is no more than saying, that partaking of the *bread and wine* is partaking of the *bread and wine*. There is good sense in saying, that the partaking of *one thing* is, in just construction, the partaking of some *other thing* : but to make all *sign, and nothing signified*, or to reckon the *outward signs* twice over, dropping the *inward things* signified, is unsuitable to the turn of the whole passage, and entirely defeats the Apostle's argument.

^a S. Apostolus refragatur penitus glossæ Socini, quandoquidem *panem* et *poculum* eucharisticum dicat esse *communicationem corporis et sanguinis Christi*. Ubi *subjecti loco*,—*panem* et *poculum* benedictionis constituit, in

prædicato vero, non commemoratio- nem, aut memoriale corporis aut sanguinis Christi, sed communicationem ejusdem ponit. Calovius de Eucharist. p. 279.

The *eating* of the *sacrifices* was not again mere *eating* of sacrifices, but it was, by interpretation, communicating with *idolaters*: and *communicating* with *idolaters* was not again *communicating* with *idolaters*, but it was, in just construction, *partaking* of *devils*^b. Thus we find strong and admirable sense in the Apostle's discourse: but in the other way all is dull and insipid. Take we the next parallel instance: the *joint partaking* of the *Jewish sacrifices* was not again the *joint partaking* of the *same sacrifices*; but it was *partaking* of the *altar*, whatever that means: in like manner, a *joint partaking* of the *symbols* or *memorials* of bread and wine is not again a *joint partaking* of the *same symbols* or *memorials*, but of *something else* (by the Apostle's argument) which they represent, and call to our mind, and which in just *construction*, or in *effect*, they are. Had St. Paul meant only, that the bread which we break is the *joint eating* of the *bread*, and the cup which we bless is the *joint drinking* of the *cup*, why should he have changed the terms *bread* and *cup* into other terms, *body* and *blood*, instead of using the same over again? Or if *body* and *blood* mean only *bread* and *cup*, then see what sense can be made of chap. xi. 27. which must run thus: Whosoever shall eat this *bread* and drink this *cup* of the Lord *unworthily*, shall be guilty of the *bread* and *cup* of the Lord. It is not using an inspired Apostle with any proper respect, to put such an odd (not to say ridiculous) sense upon him. The case is plain, that the *four* terms, *bread*, *wine*, *body*, and *blood*, have severally their respective meanings, and that the two first express the *signs*, to which the other two answer as *things signified*, and so all is right. Add to this, that the *eating* and *drinking* in the Eucharist, upon the foot of the other construction, would be rendered *insignificant*: for the *breaking* of the *bread*, and the *pouring out* of the *wine*, would be sufficient for a bare *representation* or *memorial* of our Lord's death: the *feeding* thereupon adds nothing to the *representation*, but must either signify our *receiving* something *spiritual* under that *corporeal* symbol, or signify nothing. And it would appear very strange, if the *feeding* itself should not be *symbolical*, some way or other, as well as the rest; especially considering that

^b The commentaries under the name of Jerome, supposed to be Pelagius's, well express the sense of the Apostle:

Panis idololatriæ, *demonum participatio* esse monstratur:—si cum ido-

lolaris de uno pane comedimus, unum cum illis corpus efficitur.—Non potestis et Dei et demonum esse participes. Hieronym. Opp. tom. v. p. 995. ed. Bened.

other places of Scripture (particularly John vi.) do insist very much upon *spiritual* feeding, and that the *quantity* of meat and drink in the Eucharist has all along been so small, that it might be difficult to say what *use* it could be of as a *banquet*, unless allowed to be *significative* or *symbolical* of some *spiritual* entertainment received by the communicants^c. Upon the whole, this *fourth* interpretation must be rejected, as being altogether low and lame, or rather totally repugnant to all the circumstances of text and context.

5. Others therefore, perceiving that there must be both a *sign* and a *thing signified*, (or in other words, a *corporal* manducation, and a *spiritual* one also,) and yet being unwilling to admit of any *present benefits* in the Eucharist; have contrived this turn, that the sacramental feeding shall *signify* spiritual feeding, yea, and spiritual *communion* with Christ, *before*, and *in*, and *after* the Sacrament, but that this *spiritual feeding* shall mean only the *receiving* Christ's doctrine and promises; or that the Eucharist shall not import any thing *then* received, (more than at *other* times,) but shall be *declarative* only of what was received *before*, or is to be received *then*, or *after*. The design of all which is to evade any pretence of receiving *graces* from *above*, in or by this Sacrament: and this is the scheme which the Socinians commonly take into^d. Yea, they sometimes scruple not to own, that under *spiritual feeding* is contained *remission of sins*, and *present right to life eternal*: but still they will not have it said, that God *conveys* or *confers* these benefits in or by the Sacrament, but that we in the Sacrament do *declare* and *testify* that

^c Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οὐτε πολὺ λαμβάνομεν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγον, ἵνα γινώμεν ὅτι οὐκ εἰς πληρομένην, ἀλλ' εἰς ἁγιασμόν. Concil. Nicæn. in Gelas. Cyzicen. Labb. et Cossart. tom. ii. p. 234.

^d Hinc vero patet usum panis et calicis non ideo Christi corporis et sanguinis communionem dici, quod per istum usum demum communio ista fiat; sed quod per eum *communio* ac *societas* ista, quæ jam est, et esse debet, *significetur* et *declaretur*. Crelæus in loc. p. 307. Conf. Socin. Quod Re. Polon. p. 701.

Hoc ritu *testatur* nos corpus Christi pro nobis crucifixum habere pro *spirituali* animæ nostræ *cibo*, et sanguinem ejus fustum pro salutari *potu*, nosque *communionem* illius habere, et sic ad *novum fœdus* pertinere, &c. quæ omnia *fidem* per *charitatem efficacem*

postulant. *Racov. Cat.* p. 242.

Panem illum *edendo* atque ex poculo *bibendo* palam *testatur*, et *profitetur* nos corpus Christi fractum ac crucifixum pro animæ *cibo*, sanguinem pro *potu* habere, quo ad vitam *spiritualem* et *sempiternam* proinde alimur et confirmemur, ac cibo potuque corpora nostra ad vitam terrenam et corporalem sustentantur: non quidem quod in *hac* tantum *actione*, Christi carnem et sanguinem *spiritualiter* edamus et bibamus—sed quod *pia* mortis Christi *meditatione*, et *vera* in eum *fide* id perficiatur, ac porro etiam extra hunc ritum a nobis fiat, quam diu meditatio illa ac fides inde concepta in animis nostris viget. *Volkelius*, p. 310. alias 687. Conf. Schlicting. cont. Meisner. p. 751, 788, 789.

we are *partakers* of those *benefits*^e, having *brought* them with us, not receiving them there, more than elsewhere.

But these fine-spun notions, being only the inventions of *men*, can never be able to stand against the *truth* of *God*. St. Paul does not say, that the Eucharist is a *declaration* of communion, but a *communion*: nor does he say, communion *with Christ our head*, (though that indeed is a *remote* consequence of the other,) but *communion of the body and blood of Christ*. In the parallel instances, eating of idol-meats was not a *declaration* of what had been done *before*, nor a *declaration* of what was to be done *after*, (perhaps it was the *first* time, and might be the *last*,) but that *single* action was *taking part* with *idolaters*, and that amounted to *partaking* of *devils*. It was so with respect to the *Jewish* sacrifices, the *partaking* of them was not merely *declaring* their participation of the altar, but it was *actual participating* at that very time, and by that very act. St. Paul's words are express, "are partakers of the altar," (not *proclaimers* of it,) and his *argument* requires that sense^f. Had the Corinthians suspected that the Apostle was talking of *declarations* only, *virtual* declarations, they would soon have replied, that they were ready to *declare* to all the world, that they intended no such thing as communicating *with idolaters*, or *of devils*, by their eating of the *idol-meats*, and that such express *counter-declarations* would more than balance any other. But that would have been *protestation* against *fact*, and would have availed nothing: for St. Paul had plainly told them what the *nature* of the *action* was; viz. communicating with *idolaters*, and not only so, but *partaking* of *devils*. Therefore, by analogy and parity of reason, the *nature* of our eucharistical *service* is an *actual* partaking of the *death* of Christ with the *fruits* thereof.

If there were need of any further arguing in so plain a case, I might add, that such kind of *declaring* as they speak of, (declaring their *spiritual* eating,) appears not so *modest*, or so *reverent*, as one might wish, if we consider what they mean by *spiritual* meat. They commonly intend by it the whole *faith* and *practice* of a Christian, together with *pardon* of sins and a *right*

^e Hac ceremonia *profitemur* nos, ea qua dictum est ratione, corpus Christi *edere*, et sanguinem ejus *bibere*, et sic eorum bonorum quæ morte sua cruenta Christus nobis peperit (h. e. *remissionis peccatorum*, et *vitæ sempiternæ*, quam *spe certa* in hoc sæculo

veluti præcipimus) esse participes. *Volkelius*, p. 311. alias 688.

^f Compare Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, in answer to the same pretence about *declaring*, &c. part i. p. 172. alias 175, &c.

to life eternal consequent upon it. So then, their coming to the Lord's table to *declare* their *spiritual* feeding, what is it but proclaiming, before God and man, how *righteous*, how *holy*, and how *perfect* they are, and what claims they make on that score: which would be much more like to the boasting of a Pharisee, than to the proper penitent behaviour of an *humble* Christian, appearing before God. It may be thought, perhaps, that such *declarations* are of great *use*, because men will be cautious of telling a *solemn lie* in the presence of God, and will of course take care to be as *good* as they *declare* themselves to be. But it might be rather suspected, that the effect would be quite contrary, and such a method of *ostentation* would be much more likely to harden men in their sins.

However, to soften the matter, they sometimes so explain this their *declaration*, as to amount only to a good *resolution*, or *promise*, for the time to come, or a *protestation* that they look upon a *good life* as the proper *food* of their *souls*. This indeed is more *modest*, but then it is going still further off from the *text* of St. Paul than before: for, in this view, the receiving the Sacrament is neither *eating* any thing *spiritual*, nor so much as a *declaration* of eating, but it is a declaration only of their own *judgment* concerning it. Let them therefore turn this matter which way they please, they will never come up to the true meaning or force of St. Paul's words. In the mean while, we readily accept, what they are pleased to allow, that *pardon of sins*, and *present right* to life eternal, ought to be looked upon as part of the *spiritual food*: and we think it decent and modest, as well as just, to believe, that we *receive* our *spiritual food* at the altar, from the hands of Christ, and do not *bring* it thither *ourselves*; especially considering that Christ himself delivered the *corporal food* to the disciples, which was the *symbol* of *spiritual*. And though we ought to take care to come properly *qualified* to the holy Communion, yet we come not to *declare* how *rich* we were before, but to deplore our *poverty*, and to beg fresh *relief*, and new supplies, from above.

6. Some think it sufficient to say, that the *Eucharist* imports our *holding communion* or *fellowship with Christ our head*. But this interpretation is low and insufficient, expressing a *truth*, but

‡ Ideo simul etiam cogitandum est tibi, ut talis sis qualem te in hoc ritu profiteris; nec Deo et Christo mentiaris. Quod si talis nondum sis, id saltem omnino constituendum, ut talis

quam primum evadas, nec committendum ut irritum postea sit hoc animi tui decretum. *Racov. Catech.* p. 242, 243.

not the *whole* truth. The Apostle's expression is very strong, *communion of*, not *communion with*, and of Christ's *body* and *blood*, not simply of *Christ*. So in the parallel instances: they that ate of the idol-meats held communion indeed with the *idolaters*, but were *partakers of devils*, not *with* devils: and they that ate of the Jewish sacrifices were *partakers of the altar*. Therefore Bishop Patrick well says, with regard to the word *communion* in this place, "In its full signification it denotes, not "merely our being made of his (Christ's) society, but our having "a *communication* of his *body* and *blood* to us: so the word "*κοινωνία* is rendered, Gal. vi. 6. Phil. iv. 15^b." In short, the *communion* here spoken of must either mean merely the *outward* profession of *Christianity*, and then it is an interpretation much too *low*, and is liable to most of the objections with that of the preceding article; or else it means a *vital union* with Christ, as his *living* members, and then it implies *partaking* in his *death*, *resurrection*, &c., and coincides with the common construction. The greatest fault therefore of this interpretation is, that it is loose, general, equivocal; no *explication* of the text, because *not determinate*, but *darker* than the text itself, and therefore fitted only to disguise and perplex the Apostle's meaning, and to deceive an unwary reader.

7. Having considered, and, as I conceive, confuted the several wrong constructions of St. Paul's words, it is now time to return to the true, easy, natural, and ancient¹ interpretation, before hinted, and now to be more largely enforced or confirmed. The Eucharist, in its *primary* intention, and in its *certain* effect to all worthy communicants, is a *communion* of Christ's *body broken* and *blood shed*, that is to say, a present *partaking of*, or having a *part* in our Lord's *passion*, and the *reconcilement* therein made, and the blessed *fruits* of it. This is plain good sense, and undeniable truth. "The body and blood of Christ are *verily* and "*indeed* received of the faithful: that is, they have a *real part* "and *portion* given them in the *death* and *sufferings* of the Lord "Jesus, whose body was *broken* and *blood shed* for the remission "of sins. They truly and indeed partake of the *virtue* of his "bloody *sacrifice*, whereby he hath obtained eternal redemption "for us^k." It is observable, that St. Paul, (his own best interpreter,) instead of saying, *Ye do shew the Lord's body and blood*,

^b Bishop Patrick's Christian Sa-
crifice, p. 52.

^k Bishop Patrick's Christian Sa-
crifice, p. 53.

¹ See above, p. 544, 546, 581.

broken and shed, says, "Ye do shew the Lord's death till he "come^l." Which makes it plain, that *body broken* and *blood shed* are, in this case, equivalent to the single word *death* with its *fruits*; and that is the *thing signified* in our sacramental service. And if that be the *thing signified*, it is that which we *partake of*, or *spiritually* receive: and we are in this Sacrament ingrafted, as it were, into the *death* of Christ, in much the same sense, and to the same effect, as in the other Sacrament we are said to be "baptized into his death^m," and "planted together "in the likeness of his deathⁿ." All the difference is, that the same thing is *represented* and *exhibited*, here and there, under *different* signs or symbols. There we have our *right* and *title* to the merits and benefits of his passion, delivered to us under the symbol of *water* inclosing us, as a *grave* incloses a dead body; here we have the same *right* and *title* again delivered under the symbols of *bread* and *wine*^o, received by us, and incorporated with us. But of the analogy of the two *Sacraments*, I have spoken before^p, and need not repeat. Only let it be remembered, that *Baptism* does not only *represent* our Lord's death, burial, and resurrection, but *exhibits* them likewise in their *fruits* and *virtue*, and makes the baptized party, if fitly qualified, *partaker* of them. And as there undoubtedly is a near correspondence and analogy between the two Sacraments, in their general *nature*, *ends*, and *uses*, we may justly argue from one Sacrament to the other; and the argument carries in it, if not the force of *demonstration*, yet very considerable weight. There is this further use in it, that it furnishes us with a clear and full answer to the objections made against the supposition of such and such *privileges* being conferred by or annexed to a *single* act of religion: for if they are annexed to or conferred by *Baptism*, a *single* act of religion, why may they not by the *Eucharist* also, though a *single* act? Such objections either strike at *both* Sacraments, or can really *hurt* neither: or if it be allowed (as indeed it must) that *Baptism*, notwithstanding, has such *privileges* annexed to it, by the *express* words of Scripture, it must be allowed that the *Eucharist*, at least, *may have* the same. If, for instance, *remission* of sins, *sanctification* of the Spirit, *mystical union* with Christ, *present right* to a resurrection and life eternal, are (as

^l 1 Cor. xi. 26.

^m Rom. vi. 3.

ⁿ Rom. vi. 5.

^o Τῆς ἀναμάρτου θυσίας—δι' ἧς ἡμεῖς τῷ Χριστῷ κοινωνοῦμεν, καὶ τῶν

παθμάτων καὶ τῆς θεότητος. Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. iii. p. 70.

^p See above, ch. vii. p. 578.

they certainly are) conferred in and by *Baptism*, to persons fitly qualified; it is in vain to object, in the case of the *Eucharist*, that those privileges cannot be annexed to or conferred by a *single act*.

But let us return to our positive proofs, that such blessings are annexed to a *due* receiving of the holy Communion. This passage of St. Paul, rightly considered, is a demonstration of it, as I have already intimated. The Socinians themselves, as I have before observed, are obliged to allow, that *spiritual manducation* carries with it *present* remission of sins, and *present right* to everlasting life: and they are pleased to allow further, that *in the Sacrament* (though they will not say, *by the Sacrament*) there *may be*, or *often is*, spiritual manducation. Indeed, Smalcus seems to hesitate a little upon it, or comes with great reluctance to it; but after all is forced to submit to so glaring a truth. First, he pretends, that we are so far from *feeding spiritually* upon Christ in the *Eucharist*, that we must have done it *before*, or we are not *worthy* to come at all^q. Well: why may we not have done it *before*, and *now* much more so? He is pleased, soon after, to allow, that *spiritual manducation* is a kind of constant *perpetual act*, or habit, *supposed* in every good Christian, in the whole course of his life, and in all his actions^r. Why then not in the *sacramental action*? At length, he allows it, with some reluctance, even in that also^s; as he could not avoid it by his own principles.

Thus far then we are advanced, even upon the *concessions* of *adversaries*, that there *may be* (or that there *certainly is*, to pious

^q Dicimus, tantum abesse, ut in cœna Domini corpus Christi comedatur, et sanguis ejus bibatur, ut qui antea Christi corpus *spiritualiter* non manducaverit, manducatione hac panis *carnali* plane indignus sit. *Smalc. contr. Frantz.* p. 336.

^r Ut manducatio *spiritualis* corporis, et bibitio sanguinis Christi est aliquid *perpetuum*, quod in nobis inesse debet, sic in omnibus vitæ nostræ factis considerari poterit et debet. *Smalc. ibid.* p. 340.

^s Quia *spiritualis* manducatio corporis Christi *perpetuum* aliquid est, dici *quidem potest*, tunc etiam illam fieri, cum cœna Domini celebratur. *Smalc. ibid.* p. 340.

Schlictingius carries it higher, or expresses it stronger, though indeed he afterwards goes off into the decla-

orative notion, seeming to *prefer* it.

Quid igitur est, inquires, Christi corporis proprie *κοινωνία*? *Communio* est, (ut ipsa vox indicat) Christi corporis pro nobis fracti, et sic *bonorum* inde manantium. Sacrum igitur panem qui frangunt et comedunt, inodo *digne* id faciunt, *bonorum* istorum *participes* fiunt; ut hoc sensu sacri panis fractio, et comestio corporis Christi, *communio* dicatur per *metonymiam effecti*; quod scilicet *communio* istius *causa* sit et *medium*: quippe Christi præceptorum officii que nostri *pars* non *postrema*; uti qui id facere negligat, non plus *juris* habeat in Christi corpore, quam Petrus habiturus erat *communio* cum Christo, si pedes sibi lavare volenti præfracte restitisset. *Schlicting. contr. Meis.* p. 750.

and good Christians) a *spiritual feeding* in the Eucharist, and that such *spiritual feeding* carries in it *present remission*, and *present right to life eternal*^t. Where then do we differ? Perhaps here; that we say, *by the Sacrament*, and they, *in the Sacrament*, like as in *all other good offices*. But we do not say, that the Sacrament does it by its *own virtus*: no, it is God only that grants *remission*, or *spiritual rights*, whether in the Sacrament or out of it; and while we assert that he does it in and by the *Eucharist*, we do not presume to say, or think, that he does it not in *Baptism* also, or in other *religious services*. What then is the *point of controversy* still remaining? It appears to be this principally, that we assert the very *act of communion* (in persons fitly disposed) to be *spiritual manducation*; a present receiving of *spiritual blessings* and *privileges*, additional to what was before: this they deny, alleging that there are no *special benefits* annexed to the *Eucharist*^u as such, nothing more conferred than what is *constantly* conferred to good men, at all other times, and in all other *good offices*, or *common duties*^x. Now, in defence of our doctrine, we plead St. Paul's authority, who asserts, that the Eucharist is actually a *communion* of Christ's *body and blood*: let them shew, that any *common service*, or any *other service, office, or duty*, (except *Baptism*,) is so; and then they will come close to the point. It hath been observed above, that eating of *idol-meats*, knowingly, was *ipso facto* communicating with idolaters, and that communicating with idolaters was *ipso facto* partaking of devils, and that the eating of the Jewish sacrifices was *ipso facto* partaking of the altar: therefore also receiving the holy Communion, fit dispositions always supposed, is *ipso facto* (in that very act, and at that *present time, by that act*) partaking of the *death* of Christ, with the *fruits* or *privileges* of it. Since therefore the very *nature* of the act *supposes* it and

^t See Volkelius above, p. 617.

^u Christiani quia mortem Christi commemorant, et pro ea gratias agunt, non *presens* beneficium requirunt, &c. *Smalcus*, p. 333.

Nequaquam in eum finem hic ritus est institutus, ut *aliquid ex eo reportemus*, sed ut jam antea acceptum beneficium commemoremus. *Volkelius de Vera Relig.* p. 313. alias 691. Non in hunc finem cœnam Dominicam constitutam esse, ut ex ejus usu *aliquem fructum* reportemus. *Volkelius, ibid.* p. 684.

^x Negat Socinus hunc ritum *pro-*

prie institutum esse ad nostram aliquam singularem utilitatem in negotio salutis. *Proprie* inquam, nam alioquin libenter concedimus, hujus ritus observationem non minus *ad salutem conferre* quam *reliquorum* præceptorum executionem: verum hæc utilitas et *generalis* est, et non *illius causa* proprie ritus hic institutus est. *Schlicting, contr. Meisner.* p. 791. conf. 795.

Libenter admittimus ritus istius observationem inter *bona opera* numerandam, et cum illis conjungendam esse. *Schlicting, ibid.* p. 798.

implies it, (which is more than the *nature* of every *other act*, service, or duty does,) therefore there is some peculiar force, virtue, and efficacy annexed to the *Eucharist*, above what is ordinarily annexed to *common duties*. *Duties*, as such, are *conditions* only on our part, *applications* of men to God, and therefore are not properly *instruments* in the hand of God for conveying his graces: but sacraments are *applications* of God to men, and therefore are properly his *instruments* of conveyance, his appointed *means* or *conduits*, in and by which he confers his graces. Gospel duties are the *conditional causes* of spiritual blessings, while sacraments are properly the *instrumental* conveyances. Neither *repentance*, nor *faith*, nor even sacraments, considered merely as *duties*, or as *acts* of ours, are properly *channels* of grace, being, as I said, *conditions* only: but sacraments considered as *applications* of God to men are properly *channels* of spiritual benefits. This is a distinction which ought carefully to be heeded, for the right understanding of the difference between *sacraments* and *duties*†.

Preaching of the *word* is most like to *sacraments* in the *instrumental* capacity; for by the *word* also God conveys his graces. But still *inviting*, *exhorting*, or *calling* men to be reconciled to God, comes not up to *signing* and *sealing* the reconciliation: neither is *preparing* men for the covenant the same thing with *covenanting*. The Eucharist, as hath been noted, is an *actual* communion, wherein God *gives* and man *receives* at that instant, or in the very act. Such being the *nature* and *use* of this *eucharistical* service, in *Divine* construction, and by *Divine* appointment, it is manifest from thence, that it carries in it the force of a *promise*, or *contract*², on God's part, that fit qualifications supposed on *our part*, this *service* shall never fail of its *effect*, but shall be to every *worthy receiver* like a deed of conveyance, instrumentally investing him with the *benefits* of Christ's death, for the time being; and to the *end* also, if he *perseveres* to

† See above, p. 468, 469, &c.

² *Verbum Dei* quidem comitatur etiam aliqua Spiritus Dei *efficacia*—Verum *efficacia* ista a Deo *proprus* libere dispensatur, et absque ullo *pacto* et *promissione* Dei, qua Deus ad hos et illos, potius quam *alios*, ejusmodi gratia donandos, sese *obstrinzerit*. Cum *Sacramentis* autem, ex Dei *pacto*, conjuncta est *vis* quædam divini Spiritus, per quam agunt *infallibiliter* in omnibus iis quibus

debite administrantur, quique illa suscipiunt cum *ea* quam Deus in iis prærequirit, *dispositione*—Ex nullo *pacto* tenetur Deus *verbum* virtute sui Spiritus comitari: *sacramentis* autem ex *certa* Dei *pactione*, adest *virtus divina*, per quam *gratiam* quandam *salutarem* communicant omnibus illis qui secundum ordinem a Deo positum illa participant. *Le Blanc, Theos.* p. 676.

the end. "It is no good argument to say, the *graces* of God are "given to believers *out of* the Sacrament, *ergo*, not *by* or in the "Sacrament: but rather thus; if God's *grace overflows* some- "times, and goes without his own *instruments*, much more shall "he give it in the *use* of them. If God gives pardon *without* the "Sacrament, then rather also *with* the Sacrament. For sup- "posing the Sacraments, in their design and institution, to be "nothing but signs and ceremonies, yet they cannot hinder the "work of God: and therefore holiness in the *reception* of them "will do more than holiness *alone*; for God does nothing in "vain. The Sacraments *do something* in the hand of God: at "least, they are God's *proper* and *accustomed* time of grace: "they are his *seasons* and *our opportunity*."*

And now if any one should ask for a catalogue of those *spiritual* privileges, which St. Paul in this place has omitted, our Lord himself may supply that omission by what he has said in John vi. For, since we have proved, that there is a *spiritual manducation* in the Eucharist, with all *worthy* receivers, it now follows of course, that what our Lord says in John vi. of *spiritual manducation* in the *general*, is all strictly applicable to this *particular* manner of spiritual feeding; and is the best explication we can any where have, of what it includes or contains. It contains, 1. A title to a *happy resurrection*: for such as spiritually feed on Christ, Christ will "raise up at the last day^b." 2. A title to *eternal life*: for our Lord expressly says, "Whoso "eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life^c." 3. A mystical union with Christ in his *whole* Person; or, more particularly, a *presential* union with him in his *Divine* nature: "He that eateth my flesh, &c. dwelleth in me, and I in him^d." 4. In these are *implied* (though not directly *expressed* by our Lord in that discourse) *remission of sins*, and *sanctification* of the *Holy Spirit*; of which I may say more in a proper place.

To return to St. Paul's text, I shall here sum up the true and the full sense of it, mostly in Mr. Locke's words^e, with some few and slight alterations. "They who drink of the cup of blessing, "which we bless in the Lord's Supper, do they not thereby *partake* of the *benefits* purchased by Christ's *blood shed* for them "upon the cross, which they here *symbolically* drink? and they "who eat of the bread *broken* there, do they not *partake* in the

* Bishop Taylor's Worthy Communicant, p. 38.

^d John vi. 56, 57.

^b John vi. 54. ^c John vi. 51, 54, 58.

^e Locke's Commentary on the Text, p. 181.

“ sacrifice of the *body* of Christ, and strengthen their *union* with
 “ him, as *members* of him their head? For by eating of that
 “ bread, we though many in number, are all *united*, and make
 “ but one *body* under Christ our head, as many grains of corn
 “ are united into *one loaf*. See how it is among the Jews, who
 “ are outwardly, according to the *flesh*, by *circumcision* the people
 “ of God. Among them, they who *eat* of the *sacrifice* are *par-*
 “ *takers* of God’s table, the *altar*, have fellowship with him, and
 “ *share* in the *benefit* of the sacrifice, as if it were offered for
 “ them. Do not mistake me, as if I hereby said, that the *idols*
 “ of the Gentiles are *gods* in reality, or that the things offered
 “ to them *change* their *nature*, and are any thing really different
 “ from what they were before, so as to *affect* us in our use of
 “ them: no, but this I say, that the things which the Gentiles
 “ sacrifice, they sacrifice to *devils*, and not to God, and I would
 “ not that you should have *fellowship* with, and be under the
 “ influence of *devils*, as they who by eating of things offered to
 “ them, enter into *covenant*, *alliance*, and *commerce* with them.
 “ You cannot eat and drink with *God*, as *friends* at his table in
 “ the *Eucharist*, and entertain *familiarity* and *friendship* with
 “ *devils*, by eating with them, and partaking of the sacrifices
 “ offered to them.” Such appears to be the force of the whole
 argument. But as there is nothing so plain, but that it may
 be obscured by misconception, and darkened by artificial colour-
 ings, so we need not wonder if difficulties have been raised
 against the construction here given. And because it may some-
 times happen, that very slight pretences on one side, if not par-
 ticularly answered, may weigh more with some persons, than
 the strongest reasons on the other, I shall here be at the pains
 to bring together such objections as I have any where met with,
 and to consider them one by one.

Objections answered.

I. Dr. Whitby, whose comments upon this text, I am sorry to

† Dr. Pelling, in his Discourse of the Sacrament, (p. 116, 117, 118,) well illustrates the case of the Jews, as partaking of the *altar*. I shall cite a small part:

“ There is an expression which will make this matter clear, in Levit. vii. 18, *neither shall it be imputed*, &c. When those sacrificial feasts were regularly celebrated, they were imputed to the guests for *their good*, they were reckoned *advantageous* to them, they were favourably *accepted*

“ at God’s hand, in order to the ends for which the sacrifice was designed: they served to make an *atonement*, they were effectual to their purposes, they were good to all intents, they were *available* to the offerers, (as the Hebrew Doctors expound the phrase.) This is the true meaning of being *partakers of the altar*,” &c. p. 117. In the next page the learned author applies the whole very aptly to the *Eucharist*.

say, appear to be little else than laboured confusion, is pleased to object as here follows: "Neither can the sense of the words "be to this effect: The cup and bread communicate to us the "spiritual effects of Christ's broken body, or his blood shed for "us, though this be in itself a *certain truth*; for these *spiritual* "effects cannot be *shared* among believers, so that every one "shall have a *part* of them only, but the *same* benefits are *wholly* "communicated to every due receiver. See note on ver. 16^d." The learned author did well to call our doctrine a *certain truth*: but he had done better, if he had taken due care to preserve to this text that *true sense*, upon which chiefly that *certain truth* is founded. His objection against the *spiritual* effect being *shared*, appears to be of no weight: for how do we say they are *shared*? We do not say that Christ's *death* is divided into parcels, or is more than *one death*, or that his *sacrifice* is more than one *sacrifice*, or that it is *shared* like a *loaf* broken into *parts*, as the objection supposes: but the many *sharers* all partake of, and communicate in *one undivided thing*, the same death, the same sacrifice, the same atonement, the same Saviour, the same God and Lord: and here is no *dividing* or sharing any thing, but as the same *common blessing* diffuses itself among many divided persons. And what is there amiss or improper in this notion? The learned author himself is forced to allow^e, that *κοινωνία τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ*, *communion of his Son*^f, and *κοινωνία τῶν παθημάτων*, *communion of his sufferings*^g, and *κοινωνία μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ*, *communion with the Father and the Son*^h, are all so many proper phrases, to express the communion of *many* in one and the same thing, where the effects are *common* to those many. And he might have added *κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*, *communion of the Holy Ghost*ⁱ, and *κοινωνία τοῦ μυστηρίου*, *communion of the mystery*^k, as two other parallel instances, wherein the same *undivided* blessings are supposed to be communicated to *many*, in such a sense as we suppose the undivided blessing, privilege, atonement of Christ's death to be vouchsafed to worthy communicants. And therefore there is no occasion for the low thought, that *κοινωνία* here, with respect to the Eucharist, must signify no more than the *sharing out* the consecrated *bread* and *wine* among the communicants: which is resolving all into *sign*, and dropping the thing *signified*; and is sinking the Apostle's ad-

^d Whitby on verse 20, p. 175.

^e Whitby, p. 173. ^f 1 Cor. i. 9.

^g Philipp. iii. 10.

^h 1 John i. 3.

ⁱ 2 Cor. xiii. 13. Phil. ii. 1.

^k Ephes. iii. 9.

mirable sense into jejune, insipid *tautology*; as I have before observed. The Socinians themselves deal more justly and ingeniously with St Paul's text in this place; as may sufficiently appear by what I have quoted from them in this chapter.

II. The same learned man makes a further attempt to defeat the true sense of this passage, first, by interpreting the *partaking of the altar*, to mean only having *communion with God*, or *owning him as that God* from whom they had received *mercies*; and next, by interpreting the *partaking of devils* so as to exclude any *spiritual influence from devils*¹. To all which I shall make answer in the excellent words of Bishop Burnet^m: "If the meaning of "their being *partakers with devils* [he should have said *of devils*] "imports only their joining themselves in *acts of fellowship* with "idolaters, then the sin of this would have easily appeared, without such a reinforcing of the matter.—St. Paul seems to carry "the argument further:—since those *idols* were the *instruments*, "by which the *devil* kept the world in subjection to him, all "such as did *partake* in their sacrifices might come under the "effects of that *magic*, that might be exerted about their temples "or sacrifices;—and might justly fear being brought into a "partnership of those *magical* possessions or temptations that "might be suffered to fall upon such Christians as should associate themselves in so detestable a serviceⁿ. In the same "sense it was also said, that the Israelites were *partakers of the* "altar. That is, that all of them who joined in the acts of that "religion, such as the offering their *peace-offerings*, (for of those "of that kind they might only eat,) all these were *partakers of* "the altar: that is, of all the *blessings* of their religion, of all the "expiations, the *burnt-offerings* and *sin-offerings*, that were offered "on the altar, for the *sins* of the whole congregation.—Thus it "appears, that such as joined in the *acts of idolatry* became "partakers of all that *influence* that *devils* might have over those

¹ See Whitby on the place, p. 174, 175.

^m Burnet on the 28th Article, p. 428.

ⁿ The true meaning of *partaking of devils*, or of coming under the *influence of devils*, is very aptly illustrated by the following lines of Tertullian:

Nemo in castra hostium transit, nisi projectis armis suis, nisi destitutis signis et sacramentis principis sui, nisi pactus simul perire—Quale est enim de Ecclesia Dei, in diaboli ecclesiam

tendere? de cælo, quod aiunt, in cœnum?—Cur ergo non hujusmodi etiam dæmonis penetrabiles fiant? nam et exemplum accidit, Domino teste, ejus mulieris quæ theatrum adiit, et inde cum dæmonio rediit. Itaque in exorcismo cum oneraretur immundus spiritus, quod ausus esset fidelem adgredi; constanter, justissime quidem, inquit, feci, in meo enim inveni. Tertullian. de Spectac. cap. xxv. xxvi. p. 83.

“ sacrifices ; and all that continued in the observances of the
 “ Mosaical law, had thereby a *partnership* in the *expiations* of
 “ the *altar*: so likewise all Christians who *receive* this Sacrament
 “ *worthily*, have by their so doing a *share* in that which is *repre-*
 “ *sented* by it, the *death* of Christ, and the *expiation* and other
 “ *benefits* that follow it.”

I cannot too often repeat, that St. Paul is not here speaking of *external* profession, or of *outwardly* owning the true God, (which any *hypocrite* might do,) but of being *real* and *living* members, and of receiving *vital spiritual* influences from Christ ; and his *argument* rests upon it°. The thing may perhaps be yet further illustrated from a similar argument, made use of by the Apostle in a resembling case. “ Know ye not that your bodies
 “ are the members of Christ ? shall I then take the members of
 “ Christ, and make them the members of an harlot ? God forbid.
 “ What ? know ye not that he who is joined to an harlot is one
 “ body ? for two, saith he, shall be one flesh. But he that is
 “ joined unto the Lord is one spirit.”

Here we may observe, that the *argument*, in both cases, proceeds upon the supposition that the Christians whom the Apostle speaks to are *true* and *living* members of Christ, and of consequence actual *partakers* of all the *spiritual benefits* of such union : which union would be entirely broken, and all its privileges forfeited, by commencing a *contrary* union, either with *devils* in one case, or with *harlots* in the other. The Apostle is not speaking of Christians as barely *contradicting* their *outward* professions, or committing a *logical* absurdity, but of their acting inconsistently with their *internal* blessings or privileges. There was no natural impossibility of *appearing* as guests both at *God’s table* and the *table of devils* ; it was as easy to be done, as it was easy for men to be *deceitful, false, and wicked* : but the Apostle speaks of a

° Loquitur Apostolus de ejusmodi communione corporis et sanguinis Domini, per quam *unum corpus* cum illo et inter nos sumus, — reprobi et infideles, omnesque ejusmodi, *Spiritus Christi* destituti, quamvis sumant et participant panem quem frangimus, et benedictionis calicem, — non fiunt *unum corpus* cum Christo et fidelibus, sicut ipse Apostolus docet, inquit : *Qui Spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est ejus*. Rom. viii. 9. 2 Cor. vi. Albertin. p. 225.

P 1 Cor. vi. 15, 16, 17. Compare 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15, 16. N. B. The

Apostle is plainly speaking, in all the three places, of Christians, considered as *true* and *living* members of the *internal invisible* Church, and not merely of the *external and visible*. Nec ergo *dicendi sunt manducare corpus Christi*, quoniam nec in *membris* computandi sunt ; quia non possunt esse membra Christi, et membra meretricis. *Augustin. de Civ. Dei*, lib. xxi. cap. 25.

¶ Corpus nostrum, (id est, caro quæ cum sanctimonia perseverat, et munditia,) membra dixit esse Christi. *Iren.* lib. v. cap. 6. p. 300.

real inconsistency in things; namely, such as lies in the being in league with God and the devil at the same time, and retaining the friendship and participation of both^r. All which shews, that the communicants whom the Apostle speaks of, were supposed to be true members of Christ, and of the invisible Church, in that very action, and so of consequence, thereby receiving all such spiritual benefits as that membership implies.

III. It has been thought some objection to this notion of benefits, that men could not be supposed to receive benefits from devils; and therefore the analogy or parallel will not hold, if St. Paul be interpreted as admitting or asserting benefits in the Eucharist. In reply to which I observe, 1. That St. Paul does not particularly mention benefits, (though he supposes them all the time,) but draws both parts of his parallel in general terms, and terms corresponding: communion of Christ's body and blood on one side, communion of devils on the other. There the parallel rests, and there it answers to the greatest exactness: for as on one hand there are supposed influences, influxes, impressions, communications from Christ, so on the other hand, there are likewise supposed influences, influxes, impressions, communications from devils. The parallel here drawn out by the Apostle goes no further, and therefore it is strictly just, regular, and elegant: but the nature of the thing speaks the rest, that the influxes must be of as contrary a kind, as Christ is opposite to Belial. 2. St. Paul certainly supposed benefits, and great ones, belonging to the Lord's table: otherwise his dissuasive against the table of devils had been very lame and insufficient. For undoubtedly there were benefits to be expected (temporal benefits) on the other side, or else there had been no temptation that way, nor any occasion for such earnestness as the Apostle uses in the case to dissuade them from it: and if the Apostle had not supposed some benefits, of the spiritual kind, to be annexed to the Eucharist, much superior to all temporal emoluments, there would have been but very little force in his whole dissuasive. To be short; the more beneficial we conceive the Sacrament to be, so much the stronger is the Apostle's argument for preferring the Lord's table before any other that was incompatible with it: and therefore the supposition of benefits in the Eucharist was by no

^r Οὐ γὰρ θέλω ὑμᾶς κοινωνοὺς δαιμονίων γίνεσθαι, ὃ ἀπόστολος λέγει· ἐπεὶ δίχα σωζομένων καὶ φθιμένων τροφαί — οὐκ εὐλογον τραπέζης δαιμονίων μεταλαμβάνειν, τοὺς θείας μετέχειν καὶ

πνευματικῆς κατηξιωμένους τροφῆς. Clem. Alex. Pæd. lib. ii. cap. i. p. 168, 169.

Non potestis et Dei et demonum esse participes. Pseudo-Hieronym. in loc.

means *foreign* to the point in view, or *wide* of his purpose, but quite the contrary. For what could be more *pertinent* to his design of warning Christians to have nothing to do with the *table of devils*, than the intimating to them, that they would thereby forfeit all the *benefits* and *privileges* they expected from the *table of the Lord*? Upon this foot, and this only, there is force and poignancy in what he says; "Ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and the table of devils^s."

IV. It may perhaps be objected further, that the Pagan notion of their sacrificial feasts was no more than this, that their *gods* or *demons* might sometimes condescend to come and *feast* with them, and so those feasts imported some kind of *society* or *alliance* with demons, but nothing of *influxes*, *communications*, *impressions*, &c. To which I answer, that we are not here inquiring what the *Pagans* supposed, but how the *Apostle* interpreted their *feastings* of that kind. The *Pagans* believed in *gods*, (as they thought,) or *good demons*; but the *Apostle* interprets all of *bad angels* or *devils*. And it is further observable, that he speaks not of partaking *with devils* of such banquets, but of partaking *with idolaters*, of devils. All the expressions made use of by the *Apostle* declare for this meaning. *Κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος*, is partaking *of body*, not *with* body. *Κοινωνία τοῦ αἵματος*, is partaking *of blood*, not *with* blood. *Κοινωνία τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου*, is partaking *of the altar*, not *with* the altar. In like manner, *κοινωνία τῶν δαιμονίων* must mean partaking *of devils*, not *with* devils^t. For, in truth, the communicants in the idol-sacrifices were joint partakers *with idolaters*, *of devils*, as Christian communicants are joint partakers *with Christians*, *of Christ*. Thus the *analogy* is duly preserved, and the *comparison* answers to the greatest exactness.

I may here briefly take notice, in passing, that what concerns the *communion* or *participation* of *devils*, has been very minutely examined among some learned Divines abroad, within these thirty years last past. Gottofr. Olearius, a learned Lutheran of

^s 1 Cor. x. 21. 1 Cor. xi. 27, 29. If there were not *great benefits* on one hand, as there is *great danger* on the other, what encouragement could there be to *receive* at all? Who would run the dreadful risk of being *guilty* of the *body* and *blood* of the *Lord*?

An ancient writer, of the third century, well expresses this matter:

Quantum enim ad creaturam per-

tineat, omnis munda est: sed cum dæmoniis immolata fuerit, inquinata est tam diu quam diu simulachris offeratur. Quod mox atque factum est, non est jam *Dei*, sed *idoli*: quæ dum in cibum sumitur, sumentem dæmonio nutrit, non *Deo*, convivam illum simulachro reddendo, non Christo. *Novatian. de Cib. Judaic.* cap. 7.

Leipsic, opened the subject in a Dissertation on 1 Cor. x. 21. printed A. D. 1709; reprinted in 1712. The design was to explain the Pagan notion of the *communion* of their *demons*, and from thence to illustrate the *communion* of Christ's *body* and *blood* in the Eucharist, as taught by the Apostle. Some years after, another learned Lutheran, in a treatise written in the German language, pursued the same hypothesis, and met with good acceptance among many. But in the year 1728, Mr. Elsner of Utrecht took occasion to animadvert upon it ^u, blaming Olearius for pushing the point too far, in favour of the Lutheran doctrine concerning the Eucharist, and for maintaining too *gross* a notion of *sacramental* manducation. Others have endeavoured to defend or palliate Olearius's doctrine, and reflect upon Elsner, as too severe or disrespectful in his censure, and as straining things to the worst sense^x. All I shall observe upon the dispute is, that both sides appear to agree in three particulars: 1. That the idolaters held communion *with each other*, by eating of the *same sacrifices*; to which answers, in the analogy, the communion of Christians *with each other*, by and in the Eucharist. 2. That the idolaters held communion with *devils* by feasting at the table of devils: to which answers our holding *communion* with Christ in the Eucharist. 3. That the devils with whom they so held *communion*, had thereby some *power* or *influence* over them: to which answer the *Divine influences* upon true and worthy communicants in the Eucharist.

V. There is yet another *objection* worth the considering, because it seems to strike at the main grounds upon which we have proceeded in explaining the Apostle's doctrine in this chapter. It is suggested, that *δαμόνιον* in that place does not signify *devil*, but either a *good demon*, or something *imaginary*, a mere *nonentity*: and this is grounded partly upon the consideration that the *Pagans* could never *intend* to sacrifice to *devils*, and partly upon St. Paul's allowing an *idol* to be *nothing*. The reader may find this suggestion abundantly confuted, in Whitby and Wolfius upon this chapter; and therefore I shall here content myself with briefly hinting as follows: 1. That the word *δαμόνιον*, commonly^y in the New Testament, does signify some

^u Elsner. Observat. Sacr. tom. ii. p. 108.

^x Wolfius, Curæ Crit. in 1 Cor. x. 21. p. 461. Mosheim, in Præfat. ad Cudworth de Cæna.

^y See Le Clerc in loc. in his Supple-

ment to Hammond, p. 338. Engl. edit.

^z A late learned writer very acutely as well as justly observes, that the sacred penmen, when speaking their *own* sense, and not reporting the

evil spirit, as in the many cases of *demoniacs* therein mentioned, besides other instances. 2. That in this place of St. Paul, the word ought to be so interpreted, in conformity to Deuteronomy xxxii. 17. which St. Paul appears to have had in his eye, "They sacrificed unto devils, not to God;" which Le Clerc himself (who raises the objection which I am now answering) interprets of *evil spirits*^a. 3. That St. Paul speaks not of what the heathens *intended*, or had in *view*, but of the real nature, tendency, or consequence of their *idolatry*. 4. That though St. Paul knew that *idols*, whether understood of *statues* and *images*, or of the deities supposed to reside in them, were really *nothing*, (as having either *no being*^b, as many had not, or *no divinity*^c, and were not capable of making any *physical* change in the *meats*, which were the *good creatures* of God; yet he knew withal, that *evil spirits* suggested to men those *idolatrour* practices, and resided in those *images*, and assisted in those *services*, personating those *fictionitious* deities, and drawing all those adorations, in the last result, to *themselves*^d: therefore St. Paul cautions the Corinthians against putting themselves into the *power* and *possession* of those *evil spirits*, which they were not before aware of^e. 5. There can be no sense or no force in St. Paul's argument, if we interpret his words either of *good demons* or of mere *nothings*: for it would sound very odd to say, *I would not have you partakers of good angels*; or of *nothings*, that is, *no partakers*; and again, *Ye cannot partake of the Lord's table*, and the table of *good angels* or table of *nonentities*. Besides that the Apostle was obviating or refuting that very objection about an *idol's* being nothing; allowing it in a *physical* sense, but not in a *moral* one; allowing it of the idol considered in *itself*, but not of what it *led to*, and *terminated* in. Whatever men might think of bare *idols*,

words of *others*, do *always* use the word *δαίμων* in the bad sense. Dr. Warren, part i. p. 75. part ii. p. 7, &c.

^a Ἐθῶσαν δαιμονίους καὶ οὐ Θεῶν Deut. xxxii. 17. Vid. Cleric. in loc. item in Levit. xvii. 7. Cacodæmonibus. See also Baruch iv. 7.

^b Such as *personalized* qualities, mere abstract ideas; as *mercy*, *justice*, *faith*, *truth*, *concord*, *health*, *fortune*, &c.

^c As sun, moon, stars, &c.

^d Scimus nihil esse nomina mortuorum, sicut et ipsa simulacra eorum: sed non ignoramus qui sub istis nomi-

nibus, institutis simulacris operentur et gaudeant, et divinitatem demoneant, nequam spiritus scilicet, *dæmones*. Tertull. de Spectac. cap. x. p. 77.

^e Non quod idolum sit aliquid, (ut Apostolus ait,) sed quod quæ faciunt, *dæmoniis* faciunt, consistentibus scilicet in consecrationibus *idolorum*, sive *mortuorum*, sive (ut putant) *deorum*. Propterea igitur, quoniam utraque species idolorum conditionis unius est, dum *mortui* et *dii* unum sunt, utraque idololatria abstinemus—quia non possumus *cænam Dei* edere, et *cænam dæmoniorum*. Tertull. *ibid.* cap. xiii. p. 79.

yet *evil spirits*, which promoted and accepted that idolatrous worship, were *real* beings, and very *pernicious*, many ways^f, to the *worshippers*, and to as many as were *partners* with them, either *formally* or in just *construction*. In this light, the Apostle's argument is *clear* and solid, and his sense *strong* and *nervous*; countenanced also by other *Scriptures* and the whole stream of *antiquity*.

VI. There are yet other objections, of a slighter kind, which I may here throw together, and briefly answer, that no further scruple may remain. A learned man very lately^g, in his Latin Notes upon Cudworth's treatise on the Sacrament, and in his Preface to the same, has taken a great deal of pains to *explain*, (should I say?) or rather to *perplex* and *obscure* the Apostle's *argument* in this chapter, and to turn it off to a different meaning from what I have been pleading for. His *reason*, or *motive*, for doing it, appears to be, to make it square the better with the Lutheran notion of the *corporal* presence in the Eucharist. He takes it for granted that both *good* and *bad* do equally receive the Lord's *body* and *blood*, (which is indeed the natural and necessary *consequence* of their other principles,) and therefore he cannot admit that the *communion* here spoken of should be understood of *benefits*, lest those *benefits* also should be supposed common to both, which is palpably absurd. He frankly enough discovers where his main scruple lies^h; and then proceeds to *invent* reasons, or colours, to support it. He pleads that St. Paul, in this place, mentions no *distinction* between *worthy* receivers and *unworthy*, but seems rather to make what

^f Wolfius well distinguishes, in his Comments on this text, p. 459, 460.

Non tam hic quaeritur, quid *gentilibus de deastris* suis persuasum fuerit, quam quod illis persuasum esse *debuerit*, quidve ex rei veritate de illis sit judicandum: posterius hoc innuit Apostolus, et testatum adeo facit, cultum illum superstitiosum et a *malis demonibus* profectum esse, et in illo societatem pertrahere—Apostolus τὸ εἰδωλον quod nihil est, distinguit a *dæmoniis*, tanquam quæ vere existant, et ex cultu præstito fructum percipiant, in perniciem sacrificantium redundantem; quemadmodum et *oi θύοιτες* sacra sua faciunt ea intentione, ut cum *deastris* conjungantur.

^g Joannes Laurentius Moshemius, Jenæ, 1733.

^h Quid sentiam de interpretatione hac verborum S. Pauli, itemque de argumento quod ex illis elicit vir doctissimus (Cudworthus) ad opinionem suam probandam, in *præfatione* aperiam—Hic monuisse satis erit, premi ab eo vestigia præcipuorum *reformati cætus* doctorum, &c.—velle enim *hos* notum est, ideo S. Cœnam a Servatore nostro potissimum esse institutam, ut sancti homines, qui ad eam accedunt, cum Christo Servatore suo *arctius conjungantur*, et *beneficiorum* hominibus ab eo partorum redantur *participes*: nos vero repudiare, qui omnes homines, sive *probi* sint, sive *improbi*, corporis et sanguinis Domini vere fieri *compotes* in S. Cœna statuimus. *Moshem. in Notis* ad cap. iv. sect. 2. p. 30.

he speaks of *common* to both; for he inserts no *exception*, or *salvo*, as he ought to have done, had his words been intended of receiving *benefits*^l, &c. To which I answer: 1. That there was no occasion for making any *express* distinction: it was sufficient to leave it to every one's good sense *tacitly* to supply. The Apostle speaks of it according to what it was in the *general*, and in *God's design*, and in its *primary* intention, and what it always would be in the event, if not rendered fruitless through some default of the communicants^k: but as the real *sacrifice* of Christ's death, with the *benefits* thereof, was to extend no further than to persons *qualified* for it, and not to the *impenitent*; so every man's own reason would readily suggest to him, without a monitor, that the *application* of that sacrifice could not be of wider extent than the sacrifice itself. 2. Add to this, that nothing is more usual in Scripture than to *omit* such *exceptions* as common sense might readily supply; partly for the sake of *brevity* or *elegancy*, and partly for the avoiding *impertinence* or *offence*. How often are the benefits of *Baptism* spoken of in general and absolute terms, without any *excepting* clause with respect to *unworthy* partakers. It was *needless* to insert any; for Christians understood the *terms* of their Baptismal covenant, and did not want to be told perpetually, that Simon Magus and other the like wretches, though baptized, had *no part* in them. Many times does St. Paul remind Christians of their *bodies* being *the members of Christ*, or *temple of God*, or *temple of the Holy Ghost*^l, making no *exception* at all for *corrupt* Christians: he thought it best to omit *invidious* exceptions; not doubting but that such plain things would be *tacitly* understood by every one, without his naming them. Once indeed, after he had told the Corinthians of *Christ being in them*, he adds, "except ye be re-
"probates^m." But certainly it was neither *necessary* nor *proper* to be perpetually inculcating an invidious and grating reflection. The persons whom he wrote to, might not always be *dull* enough

^l Si vera esset sententia, quæ inter *Reformatos* recepta est, *exceptisset* Paulus haud dubie *degeneres* Christianos ex illis qui Christi *compotes* fiunt in S. Cœna, dixissetque: *Nostisne eos homines, in quibus castus est animus et vera fides, corporis et sanguinis Christi compotes fieri? Moshem. ibid. p. 31.* Conf. Gerhard. et Albertin. Respon. p. 225.

^k Chrysostom is very clear on this

head, in Matt. Hom. lxxxiii. p. 788. Bened. ed. And so indeed are all the *ancients*, when rightly understood. None of them ever imagined that the *res sacramenti*, the *thing signified*, was received at all by the *unworthy*, either *spiritually* or *orally*.

^l 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17. vi. 15—20.
² Cor. vi. 16.

^m 2 Cor. xiii. 5.

to want it, or *bad* enough to deserve it; a softer kind of address might be both more *acceptable* to them, and more *effectual* to incite them to all goodness. There is therefore no force at all in the *negative* argument drawn from St. Paul's omitting to make an express *exception* to the case of *unworthy* communicants in 1 Cor. x. 16; or however, he abundantly supplied it in the next chapter, and needed not to do it *twice* over in the same Epistle, and within the compass of forty verses.

But the learned Mosheim presently after subjoins another little pleaⁿ, to add weight to the former. He asks, why should the Apostle so *distinctly* mention the communion both of the *body* and of the *blood*, if he intended no more than the *fruits* of Christ's death? Might not the single mention of his *death* or of its *fruits* have sufficed? To which we might justly answer, by asking the same question: What occasion could there be, upon his own principles, for *distinctly* mentioning both *body* and *blood*? Might not *body* alone have sufficed, especially considering how *doubtful* a point it has been thought, whether a *glorified* body has properly any *blood* in it or no^o? The learned author might better have waved an objection which recoils so strongly upon his own hypothesis. To answer more directly, we say, upon our principles, that the *distinct* mentioning both of the *body* and the *blood* was exceeding *proper*, and very *significant*; because it shews that our Lord is considered in the Eucharist according to the state he was in at his *crucifixion*: for then only it was, that his body and blood were *separate*; one hanging on the *cross*, the other *spilled* upon the ground. That *body* and that *blood* are commemorated in the Eucharist, the *body broken*, and the *blood shed*: therefore St. Paul so *distinctly* mentioned both, lest Christians should think (as indeed, in *late* and *dark* ages, Christians have thought) that the words of the *institution*, though express for *broken* body, and *blood shed* upon earth, should be interpreted to mean his *glorified* body in heaven. St. Paul very

ⁿ Deinde vir divinus *distincte* corporis et sanguinis Christi participes fieri dicit eos, qui poculum benedictum, et panem qui frangitur, acciperent in S. Cœna. Quid *distincta* hac mentione tam *corporis* quam *sanguinis* Christi opus fuisset, si hoc tantum docere voluisset, mortis Christi *fructum* ad eos pervenire qui S. Cœna fruerentur? Sufficiasset ad hanc rem exprimendam, si *generatim* dixisset:

minime vos præterit, in Christi et mortis ejus communionem pervenire, quibus poculum consecratum et panis fractus in S. Cœna exhibetur. Mosheim. *ibid.* p. 31. Conf. Gerhard. et Albertin. Respon. p. 225.

^o Vid. Allix. Dissertat. de Sanguine D. N. Jesu Christi. Conf. l'Arroque, Hist. of the Eucharist, part ii. cap. 6. p. 268.

justly followed the style of the *institution*, our Lord's own style: and by that he shewed, that he was speaking of the *separation* of the body and blood, which in reality was the *death* of our Lord, or seen only in his *death*, and consequently such manner of speaking directly pointed to the *death* of our Lord, and to the *fruits* or *benefits* arising from it. Mr. Mosheim goes on to make some slight objections to Dr. Cudworth's just notion of the *partakers of the altar*, as sharing the *benefits* or *expiations* thereof. It would be tedious to make a particular reply to every little objection which a pregnant wit can raise, and therefore I shall only say this: either he must understand it of a *real communion* of and with *that God*, whose *altar* it was, and then it implies *benefits* of course; or he must understand it only of *external* declarations or professions, such as hypocrites might make, and then it will be hard to shew how that agrees with the *symbol* of *eating*, which means *receiving* something, (not *giving out* declarations,) and is plainly so understood not only in John vi. but also in Heb. xiii. 10. where *eating* of an *altar* is spoken of.

Mr. Mosheim says no more in his Notes: but in his Preface, written afterwards, he pursues the same argument; and there he endeavours to invalidate the other *parallel* drawn from *partaking of devils*. He will not be persuaded that the idolaters did really sacrifice to *evil spirits*: but it is certain they did; though they *intended* quite otherwise. And he will not allow that they were *partakers of devils*, because an *idol is nothing*: which has been abundantly answered before. I shall only add, that this learned writer was not perhaps aware, that he has been *enforcing* the *objection* of the idolaters, and labouring to *elude* St. Paul's answer to it, in contradiction to the Apostle's clear and *express* words. St. Paul granted that an idol *physically* was nothing, but that *morally* and *circumstantially* it stood in quite another view: for, though an *idol* was nothing, yet a *devil*, under the name or cover of an idol, was a *real* thing, and of very dangerous consequence, to make *alliance* with. But I proceed.

When this learned gentleman comes to propose his *own* interpretation of the whole *passage*, he does it in such an intricate and confused manner, as discovers it at once to be unnatural and

¶ Nunquam mihi persuaserim, sanctum hominem id sibi velle, profanos vere malis geniis, aut deastris immolare, quæ immolarent: etenim hæc sententia pugnet cum eo quod paulo

ante largitus erat Corinthiis, deastrum nihil, aut commentitium esse aliquid: si nihil est deaster, quomodo vere sacrificari potest illi aliquid? Mosheim. in Prefat.

forced. He first breaks the *coherence* of it, in a very particular way, and owns that he does so⁹. Then he proceeds to speak of St. Paul's abrupt and *rapid* manner of writing, and of his *omitting* many things for an interpreter to supply, (though before he would not allow him to *omit* a needless *exception*, which nobody almost could miss of,) and of his jumping to a *conclusion*, before he had sufficiently opened his *premises*^r. Could one desire a more sensible or more affecting token of the irresistible strength of the *ancient* and *prevailing* construction than this, that the acutest *wit*, joined with uncommon *learning*, can make no other sense of the place, but by taking such liberties with sacred Writ, as are by no means allowable upon any known rules of just and sober hermeneutics? I shall dwell no longer on this learned gentleman's speculations; which, I am willing to hope, are not the sentiments of all the Lutherans. They are confronted, in part, by the very learned Wolfius, as I observed above: and I am now going to take notice of the moderate sentiments of Baron Puffendorf (who was an able *divine*, as well as a consummate *statesman*) in his *latest* treatise, left behind him ready for the press, written in Latin, and printed in 1695^s. He first candidly represents the principles of the *Reformed*, and next passes a *gentle* censure.

“ Some say [meaning some of the *Reformed*] that—we *must*
 “ not believe the bread and wine to be a *naked symbol*, but a
 “ *communication*, or *mean* by which we come into *participation* of
 “ the *body* and *blood* of Christ, as St. Paul speaks 1^o Cor. x. 16.
 “ But of what sort that communion or communication is, whether

⁹ Exerceant, quibus placet, ingenium, experianturque, num demonstrare queant hæc *apta* esse inter se, ac *coherencia*? Quæ cum ita sint, cumque res ipsa testetur, *nullam* esse *cognationem* et *affinitatem* cominati 16 et 17 cum consequente commate 18, reliquum est, ut constituamus, *dividendum* esse hoc posterius comma a *prioribus* binis, novamque ab eo partem orationis sancti hominis inchoandam esse, &c. *Moshem. in Præfat.*

^r Præcisam et concitatam esse multis in locis S. Pauli disputationem, et multa interdum ab eo *omitti* quæ interpretis *meditatione* ac ingenio suppleri debent, quo *perfectam* demonstratio formam adipiscatur, neminem in scriptis istis versatum præterit. Id hoc etiam in loco meminisse decet, quo divinus vir, *sacro elatus feroore*,

et incredibili Corinthios emendandi studio accensus, ad demonstrationis conclusionem *properat* potius quam *pergit*, nec plura exprimit verbis quam summa postulat necessitas ad vim ejus capiendam. Quare qui rudiorum captui consulere, et universam argumentationem ejus nervis et partibus suis *coherentem* exhibere volunt, *ad-dere* passim *quædam* debent et *inter-jicere*, ad ea plane tollenda quæ intelligentiam morari possunt. *Moshem. ibid.*

^s *Jus fecciale divinum: sive de Consensu et Dissensu Protestantium*, exercitatio posthuma. *Lubeccæ*, 1695.

The Divine feudal Law: or Means for the uniting of Protestants. Translated from the original by Theophilus Dorrington, 1703.

“ *physical* or *moral*, may be very well gathered from that very
 “ place of St. Paul. By a *physical* communion, or participation,
 “ must be understood the conjunction of two bodies, as of *water*
 “ and *wine*, of *meal* and *sugar*: but by a *moral* one is meant,
 “ such as when any thing partakes of the *virtue* and *efficacy* of
 “ another, and in that respect is *accounted* the *same* with the
 “ other, or is connected with it. As among the Jews, they who
 “ did *eat* of the flesh of the *victim* were made *partakers* of the
 “ *altar*; that is, of the Jewish worship, and of *all the benefits*
 “ which did accompany that worship. So also, they who did
 “ eat of things *sacrificed* to *idols* were *partakers* of *devils*; not
 “ for that they did *eat* the *substance* of the *devils*, but because
 “ they did derive upon themselves the *guilt* of *idolatry*. From
 “ all which things we may learn to understand the words of the
 “ *institution* in this sense—This *bread* eaten by the faithful, in
 “ the ceremony of this Supper, this *wine* also therein drank by
 “ such, shall have the *same virtue* and *efficacy*, as if you should
 “ eat the *substance* itself of my *body*, and drink the very *substance*
 “ of my *blood*. Or, this *bread* is put *in the stead* of the sacrificed
 “ flesh, this *wine* is *in the stead* of the sacrificed blood; whereby
 “ the *covenant* between God and men, having me for the *mediator*
 “ of it, is established. Nor indeed are such sort of expressions
 “ (importing an *equivalence* or *substitution*) uncommon, whether
 “ in holy Scripture or in profane writers. For example: *I have*
 “ *made God my hope*^t. *Elijah* was the *chariots* of *Israel*, and the
 “ *horsemen thereof*^u. *Woman*, *behold thy son*; *son*, *behold thy*
 “ *mother*^x. *He that doth the will of my Father, the same is my*
 “ *brother, and sister, and mother*^y. It is said of the enemies of
 “ the cross of Christ, that their *belly* is *their god*^z. So in Virgil
 “ we have the like phraseology, *Thou shalt be to me the great*
 “ *Apollo*.

“ But in *articles* of *faith*, it is safer to follow a naked *simplicity*,
 “ than to indulge the *fancy* in pursuit of *subtillties*. And it has
 “ been observed, that while the reins have been left too loose
 “ to *human reason*, in this article of the *Lord's Supper*, the *other*
 “ *mysteries* also of the Christian religion have been tampered
 “ with, so that by degrees *Socinianism* is at length sprung up.
 “ But if both sides would but sincerely profess, that in the *Lord's*
 “ *Supper* Christ's body and blood are verily and properly eaten

^t Job xxxi. 24.

^u 2 Kings ii. 12.

^x John xix. 26, 27.

^y Matt. xii. 50.

^z Phil. iii. 19.

“ and drank ^a, and that there is a *participation* of the *benefits* by
 “ him purchased, all the controversy remaining is only about
 “ the *manner* of eating and drinking, and of the *presence* of
 “ Christ’s body and blood, which both sides confess to be above
 “ the reach of human capacity : and so they make use of *reason-*
 “ *ings*, where is no room for *reason*^b.” So far this very judicious
 writer, a moderate Lutheran, and a person of admirable sagacity.
 I shall hereupon take the liberty to observe, that if the supposed
corporal presence were but softened into *corporal union*, and that
 union understood to be of the *mystical* or *moral* kind, (like to
 that of *man* and *wife* making *one flesh*, or all *true Christians*, at
 any distance, making *one body*,) and if this *union* were reckoned
 among the *fruits* of Christ’s death, received by the faithful in
 the Eucharist, then would every thing of *moment* be secured on
 all sides : and the doctrine of the Eucharist, so stated, would be
 found to be altogether *intelligible*, *rational*, and *scriptural*, and
 confirmed by the united verdict of all *antiquity*.

As to Lutherans and Calvinists, however widely they may
 appear to differ in *words* and in *names*, yet their *ideas* seem all
 to centre (as often as they come to explain) in what I have
 mentioned. The Calvinists, for example, sometimes speak of
eating Christ’s body and blood by *faith*, or by the *mind* ; and yet
 they seem to *understand* nothing more than a kind of *moral*,
virtual, *spiritual*, or *mystical* union^c, (such as *bodies* at a distance
 may have,) though perhaps they do not always explain it so
 happily as might be wished. On the other hand, the Lutherans
 when pressed to speak plainly, deny every article almost which
 they are commonly charged with by their adversaries. They
 disown *assumption* of the elements into the *humanity* of Christ^d,
 as likewise *augmentation*^e, and *impanation*^f ; yea, and *consubstan-*
tiation^g, and *concomitancy*^h : and, if it be asked, at length, what
 they admit and abide by, it is a *sacramental union*ⁱ ; not a *cor-*

^a We say, “Verily and indeed taken
 “ and received by the faithful.”

^b Puffendorf. Eng. edit. sect. lxiii.
 p. 211, 212, 213. Lat. edit. sect. lxiii.
 p. 227, 228, 229.

^c Vid. Albertin. p. 230, 231. Pet.
 Martyr. in 1 Cor. xii. 12, 13. p. 178.

^d Vid. Pfaffius, Dissertat. de Con-
 secrat. Eucharist. p. 449, &c. Bud-
 dæus, Miscellan. Sacr. tom. ii. p. 80,
 81.

^e Pfaffius, p. 451, &c. Buddæus,
 Miscellan. Sacr. tom. ii. p. 81, 82.

^f Pfaffius, p. 453. Buddæus, *ibid.*
 p. 83. Deylingius, Observ. Miscell.
 p. 249.

^g Pfaffius, p. 453, &c. Buddæus,
ibid. p. 84. Deylingius, *ibid.*

^h Pfaffius, *ibid.* p. 459. Buddæus,
ibid. p. 85, 86.

ⁱ Pfaffius, p. 461, &c. Buddæus,
ibid. p. 86, &c.

poral presence, but as a body may be present *spiritually*^k. And now, what is a *sacramental union*, with a body *spiritually* present, while *corporally* absent? Or what *ideas* can any one really have under these *terms*, more than that of a *mystical* or *moral* union, (such as Baron Puffendorf speaks of,) an union as to *virtus* and *efficacy*, and to all *saving* intents and purposes? So far both parties are agreed, and the remaining difference may seem to lie chiefly in *words* and *names*, rather than in *ideas*, or real *things*^l. But great allowances should be made for the prevailing *prejudices* of education, and for a *customary way* of speaking or thinking on any subject.

CHAP. IX.

Of Remission of Sins conferred in the EUCHARIST.

THIS is an article which has been hitherto touched upon only as it fell in my way, but will now require a particular discussion: and that it may be done the more distinctly and clearly, it will be proper to take in two or three previous propositions, which may be of use to prevent misconceptions of what we mean, and to open the way to what we intend to prove. The previous propositions are: 1. That it is *God alone* who properly confers remission. 2. That he often does it in this life *present*, as seems good unto him, on certain occasions, and in sundry degrees. 3. That he does it particularly in *Baptism*, in a very eminent degree. These several points being premised and proved, it will be the easier afterwards to shew that he does it

^k Quinimo et *corporalis presentia* negatur, quæ tamen ea ratione adstruitur, ut corpus Christi *vere*, licet *spiritualiter* præsens esse credatur. Cæterum cum corpus Christi ubique *junctam divinitatem* habeat, ea et in sacra cœna præsens est; singulari tamen et incomprehensibili ratione, quæ omnes imperfectiones excludit. *Pfaffius*, p. 462. Præsentiam *realem* profiteremur, *carnealem* negamus. *Puffend.* sect. 92.

Unicus itaque saltem isque verus et genuinus *præsentia realis* superest modus, *unio sacramentalis*; quæ ita comparata est, ut, juxta ipsius Servatoris nostri institutionem, pani benedicto tanquam *medio divinitus ordinato* corpus, et vino benedicto tanquam *medio divinitus ordinato* sanguis Christi (*modo* quem ratio comprehen-

dere nequit) *uniatur*: ut cum illo pane *corpus Christi* una manducatione sacramentali, et cum illo vino *sanguinem Christi* una bibitione sacramentali, in sublimi mysterio sumamus, manducemus, et bibamus. *Buddæus*, *ibid.* p. 86, 87.

^l Testatur Zanchius, se audivisse quendam non vulgarem Lutheranism dicentem, se et alios suos non ita dicere corpus Christi a nobis *corporaliter* manducari, quasi illud Christi corpus os et corpus nostrum attingat (hoc enim falsum esse) sed tantum propter *sacramentalem unionem*, qua id quod *proprie* competit pani, attribuitur etiam *quodammodo* ipsi corpori Christi. In hisce ergo convenimus. *Sam. Ward. Theolog. Determinat.* p. 113.

also in the *Eucharist*, as likewise to explain the nature and extent of the *remission* there conferred.

1. I begin with premising, that *God alone* properly confers *remission of sins*: whatever secondary means or instruments may be made use of in it, yet it is *God* that does it. "Who can forgive sins but God only?" We read, that "it is God that justifieth[†]." *Justification* of sinners comes to the same with *remission*: it is receiving them as *just*; which amounts to *acquitting*, or *absolving* them, in the court of heaven. For proof of this, I refer the reader to Bishop Bull's *Harmonia Apostolica*[‡], that I may not be tedious in a very plain case. The use I intend of the observation, with respect to our present subject, is, that if we are said to *eat* or *drink*, in the *Eucharist*, the *benefits* of Christ's *passion*, (among which *remission of sins* is one,) or if we are said to *apply* those *benefits*, and of consequence that *remission*, to ourselves, by *faith*, &c., all this is to be understood only of our *receiving* such *remission*, and *partaking* of those *benefits*, while it is *God* that *grants* and *confers*, and who also, properly speaking, *applies* every benefit of that kind to the faithful communicant. And whether he does it by his *word* or by his *ordinances*, and by the hands of his ministers, he *does it* however: and when such *absolution*, or *remission*, is real and true, it is not an *human* *absolution*, but a *divine* grant, transmitted to us by the hands of *men* administering the *ordinances of God*. *God* has sometimes sent his *extraordinary* grants of that kind by *prophets* and other officers *extraordinary*[‡]: and he may do the like in a fixed and standing method, by his *ordinary* officers or ministers duly commissioned thereunto[‡]. But whoever he be that *brings* the pardon, or who pursuant to commission *notifies* it to the party in solemn form, yet the *pardon*, if true, is the *gift of God*, and it is *God alone*, or the *Spirit of God*, that *applies* it to the *soul*, and converts it to *spiritual* nutriment and increase. This, I presume, may be looked upon as a ruled point, and needs not more words to prove it.

2. The next thing I have to premise is, that *God* often confers *remission*, or *justification*, for the time being, in this *life present*, with certain and *immediate* effect, according to the degree or extent of it. All *remission* is not *final*, nor *suspended* upon what

† Mark ii. 7.

‡ Rom. viii. 33.

‡ Bull Harmon. Apostol. Dissert. i. cap. 1.

‡ 2 Sam. xii. 13. Compare Eccles. xlvii. 11.

‡ Matt. xvi. 19. xviii. 16, 17, 18. John xx. 22, 23. Acts xxii. 16.

may come after : but there is such a thing as *present* remission, distinct from the *final* one, and which may or may not continue to the end, but is *valid* for the time being, and is in its own nature (no cross circumstances intervening) *irrevocable*. Let us come to particulars, in proof of the position. Jesus said unto the sick of the palsy, "Son, thy sins are forgiven thee^a." There was *present* remission of some kind or other, to some certain degree, *antecedent* to the day of judgment, and of *force* for the time being. So again, our Lord's words, "Whose soever sins "ye remit, they are remitted^b," &c. do plainly suppose and imply a *present* remission to some degree or other, antecedently to the great day, and during this *present* life. "All that believe," (viz. with a faith working by love,) "are justified^c," &c. The text speaks plainly of a *present* justification, or remission : for both amount to the same, as I have hinted before. St. Paul speaks of sincere converts, as "being justified freely by God's grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ^d;" and soon after mentions "remission of sins past^e," meaning remission *then present*; as indeed he could not mean any thing else. In another place, he speaks of *justification* as then actually received, or obtained : "Being justified by faith, we have peace "with God through our Lord Jesus Christ—by whom we "have now received the atonement^f." Elsewhere he says, "Ye "are washed, ye are sanctified, ye are justified in the name of "the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God^g." Again : "You, being dead in your sins—hath he quickened, having "forgiven you all trespasses^h." I shall take notice but of one text more : "I write unto you, little children, because your "sins are forgiven youⁱ." So then, *present* remission, in some cases or circumstances, may be justly looked upon as a *clear* point. Nevertheless, we are to understand it in a sense consistent with what St. Paul teaches elsewhere : "We are made "partakers of Christ, (finally,) if we hold the beginning of our "confidence stedfast unto the end^k." There is a distinction to be made between *present* and *final* justification : not that one is *conditional* and the other *absolute*, (for both are *absolute* in their kind, being founded in *absolute* grants,) but in one case, the party may live long enough to *need a new* grant ; in the other, he is set beyond all danger or doubtfulness. *Present* justification

^a Mark ii. 5, 9. Luke v. 20.

^b John xx. 23.

^c Acts xiii. 39.

^d Rom. iii. 24.

^e Rom. iii. 25.

^f Rom. v. 1, 11.

^g 1 Cor. vi. 11.

^h Coloss. ii. 13.

ⁱ 1 John ii. 12.

^k Heb. iii. 14.

amounts to a present *right* or *claim* to heaven upon Gospel terms, and presupposes the performance of *every thing stipulated* so far, and is therefore *absolute* for the time being¹. As to *future* perseverance, because it is *future*, it comes not into *present* account, and so is out of the question, as to *present* justification^m, or *present* stipulation. Perseverance is *conditionally* stipulated, that is to say, upon the supposition or condition that *we live longer*: but the question concerning our *present claim* to heaven upon the Gospel terms, turns only upon what is *present*, and what serves for the *time being*. A *present* right is not therefore *no right*, or *not certain* for the present, because of its being liable to forfeiture, on such and such *suppositions*, afterwards. This I observe here, to remove the prejudices which some may possibly conceive against the very notion of *present remission*, (either in the Sacraments or out of them,) only because it is not *absolute* in every view, and upon every supposition, but upon the *present view* only, or in the circumstances now present. Indeed, remission of sins is a kind of *continued* act of God towards good men, often *repeated* in this life, and more and more *confirmed* the more they improve; *ascertained* to them, against all future chances, at their departure hence, but not *finally*, or in the most *solemn form* conferred, before the day of judgment.

3. I proceed to observe, that such *present remission*, as I have hitherto been speaking of, is ordinarily conferred in the Sacrament of *Baptism*, where there is no obstacle on the part of the recipient. Even the Baptism of John, upon repentance, instrumentally conveyed *remission of sins*ⁿ: much more does the Baptism of Christ. “Except a man be born of water and of “the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God^o.” This implies, that *Water-baptism*, ordinarily, is requisite to *remission*, and consequently is an ordinary means of conveying it. But there are other texts more express: “Repent, and be baptized “every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission “of sins—the promise is—to all that are afar offp,” &c.

¹ Hic dico, quod notandum est, quemvis justificatum præstitisse *integram* fœderis Evangelici conditionem, *pro statu in quo est*. Quisquis fide in Christum δι' ἀγάπης ἐεργουμένη præditus est, is *eo momento* præstitit *integram* fœderis Evangelici *conditionem* quæ, in *statu in quo est*, ab ipso requiritur, etiamsi jugis et pia operatio adhuc deat: proinde ex fœdere illo

justificatur, atque ad omnia fœderis ejusdem beneficia *jus* habet. *Bull. Resp. ad Animad.* iii. sect. vi. p. 539.

^m Hæc conditio *jugis operationis* in evangelico fœdere non *absolute* requiritur, sed *ex hypothesi*; nempe si Deus vitam largitus fuerit. *Bull. ibid.*

ⁿ Mark i. 4.

^o John iii. 5.

^p Acts ii. 38, 39.

Ananias's words to Saul are very remarkable; "Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins^q:" words too clear and express to be eluded by any Socinian evasions. And so are those other words; "Christ also loved the Church, and gave himself for it; that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word^r." The same doctrine is again taught by St. Paul, where he speaks of the "putting off the body of sins, by the circumcision of Christ^s;" by *Christian circumcision*, that is, by *Baptism*. The same thing is implied in our being "saved by the laver of regeneration^t," and "saved by Baptism^u," and having "hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience^x." It is in vain to plead against *remission of sins* in either of the Sacraments, on account of their being considered in the recipient as *single acts*: for since it is *certain fact*, that such remission is conferred in and by *Baptism*, there must be some *fallacy* in that kind of reasoning, whether we can espy it or not, and it can be of no weight against plain and certain *fact*. But I have hinted in my introduction, and elsewhere^y, where the error and misconception of such reasoning lies: and I shall only add here, that if a king were to send out his general *letters of pardon* for all *submissive* offenders, who, after renewing their bonds of allegiance, would come and take out their pardon in *certain form*, it would be no objection to the *validity* of their *pardon*, as conveyed by *such form*, that the submitting to it was but *part of the condition*, and not the *whole*, so long as it *presupposes* every thing besides. I may note also, by the way, that no just objection can be made against the *general* notion of God's conferring pardon by the *ministry* of men, since it is certain that he does it in the Sacrament of *Baptism*, which is administered by the hands of men commissioned thereunto.

Having thus despatched the three *previous* propositions, preparatory to what I intend, I now proceed directly to the subject of the present chapter, which is to shew, that God confers *remission of sins* in or by the Sacrament of the *Lord's Supper*, as well as by the Sacrament of *Baptism*. The *analogy* which there is between the two Sacraments, considered as *Sacraments*, is itself a strong presumption of it; unless there were some very good reason to be given why *remission* should be granted there,

^q Acts xxii. 16.

^r Ephes. v. 25, 26. Compare Pearson on the Creed, Article x. p. 556.

^s Coloss. ii. 12, 13. See Dr. Wall, Hist. of Inf. Bapt. part i. c. 2. De-

fence, p. 269, &c.

^t Tit. iii. 5. ^u 1 Peter iii. 21.

^x Heb. x. 22.

^y See above, ch. viii. p. 621.

and not here. The once granting of *remission* is no argument against *repeating* and *renewing* it, time after time, if there may be any *new* occasion for it, or if frequent *renewals* may add more abundant *strength* and *firmness* to what was before done, either for greater *security* or greater *consolation*.

It may be said, perhaps, that *Baptism* was necessary to give any person a *covenant-right* to pardon upon repentance, but that when a man is once entered into *covenant*, then *repentance* alone suffices, and there is no longer need of submitting to any other *public, solemn form* of remission, as an *instrument* of pardon. I allow, there is not precisely the *same need*; and yet I will not presume to maintain that there may not be *great need*, notwithstanding. It is one thing to say, that remission is given in the Eucharist, as well as in Baptism; and another to say, that the Eucharist is as *necessary* to remission, as *Baptism*. Baptism may be the *first* and *grand* absolution; and the Eucharist may be only *second* to it: the Eucharist may be an *instrument* of remission, but not the *prime* or *chief* instrument. I am aware that it was St. Austin's doctrine, (and, I think, of the Schools after him,) that *baptismal remission* looks not only backwards to sins *past*, but forwards also to *future* transgressions, and has its *federal* effect for remission of sins *repented* of, all our lives long^z. But yet that consideration never hindered him, nor others of the same sentiments with him, from believing, that *remission of sins* is granted in and by the Eucharist^a, as well as by the other Sacrament. Only, they might think, that Baptism is eminently and emphatically the Sacrament of *remission*, and the other, of *spiritual growth*; one is more peculiarly the instrument of *justification*, while *sanctification* is the eminent privilege of the other. Nevertheless, *justification* and *sanctification*, though distinct in notion, are yet so closely connected in the spiritual life, that

^z Sic, inquam, hoc accipiendum est, ut eodem lavacro regenerationis et verbo sanctificationis, omnia prorsus mala hominum regenerantium mundentur, atque sanentur: non solum peccata quæ omnia *nunc* remittuntur in Baptismo, sed etiam quæ *posterius* humana ignorantia vel infirmitate contrahuntur. Non ut Baptisma quotiens *peccatur* tollens *repeatur*; sed quia *ipso* quod semel datur, fit, ut non solum *antea*, verum etiam *postea* quorumlibet peccatorum venia fidelibus impetretur. Quid enim prodesset vel *ante Baptismum* penitentia,

nisi Baptismus sequeretur, vel *postea*, nisi præcesserit? *Augustin. de Nupt. et Concupisc.* lib. i. p. 298. tom. x. edit. Bened. Conf. Sam. Ward. Determ. Theolog. p. 57. Vossius de Baptismo. Disp. vi. p. 277. Turretin. Institut. Theolog. tom. iii. p. 460, &c. Hesychius, of the fifth century, expressed it thus: Virtus præcedentis baptismatis operatur et in ea, quæ postea acta fuerit, penitentia. *In Levit.* lib. ii. p. 118.

^a Vid. Augustin. de Peccat. Mer. et Rem. lib. i. cap. 24.

they commonly go together, and so whatever tends to increase either, increases both. And though it is certainly true, that the Gospel covenant promises *remission* upon *repentance*, yet receiving the Communion, as it is an article of *Christian obedience*, is included in the notion of *repentance*, making a part of it, as often as we *may* and *ought* to receive. But besides that, as *repentance* alone, without a continual *application* of the great *atonement*, is of no avail upon the foot of the *Christian covenant*, nor can be accepted at the throne of grace; the least that we can say of the *expediency* of the Eucharist, in that respect, is, that it amounts to a *public, solemn, certain* application of Christ's merits, for the rendering our *repentances* acceptable, (which no other service except Baptism does,) and therefore it is a service carrying in it the liveliest *assurance*, and the strongest *consolation*, with respect to that very *remission* promised upon our serious *repentance*. Baptism *once* received may perhaps justly be supposed to carry in it the force of such *continued application* all our lives after: but yet it was not for nothing, that God appointed another Sacrament, supplemental to Baptism, for carrying on the same thing, or for the more effectual securing the same end. It is further to be considered, that if the Eucharist includes in it (as shall be shewn in its place) a *renewal* of the baptismal *covenant*, it must of course be conceived to carry in it a *renewal* of baptismal remission also: and remission, on God's part, is a kind of *continued act*, always *growing*, always *improving*, during the several stages and advances of the Christian life^b. Besides, if Divine wisdom, among other reasons, has superadded the *solemnity* of Baptism to *repentance*, in order to fix the repentance more strongly, and to render it accepted, as also to make the *pardon* therein granted the more affecting and memorable; it is obvious to perceive how the solemnity of the Eucharist is fitted to serve the like purposes; and is therefore the more likely to have been intended for another *public* and *sensible* application of the *merits* of Christ's death, and a channel of *remission*^c, succedaneous to Baptism, in some views, and so far

^b *Justificatio et sanctificatio sunt actus quidem perpetuus, in quo et Deus semper donat, et homo semper recipit. Tota itaque vita homo fidelis poscit remissionem peccatorum, et renovationem sui: tota item vita utrumque impetrat. Habet ante, sed consequitur tum conservationem tum incrementum ejus quod habet. Omni-*

bus credentibus opus, ut tum fides tum gratia fide percepta foveatur, alatur, augeatur. Omnibus igitur credentibus et verbi, et sacramentorum adminiculo opus est, &c. Vossius de Sac. Vi et Effic. p. 252.

^c "By the same reason that it came to be thought needful to make use of *sensible* means to convey or assure

-serving instead of a *repetition* of it. But whether we are right or wrong in these and the like plausible reasonings upon the *analogy* of the two Sacraments, or upon their common, or distinct uses, yet if we can *prove* the fact, that the Eucharist really is an *instrument* of *remission*, or a *Gospel form* of *absolution*, we need not then concern ourselves much about the *rationale* of the thing: our positive proofs will be sufficient without it. This then is what I shall now proceed to, following the light of *Scripture* and *antiquity*.

1. That *remission of sins* is ordinarily conferred in the Eucharist, follows undeniably from the doctrine of 1 Cor. x. 16, as explained in the preceding chapter of this work. For if we are therein *partakers* of Christ's death, with the *fruits* thereof; and if the *atonement* be one of those fruits, and indeed the *first* and *principal*; and if *remission* follows the atonement, wherever it is truly *applied*; it is manifest from these considerations taken together, that *remission* is *conferred*, or (which comes to the same) *renewed* and *confirmed*, in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. This argument is built upon a very clear and allowed maxim, that the *effect* must answer to the *cause*, and the *fruits* to the *stock*, from whence they grow^d. Besides, to deny that the Eucharist carries *remission* with it, seems to make it rather a *memorial* of the *reconciliation*, than an actual *participation* of it: which is what the Socinians do indeed teach, but have been confuted (if I may take leave to say so) in the foregoing chapters.

2. I go on to our Lord's own words in the institution: "Drink ye all of this: for this is my blood, the blood of the new covenant, shed for you, and for many, FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS." Our Lord here mentions the *remission of sins* as the effect or fruit of the *blood shed*: that very *blood shed* is what we *symbolically*

"to mankind God's *pardon* and grace upon their *first conversion* to Christianity, by the same, or a greater reason, it must be judged to be so, to make use of the like *sensible* means to *convey* or *assure* the same grace and *pardon*, after men have in any measure *forfeited* the interest they had in the other.

"By the same reason again, that it came to be thought needful to exact of us *sensible* declarations of our renouncing the errors of our *unconverted* state—by the same, or a greater reason, must it be judged to be so, to exact of us the like *sensible* declarations, after we

"have, by our disobedience, departed from, and prevaricated our former ones." *Towerson on the Sacrament*, p. 158.

The author here resolves the reason of granting *remission* by the Eucharist, into the expediency of *sensible* means to testify *repentance* on man's part, for sins committed after Baptism, and for the greater *solemnity* of granting *pardon*, on God's part. Which appears to be a very just account of it, in part, or it is, at least, a sufficient answer to objections drawn from the *rationale* of the thing.

^d See Dr. Pelling's *Disc. on the Sacrament*, p. 138, &c.

drink in the Eucharist, together with the *fruits* of it, as hath been abundantly proved above: therefore we drink *remission* in the Eucharist, which is one of those *fruits*. To enforce the argument, observe but with what emphasis our Lord says, "Drink ye all of this: for this is &c." Why such a stress laid upon *drinking* this blood *shed for remission*, if they were not to *drink remission* in the very act? *Commemorating* will not answer the purpose: for drinking is the constant *symbol* of *receiving* something *in*, not of commemorating, which is *paying out*: and I have often observed before, that *receiving* in this instance must, in the very nature of the act, mean *present* receiving: therefore again, the receiving, symbolically in the Eucharist, that *justifying blood* of Christ, must of consequence amount to receiving *present* remission of sins. Bishop Taylor works up the argument a little differently, thus: "The *body* receives the *body* of the mystery, (we eat and drink the *symbols* with our *mouths*;) but *faith* feeds upon the *mystery* itself, it entertains the *grace* — which the Spirit of God *conveys* under that signature. Now, since the mystery is perfectly and openly expressed to be the *remission of sins*, if the *soul* does the work of the *soul*, as the *body* the work of the *body*, the *soul* receives *remission of sins*, as the *body* does the *symbols* and the Sacrament^c."

The Socinians here object, that the text does not say that the *Eucharist* is ordained for remission, but that the *blood*, the blood spilled upon the cross, was shed *for remission*. But it is obvious to reply, that that blood which was once *literally* given for *remission*, upon the cross, is now every day *symbolically* and *mystically* given in the Eucharist, and given with all its *fruits*: therefore *remission of sins* is given. Such is the nature of *symbolical* grants, as I have before explained at large: they *exhibit* what they *represent*, convey what they signify, and are in *divine* construction and acceptance, though not literally or substantially, the very thing which they supply the place of. Which is so true in this case, that the very attributes of the *signs* and things *signified* are reciprocally predicated of each other: the *body* is represented as *broken*^f, though that attribute properly belongs to the *bread*; and the *cup*, by a double figure, is said to be *shed for you*^g, when, in strictness of speech, that attribute belongs only to the *blood*. This is further confirmed from the *analogy* which there is between the *representative* blood in the Eucharist, and

^c Taylor's Worthy Communicant, p. 51.

^f 1 Cor. xi. 24.

^g Luke xxii. 20.

the *typical* blood of the ancient *Passover*. For as the *blood* there was a *token* of remission, and made *instrumental* to remission, so is it also in the *symbolical* blood of the Eucharist; and thus every thing answers ^h. The blood likewise of the ancient sacrifices, *prefiguring* the blood of Christ, was a *token* of a covenant ⁱ, and conveyed *remission*, (legal directly, and evangelical indirectly,) and therefore the symbolical blood of the Eucharist *figuring* the same blood of Christ, cannot but be understood to convey remission as effectually, yea and more effectually than the other, which the very *phrases* here made use of, parallel to the former, strongly argue.

I shall only add further, that since there certainly is *spiritual manducation* in the Eucharist, as before shewn, and since *remission of sins*, by all accounts, and even by the Socinians, is allowed to be *included* in spiritual manducation; it will plainly follow, that *remission of sins* is conveyed in and by the Eucharist; which was to be proved.

Having thus far argued the point from Scripture principles, I may now proceed to inquire what additional light may be borrowed from *authorities*, ancient or modern. I shall draw together a summary account of what the primitive churches taught in this article, and shall afterwards consider, very briefly, the doctrine of our own Church on the same head.

The learned author of the *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, having previously observed of *Baptism*, that it was esteemed *the grand absolution* of all, proceeds soon after to take notice of the *absolution* granted in the *Eucharist*, and gives this general account of it:

“ It had some relation to *penitential discipline*, but did not *solely* belong to it. For it was given to all *baptized* persons who never fell under *penitential* discipline, as well as to those who *lapsed* and were restored to communion: and in both respects, it was called the *τὸ τέλειον*, the *perfection*, or *consummation*, of a Christian; there being no higher mystery that an ordinary Christian could partake of. To those who never fell into such *great sins* as required a public *penance*, it was an *absolution* from *lesser* sins, which were called *venial*, and sins of *daily incursion*: and to penitents who had *lapsed*, it was an *absolution* from those *greater sins* for which they were fallen

^h See above, ch. ii. p. 497.

Obligation of the Christian Sacra-

ⁱ Exod. xxiv. 8. See *Nature and* *ments*, above, p. 103.

“ under censure^k.” To this may be added, that the name of ἐφῶδιον, *viaticum*, which means *provision for one's journey into the other world*, and which was frequently given to the Eucharist, in the fourth century^l, and so on, is a *general* proof of the sense of the Church in those times with respect to *remission* in the *holy Communion*: for as that name imports more, so it certainly implies *remission of sins*, as part of the idea belonging to it.

After this brief general account, let us come to particulars. The elder Fathers, of the two first centuries, (so far as I have observed,) make not express mention of *remission of sins* in the *Eucharist*, though they are explicit enough with respect to *Baptism*. Their common way, with regard to the Eucharist, was to pass over *remission*, and to go higher up to *sanctification* of the Spirit, and *spiritual* or *mystical* union with Christ, and the consequent right to *glory*, and *immortality*, and *eternal life*. Perhaps they might conceive it low and diminutive, in that case, to speak at all of *remission*, which was but the *initiatory* part, and belonged more peculiarly to the *initiatory* Sacrament, which in those times, and in the case of adults, immediately preceded the other. However that were, we find^m proofs sufficient from the writers of the third century, that the Eucharist was thought to be of a *propitiatory* nature, in virtue of the great *sacrifice* therein *commemorated*: and though the elder Fathers do not directly say so, they tacitly supposed or insinuated the same thing, by their standing *discipline*, and by their so often calling the Eucharist a *sacrifice* well pleasing to God: besides that the *sanctification* which they do speak of, as conferred in the Eucharist, implied remission of sins, either as then *granted*, or at least then *confirmed* and *established*.

Origen is one that speaks plainly of the *propitiatory* nature of the Eucharistⁿ; understanding it in a qualified sense, as being propitiatory only in virtue of the grand sacrifice, or as all *acceptable* services are, in some sense, appeasing and pacificatory.

Cyprian, of the same time, takes notice of the sacramental *cup* as relieving the *sad* and *sorrowful* heart, before oppressed with the *anguish of sins*, and now overjoyed with a sense of the *Divine indulgence*^o. From which words it is manifest, that it

^k Bingham, book xix. c. 1.

^l Testimonies are collected by Casaubon, Exercit. N. lii. p. 415.

^m Suicer, in Ἐφῶδιον, p. 1290. Bingham, book xv. cap. 4. sect. 9. book xviii. cap. 4. sect. 3. Mabillon de Liturg. Gall. p. 85.

ⁿ Si respicias ad commemorationem

nem de qua dicit Dominus, *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem*, invenies, quod ista est commemoratio sola quæ propitium facit hominibus Deum. Origen. in *Levit. Hom. xiii.* p. 255.

^o Epotato sanguine Domini, mœstum pectus ac triste, quod prius *peccatis argentibus* premebatur, *Divine*

was *God's pardon* (not merely the *Church's reconciliation*) which was supposed to be conveyed in and by the Eucharist; which is further evident from the noted story of Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria, his sending the Eucharist to Serapion at the point of death, and the reflections which he made upon it, as being instrumental towards the *wiping out his sins* before his departure^p. Such was the prevailing notion of that time in relation to *remission of sins*, as conferred in the Eucharist. "Some ancient writers" (I use the words of Mr. Bingham) "acknowledge no other sorts of *absolution* but only two; the *baptismal absolution* which is antecedent to all *penitential discipline*, and this of reconciling public penitents to the *communion of the altar*: because this latter *comprehends all other ways of absolution*, in the several acts and ceremonies that were used in conferring it^q." Another very learned writer has made the like observation, in the words here following: "They that have with the greatest diligence searched into *antiquity*, can discover no other *rite* or *solemnity* used upon this occasion, but barely the admitting the *penitents* to *communion*: by this they were entirely *acquitted* and *absolved* from the censure under which their crimes had laid them: by this their *sins were remitted to them*, and so they became once more *fellow citizens* with the *saints*, and of the household of God^r."

For the fourth century, Eusebius may be an evidence to prove the doctrine of *remission* in and by the *Eucharist*, where he says; "We moreover offer the *show bread*, while we revive the *salutary memorial* and the blood of sprinkling of the Lamb of God, (that taketh away the sins of the world,) the *purgative* of our souls^s." He seems here to understand the *blood of Christ* as making the *purgation directly*, and the *salutary memorial* as doing it *indirectly*, and in virtue of the other. He speaks plainer elsewhere, directly saying, that Christians receive *remission of sins* in the daily *memorial* which they celebrate, viz. the memorial of our Lord's *body and blood*^t.

indulgentiæ lætitia resolvatur: quod tum demum potest lætificare in Ecclesia Domini bibentem &c. Cypr. Ep. lxiii. p. 107. alias 153.

^p Vid. Euseb. E. H. lib. vi. c. 44. p. 318.

^q Bingham, book xix. cap. 1. sect. 6.

^r Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part ii. p. 210. compare p. 107. and part i. p. 284, &c. Conf. Morin. de

Pœnitent. lib. iv. c. 21, 22.

^s Ἄλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τῆς προθέσεως προσφέρουμεν, τὴν σωτήριον μνήμην ἀναζωπυρούντες, τό τε τοῦ βαπτισμοῦ αἷμα τοῦ ἀμνοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ περιελόντος τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου, καθάρσιον τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν. Euseb. in Psalms. xc. p. 608.

^t Διὰ τῆς ἐνθέου καὶ μυστικῆς διδασκαλίας πάντες ἡμεῖς οἱ ἐξ ἐθνῶν τὴν ἀφεσιν τῶν προτέρων ἁμαρτημάτων

Cyril of the same century styles the Eucharist the *sacrifice of propitiation*^u, (in such a sense as I have before hinted with relation to Origen,) and he supposes it to be offered in order to render God *propitious*, which amounts to the same as if he had said, for *remission of sins*^v.

Ephræm Syrus, of the same age, supposes that the Eucharist *purifies* the soul from its *spots*, that is, from its *sins*^x. And Ambrose scruples not to ascribe to the bread consecrated *remission of sins*; which is to be understood with some allowance for a figurative way of speaking. He speaks indeed of the *living bread*, that is, of Christ himself, but considered as symbolically received in the *Eucharist*; which is manifest from his referring to 1 Cor. xi. 28. "Let a man examine himself."

St. Austin appears to have been in the same sentiments exactly: where speaking of the grand sacrifice, by which alone *true remission*^z comes, he immediately adds, that all Christians are *invited to drink the blood* of it, meaning in the Eucharist.

All the ancient Liturgies are full of the same notion of *remission of sins* conferred in this Sacrament. And though they are mostly *spurious*, or *interpolated*, and answer not strictly to the *names* which they commonly bear, yet some of them have been in use for many centuries upwards in the Greek, Latin, and Oriental churches, and are a good proof of the *universality* of a doctrine for the time they obtained. The Clementine, though it is not thought to have been ever in public use, is commonly believed to be the *oldest* of any now extant: and though, as an entire collection, it cannot perhaps be justly set higher than the fifth century, yet it certainly contains many things derived from earlier times, and among those, probably, the doctrine of *eucharistical remission*. In that Liturgy prayer is made, that

εύράμεθα—εικότως την του σώματος
αυτού και του αίματος την υπόμνησιν
σημέραι επιτελούντες, κ. τ. λ. *Euseb.*
Demonstr. Evang. lib. ii. c. 10. p. 37.

^u Της θυσίας εκείνης του Ιλασμού.
Cyrrill. Mystag. v. sect. 8. p. 327.
Conf. Deylingius, Observat. Miscel-
lan. p. 155, &c.

^v Χριστόν έσφαγασμένον προσφέ-
ρομεν, υπέρ των ημετέρων άμαρτημάτων
προσφέροντες, εξιλεούμενοι υπέρ αυτών
τε και ημών τον φιλόανθρωπον Θεόν.
Cyrrill. Mystag. v. sect. 10. p. 328.

^x Animæ accedentes per illa tre-
menda mysteria macularum purifica-
tionem accipiunt. *Ephr. Syr. de Sa-
cerdotio*, p. 3.

^y *Ego sum panis vitæ*; etiamsi quis
mortuus fuerit, tamen si panem meum
acceperit, vivet in æternum: ille enim
accipit qui seipsum probat. Qui au-
tem accipit, non moritur peccatoris
morte; quia panis hic remissio pecca-
torum est. *Ambros. de Benedict. Patri-
arch.* c. ix. p. 525.

^z Illis sacrificiis hoc unum sacri-
ficium significabatur, in quo vera fit
remissio peccatorum. A cujus tamen
sacrificii sanguine non solum nemo
prohibetur, sed ad bibendum potius
omnes exhortantur qui volunt habere
vitam. *Augustin. in Levit.* tom. iii.
p. 516, 517. Conf. *Damascen. de Fid.*
lib. iv. c. 13. p. 271.

the Holy Spirit may so bless the elements, that the communicants may *obtain remission of sins*^a. And in the *post-communion*, prayer is again made that the receiving of the Eucharist may turn to *salvation*, not *condemnation*, to the benefit both of body and soul, to the preserving true piety, and to *remission of sins*^b.

Conformable to this pattern are the *later* Liturgies: particularly that which is called Basil's, according to the Alexandrian use, in Renaudot's edition^c. And another, entitled Gregory's Liturgy^d. The same thing is observable in the Liturgies which go under the names of apostles or evangelists, collected by Fabricius: as St. James's^e, St. Peter's^f, St. Matthew's^g, St. Mark's^h, and St. John'sⁱ. The Liturgy under the name of Chrysostom, published by Goar, has the like forms^k. So also have the Oriental Liturgies in Renaudotius's Collection, volume the second, and the Latin ones published by Mabillon; of which it would be tedious here to speak more particularly; as it is also needless to trouble the reader with more references in a very clear point. Upon the whole, there appears to have been a *general* consent of the Christian churches all along as to the point of *eucharistical remission* of sins: which is proved, not only from the testimonies of *single* Fathers, but from the ancient standing *discipline* of the Church, and from the concurring language of all the ancient Liturgies now extant.

As to the judgment of the *first Reformers* abroad, it is well known to fall in with the same: or if any doubt should be, let Luther answer for the Lutherans^l, and for the Calvinists Calvin^m.

^a ἵνα οἱ μεταλαβόντες αὐτοῦ—
ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτημάτων τύχωσι, &c.
Apostol. Const. lib. viii. c. 12. p. 407.

^b Καὶ παρακαλέσωμεν μὴ εἰς κρίμα,
ἀλλ' εἰς σωτηρίαν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, εἰς
ὠφέλειαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, εἰς φυ-
λακὴν εὐσεβείας, εἰς ἀφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.
κ. τ. λ. *Apost. Consti.* lib. viii. c. 14.
p. 410.

^c Basil. Liturg. Alex. p. 61, 69, 71.
apud Renaud. vol. i.

^d Gregorii Liturg. p. 92, 95, 98,
106.

^e Jacob. Liturg. p. 38, 41, 68, 71,
72, 86, 101, 111, 113, 120.

^f Petri Liturg. p. 175, 195.

^g Matth. Liturg. p. 216, 245, 248.

^h Marci Liturg. p. 261, 299, 315,
316.

ⁱ Johannis Liturg. p. 203.

^k Goar. Euchol. p. 77, 80, 82.

^l Pertinet huc pulcherrima gradatio
Lutheri: "Calix Eucharisticus con-
tinet vinum: vinum *exhibet* Christi
" sanguinem: sanguis Christi com-
" plectitur novum testamentum, quia
" est novi testamenti sanguis: novum
" testamentum continet *remissionem*
" *peccatorum*. Ergo, bibitio ex calice
" Eucharistico *applicat, obsignat, et*
" *confirmat* credentibus, promissio-
" nem de *remissione peccatorum*."—
Sacramentum illud ipsum quod sig-
nat, etiam confert, et exhibet. *Ger-
hard. loc. Comm. de Sac. Cæna,*
c. xx. p. 178.

^m Christi consilium fuit, corpus
suum *sub pane* edendum corrigere in
remissionem peccatorum. *Calvin. Ad-
monit. ult. ad Westphal.* p. 950. *Conf.*
Instit. lib. iv. c. 17. sect. 42.

Lambertus Danæus cautiously words

The judgment of our own Church will easily be proved to concur in the same article, from the known language of our Communion Office, and Homilies. In our public Service, we pray, that "our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood." The propositions couched under these words are several: 1. That our bodies are the *temple* of the Holy Ghost. 2. That sin *defileth* them. 3. That the *sacrifice* of Christ, removing *guilt*, (other due circumstances supposed,) makes them *clean*. 4. That there is an *application* of that sacrifice made in the Eucharist. 5. That therefore such application ought to be prayed for. So much for the *body*. The like, with a little change, may be understood also of the *soul*: and the conclusion from both parts is, that *guilt* is washed away in the Sacrament, *duly* administered, and *duly* received, both from *body* and *soul*; which in other words amounteth to this, that *remission of sins* is conferred by the Eucharist, to all *worthy* receivers.

In a *thanksgiving prayer*, of the same Service, we pray, that "we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission of sins," beseeching the Divine Majesty, not to "weigh our merits," but to "pardon our offences," &c. which words carry in them a manifest allusion to that *remission of sins* which is conceived ordinarily to pertain to this Sacrament, and is expected from it, as one of the benefits of it. But considering that all depends upon our being *meet partakers*, (whereof God only is the unerring Judge,) and that it becomes every communicant to think *humbly* of himself, leaning to the *modest* side; it is very proper to refer the whole to God's clemency, entreating him to accept of us as *meet* partakers, and thereupon to grant us the *remission* we came for. For though it is an undoubted truth, that the Eucharist confers *remission* to the *faithful* communicant, yet it is right to leave the determination of our *faithfulness* to God the searcher of hearts, and in the mean while to beg *forgiveness* at his hands. Add to this, that were we ever so *certain* that we are *actually* pardoned upon receiving the Eucharist, yet as remission is a *continued* act, and always *progressive*, (which I before noted,) it can never be improper to go on with our petitions for it, any more than to make use of the Lord's Prayer every hour of our lives. It was so used anciently, just after *plenary* remission^a:

the doctrine thus: *Cæna Domini*— *Epist. ad Eccles. Gallican.* 1498.
 est *applicatio* semel a Christo factæ
 peccatorum nostrorum remissionis. ^a Jerome's remark upon this case, when *Baptism* and the *Eucharist* went

and in like manner we now make use of it, immediately after our having received the Communion; without the least apprehension that such usage interferes at all with the principle which I have been maintaining, as indeed it does not. Nothing is more frequent in the ancient Liturgies, than to ask *forgiveness* immediately after *receiving*, though the doctrine of *present* remission is fully expressed and inculcated in the *same* Liturgies°.

Enough hath been said to shew, that our Communion Office supposes *remission* of *sins* to be conferred in the Eucharist. The same thing is directly and clearly asserted in our Homilies. "As to the number of *Sacraments*, if they should be considered "according to the exact signification of a *Sacrament*, namely, "for visible signs expressly commanded in the New Testament, "whereunto is annexed the promise of *free forgiveness of sins*, "and of our holiness, and joining in Christ, there be but two, "namely, *Baptism* and the *Supper of the Lord*." Here it is not only supposed that *remission* is conferred in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, but that it could not in strictness be reputed a *Sacrament*, if it were not so: so great a stress is there laid on this principle. Accordingly, afterwards in the *same* Homily, *absolution* is rejected as *no Sacrament*, having no such promise of remission *annexed* and *tied* to the *visible sign*: and *Orders* also is rejected, because it "lacks the promise of remission of sin." In another Homily, where the *Lord's Supper* is particularly treated of, it is observed, that therein "the favourable mercies of God "are *sealed*, the satisfaction by Christ towards us confirmed, "and the *remission of sins* established^q."

together, and *perfect remission* was supposed to have been just granted, is worth noting:

De *Baptismatis fonte* surgentes, et regenerati in Dominum Salvatorem—statim in *prima communione* corporis Christi dicunt: *et dimitte nobis debita nostra*, quæ illis fuerant in Christi confessione dimissa.—Quamvis sit hominum *perfecta conversio*, et post vitia atque peccata virtutum *plena possessio*; numquid possunt sic esse *sine vitio*, quomodo illi qui *statim* de Christi *fonte* procedunt? Et tamen jubentur dicere, *dimitte nobis debita nostra*, &c. Non humilitatis mendacio, ut tu interpretaris; sed *pavore* fragilitatis humanæ, suam conscientiam formidantis. *Hieronym. Dialog. adv. Pelag.* lib. iii. p. 543.

° See the Clementine Liturgy quot-

ed above, and compare Fabricius's Collection, p. 120, 333. Renaudot's, vol. i. p. 51. vol. ii. p. 42, 152, 174, 212, 233, 253, 269, 447, 634. Mabillon's in Mus. Ital. vol. i. p. 281. Missal. Gall. p. 331. Liturg. Gallic. p. 300.

^p Homily ix. of Common Prayer and Sacraments, p. 299. Compare Cranmer, p. 46.

^q Homily on the worthy receiving, &c. part i. p. 378. The Reformatio Legum, of the same time, says thus: *Eucharistia* Sacramentum est, in quo cibum ex pane sumunt, et potum ex vino, qui convivæ sedent in *sacra Domini mensa*: cujus panis, inter illos, et vini communicatione, *obsignatur* gratia Spiritus Sancti, *veniaque peccatorum*, ad quam ex eo perveniunt, quod *fide* comprehendunt et

After these public, authentic evidences of the doctrine of our Church in this particular, it will be needless to add the concurring sentiments of our *eminent Divines*, all along from that time. But because the point has been sometimes contested, both abroad and at home, and difficulties have been raised, it will be but fair and just to the reader, to set before him the utmost that has been pleaded on the contrary side, and to suggest, as briefly as may be, the proper solutions of the appearing difficulties.

Objections removed.

1. It has been objected, that "the Sacrament of the *Lord's Supper* is not itself like *Baptism*, a rite appointed for the "remission of sins; but it is a *commemoration* only of the all-sufficient sacrifice, which was once offered for an *eternal expiation*." To which I answer, 1. That supposing this Sacrament were not appointed at all for *remission*, it does not follow that it must be appointed only for *commemoration*; because it might be (as it certainly is) appointed in part for *sanctification* also. 2. Supposing further, that it is not completely equal to *Baptism* in point of *remission*, yet it does not follow that it may not confer remission in *some measure*, or to an *inferior degree*. 3. It is untruly suggested, that the Eucharist is only a *commemoration* of the all-sufficient sacrifice, since it most certainly is, as hath been proved, an *application* of that sacrifice to every worthy receiver: and since *remission* of *sins* is one of the *fruits* of that sacrifice, it must, it cannot but be allowed, that the Eucharist carries *remission* in it, more or less, and to some degree or other.

2. A second objection runs thus: "To imagine that the *Lord's Supper*, which is to be *repeated* perpetually, has such a "promise annexed to it of taking away *all past sins*, as *Baptism* had, which was to be administered but *once*, is a dangerous and "fatal error, because such an opinion would be plainly an "encouragement for men to *continue* in sin, that the *grace* of "forgiveness might be perpetually *repeated* and *abound*." In answer hereto, let but the reader put *repentance* instead of *Lord's Supper*, and then traverse the objection over again in his mind, if it be only to see whether the very same objection does

percipiunt Christi sacrosanctum corpus, respectu nostræ salutis ad crucem fixum, et cruorem pro tollendis fuscum nostris peccatis, ut Dei promissa palam ipsa loquuntur. *De Sacrament.*

tit. v. c. 4. p. 29.

^r Dr. Clarke's Posth. Sermons, vol. iv. serm. vi. p. 133.

^s Dr. Clarke, *ibid.* p. 134.

not plead as strongly against repeated *forgiveness* upon repeated *repentance*, as against the same forgiveness upon repeated *communion*: for we never suppose any *new* forgiveness granted in the communion, but upon *new* repentance. What then have we to trust to, if the plain and comfortable Gospel doctrine of *forgiveness* (*toties quoties*) upon *true* repentance, shall be represented as a *dangerous* and *fatal* error, and an *encouragement* to *continue* in sins, that *grace* may abound? It may be true, that such merciful doctrine of *forgiveness* may carry some *appearance* of *encouragement* to sin: so do some other Gospel doctrines; or else St. Paul would have had no need to caution us against “continuing in sin, that *grace* may abound^t.” but nevertheless, it would not only be great presumption, but a *fatal error*, to draw any such inference from the doctrine of *repeated* forgiveness upon *repeated* repentance. For what would have been the consequence, supposing that the rule had run, that if a man sins *once*, or *twice*, or a *hundred*, or a *thousand* times, and repent as *often*, he shall be *forgiven*? Would not many have been tempted to *sin on*, till they come very near to the utmost verge of forgiveness, before they would think of repenting to purpose? And what scruples might they not raise about the *number* of *sins*, or of *repentance*? And if any man should once go beyond the *limits* now supposed to be assigned, what would then remain but *black despair*, and a hardened resolution to *continue* in *sin*? Therefore Divine wisdom has mercifully fixed this matter upon a much better foot, namely, upon one plain rule, that *as often* as men *sin*, and truly *repent*, (without limitation, or number,) *so often* they shall be forgiven. When evil habits have much and long prevailed, repentance, however *sincere*, will hardly be completed *at once*: but the ordinary method is, to repent again and again, after every relapse, till by degrees a man gains the entire mastery over his appetites and passions. In this way, his relapses will grow *less frequent*, and evil habits *less prevalent*, and every new repentance will be stronger and stronger, till at length by God’s grace, and his own hearty endeavours, he gets the victory, and becomes confirmed in all virtue and godliness. By this we may perceive the use and benefit of frequent forgiveness upon frequent repentances, in a degree suitable and proportionate; that sinners may never want encouragement to go on *repenting* more and more, after their *relapses*, and as often sealing their sincere repentances in the

^t Rom. vi. 1, 2.

blessed Sacrament, to make them the more solemn and the more enduring. But, in the mean while, let sinners beware how they tempt the Divine goodness too far, by relapsing: for even *repentance*, as depending on Divine *grace*, is so far in God's hands, as well as *pardon*: and they who presume to *sin often*, because they may be *often forgiven*, are in a likely way to come to an *end of forgiveness*, before they make an *end of sinning*, and to be taken, at length, in their own snare^u.

Notwithstanding what I have here said, with respect to eucharistical absolution, I would not be construed to mean, that there is *no difference at all*, in point of remission, between *Baptism* and the *Eucharist*: for I am aware that there is *some* difference, and perhaps *considerable*. I shall here draw from the *ancients*, and shall endeavour to point out the *difference* as clearly and exactly as I can. It was understood to lie in *three* things chiefly; the *extent* of the remission, and the *certainty*, and the *perfection* of it.

Baptism was conceived to amount to a *plenary* and *certain* indulgence for *all kinds* of sins, were they ever so *great*; (as for instance, the *crucifying* of our Lord^x;) and of any *number*, were they ever so *many*, or ever so *often* repeated, provided only they were sincerely repented of, and forsaken at the *font*: they were from that instant *remembered no more*, either in God's account or the *Church's*. But as to sins committed after Baptism, if of a *grievous* kind, (as *idolatry*, *murder*, *adultery*,) or less grievous, but *often* repeated, or much *aggravated* by the circumstances, they were judged too heinous to be *pardoned* in the *Eucharist*, and the men too vile to be admitted to *communion* ever after^z. Not that the Church presumed to limit the *mercies* of God, who searches the *hearts*, and who could judge of the *sincerity* of the *repentance* of such persons: but Church governors of that time would not take upon them to *promise* such persons *peace*, upon any professions of *repentance* whatever, but left them to God only. In short, though they would have given *Baptism* to any the wickedest Pagans whatever, upon proper professions of re-

^u Absit ut aliquis ita interpretetur, quasi eo sibi etiam nunc pateat ad *delinquendum*, quia patet ad *pœnitendum*; et redundantia clementiæ cœlestis libidinem faciat humanæ temeritatis: nemo idcirco *deterior* sit quia Deus *melior* est, totiens delinquendo quotiens ignoscitur. Cæterum, *Finem evadendi* habebit, cum *offendendi* non

habebit. *Tertullian. de Pœnit.* c. vii. p. 126.

^x Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. iii. s. 15. p. 47. Conf. Morinus de Pœnitent. lib. iii. c. 2, 3.

^y Vid. Theodoret. in Jerem. xxxi. 34. p. 230.

^z See Bingham, book xviii. cap. 4. sect. 4.

penitance, yet they would not give the *Eucharist* to such as had sinned in like manner after Baptism: which shews, that they made some difference between *baptismal remission* and the *eucharistical* one, in respect of *certainty* and *extent*. When the severity of discipline afterwards relaxed a little, and *communion* was allowed to all *penitents* at the hour of death, if not sooner, yet they did not then pretend to be *certain* that God would absolve the persons, like as they judged with respect to *baptismal* absolution^a. Nevertheless, if we distinguish *justly* upon the two cases, it does not from hence follow, that they thought of any proper *disparity* between the two *absolutions* in themselves considered; but strictly speaking, the *disparity* was supposed to lie in the different *malignity* of sins committed *before* Baptism and *after*. The *remedies* might be conceived of equal force, other circumstances being equal; but the *malady* was not the same in both cases.

Another difference between *baptismal* and *eucharistical* remission was understood to lie here, that the one *perfectly* wiped out all past sins; the other, though it *healed* them, yet left some kind of *blots* or *scars* behind it^b: on account whereof, many who were admitted to *lay communion* were yet considered as *blemished* in some measure, and not fit to be admitted afterwards to the *sacred offices*^c. No crimes whatever committed *before* Baptism, and left at the font, were thought any *bar* or *blot* for the time to come; Baptism washed all away: but the case was different with respect to sins of a scandalous nature committed *after Baptism*; for neither *repentance* nor the *Eucharist* was conceived to wash off all *stain*. Hence some made a distinction, upon Psalm xxxii. 1, between *perfect* remission of sin in *Baptism*, and the *covering* it by *penance* and *absolution*^d; that is, by the *Eucharist*. And others seem to have thought that sins committed before Baptism were perfectly blotted out, as it were, from the book of God's remembrance, as if they had never been, but that sins of any *grievous* kind committed afterwards, though pardoned upon repentance, should yet be *recited*, or *purged*, at the great day^e: a *conjectural* presumption, which I will not be bold to warrant.

^a See Bingham, book xxiii. cap. 4. sect. 6. Compare Marshall, Penit. Discipl. p. 111.

^b Vid. Cyrill. Hieros. Catech. xviii. sect. 20. p. 295. ed. Bened. Athanas. ad Serap. Ep. iv. n. 13. p. 705. Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. xl. p. 641.

^c Origen. contr. Cels. lib. iii. sect.

51. p. 482. ed. Bened.

^d Origen. in Psalm. xxxi. p. 645. Eusebius in Psal. xxxi. p. 120. in Psal. lxxxiv. p. 525.

^e Vid. Clemens Alex. Strom. iv. num. 24. p. 633, 634. Strom. vi. p. 795. Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. xv. n. 23. p. 236, 237.

However, in the whole, it may be admitted, upon the principles of *reason*, *Scripture*, and *antiquity*, that the *remission* in the *Eucharist* is not in every respect *equal*, or *similar* to the remission in *Baptism*, because of the *different* circumstances: nevertheless it is certain, in the general, that there is ordinarily *remission* in both, as there is ordinarily an *application* of the *merits* of Christ's all-sufficient sacrifice in both.

I must now further add, that the objection made against *repeated forgiveness*, upon *repeated repentance* in the Eucharist, would have been of much greater force than it really now is, were it not that this holy Sacrament appears to have been appointed as the *strongest security* against those very *abuses* which men are prone to make of the *Divine mercy*. The *two* principal *abuses* are, first, the putting off repentance from day to day, fixing *no time* for it, as it is thought to be left at large, and to be acceptable at *any time*; next, the resting content with a *lame*, *partial*, or *unsincere* repentance: against both which, the appointment of this holy Sacrament is a kind of *standing provision*, the best, it may be, that the nature of the case would admit of. To those who are apt to *procrastinate*, or *loiter*, it is an awakening call, obliging them the more strongly to *fix* upon some *certain* and determinate time for repentance: and to the *superficial* penitents, it is a kind of solemn lecture of *sincerity* and *carefulness*, under pain of being found *guilty* of trampling under foot the *body* and *blood* of Christ. And while it promises *forgiveness* to all that *worthily* receive, and to none else, it becomes a strong incitement to break off sins without delay, and to be particularly *watchful* and *careful* for the time to come. So far is the doctrine of remission in the Eucharist (when justly stated) from being any *encouragement* to *sin*, that it is quite the reverse, being indeed one of the strongest *encouragements* to a *good life*. But I proceed.

3. Socinus and his followers appear much offended at the doctrine of *remission* in the Eucharist, (for fear, I presume, of admitting any *merits* of Christ's death,) and they labour all possible ways to run it down; sometimes *misrepresenting* it, sometimes *ridiculing* it, and sometimes putting on an air of *grave* reasoning. Socinus himself was content to throw a blunt censure upon it, as bordering upon *idolatry*^f. An injurious

^f Plerique ipsorum in hisce quidem regionibus, credunt se, illa digne ob-eunda, suorum peccatorum veniam et

remissionem consequi: haud valde diversum ab eo quod *Papistæ* sentiunt, qui eam propterea in sacrificium pro

reflection, for which there was no colour; unless he first wilfully *perverted* the meaning, and falsely charged the Protestants with the *opus operatum*.

Smalcius plainly put that false construction upon it, and then took the handle to *ridicule* it, as if any *remission* could be extracted from the *use* of such *common* things as the bare *symbols* are^g. So ridiculous a mistake of the doctrine which he opposed, either shewed no quickness of apprehension, or no sincerity. Schlictingius followed the same blunder, and still with greater levity: a certain argument, that he had no solid reasons to produce on that head. The Racovian Catechism, of the first Latin edition, (A. D. 1609,) pleaded, that a man ought to be *sure* of his pardonⁱ in heaven, before he takes the Sacrament, and therefore could have *no more* pardon to receive here: that must be their meaning, if they intended it for an argument. However, the argument at best is a very lame one. For whatever *certainty* of that nature any man may pretend to, it is capable of being *renewed* and *reinforced* by repeated assurances: and as we are taught *continually* to pray for *forgiveness*, so may we receive it *continually*, both in the *Word* and *Sacraments*; but more particularly in the *Sacraments*. In the next edition of that Catechism, (A. D. 1659,) that trifling plea was struck out, and another was substituted in its room; which is to this effect, that *remission* cannot be conferred in the Eucharist, because *commemoration* only, and not remission, was the *end* of that rite by our Lord's account of it^k. But here the suggestion is not true; for our Lord himself has sufficiently intimated, (as I have before proved,) that *remission of sins* is one end of that service, in the very words of the *institution*^l: and if he had not so plainly said it, the very *nature* of the *act* proclaims it, taking in what St. Paul has taught. There are more *ends* than one to be

vivis et mortuis transformarunt, et idolum quoddam ex ea fecerunt. Socin. Quod. Regn. Polon. p. 701.

^g Quis enim de sua carne, cum omnibus concupiscentiis, crucifigenda cogitet, si *usus panis et vini*, qui quotidie *obvius* est, possit *remissionem peccatorum*, &c. consequi? Smalc. contr. Frantz. p. 333.

^h O facilem vero et expeditam adispicendæ salutis rationem, si tot tantaque bona, mica panis, et gutta vini possis consequi. Schlicting. contr. Meisner. p. 799f.

ⁱ Qui vult digne cœnæ Domini

participare, eum *de remissione peccatorum*, ex parte Dei, *certum ac fide confirmatum* esse oportet. Racov. Catech. cap. iii.

^k Cum is finis ritus istius usurpandi sit, ut beneficium a Christo nobis præstitum *commemoremus*, seu *annuntiemus*, nec *ullus alius* præter hunc sit a Christo indicatus *finis*; apparet, non eo institutum esse ut aliquid illic *beneficii*, aliter quam quatenus digne observatus *pietatis Christianæ pars est*, a Christo sumamus. Racov. Catech. c. iv. sect. 6. p. 230.

^l Matth. xxvi. 28.

served by the same Sacrament, whether it be of *Baptism* or of the *Eucharist*: and all are *consistent*, because *allied* and *subordinate*. Not to mention that *commemoration* itself, rightly considered, strongly infers and implies *present* benefits; as I have observed above^m. Moreover, the Socinians themselves are forced to allow *other ends* of the Sacrament, over and above the *commemoration* of Christ's death: namely, a *declaration* of their communion with Christ their *head*, and with their *Christian brethren*; besides a further *declaration* of their spiritual *feeding* upon Christ, then and at all times, and of their looking upon his *death* as the *seal* of the *covenant*, and upon his *doctrine* as the *food* of the *soul*. Now if they think themselves at liberty to *invent* as many *ends* as they please, such as may *suit* with their other principles, why are we debarred from admitting such other ends of the Sacrament as *Scripture* plainly points out to us, and the *reason* also of the *thing* manifestly requires? From hence then it appears, that the Socinian pleas in this case carry more of *artificial* management in them than of *truth* or *sobriety*.

However, it is visible from the last citation, that one principal drift is, to exclude *God*, and *Christ*, and the *Holy Spirit*, and all *Divine* influences, out of the *Sacrament*, and to make nothing more of it than a *performance* of *man*: and in this view they are content to account it a *part* of *Christian piety*. Ruarus, one of the shrewdest and learnedest of them, disliked their granting so much, and charged them, in a note of *correction*ⁿ, with an *inconsistency* in saying it: because every *pious observance* contributes, in some measure, towards *remission of sins*, and they had before absolutely denied any *benefit* at all that way. Schlictingius left this note of Ruarus without any *reply*; though he replied to several others which went along with it: which shews, either that he found it impossible to evade the doctrine of *remission* in this *Sacrament*, unless it were at the expense of *self-contradiction*; or else, that he was willing, at length, to admit of it, provided only they may claim remission as their *due reward* for the *service*, and not as indulged them for the *merits* of Christ's death and sacrifice therein commemorated. It must be owned, that Ruarus's hint on that head was *acute*, and came home to the purpose: for, as those men supposed *all other* requisites for

^m See above, p. 520.

ⁿ Si pars est Christianæ pietatis, utique ad justificationem, atque ita ad remissionem peccatorum nobis prodest:

quod tamen in initio quæstionis hujus, simpliciter negatum fuit. Ruari Notæ, p. 27.

remission to be implied in *worthy* receiving, and now added this *part of Christian piety* to the rest, it must of consequence follow, that *remission of sins* is granted upon it, by their own principles. So then, in the last result, they and we may seem to be nearly agreed as to the point of *remission* in or upon this service; and the only remaining difference will be about the *meritorious* cause of it: and that will resolve into another *question*, discussed, in some measure, above; namely, the question concerning the value, virtue, and efficacy of the *sacrifice* of Christ.

4. There is an insidious way made use of, by some of our Socinians, for the undermining the doctrine of *remission* in the Eucharist: they depreciate the *service*, and the *preparation* proper to it, making both so slight, that no man could justly expect so Divine a grant from so contemptible a performance: "I know not," says one, "to what purpose so many *superstitious* books are written to teach men to *prepare* themselves for the *memorial supper*, when an *honest* intention and a *reverent* performance are sufficient both *preparations* and *qualifications* for and in all Gospel ordinances^o. Here is no mention of *faith*, nor of *repentance* from dead works; without which, undoubtedly, there can be no *remission* of *sins*, whether in the Sacrament or out of it. The proper answer to this pretence will fall under the head of *worthy* receiving, in a distinct chapter below. In the mean while, let it be considered, whether they who require *sincere repentance* as a necessary qualification for the *holy Communion*, or they who labour to defeat that most excellent *end* and *use* of it, do most consult the *true* interest of *religion* and *virtue*; which the Socinians would be thought much to befriend in what they teach on this head.

I intended here to have closed this chapter, till it came into my mind that we have had some kind of dispute with the Romanists also, (as well as Socinians,) upon the point of *remission* in the Eucharist. For the Romanists, as it seems, being apprehensive, that if the people be taught to expect *pardon* from *God* in receiving the *Communion*, they will think they need no other, and that thereupon *masses*, and *indulgences*, and other *absolutions* will sink in their *value*; I say, the Romanists considering this, have contrived, that *venial* sins only shall be *pardoned* upon reception of the *Eucharist*, but that *mortal* sins shall be remitted another way. Chemnitius, in his Examen, has

^o The Argument of the Unitarians with the Catholic Church, part i. p. 12. printed A. D. 1697.

taken notice of this matter, and charged it upon them with very little ceremony^p. Bellarmine, in reply, could not deny the main charge, as to their confining the eucharistical remission to *venial* sins only, or to *mortal* ones *unknown*; but passing over the secret *reasons* or *motives* for the doctrine, he employs all his *wit* and *learning* to give the fairest colours to it^q. Gerhard came after, and defended Chemnitius in that article, confuting Bellarmine^r. I perceive not that the learned cardinal, with all his acuteness, was able to prove any thing with respect to the main question, more than this, (which has been allowed above,) that Baptism is *emphatically*, or *eminently*, the Sacrament of *remission*, and the Eucharist of *spiritual growth*: and while he is forced to acknowledge that *venial* sins are remitted in the Eucharist, and *unknown mortal* ones, as often as *necessary*^s, it is obvious to perceive, that it was not any *love of truth*, or *strength of argument* on that side, which withheld him from granting more. His strongest plea, which all the rest do in a manner resolve into, is no more than this; that as the *worthy* communicant is supposed to bring with him *true faith* and *sincere repentance* to the Lord's table, he comes *pardoned* thither, and can have no *pardon* to take out there upon his receiving the Eucharist. I mention not how the argument recoils upon his own *hypothesis*. The true answer is, that the grace of *remission*, or *justification*, is *progressive*, and may be always *improving*, as before noted^t: and whatever *pardon* we may conceive ourselves

^p Remissionem peccatorum *graviorum* et *mortalium*, quæ post Baptismum commissa sunt, docent quærendam et impetrandam esse nostra *contritione*, *confessione*, *satisfactione*, *sacrificio missæ*, et aliis modis. Vident autem totam illam *veniarum* structuram collapsuram, si *remissio* illa et reconciliatio quærat in *corpore* et *sanguine* Christi. Ne tamen nihil tribuant *Eucharistiæ*, loquuntur de *venialibus*, hoc est, sicut *Jesuitæ* interpretantur, de levioribus et minutioribus peccatis. Ut igitur *satisfactionis* suas et reliquas *veniarum nundinationes* retineant, acerbè dicant, in vero usu *Eucharistiæ* non fieri applicationem *remissionis* peccatorum. *Chemnit. Exam. Concil. Trident. part. ii. p. 70.*

^q Bellarmin. tom. iii. lib. iv. de Eucharist. c. 17, 18, 19.

^r Gerhard. Loc. Comm. tom. v. de Sac. Cæn. c. xx. p. 175, &c. Com-

pare Vines, Treatise of the Lord's Supper, p. 328. printed 1657.

^s Posset etiam dici *Eucharistiam* applicare hæreditatem, etiam quantum ad *remissionem peccatorum*, sed tum solum cum ea est *necessaria*; nimirum cum ii qui non indigne accedunt, habent aliqua peccata *mortalia*, quorum tamen conscientiam non habent. *Bellarmin. ibid. c. xix. p. 655.*

^t See above, p. 647. Bishop Taylor's doctrine on this head, as it lies scattered in distant pages, may be worth noting. "Justification and sanctification are *continued acts*: they are like the issues of a fountain into its receptacles. God is always giving, and we are always receiving." *Worth. Comm. p. 43.* "The Sacrament ministers pardon, as pardon is ministered in this world, by *parts*.—In the usual methods of God, pardon is *proportionable* to our repentance," p. 52. "If we

to be entitled to before, or to be then in possession of, yet it is no slight advantage to have the same solemnly *renewed, established, ratified, and sealed* in the holy Communion, by a *formal* application there made of the *merits* of the grand *atonement*, in which only, after our performing the *conditions*, our *remission* stands.

CHAP. X.

*Of the Sanctifying Grace of the Holy Spirit conferred in the
EUCHARIST.*

The Greek *χάρις*, the Latin *gratia*, the English *grace*, is a word of some latitude, admitting of various acceptations: I need not mention all, but such only as are most for our present purpose. *Grace*, in the general, signifies *favour, mercy, indulgence, bounty*: in particular, it signifies a *gift*, and more especially a *spiritual gift*, and in a sense yet more restrained, the *gift of sanctification*, or of such *spiritual aids* as may enable a man both to *will* and to *do* according to what God has commanded. The last which I have named appears to be the most prevailing acceptation of the word *grace* at this day, derived from ancient usage, and common consent, which gives the law to forms of speech, and to the interpretation thereof. The use of the word in the New Testament is various, sometimes larger, sometimes stricter, often doubtful which. I will not be positive, as to several texts where the word *grace* occurs, and seemingly in the strict sense, that they must necessarily be taken according to such *precise* meaning, and can bear no *larger*, or no *other* construction: as where the "grace of our Lord Jesus Christ" is spoken of^u; or where *grace, mercy, and peace* are implored^x; or *grace and peace*^y; or where the *grace of God* is mentioned^z. In several texts of that sort, the word *grace* may be understood in the *stricter* sense, but may also admit of the *larger*: in which, however, the *grace of sanctification* must be *included* among

"find that we *increase in duty*, then
"we may look upon the tradition of
"the sacramental symbols, as a direct
"consignation of *pardon*. Not that
"it is *completed*: for it is a *work of*
"time; it is *as long* a doing, as re-
"pentance is *perfecting*.—It is *then*
"working: and if we go on in duty,
"God will proceed to *finish* his me-
"thods of *grace*, &c.—And this he
"is pleased, by the Sacrament, all
"the way to *consign*," p. 74.

^u Rom. xvi. 20, 24. 1 Cor. xvi. 23. 2 Cor. xiii. 14. Gal. vi. 18. Phil. iv. 23. 1 Thess. v. 28. 2 Thess. iii. 18. Philem. 25. Revel. xxii. 21.

^x 1 Tim. i. 2. 2 Tim. i. 2. Tit. i. 4. 2 John 3.

^y 1 Pet. i. 2. 2 Pet. i. 2. Revel. i. 4.

^z Acts xiii. 43. xiv. 26. xv. 40. xx. 24. 1 Cor. i. 4. iii. 10. xv. 10. 2 Cor. i. 12. vi. 1. Ephes. iii. 7. 1 Pet. iv. 10. Tit. ii. 11.

others. The texts which seem to be most expressive of the *limited* sense, now in use, are such as these: "Great grace was upon them all^a." "The grace of God bestowed on the churches of Macedonia^b." "My grace is sufficient for thee^c." "Grow in grace^d." "Let us have grace, whereby we may serve God acceptably^e." "God giveth grace unto the humble^f." In these and the like places, the word *grace*, most probably, signifies what we now commonly mean by that name: or if any *larger* meaning be supposed, yet it is certainly *inclusive* of the other, signifying *that* and more. It is not very material whether we understand the word *grace*, in the New Testament, in the *comprehensive* or *restrained* sense, since it would be disputing only about *words* or *names*. The *sanctifying* operations of the Holy Spirit of God upon the minds of men may be abundantly proved from the New Testament: and so it is of less moment to inquire what *names* they go under, while we are *certain* of the *things*. The phrase of *grace*, or *sanctifying grace*, is sufficiently warranted by its ancient standing in the Church, so that I need not dwell longer upon it, but may proceed directly to shew, that what we commonly call the *grace* of *sanctification* is conferred in the Eucharist.

1. I argue, first, from the *participation* of Christ's death, with its *fruits*, in the Eucharist, according to the doctrine of St. Paul, 1 Cor. x. 16, insinuated also in the words of the *institution*, as explained at large in a chapter above. They who so *partake* of Christ, do of course partake of the *Spirit* of Christ: it cannot be otherwise upon Christian principles taught in the New Testament. If any man is Christ's, he has the *Spirit of God dwelling in him*^h. And this Spirit is the source and fountain of *righteousness* and true *holiness*ⁱ. And no one can be made an *acceptable offering* unto God, but he who is first *sanctified* by the *Holy Spirit*^k.

2. The same thing will be proved, by undeniable *consequence*, from our Lord's doctrine of the import of *spiritual feeding* laid down in John vi. For since it has been before shewn, that they who do *receive worthily* do *spiritually* feed upon Christ, and are

^a Acts iv. 33. compare verse 31.

^b 2 Cor. viii. 1.

^c 2 Cor. xii. 9. ^d 2 Pet. iii. 18.

^e Heb. xii. 28.

^f Jam. iv. 6. 1 Pet. v. 8.

^g See some account of the ecclesiastical use of the word *grace*, in Nelson's Life of Bishop Bull, p. 519,

&c. Vossius, *Histor. Pelag.* lib. iii. par. i. Theod. ii. Joh. Just. Von Einem. *Select. Animadv. ad Joh. Clerici Scripta*, p. 761, &c. *Magdeb.* 1735.

^h Rom. viii. 9. 1 Cor. vi. 17.

ⁱ Rom. viii. 10, 14. 1 Cor. vi. 11. 2 Thess. ii. 13.

^k Rom. xv. 16.

thereby made partakers of all the *privileges* thereto belonging, it plainly follows that they must have Christ *dwelling* in them¹; and if *Christ*, they have the *Spirit* also of Christ, who is *inseparable* from him. Therefore the *sanctification* of the *Spirit* is conveyed in the Eucharist, along with the other spiritual blessings, which suppose and imply it, and cannot be understood without it, upon Scripture principles.

3. A further argument may be drawn from the known *analogy* there is between the *two Sacraments*, taken together with those several *texts* which speak directly of the sanctification of the *Spirit* conferred in *Baptism*^m; or an argument may be drawn *a fortiori*, in this manner: if the *putting on* Christ (which is done in Baptism) carries with it a conveyance of the *Holy Spirit*; much more does the *eating* or *drinking* Christ, which is done in the Eucharist.

4. But to argue yet more *directly*, (though *indirect* arguments, where the *connection* is clear and certain, as in this case, are not the less *conclusive*;) we may next draw a proof of the same doctrine from the express words of St. Paul, where he says, "By one Spirit are we all baptized into one body—and have "been all made to drink into one Spiritⁿ." That is to say, by one and the same *Spirit* before spoken of^o, we Christians (as many of us as are so more than in *name*) are in Baptism made one *mystical* body of Christ, and have been all made to *drink* of the sacramental cup in the Eucharist; whereby the *same Spirit* hath again *united* us, yet more perfectly, to *Christ* our *head*, in the same *mystical* body. Such appears to be the natural and obvious sense of the place: which accordingly has been so understood by judicious interpreters, *ancient*^p and *modern*^q. I shall not dissemble it, that several *ancient* interpreters, as well as some *moderns*, have understood the whole text of *Baptism* only; interpreting the former part of the *outward* washing, and the latter part of the *Spirit* accompanying it^r. But, it seems, they did not well consider, that the concurrence of the *Spirit* in Baptism had been sufficiently insinuated before in the former part of the verse; "By one Spirit are we all baptized," &c.

¹ John vi. 56.

^m John iii. 5. 1 Cor. vi. 11. Ephes. v. 26. Tit. iii. 5.

ⁿ 1 Cor. xii. 13.

^o 1 Cor. xii. 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 11.

^p Chrysostom. in loc. tom. v. p. 324. ed. Paris. Damascen. in loc.

^q Calvin, Beza, Peter Martyr, Ger-

hard, Grotius, Gataker, Hammond, Locke, Wells. *Vitringa, Observ. Sacr.* lib. v. cap. 7. p. 109, 114.

^r Pelagius, under the name of Jerome; and Hilary the *deacon*, under the name of Ambrose: as likewise Theophylact in loc. and perhaps more.

And therefore to interpret *Spirit* again of the same Sacrament, appears to border too nearly upon *tautology*: neither did they sufficiently reflect, how harsh a figure that of *drinking* is, if applied to Baptism; when *putting on* the Spirit (as is elsewhere said of Christ, with respect to that Sacrament^a) might have been much more proper. They may seem also to have forgot, or not to have considered, how suitable and pertinent it was to the Apostle's argument, to refer to *both* Sacraments in that place, as I shall now make appear.

It might be highly proper, and much to the purpose, when the Apostle was mentioning *Baptism*, as *one* bond of mystical union, to take notice also of the *Eucharist*, as *another*; which it certainly was, according to his own doctrine in the same Epistle^t. Indeed, it might be thought a kind of *omission*, and in some measure *diminishing* the force of his argument, in this place, had he referred but to *one* Sacrament, when there was just occasion, or the like occasion, for referring to *both*. His design was to set forth the inviolable *union* of Christians, and to represent the several *ties* by which they were bound together. He knew that the *Eucharist* was a strong *cement* of that *mystical union*, as well as the other Sacrament; for he had himself declared as much, by saying elsewhere, "We being many are one body, 'being all partakers of that one bread.'" It was therefore very natural here again to take notice of the *Eucharist*, when he was enumerating the bonds of *union*, and amongst them particularly the Sacrament of *Baptism*, which would obviously lead to the mentioning this other Sacrament. Accordingly, he has briefly and elegantly made mention of this other, in the words, "made to drink into one Spirit." Where made to *drink*, but in the *Eucharist*? He had formerly signified the mystical union under the emblem of *one loaf*: and now he chooses to signify the same again under the emblem of *one cup*, (an emblem, wherein Ignatius, within fifty years after, seems to have followed him^u,) both belonging to one and the same Eucharist, both referring to one and the same mystical head. Dr. Claget well argues against the Romanists, from this text, as follows: "St. Paul thought the observation of the *two* institutions of our Saviour (viz. "*Baptism* and the *Communion* of the holy table) was a sufficient proof that believers were *one body*: and we have reason to believe, that if he had *known* there were *other* Sacraments—he

^a Gal. iii. 27.

^t 1 Cor. x. 16, 17.

^u "Εν ποτήριον εἰς ἔνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ. *Ignat. ad Philadelph.* cap. 4.

“ would not have *omitted* the mention of them here, where he “ proves the *unity* of the Church by *Baptism* and *communion* of “ the body and blood of Christ. It is something to our purpose, “ that St. Paul owns no more than these, where he industriously “ proves that Christians are *one body* by these^x.” If this reasoning be just, as it appears to be, and if St. Paul knew (as he certainly did know) that the *Eucharist* has some share in making Christians *one body*, as well as the other *Sacrament*, it manifestly follows, that he could not well *omit* the mention of it in this place. I should take notice, that our very judicious Archbishop Sharpe has pressed the same argument, in a fuller and still stronger manner, from the same text^y; and that the Protestants in general have made the like use of the text in their disputes with the Romanists, against *multiplying* Sacraments, or against *mutilating* the Sacrament of the Eucharist by taking away the *cup* from it^z. So that besides *commentators*, in great numbers, thus interpreting this text, there is the concurring judgment of many or most *Protestant Divines* confirming the same construction.

Nevertheless Socinus, having formed a project to throw off *water-baptism*, laboured extremely to elude the interpretation before mentioned. He considered, that if the *latter* part of it were interpreted of the *external* service of the *Eucharist*, then the *former* part must of course be understood of *external* Baptism: besides that he was not willing to allow that any inward *grace* went along with either Sacrament. Such were his *motives* for eluding the true meaning of this text: his *pretexes*, or *colourings*, were as here follow:

1. He pleaded, that partaking of the Eucharist is never once represented in the New Testament by that *particular part* of it, the *drinking*. He acknowledges that the *whole Service* is sometimes signified by the *other part*, (the *nobler part*, in his judgment,) viz. the *eating*, or *breaking bread*; but that it should be signified by *drinking only*, the meaner part of the Sacrament, he could not be persuaded to allow^a.

^x Claget, vol. i. Serm. x. p. 263.

^y Sharpe, vol. vii. Serm. v. vi. p. 106, &c. Serm. x. p. 230.

^z Nihil obstat quo minus synecdochice hoc loco *potionis* ac *poculi* nomine explicetur *Eucharistia*, (quod *Protestantes omnes* merito ex hoc loco pertendunt, contra *substructionem calicis* in Communione Romana,) ac

alibi per solam panis fractionem designatur. Acts xi. 42, 46. xx. 7. *Maresius*, *Hydra Socinianismi*, tom. iii. p. 835.

^a Cur quæso Paulus cœnam Dominicam cum Baptismo collaturus *potionis* tantum mentionem fecisset, non etiam *comestionis*, sive *cibi*, quæ *præcipua* ex duabus quodammodo

But he seems to me to have been over delicate in this matter, and more scrupulous than need required. For, since the *whole* Service (as he is forced to confess) may be signified by *one part*, while the *other* is understood; why not by the *drinking*, as well as by the *eating*? Or why must the *eating* be looked upon as the *nobler* and *better* part of the two, in this instance especially, when the *blood* of Christ (the most *precious* blood of Christ, so much spoken of in the New Testament) is the thing *signified*^b? But supposing the *eating*, or the *meat*, to be the nobler of the two, then the New Testament, one would think, has paid a proper respect to it, by denominating the *whole* from it *more than once*; though taking the liberty to pay *some* regard also to the *other part*, by denominating the *whole* from it *once* at least, if no more. The Apostle might have particular reasons for doing it here, because, having mentioned *washing* just before, as belonging to one Sacrament, he might think that *drinking* would best answer to it in the other Sacrament, as *water* and *wine* are more analogous than *water* and *bread*^c. Or since the Apostle had signified *Christian unity* before^d, under the emblem of sacramental *meat*, he might choose the rather now to represent the *same unity* under the emblem of sacramental *drink*, being that there is as properly *one cup*, as there is *one loaf*.

2. Socinus and Volkelius further plead, that had the Apostle intended to speak of the *Lord's Supper*, he would have used the word *πρωτόγευμα*, to denote the time *present*, not *ἐποτίσθημεν*, which refers to time *past*: for the Lord's Supper is what Christians *continually* partake of with *repeated* attendance, and so is never wholly *past* or *done with*, like Baptism, which is but *once* submitted to^e.

cœnæ illius partibus censenda est, et cujus *solius* nomine alicubi *tota cœna* intelligitur, ut 1 Cor. xi. 33.—Frequentissime in Sacris Literis *solius cibi*, aut etiam *panis* mentione facta, ipse quoque *potus* intelligitur: id quod, saltem in cœna Domini, nunquam *potionis solius* nomine fieri contingit. Socin. de Bapt. Aquæ, cap. viii. Conf. Volk. de Ver. Relig. lib. vi. cap. 14. p. 684. alias 835.

^b It may be noted, that the *ancients*, when they made any distinction, supposed the *cup*, the *drinking*, to be the *nobler* part of the two, as being the *finishing* and *perfecting* part. See Salmasius de Transubstantiatione contr. Grot. p. 280—284.

^c Conf. Hoornbeeck, Socin. Confut. tom. iii. p. 381.

^d 1 Cor. x. 17.

^e Si Paulus cœnam Dominicam intellexisset, non verbo *præteriti* temporis, *potavimus*, sed *potamus* præsentis usus fuisset: cum ea cœna non a quolibet Christiano homine plane et omnino jam *manducata fuerit* aliquando, sed identidem in posterum, ubi facultas detur, manducari debeat. Socinus de Bapt. Aquæ, cap. viii. p. 88, 89.

Adde quod non *potavimus*, sed *potamus* dixisset, si de cœna Dominica locutus fuisset.—Actiones quippe quas semel perfecisse satis est, *præteriti* potius quam *præsentis* temporis

Now, in answer to this reasoning, I shall not insist, as I justly might, upon the known latitude of the *aorists*, which are *indefinite* as to time; nor upon any *enallage* of *tenses*, which is frequent in Scripture; but allowing that St. Paul is to be understood of the *time past*, in that instance, I say, it is no just objection against interpreting the text of the *Eucharist*. The Apostle is there speaking of the union of Christians as then *actually subsisting*, and therefore *made* before he spake of it; made by *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper*, considered as *previous* to that union, and therefore *past*. He had nothing to do with *future* communions, so far as his argument was concerned: none but *past* communions could have any share in making or strengthening that *union*, which *subsisted* before he spake of it. Therefore it might be proper in both the instances, to make use of a *verb* of the *preter tense*, referring to time *past*. *Communions*, which *are not*, or only *will be*, or *may be*, unite nothing, effect nothing in the *mean season*, but would have been *foreign* to the Apostle's argument, which looked only to what had *been done*, and had had its *effect* already upon the *union* then subsisting. The *Eucharist* in that view was a thing *past*, as much as *Baptism*; and so the *verbs* in both instances were rightly chosen, and aptly answer to each other^f: *We have been all baptized*, and *We have been all made to drink* &c.

3. Socinus and Volkelius further urge, (which looks the most like an argument of any thing they have,) that the Apostle, in that chapter, refers only to the *extraordinary* gifts of the Spirit, and therefore cannot reasonably be understood either of *Baptism* or the *Eucharist*, which were *common* to all Christians, and not to the *gifted* only^h. But it is unfortunate for this objection, that the Apostle should so emphatically word it twice over, *We have all*, &c., as it were on purpose to prevent its being understood to relate to the *gifted* only. The *universality* of the

verbo exprimi solent: hæc vero, cum et in posterum, qualibet se offerente occasione peragenda sit, rectius et communi consuetudini loquendi convenientius *presentis* temporis verbo effertur. *Volkelius*, lib. vi. cap. 14. p. 685. alias 836.

^f Conf. Hoornbeeck, tom. iii. p. 387. Maresius Hydra, tom. iii. p. 836.

ε Πάντες εἰς ἐν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν — πάντες εἰς ἐν πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν. As to some few copies here reading *πῶμα* for *πνεῦμα*, I refer to Dr. Mill, who vindicates the present reading.

But the sense might be the same either way, because the preceding words, *by one Spirit*, might be applied to both parts of the sentence.

^h De donis *spiritualibus*; ut unicuique totum caput accurate legenti constare poterit. *Socinus*, cap. viii. p. 84. Paulus isto in loco de *variis* Spiritus Sancti *donis* disserit, quibus Deus per Filium suum *primam* illam *Ecclesiam* mirum in modum locupletauerat. *Volkelius*, lib. vi. cap. 14. p. 675. alias 815.

Apostle's expression is a much stronger argument for interpreting him of the *Sacraments*, than any thing else in the context can be for understanding the words of the *extraordinary* gifts: for it is plain, and is on all hands confessed, that the extraordinary gifts were not *common* to *all*, or to *many*, but rather peculiar to a *few* only in comparison. But to answer more directly to the pretence drawn from the *context*, it may be observed, that the *design* of the Apostle in that chapter does not only well suit with the interpretation we contend for, but is *better* cleared upon that foot than upon any other. His *design* was to prevent, as much as possible, any *emulation* between the *gifted* and *ungifted* brethren. How does he execute it? By representing how many things were *common* to all, and how far *all of them* participated of the *Spirit*, one way or other. 1. They *all* owned *Christ Jesus* for their *Lord*, which none could do "but by the Holy Ghostⁱ;" therefore they were so far upon a level, with respect to the favour of the *Holy Spirit*. 2. Those extraordinary gifts, imparted to a *few*, were really intended for the *common* benefit of the *whole body*: they were *given to every one* of the gifted, to profit others *withal*^k. The same Spirit was present to the *whole Church*, to all *true* members of it, in both *Sacraments*^l; so that they did not only reap the *benefits* of what the *gifted* men did, but they had themselves an immediate *communion* with the self-same Spirit, in as *useful*, though not altogether so *glaring* a way. 4. However pompous those *shining* gifts might appear, and be apt to dazzle, yet there were *other* gifts more *excellent*^m by far than they, and *common* to all good Christians; namely, the gifts of *faith*, *hope*, and *charity*ⁿ, from the same Spirit^o. Such appears to be the scope and connection of the Apostle's discourse in that chapter and the chapter following: and it is so far from proving that the *text* which we are now considering belongs not to the *Sacraments*, that, on the contrary, it very much *confirms* that construction^p.

Enough, I presume, hath been said for the vindicating our construction of this text against the forced glosses and unnatural evasions of Socinus and his *followers*: though some of them, either more acute or more ingenuous than the rest, have not

ⁱ 1 Cor. xii. 3. ^k 1 Cor. xii. 7.
^l 1 Cor. xii. 13. ^m 1 Cor. xii. 31.
ⁿ 1 Cor. xiii. 1—13.

^o That appears to be insinuated by the Apostle there: but elsewhere he

expressly teaches, that all such Christian virtues are the *fruits of the Spirit*. Gal. v. 22. Ephes. v. 9.

^p Compare Clem. Alexandrin. Pædag. lib. i. cap. 11. p. 106, 107.

scrupled to give up the *new* construction, so far, as to understand the text of both *Sacraments*^q.

The *construction* of the text being thus far fixed and settled, it remains now that we draw the just *conclusion* from it, and so wind up our argument. If the *drinking* of the sacramental cup is drinking into *one Spirit*, the Spirit of God, then the Eucharist, duly administered and duly received, is a *medium* by which we ordinarily partake of the *same Spirit*, and consequently of the *sanctifying* gifts or graces of the Spirit. By this we understand, how he that is *joined unto* Christ our *Lord* is *one spirit*^r with him: because that *Spirit* who is *essentially* one with him is *sacramentally* united with us. And as Christ *dwelleth* in all those who *spiritually* feed upon him^s, so are all such the *temple* of the *Holy Ghost*^t; and while they are so, they are *sanctified* both in body and soul. Such *sanctification* carries in it all that the Scripture reckons up among the *fruits* of the Spirit, as *enriching* the *soul*^u; and likewise all that concerns the *immortalizing* of the *body*^x, and *sealing* the whole man to future glory^v. All these blessings and privileges are conferred in the Eucharist, to them who receive *worthily*; because the *Spirit* is conferred in it, who is the fountain of them all, and whose *gracious* presence supposes them.

In confirmation of what hath been advanced upon Scripture principles, it may now be proper to descend to *Fathers*, who had the same *Scriptures* before them, and whose sentiments, if concurring, may be of use to give us the more abundant satisfaction in the present article. I have occasionally, in the course of these papers, cited several passages which speak expressly or implicitly of *sanctification*, as conferred *in* or by the Eucharist. I shall not here repeat the same at full length, but shall throw them together in a summary way, to serve as hints for recollection. What has been cited above^z from Ignatius, Justin, and Irenæus, of the *beneficial* nature of the Sacrament, necessarily infers or implies the *graces* of the Holy Spirit.

^q Nec ausim multum ab iis dissentire, qui in istis verbis non ad *Baptismum* tantum, sed ad *cœnam Domini* quoque respici putant: utrumque enim institutum nos tam ad *unitatem* et *communione*m unius corporis Ecclesiæ accedere, quam in unitate corporis ejusdem manere testatur. *Sam. Præpocius in loc.* p. 93.

^r 1 Cor. vi. 17.

^s John vi. 56.

^t 1 Cor. iii. 16. vi. 19. 2 Cor. vi. 16. Ephes. ii. 21, 22. 1 Pet. ii. 5.

^u Gal. v. 22. Ephes. v. 9.

^x Rom. viii. 10, 11.

^v Ephes. i. 13, 14. iv. 30. 2 Cor. i. 22.

^z See above, p. 546, 580—586.

Clemens of Alexandria, upon another occasion, has been cited, expressly saying that they who receive the Eucharist with *faith* are “sanctified both in body and soul^a.” Tertullian says, that the *body* is fed with the body and blood of Christ, that the “soul may be replenished with God^b.” In like manner, Origen asserts, that the Eucharist does *sanctify* them that “use it as they ought^c.” The same thing is intimated by Cyprian of that time, under some variety of expression^d. Cyril of Jerusalem expressly says, that the heavenly bread and salutary cup “sanctify both body and soul^e.” Gaudentius Brixienensis, whom I have not quoted before, says of the eucharistical food, that it “sanctifies even them who consecrate it^f.” Lastly, Cyril of Alexandria maintains, that faithful communicants are “sanctified by being partakers of the holy flesh and precious blood of Christ, the Saviour of us all^g.” These testimonies might suffice to shew how unanimous the ancients were, in asserting *sanctification*, as conferred in the *Eucharist*.

But for the further *confirmation* or *illustration* of this particular, I shall now proceed to consider what the *ancients* taught concerning the *descent* or *illapse* of the *Holy Spirit* upon the *symbols* or upon the *communicants* in this holy solemnity. Which I the rather choose to do, that I may at the same time clear up that important article, in some measure, and remove some common mistakes.

To give the reader a just idea of the whole thing, it will be necessary to begin with the Sacrament of *Baptism*, wherein the like *descent* or *illapse* of the Holy Ghost was expected, and where the like *invocation* obtained very early; sooner, I conceive, than in the service of the *Eucharist*, so far as may be judged from the records now remaining. The *form* of *Baptism*, probably, might give the first handle for it, as it ran in the name of the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*. Or, there appeared sufficient warrant in the New Testament for beseeching God to *send* the *Holy Spirit*,

^a Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. ii. cap. 2. p. 178. See above, cap. vii. p. 587.

^b Tertullian. de Resurr. Carn. cap. viii. p. 330. See above, cap. vii. p. 590.

^c Origen. in Matt. p. 254. contr. Cels. lib. viii. p. 766. See above, cap. v. p. 531, 532.

^d Cyprian. Ep. 54, 63. See above, cap. vii. p. 593.

^e Cyril. Hieros. Mystag. iv. p. 321. See above, cap. vii. p. 595. Conf.

Hilar. Diac. Supr. p. 32.

^f Consecrantes sanctificat consecratus. Gaudent. Brix. de Exod. ii. p. 806.

^g Ἁγιαζόμεθα μέτοχοι γενόμενοι τῆς ἁγίας σαρκὸς, καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ πάντων ἡμῶν σωτήρος Χριστοῦ. Cyrilli et Synod. Alexandr. Epist. apud Binium, vol. ii. p. 210. Conf. Theophil. Alexandrin. Pauch. i. inter Opp. Hieron. tom. iv. p. 698.

since our Lord had promised that his heavenly Father would "give the Holy Spirit to them that *would* ask him^b." Where could they more properly ask it than in their *Sacramental Offices*, in that of *Baptism* especially, when the New Testament makes such frequent mention of the *Holy Spirit*, as assisting to it, or presiding in itⁱ? Indeed, we find no *express* mention in the New Testament of any ordinary *descent* or *illapse* of the Spirit in either *Sacrament*, nor any *direct* precept for a special *invocation* of that kind: neither can we be *certain* of *apostolical* practice as to that particular. The custom might commence in the *apostolical* age, or it might come in later: but whenever it commenced, it seems to have been grounded upon such *Scripture principles* as I have just now hinted.

Tertullian (about A. D. 200) is, I think, the first who speaks any thing *plainly* and *fully* to this matter^k. He supposes that ever since "the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the "waters^l," all waters have been privileged for receiving the Spirit, and becoming *signs* and *instruments* of sanctification, upon *prayer* made to *God*: particularly, in *Baptism*, after *prayer* has been sent up, the *Holy Ghost* comes down upon the *waters*, and *sanctifies* them, yea and gives them a *sanctifying* quality. But he supposes the *angel of Baptism* to be sent beforehand^m, to *prepare* the *way* for the reception of the Spirit; which he endeavours to illustrate from some resembling cases in the New Testamentⁿ. After the *angel's* performing his part^o upon the *waters*, the *Holy Spirit* descended in person on the parties coming to be baptized, and rested, as it were, upon the *waters* P.

^b Luke xi. 13.

ⁱ See above, in this chapter, p. 668.

^k Omnes aquæ de pristina originis prærogativa sacramentum sanctificationis consequuntur, *invocato Deo*: supervenit enim statim *Spiritus* de cælis, et *aquis* *superest*, sanctificans eas de *semetipso*; et ita sanctificatæ vim sanctificandi combibunt. *Tertullian. de Baptism.* cap. iv. p. 225.

^l Gen. i. 2.

^m Tertull. *ibid.* cap. vi. Angelus Baptismi arbiter superventuro Spiritui Sancto vias dirigit ablutione delictorum, quam fides impetrat, ob-signata in Patre, et Filio, et Spiritu Sancto, p. 226.

ⁿ John v. 4. Matt. iii. 3.

^o It is frequent with the *ancients* to speak of the offices of *angels*, which

they supposed to be employed in *ministering* to God for the *heirs of salvation*, according to Heb. i. 14. And according to their respective *offices*, they assigned them *names*, having no other rule to go by. So they sometimes mention, besides the *angel of Baptism*, (which means *any* or *every* angel so employed,) the *angel* also of *prayer*, *angel of repentance*, *angel of peace*, and *angel of light*, or the like: such manner of speaking and thinking was just and innocent, till the succeeding *abuses* by *angel-worship* made it almost necessary for wise men to lay it aside.

P Tunc ille sanctissimus Spiritus super emundata et benedicta corpora libens a Patre descendit, super Baptismi aquas, tanquam pristinam sedem

So writes our author: and the true meaning or result of all is, that the *Holy Spirit*, by his coming, *sanctifies* the *persons* in the *use* of those waters, or use of that service^q. Allowances must be made for something of oratorical flight and figure, contrived for ornament, and to make the more lively impression: it would be wrong to conceive, that every *pool, pond, or river*, in which any person happened to be baptized, contracted any *abiding* holiness from that time forwards, or that it was not left open to all *common* uses as before. It is evident that Tertullian, where he came to explain his notion, and, as it were, to correct his looser and less accurate expressions, did not suppose the *waters* to be so much as the *medium*, properly speaking, of *sanctification*; but he conceived the *illapse* of the *Spirit* upon the *persons* to come afterwards, when the *washing* was over and done with^r. I shall only note further, with respect to these passages of Tertullian, that it cannot be *certainly* concluded from them, that a *formal* prayer for the *descent* of the *Holy Spirit* was in use at that time: but from his saying that immediately after *invocation* of *God*, such descent followed, and from his adding afterwards, that in or by the *benediction*, the Spirit was *called* and *invited*^s, I look upon it as extremely *probable*^t, that the practice did then obtain, in the African churches, formally to pray for the *descent* of the *Holy Ghost*, either *before* the immersion or *after*, (upon the *imposition* of hands,) or perhaps both before and after.

Our next author is Origen, (about A. D. 240,) not that he directly says any thing of the *descent* of the *Spirit* in Baptism, or of any *prayer* made use of for that purpose: but he occasionally drops some things which may give light to the present question. His notion was, that the *Holy Spirit*, whose office it is to *sanctify*, operates not at all upon *inanimate* things, nor upon *persons*

recognoscens conquiescit, columbæ figura dilapsus in Dominum, ut natura, &c. *Tertull. ibid.* cap. viii. p. 227.

^q Eadem dispositione *spiritualis effectus*, terræ, id est, *carni nostræ*, emergenti de lavacro post vetera delicta, columba Sancti Spiritus advocat, *pacem Dei* adferens, emissa de cœlis, ubi Ecclesia est *arca* figurata. *Tertull. ibid.* cap. viii. p. 227.

^r Restituitur homo Deo, ad similitudinem ejus qui retro ad imaginem Dei fuerat.—Recipit enim *illum Dei Spiritum*, quem tunc de afflatu ejus acceperat, sed post amiserat per delic-

tum. Non quod in aquis Spiritum Sanctum consequamur, sed in aqua emundati sub angelo, Spiritui Sancto præparamur. *Ibid.* cap. v. vi. p. 226.

^s Dehinc manus imponitur, per benedictionem *advocans* et *invitans* Spiritum Sanctum, cap. viii. p. 226, 227.

^t It might be, that upon a benediction formed in *general* terms, Christians might expect the *illapse* of the Spirit: but it appears more natural to think, from what Tertullian here says, that they directly and formally prayed for it.

of obdurate wickedness, but upon those only who are capable of receiving his *sanctifying* influences^u. Now from his saying that the *Holy Spirit* operates not on things *inanimate*, it must follow, that he thought not at that time of any *descent* of the *Holy Ghost* upon the *waters* of Baptism, but upon the *persons* only, those that were *worthy*. Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, in the decline of the fourth century, charged his doctrine with that consequence, and thereupon condemned it, as overturning the *consecration* of the waters of Baptism, supposed to be made by the *coming* of the Holy Ghost upon them^x. But it is certain that Origen did admit of a *consecration* of the *water*^y, though he might not perhaps explain it in the manner which Theophilus most approved of, 150 years after: and it is his constant doctrine, that the *Baptism* of the *Spirit* goes along with the outward *washing*, wherever there is no obstacle on the part of the recipient^z. Nay, he scrupled not to admit, that *the Spirit of God* now *moves upon the face of the waters*^a of Baptism, alluding to Gen. i. 2; so that Origen could not be much out of the way upon this article: but this we may collect from him, that, properly speaking, the work of the *Spirit* in Baptism was upon the *persons*, when fitly qualified, rather than upon the *outward* element; and that the *Spirit's* coming upon the *water*, and other the like phrases, ought not to be too rigorously interpreted, but should be understood with due grains of allowance.

A late learned writer, apologizing for Origen, takes notice, that Chrysostom was very *positive* for the *illapse* of the *Spirit* on the *outward* symbols; a plain sign that he did not think Origen to be guilty of the *error* charged upon him^b. I rather think, that Chrysostom understood the *popular* way of expressing the *illapse* of the *Spirit*, in the same *qualified* sense that Origen before did; and that was one reason why he would not come

^u Vid. Origen. *περί ἀρχ.* p. 62. edit. Bened. Conf. Huetii Origeniana, p. 46. Albertin. lib. ii. p. 357.

^x Dicit (Origenes) Spiritum Sanctum non operari in ea quæ *inanimata* sunt, nec ad *irrationabilia* pervenire: quod adserens, non recogitat aquas in Baptismate mysticas *adventu* Sancti Spiritus consecrari. *Theoph. Alex. Lib. Paschal.* i. p. 698. apud Hieronymum. Opp. tom. iv. edit. Bened.

^y Vid. Origen. in Johann. p. 124. edit. Huet. And compare what he says of the *eucharistical* consecration, (in Matt. p. 254.) where the reason is

the same. See also Albertinus, p. 358.

^z Vid. Origen. in Matt. p. 391, 416. in Johann. p. 124, 125.

^a Καὶ παλιγγενεσίας ὀνομαζόμενον λουτρὸν μετὰ ἀνακαινώσεως γινόμενον πνεύματος, τοῦ καὶ νῦν ἐπιφερομένου, ἐπειδὴ περὶ Θεοῦ ἐστίν, ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος, ἀλλ' οὐ πάσι μετὰ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐγγυομένου. *Ibid.* p. 125.

Note, that the Latin version has obscured the sense of the passage, not observing, perhaps, the *allusion* to Genesis.

^b Johnson, *Unbloody Sacrifice*, part i. p. 181. alias 186.

into the warm measures of Theophilus, Epiphanius, and other Eustathians^c of that time, about the year 400. And whereas it is suggested by the same *learned writer*^d, that a *solemn consecration* of things inanimate to *holy uses*, without supposing a formal *illapse* of the *Spirit* upon them, is a *degrading* account of a venerable mystery, and leaves no difference between the consecration of a *church* and the consecration of *baptismal water*, &c.; I must take leave to reply, that the conclusion is not just: for in things so consecrated to *holy uses*, there will always be as much *difference* as there is between *more* and *less* sacred, according as the *ends* and *uses* are *higher* or *lower*, *holier* or *less* holy. The *higher* and *holier* the use is to which any thing is consecrated by proper ministers, so much the more *worthy* it is, and so much the *nearer* and more *important* relation it bears to God and religion; demanding thereupon so much the *greater* reverence and more *awful* regard.

St. Cyprian (A. D. 255.) speaks of a sacerdotal *cleansing* and *sanctification* of the baptismal water; which he supposes to be wrought by the *Holy Spirit*^e, and very frequently makes mention of it, up and down in his works. But he says nothing from whence one may certainly collect whether any formal *prayer* for the *descent* was then in use; neither does he explain in what sense the Holy Ghost was understood to *sanctify* the baptismal waters. Only, as he intimates over and over, that the *end* and *use* of sanctifying the water was to convey *spiritual graces* to the *persons* coming to be baptized in it; and as it is certain that those *spiritual graces* could not reside in or upon the outward element; it is more than probable that he supposed the *Spirit* to rest where those *spiritual* effects rested, that is, upon the *persons* only: and then the *sanctifying* of the *waters* can mean no more than the *consecrating* them to the uses of *personal* sanctification. The *Spirit* made use of them as a *symbol*, for conveying his *graces*; and in that *use* consisted their *relative holiness*: but the Spirit dwells not properly upon *them*, but upon the *persons* baptized.

When we come down to the *fourth* century, there we find plainer evidences of formal prayers offered for the *descent* of the *Holy Ghost* upon the *waters* of Baptism. Cyril of Jerusalem

^c A short account of the *odium* raised against Origen may be seen in my Second Defence, vol. ii. p. 639, &c. and a larger in Huetius' *Origeniana*.

^d Johnson, *ibid.* p. 182. alias 185.

^e Oportet ergo mundari et sanctifi-

cari aquam prius a sacerdote, ut possit Baptismo suo peccata hominis qui baptizatur abluere. — Quomodo autem mundare et sanctificare aquam potest, qui ipse immundus est, et apud quem Spiritus Sanctus non est? Cyprian. *Epist.* lxx. p. 190.

(who wrote A. D. 348,) speaks to his catechumens thus^f: “The Holy Ghost is coming to seal your souls:—look not upon the laver as *common water*, but to the *spiritual grace* bestowed along with it.—This common water, upon receiving the invocation of the *Holy Spirit*, and of *Christ*, and of the *Father*, acquires a virtue of sanctification.” It may be doubted whether Cyril here refers to the *prayer of Consecration* or to the *form of Baptism*: but it appears most probable that he refers to the *Consecration*; as the Benedictine editor has endeavoured to prove at large, in his notes upon the place. What I have further to observe upon it is, that Cyril speaks of the *water* as receiving a *sanctifying virtue*. And what does he mean by it? He means what he had just before said, that the *outward washing* and the *inward* graces go together, and are both conferred at once upon the *worthy* receiver in the self-same act. The *visible sign* is connected, in certain effect, with the *invisible grace*; and both are applied, at the same instant, to the same man, jointly concurring to the same end and use. This is the foundation of the common way of speaking, as if the Spirit and the water were *physically* united with each other; which is not strictly true in *notion*, but amounts to the same in *moral* effect.

Optatus, an African Bishop, (A. D. 368,) alluding to the name *Ιχθὺς*, (a technical name of our Lord,) says; “This fish (meaning Christ) is brought down upon the waters of the font, in Baptism, by invocation^h.” I presume this refers to the *Consecration prayer*ⁱ: and so it imports an expectance of, or petition for, the *divine* presence of Christ, to sanctify the person baptized in the *use* of the appointed service.

St. Basil, of the same age, (A. D. 374,) speaks of the conjunction of *water* and the *Spirit* in Baptism; first observing, (in order to obviate mistakes or invidious constructions,) that the Church did not mean to prefer *water* before all other *creatures*; much less to give it a share in the honours due to the *Father* and the *Son*^k: but he takes notice, that the *water* serves to make out

^f Μέλλει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον σφραγίζειν ὑμῶν τὰς ψυχὰς.—μὴ ὡς ὕδατι λιτῶ πρόσεχε τῷ λουτρῶ, ἀλλὰ τῇ μετὰ τοῦ ὕδατος δεδομένη πνευματικῇ χάριτι—τὸ λιτὸν ὕδωρ πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ Χριστοῦ, καὶ πατρὸς τὴν ἐπίκλησιν λαβὼν δύναμιν, ἀγιότητος ἐπικτάται. *Cyrril. Hierosol. Catech.* iii. sect. 3. p. 40, 41.

^g Vid. Vossius Harmon. Evangel. lib. iii. cap. 4. p. 233. Opp. tom. vi.

^h Hic est piscis qui in Baptism & te,

per invocationem, fontalibus undis inseritur, &c. *Optat.* lib. iii. p. 61.

ⁱ See Bingham, *Christian Antiq.* b. xi. c. 10. sect. i. vol. iv. p. 167, &c. Oxf. edit.

^k Καὶ εἰς ὕδωρ βαπτίζομεθα, καὶ οὐδέηπου τὸ ὕδωρ πάσης ὁμοῦ τῆς κτίσεως προτιμήσομεν, ἢ καὶ αὐτῶ τῆς πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ τιμῆς μεταδώσομεν. *Basil. de Spir. Sanct.* cap. xv. p. 28. tom. iii. edit. Bened.

the *symbol* of a *death* unto *sin*, and the *Spirit* is the *pledge* or *earnest* of *life*¹: therefore *water* and the *Spirit* go together in that Sacrament. Then he adds, that as to the *grace* supposed to be in the *water*, it belongs not properly to the *water*, but is entirely owing to the *presence* of the *Spirit*^m. Presence *how*, and *where*? To the *water*, or to the *persons*? His next immediate words will decide the question; for he adds, in the language of St. Peter, that "Baptism is not the putting away the filth of " the flesh, but the stipulation of a good conscience towards " Godⁿ." The *Spirit* therefore, in his account, must rest upon the *persons*, to answer the *end*. He proceeds, soon after, to observe how much the Baptism of the *Spirit* is preferable to baptizing merely with *water*; and he takes notice, that there is a *Baptism*, as valuable as any, wherein no *water* at all is needful, namely, *Baptism* in one's own *blood*, as a *martyr* for the name of Christ. Then he closes up the article he was upon in these words: "Not that I say this in order to disparage *water-baptism*, " but to baffle the reasonings of those who rise up against the " *Spirit*, and who would *blend* things together which are not " *blended*, and *compare* things together which admit not of *com-* " *parison*^o."

I have laid these things together, as *explanatory* of what the ancient Fathers meant by *joining* the *Spirit* with the outward *elements* in the *Sacraments*, (for the reason is the same in *both*,) and as serving to clear up some of their other more *dubious* or *less guarded* expressions. Here, when an objection was raised by adversaries^p, grounded on nothing but *words* and *names*, this good Father then rejected with abhorrence any such *mixture* of the *Spirit* and the *water* as the Catholics were maliciously charged with: and he declared they were *ἄμικτα*, *not mixed* with each other. At the same time, he insinuated the true meaning of all to be, that the *Spirit* and the *water* so far went

¹ Basil. *ibid.* p. 29.

^m "Ὅστε εἰ τις ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι χάρις, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς φύσεώς ἐστι τοῦ ὕδατος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος παρουσίας. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ῥύπου σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις, ἀλλὰ συνειδησεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς Θεόν. Basil. *ibid.* p. 29.

ⁿ 1 Pet. iii. 21.

^o Καὶ οὐκ ἀθετῶν τὸ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι βάπτισμα, ταῦτα λέγω· ἀλλὰ τοὺς λογισμοὺς καθαρῶν τῶν ἐπαιρομένων κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, καὶ μιγνόντων τὰ ἄμικτα, καὶ παρεικαζόντων τὰ ἀσυνείκαστα. Basil. p. 30.

^p As the Catholics had argued justly for the *divinity* of the Holy Ghost, from our being *baptized* into the *Spirit*, and sanctified by the *Spirit*, the Macedonians, on the other hand, frowardly retorted, that we are baptized also *eis ὕδωρ*, *in*, or *into water*, and sanctified by *water*; and therefore *water* would be *divine*, by that argument, as much as the *Spirit*. It was in reply to such impertinent cavils, that Basil took occasion to explain what concerned the *water* and what the *Spirit* in that Sacrament.

together^q, as to be *applied* at once to the same man, in the same service; but that the *Spirit* properly rested upon the *person* baptized, and not upon the outward *element*. Had the Romanists been as careful to distinguish in the matter of the *Eucharist*, as Basil here was with respect to *Baptism*, they would have seen no more reason for *adoration* of the *Host*, than Basil could find for *adoration* of *water*. He rejected the latter with the utmost disdain; and so should they likewise have rejected the former. But I proceed.

In the same treatise, the same excellent writer speaks of the *consecration*, or *benediction*, that passes upon the *waters* of *Baptism*, analogous to that of the *Eucharist*, which he had spoken of a little before. "We also bless," says he, "the water of *Baptism*, and the oil of *Chrism*, and the person likewise "whom we baptize^r." But yet he understood the difference (as may appear from what hath been before said) between the *relative* holiness thereupon accruing to the *water*, or the *oil*, and the *grace* of the *Spirit* accruing to the person baptized. Having dwelt thus largely upon Basil, who may serve as a key to all the rest, I shall but touch upon others who came after, contenting myself with a bare *recital* of their testimonies, as needing no further comment.

Gregory Nyssen, of the same time, (Basil's younger brother,) speaking of *Baptism*, says; "It is not the *water* that confers "this *benefit*, (for then would it be superior to the whole crea- "tion,) but it is the appointment of God, and the supervening of "the *Spirit*, mystically advancing to our rescue: however, the "water serves to *signify* the *cleansing*^s." A little after he observes, that the *Spirit* invisible being *called* by faith, *comes* in a manner ineffable, and *blesses* both the *person* and the *water* :

^q This is clearly expressed by Nazianzen of the same time :

Διττή και ἡ κάθαρσις, δι' ὕδατός τε φημι, και πνεύματος, τοῦ μὲν θεωρητῶς τε και σωματικῶς λαμβανομένου, τοῦ δὲ ἀσωμάτως και ἀθεωρητῶς συντρέχοντος. Nazianz. *Orat.* xl. in *Baptism*. p. 641. Conf. Greg. Nyss. tom. ii. p. 801. de Bapt. Christi.

^r Εὐλογοῦμεν και τό τε ὕδωρ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, και τὸ ἔλαιον τῆς χρίσεως, και προσέτι αὐτὸν τὸν βαπτίζομενον. Basil. de *Sp. Sanct.* cap. 27. p. 55.

Cum veteres aiunt sanguinem Christi et Spiritum Sanctum se aquæ miscere, popolare est loquendi genus ;

quod ita capere oportet quasi dicerent, quando aqua abluimur foris, oculis fidei intuemdu[m] esse sanguinem et spiritum Christi, quia hæc cum aqua concurrunt, haud secus, ac si miscerentur cum aqua. Voss. de *Sacram. Vi et Efficacia*, p. 252, 253. tom. vi.

^s Ταύτην δὲ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν οὐ τὸ ὕδωρ χαρίζεται, ἦν γὰρ ἂν πάσης τῆς κτίσεως ὑψηλότερον· ἀλλὰ Θεοῦ πρόσταγμα, και ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπιφοίτησις, μυστικῶς ἐρχομένη πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐλευθερίαν. ὕδωρ δὲ ὑπηρετεῖ πρὸς ἐνδειξιν τῆς καθάρσεως. Greg. Nyss. in *Baptism. Christi*, p. 801.

and the water so *blessed* purifies and illuminates the man ^t: but if the man is not bettered, the water is mere *water* to him, destitute of the *Spirit* ^u.

St. Ambrose (or whoever is the author) speaks of the *descent* of the *Holy Ghost* in Baptism ^x: and also of the *presence* of Christ upon the sacerdotal *invocation* ^y. But it is remarkable, how in one place he distinguishes the descent of the Spirit upon the *water* from the descent upon the *persons*, and, as it were, corrects an *inaccurate* expression by one more *proper* ^z, intimating what the *vulgar* way of speaking really and strictly meant. In another treatise, he mentions the *descent* of the *Holy Ghost* in Baptism, after the sacerdotal *invocation* ^a: from whence it is manifest that some *prayer* was then used to be offered up for that purpose, imploring such *descent*. The book *De Sacramentis* is not justly ascribed to St. Ambrose: some think it may have been compiled not long after him, by some of his chief admirers ^b, others set it later. I shall only take notice of a custom then prevailing, of praying for the *presence* of the *Son* and *Holy Ghost*, in their Baptismal Offices; or sometimes of the *whole Trinity* ^c.

I shall descend no lower in this account, (since enough has been said,) except it be to present the reader with two or three *forms* of the *invocation* made in Baptism, beseeching God to send the *Holy Spirit* to sanctify the baptismal *waters*, or the

^t Πνεῦμα τὸ ἀφανές, πίστει καλούμενον, ἀρρήτως παραγνώμενον—εὐλογεῖ τὸ βαπτίζομενον, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ βαπτίζον, p. 801. ὕδωρ εὐλογοῦμενον καθαίρει καὶ φωτίζει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, p. 803.

^u Ἐπὶ τούτων τὸ ὕδωρ, ὕδωρ ἐστίν, οὐδαμοῦ τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐπιφανείσης, &c. p. 540.

^x Illis angelus descendebat: tibi Spiritus Sanctus: illis creatura movebatur, tibi Christus operatur, ipse Dominus creaturæ. *Ambros. de Myster.* cap. iv. p. 330. edit. Bened. In hunc fontem vis divina descendit. p. 331. conf. 342.

^y Crede ergo adesse Dominum Jesum, *invocatum* precibus sacerdotum. p. 332.

^z Non utique dubitandum est, quod (Spiritus) superveniens in fontem, vel super eos qui Baptismum consequuntur, veritatem regenerationis operetur. *Ambros. ibid.* cap. ix. p. 342.

^a Quid in hoc typo angelus, nisi

descensionem Sancti Spiritus nunciabat, quæ nostris futura temporibus, *aquas* sacerdotalibus invocata precibus consecraret? *Ambros. de Sp. Sancti.* lib. i. cap. 7. p. 618.

^b See the Editor's preface to that work. Oudin brings it down to the eighth century, about 780. See Oudin, tom. i. p. 1858. Some attribute it to Maximus Taurinensis of the fifth. Vid. Fabricius, *Bibl. Med. et Infim. Latin.* lib. xii. p. 191.

^c Ubi primum ingreditur sacerdos, exorcismum facit secundum creaturam aquæ; invocatione postea et precem defert, ut sanctificetur fons, et adsit *præsentia* Trinitatis æternæ. *Pseud-Ambros. de Sacram.* lib. i. cap. v. p. 353.

Venit sacerdos, precem dicit ad fontem, invocat *Patris nomen*, *præsentiam Filii*, et *Spiritus Sancti*. Lib. ii. cap. 5. p. 357, 358.

The reader may see more authorities of like kind in Albertin. p. 465.

persons to be baptized. We have not many of those *forms* remaining, in comparison of what we have with respect to the other Sacrament, less care having been taken to preserve or to collect them: but we have enough for our purpose. One of them occurs in the Constitutions; the oldest perhaps that is extant, though of *uncertain* date. It runs thus: "Look down
 " from heaven, and *sanctify* this water: give it *grace* and *power*,
 " that he who is baptized therein, according to the command of
 " thy Christ, may be crucified with him, and die with him, and
 " be buried with him, and rise again with him to that *adoption*
 " which comes by him; that dying unto sin, he may live unto
 " righteousness^d." Here indeed no *express* mention is made of the *Holy Ghost* the Sanctifier: but it is implied in the word *sanctify*, and *grace*, and *power*, or *virtue*. The *blessing*, we may note, is craved upon the *water*: but as no *grace* can properly rest there as in its *subject*, it is plain what all means, viz. that the *persons* should receive the *grace* of the Holy Ghost in the *use* of that *water* according to *divine* appointment; or that the outward washing and the inward graces go together^e. So, in common or customary speech, when any one prays that God may *bless* the *means* made use of for any person's *recovery*, nobody understands more in it than that God may *bless* the *persons* in the *use* of those means, and crown them with the *success* desired. We have another the like *form* in Pope Gregory's Sacramentarium: which however in its present state is not altogether so old as that Pope; for the Sacramentary is not without *interpolations*^f. The *form* runs thus: "Let the *virtue* of thy *Spirit* descend, O Lord, upon the plenitude of this *font*, and impregnate
 " all the substance of this water with a regenerating efficacy:

^d Κάτιδε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἀγίασον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο· δὸς δὲ χάριν καὶ δύναμιν, ὥστε τὸν βαπτιζόμενον, κατ' ἐντολήν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, αὐτῷ συσταυρωθῆναι, &c. *Constitut. Apost.* lib. vii. cap. 43. p. 384.

N. B. As to the age of the Constitutions, Mr. Dodwell observes, that there is no evidence for them, (as we now have them in eight books,) elder than the time of Dionysius Exiguus, who was of the sixth century. See Dodwell of Incensing, p. 164. Ittigius and Buddæus give the like judgment. Others name the fifth century.

Præferenda mihi reliquis videtur sententia Thomæ Ittigii, quarto omnino sæculo *Constitutiones* quasdam

Apostolicas innotuisse, quæ postea circa sextum sæculum ab homine quodam Ariano corruptæ fuerint et interpolatæ. *Budd. Isagog.* p. 747. Conf. Turner. ch. xxiii. p. 237, &c. Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* tom. v. p. 33. tom. xi. p. 7—10.

^e Accordingly, the person baptized is directed, immediately after to pray for the *descent of the Holy Ghost* upon him. Δός μοι—πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐπιφοίτησιν πρὸς κτήσιν καὶ πληροφωρίαν τῆς ἀληθείας, διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου. *Ibid.* cap. xlv. p. 385.

^f Of the age of the Gregorian Sacramentary, see Dodwell of Incense, p. 218, &c.

“ here may the spots of all sins be washed off; here may that nature, formed after thy image, and now restored to its original purity, be cleansed from all its former stains; that every one coming to this *Sacrament* of *regeneration* may be born again to a new infancy of true innocence.” Here we may observe, that the petition is put up for the *descent* of the *Holy Spirit* upon the *waters*, as usual, for the benefit of the *persons*, that they may therein receive remission of sins, and all other *spiritual graces*, for restoring original rightcousness lost by the fall of Adam, and for supporting and sustaining the *Christian life*.

The Gothic Missal published by Mabillon^h, bearing date as high as the eighth centuryⁱ, will furnish us with another *form*; wherein the *descent* of the *Holy Spirit* is directly prayed for, to *sanctify* the baptismal *waters*, in order to derive *pardon* and *grace* upon the persons brought to the font^k. I shall take notice of but one more, which occurs in the Gallican Sacramentary, of the latter end of the eighth century, or thereabout^l. There also *prayer* is directly and in terms made, that God would send his *Holy Spirit* upon the *water*, in order to the purifying and regenerating the *persons* coming to Baptism^m.

I hope my readers will not think much of the *excursion* which I have here made into the Sacrament of *Baptism*, with a view to illustrate what belongs to our present subject of the *Eucharist*. For indeed I know of no surer or shorter way of coming at a just and clear apprehension of what concerns *one*, than by comparing together and duly weighing the circumstances of *both*

§ Descendat Domine, in hanc plenitudinem fontis, virtus Spiritus tui; totamque hujus aquæ substantiam regenerandi fecundet effectu. Hic omnium peccatorum maculæ deleantur, hic natura ad imaginem Dei condita, et ad honorem sui reformata principis, vetustatis cunctis squaloribus emundetur, omnis homo hoc Sacramentum regenerationis ingressus, in veræ innocentie novam infantiam renascatur. *Gregor. Mag. Lib. Sacram. p. 73. ed. Bened.*

^h Mabillon de Liturgia Gallicana, p. 188, &c.

ⁱ See Mabillon. Præf. sect. ix. And compare Dodwell of Incense, p. 190.

^k Benedic Domine Deus noster hanc creaturam aquæ, et descendat super eam virtus tua: desuper infunde Spiritum tuum, sanctum Para-

clitum, angelum veritatis. Sanctifica Domine hujus laticis undas, sicut sanctificasti fluentia Jordanis, ut qui in hunc fontem descenderint, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, et peccatorum veniam, et Sancti Spiritus infusionem consequi mereantur. *Missal. Goth. p. 248.*

^l See Mabillon. Musc. Italic. tom. i. in Præfat. ad Sacram. G. p. 275. Dodwell of Incense, p. 203, &c.

^m Te Deum Patrem omnipotentem deprecamur, ut hic Spiritum Sanctum in aquam hanc supermittere digneris, ut quoscunque baptizaverimus in nomine, &c. purificans et regenerans accipias eos in numero sanctorum tuorum, et consummes in Spiritu tuo sancto in vitam æternam, in sæcula sæculorum. *Sacrament. Gallican. p. 124.*

They are both of them equally *Sacraments* of the Christian Church, and have the like promise of the *Holy Spirit*, founded in the same *merits* of Christ's obedience and sufferings: there is the same reason for a *consecration* of the outward *symbols* in both, the same ground for *expecting* the *presence* of the *Spirit*; the same warrant for *asking* it; the same *rule* to go by in the doing it; and the like *primitive* practice to countenance it. If we proceed upon *favourable presumption*, that what obtained universally, without order of *councils*, in the *third* or *fourth* century, (and of which there is no memorandum left when it *began*.) must be taken for *apostolical*, then the practice as to either Sacrament will bear the same date: but if we choose rather, apart from all *conjectures*, to set the practice in each no higher than we have *certain* evidences of it, from monuments now extant, then we must date the practice with respect to *Baptism* no higher than the *third*, or however *second* century, when Tertullian flourished; and with respect to the *Eucharist*, no higher perhaps than the *fourth*, as we shall see presently^a.

I am aware, that several very worthy and learned men (and among the rest Dr. Grabe) have thought of an *earlier* date than I have just now mentioned; and by their united labours and searches into that question, have enabled those that come after them to see the more clearly into it. Two very learned writers, (not to mention more now,) Mr. Pfaffius abroad, and Mr. Johnson at home, have particularly traced that matter with all the diligence imaginable, and have both of them endeavoured to carry it up as high as there was any *colour* for carrying it. One of them appeals even to Ignatius, as a voucher for the practice^o, because he makes mention of some heretics who "abstained from the Eucharist and prayer, as not acknowledging the Eucharist to be the flesh of Christ Jesus^p." But I cannot see how, by any ever so distant consequence, we can thence fairly conclude, that it was the practice of that time to *pray* for the *descent* of the *Holy Ghost* in the Eucharist: for if the *words* of the *institution* were but used in the prayer of *Consecration* in those days, that alone is sufficient to account for all that Ignatius says there, or any where else.

^a The testimonies of such *invocation* in the Eucharist are collected by Pfaffius, p. 374, &c. Bingham, xv. 3, 11. Collier, Reasons, &c. p. 21, &c. Deylingius, Observ. Miscell. p. 196, &c. 344, &c.

^o Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 241. alias 245. part ii. p. 180. Compare Collier, Reasons, &c. p. 22. Defence, p. 101, &c. Vindication, p. 109, &c. 128, &c.

^p Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. cap. vii. p. 4.

Mr. Pfaffius, more plausibly, endeavours to run up the practice as high as Irenæus of the *second* century. And, indeed, could he have sufficiently warranted the *genuineness* of those *fragments* which he has obliged the learned world with, under the name of Irenæus, there could have been no room left for further dispute on that head^q. But he has not done it; neither is it, I believe, possible to be done^r. As to his argument drawn from the use of the word *ἐκκλησις*, or *ἐπίκλησις*, *invocation* of God, in Irenæus's certainly *genuine* works^s, it is too precarious a topic to build a thing of this moment upon; because there may be an *invocation of God* in prayer, without any praying for the *descent* of the Holy Spirit; and *ἐπίκλησις* is nothing but a common name for any kind of *invocation* in prayer; as when the three Persons are *named* or invoked in the *form of Baptism*, (for so Origen uses it^t), or are otherwise named in the *Eucharist*; as they certainly were by Justin Martyr's account^u. No proof therefore hath been yet given of the practice of *praying* for the *descent* of the *Holy Ghost*, in the eucharistical service, so early as Irenæus's days.

Mr. Pfaffius endeavours next^w to make it at least as ancient as the *third* century; because the Dialogue against the Marcionites, commonly ascribed to Origen, or else to Maximus of the same age, makes mention of the Holy Spirit's *coming upon* the Eucharist^x. But besides that there is no mention of any *prayer* for such descent, (so that the evidence here comes not up to the point in question,) I say, besides that, the author of that Dialogue, most certainly, was neither Origen, nor Maximus, nor any of that age, but probably another Adamantius, who lived in the fourth century, in the time of Constantine; as the learned editor in his new edition of Origen has observed at large^y. At last then, we must be content to come down as low as the *fourth* century, and indeed towards the *middle* of it, (when the elder Cyril wrote,) for *clear* and *undoubted* evidence of the practice of praying for the *illapse* of the *Spirit* upon the *symbols* in the holy Communion. No doubt but it was used in the Church of Jerusalem before, for Cyril did not invent it, nor first use it: but

^q Vid. Fragmenta Irenæi ap. Pfaff. p. 27. conf. p. 94, &c.

^r Vid. Scipio Maffei in Notis ad Cassiodori Complex. pag. 240, 241.

^s Iren. p. 60, 251. edit. Bened. conf. Pfaffius, p. 96, &c.

^t Origen. in Johann. p. 124. et apud Basil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. 29.

^u Justin. Martyr. Apol. i. p. 96. conf. Cyrill. Hieros. Mystag. i. sect. vii. p. 308.

^w Pfaffius in Præfat.

^x Τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἔρχεται. Adamantius Dialog. sect. ii. p. 826. edit. Bened.

^y Delarue in Admonitione prævia, p. 800, &c.

how long before, is the question; which, for want of higher records, we cannot now *certainly* determine. Cyril intimates part of the very *form* of the *invocation* then in use; and it may be worth the setting down here for the reader's perusal. "We beseech the all-merciful God to *send the Holy Ghost* upon the elements, that he may make the bread Christ's *body*, and the wine Christ's *blood*. For whatsoever the *Holy Ghost* once touches, that most certainly must be *sanctified* and *changed*." That is, as to its *uses* or *offices*. Some time after, the Priest says; "Holy are the elements which lie before us, having received the *illapse* of the *Holy Spirit*: holy also are ye, being now endowed with the *Holy Spirit*." This was said before the *receiving*; which I note, for the sake of some inferences to be made from it: 1. That the *elements* are not here made the *conduit* of the Holy Spirit, (for the Spirit is supposed to be received by the communicants *before* them and *without* them,) but the *service* of the Eucharist is the *conduit* rather, if either of them properly be so. 2. That the meaning of the *prayer* for the *illapse* of the *Spirit* is, to invite the Spirit to come down upon the *communicants* immediately, or principally, to make them *holy* in a sense proper to them, as well as to make the *elements* holy in a sense proper to things inanimate: therefore Cyril adds, "holy things then are meet for holy men." Hence also came that ancient eucharistical form of *sancta sanctis, holy things for holy men*^b, made use of *previously* to the reception of the sacred symbols. 3. Though the elements are *sanctified* by the Holy Ghost, and thereupon become *relatively* holy, as being now *sacred* symbols and representatives of our Lord's *body* and *blood*, yet they are not *beneficial* to *unholy* persons, but *hurtful*, and therefore are not to *them* the body and blood of Christ in real grace, virtue, energy, or effect. 4. Since the persons are supposed to become *holy* by the *presence* of the Holy Spirit, *previously* to *receiving*, in order to reap *benefit* from it, it is plain that, as to the request for *making the elements Christ's body and blood*, the meaning only is, that they may be so made, not in

^z Παρακαλούμεν τὸν φιλόνηρον Θεὸν, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἀποστεῖλαι ἐπὶ τὰ προκειμένα ἵνα ποιῆσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρον σῶμα Χριστοῦ, τὸν δὲ οἶνον αἷμα Χριστοῦ· πάντως γὰρ οὐ ἐὰν ἐφάψαιτο τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τοῦτο ἡγιασται καὶ μεταβέβηται. *Cyrril. Mystag.* v. cap. 7. p. 327. *Conf. Albertin.* 320.

^a Ἅγια τὰ προκειμένα, ἐπιφοίτησιν δεξάμενα ἁγίου πνεύματος· ἅγια καὶ

ἡμεῖς πνεύματος ἁγίου καταβιθίντες. Τὰ ἅγια οὖν τοῖς ἁγίοις κατάλληλα. *Ibid.* c. xix. p. 331.

^b A full account of it may be seen in Menardus's Notes upon the Gregorian Sacramentary, p. 566. *Touttée's* Notes on Cyril, p. 331. And *Bingham's* *Eccles. Antiq.* book xv. ch. 3. sect. 31. vol. v. p. 344. *Oxf. edit.*

themselves, but to the communicants^c, considered as *holy*: for, were the elements *absolutely* Christ's body and blood, they would be so both to the *holy* and *unholy*, which they are not. Indeed both good and bad do receive the *consecrated* signs, but those only who are *worthy* do receive the *things signified*.

The next oldest *form* we meet with, after Cyril's, may be that of the Constitutions, falsely called *Apostolical*: "We beseech thee, O God, thou that art above the *need* of any thing, to look graciously down upon these *gifts* here lying before thee, and to accept them favourably for the honour of thy Christ, and to *send thy Holy Spirit upon this sacrifice*, the witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus; that he may make this *bread* become the *body* of thy Christ, and this cup become the *blood* of thy Christ; that they who partake thereof may be *confirmed in godliness*, may obtain *remission* of sins, may be delivered from the *devil* and his impostures, may be filled with the *Holy Ghost, &c.*"^d I need not go on to later *forms* of like kind, many of which are to be met with in the large Collections of Liturgies, published by Fabricius, Goar, Renaudot, Mabillon, and others. The English reader may find a competent number of the same in a Collection translated by several hands, and published by the Reverend Dr. Brett, with several very learned

^c So in the Canon of the *Mass*, and in our Communion Service of King Edward's Prayer-Book of the first edition, the words run, "That they may become to us the body and blood of Christ." Of which Mr. Thorndike very judiciously comments, as here follows:

"These words *to us*, make an abatement in the proper signification of the *body and blood*. For the elements may be said to become the body and blood of Christ *without addition*, in the same *true sense* in which they are so called in the Scriptures: but when they are said to become the body and blood of Christ *to them that communicate*, that *true sense* is so well signified and expressed, that the words cannot well be understood otherwise than to import, not the *corporal substance*, but the *spiritual use* of them." Thorndike, *Relig. Assemb.* p. 369.

"In the book of the holy Communion we do not pray *absolutely*, that

"the bread and wine may be *made* the *body and blood* of Christ, but that *unto us*, in that holy mystery, they may be so: that is to say, that we may so *worthily* receive the same, that we may be *partakers* of Christ's body and blood, and that therewith in spirit and in truth we may be spiritually nourished." Archbishop Cranmer *against Gardiner*, p. 79. edit. 1580.

Ἀξιούμεν σε ὅπως εὐμενῶς ἐπιβλέψῃς ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα ἐνώπιόν σου, σὺ ὁ ἀνεκδέξῃς Θεός, καὶ εὐδοκήσῃς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ καταπέμψῃς τὸ ἅγιόν σου πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην, τὸν μάρτυρα τῶν παθημάτων τοῦ κυρίου. Ἰησοῦ, ὅπως ἀποφῆγῃ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, ἵνα οἱ μεταλαβόντες αὐτοῦ βεβαιωθῶσι πρὸς εὐσέβειαν, ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτημάτων τύχωσι, τοῦ Διαβόλου καὶ τῆς πλάνης αὐτοῦ ῥυσθῶσι, πνεύματος ἁγίου πληρωθῶσιν. κ. τ. λ. *Const. Apost.* lib. viii. cap. 12. p. 407.

and curious Dissertations upon them, worth the considering^c, All I need do here is to make some *general* remarks, proper to give light to the true and full meaning of those liturgic forms, with respect to the *descent* or *illapse* of the *Spirit*, either upon the *communicants* or upon the *symbols*.

1. It is observable, that the naked symbols, before the *Spirit* is supposed to approach, or to make them *Christ's body* and *blood*, are offered up as *gifts*, and called a *sacrifice*. I inquire not now in *what sense*, designing a distinct chapter for that purpose below: but such is the common form and tenor of most of the other Liturgies, Greek ones especially; St. James's^f, St. Mark's^g, St. Basil's^h, and St. Gregory'sⁱ, as they are called.

2. Next it is observable, from the old Liturgies, that after the *oblation* and *sacrifice*, and after the *illapse* of the *Spirit* upon the symbols, to make them *authentic* and *effective* representatives of our Lord's *body* and *blood*, another very solemn prayer was wont to be put up, pleading to God the merits of Christ's *passion*, and beseeching him, for the sake thereof, to be *propitious* towards the *communicants* in particular, and towards the *Church* in general. Cyril represents that part of the service thus: "After the finishing the *spiritual sacrifice*, the *unbloody service*; over that sacrifice of *propitiation*, we beseech God in behalf of the common peace of the churches—we offer Christ slain for our sins, entreating the all-merciful God to be *propitious* to ourselves and others^k." There is such another form of prayer in the Constitutions^l: it follows the *oblation*, and may itself be called, and often has been called, another *oblation*. But the proper name for it is *commemoration* of the *passion*, now made before God, pleading the *merit* of the same, in order to obtain the fruits and benefits of it. This part of the service was very ancient, and most undoubtedly did obtain, in some shape or other, even from the beginning; pursuant to our Lord's command, to make *commemoration* of him, and to St. Paul's account of the Eucharist, as *shewing the Lord's death* till his

^c Brett's Collection of the principal Liturgies, printed A. D. 1720.

^f Jacobi Liturg. apud Fabric. p. 66, 68, 70, 82, 96.

^g Marci Liturg. apud Fabric. p. 275, 278, 286, 287.

^h Basil. Liturg. in Renaudot. p. 57, 61, 68.

ⁱ Gregorii Liturg. apud Renaudot. p. 90, 94, 95, 105.

^k Εἶτα, μετὰ τὸ ἀπαρτισθῆναι τὴν

πνευματικὴν θυσίαν, τὴν ἀνάμακτον λατρείαν, ἐπὶ τῆς θυσίας ἐκείνης τοῦ ἱλασμοῦ παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν Θεὸν ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης—Χριστὸν ἐσφαγισμένον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀμαρτημάτων προσφέροντες, ἐξελούμενοι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν φιλόπρωπον Θεόν. Cyrill. *Mystag.* v. p. 327, 328.

^l Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. cap. 13. p. 408, 409.

coming again. Such *memorial* of the *passion* is more than once mentioned by Justin Martyr, and Origen, and Cyprian, and Eusebius, and Chrysostom, and many more^m. The meaning of the *petition* which went along with it was, that our blessed Saviour, who is our *intercessor* and *advocate* above, might vouchsafe to make those prayers acceptable at the throne of grace, pleading the interest of his all-prevailing sacrifice in heavenⁿ. The Liturgy in Ambrose has the like *memorial* with the former, after the consecration^o: and so has the Gallican Sacramentary^p. The Greek and Oriental Liturgies have commonly the same, but not always in the same order; sometimes placing the *memorial*, or *annunciation*, improperly, before the consecration^q, and again, more properly, after^r: which is an argument of the lateness of those Liturgies, as we now have them, and of the *confused* state wherein most of them are.

3. But the most material point of all is to fix the true meaning of the *invocation* and *illapse* of the Spirit, into which the Greeks commonly resolve the *consecration*. The Romish Divines have frequently laid hold of what is said concerning the *illapse* of the *Spirit*, as favourable to their tenet of *transubstantiation*; because the Holy Ghost is said to *make* the bread the *body*, and the wine the *blood* of Christ. But when it came to be observed, that the Greeks constantly used that prayer of *invocation*, for the descent of the Spirit, after the words of the *institution*, (in which the Romanists fix the *consecration*,) a great difficulty arose, how to reconcile Greeks and Latins, upon the article of *consecration*: for the former placed it in the *descent* of the *Holy Spirit*, and the latter in the *words* of *institution*. A solution at length was thought on, namely, that the *descent* or *illapse* of the Holy Ghost, spoken of in the Greek Liturgies, should not be understood to *make* the symbols Christ's *body*, &c. (being made such before in consecration, by the words, *This is my body*, &c.) but to *make* the reception of the body and blood *beneficial* and *salutary* to the communicants. Many of the learned Latins, at the Council of Florence, and after, embraced the solution with some eagerness. Bessarion also then, and Arcudius afterwards, (two Latinized Greeks,) set

^m See above, pp. 476, 486, ch. i. under the name *Oblation* and *Memorial*.

ⁿ *Offert se ipse quasi sacerdos, ut peccata nostra dimittat: hic in imagine, ibi in veritate, ubi apud Patrem pro nobis quasi advocatus intervenit.*

Ambrosius de Offic. lib. i. cap. 48.

^o Pseudo-Ambrosius de Sacrament. lib. iv. cap. 6.

^p Sacramentar. Gallican. p. 280.

^q Jacob. Liturg. ap. Fabric. p. 82.

Basil. Liturg. p. 61, 68.

^r Jacob. Liturg. p. 96.

themselves to defend it, and did it with good learning and judgment^s. It appears to be true, that they justly interpreted the intent and meaning of that *invocation*, by the *beneficial* effect of the *illapse* of the Spirit upon the *communicants* in the use of the symbols, and not by the Spirit's making the symbols *absolutely* the body and blood: and we are so far obliged to them, for pleading unawares on the Protestant side, and thereby giving up the most plausible colours which all antiquity could afford for the novel doctrine of *transubstantiation*^t.

It must however be owned, that the later and shrewder Romanists, observing how their friends were caught in their own snare, have been very solicitous to retract that occasional *concession*, and to condemn Bessarion, Arcudius, and others, for giving into it. Lequien is one of those who endeavour to recall the grant^u; and Renaudot is another^x; and Touttée a third^y. They are justly sensible, how their most specious pretences from the *ancients* are at once taken from them, and that the Protestant cause is now triumphant, in that article, even upon their own *concessions*. Their perceiving it with such *concern* does not at all abate the force of what Bessarion, and Arcudius, and many more of their friends very learnedly and justly pleaded for the original meaning of that *form*. All circumstances shew, that the true and ancient intent of that part of the service was not to implore any *physical* change in the elements, no, nor so much as a *physical connection* of the *Spirit* with the *elements*, but a *moral* change only in the *elements*, as to *relations* and uses, and a *gracious* presence of the Holy Spirit upon the *communicants*^z.

One argument of it may be drawn from the style of the prayer, *super nos*^a, *et super hæc dona*, begging the descent upon the *communicants* first, and then upon the *elements*; that is to

^s See particularly Arcudius de Concord. Eccles. Occident. et Orient. l.iii. cap. 33. p. 287, &c.

^t See Dr. Covell's Account of the Gr. Church, p. 54, &c.

^u Lequien in Notis ad Damascen. tom. i. p. 269.

^x Quod aiunt Bessarionis et Arcudii imitatores totam orationem referri ad *fructuosam* mysterii susceptionem, ferri non potest.—Unde sequeretur *nullam esse transmutationem* erga indigne communicantes, quæ germanissima est *Protestantium* doctrina.—Si hæc ad *solam fructuosam* communionem referantur, nulla magis com-

moda *Protestantium* causæ interpretatio excogitari poterat. Renaudot. *Liturg. Orient.* tom. ii. p. 93.

^y Verba hæc detorquere ad effectus Eucharistiæ in nobis postulandos, ecclesiam luculentissimo, antiquissimo, et constantissimo *transubstantiationis* testimonio privare est. *Touttée Cyrillian. Dissertat.* iii. p. 238.

^z Vid. Fulgent. ad Monim. lib. ii. cap. 9, 10.

^a See the Liturgies in Fabricius, 68, 84, 85, 98, 204, 205, 243, 298, 300; or in Renaudotius, tom. i. p. 16, 31, 46, 48, 68, 105. tom. ii. p. 118, 143, 313, 325.

say, upon the communicants in the *use* of those now *holy* or *consecrated* symbols. Renaudot would persuade us, that the *super nos* relates to the consecrators, or to the officiating *clergy*^b. But what I have before cited from St. Cyril, as understanding the *descent* of the *Spirit* to be upon the *communicants* in general, is a sufficient confutation of every such surmise.

Another argument of what I am here pleading for may be drawn from the restriction *to us*, inserted in that form, in several Liturgies; particularly in the Gregorian Sacramentary^c, and from thence derived to the Canon of the Mass. I have shewn the meaning of it before, and need not here repeat.

But the clearest and strongest argument of all may be drawn from the like *form* of invocation in the *Baptismal Offices*; where it is certain that it could mean only a *moral* change of the *water* as to *use* and *office*, not a *physical* change of its substance. Why should the *illapse* of the Holy Spirit be supposed to work any greater, or any other *change* in the *elements* of the *Eucharist*, than in the *waters* of *Baptism*^d?

Renaudot, being aware of this difficulty, offers a kind of salvo for it; namely, that though the Spirit is invited to come down upon the *waters* in Baptism, yet he comes not to change the waters into Christ's *body* and *blood*, but to give *regeneration* and *remission* to the persons. He observes likewise, that when the Spirit is *invoked* upon the *oil*, or *chrism*, or persons to be *ordained*, or whatever else is to be *consecrated*, it amounts only to a petition for the *grace* of the *Spirit* upon the parties concerned; which is quite another thing from *changing* the symbols in the Eucharist into the *body* and *blood*^e. But this appears to be begging the question, or rather to be giving up the main thing: for what we assert is, that the *ancients* supposed the like *illapse*

^b Renaudot. Liturg. Orient. tom. i. p. 340.

^c Quam oblationem tu, Deus, in omnibus quæsumus benedictam—facere digneris, ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat, &c.

^d Compare what Mr. Pfaffius has well urged on this head, p. 76, &c. Though it must be said, that his own *hypothesis* will no more clear this article, than the Popish one can; for the *invocation* in Baptism draws down nothing but what is *spiritual*.

^e Invocatur quoque ut mittat *Spiritum Sanctum* super *aquas* baptismales, ut in illis baptizati accipiant *regenerationem*, omniumque peccatorum *re-*

missionem: super *oleum*, et *chrisma*, ut *gratiam* baptizatis *novam* conferant: super *ordinandos*, ut accipiant *sanc-timoniam* et *potestatem* ad *sacra* ministeria sancte exercenda: super *oleum infirmorum*, ut ejus unctio *prosit* infirmis ad *salutem* animæ et corporis. — Verum in *Eucharistia* consecranda, aliud quiddam se petere designant, nempe illapsam efficacem *Spiritum Sancti* in dona proposita, ut *mutentur* et *transferantur* in *corpus* et *sanguinem* Domini: quod de *aqua*, *chrismate*, *oleoque*, aliisque Sacramentis, nunquam postulasse *orientales* reperiuntur. Renaudot. tom. i. p. 196, 197.

of the *Spirit*, and like *change* wrought in the *waters* of Baptism, and in the *oil*, and *chrism*, &c., as in the *elements* of the Eucharist; and therefore if in those it amounted only to a *moral* or *spiritual* change, it cannot, upon their principles, amount to more in this. Cyril of Jerusalem, as before quoted, plainly makes those several cases so far parallel^f; and so does Gregory Nyssen^g after him: therefore Mr. Renaudot's concessions turn upon himself, and recoil upon his own hypothesis. It is not indeed said, that the Holy Ghost in Baptism converts the water into *body* and *blood*; neither is it said, that the Holy Ghost in the Eucharist converts the symbols into *water of life*, or into a *celestial garment*: each Sacrament has its distinguishing style and title, proper to the *symbols* of it, and to the *resemblance* intended in it. For though they exhibit the *same graces*, yet they do it not under the same *types, figures, or symbols*: and that is the sole reason of the *different* style here and there. There is the same *change* wrought in both, and by the same *Divine* power, and to the same *salutary* purposes. There is the same kind of prayer in both, for the same kind of *illapse* or *presence* of the Spirit, and for the same kind of *grace, virtue, and efficacy*, whether upon the *symbols* or *recipients*. If we *feed upon Christ* in the Eucharist, we *put him on* in Baptism, which comes to the same thing in the main. If we are partakers of the *spiritual lamb* there, so are we also here. If we *drink* his blood there, we are *dipped* in his blood here, which is tantamount. Nay, we are *partakers* of the body and blood in both, according to the principles of the ancient writers. Testimonies to that effect have often been collected by learned Protestants: and therefore, for the avoiding of prolixity, I choose rather to refer^h, than to repeat. Such being the certain doctrine of the *ancients*, it is a vain attempt, to strain any expressions of theirs concerning the *illapse* of the *Spirit* in the Eucharist, beyond what they admitted

^f See above, ch. vii. p. 596. Compare Bingham book xi. ch. x. sect. 4.

^g Gregor. Nyssen. de Baptismo Christi, tom. ii. p. 801, 802. edit. Paris. 1615. Dr. Covell has observed the same at large, with respect to the *later* rituals, in his Account of the Greek Church, p. 53, &c. And though he intended the *instances* there given, only to shew, that such *forms* implied no *physical* change in the things so *consecrated*, yet they really prove more, viz. that the *Holy Spirit* was supposed to rest upon the *persons* in

the *use* of the *symbols*, and not upon the *symbols* themselves, in strictness of speech. I may note also, that in p. 56, 57, he has fully confuted the most specious pretence which the Romanists commonly make from some corrupt copies of Basil's Liturgy, by producing a truer reading out of a different copy, near six hundred years old.

^h Bishop Moreton on the Sacrament, p. 568, &c. Albertinus, p. 223, 426. Bingham, book xi. chap. 16. s. 4.

in the other Sacrament. The substance of what they taught is the same with respect to both, only in *different phrases*, as the *difference* of the *symbols* required: for *Baptism* is not the *Eucharist*, though it exhibits the same graces, and does the same thing, and by the same powers, that the *Eucharist* does.

From the account here given, I may take notice, by the way, of the wisdom of our first Reformers, who, while they thought of inserting any prayer at all for the *illapso* of the *Spirit*, resolved to do it equally and indifferently in *both* the *Offices*; as well in the Office of *Baptism*ⁱ, as in the Office for the *Communion*^k: for there is, undoubtedly, as much reason and as great authority for it with respect to the former, as there is with respect to the latter. Indeed they were both thrown out afterwards, upon *prudential* considerations, and at the instance chiefly of two learned and judicious foreigners, whom Archbishop Cranmer called in to assist at the review of our Liturgy in 1551^l. It was thought, perhaps, as there was no express *Scripture precept*, nor any clear proof of *apostolical practice*, either for this form or another, that therefore every church was at liberty in such cases. It might be considered further, that several centuries probably had passed, before there were any public *written* Liturgies at all: and the Bishops commonly, in and for their respective churches, had been left to draw up such forms as they judged most proper to times and circumstances, conformable to the analogy of faith^m. And since an ill use had often been made, by Romanists, of those words of the Communion Office, in favour of *transubstantiation*ⁿ, (for which there appeared some *colour*, though *colour* only, and owing to misconstruction and wrong inferences,) *prudence* might require some alteration, under such circum-

ⁱ In King Edward's first Prayer-Book, A. D. 1549. "O most merciful God our Saviour Jesu Christ— upon whom being baptized in the river of Jordan, the Holy Ghost came down in the likeness of a dove, send down, we beseech thee, the same thy Holy Spirit, to assist us, and to be present at this our invocation of thy holy name. Sanctify this fountain of Baptism," &c.
^k "Hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech thee, and with thy Holy Spirit and Word, vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy gifts, and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved

"Son Jesus Christ."

N. B. If it should be asked, how they are so *unto us*, if they be not first *absolutely* so? *Answ.* They are said to be so *unto us*, when the *beneficial effect* goes along with them. See Cranmer and Thorndike, cited above, p. 689.

^l See Wheatly on the Common-Prayer, p. 26. Collier, *Vindic. of Reas. and Def.* p. 150.

^m See Bingham, book i. chap. 19. sect. 17. book xiii. chap. 5. sect. 1. book ii. chap. 6. sect. 2. Renaudot, tom. i. p. 9.

ⁿ See Cranmer, p. 325. Dr. Aldrich, *Reply to two Oxford Discourses*, p. 8, 9.

stances. However, in our present Offices, we have some *remains* of the ancient way of praying for the assistance of the *Holy Spirit* in both Sacraments. In our Office of *Public Baptism*, we have the *invocation* couched under *general* expressions: the people are admonished to call upon God the Father, that the child brought to the font may be baptized with water “and the “Holy Ghost.” Then again, “sanctify him with the Holy “Ghost,” and “give thy Holy Spirit to this infant:” and as to the outward element, “sanctify this water to the mystical “washing away of sin.” These passages, penned in a more reserved, general way, do yet really contain all that the more ancient *invocation* in Baptism amounted to.

In our *Communion Service*, the *invocation* is more obscurely intimated under a *few*, and those *general* terms: “Grant that “we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine——may be “partakers of his most precious body and blood.” This was part of the ancient *invocation*; and it expresses the thing formerly prayed for, without specifying the particular *manner*, or *means*, viz. the immediate *operation* of the *Holy Spirit*: though that also must of course be understood and implied, upon Christian principles taught in Scripture. After all, I see no reason why it may not be justly thought as *modest*, and as *reverent*, to beg of God the Father the *things* which we *want*, understanding that he will grant them *by his Holy Spirit*, as to make a formal petition to him, to *send his Holy Spirit* upon the elements or upon the communicants; unless Scripture had particularly ordered some such *special* form, to be made use of in our sacramental solemnities, which it has not done.

It must be owned, that there was something very *affecting* and *awful* in many of the ancient forms, apt to strike the minds of an assembly, and to raise their devout affections, when properly executed with a becoming dignity, by grave and venerable men. Such was that prefatory part in several old Liturgies, “How dreadful is this season,” &c., made use of just before the

° That is, partakers of the *merits* and *virtue* of the body as crucified, and blood as spilled; and *partakers* also of the same body considered as *raised* again, and *mystically* united with *worthy* receivers.

P Mirum in hisce, aliisque Orientalium Liturgiis, consensum videas circa *invocationem Spiritus Sancti*, ut dona faciat corpus et sanguinem Christi: de hac liturgica invocatione

tamen in genuinis Apostolorum scriptis ne γού. Fabricius, *Cod. Apocr. Nov. Test.* part. iii. in præfatione.

Nos equidem illam Spiritus Sancti *ἐπιφοίτησιν* neque ad symbolorum consecrationem *necessariam*, nec *exorandam*, nec Græcorum Liturgiam ea in parte *defendendam*, aut *imitandam* esse arbitramur. *Deylingius, Observ. Miscellan.* p. 199.

expected coming of the *Holy Spirit*, in order to prepare every humble communicant to wait for it with the most profound reverence and most exalted devotions. But it may be doubted, whether such forms are proper at *all times* and in all *circumstances*; and whether they might not, in some circumstances, rather obstruct than further the good ends designed by them. The more general and reserved method is certainly the less affecting; but yet it may be, all things considered, the surest way to keep up the *dignity* of the Sacraments among the generality, and to secure the sacred Offices from contempt. But I have said enough of this matter, which came in only by the way.

While I am speaking of our excellent Liturgy, it may not be amiss to take notice of another article relating to this head, wherein it may appear to some *short* and *defective*. It is very certain, that the *commemoration*, *memorial*, or *annunciation* of our Lord's *passion*, with an address to God for his *propitious* favour thereupon, has been a very ancient, eminent, and solemn part of the Communion Service. There is now no direct formal application of that kind in our Offices. There was in King Edward's Liturgy of 1549, in these words: "We thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before thy Divine Majesty with these thy holy gifts, *the memorial* which thy Son has willed us to make, having in *remembrance* his blessed *passion*, mighty *resurrection*, &c." Why this part was struck out in the *review*, I know not; unless it was owing to some scruple (which however was needless) about making the memorial *before God*, which at that time might appear to give some umbrage to the Popish *sacrifice*, among such as knew not how to distinguish. However that were, we have still the sum and substance of the primitive *memorial* remaining in our present Offices; not all in a place, but interspersed here and there in the *exhortations* and *prayers*. In a previous exhortation, we read; "Above all things ye must give most humble and hearty thanks to God the Father, &c. for the redemption of the world by the *death* and *passion* of our Saviour Christ both *God* and *man*, &c." There is the sense and signification of the ancient *memorial*, only under a different form. In the *Post-Communion*, we beseech God "to accept our *sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving*, and to grant *remission of sins to us* and to *the whole Church*, by the *merits* and *death* of Christ Jesus." Which words contain the substance of what was anciently the appendage to the *memorial*.

There was besides, in most of the old Liturgies^q, a particular petition added, that the *angels* might carry up our prayers to the *high altar* in heaven; and this also was inserted in King Edward's first Liturgy, but struck out at the first *review*. As to the *altar in heaven*, I shall have occasion to say more in a chapter below, and therefore pass it over here. As to the notion of *angels* conveying the *prayers* of the supplicants to the throne above, I know not whether it had any better grounds than the authority of the apocryphal book of Tobit^r, as Bucer observed^s. It seems to have been originally a Jewish notion^t; though a late learned writer chooses rather to derive it from the *Platonic philosophy*^u: I think, improperly; for it will be hard to prove, that Plato was before Tobit, or before the book bearing his name^x. Besides that the Pagans were more likely to borrow such things from Jews, than the Jews from them. But be that as it will, since the notion has no certain warrant in *canonical* Scripture, it was prudent to strike it out of our Church Offices. Upon the whole, though all human compositions must have their *defects*, more or less, I am persuaded, that our *Communion Service*, as it now stands, is as grave, and solemn, and as judicious, as any other that can be named, be it ancient or modern. It may *want* some things which were *well inserted* in other Offices; but then it has *well left out* several other things, which most Liturgies are rather *burdened* with, than *benefited*. But I return.

As to the main point now in hand, it is very plain from all liturgies, and from all kinds of ancient testimonies, that the *Christian world* has all along believed, that the *Spirit of God* is invisibly *present*, and operates *effectually* in both Sacraments; as well to confer a *relative holiness* upon the outward *symbols*, as to convey the *grace of sanctification* to the faithful recipients. Therefore the Socinians stand condemned as to this article, by *all churches*, ancient or modern, as well as by *Scripture* itself, and the plainest reason: neither have they any plea to offer on that side, which carries so much as the face of a *direct* argument. I am aware, that they may have something to plead *obliquely*, while

^q See in Fabricius's Collection, p. 36, 54, 70, 96, 147, 173, 206, 234, 265, 273. and in Renaudot's *passim*. Compare Apostol. Constit. lib. viii. cap. 13. and Pseud-Ambros. de Sacram. lib. iv. cap. 6.

^r Tobit xii. 15.

^s Bucer. Script. Anglican. p. 473.

^t Conf. Testamentum Levi, in Grab. Spicileg. tom. i. p. 159.

^u Elsner. in Græc. Testam. tom. ii. p. 117.

^x Of Tobit, see Prideaux's Connection, part i. p. 39. fol. edit. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. lib. iii. cap. 29. Dupin, Can. of the Old Test. p. 89.

arguing against the *existence*, or *personality*, or *divinity* of the *Holy Ghost*, or against any *ordinary* operations from above upon the minds of men, to *enlighten* or *sanctify* them: and whatever they may have to plead in respect to those *previous* points, will *remotely* affect the present question. But it is not my business here, to run out into those *preliminary* inquiries, almost *foreign* to the *particular* subject I am upon, and fitter to make distinct and separate treatises, than to be brought in here. As to *direct* arguments, I can think of few or none^γ at present, unless we may reckon that for one, which charges our doctrine in this particular, as making the Sacraments *charms* and *spells*; an objection built upon manifest calumny or misconception, and looking more like buffoonery than serious argument, especially as worded by some of that side. One of them writes thus: “When St. Austin defined a *sacrament* to be the *outward visible sign* of an *inward invisible grace* or *energy*, the good Father should have considered, that this is a definition of a *charm*, not of a Gospel Sacrament: for a *charm* is a bare outward visible sign, that which has no *natural* or *real* agreement with the effect.— They have turned the Gospel Sacraments into *charms* and *spells*.” The same trifling impertinence might as justly be urged against Naaman’s being healed of his leprosy by washing in Jordan^α; or against Hezekiah’s being cured by a *lump of figs*^β; or against the *blind* man’s receiving sight by the means of *clay* and *spittle*, and washing in the *pool* of Siloam^γ. We place no more virtue in the naked symbols, than in the meanest instruments whatever, which God may at any time please to make use of, and sanctify to high and holy purposes. Those instruments in themselves do nothing: it is God that does all, in and through the appointed *use* of them. He that blasphemes or derides the certain workings of God, or of the Spirit of God, upon the souls or bodies of men, under the names of *charms*, *spells*, *enchantments*, or the like, (as the Jews derided our Lord’s miracles,) seems to forget the reverence due to Divine Majesty, and the respect which we owe to high and holy things. But to put the kindest and most favourable construction we can upon the objection as

^γ The argument drawn against *present* benefits from the word *remembrance* has been obviated above, ch. iv. p. 519. I shall only hint further, that *remembering*, in this case, is not opposed to a thing’s being *present*, but to its being *forgot*, as spiritual and invisible benefits easily may,

though near at hand all the time. Vid. Nourii Appar. tom. i. p. 411.

^α Trinitarian Scheme of Religion, p. 24, 25. printed in the year 1692.

^β 2 Kings v. 14.

^γ 2 Kings xx. 7. Isaiah xxxviii. 21.

^δ John ix. 7.

here worded, it is charging St. Austin and all the *primitive* churches, and their followers, with what they are notoriously known, not only never to have taught, but constantly to have disclaimed. They never do attribute to the bare elements the works of *grace*, but constantly ascribe them to the powerful *hand of God*, working in or with the elements. If that be working by *charms* or *spells*, let any man tell us, what *supernatural* or *preternatural* works of God are not as justly liable to the same imputation.

If the purport of the objection be to reject all such *Divine* operations as we here suppose upon *moral* agents, as not consistent with human *liberty*; that is a more *general* question, *previous* to what we are now upon, and therefore in a great measure *foreign* to the point in hand. It is sufficient to say, that the *general* doctrine of *grace* is so fully established in the New Testament, that no Christian can consistently reject it. As to the *manner* of it, it is not for us to presume to explain it: but we are certain it is wrought in a *moral* way, in a way consistent with *moral* agency and human *liberty*. We know the fact: we need no more. If any man will undertake to demonstrate *a priori*, that there can be no *medium* between *irresistible* impressions and *none at all*, or that God cannot *sanctify*, or *purify*, or *enlighten* the soul of man, in any degree, without making him a *machine*, he may perhaps deserve to be heard; but in the mean while Scripture, express Scripture, will deserve our attention, and will command the faith of every true disciple of Christ.

Some perhaps may think it an objection to what has been here pleaded, that *grace* is also promised sometimes to *prayer*, sometimes to *faith*, and sometimes to *hearing*, and therefore is not *peculiar* to the *Sacraments*: for it has been suggested, that "the spiritual eating of Christ is common to all places, as well as to the Lord's table^d." This I have touched upon before^e, and shall only add here, that we do not *confine* God's grace to the *Sacraments*; neither do we assert any *peculiar* grace, as *appropriate* to them only: but what we assert is, some peculiar *degrees* of the same *graces*, or some peculiar *certainly*, or *constancy*, as to the effect, in the due use of those means^f. And if the Divine

^d Hales's Tracts, p. 57.

^e See above, p. 623, &c.

^f *Verbum et Sacramenta* in eo conveniunt, quod ambo *gratiam regenerationis* offerant et exhibeant: sed quod nonnunquam *Sacramentis pecu-*

liariter adscribi videtur, id inde est, quod fides, in *Sacramentis*, hanc gratiam videat *clarius*, apprehendat *fortius*, teneat *certius*. Voss. de *Sacram.* p. 251.

graces, more or less, go along with all the Divine ordinances, well may they be supposed to go along with those, which are the most solemn and most exalted of any, and have also more of a *federal* nature in them; as has been hinted above, and will be proved at large in the chapter here following.

CHAP. XI.

Of the federal or covenanting Nature of the Holy EUCHARIST.

IT is the prevailing doctrine of *Divines*, that the Service of the holy Communion carries in it something of a *federal* nature, is a kind of *covenanting* or *stipulating* act; not making a new covenant, but covenanting anew, confirming or renewing the stipulation before entered into at our *Baptism*. For the clearing of this important point, it will be proper, 1. To premise something of *covenants* in general between God and man. 2. To specify the ancient forms or methods of contracting under the Old Testament. 3. To descend to the later forms of doing the same thing under the New Testament, by the Sacraments thereunto belonging, *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper*.

1. The Divine goodness and condescension is such, in all his dealings with mankind, that he considers always what is best for them, and may most help their infirmities. With these gracious views (while he is absolute Lord over them, and might issue out his sovereign commands to all, without admitting any mortal to contract for rewards, or to strike any league with him) he is pleased to enter into *covenants* with men, giving and taking assurances, and, as it were, binding both himself and them, in order to draw them the more strongly to him, and to engage them to look after their own everlasting happiness. Not that God thereby divests himself of his right over them, or that men have a *right* to refuse the covenant proposed to them, or would not be justly *punishable* for such refusal^h: for indeed they are under a previous indispensable obligation to comply; and the refusing it would deserve very severe punishment^l. But the entering into covenant produces a closer relation and a stronger tie, and is much more engaging and attractive many ways, than naked precepts could be^k; as will be evident of itself to any man that reflects, and I need not enlarge upon it.

^g See above, p. 624.

^h See Puffendorf, *Jus feciale Divinum*, sect. xx. p. 92, &c. Lat. edit. p. 87. Engl. edit. Abp. Potter on Ch. Gov. p. 12, &c.

^l Matt. x. 14, 15. xxii. 7. Luke xiv. 21—24.

^k Vid. Hoornbeeck de *Fœdere Ecclesiastico*, Exercit. Theolog. tom. iii. p. 640.

In covenants between *God* and *man*, there is not, as in common covenants, an *equal* and *mutual* meeting of each other, or a joint concurrence: but God is the *first mover* to invite and propound; and man comes in after, sooner or later, to accept and conclude. "We love *God*, because he first loved us:" "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us!" And our Lord says to his Disciples, "Ye have not *first* chosen me, but I "have *first* chosen you," &c.^m Another thing observable is, that there are not here, as in covenants between man and man, *mutual* advantages, or benefits *reciprocal*; but all the advantage or benefit, properly so called, accrues to one party only, because the other is too perfect to receive any. Nevertheless, there is something *analogous* to benefits, or what may be *considered* as such, accruing to the Divine Majesty; namely, external *honour* and *glory*, and such *delight* as he is conceived constantly to enjoy in the exercise of his *goodness*, *wisdom*, *power*, and other his attributes or perfections. Neither does this *circumstantial* difference, arising from the infinite *disparity* of the parties contracting, at all affect the *essence* of the covenant supposed to be made between them. For a covenant is, in its general nature, (as Baron Puffendorf defines itⁿ,) an union, consent, and agreement of two wills about the same thing^o: and if God proposes such and such terms, and man accepts them, there is then a *formal* covenant struck between them. God *conditionally* offers advantages on his side; and man covenants to pay a suitable *homage*, *adoration*, and *service*, as required.

That God has transacted, and does yet daily transact, *covenants* with mankind in succession, shall be shewn presently. Only I may here hint by the way, that many considerable Divines have supposed also a *previous* covenant between God the *Father* and God the *Son*, in the affair of man's salvation. There are several things hinted in holy Scripture, which look like an *agreement*, or *covenant*, that upon our Lord's undertaking to be *Mediator*, and performing what belongs to it, a *reconciliation* should ensue between God the *Father* and mankind. The texts, which chiefly seem to countenance that notion, are collected into one view by the excellent Puffendorf, to whom, for brevity sake, I choose to refer the reader^p.

^l 1 John iv. 19, 10.

^m John xv. 16.

ⁿ Puffendorf, *ibid.* sect. xx.

^o Conf. Deylingius, *Observ. Sacr.* tom. i. p. 328, 329. Zornius, *Opusc.*

Sacr. tom. ii. p. 240.

^p Puffendorf, *Jus fecial. sect.* xxxvii. p. 144. *Lat.* p. 129. *Engl.* edit. Conf. Dodwell, *Diss. Cyprian.* p. 448. Zornius, *Opusc. Sacr. tom.*

2. I proceed to observe, that God has, time after time, transacted *covenants* with men, and under various formalities. There was a *covenant of life* made with man in Paradise, in his state of innocency^q; which commonly goes under the name of the *first covenant*, or *old covenant*, and which continued for a very short space. To that immediately succeeded the *second covenant*, or *new covenant*, called also the *covenant of grace*, and made with lapsed man, in and through Christ Jesus. It commenced from *old time*, in the world's infancy, as St. Paul testifies; though not clearly revealed nor fully executed till the days of the Gospel, but *considered* as executed from the beginning, so far forth as to be available for the remission of sin, in all ages, to men fitly qualified according to the terms of it. Besides these two eminent and general covenants, God entered into other *inferior* or more *special* covenants, (together with *renewals* also of this,) as with Noah^s, with Abraham^t, with Isaac^u, with Jacob^x, with Moses and Aaron^y, and with Phinehas^z, and their families after them. The *legal covenant*, or *Sinai covenant*, was made between *God* and the *Israelites*, by the hand of Moses^a. It was in itself a *temporal* covenant, containing only *temporal* promises: but in its retired, mystical meaning, it figured out the *spiritual* covenant before made, and was a *shadow* of good things to come^b. That *external* covenant (representing as through a glass darkly the *internal*) was often *renewed* with the people of the Hebrews: as in the time of Joshua at Sichem^c, and in the reigns of Asa^d and of Ahab^e, and of Joash^f, Heze-

ii. p. 240, 241, 242. In Zornius may be seen references to a multitude of writers, who have considered that article.

^q See this *proved* and *explained* by Bishop Bull, Appendix ad Animad. xvii. and Discourse concerning the first Covenant. Opp. Posth. vol. iii. p. 1065, &c. Compare Puffendorf, Jus fecial. sect. xxiv.

^r Tit. i. 2. Ἰπὸ χρόνων αἰώνων, before ancient times. Vid. Bull. Opp. Posth. vol. ii. p. 591. Conf. Rom. xvi. 25. Coloss. i. 26. 1 Pet. i. 20.

^s Gen. vi. 18. ix. 9—18. In the first instance, there was *express* engagement on one side, *tacit* on the other. See Le Clerc in loc. In the second, there appears to have been no more than *simple* engagement on one side. But in the instances following, there were *mutual* or *reciprocal* engagements, tacit or express.

^t Gen. xii. 2, 3. xv. 18. xvii. 2—22. Ecclus. xlv. 20.

^u Gen. xvii. 19. xxi. 2. xxvi. 2, 3. Ecclus. xlv. 22. Psalm cv. 9.

^x Gen. xxviii. 13, 14, 20, 21, 22. xxxv. 9, &c. Ecclus. xlv. 23.

^y Exod. vi. 4—7. iv. 28. Ecclus. xlv. 7, 15.

^z Numb. xxv. 12, 13. Here the covenant was *conditional*, (as appears by the *forfeiture* of the priesthood afterwards,) and *accepting* the priesthood was accepting the *conditions*: therefore, in this instance, the engagement was *reciprocal*, amounting to a *formal* covenant.

^a Exod. xix. 3. xxiv. 8. Deut. v. 5. Gal. iii. 19.

^b Heb. viii. 5. x. 1.

^c Joshua xxiv. 14—25.

^d 2 Chron. xv. 12, &c.

^e 1 Kings xviii. 39.

^f 2 Chron. xxiii. 16, &c.

kiah^g, and Josiah^h. This I note to obviate a common mistake, as if, because a covenant has been once *granted* and *fixed* on God's part, it may not be properly said to be *regranted*, or *renewed*, with a fleeting body of men, as new generations come up. Indeed it seems highly expedient, that such covenants should be *renewed* frequently, because the men coming up in succession are *new*, though God is always the *same*; and it is proper that the contracting parties should make it their own act and deed. The stipulations, which I have now been speaking of, were between God and his people *collectively* considered. But besides these, there were also standing forms of covenanting between *God* and *particular* persons. Such were *sacrifices* in general, and such also were the *Sacraments* of the old *Law*, and more especially *Circumcision* and the *Passover*, to which respectively the Christian *Sacraments* succeeded.

That *sacrifices* were *federal* rites, is a point generally allowed by the learned, and which I need not here be at the pains to proveⁱ. What I shall more particularly insist on shall be the Jewish *Sacraments* previous to ours, the two most eminent, just before named.

I begin with *Circumcision*; which was manifestly a *federal* rite, a formal stipulation between God and man; carrying in it mutual engagements of blessings on one hand, and service on the other. It is said of Circumcision, "This is my covenant," &c., and "it shall be a token of the covenant;" and a little after, "my covenant shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant;" and the "uncircumcised *shall be cut off*," as having "broken my covenant^k." All which imply that it was a *covenanting* rite, a contract, or stipulation, passed between two parties, namely, between *God* and *man*. But for the clearer apprehending of this matter, we may consider in *Circumcision*, as in every other *sacrament*, a *sign*, and a *thing signified*, or *both together*, as one transaction. If the name be applied to the bare *sign*, then Circumcision is not a stipulation, but the *token* of it; and if it be applied to the *thing signified*, it means the *terms* of agreement: but if it be applied to the whole transaction between both parties, then it is formally the *contract* or *stipulation* entered into here and there. So that according to different views, the

^g 2 Chron. xxix. 10.

^h 2 Chron. xxxiv. 31, 32. 2 Kings xxiii. 3.

ⁱ See Mede, Opp. p. 370. Dodwell, One Altar, &c. c. vii. p. 145, &c. 163.

&c. Archbishop Potter on Church Government, p. 266. Spencer de Leg. Hebr. tom. ii. p. 766. edit. Cant.

^k Gen. xvii. 9-14.

word *circumcision* may either stand for the *sign, token, seal* of the contract, or for the *contract* itself, passing under those forms. This observation will be of use hereafter, for the clearer apprehension of the two Christian Sacraments; which in like manner are either *signs* and *seals* of a covenant, or the very *acts of covenanting*, according as you understand the word *sacrament*, in a stricter or larger sense. But I pass on. That *Circumcision* carried in it a bond of obligation on man's part, is very plain, since it made a man a "debtor to the whole law!" And that it likewise carried in it a correspondent engagement on God's part, is as plain from God's promises made at the institution of it^m, and from its being styled a "seal of the righteousness of "faithⁿ:" that is to say, a kind of instrument, by which God *sealed*, or assured to the parties his *acceptance* of such righteousness, as Abraham was accepted in; and such as was *signified* under that outward rite, styled in Scripture the "circumcision "of the heart^v." But it would be tedious to dwell longer upon a by-point, and one so often discussed by knowing and judicious Divines^p.

The other *ordinary* Sacrament of the Jewish church was the *Passover*. That it was a *federal* rite, may be strongly argued from several topics, which I shall barely touch upon in passing. 1. From its being a proper *sacrifice*; a point now concluded among the *learned*^q, and scarce admitting of any further dispute. 2. From its *typical* and *mysterious* nature, pointing to *Christ* and his *sufferings*, and the *fruits* thereof, in many observable circumstances^r, too long to mention in this place. 3. From the case of the other Jewish Sacraments *extraordinary*, such as the *manna*, and the *rock*, &c., which remitted men to *Christ*, and were a kind of *spiritual* food^s to as many as were *worthy*; importing a *federal* relation to Almighty God, and a communion

^l Gal. v. 3. Timothy's case was singular, founded on particular circumstances, and can be no impeachment of the *general* maxim.

^m Gen. xvii. 7. ⁿ Rom. iv. 11.

^o Rom. ii. 29. Compare Deut. x. 16. xxx. 6. Jerem. iv. 4.

^p Bucer, Script. Anglican. p. 608, &c. Buddæus, Miscell. Sacr. tom. iii. p. 8, &c. Witsius, Œcon. Fœd. p. 700, &c. Towerson on the Sacraments, part iv. p. 47, &c. Hoornbeeck, Socin. Conf. tom. iii. lib. 3. p. 231, &c.

^q Cudworth on the Lord's Supper, ch. ii. Bochart. Hierozoic. tom. ii.

p. 573. Hottinger in Notis ad Tho. Goodwin, p. 535. Outram de Sacrificiis, lib. i. c. 13. p. 146, 147. Reland, Antiq. Vet. Heb. par. iii. p. 378. Bishop Patrick in Exod. xii. 27. Clericus in Num. ix. 7. Vitringa, Observ. Sacr. tom. i. p. 295. Deylingius, Obs. Sacr. tom. iii. p. 332. tom. i. p. 287. Moshæmus, Not. ad Cudworth, p. 18, 19.

^r Witsius, Œconom. Fœderum, p. 722—730. Vitringa, Observ. Sacr. tom. i. lib. 3. cap. 9. p. 415, &c.

^s 1 Cor. x. 1—4. See above, p. 570.

with him. 4. From express texts, intimating that the *Passover* was intended as a *sign*, and a *token*, and a *memorial*, to keep up a constant sense of, and regard for, "the law of the Lord^t," and for that *deliverance*, by which God *confirmed* unto himself that people to be "his people for ever^u." So that in that service were implied the people's engaging to "keep the law of God," and God's engaging to be *their God*, while they did so; which two things taken together make up the formal notion of a *contract*, or *covenant*.

From the *Jewish Sacraments* we may pass on to the *Christian Sacraments*, analogous to them, but exceeding them in several respects, as being *less burdensome*, and of *clearer* signification and application, and made essential parts of an higher and more excellent institution. Method requires that I should first say something of *Baptism*, the initiating *Sacrament*, by which a man ordinarily first enters into *covenant* with God, becoming a *Christian*^x. That *Baptism* is a *federal rite*, a *formal stipulation* between God and the party baptized, might be probably argued many ways^y. But for brevity sake, I shall confine myself to the consideration of one express text; which I render thus: "The like figure whereunto *Baptism* doth now save us; not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the *stipulation* [ἐπέσθημα] of a good conscience to Godward, by the resurrection of *Christ*^z." Here we have the very doctrine which I am pleading for, that *Baptism* is a *federal rite*, a *stipulation* with God. So *Beza* and *Grotius*, and other critics of best note^a, interpret the place, and give very substantial reasons for it, which I need not here recite. I shall only add, that the ancients

^t Exod. xiii. 9, 16. See *Pelling* on the *Lord's Supper*, p. 63, 91, 112, 253.

^u 2 Sam. vii. 24.

^x Some have been willing to suppose, that if a man embraces *Christianity*, and fulfils the terms, viz. *faith* and *repentance*, he is *ipso facto* entered into *covenant*, without any formal *stipulation*. But *Scripture* is plain: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." *Mark* xvi. 16. And, "Except one be born of water, &c. he cannot enter into the kingdom of *God*." *John* iii. 5. The *stipulation* is as necessary as the rest: or, not to dispute about *words*, it is at least part of the *terms* of acceptance, and of true *Christian obe-*

dience, and so of evangelical *repentance*; which, according to its full notion, is but another name for evangelical *obedience*. So that it is in vain to speak of *Christian repentance* or *obedience* as entire, without taking in conformity to the *Sacraments*, which is implied in the other, as a *part* is included in the whole. Compare *Archbishop Potter* on *Church Government*, p. 16, 17.

^y Vid. *Dodwell*, *Cyprian. Dissertat.* xiii. sect. 42. p. 442, &c. *Vossius de Baptismo. Disp.* iv. *Thea.* iii. p. 269.

^z 1 *Pet.* iii. 21.

^a They are most of them numbered by *Wolfius* upon the text, who closes in with them.

constantly taught, that Baptism was a *covenanting* rite, a solemn form of *stipulating* with God^b, the *seal* of the Lord^c; and that it succeeded in the room of *Circumcision*, being therefore called the *Christian* circumcision, “made without hands^d,” or the *spiritual* circumcision^e, as a figure and instrument of it.

Having thus far cleared the way, we may now proceed to the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*, the last of the four. And since it appears that the three former Sacraments were *federal* rites, that single consideration affords us a *presumptive* argument, that this is so likewise. But there are several other considerations, that more directly prove it; and these are what I am going to lay down in their order:

1. That the eucharistical service is a *federal* service, follows directly from what has been before proved, that it imports and implies a real and vital *communion* between God and every worthy receiver. For what can *communion*, in this case, import less than *covenanting*? The least that it implies, is a *reciprocal* intercourse of *blessings* on one hand, and *homage* on the other; which, in effect, is the same thing with mutual *stipulations*^f. If it be said, that it is only performing, or executing, on both sides, what was before stipulated in Baptism, it is obvious to reply, that such performances, on both sides, carry in them the strongest *assurances* of a continuation of the same, and so amount, in just construction, to a *repetition*, or *renewal*, of the reciprocal engagements.

2. The federal nature of the Eucharist may be further argued from what learned men have shewn of the customs of divers nations, in *drinking* either *blood*, or *wine* instead of blood, for the ratifying of *covenants*^g. Such kind of drinking was a noted *federal* rite long before the institution of the Eucharist: a consideration which, taken alone, affords a strong presumptive argument of the *federal* nature of this Sacrament, but if taken together with our Lord’s own comment upon it, in the words,

^b Tertullian styles it *obsignatio fidei*. *De Pœnitent.* cap. vi. *Testatio fidei*, *sponsio salutis*. *De Bapt.* cap. vi. *Anima non lavatione, sed responsione sancitur*. *De Resur. Carn.* cap. xlviii. *Fidei pactio*. *De Pudic.* cap. ix. *Conf. Basil. de Spir. Sancto*, cap. xii. p. 24. *Gregor. Nazianz.* *Orat.* xl. p. 641. *Pseudo-Dionys.* *Areop.* cap. iii. *Facund. lib. iv.* p. 62. Compare *Bingham*, xi. 6, 7.

^c See *Bingham*, xi. 1, 6.

^d *Coloss.* ii. 11, 12. *Basil. Homil.* in *Baptism.* p. 115. tom. ii. *Chrysost.* in *Gen. Hom.* xl. *Cyrril. Alexandr.* in *Johan. lib. iv.* cap. 7. p. 432.

^e *Vid. Justin. Mart. Dial.* p. 222. *Cyprian. Epist. lxiv.* p. 161.

^f See *Johnson’s Unbloody Sacrifice*, part ii. p. 27, 103, 104, 105.

^g *Grotius* in *Matt.* xxvi. 26, 27. *Spencer. de Leg. Hebr.* p. 614. edit. *Cant. Zornius, Bibliothec. Antiquaria Reg.* p. 615.

“ Drink ye all of this, for this is the new covenant” &c., can leave but little room for any reasonable dispute about it.

3. But we may argue, still more directly, from our Lord’s own words, “ This *cup, or wine, is my blood of the new covenant* ^h,” and “ This is the new covenant in my blood ⁱ.” I render *διαθήκη*, *covenant*, rather than *testament*, because such appears to be the constant sense of it in the Septuagint ^k, as also in the New Testament, excepting perhaps one place of the Epistle to the Hebrews ^l. Indeed, either the name *testament*, or the name of *covenant*, is applicable to the same thing, considered under different views; as the new covenant is of a mixed or middle kind, in some respects *federal*, and in some *testamentary*, and, as it were, a *compound* of both: for which reason it has been indifferently and promiscuously called either a *federal testament*, or a *testamentary covenant*, to intimate its compound nature ^m. But I take the *federal* notion of it to be the primary or principal part of the idea, and to suit best with the then prevailing sense of the word *διαθήκη* ⁿ.

Our Lord’s expressions in the institution are plainly *federal* expressions; as will appear by comparing them with other the like expressions made use of in the Old Testament in *federal* solemnities ^o. When God instituted the *federal* rite of *Circumcision*, he said; “ This is my covenant, which ye shall keep ^p,” &c. Therefore, as sure as Circumcision was a *federal* rite of the Jewish Church, so sure is it that the Eucharist is a *federal* solemnity among Christians. When God struck up a *covenant* with the people of the Hebrews, by the sprinkling of blood, the

^h Matt. xxvi. 28. Mark xiv. 24.

ⁱ Luke xxii. 19. I Cor. xi. 25.

^k Notandum quod *brith*, verbum Hebraicum, Aquila *συνθήκην*, id est, *pactum*, interpretatur: LXX semper *διαθήκην*, id est, *testamentum*. Et in plerisque scripturarum locis *testamentum* non *voluntatem defunctorum* sonare, sed *pactum viventium*. Hieron. in *Mal.* c. ii. 1816. Conf. Salmas. de Transubstant. p. 541.

^l Heb. ix. 16, 17. Vid. Wolfius, Crit. Cur. in loc. Towerson on the Sacraments, part i. p. 14, &c.

Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotio passim *συνθήκη*, *pactum*, *foedus*. LXX sæpius *διαθήκη*, *testamentum*. *Montfasc. Lexic. ad Hexapl.*

^m Nostrum foedus cum Deo non purum aut simplex quoddam foedus est, sed habens quiddam mixtum ex

foedere et testamento. Christus in manu habet id, de quo pactus est cum hominibus Deus, æternam nimirum hæreditatem: quoniam autem hic non nisi *moriendo* nobis illud jus acquirit, idcirco quod ad Christum ipsum attinet, *pactum* istud inter Deum et homines in initum, speciem quandam *testamenti* refert, quasi ipse *moriens æterni regni nos fecerit hæredes*. Zornius, *Opusc. Sacr.* tom. ii. p. 239. See Twells’s Examination of New Text and Version, part ii. p. 64.

ⁿ Vid. Zornius, *Opusc. Sacr.* tom. ii. p. 238.

^o Exod. xxiv. 8. Gen. xvii. 10. See Nature and Obligation of the Christian Sacraments, vol. v. p. 91, 102, &c.

^p Ἀὐτὴ ἡ διαθήκη, ἣν διατηρήσεις. Gen. xvii. 10.

form ran, "Behold the blood of the covenant, which the Lord hath made," &c. As much as to say, "Look upon yourselves as obliged by these federal solemnities, to observe all the commands which I have here delivered." Accordingly, it is observable, that the people there instantly promised and engaged "to do all that the Lord had said, and to be obedient:" which was expressing their formal consent, and executing, as it were, their counterpart in the stipulation³. Now as our blessed Lord, in the institution of the Eucharist, addressed himself to Jews, who had been accustomed to such *federal* phrases, it is highly reasonable to believe, that he intended the phrases in such a sense as they would be apt to take them in, namely, in a *federal* sense.

Socinus, to elude this argument, pretends⁴, that our Lord's words in that case may mean only, that this sacramental cup, or wine, is a *memorial* or *commemoration* of the *blood* once shed, and of the *covenant* therein founded, or thereby executed. But if we have hitherto gone upon sure grounds, it will be easy to throw off those laboured subtilities. For since it is manifest, from the express doctrine of the Apostle, that the Eucharist is not barely a *memorial*, but a *communion* also of the *blood*, and of what goes along with it; it will undeniably follow, that the same Eucharist is not merely a *memorial* of the *covenant*, going along with the blood, but a *communion* also, or *participation* of it, on man's side: and if there be a participation on one side, there must be also a *communication* on the other side; and so both parts are

³ Ἰδοὺ τὸ αἶμα τῆς διαθήκης, ἧς διέθετο Κύριος, &c. Exod. xxiv. 8. Vid. Patrick in loc. et Bucherus, Ant. Evang. ad Matth. xxvi. 28. p. 386, 389.

⁴ Exod. xxiv. 3, 7. comp. Deut. v. 27.

⁵ Other like instances of express consent on man's part may be seen in Gen. xxviii. 20, &c. Exod. xix. 8. Josh. xxiv. 21, 24, 25. 2 Chron. xv. 14, 15, xxiii. 16. xxix. 10. xxxiv. 31. Ezr. x. 3. Nehem. ix. 38. x. 28, 29, 39.

⁶ Hinc apparet, cum ipsum poculum *novum testamentum* esse in suo sanguine Christus dixisse legitur, aliud nihil intelligendum esse, quam vini, ex illo poculo, potu, *novi testamenti* quod nobiscum suo sanguine interveniente pepigit (seu potius *sui sanguinis*, qui ad novum testamentum confirmandum fusus fuit) *commemo-*

rationem fieri.—Ipsi bibentes, novum testamentum *prædicant* et *commemorant*; idque secum pactum fuisse, aliis *testantur* ac *significant*.—Sicque sibi persuasum esse indicant. Socin. de *Usu et Fine Cœnæ Domini*, p. 36. alias 759. Opp. tom. i. Conf. Catech. Racov. sect. vi. c. 4. p. 239. Slichting. in 1 Cor. xi. 25.

Crellius's account is not much different, in making it to be a kind of *declaration* or *testification* of our partaking of, or pertaining to the new covenant. [Testamentum vero, sive *foedus novum* ideo appellatur, quia sit solennis ritus, quo omnes Christiani in perpetuum profiteri debeant, se ad *novum foedus* pertinere. *Crellii Ethic.* p. 352. conf. 353.] This is just such another evasion, as the interpreting *communion* by a *declaration* of communion, and admits of the like answer. See above, p. 618, &c.

complete. God readmits us into covenant, and we reaccept, under this appointed form, under this holy solemnity; and thus the mutual league of amity is reestablished, the compact renewed and confirmed. Every worthy receiver, as often as he *symbolically* receives the *blood*, revives and recruits his interest in our Lord's *passion*, and in the *covenant* thereupon founded: he takes new hold of it, and binds himself over to it by more and stronger ties; which is what we mean by *renewing* the baptismal covenant in this other Sacrament of the holy Eucharist. How insignificant, unedifying, and comfortless, in comparison, is a bare *commemoration*! It neither answers the *force* of our Lord's words, further interpreted by St. Paul, nor the purposes of *holiness*, nor the nature, ends, or uses of the *spiritual* life, nor God's usual *methods* of dealing with his Church and people in all former ages.

4. The *federal* nature of the Eucharist may be further confirmed from the very observable *analogy*, which St. Paul takes notice of and illustrates^u, between the *Sacrament* of the holy Communion, and the *sacrifices* of the Jews and Gentiles. *They* were of a *federal* nature, by the Apostle's account of them; and so must *this* be also, if it was in that very view that he formed the comparison, or parallel. I beg leave here to use the words of a very judicious and learned Prelate of our Church, who says; "In the ancient *sacrifices* both among Jews and heathens, one "part of the *victim* was offered upon the *altar*, and another "reserved to be eaten of those persons in whose name the "sacrifice was made: this was accounted a sort of partaking of "God's table, and was a *federal* rite, whereby he owned his "guests to be in his *favour*, and under his *protection*, as they by "offering sacrifices *acknowledged* him to be *their God*².—The "Lord's Supper was always believed to *succeed* in the place of "sacrifices³.—Eating the Lord's Supper was the same rite in "the Christian Church with eating the things offered in *sacrifice* "among the Jews and heathens. It is an act of *communion* or "fellowship with God, at whose table we are said to be entertained; and therefore it is declared to be inconsistent with "eating the Gentile sacrifices, which is an act of communion "with devils, to whom these sacrifices were offered²." From these plain and undeniable principles it directly follows, that the

^u 1 Cor. x. 16.

^x Archbishop Potter on Church Government, p. 266.

^y Ibid. p. 265.

^z Ibid. p. 269, 270.

Eucharist is, at the lowest, a *federal rite*: I say, at the lowest, because more than that has been proved, as I conceive, in a former chapter, which treats of 1 Cor. x. 16.

A late Divine of our Church, in a little piece of his upon this subject, has a *distinction* worth the examining, which I shall here give the reader in his own words: "The Lord's Supper is not properly *the federal rite, or the covenant rite, but the memorial of it: the death of Christ was the federal rite, and the Lord's Supper is the memorial of Christ's death.* But though the Lord's Supper is neither a *proper sacrifice, nor the great, original, or primitive federal rite, strictly speaking; yet being a feast upon a sacrifice, (or in commemoration of that great sacrifice of the death of Christ, which was the true and proper federal or covenant rite,)* it may be stiled a *federal rite, in the same sense, in which the Jews' eating of their sacrifices was or might be esteemed to be such a rite, viz. an open profession of their being in covenant with God, and having devoted themselves to his service as his peculiar people*." I said, this *distinction* was worth the examining. I judge it not *accurate*, nor indeed *right* upon the whole: but it appears to be well aimed; and it points out to us some difficulties which seem to want a clearer solution. The *distinction* would have answered better, had it been made to run between *covenant and covenant, (than between federal rites, proper and improper,)* or between *covenant considered at large and particular stipulations.* If the death of Christ is properly a *federal rite* at all, it is with respect to the covenant made between God the Father and Christ Jesus, in behalf of mankind *collectively* considered, and not with respect to the several *stipulations* coming after, and made between God and particular men. The Eucharist may as *properly* be said to be a *federal rite* with regard to these particular stipulations, as the death of Christ can be supposed to be with regard to the *new covenant* at large. But I much question, whether the *death of Christ* ought to be called a *federal rite* at all; which appears to be too low and too diminutive a name for it: especially considering the ill use which the Socinians have been apt to make of it. The death of Christ is really the *price* of our *redemption, the valuable consideration, whereupon the covenant was founded, and in which it stands.* It was submitted to, once for all, and is never to be repeated; which sufficiently distinguishes it from whatever has hitherto passed under

* Mapletoft's Plain Account of the Lord's Supper, p. 138.

the name of a *federal rite*, and shews it to be a thing of much higher consideration. Therefore, let not the name of *federal rite* be so *improperly* applied to what was no *rite* at all, nor can ever come under the common or proper notion of a religious or federal *rite*. But the sacrifices and sacraments of the Jewish Church were properly *federal rites*: and since the Christian Sacraments are allowed to be federal rites in as *proper* a sense as those were, that is sufficient to our purpose. They were ceremonious observances, made use of in *stipulations* between God and man; and so are these: not *essential* to the stipulation *necessitate medii*, but *necessitate præcepti*; not in themselves, but as *required*, and made necessary to us by free and voluntary appointment. However, they are more than an *open profession* of our being in *covenant* with God: they are *covenanting* rites, or *stipulating* acts, by which our stipulation with God either *commences*, (as in Baptism,) or is *renewed*, as in the other Sacrament, which we are now upon.

The author last cited allows the Eucharist to be a *feast upon a sacrifice*, and so of consequence a *federal feast*. This is a notion which may deserve a more particular consideration in this place; and the rather because it was very plausibly advanced by an eminent Divine of our Church near a hundred years ago^a, and long passed current among divines and critics of the first rank, both here and abroad, but has been lately disputed by several learned hands, with great acuteness, though perhaps not with equal solidity. It may be a piece of justice due to a great man, and to an important cause, to examine fairly, but as briefly also as may be, the strength of what has been objected to a prevailing notion, which for some time appeared, and still appears, to carry in it the features of truth. The notion, in short, is this; that the Eucharist, considered in its spiritual and mystical view, is a *feast upon a sacrifice*, (viz. the sacrifice once offered upon the cross,) bearing some *analogy* to the Jewish *sacrificial feasts*, which were figures or shadows of this true spiritual feeding. For as those were banquets upon *typical* sacrifices, this is a banquet upon the *real* sacrifice, to which they pointed: and as those banquets were *federal* directly, with respect to the *legal* covenant; so is this banquet *federal* with respect to the *evangelical* covenant, formerly couched under the legal one. This, I think, is the sum and substance of

^a Dr. Cudworth, True Notion of the Lord's Supper, A. D. 1642. first edit.

Dr. Cudworth's True Notion of the Lord's Supper. Next let us examine what has been objected to it.

The first considerable author that appeared against it, was a learned Divine of our own^b, who had an *hypothesis* to serve, of which I shall say nothing here, reserving it for the next chapter, where it shall be examined at large. Most of his objections against Dr. Cudworth's notion belong to that hypothesis of a *material* sacrifice, and therefore may here be passed over. I shall only take notice of one thing objected, namely, that neither priests nor people ever feasted on any sacrifices, which *they* had not *offered before*; therefore Dr. Cudworth's notion suits not with the ancient *sacrificial feasts*^c. But it is easy to reply, that one disagreeing circumstance, found among many resembling ones, is not sufficient to overturn the *analogy*: besides, in this very case, the *Christian feast*, or *feastings*, upon what was *offered* by the *true* High Priest Christ Jesus, very fitly answer, in the analogy, to the Jewish feastings upon what had been offered by their *typical* priests, or high priest: so that I see no force at all in the objection.

Another learned writer, some years after, expressed his dislike of Dr. Cudworth's notion, and argued against it as far as either wit or learning could supply: I shall here consider his objections:

1. He intimates, as if it were absurd that Christians "should feast upon something that is a sacrifice, and not offered^d." But were not Christ's body and blood *offered*? That is the *sacrifice* which Christians feast upon in the Eucharist, according to Dr. Cudworth: they feast upon the *passion*.

2. It is further pleaded, that Dr. Cudworth's notion seems "much of a piece with that conceit of the Calvinists, that we receive the natural body of Christ in the Eucharist, though as far distant from us as heaven is from the earth^e." But that *conceit*, as it is called, is a very sober truth, if understood of *receiving* the natural body into *closer* mystical union, as explained in a preceding chapter. However, Dr. Cudworth's notion of a *banquet* relates not to the body considered as *glorified*, but to the body considered as *crucified*, in which respect only it is *eaten*; so that this objection may be looked upon as *foreign*.

^b Hickee's Christian Priesthood, p. 165. I use the third edition of 1711.

^d Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 338. alias 344.

^e Johnson, *ibid*.

^c Hickee, *ibid*. p. 170.

3. It is further objected by the same learned author, that "upon this supposition our Saviour made a feast upon the sacrifice, before the sacrifice had been offered^f." And why might he not, especially when the time was so near approaching, and the sacrifice just going to be offered, that it might well be *considered* as a thing done? This objection however affects only the first and *original* Eucharist, not the succeeding ones: and the like objection might be as justly urged against the *original passover*, as differing in its nature and notion from the *passovers* that succeeded. It might be pleaded, for instance, that the *pæchal* feast was no *memorial*, no *passover*, because the *first* passover (which was the *pattern* for the following ones) was *previous*^g to the great transaction *commemorated* in it, *previous* to the *passing over* the dwellings of the Hebrews. But such kind of arguing in that Sacrament would be justly rejected as *frivolous* or *captious*, since there was no more difference between the *original* passover and the *later* ones, than the necessary difference of circumstances required. Such is the case also with respect to the *original* Eucharist, and the *later* Eucharists: the same kind of *prolepsis* will equally solve the difficulty, whether here or there.

4. It is objected, that it "cannot be said that the Eucharist "is a feast on a sacrifice," unless it be allowed either that the bare *elements* are a *sacrifice*, or else that they are transubstantiated into the *real* body^h. But a *symbolical* or *spiritual* feast upon a sacrifice (which is all that Dr. Cudworth maintains) may very well be supposed without either: the *sacrificial* feast, which we here plead for, is not a feast of the *mouth*, but of the *mind*; not a bodily banquet, but a banquet of the soul, upon the *fruits* of the death of Christ.

5. It is objected, that Christ's *crucified* body, and blood *shed*, are now no more, have *no being* as such, and therefore there can be *no feast upon them*; consequently, it is but an *airy notion* to imagine any such *feast* or *sacrifice*ⁱ. To which we may reply, that though the *crucified* body, as such, is not, and though the blood *shed* is not, yet the *fruits* remain, and ever will remain, as a *feast* for good men here and hereafter: but as to *oral* manducation, either of the *natural* body, or of the *res sacramenti*, (whatever it is supposed to be,) and as to a *material* feast, and a *material sacrifice* in the Eucharist, those indeed have been

^f Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part ii. pref. p. 3.

^g See Exod. xiii. 21, &c.

^h Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part ii. pref. p. 4.

ⁱ Johnson, *ibid.* p. 4.

favourite notions among many, but are not sufficiently supported by *Scripture* or *antiquity*. I meet with nothing more, in the last learned writer, against Dr. Cudworth's explication of the Lord's Supper. But I may note, by the way, that whereas it had been before objected, that the notion was entirely *new* and *singular*, this learned gentleman is so ingenuous as to own, "that the " ancients did sometimes speak of receiving the Sacrament, as " of a banquet upon what had been first offered to God^k," and with some *allusion* also to the feasts upon the *peace offerings* under the Law^l. And I may add, that the ancient testimonies referred to, plainly shew, that those *ancients* spoke of a banquet upon the *things signified*, (not upon the *signs* only,) and upon the *real sacrifice*, not upon the bare *memorial*: so that Dr. Cudworth's notion accords well with those ancients.

From our own Divines I may next proceed to some learned foreigners, of the Lutheran way, who have also, now lately, expressed some dissatisfaction with respect to Dr. Cudworth's hypothesis: for though they readily approve of his rejecting any *corporeal* or *material* sacrifice in the Eucharist, yet finding that his notion is not favourable to *local* presence and *oral* manducation, they also have shewn some inclination to discredit it, or, if it might be, to confute it.

The learned Pfaffius, in the year 1715, made some mention of Dr. Cudworth's hypothesis; first, commending it as very *ingenious*, and next labouring to warp it to the Lutheran notion of a *real* and *local* presence^m. But at the same time, he took notice of some *objections* made to it, (mostly the same which I have above recited and answered,) and honoured them with his own approbationⁿ. Besides which, he thought also of a *new* objection, which may here deserve considering.

The objection is, that Christ was properly a *sin offering*, answering to the Levitical sacrifices of that kind, which were never feasted upon; therefore the eucharistical banquet does not aptly correspond to the *sacrificial feasts*, which were appropriate to *peace offerings*, and belonged not to *sin offerings*^o. But the answer to this is very short and obvious: Christ our Lord was a *sin*

^k Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 338. alias 344.

^l Johnson, *ibid.* p. 345.

^m Pfaffius, *Dissertat. de Obl. Vet. Eucharist.* p. 199.

ⁿ Pfaffius, *ibid.* p. 170, 171. et in *Addendis.*

^o Nec negari tamen potest, S.

Eucharistiam in eo ab epulo sacrificiali differre, quod hoc ex sacrificio pro peccato (cujus sanguis in sanctum sanctorum inferri debuit, et quale Christus fuit, 2 Cor. v. 21. Hebr. ix. 12.) non confici, nec sanguis unquam bibi potuit. Levit. vi. 30. Deut. vii. 27. Pfaff. p. 171.

offering and a *peace offering*, both in one; as is plainly taught by St. Paul^p. And if the sacrifice of Christ be considered in the Eucharist, under its most comfortable, most endearing view, as a *peace offering*, (not excluding the other views,) have we any reason to object against so wise and so kind an institution? To represent the sacrifice of Christ merely as a *sin offering*, would be representing nothing but the melancholy and dismal part of it, which had not the *sweet odour*, the *sweet-smelling savour* accompanying it. Dr. Cudworth's notion of a *sacrificial feast* goes upon the more delightful view, as St. Paul's also does in the text before referred to: therefore there is no more room for objecting, in this respect, against our learned author, than there is for objecting against the blessed Apostle. But I pass on.

The excellent Buddæus (in a dissertation written in 1715, published in 1727) expresses himself with great caution and tenderness concerning Dr. Cudworth's notion of the Lord's Supper: and all the fault he has to find with it is, that it appears not favourable to the Lutheran notion of the *real* presence, resolving the eucharistical supper (as he supposed) into *signs* only and *symbols*^q. The objection runs in terms too *general* and *indefinite*: for *real presence* is a phrase of some latitude, and capable of more senses than one. If a *real* participation of the *fruits* of Christ's passion, together with a *real* strengthening of the *mystical* union of our bodies with Christ's *glorified* body (however *distant*) may suffice, Dr. Cudworth's notion will not be found defective so far: but if the design of the objection be to plead for an *oral* manducation of Christ's *natural* body, or a *local* presence of it, (crucified or glorified,) that stands upon no authority of *Scripture* or *antiquity*, but was condemned long ago by our Lord himself, in his answer to the Capernaïtes^r.

Another very learned and ingenious Lutheran has taken particular pains to confute (if it were possible) Dr. Cudworth's True Notion, in his notes upon the Latin version, and in his preface to the same, printed A. D. 1733. His great concern is for the real and local presence: and he represents Dr. Cudworth, not only as making the elements bare *symbols* and *figures*, which is true, but as making the *Lord's Supper* itself nothing more

^p Ephes. v. 1. Conf. Wolfius in loc. Witsii Miscellan. Sacr. lib. ii. diss. 2. p. 511, 512. Deylingii Observat. Sacr. tom. i. p. 315, 316. Outram, de Sacrif. p. 209—214.

^q Haud obscure eo tendit, ut solum

pro signo atque symbolo quodam [sacra cœna] habeatur, quod cum præsentia reali corporis ac sanguinis Christi consistere nequit. Buddæus, Observ. Sacr. tom. ii. p. 69.

^r John vi. 63.

than a *memorial*^s; which is contrary to *truth* and *fact*, and is a manifest injury done to his very learned author. For how could Dr. Cudworth be supposed to make the Eucharist a bare *memorial*, when he professedly contends for a *real* spiritual banquet, a *real* feasting upon all the *benefits* of the grand sacrifice? Is *partaking* of the sacrifice nothing more than *commemorating*? Or is the *feast* ever the less *real*, for being *spiritual* and *heavenly*, and reaching both to *soul* and *body*; both to this world and the world to come? It is plain enough that Dr. Cudworth's notion is no way favourable to the *figurists* or *memorialists*, but much otherwise; yea more so by far, than the notion or notions which are set up against it. For the certain truth is, (and why should it be any longer dissembled?) that none give so great advantage to the *figurists*, as those that contend for *oral* manducation, and make the sacramental feast *common* both to worthy and unworthy; and who, in order to bring that about, interpret the words of the *institution*, as likewise 1 Cor. x. 16, &c. so as to exclude all intimation of *benefits*. Which is what the *figurists* most of all wish for: and if that be once granted them, they desire nothing further to carry their cause.

But that I may not seem to lay a charge of this nature without sufficient grounds, let it but be considered how the last learned objector^t to Dr. Cudworth's notion, labours to elude all Scripture proof of *benefits*, as drawn from 1 Cor. x. 16, only to make

^s Non obscure hic vir doctissimus significat, eorum esse favere partibus, qui panem et vinum, quibus frui datur illis qui ad sacram cœnam accedunt, *symbola* tantum et *imagines* corporis et sanguinis Servatoris nostri esse; ipsum vero hoc convivium ritum esse eo unice institutum consilio putant, ut *memoria* magni sacrificii illius repetatur et renovetur, quod pro generis humani peccatis Christus in cruce supremo numini intulit. *Moshem. in Notis, p. 10. confer p. 11, 12.*

Sapiunt hæc scholam cœtus illius, qui semetipsum *reformatum* dici vult; cui quidem s. cœna nihil est, quam *adumbratio* beneficiorum morte et meritis Jesu Christi humano generi partorum.—*Reformati* signis tantum et *imaginibus* sacrificii potiri suos opinantur in sacra cœna. *Moshem. in Præfat.*

^t Hic monuisse satis erit, premi ab eo vestigia præcipuorum *reformati cœtus doctorum, &c.*—vulle enim

eos notum est, ideo cœnam a Servatore nostro potissimum esse institutam, ut *sancti homines*, qui ad eam accedunt, cum Christo et Servatore suo arctius conjungantur, et *beneficiorum* hominibus ab eo partorum reddantur *participes*: nos vero repudiare, quia *omnes* homines, sive *probi* sint sive *improbi*, corporis et sanguinis Domini *vere fieri compotes* in sacra cœna statuimus. Quæ quidem eorum sententia haud patitur, ut verba sancti hominis aliter quam de *spirituali conjunctione fidelium* cum Christo accipiant. Mihi vero expositio hæc neque verbis Pauli, neque proposito ejus videtur esse consentaneum—*generatim* et *universe* tradit, sacram cœnam communionem esse corporis et sanguinis Christi; nec Christianorum aliquem, ad sacrum hoc epulum venientium, *cujuscunque demum sit indolis*, ab hac communione excludit. *Moshem. in Notis, p. 30.*

the sacramental feeding common both to *good* and *bad*, (as his hypothesis requires,) and so at length to resolve the Apostle's whole sense into this only, that all communicants equally receive what the Apostle there speaks of, and that the text is not to be understood of any *spiritual union* of good men, but of an *external* profession, or *outward* membership^u: which, so far, is the very same interpretation that the Socinians and other *figurists* warmly contend for. It is true, he supposes the Lord's natural body and blood to be really or locally *present*, as well as really *received*, (which the *figurists* deny) but he supposes no *spiritual benefits* to be intimated in the text, because he supposes every communicant to receive *all* that is there spoken of, though the *unworthy* can receive no *benefits*. Thus the force of St. Paul's doctrine in that place (so far as concerns *spiritual benefits*) is eluded and frustrated. And when those prime texts are thus explained away, what other Scripture texts are there left sufficient to found the doctrine of *spiritual benefits* upon? I know there is a distinction, by the help of which *good* men may be *presumed* to receive *benefits*, and *bad* men *detriment* from the same things: but the question now is not whether good men *may* receive benefits, but whether these or any other texts positively teach that they infallibly *do*. If the words of *institution*, and those of St. Paul in 1 Cor. x. do not teach it, I must frankly profess, that I know not what other texts can be justly thought to do it without them. So that in the last result, for the sake of I know not what *corporal* or *local presence*, and *oral* manducation, the most important article of all, which concerns *spiritual benefits*, is left to shift for itself, divested of *Scripture proof*, and standing only on *tradition*, or the *courtesy* of the common adversaries. The *Reformed* churches (strictly so called) have been often, and very invidiously charged upon this head. But after all, they are the men who have formerly been, and still are, the true and faithful supporters of the doctrine of *spiritual benefits* in the Eucharist^x. They maintain it in a *rational, consistent* way, and, as becomes them, upon a *Scripture foot*; grounding that doctrine chiefly on our Lord's words in the *institution*, and upon the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. x. 16. If they who *participate* of Christ's body and blood, in the sense there *intended*, are really *ingrafted* into Christ, and are

^u Cum in sacra cœna Christiani composites fiant corporis et sanguinis Domini, *testenturque*, quoties sacrum illum cibum sumunt, sese inter se conjunctos et unius sacræ civitatis

membra esse. *Moshem. in Præfat.*

^x Compare Werenfels. *Dissertat. de Cœna Domini*, c. iii. p. 352, &c. alias p. 202, &c. item 405. alias 230.

vital members of him, and *one* with him, then indeed the doctrine of spiritual *graces* or *benefits* rests upon firm ground: but if men may *participate* of the same, in the sense there spoken of, however *unworthy*, and in heart and life *alienated* from Christ, and without any spiritual *benefits* at all; then it plainly follows, that the *communion of Christ's body and blood* does not, in itself, imply any benefits at all, neither do those *texts*, nor perhaps any other, teach any such doctrine; but the doctrine must be left to stand, as it can, either upon bare *presumption*, or at most upon the *tradition* of the Church. Let but any man look into the learned writings of Chemnitius, for example, or Gerhard, to see how they prove the *beneficial* nature of this Sacrament; and there it will be found, that all, in a manner, resolves into this, that since Christ's body and blood is there given, all spiritual *graces* are by implication therewith given. Right, if as many as receive the *body and blood*, in St. Paul's sense of *communion*, receive also the *graces*. But that they deny: for the *unworthy* communicants are supposed to receive the body, without the *graces*. Therefore there is no certain connection, in their way, between the *body* and the *graces*: therefore the main argument of all, on which the doctrine of such *graces* depends, is defeated; and St. Paul's meaning in 1 Cor. x. amounts only to a *commemoration* of Christ's death, or an *outward* profession of Christ's religion, which indeed is what the learned Mosheim (as before noted) resolves it into. From hence then let the indifferent readers now judge, whether the learned Cudworth, or his learned adversary, most favours the *memorialists*. One admits of *benefits*, and can *prove* them by St. Paul's words, justly interpreted; the other admits them *verbally*, but in effect destroys them, by destroying the prime standing *proofs* upon which they rest.

I thought it of some moment thus previously to remove a *prejudice*, wrongfully thrown upon Dr. Cudworth's notion in particular, and upon the *Reformed Divines* in general: and now I proceed to examine what his learned antagonist has further advanced in the way of *argument*. He has not indeed produced any *new* argument beyond what I have before mentioned, and answered; but he has pitched upon two of them, as most considerable, endeavouring to reinforce them in more pompous form.

1. The first is, that Christ had not yet *offered* himself a *sacrifice*, when he *instituted* the Eucharist: therefore the *original*

Eucharist was not a feast *consequent* upon a sacrifice: therefore the subsequent Eucharists, being undoubtedly of the *same kind* with the *first*, are not feasts upon a sacrifice⁷. I desire the reader to look back to the answer before given to the same objection, as proposed by a learned writer of our own^z. All I shall here further add is, that many learned writers, ancient and modern, (as I shall have occasion to shew in my next chapter,) have taught, that Christ did really *offer* himself as a *sacrifice*, *before* his passion, and *in* his passion, and *after*; and that those three several acts may be justly looked upon as *one continued oblation*. If this hypothesis be admitted, the edge of the objection is blunted, or broken at once, without more ado: or if it be rejected, yet the former answer will stand in full force.

2. The second objection is, that the sacrifice of Christ corresponds to the *sin offerings* of old, (which had no *feasts* following,) and not to the *peace offerings*, which had^a. This was before objected by Pfaffius, and has been answered above^b. But I may here add, that St. Paul himself conceived that the sacrifice of Christ corresponded, some way or other, to the *peace offerings*, as appears by the parallel which he draws (1 Cor. x.) between the *peace offerings* of the law and the *Eucharist* under the Gospel. If St. Paul, notwithstanding that he supposed the Eucharist to be a representation, memorial, and communion of our Lord's *passion*, yet conceived it *analogous* to the *peace offerings*, and to the *feasts* thereupon; then certainly Dr. Cudworth could not be much out of the way, in maintaining the same *analogy*, or in conceiving that the two notions of *Christ's sacrifice*, and of a *sacrificial banquet*, are consistent with each other, and agree well together. So that it is in vain to argue against Dr. Cudworth's notion from such topics as equally affect the Apostle himself, I have before examined^c this learned gentleman's account of St. Paul's reasoning in that chapter, and have shewn where it is defective: but be that as it will, it cannot be denied that the Apostle is there speaking of the *sacrificial feasts* among the Jews, and that he judged the Eucharist to be a *feast of like kind*, bearing such resemblance to them, as was sufficient to support his argument, and to make good his parallel. So much in answer to the learned Mosheim, in behalf of our learned countryman.

⁷ Mosheim. in Præfat. ^z See above, p. 714. ^a Mosheim. in Præfat.

^b See above, p. 715.

^c Above, p. 634—638.

There is another very eminent Lutheran, who, as late as the year 1736, has given his judgment of Dr. Cudworth's notion, in terms of respect, and with his own approbation^d, as to the main of the notion; referring also to St. Paul, as affording sufficient warrant for it.

My readers will, I hope, candidly excuse the excursion here made, in order to do justice to a very *great man* in the first place, and next, to the *Reformed Divines* in general, and at the same time to a very important article of religion, which concerns the spiritual *benefits* conferred in the Eucharist. Upon the whole, I take leave to say, that the objections raised against the notion espoused by Dr. Cudworth, appear to be rather ingenious than solid, rather industriously sought, upon foreign considerations, than naturally arising from the subject-matter, and proving at length, not that there is any thing faulty in his notion, but that there are faults in those other schemes, which stand in opposition to it, or comport not with it. The favourable reception which the notion had met with amongst our own Divines all along, till very lately, and also among very considerable Divines abroad, (both Lutheran and Reformed^e;) is a great commendation of it. Dr. Pelling, in his treatise on the Sacrament, has made frequent use of it, and has enlarged upon it; and may properly be consulted for those parts, wherein Cudworth himself may seem to have been rather too concise and sparing of words.

The *notion* then being sufficiently fixed and established, we have nothing now remaining, but to pursue it in its just consequences or inferences, for the supporting the point in hand. If the Eucharist be indeed a *sacrificial feast*, in such a sense as hath been mentioned, it will inevitably follow, that it is also a *federal banquet*, carrying in it the force of a *compact* or *stipulation* between God and man. This conclusion or corollary is drawn

^d A sacrificio distingui solet *epulum sacrificiale*, quale de *oblatis* olim et Paganis et Israelitæ instituere solebant. — Et hoc ipsum *epulum sacrificium* interdum appellatur, &c. — Cum ejusmodi epulo sacrificiali S. Eucharistia non incommode comparari potest. Prævit Apostolus I Cor. x. 14. et fusius id demonstravit Cudworthus in libro de Vera Notione Cœnæ Dominicæ, Lond. 1642. et 1676. — Nos igitur intercedere nollemus, si adversarii [viz. *pontificii*] hoc sensu s. cœnam

sacrificium, aut *epulum de sacrificio* dicere vellent. Nam Servator partem quasi victimæ pro nobis oblatæ, videlicet corpus et sanguinem suum, in hoc epulo nobis comedendum et bibendum exhibet, cum inquit: *Edite, hoc est corpus meum; Bibite, hic est sanguis meus*. Sed pontificii non *epulum de sacrificio*, sed *sacrificium verum*, et *proprie* dictum, esse contendunt. *Deyling. Observ. Miscellan.* p. 294.

^e See several of them numbered up by Mosheim in Præfat.

out at large by Dr. Cudworth in a distinct chapter^f, and still more largely by other learned and judicious writers^g; and I need not repeat. Only because some exceptions are made to the evidence, brought to prove that *covenants* were anciently struck and ratified by *feasting* together, I may briefly consider those exceptions. To the instance of Isaac so covenanting with Abimelech^h, it is objected, that the covenant was *subsequent* to the feastⁱ, and therefore there was not a *feast upon* or *after* a covenant, as Dr. Cudworth's notion supposes. But then it must be observed, that Isaac and Abimelech met together in order to *treat*, and they *settled* the *terms* either *at* the feast or *before* it; and what was done after, was no more than executing in *form* the things before concluded: besides that the whole may be considered as but *one continued act* of covenanting along with a feast. The next instance is that of Laban's covenanting with Jacob by a *feast*^k: which is permitted to pass without any objection. A third is that of the Israelites victualling, and thereby covenanting with the Gibeonites^l: to which it is objected, as in the first instance, that the covenant was *subsequent*^m. But the truth is, the feast and the covenant were one entire transaction, one federal feasting, or festial covenanting. There are other the like slight exceptions made to other evidencesⁿ; which might be as easily replied to, were it needful: but I forbear, lest I should be tedious to the reader.

The Socinians, in general, are adversaries to this *federal doctrine*, as not consistent with their principles. Yet some of them unawares (such is the force of truth) have been observed to come into it, or to drop such expressions as appear tantamount. Crellius in particular (who was a great refiner of the *Socinian system*) scruples not to allow, that as in *Circumcision* formerly, so likewise in *Baptism* and in the *Eucharist* now, men bind themselves to the observance of the Divine law, as by a pledge of their obedience^o. Which, if admitted, does of course imply a

^f Cudworth, chap. vi.

^g Pelling on the Sacrament, chap. iii. iv. Compare Abp. Potter on Church Government, p. 266. Vitringa, Observ. Sacr. tom. iii. p. 113. Dodwell, One Altar, cap. vii. p. 165. Mede's Christian Sacrifice, p. 370. Bp. Patrick's Christian Sacrifice, p. 31, &c.

^h Gen. xxvi. 28—31.

ⁱ Moshem. in Notis, p. 34.

^k Gen. xxxi. 43—55.

^l Josh. ix. 14, 15.

^m Moshem. ibid. p. 34.

ⁿ Moshem. p. 35, &c.

^o Adde quod *Circumcisio* sit signum quoddam et tessera totius religionis Judaicæ in lege præscriptæ, ita ut ea suscepta, veluti pignore se homines *legi obstringant*, non aliter quam *Baptismus* in Christi nomine susceptus, vel etiam *cæne Dominicæ* usus tessera quædam est et symbolum Christianismi. *Crellius in Gal.* v. 3.

reciprocal engagement, on God's part, to confer spiritual blessings and privileges: so that this concession does in plain consequence amount to declaring both Sacraments to be *federal rites*^p.

Socinus, being aware that the ancient sacrifices were *federal rites*, and that they were as *seals* and *pledges* of a *covenant* between God and the people; and being aware also, that our Lord, in the institution of the Eucharist, had called the wine *the blood of the covenant*; was distressed for a reason, why the Eucharist should not be esteemed a *federal rite*, as well as those sacrifices. At length he thought to account for it by saying, that to the blood of the sacrifices *answers* the *real* blood of Christ shed upon the cross, and not the *wine* in the Lord's Supper^q. The force of his reasoning stands only in the *equivocal* meaning of the word *answers*: for, if he meant it of the *antitype* answering to the *type*, it is true what he says, that our Lord's real blood *answers*, in that sense, to the *blood* of the sacrifices; and it answers also to the *wine*, the symbol of it; but if he meant it (as he ought to have meant it) of *symbol* answering to *symbol*, or of one *typical service* answering to another *typical service*, by way of *analogy*; then it is plain, that the *wine* in the Eucharist so *answers* to the *blood* of the sacrifices, being that they are representations of the *same thing*, and are *federal* by the *same virtue*, and under the *like views*, and therefore fitly answer to each other, as *analogous rites*.

Dr. Pelling refutes the same objection thus: "Though we grant what Socinus affirms, that it is not the *wine*, but the *blood* of Christ, which *answers* to the ancient sacrifices; yet since the wine is the *representation* and *communication* of Christ's blood, we must conclude that it *communicates* those benefits for which that blood was shed; and consequently that it *seals* that covenant to every faithful communicant *in particular*, which the blood of Christ sealed to all mankind *in general*."

^p The sense of the *primitive Church*, with regard to the Eucharist as a *covenanting rite*, may be learned from the famous passage of Pliny quoted above, chap. i. p. 481. To which agrees that passage of St. Austin: *Voventur omnia quæ offeruntur Deo, maxime sancti altaris oblatio, quo sacramento prædicatur nostrum illud votum maximum, quo nos vovimus in Christo esse mansuros, utique in compage corporis Christi: cujus rei sacramentum est, quod unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus. Augustin.*

Epist. cxlix. p. 509. edit. Bened. It was *binding* themselves by solemn *vow* or *oath* to abstain from all iniquity, and to adhere to godly living. Which amounted to a renewal of their *Baptismal covenant*. Such a way of covenanting with God by solemn *vow*, or *oath*, is not without precedent under the *Old Testament*. Deut. xxix. 12. 2 Chron. xv. 14. Ezra x. 5. Nehem. x. 29. And so God also covenanted by *oath* with men. Isa. xvi. 8.

^r Socin. de Usu et Fine Cænæ, p. 46. alias 761.

“ And as it is true that our Saviour’s *passion* did *answer* those “ *sacrifices* which were offered up of old ; so it is true also, that “ *this holy banquet* doth *answer* those *sacrificial* feasts which were “ *used of old*.” The sum of all is this : the *legal* sacrifices were *federal* rites, binding *legal* stipulations directly, and indirectly *evangelical* stipulations also, shadowed out by the other : the Gospel Sacraments, which by St. Paul’s account (in 1 Cor. x.) bear an *analogy* to those legal sacrifices, do likewise *bind* in a way proper to them, and as suits with the *Gospel state* : therefore they do directly fix and ratify *evangelical* stipulations. These are properly *federal* rites of the Gospel state, as the other were properly *federal* rites of the legal economy.

It may be asked, why *verbal* professions, or *repeated* acknowledgments, may not amount to a *renewal* of a covenant, as much as a *Sacrament* ? The reason is plain : *verbal* professions are not the *federal form* prescribed ; and besides, at the most, they amount only to *verbal engagements*, and that but on *one side*, and therefore express no *mutual* contract. They amount not to a *communion* of Christ’s body, or a *participation* of his sacrifice : they are not *the new covenant* in Christ’s blood : they are not *drinking* into *one spirit* nor *pledges* of our union in *one body*, like as the partaking of *one loaf* and of *one cup* is. In short, *Sacraments* are transactions of two parties, wherein *God* bears a share as well as *man*, and where the visible signs have an *inseparable* conjunction with the invisible graces signified, when duly administered to persons *worthy*. *Verbal* professions, singly considered, come far short of what has been mentioned, and therefore cannot be presumed to amount to a *renewal* of a *covenant*, like the other.

It may be pleaded perhaps, that *repentance* is the best *renewal* of our covenant, and is more properly so, than any *Sacrament* can be. But, on the other hand, it is certain, that *repentance* is rather a *qualification*, on our part, for renewing, than a *form* or *rite* of renewal ; and it expresses only what *man* does, not what *God* does at the same time ; and therefore it amounts not to *mutual* contract. The *terms* of a covenant ought to be distinguished from *acts* of covenanting, and the *things* stipulated from the *stipulation* itself, or from the *federal forms*. To be short, *repentance* is properly the *renewal* of the *man* ; but the *renewal* of a *covenant* is quite another thing, and must include the reciprocal acts of both parties. It is very wrong to argue, that any act or performance of *one party* only can be *federal*, like

† Pelling on the Lord’s Supper, p. 106.

a *Sacrament* which takes in both, and includes both *part* and *counterpart*. But the aim seems to be, to throw *God's* part out of the Sacraments, and then indeed they would not be *federal* rites, no, nor *Sacraments*, in any just sense.

I know of no material objection further, so far as concerns the present article, and so I proceed to a new chapter.

CHAP. XII.

The Service of the EUCHARIST considered in a Sacrificial View.

THAT the Sacrament of the Eucharist, in whole or in part, in a sense proper or improper, is a *sacrifice* of the Christian Church, is a point agreed upon among all knowing and sober divines, Popish, Lutheran, or Reformed. But the Romanists have so often and so grievously abused the once innocent names of *oblation*, *sacrifice*, *propitiation*, &c. perverting them to an ill sense, and grafting false doctrine and false worship upon them, that the Protestants have been justly jealous of admitting those names, or scrupulously wary and reserved in the use of them.

The general way, among both Lutheran and Reformed, has been to reject any *proper* propitiation, or *proper* sacrifice in the Eucharist; admitting however of some kind of *propitiation* in a qualified sense, and of *sacrifice* also, but of a *spiritual* kind, and therefore styled *improper*, or *metaphorical*. Nevertheless Mr. Mede, a very learned and judicious Divine and Protestant, scrupled not to assert a *proper* sacrifice in the Eucharist, (as he termed it,) a *material* sacrifice, the sacrifice of *bread* and *wine*, analogous to the *mincha* of the old Law^s. This doctrine he delivered in the college chapel, A. D. 1635, which was afterwards published with improvements, under the title of *The Christian Sacrifice*. In the year 1642, the no less learned Dr. Cudworth printed his well known treatise on the same subject; wherein he as plainly denies any *proper*, or any *material* sacrifice in the Eucharist^t; but admits of a *symbolical* feast upon a sacrifice^u, that is to say, upon the grand sacrifice itself *commemorated* under certain *symbols*. This appears to have been the prevailing doctrine of our Divines, both before and since. There can be no doubt of the current doctrine down to Mr. Mede: and as to what has most prevailed since, I need only refer to three very eminent Divines, who wrote in the years 1685, 1686, 1688^x.

^s See Mede's Work, p. 355. edit. 3. A. D. 1672.

^t Cudworth's True Notion of the Lord's Supper, chap. v. p. 77.

^u Cudworth, *ibid.* p. 21, 78.

^x Dr. Pelling on the Sacrament, p. 41—47. Dr. Sharpe, (afterwards Archbishop,) vol. vii. Sermon 2. Dr. Payne's Disc. of the Sacrifice of the Mass, p. 42—54.

In the year 1702, the very pious and learned Dr. Grabe published his *Irenæus*, and in his notes upon the author fell in with the sentiments of Mr. Mede, so far as concerns a *proper* and *material* sacrifice in the Eucharist^γ: and after him, our incomparably learned and judicious Bishop Bull, in an English treatise, gave great countenance to the same^z.

Dr. Grabe's declaring for a *proper* sacrifice in the Eucharist, and at the same time censuring both Luther and Calvin, by name, for rejecting it, gave great alarm to the learned Protestants abroad, and excited several of them to reexamine the question about the eucharistical *sacrifice*.

The first who appeared was the excellent Buddæus^a, (A. D. 1705,) a Lutheran Divine of established character for learning, temper, and judgment; though he happened to betray some precipitancy in this matter: he appeared much concerned at what Dr. Grabe had written on this argument, but misapprehended him all the time, as was natural for him to do: for, imagining that Dr. Grabe had maintained a *real* presence in the Lutheran sense, and a *proper* sacrifice besides, the consequence was self-evident, that such a *presence* and *sacrifice* together could resolve into nothing else but the *sacrifice* of the *mass*. Therefore he treats Dr. Grabe all the way, as one that had asserted the *popish sacrifice*: and what confirmed him in the injurious suspicion was, that some of the Jesuits^b (whether ignorantly or artfully) had boasted of Dr. Grabe as a declared man on their side, against both Luther and Calvin. However, Buddæus's dissertation on the subject is a well penned performance, and may be of good service to every careful reader, for the light it gives into the main question.

In the year 1706, a very learned Calvinist^c occasionally engaged in the same question about the *sacrifice*: not with any view to Dr. Grabe, (so far as appears,) but in opposition only to the Romanists. However, I thought it proper just to make mention of him here, as falling within the same time, and being a great master of ecclesiastical antiquity.

Some time after, (A. D. 1709,) Ittigius, a learned Lutheran, took occasion to pass some strictures upon Dr. Grabe in that

^γ Grabe in *Iren.* lib. iv. cap. 32. p. 323. edit. Oxon.

^z Bishop Bull's Answer to the Bishop of Meaux, p. 18, 19.

^a Buddæus de Origine Missæ Pon-

tificiæ, *Miscell. Sacr.* tom. i. p. 3—63.

^b Mémoires pour l'Histoire des Sciences, &c. A. D. 1703.

^c Sam. Basnage, *Annal.* tom. i. p. 370—374.

article^d: then Deylingius^e and Zornius^f, learned Lutherans, and all still pursuing the same mistake which Buddæus had fallen into.

But in the year 1715, the acute and candid Pfaffius (a Lutheran also) took care to do justice to Dr. Grabe's sentiments, (though not altogether approving them,) being so fair as to own, that Dr. Grabe's notion of the eucharistical *sacrifice* was nothing akin to the *sacrifice* of the *mass*. Nevertheless others still went on in the first mistake: and among the rest, the celebrated Le Clero^h, and a greater man than he, Campegius Vitringaⁱ; and another fine writer^k, later than both; all of them condemning the doctrine, wrongfully, as *popish*. But it may be proper here to take notice, that the learned Deylingius, who had formerly charged Dr. Grabe too hastily, has, upon better information, retracted that censure, in a book lately published^l: and the complaint now is, not that Dr. Grabe asserted the *sacrifice* of the *mass*, (which he heartily abhorred,) but that he rejected the *real*, local, or corporal *presence*^m, such as the Papists or Lutherans contend for: in which most certainly he judged right.

But before I close this brief historical view of that controversy, it may not be improper to observe how far the learned Pfaffius was inclinable to concur with Dr. Grabe in this article. He allows that the ancients, by *oblation* and *sacrifice*, meant more than *prayer*, and that it is even ludicrous to pretend the contraryⁿ. He acknowledges that they speak of an *oblation* of *bread* and *wine*^o, and that the Eucharist is a *sacrifice* of *praise*^p, and *propitiatory* also in a qualified sober sense^q. In short, he seems almost to yield up every thing that Dr. Grabe had contended for, excepting only the point of a *proper* or *material* *sacrifice*: and he looked upon that as resolving at length into a kind of *logomachy*, a difference in *words* or *names*, arising chiefly from the difficulty of determining what a *sacrifice* properly means, and from the almost insuperable perplexities among

^d Ittigius, *Histor. Eccles. primi Sæc.* p. 204.

^e Deylingius, *Observ. Sacr. tom. i.* n. 54. p. 262.

^f Zornius, *Opuscul. Sacr. tom. i.* p. 732.

^g Pfaffius, *Irenæi Fragm. Anecdot.* p. 106, &c. 499.

^h Clerici *Histor. Eccl.* p. 772.

ⁱ Vitringa in *Isa. tom. ii.* p. 951.

^k Moshem. A. D. 1733. in *Præfat. ad Cudworth de Cœna.*

^l Deylingius, *Observat. Miscell.* p. 103. A. D. 1736.

^m Vid. Deylingius, *ibid.* p. 77.

ⁿ Pfaffius, *ibid.* p. 50.

^o Pfaffius, *ibid.* p. 254—274, 314. 344.

^p Pfaffius, *ibid.* p. 330, 338.

^q Pfaffius, p. 211, 229.

learned men, about the ascertaining any precise *definition* of it^f. I am persuaded there is a good deal of truth in what that learned gentleman has said, and that a great part of the debate, so warmly carried on a few years ago, was more about *names* than things.

As the question arises chiefly out of what was taught by the ancient *Fathers*, it will be proper to inquire what they really meant by the word *sacrifice*, and in what sense they applied that name to the Eucharist, in whole or in part. St. Austin, who well understood both what the *Scripture* and the *Christian writers* before him had taught, defines or describes a *true sacrifice*, in the general, as follows: “A *true sacrifice* is any work done to keep “up our league of amity with God, referred to him as our “sovereign good, in whom we may enjoy true felicity^g.” I follow his sense, rather than the strict letter, to make it the clearer to an English reader. St. Austin here judged it necessary for every such good work to be performed with a *view to God*, to be *referred to his glory*; otherwise it could not with any propriety be called a *sacrifice* to him: therefore even works of *mercy* done to man, out of compassion, tenderness, or humanity, though *true sacrifices* if considered as done with a *view to God*, would be no *sacrifice* at all, if they wanted that circumstance to recommend them^h. From hence we may see what that Father’s general notion of a *true sacrifice* was. He takes notice further, that what had been commonly called *sacrifices*, is really nothing more than an outward *sign, token, or symbol* of true sacrifice^u. The distinction here made may afford great light as to the meaning of the ancients, where they denominate the Eucharist a *sacrifice*, or a *true and perfect sacrifice*. They meant, for the most part, that it was true and *evangelical service*, as opposed to *legal*: in that sense, the eucharistical service was itself *true sacrifice*, and properly *our sacrifice*. And if, over and above,

^f Pfaffius, in Præfat. et p. 344, 345.

^g *Verum sacrificium est, omne opus quod agitur ut sancta societate inhæreamus Deo, relatum scilicet ad illum finem boni, quo veraciter beati esse possimus. Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib. x. cap. 6. p. 242.*

^h *Misericordia verum sacrificium est.—Ipsa misericordia qua homini subvenitur, si propter Deum non fit, non est sacrificium.—Sacrificium res divina est, &c. Augustin. ibid.*

^u Illud quod ab omnibus appellatur

sacrificium, signum est veri sacrificii. Augustin. ibid. Nec quod ab antiquis patribus talia sacrificia facta sunt in victimis pecorum (quod nunc Dei populus legit, non facit) aliud intelligendum est, nisi rebus illis eas res fuisse significatas quæ aguntur in nobis, in hoc ut adhæreamus Deo, et ad eundem finem proximo consulamus. Sacrificium ergo visibile, invisibilis sacrificii sacramentum, id est, sacrum signum est. Ibid. cap. 5.

the *elements* themselves, unconsecrated, were ever called a *sacrifice*, or *sacrifices*, the meaning still was, that the *service* was the sacrifice: but when the *consecrated* elements had that name, it was only a metonymy of the *sign* for the *thing signified*, as they *represent*, and in effect exhibit the grand sacrifice of the cross.

It is worth observing, that in Scripture style, whatever exhibits any advantage or blessing in larger measure, or in a more eminent degree, is denominated *true*, in opposition to other things which only *appear* to do the like, or do it but *defectively*^x. In such a sense as that, the Gospel services are the *true* sacrifices, called also under the Law, *sacrifices of righteousness*^y. I know not how it comes to pass, that *moderns* generally have reckoned all the *spiritual* sacrifices among the *nominal, improper, metaphorical* sacrifices; whereas the *ancients* judged them to be the *truest* sacrifices of any, yea, and infinitely more *excellent* than the other. If it be said, that external, material, symbolical sacrifices had all along engrossed the name of *sacrifices*, and therefore were the only sacrifices *properly* so called, as the *custom* of language is the rule of *propriety*; it may be replied, on the other hand, that *spiritual* sacrifices really carry in them all that the other *signify* or *point to*, and so, upon the *general reason* of all sacrifice, have a just, or a more eminent title to that name: and this may be thought as good a rule of *propriety*, as the custom of language can be. Suppose, for instance, that *sacrifice*, in its general nature, means the *making a present* to the Divine Majesty, as Plato defines it^z; is not the *presenting* him with our *prayers, praises, and good works*, as properly *making him a present*, as the other? Therefore if the general reason or definition of *sacrifice* suits as *properly* (yea, and *eminently*) with *spiritual* sacrifices as with any other, I see not why they should not be esteemed *proper* sacrifices, as well as the other. However, since this would amount only to a strife about *words*, it is of no great moment, whether *spiritual* sacrifices be called *proper* or *improper* sacrifices, so long as they are allowed to be *true* and *excellent*, and as much to be preferred before the other, as *substance* before *shadow*, and *truth* before *sign* or *figure*. The *ancients*,

^x See John i. 4, 9, 17. vi. 32. ix. 23, 24. xv. 1. Luke xvi. 11. Heb. viii. 2. ix. 11, 24.

^y *Vera* sacrificia sunt ejusmodi sacrificia, quæ *vere* id habent quod cætera habere videntur. Dicuntur illa, eodem loquendi modo, *sacrificia justitiæ*, id est, *θυσιαί ἀληθινὰι sacrificia*

vera. Intelligitur autem hac phrasi *totus cultus* Novi Testamenti. *Vitrin-ga de vet. Synag.* p. 65. Conf. ejusd. *Observat. Sacr.* tom. ii. p. 499. et in *Isa.* tom. ii. p. 56, 733, 829.

^z Οὐκ οὖν τὸ θεῖον, δωρεῖσθαι ἐστὶ τοῖς θεοῖς. *Plato in Euthyphron.* p. 10.

I think, looked upon the *spiritual* sacrifices as *true* and *proper* sacrifices, and are so to be understood, whenever they apply the name of *sacrifice* to the *service* of the Eucharist. But to make it a *material* sacrifice would, in their account, have been degrading and vilifying it, reducing it to a *legal* ceremony, instead of a *Gospel service*.

The service therefore of the Eucharist, on the foot of ancient Church language, is both a *true* and a *proper* sacrifice, (as I shall shew presently,) and the noblest that we are capable of offering, when considered as comprehending under it *many* true and evangelical sacrifices: 1. The sacrifice of *alms* to the poor, and *oblations* to the Church; which when religiously intended, and offered through Christ, is a *Gospel sacrifice*^a. Not that the *material* offering is a sacrifice to *God*, for it goes entirely to the use of *man*; but the *service* is what God accepts. 2. The sacrifice of *prayer*, from a pure heart, is evangelical *incense*^b. 3. The sacrifice of *praise* and *thanksgiving* to God the Father, through Christ Jesus our Lord, is another *Gospel sacrifice*^c. 4. The sacrifice of a *penitent* and *contrite* heart, even under the *Law*, (and now much more under the *Gospel*, when *explicitly* offered through Christ,) was a sacrifice of the *new covenant*^d: for the *new covenant* commenced from the time of the fall, and obtained under the *Law*, but couched under *shadows* and figures. 5. The sacrifice of *ourselves*, our *souls* and *bodies*, is another *Gospel sacrifice*^e. 6. The offering up the *mystical body* of Christ, that is, his *Church*, is another *Gospel sacrifice*^f: or rather, it is coincident with the former; excepting that there persons are considered in their *single* capacity, and here *collectively* in a body. I take the thought from St. Austin^g, who grounds it chiefly on 1 Cor. x. 17. and the texts belonging to the former article. 7. The offering up of true *converts*, or sincere *penitents*, to God, by their *pastors*, who have laboured successfully in the blessed work, is another very acceptable *Gospel sacrifice*^h. 8. The sacrifice of *faith* and *hope*, and *self-humiliation*, in *commemorating* the *grand sacrifice*, and

^a Phil. iv. 18. Heb. xiii. 16. Compare Acts x. 4. Ecclus. xxxv. 2.

^b Revel. v. 8. viii. 3, 4. Compare Psalm cxli. 2. Malach. i. 11. iii. 4, 5. Hos. xiv. 2. Acts x. 4. Eccl. xxxv. 2.

^c Heb. xiii. 15. 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9. Compare Psalm l. 14, 15. cxvi. 17. lxix. 31.

^d Psalm li. 17. iv. 5. Isa. i. 16. lvii. 15.

^e Rom. xii. 1. vi. 13. Phil. ii. 17. 2 Tim. iv. 6.

^f 1 Cor. x. 17.

^g Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib. x. cap. 6. p. 243. Cap. xx. p. 256. Epist. lix. alias cxlix. p. 509. edit. Bened.

^h Rom. xv. 16. Phil. ii. 17. Compare Isa. lvi. 20. cum Notis Vitring. p. 950.

resting finally upon it, is another *Gospel sacrifice*ⁱ, and eminently proper to the *Eucharist*.

These, I think, are all so many *true sacrifices*, and may all meet together in the one great complicated *sacrifice of the Eucharist*. Into some one or more of these may be resolved (as I conceive) all that the *ancients* have ever taught of Christian sacrifices, or of the Eucharist under the name or notion of a *true* or *proper sacrifice*. Let it be *supposed* however for the present, in order to give the reader the clearer idea beforehand, of what I intend presently to *prove*. In the mean while, supposing this account to be just, from hence may easily be understood how far the Eucharist is a *commemorative sacrifice*, or otherwise. If that phrase means a *spiritual service* of ours, commemorating the *sacrifice* of the *cross*, then it is justly styled a *sacrifice* commemorative of a *sacrifice*, and in that sense a *commemorative sacrifice*: but if that phrase points only to the outward *elements* representing the *sacrifice* made by Christ, then it means a *sacrifice commemorated*, or a *representation* and *commemoration of a sacrifice*^k.

From hence likewise may we understand in what sense the officiating authorized *ministers* perform the office of proper, evangelical *priests* in this service. They do it three ways: 1. As *commemorating*, in solemn form, the same *sacrifice* here below, which Christ our *High Priest* commemorates above. 2. As handing up (if I may so speak) those *prayers* and those *services* of Christians to Christ our Lord, who as *High Priest* recommends the same in heaven to God the Father^l. 3. As offering up to God all the *faithful* who are under their care and ministry, and who are *sanctified* by the *Spirit*^m. In these three ways the Christian officers are *priests*, or *liturges*, to very excellent purposes, far above the *legal* ones, in a sense worth the contending for, and worth the pursuing with the utmost zeal and assiduity.

Having thus far intimated beforehand what I apprehend to

^l This is not said in any single text, but may be clearly collected from many compared.

^k Nonne semel *immolatus* est Christus in seipso? Et tamen in *sacramento* non solum per omnes paschæ solennitates, sed omni die populis *immolatur*; nec utique mentitur qui interrogatus, *eum* responderit *immolari*. Si enim sacramenta quandam *similitudinem* earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, non habent, om-

nino sacramenta non essent: ex hac autem *similitudine* plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum *nomina* accipiunt. Sic ut ergo, secundum quendam modum, *sacramentum* corporis Christi *corpus* Christi est, *sacramentum* sanguinis Christi *sanguis* Christi est; ita sacramentum fidei fides est. *Augustin. Epist. ad Bonifacium* xcviij. alias xxiii. p. 267. ed. Bened.

^l Revel. viii. 5. Vid. Vitring. in loc.

^m Rom. xv. 16.

be in the main, or in the general, a just account of the *eucharistical sacrifice*, upon the principles laid down in Scripture, as interpreted by the *ancients*: I shall next proceed to examine the *ancients* one by one, in order to see whether this account tallies with what they have said upon this article.

I shall begin with St. Barnabas, supposed, with some probability, to have been the author of the Epistle bearing his name, penned about A. D. 71. This very early writer, taking notice of the difference between the *Law* and the *Gospel*, observes that Christ had abolished the *legal sacrifices*, to make way for an *human oblation*^o: which he explains soon after, by an *humble and contrite heart*, referring to Psalm li. 17. So by *human oblation*, he means the *free-will* offering of the *heart*, as opposed to the *yoke of legal observances*; the offering up the *whole inner man*, instead of the *outward* superficial performances of the *Law*. Therefore the *Christian sacrifice*, as here described by our author, resolves into the 5th article of the account which I have given above. Mr. Dodwell renders the words of Barnabas thus: "These things therefore he has evacuated, that the *new law* of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is without any *yoke* of *bondage*, might bring in the *mystical oblation*^p." He conceived the original Greek words (which are lost) might have been λογική λατρεία, *reasonable service*: which however is merely conjecture. But he understood the place, of Christians offering *themselves*, their *souls* and *bodies*, instead of sacrificing *beasts*. Another learned man, who had an hypothesis to serve, understands by *human oblation*, an offering made *with freedom*; and he interprets it of the *voluntary* oblations made by communicants at the altar, viz. the *lay oblations*^q. The interpretation appears somewhat forced, and agrees not well with Barnabas's own explication superadded, concerning an *humble* and *contrite heart*; unless we take in both: however, even upon that supposition, the Christian sacrifice here pointed to, will be a *spiritual sacrifice*, or *service*, the sacrifice of *charitable benevolence*, and will fall under article the *first*, above mentioned. There have not been wanting some who would wrest the passage so far, as to make it favour the *sacrifice* of the *mass*: but the learned Pfaffius^r

^o Hæc ergo [sacrificia] vacua fecit, ut nova lex Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quæ sine jugo necessitatis est, humanam habeat oblationem—nobis enim dicit, *Sacrificium Deo*, cor tribulatum, et humiliatum Deus non despicit. Psalm li. 17. *Barnab. Epist.*

cap. ii. p. 57.

^p Dodwell of Incensing p. 33, &c.

^q Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 333. alias 338.

^r Pfaffius de Oblat. vet. Eucharist. sect. xxii. p. 239, &c.

has abundantly confuted every pretence that way, and has also well defended the common construction; which Menardus had before admitted, and which Dodwell also came into, and which I have here recommended. There is nothing more in Barnabas that relates at all to our purpose, and so we may pass on to other Christian writers in order.

Clemens of Rome has been cited in a chapter above*, as speaking of the *lay oblations* brought to the altar, and of the *sacerdotal* oblation afterwards made of the same *gifts*, previously to the *consecration*. No doubt but such *lay offerings* amounted to *spiritual sacrifice*, being acceptable service under the Gospel; and they fall under article the *first*, in the enumeration before given. I cannot repeat too often, that in such cases the *service*, the *good work*, the duty performed is properly the *sacrifice*, according to the *definition* of sacrifice in St. Austin† above cited, and according to plain good sense. When Cornelius's prayers and alms ascended up for a *memorial*, (a name alluding to the legal *incense*,) it was not his *money*, nor any *material* gifts that *ascended*, or made the *memorial*; but it was the *piety*, the *mercy*, the *beneficence*, the *virtues* of the man. Under the Gospel, God receives no *material* thing at all, to be consumed and spent in his own *immediate* service, and for his *honour* only: he receives no *blood*, no *libation*, no *incense*, no *burnt offerings*, no *perfumes*, as before. If he receives *alms* and *oblations*, (as in the eucharistical service,) he receives them not as *gifts* to himself, to be consumed in his *immediate* service, but as *gifts* to be consecrated for the *use* of *man*, to whom they go. All that is *material* is laid out upon man only; not upon *God*, as in the Jewish economy. But God receives, now under the Gospel, our religious *services*, our *good works*, our *virtuous exercises*, in the name of Christ, and these are our truly Christian and spiritual *sacrifices*. In this view, the *lay oblations*, which Clemens refers to, were *Christian sacrifices*. So also were the *sacerdotal services*, referred to by the same Clemens; though in a view somewhat different, and falling under a distinct branch of *Gospel sacrifice*, reducible to article the *seventh* in the foregoing recital. Those who endeavour to construe Clemens's *προσφοραι* and *λειτουργιας*

* See above, chap. i. p. 477.

† *Omne opus, &c. every good work.* And it is observable that, conformably to such definition, that Father makes *Baptism* a *sacrifice*: *Holocausto Dominicæ passionis, quod eo tempore*

offert quisque pro peccatis suis, quo ejusdem passionis fide dedicatur, et Christianorum fidelium nomine Baptizatus imbuitur. Augustin. ad Roman. Expos. cap. xix. col. 937. tom. iii.

(*oblations and sacerdotal ministrations*) as favouring the *sacrifice* of the *mass*, run altogether wide of the truth; as is plain from one single reason among many^u, that all which Clemens speaks of was *previous* to the consecration. Those also who plead from thence for *material* oblations, as *acceptable* under the Gospel, mistake the case: for the *material* part (as before hinted) goes not to *God*, is not considered purely as a *gift* to him, (like the *burnt offerings* or *incense* under the Law, *consumed* in his *immediate* service,) but as a *gift* for the *use* of *man*; and so nothing remains for *God* to *accept* of, as given to him, but the *spiritual* service; and even that he accepts not of, unless it really answers its name. So that it is plain that the New Testament admits of none but *spiritual sacrifices*; because none else are now properly *given* to *God*, or *accepted* by him as so given.

Justin Martyr, of the second century, is so clear and so express upon the subject of *Gospel sacrifice*, that one need not desire any fuller light than he will furnish us with. The sum of his doctrine is, that *prayers* and *praises*, and *universal obedience*, are the only *Christian sacrifices*: from whence it most evidently follows, that whenever he gives the name of *oblation*, or *sacrifice*, to the Eucharist, his whole meaning is, that it is a religious *service* comprehending *prayers, praises, &c.* and therefore has a just title to the name of *Christian oblation* and *sacrifice*. But let us examine the passages.

He writes thus: "We have been taught, that God has no need of any *material oblation* from men; well knowing, that he is the giver of all things: but we are informed, and persuaded, and do believe, that he *accepts* those only who copy after his moral perfections, *purity, righteousness, philanthropy*," &c. Here we may observe, that God accepts not, according to our author, any *material* oblation at all, considered as a *gift to him*, nor any thing but what is *spiritual*, as all religious services, and all virtuous exercises really are: those are the *Gospel oblations* according to Justin, here and every where. A few pages after, he takes notice, "that God has no need of *blood, libations*, or *incense*, but that the Christian manner was, to offer him

^u The reader may see that whole question discussed at large in Budæus, Miscellan. Sacr. tom. i. p. 45—49. Pfaffius de Oblat. vet. Euch. p. 254—269.

^x Ἄλλ' οὐ δέσθαι τῆς παρὰ ἀνθρώπων ὑλικῆς προσφορᾶς προσειλήφαμεν τὸν Θεόν, αὐτὸν παρέχοντα πάντα ὁρῶν-

τες ἐκείνους δὲ προσδέχεσθαι αὐτὸν μόνον δεδιδάγμεθα, καὶ πεπεισμεθα, καὶ πιστεύομεν, τοὺς τὰ προσόντα αὐτῷ ἀγαθὰ μιμουμένους, σωφροσύνην, καὶ δικαιοσύνην, καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν, καὶ δσα οικεῖα Θεῷ ἐστι. Just. Mart. Apol. i. p. 14. edit. Lond.

" *prayers and thanksgivings* for all the blessings they enjoy, to " the utmost of their power : that the only way of paying him " *honour suitable*, was not to *consume by fire* what he had given " for our sustenance, but to spend it upon *ourselves*, and upon " the *poor*, and to render him the tribute of our grateful *hymns* " and *praises*," &c.

Here we may note how exactly he points out the difference between other *sacrifices* (Pagan or Jewish) and the sacrifices of the Gospel. In *those* there was something *spent*, as it were, immediately upon *God*, entirely *lost, wasted, consumed*, because considered as a *gift to God only* ; which is the *proper* notion of a material *sacrifice* : but in *these*, nothing is entirely *spent*, or *consumed*, but all goes to the *use of man* ; only the *praise, the glory*, the tribute of *homage and service*, that is *given* to *God*, and that he accepts, as a proper *sacrifice*, and as most suitable to his Divine Majesty. Not that he *needs* even these, or can be *benefited* by them : but he takes *delight* in the exercise of his own *philanthropy*, which has so much the larger field to move in, according as his *creatures* render themselves fit objects of it by acts of religion and virtue. But I proceed with our author.

In another place he expressly teaches, that "*prayers and thanksgivings* made by them that are *worthy*, are the only "*perfect and acceptable sacrifices*;" adding, that "those only are "*offered in the eucharistical commemoration*." It is observable, that by the restriction to *the worthy*, he supposes a *good life* to go along with *prayers and praises* to make them acceptable *sacrifice*, conformably to what he had before taught, as above recited. Indeed, *prayers and praises* are most directly, immediately, emphatically *sacrifices*, as a tribute offered to *God only* : which is the reason why *Justin* and other *Fathers* speak of them in the first place, as the proper or primary *sacrifices* of Christians. *Obedience* is sacrifice also, as it respects *God* ; but it may have another aspect towards *ourselves*, or other *men*, and therefore is not so *directly* a sacrifice to *God alone*. This distinction is well illustrated by a judicious *Divine* of our

γ Ἀνευθεῖ αἱμάτων καὶ σπονδῶν καὶ θυμιαμάτων—λέγοντες, λόγῳ εὐχῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας ἐφ' οἷς προσφερόμεθα πᾶσιν ὁσῆ δύναμις, αἰνούντες ἴσως ἀξίαν αὐτοῦ, τιμὴν ταύτην παραλαβόντες, τὸ τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου εἰς διατροφήν γινόμενα, οὐ πυρὶ δαπανῶν ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις προσφέρειν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ εὐχαριστοὺς ὄντας διὰ λόγου πομπῆς καὶ

ἤμους πέμπειν. κ. τ. λ. *Just. Mart. ibid.* p. 19.

² "Ὅτι μὲν οὖν καὶ εὐχαὶ καὶ εὐχαριστίαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀξίων γινόμεναι, τέλειαι μόναι καὶ εὐάρεστοί εἰσι τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαι, καὶ αὐτὸς φημι. Ταῦτα γὰρ μόναι καὶ Χριστιανοὶ παρέλαβον ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐπ' ἀναμνήσει δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν ξηρᾶς τε καὶ ὑγῶς. *Justin. Dial.* p. 387.

own^a, whose words I may here borrow: "The sacrifice of *obedience* " is *metaphorical*: that is, God accepts it as well as if it had been " a *sacrifice*; that is, *something given to himself*: but the sacri- " fice of *praise* is *proper*, without a *metaphor*^b. The nature of " it accomplished by offering something to God, in acknowledg- " ment of him.—The honour which God receives from our " *obedience*, differs from that of a *sacrifice*; for that is only of " *consequence*, and by *argumentation*: that is, it suits with the " nature and will of God; as we say, *good servants* are an " *honour* to their *masters*, by reflection. But the honour by " *sacrifice* is of *direct* and *special* intendment: it hath *no other* " *use*, and is a *distinct* virtue from all *other* acts of obedience, " and of a *different* obligation.—Though God hath the honour " of *obedience* and a *virtuous* life; if we deny him the honour of " a *sacrifice* besides, we rob him of *his due*, and a greater *sacri-* " *lege* we cannot commit.—This is robbing God of the *service* " *itself*, to which the other, dedicated for his service, are but " *accessary*." Thus far Bishop Lany to the point in hand. I return to Justin Martyr.

We have seen how uniform and constant this early Christian writer was, with respect to the *general* doctrine concerning *Gospel sacrifices*, as being *spiritual* sacrifices, and no other. Nothing more remains, but to consider how to reconcile that *general* doctrine with the *particular* doctrine taught by the same writer concerning the *Eucharist*, as a *sacrifice*. He makes mention of the legal offering of *fine flour*, or *meal offering*, as a *type* of the *bread* of the Eucharist^c: and a little after, citing a noted place of the Prophet Malachi, he interprets the *pure offering*, the *mincha*, or *bread offering* there predicted, of the *bread* eucharistical, and likewise of *wine*^d, denominating them, as it seems, the *sacrifices* offered by us *Gentile Christians*. Does not all this look very like the admitting of *material* sacrifices under the Gospel? And how then could he consistently elsewhere *exclude* all *material* oblations, and admit none but *spiritual*

^a Bishop Lany's Sermon on Hebr. xiii. 15. p. 30, 31, 32.

^b Note, this very acute and knowing Divine had not learned to call every *spiritual* sacrifice a *metaphorical* sacrifice: for he admits of prayers and praises, and the like *religious* services, as *true* and *proper* sacrifices. I conceive further, that even *obedience*, formally considered as respecting God, and as a *tribute* offered to him, (though

it has *other views* besides, in which it is no *sacrifice* at all,) is as properly *sacrifice* as the other: and so judged St. Austin above cited.

^c Justin. Mart. Dial. p. 220.

^d Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπων ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν ἰδῶν προσφερομένων αὐτῷ θυσιαῶν, τουτέστι τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας, καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου ὁμοίως τῆς εὐχαριστίας προλέγει τότε. Justin. *ibid*.

sacrifices as belonging to the Christian state? Mr. Pfaffius, being aware of the appearing difficulty, cuts the knot, instead of untying it, and charges the author with *saying* and *unsaying*^e: which perhaps was not respectful enough towards his author, nor prudent for his own cause, unless the case had been *desperate*, which he had no reason to suspect, so far as I apprehend. He undertakes afterwards to sum up Justin's sentiments on this head, and does it in a manner somewhat perplexed, to this effect: "That the New Testament admits of no *sacrifices* but "*prayers, praises, and thanksgivings*: but however, if it does "admit of any thing *corresponding, or similar* to the *legal oblations*, it is that of the oblation of *bread and wine* in the "*Eucharist*." This is leaving the readers much in the dark, and his author to shift for *sense* and *consistency*. At the best, it is dismissing the evidence as *doubtful*, not *determinate* enough to give reasonable satisfaction.

Mr. Dodwell's account of Justin in this article is no clearer than the former. He takes notice, that this Father "allows "no other sacrifice but that of prayer and Eucharist;" he should have said, *thanksgiving*: and soon after he adds in the same page; "elsewhere he owns no acceptable sacrifice under "the Gospel, but the Eucharist; in opposition to the Jewish "*sacrifices, which were consumed by fire, and which were confined to Jerusalem*." Still, here is no account given how Justin could reject all *material* sacrifice, and yet consistently admit of the Eucharist as a *sacrifice*, if that be a *material*, and not a *spiritual* oblation. The most that Mr. Dodwell's solution can amount to is, that Justin did not absolutely reject *material* sacrifices, provided they were not to be *consumed by fire*, or provided (as he hints in another work^h) that they are but purely *eucharistical*. But this solution will never account for Justin's so expressly and fully excluding all *material* oblations, and so particularly restraining the notion of *Gospel sacrifices* to *prayers, praises, and good works*.

Some learned men think that a *material* sacrifice may yet be called a *rational* and *spiritual* sacrificeⁱ: and therefore, though

^e Pfaffius de Oblat. vet. Eucharist. p. 270, 272.

^f Ita nempe secum statuit vir sanctus, *nulla esse in Novo Testamento sacrificia, quam laudes, gratiarum actiones, et preces; si quid tamen sit quod cum oblationibus Veteris Testamenti conferri queat, esse panem vinumque Eucharistiae, quæ altari, seu*

mensæ sacræ imposita, precibusque juxta mandatum Christi Deo oblata, in Sacramentum corporis sanguinisque Dominici consecrentur. Pfaffius, ibid. p. 274.

^g Dodwell of Incensing, p. 46.

^h Dodwell's One Altar, p. 203, 204.

ⁱ Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 18, &c.

the *Fathers* do expressly reject *material* sacrifices, they mean only sacrifices of a *certain* kind; and though they admit none but *spiritual* sacrifices, they might yet tacitly except such *material* sacrifices as are *spiritual* also. But this appears to be a very harsh solution, and such as would go near to confound all language. However, most certainly, it ought never to be admitted, if any clearer or juster solution can be thought on, as I am persuaded there may.

Justin's principles, if rightly considered, hang well together, and are all of a piece. He rejects all *material* sacrifices absolutely: and though the Eucharist be a *sacrifice*, according to him, yet it is not the *matter* of it, viz. the *bread* and *wine*, that is properly the sacrifice, but it is the *service* only, and that is a *spiritual* sacrifice. *Alms* are a *Gospel* sacrifice, according to St. Paul: not the *material* alms, but the *exercise* of *charity*, that is the sacrifice. In like manner, the *Eucharist* is a *Gospel* sacrifice. Not the *material* symbols, but the *service*, consisting of a *prayer*, *praise*, *contrite hearts*, *self-humiliation*, &c. Well, but may not the like be said of all the *legal* sacrifices, that there also the *service* was distinct from the *matter*, and so those also were *spiritual* sacrifices? No: the circumstances were widely different. In the *legal* sacrifices, either the *whole* or some *part* of the offering was directly *given* to God^k, and either *consumed by fire*, or *poured forth*, never returning to the *use* of man: and thereupon was founded the *gross notion*, of which God by his Prophets more than once complains^l, as if the Deity had *need* of such things, or took *delight* in them. But now, under the *Gospel*, nothing is so *given* to God, nothing *consumed* in his *immediate* service: we present his *gifts* and his *creatures* before him, and we take them back again for the *use* of *ourselves* and of *our brethren*. All that we really give up to *God* as his tribute, are our *thanks*, our *praises*, our *acknowledgments*, our *homage*, our *selves*, our *souls* and *bodies*; which is all *spiritual* sacrifice, purely *spiritual*: and herein lies the main difference between the *Law* and the *Gospel*^m.

^k Some have thought the *paschal* sacrifice to make an exception, because it was all to be eaten. But it is certain that one part, viz. the *blood*, was to be *poured forth*, and *sprinkled*, 2 Chron. xxx. 16. xxxv. 11, yea and *offered* unto God, Exod. xxiii. 18. xxxiv. 25, as belonging of right to him: and those who are best skilled in Jewish antiquities, think that the *inwards*, or

fat, was to be burnt upon the altar. See Reland, Antiq. Hebr. p. 383. Deylingius, Observ. Sacr. tom. iii. p. 332. Cudworth on the Lord's Supper, p. 3. fol. ed.

^l Psalm l. 12, 13. Isaiah i. 11. Mic. vi. 6, 7.

^m See Mr. Lewis's Answer to Unbloody Sacrifice, p. 2, 5, 11.

We have no *material* sacrifices at all. The *matter* of the Eucharist is *sacramental*, and the bread and wine are *signs*: yea signs of a *sacrifice*, that is of the *sacrifice* of the *cross*: but as to any sacrifice of *ours*, it lies entirely in the *service* we perform, and in the *qualifications* or *dispositions* which we bring, which are all so much *spiritual* oblation, or *spiritual* sacrifice, and nothing else.

From hence may be perceived how consistent and uniform this early Father was in his *whole* doctrine on that head. He expressed himself very accurately, when speaking of spiritual and perfect sacrifices, he said, that they were what Christians offered *over*, or *upon* the eucharistical commemorationⁿ: that is, they *spiritually* sacrificed in the *service* of the Eucharist. They did not make the *material* elements *their* sacrifice, but the *signs* only of a *greater*. Their *service* they offered up to God as his *tribute*; but the *elements* they took entirely to *themselves*. When he speaks of the *sacrifices of bread and wine*^o, he may reasonably be understood to mean, the *spiritual* sacrifices of *lauds*, or of *charity*, which went along with the solemn feasting upon the *bread* and *wine*; and not that the *elements* themselves were *sacrifices*^p. Upon the whole therefore, I take this blessed martyr to have been consistent throughout in his doctrine of spiritual sacrifices, as being the only sacrifices prescribed, or allowed by the Gospel. And if he judged the Eucharist to be (as indeed he did) a most acceptable sacrifice, it was because he supposed it to *comprise* many sacrifices in one; a right faith, and clean heart, and devout affections, breaking forth in fervent prayers, praises, and thanksgivings unto God, and *charitable* contributions to the brethren.

Athenagoras may come next, who has not much to our purpose: but yet something he has. He observes, that "God needs "no *blood*, nor *fat*, nor sweet *scents* of flowers, nor *incense*, being "himself the most delightful *perfume*: but the noblest sacrifice "in his sight, is to understand his works and ways, and to lift

ⁿ Ταῦτα γὰρ μόνα καὶ Χριστιανοὶ παρέλαβον ποιεῖν καὶ ἐπ' ἀναμνήσει δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν ξηρὰς τε καὶ ὑγρὰς.
—*Dial.* p. 387.

Θυσίας—ἐπὶ τῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου—γινομένας.
Dial. p. 386.

^o Προσφερομένων αὐτῶ θυσιῶν, τουτέστι τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου. p. 220.

^p It may be suggested (see Johnson, part i. p. 271.) that the word ἀνάμνησις, *memorial*, was used in relation to

the *show bread*, Levit. xxiv. 7, a *type* of the Eucharist. But it is observable, that the *show bread* was not the memorial; but the *incense* burnt upon it, that was the *memorial*, as the text expressly says. Now it is well known, that *prayers*, *lauds*, &c. are the *evangelical incense*, succeeding in the room of the *legal*: therefore, to make every thing correspond, the *spiritual* services of the Eucharist are properly our *memorial*, our *incense*, and not the *material* elements.

“up holy hands to him⁹.” A little after he adds, “What should I do with *burnt offerings*, which God has no *need* of? “But it is meet to offer him an *unbloody sacrifice*, and to bring “him a *rational service*.” Here we see what the proper *Christian* sacrifices are, namely, the *spiritual* sacrifices of devout prayers, and obedience of heart and life. The *service* is, with this writer, the sacrifice. He takes notice of God’s not *needing* burnt offerings, and the like. All *material* sacrifices considered as *gifts* to God, were apt to insinuate some such idea to weak minds: but the *spiritual* services do not. In our eucharistical solemnity we consider not the elements, when *presented* before God, as properly *our gifts* to him, but as *his gifts* to us⁸; which, we pray, may be consecrated to our spiritual uses. We pay our *acknowledgments* for them at the same time: and that makes one part, the smallest part, of our *spiritual sacrifice*, or *service*, in that solemnity. It may be worth noting, that here in Athenagoras we find the first mention of *unbloody sacrifice*, which he makes equivalent to *reasonable service*: and he applies it not particularly to the Eucharist, but to *spiritual* sacrifices at large. An argument, that when it came afterwards to be applied to the Eucharist, it still carried the same meaning, and was chosen with a view to the *spiritual* services contained in it, and not to the *material* oblation, or oblations, considered as such.

Irenæus, of the same time, will afford us still greater light, with regard to the point in hand. He is very large and diffuse upon the distinction between the *typical* sacrifices of the *Law*^t, and the *true* sacrifices of the *Gospel*^u. He seems to mean by *typical* there the same that St. Austin, before cited, meant by *signs*. Those external sacrifices were *symbols*, *tokens*, *pledges* of the *true* homage, or *true* sacrifice; which Irenæus interprets of a *contrite heart*, *faith*, *obedience*, *righteousness*^x, &c. referring to

⁹ Θυσία αὐτῷ μεγίστη, ἂν γνώσκωμεν τίς ἐξέτεινε, &c. καὶ ἐπαίρωμεν ὁσίους χεῖρας αὐτῷ. *Athenag.* p. 48, 49. ed. Oxon.

⁸ Τί δέ μοι ὀλοκαντώσεων, ὧν μὴ δεῖται ὁ Θεός; καὶ τοὶ προσφέρειν δέον ἀναιμακτον θυσίαν, καὶ τὴν λογικὴν προσάγειν λατρείαν. *Athenag.* p. 49.

⁸ Hence came the usual phrase, so frequent in *liturgic* Offices, τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν δῶρων σοὶ προσφέρωμεν, *We present unto thee the things that are THINE out of THY OWN GIFTS*: that is, by way of acknowledgment. See the testimonies collected in Deylingius, *Observat. Miscellan.* p. 201, 312.

^t Per sacrificia autem et reliquas *typicas* observantias, putantes propitiari Deum, dicebat eis Samuel, &c. *Iren.* lib. iv. c. xvii. p. 247. edit. Bened.

^u *Verum* sacrificium insinuans, quod offerentes propitiabuntur Deum, ut ab eo vitam percipiant: quemadmodum alibi ait; *Sacrificium Deo cor tribulatum*, odor suavitatis Deo, cor clarificans eum qui plasmavit. *Iren.* l. iv. c. 17. p. 248.

^x Non sacrificia et holocaustomata quærebat ab eis Deus, sed *fidem*, et *obedientiam*, et *justitiam*, propter illum salutem. *Ibid.* p. 249.

several texts^y of the Old Testament and New, which recommend true goodness as the acceptable sacrifice. He understands the Gospel incense, spoken of in Malachi^z, of the *prayers of the saints*^a, according to Rev. v. 8. He makes mention also of an *altar in heaven*, to which the *prayers and oblations* of the Church are supposed to ascend, and on which they are conceived to be offered by our great High Priest to God the Father^b. The thought, very probably, was taken from the *golden altar* mentioned in the Apocalypse^c, and represented as bearing the mystical incense. The notion of a *mystical altar* in heaven became very frequent in the Christian writers after Irenæus^d, and was in process of time taken into most of the old Liturgies, Greek, Latin, and Oriental; as is well known to as many as are at all conversant in them. The notion was not *new*: for the Old Testament speaks of prayers, as “coming up to God’s holy dwelling-place, even to “heaven^e :” and the New Testament follows the same figure of speech, applying it both to *prayers* and *alms-deeds*, in the case of Cornelius^f.

Irenæus, as I have observed, understood the *incense*, mentioned in the Prophet, of the *evangelical sacrifice of prayer*: but then it is to be further noted, that he distinguished between the *incense* and the *pure offering*, and so understood the latter of something else. He understood it of the *alms* or *oblations* that went along with the prayers; referring to St. Paul’s doctrine, in Phil. iv. 18, which recommends charitable contributions, as “an odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well pleasing to God;” as also to Proverbs xix. 17. “He that hath pity upon “the poor lendeth unto the Lords.” Such were the *pure offerings* of the Church, in Irenæus’s account; and they were *spiritual sacrifices*: for it is the *service*, not the *material* offering, which God accepts in such cases, as Irenæus himself has plainly inti-

^y 1 Sam. xv. 22. Psalm li. 17. Psalm l. 14. Isa. l. 16, 17. Jerem. vii. 22, 23. Hos. vi. 6. Philip. iv. 18.

^z Malach. i. 11.

^a *In omni loco incensum offertur nomini meo, et sacrificium purum.* Incensa autem Johannes in Apocalypsi orationes esse, ait, sanctorum. Iren. *ibid.* p. 249.

^b Est ergo altare in cœlis (illic enim preces nostræ et oblationes diriguntur) et templum; quemadmodum Johannes in Apocalypsi ait, *Et apertum est templum Dei.* Iren. *ibid.*

^c Rev. viii. 3, 5. Vid. Vitringa in loc. Dodwell on Incensing, p. 39—44.

^d Clemens Alex. p. 209. Origen. Hom. in Joh. xvii. p. 438. Gregor. Nazianz. vol. i. p. 31, 484, 692. Chrysostom. in Hebr. Hom. xi. p. 807. Cyrill. Alex. de Adorat. lib. ix. p. 310. Apostol. Constitut. lib. viii. cap. 13. Augustin. Serm. 351. de Pœnit. p. 1357. tom. v.

^e 2 Chron. xxx. 27. Compare Tobit iii. 16. xii. 12. Wisd. ix. 8.

^f Acts x. 4.

& Irenæus, lib. iv. cap. 18. p. 251.

inated^h. It must be owned that Irenæus does speak of the eucharistical *oblations* under the notion of *presents* brought to the *altar*, offered up to *God*, for the agnizing him as *Creator* of the world, and as the *giver* of all good things, and for a testimony of our love and gratitude towards him on that scoreⁱ. This he calls a *pure sacrifice*^k, *present*, *offering*, and the like: and since the bread and wine so offered were certainly *material*, how shall we distinguish the sacrifice he speaks of from a *material* sacrifice, or how can we call it a *spiritual* sacrifice? A learned foreigner, being aware of the seeming repugnancy, has endeavoured to reconcile the author to himself, by saying, that the eucharistical *oblation* may still be reckoned a *spiritual sacrifice*, on account of the *prayers, lauds, and offerings* going along with it, which are *spiritual* services^l. Another learned gentleman observes, that according to Irenæus, the very *life* and *soul* of the *new oblation* rests in the *prayers* by which it is offered up, and which *finish* or *perfect* the *spiritual* oblation^m. The solution appears to be *just*, so far as it goes: but I would take leave to add to it, that the *material offering*, in this case, is not properly a *present* made to God, though brought before him: for it is not consumed (like a burnt offering) in God's *immediate* service, nor any part of it,

^h Qui enim nullius indigens est Deus, in se assumit bonas operationes nostras, ad hoc ut præstet nobis retributionem bonorum suorum. Iren. *ibid.* p. 251.

ⁱ Suis discipulis dans consilium, primitias Deo offerre eî suis creaturis, non quasi indigenti, sed ut ipsi nec infructuosi nec ingrati sint, eum qui ex creatura panis est accepit, et gratias egit, &c.—Novi Testamenti novam docuit oblationem, quam Ecclesia ab Apostolis accipiens, in universo mundo offert Deo, ei qui alimenta nobis præstat, primitias suorum munerum in Novo Testamento, &c. Iren. lib. iv. cap. 17. p. 249.

^k Ecclesiæ oblatio, quam Dominus docuit offerri in universo mundo, *purum sacrificium* reputatum est apud Deum, et acceptum est ei: non quod indigeat a nobis *sacrificium*, sed quoniam is qui offert, glorificatur ipse in eo quod offert, si acceptetur *munus* ejus. Per *munus* enim erga regem et honos et affectio ostenditur: quod in omni simplicitate et innocentia Dominus volens nos offerre, prædicavit,

dicens, Cum igitur offers munus tuum ad altare, &c. Iren. lib. iv. cap. 18. p. 250.

^l Non satis sibi constare videtur Irenæus, qui de sacrificiis *spiritualibus* antea locutus erat, deque iis acceperat vaticinium Malachie, quod nunc contra ad *oblaciones* istas *eucharisticas* trahere videtur. At bene cuncta se habent, si observemus et ipsam Eucharistiam ratione *precum* et *gratiarum actionis*, quæ eam comitari solet, et *oblaciones* quoque istas, quas cum Eucharistia conjungere moris erat, eum itidem locum inter *sacrificia spiritualia* promereri. *Buddæus, Miscellan. Sacr.* tom. i. p. 59, 60.

^m Ex quibus patet *animam* oblationis *novæ*, quæ in Nov. Test. juxta Irenæum fit, et a Christo instituta est, esse *preces* queis dona offeruntur.—Accedentibus *precibus*, quibus nomen Dei glorificatur, ipsi gratiæ redduntur, donorumque sanctificatio expetitur, *perficitur* utique *spiritualis* illa atque eucharistica oblatio. *Pfaffius in Irenæi Fragm.* p. 57.

but it goes entire to the *use of man*, not so much as any *particle* of it separated for *God's portion*, as in the *legal sacrifices*ⁿ. Therefore the *material* offering is not the *sacrifice*; but the communicant's *agnizing* the Creator by it; that is properly *sacrifice*, and *spiritual* sacrifice, of the same nature with *lauds*. I may add further, that those eucharistical *oblations* were, in Irenæus's account, *contributions* to the *Church* and to the *poor*, as is plain by his referring to Prov. xix. 17. and Phil. iv. 18. which I noted before: and therefore he looked upon them as evangelical and spiritual sacrifices, falling under *article* the *first* of the recital given above. For it is not the *matter* of the contributions which constitutes the *sacrifice*, but it is the *exercise* of *benevolence*, and that is *spiritual*, and what God accepts. Under the *Law*, God accepted the *external* sacrifice, the *material* offering, as to *legal* effect: but under the *Gospel*, he accepts of nothing as to any *salutary effect* at all, but the *spiritual* service. This is the *new oblation*, the only one that is any way acceptable under the *Gospel*, being made in *spirit* and in *truth*.

Some perhaps may object, that such *spiritual* oblation cannot justly be called *new*, since it was mentioned by the *Prophets*, and is as Old as David at least, who speaks of the *sacrifice* of a *contrite* heart, and the like^o. All which is very certain, but foreign to the point in hand. For let it be considered, 1. That the *new covenant* is really as old as Adam, and yet is justly called *new*. 2. That though *spiritual sacrifices* were always the most acceptable sacrifices, yet God did *accept* even of *material* sacrifices, under the *Mosaical* economy, as to *legal* effect; and so it was a *new* thing to put an end to such *legal* ordinances. 3. That when *spiritual* sacrifices obtained (as they all along did) under the *Law*, yet they obtained under *veils*, *covers*, or *symbols*; and so it was a *new* thing to accept of them, under the *Gospel*, stripped of all their *covers* and *external* signatures. 4. The *Gospel* sacrifices are offered *in*, *by*, and *through* *Christ*, expressly and explicitly; and so the *spiritual sacrifices* of the *Gospel* are offered in a *new* way, and under a *new* form^p. These considerations appear

ⁿ See above, p. 576.

^o See Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 264. alias 268.

^p "By him we are to offer: it is his merit and mediation that crowns the sacrifice.—This by him gives the characteristic difference of the Christian sacrifice from all others: for, otherwise, the sacrifice of praise was common to all times before and

under the Law. You find in many Psalms a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, but in none of them by him, in Christ's name. Hitherto ye have asked nothing in my name, says our Saviour; but hereafter his name will give virtue and efficacy to all our services: and therefore, to gain so gracious an advocate with the Father, our prayers and suppli-

sufficient to justify Irenæus's calling the Christian oblation a *new oblation*: or it may be added, that new *light*, new *force*, and new *degrees* of perfection have been brought in by the Gospel to every part or branch both of speculative and practical religion.

I pass on to Clemens of Alexandria. He maintains constantly, under some variety of expression, that *spiritual* sacrifices are the only *Christian* sacrifices. To the question, what sacrifice is most acceptable to God? he makes answer, in the words of the Psalmist, *a contrite heart*. He goes on to say: "How then shall I *crown*, or *anoint*, or what *incense* shall I offer unto the Lord? A *heart* that glorifies its Maker is a *sacrifice of sweet odour* unto God: these are the *garlands*, and *sacrifices*, and *spices* and *flowers* for God⁹." In another place, condemning the luxury of *perfumes*, he starts an objection, viz. that Christ our High Priest may be thought perhaps to offer *incense*, or *perfumes*, above: an objection grounded probably, either upon what the *typical* high priest did under the *Law*^r, or upon what is intimated of Christ himself under the *Gospel*^s: to which Clemens replies, that our Lord offers no such *perfume* there, but what he does offer above is the *spiritual perfume* of *charity*^t. He alluded, as it seems, to our Lord's *philanthropy*, in giving himself a *sacrifice* for mankind; unless we choose to understand it of our Lord's recommending the *charity* of his saints and servants at the high altar in heaven. Clemens elsewhere reckons up *meekness*, *philanthropy*, exalted *piety*, *humility*, *sound knowledge*, among the acceptable sacrifices^u, as they amount to sacrificing the *old man*, with the *lusts* and *passions*: to which he adds also, the offering up *our own selves*; thereby glorifying him who was sacrificed for us. Such were this author's sentiments of the *Christian* sacrifices: he looked upon the *Church* itself as the altar here below, the collective body of Christians, sending up the *sacrifice of prayer* to heaven, with united voices: the *best* and *holiest* sacrifice of all, if sent up in *righteousness*^x. He speaks slightly of the *legal sacrifices*, as being symbols only of evan-

"cations are in the *Liturgy* offered "up in his name, concluding always, "by the merits of our Lord Jesus "Christ." *Bishop Lany's Sermon on Hebr.* xiii. 15. p. 13, 14.

⁹ Clemens Alex. *Pædag.* lib. iii. c. 12. p. 306. Conf. *Strom.* lib. ii. p. 369, 370.

^r Exod. xxx. 7.

^s Rev. v. 8. viii. 3. Conf. *Vitring.* in loc.

^t Τὸ τῆς ἀγάπης δεκτὸν ἀναφέρειν τὸν Κύριον, τὴν πνευματικὴν εὐωδίαν, εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, &c. *Clem. Alex. Pædag.* lib. ii. cap. 8. p. 209.

^u Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. p. 836.

^x *Ibid.* p. 848.

gelical righteousness^γ. He makes the *just soul* to be a *holy altar*: and as to the *sacrifice of the Church*, it is “speech exhaled from *holy souls*, while the whole mind is laid open before “God, together with the *sacrifices*.” Elsewhere, the *sacrifices* of the Christian *Gnostic* he makes to be *prayers*, and *lauds*, and *reading of Scripture*, and *psalms*, and *anthems*^δ. Such were Clemens’s general principles, in relation to Gospel sacrifices. He has not directly applied them to the particular instance of the Eucharist; though we may reasonably do it for him, upon probable presumption. It is manifest that he could not *consistently* own it for a *sacrifice* of ours, in any other view but as a *service* carrying in it such *spiritual* sacrifices as he has mentioned: in that view, it might be upon his principles a noble sacrifice, yea a combination of sacrifices.

Tertullian may come next, a very considerable writer, who has a great deal to our purpose: I shall select what may suffice to shew his sentiments of the *Christian sacrifices*. Giving some account of them to the Pagans, in his famous Apology, he expresses himself thus: “I offer unto God a fatter and nobler sacrifice, “which himself hath commanded; viz. *prayer* sent out from a “chaste body, an innocent soul, and a sanctified spirit: not “worthless grains of *frankincense*, the tears of an Arabian tree^ε,” &c. I shall only observe, that if Tertullian had understood the material *elements* of the Eucharist to be a *sacrifice*, how easy might it have been to retort upon him the *worthless grains* of wheat, and the like. But he had no such thought. *Prayer* and a *good life* were his *sacrifice*: and a noble one they are. In another place of his works, he says; “We *sacrifice* indeed, but it “is with *pure prayer*, as God has commanded; for God, the “Creator of the universe, hath *no need* of any *incense*, or *blood*.” How obvious might it have been to retort, that God has *no need*

^γ Αἱ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὸν νόμον θυσίαι, τὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς εὐσέθειαν ἀλληγοροῦσι. Clem. Alex. *ibid.* p. 849.

^δ Βωρὸν δὲ ἀληθῶς ἅγιον, τὴν δικαίαν ψυχὴν. p. 848. Conf. Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib. x. cap. 4.

^ε Ἡ θυσία τῆς ἐκκλησίας, λόγος ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ψυχῶν ἀναθυμῳόμενος, ἐκκαλυπτομένης, ἅμα τῆς θυσίας, καὶ τῆς διανοίας ἀπάσης τῷ Θεῷ. Clem. Alex. p. 848.

^δ Θυσίαι μὲν αὐτῷ, εὐχαί τε καὶ αἶνοι, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐστιάσεως ἐπτεύξεις τῶν γραφῶν, ψαλμοὶ δὲ καὶ ὕμνοι, &c.

Strom. vii. p. 860, 861.

^ε Offero ei optimam et majorem hostiam, quam ipse mandavit; orationem de carne *judica*, de anima *innocenti*, de spiritu *sancto* profectam: aut grana thuris unius assis, Arabicæ arboris lacrymas, &c. Tertull. *Apol.* cap. xxx. p. 277. edit. Havercamp.

^δ Sacrificamus — sed quomodo Deus præcepit, *pura prece*: non enim egit Deus, conditor universitatis, *odoris*, aut sanguinis alicujus. Tertull. *ad Scap.* cap. ii. p. 69. Rigalt.

of *bread* or *wine*, had that been the *Christian sacrifice*: but Tertullian knew better; and still he rests it upon *pure prayer*, that is, *prayer* together with a *good mind*. Let us hear him again: "That we ought not to offer unto God *earthly*, but "*spiritual sacrifices*, we may learn from what is written; *The sacrifice of God is an humble and contrite spirit*: and elsewhere; *Offer unto God the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and pay thy vows unto the Most High*. So then, the *spiritual sacrifices* "of *praise* are here pointed to, and a *troubled spirit* is declared "to be the acceptable sacrifice unto God^c." What Justin Martyr rejected as *material* sacrifice, our author here rejects under the name of *earthly*, or *terrene*. Are not *bread* and *wine* both of them *terrene*? Therefore he thought not of them, but of something *spiritual*: and he has named what; viz. *lauds* and *thankgivings*, and discharge of sacred *vows*, all from an *humble* and *contrite* heart: these were the acceptable sacrifices, in his account. He goes on, in the same place, to quote Isaiah against *carnal* sacrifices, and Malachi also, to shew that *spiritual* sacrifices are established^f. In his treatise against Marcion, he again refers to the Prophet Malachi, interpreting the *pure offering* there mentioned, not of any *material* oblation, but of *heartly prayer from a pure conscience*^g; and elsewhere, of giving *glory*, and *blessing*, and *lauds*, and *hymns*^h. Which, by the way, may serve for a comment upon Justin and Irenæus, as to their applying that passage of Malachi to the *Eucharist*: they might do it, because the *spiritual* sacrifices here mentioned by Tertullian make a great part of the *service*. It would have been very improper, to interpret one part of *spiritual* service, viz. of *prayer*, and the other of a *material* loaf. In another treatise, Tertullian numbers up among the acceptable sacrifices, *conflicts of soul*, *fastings*, *watchings*, and *abstemiousness*, with their *mortifying ap-purtenances*ⁱ. But besides all this, there is, if I mistake not, in the latter part of his *Book of Prayer* (published by Muratorius,

^c Namque, quod non *terrenis* sacrificiis, sed *spiritualibus*, Deo litandum sit, ita legimus ut scriptum est: *Cor contribulatum et humiliatum hostia Deo est*. Et alibi, *Sacrificia Deo sacrificium laudis, et redde Altissimo vota tua*. Sic igitur sacrificia *spiritualia* laudis designantur, et *cor contribulatum* acceptabile sacrificium Deo demonstratur. *Tertull. adv. Jud. c. v. p. 188.*

^f *Tertull. adv. Jud. cap. v. p. 188.*

^g *Sacrificium mundum*: scilicet simplex oratio de conscientia pura. *Tertull. contr. Marc. lib. iv. cap. i. p. 414.*

^h *Sacrificium mundum*: gloriæ scilicet relatio, et benedictio, et laus, et hymni. *Adv. Marc. lib. iii. cap. 22. p. 410.*

ⁱ *Sacrificia Deo grata*; conflictationes dico animæ, jejunia, seras et aridas ecas, et appendices hujus officii sordes. *De Resurrect. Carn. cap. viii. p. 330.*

A. D. 1713.) a large and full description of the *eucharistical sacrifice*, which will be worth the transcribing at length. After recommending the use of *psalmody* along with prayers, and the making *responses* in the public service, he then declares that such kind of *prayer*, so *saturated* with psalmody, is like a *well fed sacrifice*: but it is of the *spiritual* kind, such as succeeded in the room of all the *legal* sacrifices. Then referring to Isaiah, ch. i. ver. 11, to shew the comparative meanness of the Jewish sacrifices, and to John iv. 23. for the right understanding the *evangelical*, he proceeds thus: "We are the *true worshippers* and the *true priests*, who worshipping *in spirit*, do *in spirit* sacrifice *prayer*, suitable to God and acceptable; such as he has required, and such as he has provided for himself. This is what we ought to bring to God's altar [by way of *sacrifice*] *devoted* from the whole heart, *fed* with faith, *decked* with truth, by *innocence* made *entire*, and *clean* by chastity, *crowned* with a *feast* of charity, attended with a *train* of good works, amidst the acclamations of *psalms* and *anthems*^k." The reader will here observe, how the author most elegantly describes the *Christian* and *spiritual* sacrifice of *prayer*, in phrases borrowed from *material* sacrifices; with an *heifer*, or *bullock* in his mind, led up to the *altar* to be *sacrificed*: and his *epithets* are all chosen, as the editor has justly observed, so as to answer that *figure*^l. But what I am principally to note is, that this was really intended for a description of the *eucharistical sacrifice*: which is plain from the circumstances: 1. From his speaking of the public *psalmody*, as going along with it^m, and the *responses* made by the assembly. 2. From the mention made of *God's altar*. 3. And

^k Diligentiores in orando subungere in orationibus Alleluia solent, et hoc genus Psalmos, quorum clausulis respondeant, qui simul sunt: et est optimum utique institutum omne, quod proponendo et honorando Deo competit, *saturatam* orationem, velut optimam [lege *opimam*] hostiam admovere. Hæc est enim *hostia spiritalis*, quæ pristina sacrificia delevit. Quo mihi, inquit, multitudinem sacrificiorum vestrorum? — Quæ ergo quæsierit Deus, Evangelium docet: *Veniet hora*, inquit, *cum veri adoratores* adorabunt Patrem in spiritu et veritate: Deus enim *Spiritus est*, et adoratores itaque tales requirit. Nos sumus veri adoratores, et veri sacerdotes, qui Spiritu orantes, Spiritu

sacrificamus orationem Dei propriam, et acceptabilem, quam scilicet requisivit, quam sibi prospexit. Hanc de toto corde *devotam*, fide *pastam*, veritate *curatam*, innocentia *integram*, castitate *mundam*, *agape coronatam*, cum pompa bonorum operum inter *psalmos* et *hymnos* deducere ad *Dei altare* debemus. *Tertull. de Orat.* cap. xxvii. xxviii. p. 52, 53. edit. Murator.

^l *Orationi*, quam *hostiam spiritalem* appellat, singula tribuit, quæ victimis *carneis* conveniebant, nimirum ut de toto corde *voveatur* Deo, ut sit *pastam*, *curata*, *integra*, *munda*, *coronata*. *Muratorius in Notis*, p. 53.

^m Quorum clausulis *respondeant*, qui *simul* sunt.

principally, from what he says of the *feast of charity*, which is known to have been connected with the *service* of the Eucharist, or to have been an *appendage* to itⁿ, at that time; for which reason, that service may very properly be said to have been *crowned* with it. These circumstances sufficiently shew, that Tertullian had the *Communion Service* in his mind, and that was the *sacrifice* which he there chose to describe; a complicated sacrifice, consisting of many articles, and all of them *spiritual*, but all summed up in a *right faith*, *pure worship*, and *good life*. Such is the *Christian sacrifice*; and such we ought to bring constantly to the *Lord's table*, to the holy and *mystical altar*.

To the same purpose speaks Minucius Felix, not long after Tertullian. The only *gifts* proper to be *offered to God* by Christians, are Christian *services*, Christian *virtues*, according to his account^o. To offer him any thing else, is *throwing him back his own gifts*, not presenting him with any thing of *ours*. What could Minucius therefore have thought of offering him *bread and wine*, if considered as *gifts* or *sacrifices* to God? It is manifest, that he must have understood the *service*, not the *elements*, to be the Christian *gift*, and Christian *sacrifice*.

Origen falls in with the sentiments of the earlier Fathers, as to *spiritual* sacrifices, and their being the only Gospel sacrifices. For when Celsus had objected to Christians their want of *altars*, he replies: "The Objector does not consider, that, with us, every good man's mind is his *altar*, from whence truly and spiritually the incense of perfume is sent up: viz. *prayers* from a pure conscience^p." Then he refers to Rev. v. 8. and to Psalm cxli. 2. A little higher up in the same treatise, he speaks of Christians presenting their *petitions*, *sacrifices*, and *supplications*; beseeching Christ, since "he is the propitiation for our sins," to recommend the same, in quality of High Priest, to the acceptance of God the Father^q. We may here observe,

ⁿ See Bingham, book xv. chap. 7. sect. 7, 8. Suicer. Thesaur. tom. i. p. 26.

^o Hostias et victimas Domino offeram, quas in usum mei protulit, ut rejiciam ei *suum munus*? Ingratum est: cum sit litabilis hostia bonus animus, et pura mens, et sincera conscientia. Igitur, qui *innocentiam* colit, Domino supplicat; qui *justitiam*, Deo libat; qui fraudibus abstinet, propitiat Deum; qui hominem periculo subripit, opimam victimam cædit.

Hæc nostra sacrificia, hæc Dei sacra sunt. *Minuc. Fel. sect. xxxii. p. 183.*

^p Οὐκ ὄρων, ὅτι βωμοὶ μὲν εἰσιν ἡμῶν τὸ ἐκάστου τῶν δικαίων ἡγεμονικόν, ἀφ' οὗ ἀναπέμπεται ἀληθῶς καὶ νοητῶς εὐωδὴ θυμιάματα, αἱ προσευχαὶ ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως καθαρᾶς. *Origen. contra Cels. p. 755.*

^q Ὡς πρῶτον προσφέρομεν αὐτὰς, ἀξιούντες αὐτὸν, ἰλασμὸν ὄντα περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, προσαγαγεῖν ὡς Ἀρχιερεὶα τὰς εὐχὰς, καὶ τὰς θυσίας, καὶ τὰς ἐντεύξεις ἡμῶν τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ. p. 751.

that the *altar* which he speaks of, is *spiritual*, as well as the *sacrifice*. Had he known of any *material* altar, or *material* sacrifice, (properly so called,) among Christians, this was the place for him to have named it. It is true, the Lord's table is often called *altar* in the ancient monuments, and it is a *material* table: and the *alms* also and *oblations* made at the same table, for the use of church and poor, are *material*, as well as the table. But the *service* is *spiritual*, and that is the *sacrifice*, there offered: and therefore the *table*, considered as an *altar*, an altar for *spiritual* sacrifice, is a *mystical, spiritual* altar. So if a man offers his own body as a *sacrifice* for the name of Christ upon a *scaffold*, his body is *material*, and so is the *scaffold* also: but nevertheless, the *sacrifice* is *spiritual*, and the *scaffold*, considered as an *altar*, must be a *spiritual* altar, to make it answer to the *sacrifice*, as they are *correlates*. This I hint by the way, in order to obviate some wrong constructions, which have been made^r of a *material* table and *material* elements. It is true, the table is *material*, and the elements also *material*: but so far as one is considered or called an *altar*, it is *spiritual* and *mystical*; and so far as the other are called a *sacrifice*, they also are *spiritual* and *mystical*. The holy table is called an *altar*, with regard to the *spiritual* services, that is, *sacrifices* sent up from it, and so it is a *spiritual* altar: then as it bears the *symbols* of the *grand sacrifice* applied in this service, and herein feasted upon by every *worthy* communicant, it is a *symbolical* or *mystical* table, answering to the *symbolical* and *mystical* banquet. But I pass on.

Cyprian, of that age, speaks as highly of *spiritual sacrifices* as any one before or after him. For in an epistle written to the *confessors* in prison, and not permitted to *communicate* there, he comforts them up in the manner here following: "Neither your *religion* nor *faith* can suffer by the hard circumstances you are under, that the *priests* of God have not the liberty to *offer* and celebrate the *holy sacrifices*. You do *celebrate*, and you do *offer* unto God a *sacrifice* both precious and glorious, and which will much avail you towards your obtaining heavenly rewards. The holy Scripture says, *The sacrifice of God is a broken spirit, a broken and a contrite heart God doth not despise*, Psalm li. 17. This *sacrifice* you offer to God, this you celebrate without intermission, day and night, being made *victims* to God, and presenting *yourselves* as such, holy and unblemished, pursuant to the Apostle's exhortation, where he says, *I beseech*

^r See Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 30, alias 31.

“ you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that you present your bodies, &c. Rom. xii. 1. For this is what pleases God : and it is this by which our other services are rendered more worthy, for the engaging the Divine acceptance. This is the *only* thing that our devout and dutiful affections can offer under the name of a *return* for all his great and salutary blessings : for so by the Psalmist says the Spirit of God, *What shall I render, &c.* Psalm cxvi. 12, 13, 15. Who would not readily and cheerfully take this cup^r ?” The remarks here proper are as follow : 1. That the author looked upon the Eucharist as an *oblation*, or *sacrifice*, or complication of sacrifices. 2. That in case of injurious exclusion from it, he conceived that *spiritual sacrifices* alone were *equivalent* to it, or more than equivalent to the *ordinary* sacrifices therein offered. 3. That therefore he could not suppose any sacrifice *offered* in the Eucharist to be the *archetypal* sacrifice itself, or to be *tantamount* to it : which I note chiefly in opposition to Mr. Dodwell, who imagined that the ancients “ reckoned the Christian Eucharist for the archetypal sacrifice of Christ upon the cross :” an assertion, which must be very much qualified and softened, to make it tolerable. The Eucharist, considered as a *Sacrament*, is indeed representative and exhibitivè of the *archetypal sacrifice* ; not as *offered*, but as *feasted upon* by us, *given* and *applied* by God and Christ to every *worthy* receiver. Therefore that excellently learned man inadvertently here confounded the *sacrificial* view of the Eucharist with the *sacramental* one, and *man’s* part in it with what is properly *God’s*. What we *give* to God is our own service, and *ourselves*, which is *our* sacrifice : but the *archetypal* sacrifice itself is what no one but Christ himself could offer, whether *really* or *symbolically*. We *represent* it, we do not *offer* it in the Eucharist ; but it is there sacramentally or symbolically to us *exhibited*, or *applied*. 4. It may be noted of Cyprian, that he judged the devoting *our whole selves* to God’s service and to God’s glory, to be the most *acceptable* sacrifice which *we* are *capable* of offering : and his preferring the sacrifice of *martyrdom* (other circumstances supposed equal) to the *ordinary* sacrifice of the Eucharist, was conformable to the standing principles of the Church, in preferring the *baptism* of *blood* to the *baptism* of *water*^t.

It remains to be inquired, in how many senses, or upon what

^r Cyprian, Epist. lxxvi. p. 232, ed. Oxon. alias Epist. lxxvii. p. 159. Bened.

^s Dodwell of Incense, p. 55.

^t Vid. Dodwell. Cyprian. Dissert. xiii. p. 420, &c.

accounts, St. Cyprian styled the Eucharist a *sacrifice*. 1. He might so style it on account of the *lay-offerings* therein made, which were a *spiritual sacrifice*^u. 2. Next, on account of the *sacerdotal* recommendation of the same offerings to the Divine acceptance^x: which was another *spiritual sacrifice*. 3. On account of the *prayers, lauds, hymns, &c.* which went along with both the former, and were *emphatically* spiritual sacrifice. 4. On account of the *Christian charity* and *brotherly love* signified by and exemplified in the service of the Eucharist: for that Cyprian looked upon as a *prime* sacrifice of it^y. 5. On account of the *grand sacrifice* applied by Christ, commemorated and feasted on by us (not properly *offered*) in the Eucharist^z. Such *commemoration* is itself a *spiritual service*, of the same nature with *lauds*, and so makes a part of the *spiritual sacrifice* of the Eucharist. In these several views, Cyprian might, or probably did look upon the Eucharist as a *sacrifice*, and accordingly so *named* it.

There is one particular passage in Cyprian, which has been often pleaded by Romanists in favour of a *real* sacrificing of Christ in the Eucharist, and sometimes by Protestants, amongst ourselves, in favour of a *material* sacrifice at least, or of a *symbolical* offering up of Christ's body and blood to God the Father. The words of Cyprian run thus: "If Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, be the High Priest of God the Father, and first offered *himself* a sacrifice to the Father, and commanded *this* to be done in commemoration of himself; then that Priest truly acts in Christ's stead, who imitates what Christ did, and then *offers* a *true* and *complete* sacrifice in the Church to God the Father, if he begins *so to offer*, as he sees Christ to have offered before^a." From hence it has been pleaded, that Christ offered himself *in the Eucharist*, and that the Christian

^u See above, chap. i. p. 480.

^x See above, p. 480. Pope Innocent I. clearly expresses both, in these words: De nominibus vero recitandis, antequam preces sacerdos faciat, atque eorum oblationes, quorum nomina recitanda sunt, *sua oratione commendet*, quam superfluum sit, et ipse pro tua prudentia recognoscis: ut cujus *hostiam* nec dum Deo offeras, ejus ante nomen insinues, &c. *Harduin. Concil.* tom. i. p. 997.

^y Sic nec sacrificium Deus recipit *dissidentis*.—Sacrificium Deo majus, est *pax nostra* et *fraterna concordia*, et de unitate Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti *plebs adunata*. *Cyprian. de*

Orat. pag. 211. edit. Bened. pag. 150. Oxon.

^z See above, chap. i. p. 479, 480, 485.

^a Si Jesus Christus, Dominus et Deus noster, ipse est summus sacerdos Dei Patris, et *sacrificium* Patri *seipsum* primus obtulit, et *hoc* fieri in sui commemorationem præcepit; utique ille sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur, qui id, *quod Christus fecit*, imitatur, et *sacrificium verum* et *plenum* tunc offert in Ecclesia Deo Patri, si sic incipiat *offerre* secundum quod ipsum Christum videat obtulisse. *Cyprian. Ep.* lxiii. p. 609. And see above, ch. i. p. 479.

Priests ought to *do the same* that he did; that is, to *offer*, or sacrifice *Christ himself* in this Sacrament. But it is not certain that Cyprian did mean (as he has not plainly said) that Christ offered himself *in the Eucharist*: he might mean only, that Christ offered himself *upon the cross*, and that he instituted this Sacrament as a *commemoration* of it. As to the words *true* and *complete* sacrifice, he certainly meant no more, than that Christ offered both *bread* and *wine*, and had left it us in charge to *do the same*: and this he observed in opposition to some of that time, who affected to *mutilate* the Sacrament by leaving out the *wine*, and using *water* instead of it, which was not *doing the same* that Christ did.

However, I think it not material to dispute whether Cyprian really intended to teach, that our Lord offered himself *in the Eucharist*, since it is certain, that some Fathers of eminent note in the Church, after his days, did plainly and in terms affirm it^b: and other *Fathers* admitted of our Lord's *offering*, or *devoting* himself *previously* to the passion^c. And they are therein followed by several learned *moderns*, even among Protestants^d; who ground the doctrine chiefly on John xvii. 19. A sufficient answer to the objection (so far as concerns the Romish plea built thereupon) is given by our incomparable Bishop Jewel, in these words: "We deny not but it may well be said, Christ at his *last supper* offered up himself unto his Father: albeit, not *really* and *indeed*, but in a *figure*, or in a *mystery*; in such sort as we say, Christ was offered in the *sacrifices* of the *old Law*, and, as St. John says, *The lamb was slain from the beginning* of the *world*, as Christ was *slain at the table*, so was he *sacrificed at the table*; but he was not slain at the table *verily* and *indeed*, but only in a *mystery*." This is a just and full answer to the *Romanists*, with whom the good Bishop held the debate. But it

^b Hilarius, in Matt. c. xxxi. p. 743. ed. Bened. Ambrosius, de Myster. Paschæ, c. i. Gregor. Nyssen. de Resurr. Christi, seu Pasch. i. Hesy chius in Levit. p. 55, 56. conf. 169, 376, 540. Conf. Steph. Gobar. apud Phot. Cod. 232. p. 902. Missal. Gotho-Gallican. p. 297. et Mabillon. in Præfat. et alibi.

^c Chrysostom. in Johan. Hom. lxxxii. p. 484. Cyril. Alex. de Adorat. lib. x. p. 350. In Johan. lib. iv. c. 2. p. 354.

^d Mede, Opp. p. 14. Outram de Sacrif. p. 307, 370. Witsius, Miscel-

lan. Sacr. tom. i. dissert. 2. not. 87. In Symb. Apost. Exercit. x. p. 147. Whitby on John xvii. 19. Zornius, Opusc. Sacr. tom. ii. p. 251. Deylingius, Observat. Miscellan. p. 560. Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 61—96. part ii. p. 4—10. N. B. These authors suppose that our Lord *devoted* himself beforehand, *gave* himself on the cross, *presented* himself in heaven: *one continued oblation* in all, but distinguished into *three* several parts, views, or stages.

^e Jewel, Answer to Harding, p. 417. compare p. 426, 427.

may still be pleaded by those who maintain a *material* sacrifice, that this answer affects not *them*, since they contend only, that Christ offered the *symbols* in the Eucharist, and *himself* under those symbols, that is, in a *mystery*; just as a man offers to God *houses* or *lands*, by presenting a *sword*, or *pieces of money*, or *pair of gloves*, upon the altar of a church, or transfers an estate by delivery of *parchments*, and the like: and if Christ thus *symbolically* offered himself a sacrifice in the Eucharist, why may he not be, in like manner, *symbolically* offered in the Eucharist at this day^f? This, I think, is the sum and substance of what is pleaded by some Protestants in favour of a *symbolical sacrifice*, as offered in the Eucharist. To which I answer: 1. That no one has any authority or right to offer Christ as a sacrifice (whether *really* or *symbolically*) but Christ himself. Such a sacrifice is *his* sacrifice, not *ours*; offered *for us*, and not *by us*, to God the Father. If Christ in the institution offered *himself* under those *symbols*, (which however does not appear,) he might have a *right* to do it: we have *none*, and so can only *commemorate* what he did, and by the same *symbols*. 2. If we *symbolically* sacrifice any thing in the Eucharist, it is only in such a sense as St. Austin (hereafter to be quoted) speaks of; where he considers the *bread* and *wine* as symbols of the *united body* of the Church. We may so symbolically offer up, or sacrifice *ourselves*, and that is all: more than that cannot comport with *Scripture*, or with the principle of the *ancients*, that all our sacrifices are made *in* and *by* Christ. He is not the *matter* or *subject* of our sacrifices, but the *Mediator* of them: we offer not *him*, but we offer, what we do offer, *by him*^h. 3. If the thing symbolically offered in the Eucharist were *Christ himself*, then the *offerer* or *offerers* must stand in the place of Christ, and be as truly the *symbols* of Christ in their *offering* capacity, as the elements are supposed to be in their *sacrificial* capacity. Then not only the *Priests*, but the *whole Church*, celebrating the Eucharist, must *symbolically* represent the person of Christ, and stand in his stead: a notion which has no countenance in *Scripture* or *antiquity*, but is plainly contradicted by the whole turn

^f See Johnson's Collection of Saxon Laws, &c. præf. p. 57, &c.

^g Vid. Sam. Basnag. Annal. tom. i. p. 371, 372.

^h Hebr. xiii. 15. Per Jesum Christum offert Ecclesia.—Non receperunt verbum per quod offertur Deo.

Iren. lib. iv. c. 17, 18. p. 249, 251. ed. Bened. τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων προσφέρειν Θεῷ, διὰ τοῦ πάντων ἀνωτάτου ἀρχιερέως αὐτοῦ δεδιδάγμεθα. Euseb. Dem. Evang. lib. i. c. 10. p. 39. Conf. Augustin. de Civ. Dei, lib. x. c. 20. Apostol. Const. lib. ii. c. 25. p. 240, 241.

and tenor of all the ancient Liturgies, as well as by the plain nature and reason of the thing. 4. I may add, lastly, that all the confusion, in this article, seems to arise from the want of distinguishing the *sacrificial* part of the Eucharist from the *sacramental* one, as before noted: we do not *offer Christ to God* in the Eucharist, but *God offers Christ to us*, in return for our offering *ourselves*. We *commemorate* the grand sacrifice, but do not *reiterate* it; no not so much as under *symbols*. But God applies it by those *symbols* or *pledges*: and so, though there is no *symbolical* sacrifice of that kind, neither can be; yet there is a *symbolical grant*, and a *symbolical banquet*, which is far better, and which most effectually answers all purposes. In short, there is, as the Apostle assures us, a *communion* of Christ's *body* and *blood*, in the Eucharist, to every *worthy* receiver. The real and natural body is, as it were, under *symbols* and *pledges*, conveyed to us here, where the *verity* is not: but to talk of our sending the same up thither, under the like *pledges*, where the *verity* itself is, carries no appearance of truth or consistency; neither hath it any countenance either in Scripture or antiquity.

I now go on to Lactantius, who is supposed to have flourished about A. D. 318. The *Christian sacrifices* which he speaks of, are *meekeheartedness*, *innocent life*, and *good works*. He allows of no sacrifices but of the *incorporeal invisible* kind, being that such only are fit for *God*, who is incorporeal and invisible, to receive, under the last and most perfect dispensation of the Gospel. He distinguishes between *gifts* and *sacrifices*, because the Pagans had so distinguished: but in the last result, he lays no stress upon that distinction, indifferently reckoning a *good life*, either as a *gift* or a *sacrifice*. However, where he seems at all to distinguish, he chooses to make *integrity* the *gift*, and such an one as shall continue *for ever*; while he appropriates the name of *sacrifice*, emphatically so used, to *lauds*, *hymns*, and the like, which he supposes are appointed *for a time* only.

We may now come down to Eusebius, of the same century, a man of infinite reading, and particularly conversant in *Christian*

¹ Quisquis igitur his omnibus præceptis cælestibus obtemperaverit, hic cultor est veri Dei, cujus sacrificia sunt mansuetudo animi, et vita innocens, et actus boni.—Duo sunt quæ offerri debeant, donum et sacrificium: donum in perpetuum, sacrificium ad tempus.—Deo utrumque incorporale offerendum est, quo utitur. Donum

est integritas animi, sacrificium laus et hymnus. Si enim Deus non videtur, ergo his rebus coli debet, quæ non videntur.—Summus igitur colendi Dei ritus est, ex ore justis hominis ad Deum directa laudatio. Lactant. de vero Cultu, lib. vi. c. 24, 25.

antiquities. He speaks of "the venerable sacrifices of Christ's table, by which officiating, we are taught to offer up to God supreme, during our whole lives, the *unbloody, spiritual*, and to him most *acceptable* sacrifices, through the High Priest of his, who is above all^k." For the clearer understanding of what he meant by the *unbloody, spiritual* sacrifices, let him explain himself in the same page, where he says: "The prophetic oracles make mention of these *incorporeal* and *spiritual* sacrifices: *Offer unto God the sacrifice of praise, and pay thy vows unto the Most High.*" And again, "*The sacrifice of God is a contrite spirit!*," &c. Hence it is manifest, that Eusebius did not mean by *sacrifices* the sacred *symbols*, which are *corporeal*, but the *spiritual* services of *prayers, praises*, and a *contrite* heart, as he expressly mentions. Which will appear still the plainer, by his quoting, soon after, the noted place of Malachi, and expounding both the *incense* and *pure offering*, of *prayers* and *praises*. His comment is worth the reciting: "We offer therefore to God supreme the *sacrifice of praise*: we offer the holy, the venerable sacrifice, which hath a decorous sanctity: we offer after a *new* way, according to the *New Testament*, the *pure sacrifice*: for the sacrifice to God is said to be a *contrite spirit*^m." He goes on to sum up all in very strong and remarkable words, as here follows: "Therefore we offer both *sacrifice* and *incense*: first, celebrating the *memorial* of the *grand sacrifice* by those mysteries which he has ordained, and presenting our thanksgivings for our salvation, by devout hymns and prayers. Next, we offer up *ourselves* to him, and to the *Logos*, his High Priest, resting upon him both with body and soul. Whereupon we endeavour to preserve to him our *bodies* pure and untainted from all filthiness, and to bring him *minds* free from all evil affection and stain of maliciousness, and take care to honour him by purity of thought, sincerity of affection, and soundness of principles; for these, we

^k Τὰ σεμνά της Χριστού τραπέζης θύματα, δι' ἧν καλλιεροῦντες, τὰς ἀναιμούς και λογικάς, αὐτῷ τε προσηνεῖς θυσίας, διὰ παντός βίου, τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων προσφέρειν Θεῷ, διὰ τοῦ πάντων ἀνωτάτου ἀρχιερέως αὐτοῦ δεδιδάγμεθα. Euseb. Dem. Evang. lib. i. c. 10. p. 39.

^l Ταύτας δὲ πάλιν τὰς ἀσωμάτους και νοεράς θυσίας τὰ προφητικά κηρύττει λόγια—θύσον τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνίσσεως, και ἀπόδος τῷ ὑψίστῳ τὰς

εὐχάς σου—και πάλιν, θυσία τῷ Θεῷ πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον. Euseb. *ibid.* p. 39.

^m Θύομεν δὴτα τοιγαροῦν τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνέσεως· θύομεν τὸ ἐνθεον, και σεμνόν, και ἱεροπρεπές θύμα· θύομεν καινῶς κατὰ τὴν καινήν διαθήκην τὴν καθαρὰν θυσίαν· θυσία δὲ τῷ Θεῷ πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον εἴρηται. Euseb. *ibid.* p. 40. conf. c. vi. p. 19, 20, 21. et in Psalm. p. 212.

“ are taught, are more acceptable to him than a multitude of “ sacrifices, streaming with blood, and smoke, and nidorⁿ.”

This is an admirable description of the *eucharistical solemnity*, of the *sacrifices* contained in it, and of the *ends* and *uses* of it, and likewise of the *preparation* proper for it. But my present concern is only with the *sacrificial* view of it. Eusebius here takes notice, in the first place, of the *grand sacrifice*: which is no sacrifice of *ours*, but we make a *memorial* of it; and that very memorial is indeed an article of spiritual *service*, and so of course makes a part of our *own* spiritual sacrifice in the Eucharist^o. The rest is made up of such other *sacrifices* as the author has there handsomely enumerated. I shall only observe further of Eusebius, for the cutting off all possible cavils about his meaning, that in another work of his, he expressly teaches, that the *unbloody sacrifices* will be offered to God, not only in *this life present*, but also in *the life to come*^v. Certainly, he could not intend it of the eucharistic *symbols*, but of something else. Cyril of Alexandria has followed him in the same thought, where he supposes the *angels* to offer the *unbloody sacrifices*⁴.

Were I now to go on to other Fathers, down to the sixth century, or further, it might be tedious to the reader: but they will all be found constant and uniform in one tenor of doctrine, rejecting all *material, corporeal, terrene, sensible* sacrifices, and admitting none but *spiritual*, such as I have mentioned. Neither is there any difference concerning that point between Justin of the second, and Cyril of the fifth century, but that the latter is more full and express for the same thing. However, I shall go on a little further, making choice of a few testimonies, appearing most considerable either for their *weight* or their *accuracy*. I pass

ⁿ Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. lib. i. c. x. p. 40.

^o I observed above, p. 739, that the legal *incense* was a *memorial*, and it was burnt over the *show bread*, Lev. xxiv. 7. In like manner, our *commemorative service* is offered up to God over the elements, and is part of our *Gospel incense*, consisting of *prayers, lauds, self-humiliation, &c.*

^p Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ, καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι δὲ αἰῶνι, τὰ λογικὰ δῶρα καὶ τὰς ἀναιμάκτας τῷ Θεῷ θυσίας ἀναπέμπων οὐ διαλιμπάνει ὁ δηλωθεὶς λαός. Euseb. in Hesai. xviii. p. 427.

^q Cyrill. Alexandr. de Recta Fide, p. 160. N. B. The learned author

of Unbloody Sacrifice once thought, that mere spiritual sacrifices were never called *unbloody*: but he found afterwards that *prayers* had that epithet given them by Constantine. Apud Sozom. lib. ii. c. 15. He might have added Greg. Nyssen. de Pœnit. p. 170. As to this place of Cyril, he supposes it meant of *offering* Christ's *body* in heaven. Addend. to part i. in part ii. p. 266. A strange thought! especially considering that *angels* are supposed by Cyril to be the offerers. Compare what Lactantius says above of *gifts*, as continuing *for ever*, meaning the tribute of *homage, &c.*, and so all is clear.

over Hilary and Basil, with bare references to the pages^r: but Gregory Nazianzen may deserve our more especial notice. He was eminently called *the Divine*, for his exactness of *judgment*, and his consummate knowledge in *theology*; and he has some remarkable passages, very apposite to our present purpose. About the year 379, putting the case, that possibly, through the iniquity of the times, he might be driven from the *altar*, and debarred the benefit of the Eucharist, he comforts himself thus: "Will they drive me from the *altars*? But I know, there is another *altar*, whereof these visible ones are but the *figures*, &c.—To that will I present myself, there will I offer the *acceptable services, sacrifices, oblation, and holocausts*, preferable to those now offered, as much as *truth* is preferable to *shadow*." —From this *altar*, no one, who has ever so much a mind to "it, shall be able to debar me^s." Here we may observe, how Nazianzen prefers the *spiritual sacrifices* even before the *sacrifice* of the *altar*, externally considered. A plain argument, that he did not look upon it as the *archetypal sacrifice*: for, if he had, he could never have been so presumptuous or profane, as to prefer any sacrifice of his *own* to the sacrifice of *Christ*. He looked upon the eucharistical sacrifice, *externally* considered, and in its *representative, commemorative* view, to be no more than the *figure* of the *archetypal*, and a *sign* of the spiritual sacrifices: therefore he justly preferred the *substance* before *shadows*, and the real sacrifice of the heart, before the *outward* symbols^t; the offering of which was not *sacrificing* at all, but *representing* a sacrifice, or sacrifices.

There is another passage of Nazianzen, worth the reciting; and so I shall throw it in here, with some proper remarks upon it. He had been setting forth the *dignity* and *danger* of the sacerdotal function, which for some time he had studiously declined; and among other considerations, he urges one, drawn from the weighty concern of well-administering the *holy Com-*

^r Hilarius, p. 154, 228, 534, 535. edit. Bened. Basil. tom. iii. p. 52, 207. edit. Bened.

^s Θυσιαστηρίων εἰρξουσιν; ἀλλ' οἶδα καὶ ἄλλο θυσιαστήριον, οὗ τύποι τὰ νῦν δρώμενα τούτῳ—παραστήσομαι, τούτῳ θύσῃ δεκτὰ, θυσίαν, καὶ προσφοράν, καὶ δλοκαυτώματα, κρείττονα τῶν νῦν προσαγομένων, ὧν κρείττον σκιάς ἀλήθεια.—τούτου μὲν οὐκ ἀπάξει με τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου πᾶς ὁ βουλόμενος. *Greg. Nazianz. Orat. xxviii.*

p. 484. Confer. Albertinus, p. 474.

^t Hence it may be observed, that the *eucharistical sacrifice* began to be more and more confined to one *particular* meaning, and to be understood in a *narrow* sense, as denoting the *representation* of a sacrifice: otherwise there would have been no room for Nazianzen's preferring one to another; for it would have been opposing *spiritual* sacrifice to *spiritual*, and would not have answered.

munion, as here follows: "Knowing that no man is worthy of the great *God*, and *Sacrifice*, and *High Priest*, who has not first presented *himself* a living *holy sacrifice* unto God, and exhibited the *rational acceptable service*, and offered to God the *sacrifice of praise*, and the *contrite spirit*, (which is the only sacrifice that God, who giveth all things, demands from us back again,) how shall I dare to offer him the *external sacrifice*, the *antitype* of the great mysteries? or how shall I take upon me the character or title of a priest, before I have purified my hands with holy works?" Here it may be noted, 1. That the author distinguishes very carefully between the *external sacrifice* in the Eucharist, and the *internal*, between the *symbolical* and the *real*. 2. That he did not judge the *external sacrifice* to be *really* a sacrifice, or to be more than *nominal*, since he opposes it to the *real, internal sacrifices*, judging them to be the *only sacrifices* required. 3. That he judged the *external sacrifice* to be the *sign, symbol, or figure*² of a true sacrifice, (viz. of the *grand sacrifice*;) improperly or figuratively called a sacrifice, by a *metonymy* of the *sign*, for the *thing signified*³. 4. That such *external, nominal sacrifice* has also the name of *oblation*⁴, in the same figurative, metonymical way, as it was *presenting* to God the *signs and symbols* of the body broken, and blood shed, and pleading the merits of the *passion* there *represented*. 5. That the name of *rational or spiritual service*, borrowed from St. Paul⁵, is not a name for the *external sacrifice*,

¹ Ταῦτα οὖν εἰδὼς ἐγὼ, καὶ ὅτι μηδεὶς ἄξιός τοῦ μεγάλου, καὶ Θεοῦ, καὶ θύματος, καὶ Ἀρχιερέως, ὅστις μὴ πρότερον ἑαυτὸν παρέστησε τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαν ζῶσαν, ἁγίαν, μηδὲ ἔθυσσε τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνέσεως καὶ πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον (ἦν μόνον ὁ πάντα δοῦς ἀπαιτεῖ παρ' ἡμῶν θυσίαν) πῶς ἔμελλον θαρρῆσαι προσφέρειν αὐτῷ τὴν ἕξωθεν, τὴν τῶν μεγάλων μυστηρίων ἀντίτυπον; ἢ πῶς ἱερέως σχῆμα καὶ ὄνομα ὑποδέσθαι, πρὶν ὁσίοις ἔργοις τελειῶσαι τὰς χεῖρας; *Greg. Nazianz. Orat. i. p. 38.*

² This is intimated by the word ἀντίτυπον. *Conf. Orat. xi. p. 187. Orat. xvii. p. 273.* of which word see Albertinus, p. 273—280. Pfaffius, p. 131—145.

³ Vid. Suicer. *Thesaur. tom. i. p. 1423, 1424.*

⁴ Intimated in the word προσφέρειν. *Conf. Cyrill. Hierosol. Myst. v. c. 9. p. 328.*

⁵ Christ is, in some sense, offered

"up to God by every communicant in the Sacrament, when he does mentally and internally offer him to God, and present, as it were, his bleeding Saviour to his Father, and desire him for his sake to be merciful to him, and forgive him his sins. This *internal oblation* of Christ and his *passion* is made by every faithful Christian, &c.—The *Mistery* also—does offer, as it were, Jesus Christ and his sacrifice for the people," &c. *Dr. Payne's Discourse on the Sacrifice of the Mass*, A. D. 1688. p. 52, 53. Compare Abp. Sharpe, vol. vii. serm. xi. p. 251. and Deylingius, *Observat. Miscellan.* p. 315. and Pfaffius, who says, This no Protestants deny, p. 106, 314, 344.—The *oblation*, in this view, is but another name for *commemoration*; as I have often noted before.

⁶ Rom. xii. 1. λογικὴ λατρεία.

in our author, but for the *internal* of *prayers, praises, contrite heart, &c.* 6. That the *external* sacrifice, (being the same with the *memorial*,) if considered as more than *vocal*, and making a part of the *thanksgiving* service, may be justly reputed a sacrifice of the *spiritual* kind, falling under the head of *sacrifice of praise*. 7. That the *spiritual* sacrifices, whether considered as *previous* qualifications, or *present* services of priests and people, were thought to be the *only* true and proper sacrifices *performed*^b in the Eucharist: and therefore so far as it is itself a *sacrifice*, and not barely a *sign* of a former sacrifice, it is a *spiritual* sacrifice. 8. Those *spiritual* sacrifices were believed *essential* to the Eucharist, considered either as a *sacrifice* or a *salutary sacrament*: for, without such *spiritual* sacrifices, there was no *sacrifice* performed at all, but a *representation* of a sacrifice^c; and not of *ours*, but of our *Lord's*. And though the Eucharist would still be a *sacrament*, (not a *sacrifice*,) yet it could not be *salutary* either to administrator or receiver, for want of the *spiritual* sacrifices, to give it life and efficacy; as is here sufficiently intimated by Nazianzen.

There is a commentary upon Isaiah, which has been ascribed to St. Basil by critics of the first rate, but yet is probably rejected, as none of his, by the last learned editor of Basil's works; who allows it however to be an useful piece, and as early as the *fourth* century, or thereabout. What I mention him for is, that, instead of all the *legal* sacrifices, he admits of *two* only, under the Gospel; our *Lord's* upon the cross, and *ours*, which consists in every man's offering his *own self*^d. There is another author, who has commonly gone under the name of St. Chrysostom, but is now rejected as spurious, who divides the *sacrifices* of the *Gospel* after the same way: only the latter of the two he subdivides into *nine*, and so makes *ten* in all^e, and all of the *spiritual* kind. Cyril of Alexandria has a great many things very clear and express to our present purpose^f: but there is one particular passage in his tenth book against Julian, which is

^b I say, *performed*: there is another sacrifice *represented, commemorated*, which was *performed* 1700 years ago upon the cross.

^c Hujus sacrificii caro et sanguis ante adventum Christi per victimas similitudinum promittebatur: in passione Christi per ipsam veritatem reddebatur: post ascensum Christi per sacramentum memoriae celebratur. *Augustin. contr. Faust. lib. xx. c. 21.*

p. 348. tom. viii. edit. Bened.

^d Pseudo-Basil. in Isa. p. 398, &c. tom. i. edit. Bened.

^e Pseudo-Chrysostom. in Psal. xcvi. p. 631. inter spuria, edit. Bened. tom. v.

^f Cyril. Alex. contr. Julian. lib. ix. p. 307, 308. Comment. in Isa. lib. i. Orat. i. p. 14, 15. In Malach. i. 11. p. 830.

so plain, and so full for *spiritual* sacrifices, in opposition to all *material* or *corporeal* sacrifices whatsoever, that nothing can be more so. Comparing the sacrifices of *Christians* with those of the *Jews*, he writes thus : “ We sacrifice now much better than they of old did : for here descendeth from heaven, not any *sensible fire* for a *symbol* of the ineffable nature, but the *Holy Spirit* himself, from the Father by the Son, *enlightening* the Church, and receiving our *sacrifices*, namely, the *spiritual* and *mental* ones. The Israelites offered up to God bullocks and sheep, turtles and pigeons ; yea, and *first fruits* of the earth, *fine flour* with *oil* poured upon it, *cakes*, and *frankincense* : but we, discarding all such *gross services*, are commanded to perform one that is *fine* and *abstracted*, *intellectual* and *spiritual*. For we offer up to God, for a sweetsmelling savour, all kinds of *virtues*, *faith*, *hope*, *charity*, *righteousness*, *temperances*,” &c. Here it is to be noted, that Cyril rejects absolutely *all* corporeal sacrifices, and not only the *bloody* ones of *bulls* and *goats*, and the like. He opposes the Christian *mental* sacrifices to the sacrifices of *fine flour* and *cakes*, and other such *gross* and *sensible* sacrifices. How could he do this, if he thought the *elements* of the Eucharist were a *sacrifice* or *sacrifices* ? Are *bread* and *wine* at all less *gross*, or less *sensible*, than *fine flour*, *cakes*, and *oil*, and other *fruits* of the earth ? Or have they any other claim to the name of *mental* and *spiritual* sacrifices, than the other also might justly have ? Therefore it is plain, that Cyril never admitted the *material* elements of the Eucharist, as any part of the *Christian sacrifice* ; but the *spiritual service* performed in it, that was the sacrifice. The *material* elements were *signs* and *symbols* of our *Lord’s sacrifice*, not the *sacrifice* itself, nor *any sacrifice* at all, in strict propriety of speech : for our *own proper* sacrifice, as distinct from our *Lord’s*, are our own *services* of *prayer* and *praise*, of *faith*, and of a *good life*. Such is the constant doctrine of all antiquity.

I shall close this account with the sentiments of the great St. Austin. His treatise De Civitate Dei may be called his masterpiece, being his most learned, most correct, and most elaborate work ; which lay upon his hands thirteen years, from 413 to 426 : he died in 431. Here then we may expect to find his maturest sentiments, laid down with the utmost exactness, relating to the *sacrifice* of the *Eucharist*. He comprises all the Gospel sacrifices under *two* : one of which is our *Lord’s* own

‡ Cyrill. Alex. contr. Jul. lib. x. p. 345.

sacrifice upon the cross; and the other is the *Church's* offering *herself*. The first of these is *represented* and *participated* in the Eucharist, the latter is *executed*: this is the sum of his doctrine. Of the former he observes^h, that it succeeded in the room of the *legal sacrifices* which *prefigured* it: of the latter he observes, that the *legal sacrifices* were *signs* or *symbols* of itⁱ. The *legal sacrifices* were, in a *prophetic* and *propitiatory* view, *figures* of the former, and in a *tropological* view, *figures* of the latter. The *body* of Christ he considers as twofold, *natural* and *mystical*; one of which is *represented* by us, and *exhibited* by Christ in the Eucharist; the other is *offered* as a proper *spiritual sacrifice*^k: and the bread and wine in the Eucharist are considered as *symbols* of *both*. I say, he considers the sacramental elements not merely as symbols of the *natural body*, but of the *mystical* also, viz. the *Church*^l, represented by the *one loaf* and the *one cup*: so that by the same *symbols* we symbolically consign *ourselves* over to God, and God consigns *Christ*, with all the merits of his death and passion, over to us. At length, his notion of the *eucharistical sacrifice* resolves into one compound idea of a *spiritual sacrifice*, (wherein the communicants offer up *themselves*.) *commemorative* of another sacrifice, viz. the *grand sacrifice*. The *offering* of the *body* of Christ is a phrase capable of two meanings; either to signify the *representing* the *natural body*, or the *devoting* the *mystical body*: and *both* are included in the eucha-

^h Id enim sacrificium successit omnibus sacrificiis Veteris Testamenti, quæ immolabantur in *umbra futuri*. Pro illis omnibus sacrificiis et oblationibus *corpus* ejus offertur, et participantibus ministratur. *August. de Civit. Dei*, lib. xvii. cap. 21. p. 484.

ⁱ Per hoc et sacerdos est, et ipse oblatio: cujus rei sacramentum quotidianum esse voluit *Ecclēsia sacrificium*, quæ cum ipsius capitis *corpus* sit, *seipsam* per ipsum discit offerre. Hujus *veri sacrificii* multiplicia varique *signa* erant sacrificia prisca sanctorum, cum ob hoc unum per multa figuraretur, tanquam verbis multis *res una* diceretur, ut sine fastidio multum commendaretur. Huic *summo veroque* sacrificio cuncta sacrificia *falsa* cesserunt. *Ibid.* lib. x. cap. 20. p. 256. Conf. lib. xix. cap. 23. p. 227.

^k Hoc est sacrificium Christianorum, *multi unum corpus* in Christo: quod etiam *sacramento altaris*, fidelibus noto, frequentat *Ecclēsia*, ubi ei

demonstratur, quod in *ea re* quam offert, ipsa offeratur. *Ibid.* lib. x. c. 6. p. 243.

Hujus autem præclarissimum atque optimum *sacrificium nos ipsi sumus*, hoc est, civitas ejus: cujus rei mysterium celebramus *oblationibus* nostris, quæ fidelibus notæ sunt. Lib. xix. cap. 23. p. 226.

^l *Corpus* ergo Christi si vis intelligere, Apostolum audi dicentem fidelibus, *Vos estis corpus Christi et membra*. Si ergo vos estis *corpus* Christi et *membra*, mysterium vestrum in *mensa* Domini positum est, mysterium Domini accipitis.—Nihil hic de nostro adseramus; ipsum Apostolum item audiamus: cum ergo de isto *Sacramento* loqueretur, ait; *Unus panis unum corpus multi sumus*.—Recolite enim, quia panis non fit de uno grano, sed de multis. *Augustin.* serm. cccxix. p. 976. Conf. serm. cclxxii. p. 1103.

ristical service. Such appears to be St. Austin's settled judgment in this article, grounded, as I said, upon St. Paul's. It is a most ridiculous pretence of Father Harduin, (which he pursues through many tedious pages^m) that, according to St. Austin, Christ's *natural* body is the *sign*, and his *mystical* body the *thing signified* in the Eucharist: for nothing is plainer from St. Austin, than that the bread and wine are the only *signs*, and that the *things signified* by them are both the *natural* and the *mystical* body of Christ, both his *flesh* and his *Church*. As the word *offer* is a word of some latitude, he supposes both to be *offered* in the Eucharist; one by way of *memorial* before God, and the other as a real and spiritual *sacrifice* unto God.

Having thus traced this matter down through four centuries, and part of the fifth, I cannot think it of moment to descend lower, since the earliest are of principal value, and are alone sufficient. The Fathers were very wise and excellent men, saw very clearly what many learned moderns have had the misfortune to overlook, and agreed perfectly well in many points, about which the moderns have been strangely divided. The Fathers well understood, that to make Christ's *natural* body the real sacrifice of the Eucharist, would not only be *absurd* in reason, but highly *presumptuous* and *profane*; and that to make the outward *symbols* a proper sacrifice, a *material* sacrifice, would be entirely contrary to Gospel principles, degrading the *Christian* sacrifice into a *Jewish* one, yea, and making it much lower and meaner than the *Jewish*, both in *value* and *dignity*ⁿ. The right way therefore was, to make the sacrifice *spiritual*: and it could be no other upon Gospel principles. Thus both *extremes* were avoided, all perplexities removed, and truth and godliness secured.

So then here I may take leave of the *ancients*, as to the present article. The *whole* of the matter is well comprised and clearly expressed in a very few words, by as judicious a Divine as any our Church has had: "We offer up our *alms*; we offer " up our *prayers*, our *praises*, and *ourselves*: and all these we " offer up in the virtue and consideration of *Christ's sacrifice*, " represented before us [I would only add, *and before God*] by " way of *remembrance* or *commemoration*; nor can it be proved,

^m Harduin. de Sacramento Altaris, cap. x.

ⁿ How contemptibly the Romanists speak of a *material* sacrifice in that

view, may be seen in Bishop Morton, (p. 438.) who has collected their sentiments upon it.

“ that the *ancients* did more than this: this *whole service* was “ their *Christian sacrifice*, and this is ours^o.” A learned foreigner has likewise very briefly and justly expressed the nature of the *Christian sacrifice*; whose words I have thrown to the bottom of the page^p, for the learned reader.

I shall now shut up this chapter with two or three short *corollaries*, which naturally offer, and may be of some use.

1. The first is, that this *sacrificial* view of the Eucharist squares exactly with the *federal* view before given. For if it be really a *spiritual* sacrifice, in or by which every faithful communicant *devotes* himself entirely to God; and if the *sacerdotal* offering up our Lord's *mystical* body be (as St. Austin explains this matter) a sacerdotal *devoting* all the faithful joining it, to God's service, and to God's glory: then may we again justly conclude, that the sacramental service is a *federal*, as well as a *sacrificial* solemnity: because, in this case, the administrator's *devoting* the communicants, and their *devoting* themselves to God, is tantamount to a solemn *renewing* former engagements or *covenants* made with him, under such *symbols* as God has appointed, and promised to ratify on his part.

2. From hence may be understood, how *Christians*, at large, are *priests* unto God^q: for every one that *sacrificeth*, is so far a *priest*. Therefore Justin Martyr represents *Christians* in common as so many *priests*, offering their *sacrifices* in the Eucharist^r. And Isidorus, so late as the fifth century, does the like^s, reckoning every man a *priest*, when he offers up his *own body*, or himself, a *sacrifice* unto God, by sacrificing his lusts and passions. Nevertheless, the proper officers, who minister in holy things, and who offer up to God both the *sacrifices* and *sacrificers*,

^o Archbishop Sharpe, vol. vii. serm. xi. p. 253. If any one is disposed to trace this matter down, even to the *dark ages*, he will find that most of the Greek and Latin Liturgies contain the same notion with the *Fathers*, of the *spiritual sacrifice* in the Eucharist. See Covell, Acc. of Gr. Church, pref. p. 47. book, p. 36, 41, 46, 53, 67, 68, 175. Deyling. Observat. Miscellan. p. 310, &c.

^p Oblatio omnis quæ fit a credentibus sub *Novo Testamento*, est *incruenta*, et vero castissima, et simplicissima, quia *spiritualis*. Sive quis se ipsum, sive *σῶμα* suum, *affectum*, omnesque suas *facultates* et *actiones* Deo

offerat ut *sacrificium*; sive alia *σχέσες*, *ministri* verbi, qui in nobis convertendis laborarunt, *nos offerant Deo*; sive *preces*, *εὐχαριστίας*, *supplicationes* nostras feramus ad Deum, ubique eadem ratio: nullus hic funditur *sanguis*, nihil committitur *violentum*; actio tota est *spiritualis*, et *λογική*. *Vitringa* in *Isa.* lxvi. 21. p. 951.

^q 1 Pet. ii. 5. 9. Rev. i. 6. v. 10. xx. 6.

^r Justin. Mart. Dial. p. 386. Conf. Origen. in Levit. hom. ix. p. 236.

^s Isidorus Pelusiot. lib. iii. ep. 75. p. 284.

are *priests* in a more eminent and emphatical sense; as Isidorus observes in the same place, and as the reason of the thing itself sufficiently evidences^t. I may further note, that as Christians at large were considered as *priests*, on account of their offering *spiritual sacrifices*, so their *consecration* to such their priesthood was supposed to be performed in or by *Baptism*: or, in other words, their baptism was their consecration^u.

3. A third *corollary* is, that the Socinians, or others, who reject both the *sacrificial* and *federal* view, do not only causelessly *depreciate* a venerable *sacrament* and *sacrifice*, but at the same time do the greatest disservice imaginable to *practical* religion. For as the *sacrificial* notion of the Eucharist, here explained, carries in it the most instructive and compendious lesson of *Christian practice*, so does the *federal* notion of the same carry in it the strongest engagements to bind us for ever to it. The removing these awakening hints, and the dissolving these sacred ties, under fair and smooth pretences of supporting *practical Christianity*, is betraying great want of judgment or want of sincerity; because there cannot be a more dangerous or more fatal way of subverting, by little and little, all true *Christian morality*.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Preparation proper for the HOLY COMMUNION.

IF we have hitherto gone upon sure grounds, with respect to the *nature, ends, and uses* of the *holy Communion*, there can be no doubt made, but that so *sacred* and so *salutary* an institution ought to be held in great *reverence*, and to be observed with all *joy* and *thankfulness*, tempered with *godly fear*. If we consider it either as a *Divine* ordinance coeval with Christianity, and perfective of it, or as a solemn *memorial* of *God* made *man*, or as an instrument whereby *God* vouchsafes to receive us, *Christ* to dwell in us, and the *Holy Ghost* to shed his blessed influences upon us; or if we consider it as the noblest part of *Christian worship*, the

^t Cum omnes credentes N. T. sint sacerdotes respectu status *spiritualis*, et juris *appropinquandi* Deo in summo Pontifice Jesu; *ministri* verbi, dispensatores mysteriorum Dei, quatenus a Deo *electi* sunt, ut circa sacra publica versentur, respectu quodam *æconomico* et *externo*, in externa Ecclesie *πολιτειᾳ* fundato. Hunc titulum sibi *peculiari modo* vendicant. *Vitringa* in *Isa.* lxvi. 21. p. 951. Conf. *Vitring*.

in *Apocalyps.* p. 335. N. B. This argument is discussed at large by Mr. Dodwell, *De Jure Laico Sacerdotali*, and by other tracts going along with his.

^u Tertullian. de *Monogam.* cap. vii. p. 529. Origen. in *Levit.* hom. ix. 238. Cyrill. *Hierosol. Catech.* xviii. cap. 33. p. 301. Ambrosiaster. de *Sacram.* lib. iv. cap. i. p. 365. ed. Bened.

renewing of our covenant with God, the *sacrificing* of the heart, and the *devoting* of the affections, and all that we have, to his service, and to his glory; or if we further consider it as a badge of our most holy profession, and as a band or cement of union, whereby we abide in Christ, and have fellowship with all the family of heaven^x; in which soever of these views we contemplate this holy ceremony, it must appear to be a matter of infinite concern to us, and highly deserving our most affectionate and devout regards. How we ought to express our esteem of it, is the next thing to be inquired into: and the general rule here is, that we take care to do it in such a way, as may best answer those heavenly and salutary purposes for which this holy Sacrament was ordained. Our esteem or disesteem of it will be seen by our conduct; by our frequenting or not frequenting it, by our preparing or not preparing for it, as also by our manner of behaviour at the time of receiving, or after. My present concern is with the preparatory part. There is something of a preparation of heart, mind, and ways, required for all religious offices^y; much more for this, which is the flower and perfection of all: and now the only remaining question is, *what* preparation is here requisite, or whereof it consists. The nature and ends of the institution, laid down above, will be our sure marks of direction, and cannot mislead us, if carefully attended to. Let us come to particulars.

1. *Baptism*, it is well known, must go before the Eucharist, like as Circumcision was *previous* to the Passover. A person must be *admitted* into covenant first, in order to *renew*; must be *initiated*, in order to be *perfected*; must be *born* into the Christian life, before he takes in the additional *food* proper to support and increase it. Of this there can be no dispute, and so I need not say much of it. There is an instance in antiquity, as high as the third century, of a person who had long been a *communicant*, and who afterwards found reason to doubt whether he had been *validly* baptized, and thereupon scrupled the coming again to the *Lord's table*. His bishop advised him, in that case, (considering how long he had been a *communicant*, and *honestly* all the time,) to go on without scruple; not presuming to give him *Baptism*, which now seemed to be *superseded* by the long and frequent use of this other Sacrament^z. The case was very particular, and

^x Hebr. xii. 22, 23, 24.

^y Eccles. v. 1, 2. 1 Sam. vii. 3.

^z 2 Chron. xxxv. 6.

^z Euseb. Ecc. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 9. But Timothy, afterwards Bishop of the same see, (about A. D. 380.) de-

the resolution, probably, wise and just : both the scruple on one hand, and the determination on the other, (made with some *hesitancy*, and scarce *satisfactory* to the party,) shew how acknowledged a principle of the Church it then was, that *Baptism* is ordinarily a most essential part of the qualification required for receiving the holy Communion. *Confirmation* besides, is highly *expedient*^a, but *Baptism* is strictly *necessary*.

2. A *competent knowledge* of what the Communion means is another *previous* qualification. St. Paul teaches, that a person, coming to the Lord's table, should *examine* or approve *himself*, and that he should *discern* the *Lord's body*^b : both which do suppose a *competent* knowledge of what the Sacrament *means*, and of what it *requires*^c. And from thence may be drawn a very just and weighty argument against *infant communion*. But I return to the point in hand. As to the *measure* of the *competent* knowledge required for receiving the Communion, it must of course vary, according to the various opportunities, abilities, circumstances of the parties concerned ; to be judged of by themselves, with the assistance of their proper guides. Great care was anciently taken in instructing the *adults*, called *catechumens*, in order to *Baptism* : something of like kind will be always proper, in such circumstances as ours, for the preparing persons for the *first* time of receiving the holy Communion.

3. A *sound* and *right faith*, as to the main substance of the Christian religion, is another *previous* qualification for this Sacrament. For whether we consider it as a *renewal* of our baptismal *profession* and *covenant*, which is engaging to observe the *Gospel terms* ; or whether we consider it as an *instrument* of *pardon* and *grace*, and a *pledge* of the inheritance among the saints in light ; *sound faith* must undoubtedly be required, to answer such ends and uses of it. Scripture has not directly said so, as there was no occasion for it ; since the very nature of the thing, taking in Scripture principles, very fully and plainly declares it. Accordingly, we find, as early almost as we have any records left, that *true* and *sound* faith was very particularly required in those that came to the Lord's table^d. Besides a

terminated, that if a *catechumen* ignorantly should happen to receive the Communion, he should forthwith be *baptized*, pursuant to such call of God. *Timoth. Alexandr.* Can. 1. Hard. p. 1192. tom. i.

^a See the Rubric at the end of our Order of Confirmation, and the Con-

stitutions of Archbishop Peckham, A. D. 1281. Spelm. Concil. tom. ii. p. 331.

^b 1 Cor. xi. 28, 29.

^c Ὁρθὸς βίος, ἀμα μαθήσει τῇ καθήκουσῃ. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* i. p. 318.

^d Καὶ ἡ τροφή αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν εὐχαριστία, ἧς οὐδενὶ ἀλλῷ μετα-

right faith in the general, a *particular* belief with respect to the *graces* and *benefits* of a worthy reception of this Sacrament, was anciently, as well as reasonably, judged to be a *previous* qualification for it, requisite to render it salutary to the recipient. It would be tedious to produce authorities for it, and therefore I choose to refer the reader to the collections of that kind already made to our hands^e.

4. Above all things, *repentance* ought to be looked upon as a most essential qualification for a due reception of the holy Communion. All the *ends* and *uses* of the Sacrament declare it: the reason of the thing itself loudly proclaims it. For, without that, what is *covenanting*, but playing the *hypocrite*? What is *devoting* ourselves to God at his table, but *lying* and *dissembling*? How is it possible to hold *communion* at once with *God* and *Baal*, with *Christ* and *Belial*? Or how can the *Spirit of God*, and the spirit that *worketh* in the *children of disobedience*, dwell together? It is plain therefore, that *repentance*, in some degree or other, and a heart turned to God, is essentially necessary to make the Sacrament *salutary*, *yea*, and to prevent its proving *hurtful* to the receiver.

If we look into the *ancients*, upon this head, we shall find them with united voice declaring, that *repentance* is absolutely necessary to make a *worthy* receiver. Justin Martyr specifies it among the previous qualifications, that the communicant shall be one who “lives according as Christ has commanded^f.” Clemens, of the same century, intimates, that a *good life* is requisite to a due receiving, and to prevent the receiving *unworthily* in St. Paul’s sense; quoting 1 Cor. xi 27, 28. Origen interprets the same words to mean, that the Sacrament must not be taken with a “soul defiled and polluted with sin^h.” St. Cyprian also more than once represents it as receiving *unworthily*, when a man comes to the Lord’s table, before he has *expiated* his *offences*, *confessed* his *crimes*, *purged* his *conscience*, and *appeased* the anger

σχεῖν ἐξόν ἐστι, ἢ τῷ πιστεύοντι ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ διδασκόμενα ὑπ’ ἡμῶν. *Just. Mart.* p. 96. Hitherto belongs the noted proclamation anciently made by the *Deacons*, before the Communion began: Μὴ τις τῶν ἑτεροδόξων: *Let no misbeliever come to the Lord’s table.* *Vid. Apostol. Constitut.* lib. viii. cap. 12. p. 403.

^e Bingham, book xv. c. 8. s. 8.

^f Οὕτως βιοῦντι ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς παρέδωκεν. *Justin. Apol.* i. p. 96.

^g Clemens Alex. Ὁρθὸς βίος, ἅμα μαθήσει τῇ καθήκουσῃ. *Strom.* i. p. 318.

^h Ne in anima contaminata et peccatis polluta, Dominici corporis Sacramenta percipias. *Quicumque enim manducaverit*, inquit, *panem, et biberit calicem Domini indigne, reus erit, &c.* — Cibus iste sanctus non est communis omnium, nec cuiuscunque indigni, sed sanctorum est. *Origen. in Lev. hom. xiii.* p. 257. *Conf. in Matt.* p. 254. ed. Huet.

of Godⁱ. All which shews, that he understood the text of St. Paul, not merely of the *manner* of behaviour at receiving, but of the previous *qualifications* of the receiver. In the same *general* way is the Apostle interpreted by the *ancient* commentators on that chapter^k. But because some persons had made a distinction between being *unworthy* to receive, and receiving *unworthily*; to cut off all evasion sought for in that nicety, it was replied; that if the Apostle had restrained even the *worthy* from receiving *unworthily*, he had much more restrained every *unworthy* person from receiving at all; being that such a one is not capable of receiving *worthily*, while he continues such, that is, while he goes on in his *vices*^l. There is scarce any one principle more *universally* agreed upon among the *ancients*, than this, that *repentance* and newness of life is a *necessary* preparation or qualification for the holy Communion, and is implied in *worthy* receiving.

It has been pleaded, in abatement, that the Apostle, by his caution against receiving *unworthily*, intended only to censure all *irreverent* behaviour at the table, and that the censure or admonition there given concerns rather the *manner* of receiving, than the *previous* qualifications of the receiver^m. But to this pretext sufficient replies have been made by the more judiciousⁿ. I may briefly observe, 1. That if the Apostle had said nothing at all of *unworthy* receiving, yet the *reason of the thing* would shew, that the receiving of the Communion with dispositions *repugnant* to the end and use of it, is receiving *unworthily*, and offering an affront to its author. 2. That the Apostle's reproof to the Corinthians, in that chapter, was not levelled barely against an *irreverent manner* of receiving, but against the *ill spirit*

ⁱ Contumacibus et pervicacibus comminatur et denuntiat, dicens: *Quicumque ederit panem, aut biberit calicem Domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini.* Spretis his omnibus atque contemptis, ante *expiata* delicta, ante *exomologesim* factam criminis, ante *purgatam conscientiam* sacrificio et manu sacerdotis, ante *offensam placatam* indignantis Domini et minantis, vis infertur corpori ejus et sanguini, &c. *Cypr. de Laps.* p. 186. Conf. p. 19, 20, 141. edit. Bened.

^k Chrysostom. in loc. p. 301. et de Pœnit. hom. vii. p. 326. tom. ii. Bened. Theodoret, Cœcumenius, Damascene, Theophylact, Pelagius inter Opp. Hieronym. Ambrosiaster, Cassiodorus

complex, p. 37. Conf. Gregor. Nyssen. de Perfect. Christian. p. 718.

^l Quidam sane dicunt, quia non *indignum*, sed *indigne* accipientem revocat a *sancto*. Si ergo etiam *dignus indigne* accedens retrahitur, quanto magis *indignus*, qui non potest accipere *digne*? Unde oportet otiosum cessare a *vitiiis*, ut sanctum Domini corpus *sancte* percipiat. *Pelagius in loc.*

^m See Mr. Locke on 1 Cor. xi. 28. Arth. Bury's Constant Communicant, p. 250, &c.

ⁿ Jenkins, Remarks on some Books, p. 140—145. Le Clerc, Biblioth. Chois. tom. xiii. p. 96. Wolfius, Cur. Crit. in 1 Cor. xi. 28.

and the *unchristian temper*, with which they came to the Lord's table: they were *contentious*, and full of *animosities*, split into *factions* and *parties*^o; and from thence arose all their other disorders. Therefore the Apostle both began and concluded his admonition^p with particular cautions against the spirit of *division* then reigning amongst them; a temper very improper for a feast of love and amity. 3. There is no reason for restraining the Apostle's *general* rules, laid down upon a *special* occasion, to that *particular* case only, especially when the *reason* of them extends equally to more. The Apostle says, *Whosoever* shall receive *unworthily*, &c. not confining what he says of it to *this* way or *that*. If it be receiving *unworthily*, in *any ways whatever*, his words are *general* enough to comprehend them all: and so are his other words; *Let every one examine himself*, and then *eat*, &c. and let him *discern*, discriminate, esteem, reverence *the Lord's body*. Therefore Chrysostom, upon the place^q, highly extols the wisdom of the Apostle, in making such excellent use of a *particular* case, as thereupon to lay down *general* rules for all cases of like nature, for the standing use of the Church in all times to come. Accordingly the judicious Theodoret takes notice, that the Apostle in verse the 27th, where he speaks of receiving *unworthily*, obliquely rebuked the *ambitious*, and the *fornicators*, and those also who had eaten of things *offered* unto *idols*; and, in short, all that come to the Communion with a *guilty conscience*^r. 4. Let it be considered, whether such as the Apostle forbids us to *eat with*^s, and whether those whom the Apostle censures as "partakers of the table of devils^t," and those whom he elsewhere describes as making *one body* with *harlots*^u, could be capable, while so abiding, of receiving *worthily*? If they could not, then the general rule of the Apostle, laid down in 1 Cor. xi. about receiving *unworthily*, must be understood to extend further than to the *particular* disorders which occasioned it. But if it be said, that such, so abiding, might notwithstanding receive *worthily*, then these absurdities will follow; that persons who are not fit for Christians to *eat with*, or who are communicants of *devils*; or who are incapable of being *living* members of Christ, or *temples* of the *Holy Ghost*, are yet capable of *worthily* receiving

^o 1 Cor. xi. 18, 19. Compare 1 Cor. i. 11, 12.

^p 1 Cor. xi. 33, 34.

^q Chrysostom in 1 Cor. xi. hom. xxviii. p. 300, &c. Conf. Damascen. in loc. p. 102. Œcumenius, p. 532.

Theophylact, p. 260. Compare Jenkins, p. 142, 143.

^r Theodoret in 1 Cor. xi. 27.

^s 1 Cor. v. 11.

^t 1 Cor. x. 20, 21.

^u 1 Cor. vi. 15, 16.

that *symbolical* body and blood of Christ, which are appointed to strengthen our *union* with him, and which suppose men to be *living members* of him, at their coming to receive.

Add to this, that St. Paul himself has elsewhere laid down a general rule, obliging all Christians to come *clean* to the *Christian passover*, drawn from the consideration of what was prescribed with respect to the *Jewish* one^x. For if the feast there mentioned does not directly mean the *eucharistical feast*, but the *whole Christian life* considered as a *feast of holiness*; yet the *reason* there given will hold more strongly for those *particular seasons* when we are actually celebrating the memorial of "Christ our *passover Lamb*," as "sacrificed for us." For, as at all times, so *then* more *especially*, ought we to "purge out the old leaven," and to keep the sacred feast with the "unleavened bread of *sincerity and truth*."

Upon the whole, it must be allowed, that St. Paul's general rule will by parity of reason reach further than the particular cases there mentioned, and must be understood to exclude all *impenitent* offenders. This the Socinians themselves make no scruple to allow^y; as indeed it is so clear a case, that there can be but very little room left for any reasonable dispute.

It remains still to be considered, what *repentance* really means, or wherein it consists. In the general, it means a new heart, or a serious resolution to amend what we find amiss, to the utmost of our power, and a deliberate intention to live a life of *holiness*^z for the future; squaring our conduct, as near as human infirmities will permit, by the unerring rule of God's commandments. To be more particular, there are *four* principal articles, which the *ancients*, in this case, most insisted upon, as previous qualifications for receiving the holy Communion; I shall consider them one by one, but as briefly as may be.

1. One was, *restitution* or *reparation* for any *wrongs* done to others in their persons, estate, or good name, to the utmost of our ability^a. This is but *common justice*, or *moral honesty*, and therefore must be looked upon as an *essential* article of amendment. It would lead me too far, to undertake here to

^x 1 Cor. v. 7, 8.

^y Crellius, *Ethic. Christian.* lib. iii. c. 10. p. 354. Slichting, in 1 Cor. xi. 28. p. 58. Przipcovius in loc.

^z The ancient way was to proclaim before the service began, *ἀγία τοῖς ἁγίοις*. *Cyrrill. Hierosol. Mystag.* v. p.

331. A *form* occurring in all the old Liturgies, and which Chrysostom interprets to mean, *Εἰ τις οὐκ ἔστιν ἅγιος, μὴ προσίτω*, *If a man is not holy, let him not come near*. In *Hebr.* hom. xvii. p. 585. See also above, p. 688.

^a See Bingham, b. xv. c. 8. sect. 10.

state the exact rules or measures of it : those may be learned from sound *casuists*, who have professedly weighed and considered the subject^b. In ordinary cases, an honest mind will not much need an instructor, but every well disposed person may be his own best *casuist*. All I shall hint is, that for *public* wrongs, *public* satisfaction is most proper, as being perhaps the only one that can sufficiently repair the public injury : but for *secret* wrongs, the more *secret* the reparation is, so much the better, other circumstances being equal ; because so the wrong is repaired, and at the same time ill blood prevented, future suspicions obviated, peace and amity secured.

To this head belongs what our Lord says ; “ If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee ; leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way ; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift^c.” The Lord’s Supper was not instituted when these words were spoken : nevertheless they are applicable to it, in a view to the *general* reason on which the rule stands ; and they have been often so applied both by ancients and moderns. Mr. Mede has well proved, that the precept is *evangelical*^d, though worded in *Jewish* terms, suited to the time wherein it was given. The disciples of our Lord (that is, *believers* at large, to whom that Divine sermon was directed^e) were Jews and Christians both in one, and therefore could not be properly addressed in any language, but what might competently suit them in such their double capacity. The like was the case with respect to the Lord’s Prayer, which though a *Christian* prayer, was yet formed in such general terms, as might indifferently serve a religious Jew, at the time when it was given. I say then, that the precept delivered by our Lord, about the great duty of *reparation* to be made to every *injured* brother, before we *offer* to God, though an *evangelical* precept, was yet so worded as to comport with the then present circumstances of the persons to whom it was directed. When circumstances came to be altered, the *general* reason still continued the same, and the application of it was easy and obvious to every capacity.

^b Bishop Tillotson’s Posth. Serm. cxvi. cxvii. p. 82, &c. fol. edit. Placcete, Christian Casuist, or Treatise on Conscience, book i. chap. 20, 21, 22. Abridgment of Morality.

^c Matth. v. 23, 24.

^d Mede, Disc. xlvi. p. 357, &c. edit. 1664. Compare Johnson’s Propit. Oblat. p. 19, &c. and Lewis’s Answer to Unbloody Sacrifice, p. 32.

^e See Blair on the Sermon in the Mount, vol. i. serm. ii. iii. p. 27, &c.

Irenæus quotes the text, and adapts it to *Christian* circumstances in a very just and natural way. *Gifts* he interprets to mean Christian worship, alms, and oblations: and by *altar*, he understands the high altar in heaven^f. Tertullian, in like manner, accommodates it to the case of Christians coming to offer up their *prayers* to God; intimating, that they ought first to be *at peace* with their offended brethren, and to bring with them a *forgiving temper*, as they hoped to be forgiven^g. Both parts are true: but the latter appears *foreign* with respect to this text, which relates not to *pardonning* others who have injured us, but rather to the *seeking pardon* where we have injured. However, as the two parts are near allied, it was easy to blend ideas, and to run both into one; as several other Fathers did. Cyprian also accommodates the precept to Christian circumstances, interpreting the *gift* of *prayers*, which ought to be offered with a *pacific* temper of mind^h. Elsewhere he applies it to the *eucharistical* prayers and servicesⁱ. Eusebius and Cyril apply the text much in the same way^k. And Origen interprets the *gift* to mean *prayer*^l. The Constitutions called *Apostolical* interpret *gift* of prayer, praise, and thanksgiving, and the *precept* of entertaining no *enmity* against others, and taking what care we can that they may have no *just ground* of complaint against us^m. Chrysostom accommodates the precept to the *prayers* and *alms* offered at the holy Communion, which would not be accepted, if not brought *in charity*, and with a *peaceful* mindⁿ. In another Homily^o, he presses the point somewhat further, and says many good things of the care we ought to take to make up differences, if possible, even with those who without any just cause are our *enemies*; that so we may restore them, and heal their sores, and gain them over to good will. All which is right, if tempered with the rules of Christian *prudence*, and not strained so far, as to make well disposed and truly peaceable persons stay away from the Lord's table upon *needless* scruples; arising either from the *irreconcilable* temper of others, or from a want of due discernment of what is *safe, pru-*

^f Iren. lib. iv. cap. 18. p. 250, 252.
 Conf. Pfaffius, p. 57, 58.

^g Tertullian. de Pœnitent. cap. xii.
 p. 147. de Orat. cap. x. p. 133. et
 contr. Marc. lib. iv. cap. 9. p. 420.

^h Cyprian. de Oratione, p. 211.

ⁱ Cyprian. de Unit. Eccl. p. 198.

^k Eusebius de Vit. Constant. lib. iv.
 cap. 41. Cyrill. Hierosol. Mystag. v.

p. 326.

^l Origen. de Orat. p. 198.

^m Constitut. Apostol. lib. ii. cap.
 53. p. 260.

ⁿ Chrysostom. in Matt. hom. xvi.
 p. 217. ed. Bened. tom. vii.

^o Chrysostom. de Simul. hom. xx.
 p. 206, &c. tom. ii.

dent, or *proper*, under such or such circumstances. Improper or indiscreet overtures made by the offended party towards an offender, may often widen the breach which they mean to heal, and may increase the mischief, instead of curing it.

Jerome, upon the text, appears rather *argute* than *solid*; where he comments to this effect, if I understand him: "It is not said, *if you take any thing amiss of your brother*, but *if your brother takes any thing amiss of you*; to make the terms of reconciliation so much the harder. So long as we are not able to *pacify* the party, I know not whether we ought to offer our "gifts unto God^p." This is straining the point too far, if it means any thing more than the using all *safe*, *prudent*, and *reasonable* endeavours to remove causeless offences, where a person is ignorant or froward.

St. Austin, who had a cooler head than Jerome, and was a more exact casuist, has given the justest and clearest account of this text that I have met with; perhaps with a design to take off such scruples as Jerome's account might have raised. As to the *gift* mentioned, he interprets it of *prophecy*, that is, *doctrine*, and *prayers*, and *hymns*, and the like *spiritual* services^q. And as to the *precept*, he explains it thus: "If we call to mind that *our brother has ought against us*; that is, *if we have any way injured him*; for then it is that *he has something against us*. But, if he has injured us, then *we have something against him*: in which case, there is no occasion to go to him for reconciliation. You would not *ask pardon* of the man that has done you an injury; it is sufficient that you *forgive* him, as you desire forgiveness at God's hands for what you have offended in. We are to go therefore to be *reconciled*, when it comes into our mind, that haply we may have some way injured our brother^r." The sum then of all is, that if we are

^p Non dixit, *si tu habes aliquid adversus fratrem tuum*, sed *si frater tuus habet aliquid adversum te*; ut durior reconciliationis tibi imponatur necessitas. Quamdiu illum placare non possumus, nescio an consequenter munera nostra offeramus Deo. Hieron. in loc. tom. iv. pag. 16. edit. Bened.

^q Quodlibet enim *munus* offerimus Deo, sive *prophetiam*, sive *doctrinam*, sive *orationem*, sive *hymnum*, sive *psalmum*, et si quid tale aliud *spiritualium* donorum animo occurrit, &c. Augustin. de Serm. Domini in Mont.

p. 176. edit. Bened. tom. iii.

^r Si in mentem venerit, quod *aliquid habeat adversum nos frater*; id est, *si nos eum in aliquo læsimus*. tunc enim ipse *habet adversum nos*. Nam nos *adversus illum* habemus, si ille *nos læsit*: ubi non opus est pergere ad reconciliationem; non enim veniam postulabis ad eo qui tibi fecit injuriam, sed tantum dimittes, sicut tibi dimitti a Domino cupis, quod ipse commiseris. Pergendum est ergo ad reconciliationem, cum in mentem venerit, quod nos forte fratrem in aliquo læsimus. Augustin. *ibid.*

certain that we have done any man an *injury* in his person, estate, or good name, or that we have given *just* cause of offence, it is our duty and business to make *reparation*, and to sue first for reconciliation: or if we are not certain, but *probably suspect* that we have been guilty that way, the same rule will still hold in proportion. But if we have good reason to judge that the person has really *injured us*, or has causelessly and captiously *taken* offence where none was *given*, then be it to himself: there is nothing in this text obliging an innocent person, in such a case, to make the first step towards reconciliation, or to suspend his offerings on any such scruple. There may, in some particular circumstances, be a kind of debt of *charity*, and Christian *condescension*, lying upon the *injured* party, to endeavour to reclaim and pacify the *offender* by soft and healing ways: but as that is a very nice affair, and the office such as many are not fit for, there lies no *strict* obligation in such a case, or at least not upon Christians at large, but upon those only who are peculiarly fitted for it. Therefore it falls not properly under the question now in hand, nor within the precept of the text, which is *general*, extending equally to all Christians. From the summary view here given of what the *ancients* thought of those words of our Lord, (besides the clearing an important case of conscience, which I chiefly aimed at,) it may be noted by the way, that the *gift* there mentioned was understood of *spiritual* sacrifice only, and the *altar* also of course must have been *spiritual*, while considered as an altar: which I take notice of as a confirmation of what hath been advanced in a preceding chapter. But I proceed.

2. As making *restitution* for any offences we have committed, is one necessary article of sacramental preparation, so is a readiness to *forgive* any offences committed against us, another as necessary an article, and much insisted upon by the *ancient churches*^s. This is a rule laid down by our blessed Lord in his Gospel, and made an *express* condition of our own *forgiveness*, and left us, for the greater caution, as an article of the Lord's Prayer to be daily repeated. All the difficulty lies in clearing and ascertaining the true and full meaning of the *forgiveness* required. Our Lord in one place says, "If thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him, and if HE REPENT, forgive him;" and so again and again, as often as *he repents*, forgive^t. May we then *revenge* ourselves upon an enemy, if he does not *repent*?

^s See Bingham, xv. 8, 13.

^t Luke xvii. 3, 4. Matth. xviii. 21, 22.

No, by no means: *vengeance* is God's sole right^u: man has nothing to do with it. Even *magistrates*, who, in some sense, are *revengers*, or avengers, to *execute wrath*^x, yet, strictly speaking, are not appointed to dispense *vengeance*. They do not, they cannot award *punishments* in just proportion to *demerits*, as God can do: but they are appointed to act for the *safety* of the State; and what they do is a kind of *self-defence*, in a public capacity, rather than a dispensing of *vengeance*. So that even they, properly speaking, are not commissioned to *revenge*: much less can any private persons justly claim any right to it. *Forgiveness*, if understood in opposition to *revenge*, is an unlimited duty, knows no bounds or measures, is not restrained to any *kind* or *number* of offences, nor to any *condition* of *repenting*: but all offences must be *forgiven*, in that sense, though *not repented* of, though ever so cruelly or so maliciously carried on and persisted in. Therefore the *forgiveness* which our Lord speaks of, as limited to the *repentance* of the party offending, can mean only the receiving a person into such a degree of friendship or intimacy, as he before had: a thing not *safe*, nor *reasonable*, unless he shews some tokens of sorrow for his fault, and some signs of a sincere intention to do so no more. *Forgive* him in such a sense, as to meditate no *revenge*, to *wish* him *well*, and to *pray* for him, and even to do him good in a way prudent and proper: but admit him not into *confidence*, nor *trust* yourself with him, till he repents: for that would be acting too far against the great law of *self-preservation*. Only take care, on the other hand, not to be over *distrustful*, nor to stand upon the *utmost proofs* of his relenting sincerity, but rather risk some relapses. This, I think, in the general, is a just account of *Gospel-forgiveness*^y.

But to prevent all needless scruples, I may explain it a little further, in some distinct articles: 1. *Gospel forgiveness* interferes not with proper *discipline*, nor the bringing *offenders* in a *legal* way to *public* justice. An *informer* may prosecute, a *witness* accuse, a *jury* bring in guilty, a *judge* condemn, and an *executioner* despatch a criminal, without any proper *malevolence* towards the party, but in great *benevolence* towards mankind. 2. *Gospel forgiveness* interferes not with a person's prosecuting his own *just* rights, in a *legal* way, against one that has *grievously* injured him in his estate, person, or good name: for a man's barely doing

^u Deut. xxxii. 35. Rom. xii. 19.
Hebr. x. 30.

^x Rom. xiii. 4.

^y Compare Abp. Tillotson, Serm. xxxiii. p. 392. vol. i. fol. edit. Tower-son on the Sacraments, p. 298.

himself *justice*, or recovering a *right*, is not taking *revenge*. A person wrongs me, perhaps, of a considerable sum: I forgive him the *wrong*, so as to bear him no *malice*; but I forgive him not the *debt*, because I am no way obliged to resign my own *property* or *maintenance* to an injurious invader. 3. *Gospel forgiveness* interferes not with a just *aversion* to, or *abhorrence* of, some very ill men; *liars*, suppose, *adulterers*, *fornicators*, *extortioners*, *impostors*, *blasphemers*, or the like: for such hatred of *aversion* is a very different thing from hatred of *malevolence*, may be without it, and ought to be so. We cannot love monsters of iniquity with any love of *complacency*, neither does God *delight* in them as such: but still we may love them with a love of *benevolence* and *compassion*, as God also does². 4. Neither does *Gospel forgiveness* interfere with any proper *degrees* of love or esteem. A man may love his *enemies* in a just degree, and yet love his *friends* better, and one friend *more* than another, in proportion to their *worth*, or *nearness*, or other circumstances. Our Lord *loved* all his *disciples*, even Judas not excepted: but he loved one more particularly, who was therefore called "the disciple whom Jesus loved^a;" and he loved the rest with distinction, and in proportionate degrees. 5. I have before hinted, that *Gospel forgiveness* interferes not with rejecting enemies from our *confidence*, or refusing to admit them into our bosoms. We may wish them well, pray for them, and do them good; but still at a proper *distance*, such as a just regard for our own *safety*, or reasons of *peace*, *pity*, and *charity* may require. 6. I may add, that cases perhaps may be supposed, where even the duty of *praying* for them may be conceived to cease. "There is a sin unto death: I do not say that he shall pray for it^b." But in this case, they are not to be considered merely as *private* enemies, but as *public* nuisances, and as offending of *malicious* wickedness, not against *man* only, but against *God* and *religion*. Indeed, *charity* forbids us to pass such a censure, except it be upon *very sure* grounds; which perhaps we can but seldom, if ever, have: but I was willing to mention this case, for the better clearing up St. Paul's conduct in this very article. It may deserve our notice, that he *prayed* for those who had meanly, and through human infirmity, deserted him in the day of trial, that the *sin* might not be "laid to their charge^c:" in the same breath almost, speaking of

² See Towerson as above, p. 298, 299. ^a John xiii. 23. xix. 26. xx. 2. xxi. 7, 20.

^b 1 John v. 16.

^c 2 Tim. iv. 16.

Alexander, a wicked apostate, who had most maliciously opposed *him* and the *Gospel*, he says; "The Lord reward him according "to his works^d." He would not *honour* him so far, as to *pray* for his *conversion* or *forgiveness*: or he knew his case to be too desperate to admit of either. Nevertheless, he left the *vengeance* entirely to God, whose right it was; and he took not upon him so much as to *judge* of the *precise degree* of his demerits, but committed that also to the unerring judgment of God. I am aware, that very considerable Divines, ancient and modern, choose to resolve the case another way, either into *prediction* by the Spirit, or into *apostolical* authority: but I humbly conceive, that there is no need of either supposition, to reconcile the seeming difficulty. Only, as I before hinted, an *Apostle* might better know the *desperate* state of such a person, than any one can ordinarily know at this day; and so he might proceed upon *surer* grounds: on which account, his example is not lightly to be imitated, or to be drawn into a precedent. Enough, I presume, has been here said of the nature, measure, and extent of *Gospel forgiveness*, and I may now proceed to a new article of *sacramental* preparation.

3. Another *previous* qualification, much insisted upon by the ancients^e, was a due regard to *Church unity* and *public peace*, in opposition to *schism* in the Church or *faction* in the State. The reason and the obligation of both is self-evident, and I need not enlarge upon it. It may be noted, that the Corinthians, whom St. Paul reprov'd, were much wanting in this article of *preparation*; as appeared by their heats and animosities, their sidings and contests. They did not duly consider this Sacrament as a *symbol of peace*, a *feast of amity*: they did not *discern* the *Lord's body* to be, what it really is, a *cement of union*, and a bond of true Christian membership, through the Spirit.

4. A fourth article was *mercy* and *charity* towards the *poor* brethren^f. The equity of which is manifest: and it is a duty which has been so often and so well explained, both from the press and the pulpit, that I may here spare myself the trouble of saying a word more of it.

Having shewn, first, that *repentance*, at large, is a necessary part of sacramental preparation, and having shewn also of what *particulars* such repentance *chiefly* consists, (not excluding other particulars, for repentance means *entire* obedience,) I may now

^d 2 Tim. iv. 14.^e Bingham, xv. 8, 11.^f See Bingham, xv. 8, 12.

add, for the preventing groundless scruples, that *allowances* are always supposed for *sins of infirmity*, sins of *daily incursion*, such as are ordinarily consistent with a *prevailing* love of God and love of our neighbour. The slighter kind of offences ought never to be looked upon as any *bar* to our *receiving*, but rather as arguments for receiving, and that *frequently*, in order to gain ground of them more and more, and to have them washed off in the salutary blood of Christ.

As to the length of *time* to be taken up in preparing, there is no one certain rule to be given, which can suit all cases or circumstances: only, when a man has competently adjusted his accounts with God, (be it sooner, or be it later,) then is he fit to come, and not till then. There is an *habitual*, and there is an *actual* preparation. The *habitual* preparation is a *good life*; and the further we are advanced in it, the less need there is of any *actual* preparation besides: but because men are too apt to flatter and deceive their *own hearts*, and to speak *peace* to themselves without sufficient grounds for so doing; therefore some *actual* preparation, self-examination, &c. is generally necessary even to those who may be *habitually* good, if it be only to give them a *well grounded assurance* that they really are so. However, the better men are, the less actual preparation may suffice, and the shorter warning will be needful. Some therefore may receive as often as they have opportunity, though it were ever so sudden or unexpected; and they may turn it to good account by their pious care and recollection in their closets afterwards. Others may have a great deal to consider of beforehand, many offences to correct, many disorders to set right, much to do and much to undo, before they presume to come to God's altar.

Fault has been sometimes found with the little treatises of Weekly Preparation, and the like: I think without reason. They are exceeding *useful* in their kind; and even their *number* and *variety* is an advantage, considering that the tastes, tempers, necessities, capacities, and outward circumstances of Christians, are also manifold and various. It may be happy for them who need *none* of those helps: but they that *least* need them are not the men, generally, who most *despise* them. However, they are not *obtruded* as things absolutely *necessary* for *all*, but as highly *useful* to *many*, and especially upon their *first* receiving: though we are none of us perhaps so perfect, as not to want, at some seasons, some such hints for recollection, or helps to devotion. There may be *excesses*, or there may be *defects* in such

treatises : what *human* compositions are without them? On the other hand, it should be considered, that there may be *excesses* and *defects* also in the *censures* or *judgments* passed upon them : for *human* frailties are as much seen to prevail in the work of *judging* and *censuring*, as in any thing else whatsoever. In the general, it is well for common Christians, that they are so plentifully provided with useful *manuals* of that kind : they that are well disposed will make use of them as often as they need them, and will at all times give God thanks and praises for them.

I have said nothing hitherto, about coming *fasting* to the Lord's table, neither need I say much now. The rule was *early*, and almost *universal*^s ; a rule of the *Church*, not a rule of Scripture, and so a matter of *Christian liberty*, rather than of strict *command*. They that use it as most expressive of *Christian humility* and *reverence*, or as an help to *devotion*, do well ; and they that forbear it, either on account of *infirmity*, or for fear of being *indisposed*, and rendered less fit to attend the service, are not to be blamed. No one need be *scrupulous* concerning this matter : none should be *ensorious* either way ; either in rashly charging *superstition* on one hand, or in charging, as rashly, *irreverence* on the other. I shall only observe further, that it was a weak thing for so great a man as the justly celebrated Mabillon to draw an argument in favour of the *corporal* presence, from the custom of the Church in administering or receiving this holy Sacrament *fasting*^h. For as the custom, probably, came in accidentally, either because, in times of persecution, Christians chose to communicate *early* in the *morning* for their greater *safety*, or because abuses had been committed in the previous *love feasts* ; so was it continued for the like prudential reasons, and then only came to have different colours put upon it, when the reasons which first introduced it were, in a manner, forgotten and sunk. Besides, it was the ancient custom for both the administrator and receiver of *Baptism*, to come *fasting*, out of reverence to that Sacramentⁱ : which further shews how slight the argument is, drawn from the custom of *fasting* before the Eucharist, as to proving any thing of a *corporal* presence. If any man duly considering how *sacred* those *symbols* of the

^s Bingham, xv. 7, 8. Gaspar. Calvoer. Ritual. Eccles. vol. i. p. 413, &c. Sam. Basnag. Annal. tom. ii. p. 295, &c.

^h Mabillon de Liturg. Gallican.

lib. i. cap. 6. p. 60, 61.

ⁱ Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. tom. i. p. 25. The like rule was afterwards made for Confirmation. Vid. p. 237, 239.

Eucharist are, and to what *high* and *holy* purposes they were ordained, looks upon *fasting* as a proper token of the *reverence* he bears towards things *sacred*; he may as well fast upon that principle, as upon the imaginary notion of a *corporal* or *local* presence.

I have nothing further to add, upon the head of sacramental *preparation*: but if any one desires to see this article more minutely drawn out, in its full length, he will not perhaps easily find a treatise better fitted to the purpose, than Bishop Taylor's *Worthy Communicant*^k: to that therefore I refer the reader.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Obligation to frequent Communion.

AS to *frequency* or *constancy* in receiving the Sacrament, it may be justly said in the general, abstracting from particular circumstances, that a man cannot *too often* commemorate our Lord and his passion, nor *too often* return devout thanks and praises for the same, nor *too often* repeat his resolutions of amendment, nor *too often* renew his solemn engagements, nor *too often* receive pardon of sins, and fresh succours of Divine grace: and if coming to the Lord's table (prepared or unprepared) were a sure and infallible way to answer those good and great ends, there could then be no question, but that it would be both our wisdom and our duty to communicate as often as opportunities should invite and health permit. But it is certain, on the other hand, that bare *communicating* is not the thing required, but communicating *worthily*. Here lies the main stress of all, not to urge *frequency* of communion so far as to render this holy Sacrament *hurtful* or *fruitless* to the parties concerned; neither yet to abate so far of the *frequency*, as to make a kind of dearth or famine of this so salutary and necessary food. Divines in all ages of the Church (unless we may except the first, and part of the second) have found some perplexity in settling a *just mean* between the extremes. I do not mean as to *theory*, or as to the thing considered in the *general* and in the *abstract*, but with respect to particular persons, cases, and circumstances; of which it is very difficult, if not impossible, to judge with unerring exactness. They determined perhaps as well and as wisely, upon the fairest presumptions and probabilities, as human sagacity in such dark cases could do: and if they sometimes ran into extremes, either on the right hand or

^k Taylor's *Worthy Communicant*, chap. ii. iii. iv. v. vi. p. 79—357.

on the left, their meaning all the while was good, and their conduct such as may reasonably claim all candid construction, and the best natured allowances. One thing is observable, (and I know not whether one can justly blame them for it,) that, for the most part, they seemed inclinable to abate of *frequency*, rather than of the strictness of *preparation* or *qualification*. They considered, that *due dispositions* were absolutely necessary to make the Sacrament *salutary*, and were therefore chiefly to be looked to: and they supposed, with good reason, that God would more easily dispense with the want of the *Sacrament* than with the want of the *qualifications* proper for it. They thought further, that while a man was content to abstain from the Lord's table, out of an *awful reverence* for it, there was good probability that such a person would, by degrees, be perfectly reclaimed: but if once a man should set light by those *holy solemnities*, and irreverently rush upon them, without awe or concern, there could be very little hopes of his conversion or amendment; because he *despised* the most *sacred bands* of allegiance towards *God*, and looked upon them only as *common forms*¹. Such were the prevailing sentiments of the ablest Divines and casuists in those *ancient times*; as will appear, more fully, when I come to give a brief detail of their resolutions in this article, which I shall do presently.

But I may first take notice, for the clearer conception of the whole case, that since it is allowed on all hands, that there can be no just bar to *frequency* of Communion, but the *want of preparation*, which is only such a bar as men may themselves remove if they please, it concerns them highly to take off the impediment, as soon as possible, and not to trust to vain hopes of alleviating one fault by another. It was required under the Law, that a man should come *holy and clean*, and well *prepared*^m to the *Passover*: but yet his neglecting to be *clean* (when he might be clean) was never allowed as a just apology for his staying away. No: the absenting in that case was an offence great enough to deserve the being *cut off* from God's peopleⁿ, because it amounted to a disesteeming, and, in effect, disowning God's *covenant*. The *danger* of misperforming any religious duty is an argument for *fear* and *caution*, but no excuse for *neglect*: God insists upon the *doing* it, and the doing it *well* also. The proper duty of the high priest, under the Law, was a very *dangerous*

¹ Vid. Isidor. Pelusiot. lib. iii. ep. 364. p. 398. alias 345.

^m 2 Chron. xxx. 1, & c. xxxv. 3—6, & c.
ⁿ Exod. xii. 15, 19. Num. ix. 13.

employ, requiring the exactest *care* and profoundest *reverence*^o: nevertheless, there was no declining the service; neither was the *exactness* of the preparation or qualifications any proper excuse to be pleaded for non-performance. It was no sufficient plea for the *slothful* servant, under the Gospel, that he thought his Master hard to please, and thereupon neglected his bounden duty P: for the use he ought to have made of that thought was, to have been so much the more wakeful and diligent in his Master's service. Therefore, in the case of the *holy Communion*, it is to very little purpose to plead the strictness of the *self-examination*, or *preparation*, by way of excuse either for a *total*, or for a *frequent*, or for a *long* neglect of it. A man may say, that he comes not to the table, because he is *not prepared*, and so far he assigns a *good* reason: but if he should be further asked, why he is *not prepared*, when he may; there he can only make some trifling, insufficient excuse, or remain speechless.

But for the further clearing of this important article of *frequent Communion*, it may be proper to trace the judgment and practice of the churches of Christ from the beginning, and downwards through six or eight centuries; which I shall endeavour to do in as plain and few words as the nature of the subject will admit of.

Century the First.

In the days of the Apostles, Communion was *frequent*; either *every day*, or at least *every Lord's day*. Some have probably enough collected from the history of the Acts, that at Jerusalem, the mother church, there was a *daily* Communion^q, and that in other churches the custom was to have *weekly* Communion at least, that is to say, upon the *Lord's day*^r. But all must be understood of persons *fitly prepared*, to appearance at least: for it is certain, that open *fornicators*, *extortioners*, *idolaters*, and the like, were not admitted to Communion. Christians were not allowed to *keep company* with such delinquents, no not to *eat common meals*^s; much less to *communicate*. St. Paul gave orders for excommunicating the *incestuous* Corinthian^t; and he admitted him not again, till after a very serious and solemn repentance, after his being almost *swallowed up of grief*^u. However, it is observable, that both his *exclusion* and his *readmission*

^o Levit. xvi. 13. Conf. Deyling. *Observ. Sacr.* tom. ii. n. 41. p. 493. tom. iii. n. 46. p. 454, &c.

P Matt. xxv. 24, &c. Luke xix. 20, &c.

^q Acts ii. 42, 46.

^r Acts xx. 7. ^s 1 Cor. v. 11, 12. Compare 2 John 10.

^t 1 Cor. v. 5, 13.

^u 2 Cor. ii. 6, 7.

were within the compass of a twelvemonth: for St. Paul's two Epistles to Corinth are judged to bear date the same year, namely, A. D. 57. Such are the apostolical precedents for *frequent* Communion if *prepared*, and for *abstaining* if *not prepared*.

Century the Second.

In the next century we have undoubted evidences of *weekly* Communions, and particularly on the *Lord's day*. This is justly collected from the testimony of the younger Pliny above cited ^x, and is plainly declared by Justin Martyr^y, of the same century. None but true *believers* and men of *good lives* were permitted to receive, as I before observed ^z from the same excellent writer: so that *frequency* of communicating was never urged in derogation of the *preparatory* requisites, or to make any abatement in them. As to *public* and *scandalous* offences, in faith or manners, those the Church could see, and provide against, by debarring the offenders from Communion: and as to *secret* impediments, they took what care they could, by permitting or exhorting such as might be conscious of their own unfitness, to forbear coming to the altar. There is a remarkable passage to this purpose, in a learned writer of the second century, which runs thus: "Some, " after the customary division of the elements, leave it upon the " *conscienc*es of their people, either to take their part, or other- " wise. For the best rule to determine them in their partici- " pation or forbearance, is their *own conscience*: and the surest " foundation for conscience to proceed upon is a *good life*, joined " with a competent measure of proficiency in *Christian knowledge*. " And the best method of coming at the knowledge of the *truth*, " and a *right performance* of what is commanded, is to choose " for your direction persons of most *approved* faith and conduct. " For whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup of the " Lord *unworthily* shall be *guilty* of the body and blood of the " Lord: but let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of " the bread, and drink of the cup^a." Thus far Clemens. And from thence we may observe, that there was yet no standing rule or Canon of the Church, obliging all the faithful to *receive* as often as they met for Divine Service; but Christians were left at liberty to judge how far they were fitly *qualified* in knowledge, or in godly living: only, it was supposed, that they ought to be *fitly* qualified; and if they were, to *receive*.

^x See above, chap. i. p. 481.

^y Τῆ τοῦ ἁλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρα, κ.
τ. λ. *Just. Mart. Apol.* i. p. 97.

^z See above, chap. xiii. p. 767.

^a Clem. Alex. Strom. i. p. 318.

Tertullian, who lived in the close of the same century, takes notice of some who declined *receiving*, upon the *stationary* days, (Wednesdays and Fridays,) for fear of breaking their *fast*^b. He blames them for their foolish scruple, and suggests to them a better way, whereby they might keep both their *fast* and their *feast*. I may observe from it, that he thought it a *duty* incumbent upon all the faithful, to *communicate* as often as they might; but the Church had not yet enforced the duty with any *Canons*, obliging them under pain of ecclesiastical *censure* to *receive*: for, had that been the case, Tertullian, probably, would have mentioned it; or rather, there would scarce have been room left either for their *scruples* on one hand, or for his charitable *advice* on the other. However, from hence perhaps we may date the first beginnings of that *coldness* and *backwardness* in point of *frequent* Communion, which grew up apace amongst Christians afterwards: it is not certain that those persons were *sincere* in their pretended scruples; but they might be willing to shift off the duty as decently as they could, under the fairest colours.

Century the Third.

St. Cyprian, who flourished about the middle of the third century, mentions *daily* Communion, as the common practice of that time^c: and he every where speaks highly of the *use* and *benefit* of the Sacrament to the *worthy* receivers: but no man could be more careful to prevent any one's coming to the Lord's table, who had committed any of the *grievous* sins, and had not yet made full *satisfaction* to God and the world, by a strict and solemn repentance.

In this century crept in some superstitious or overcurious conceits about *legal* defilements^d, as a bar to *Communion*, or even to coming to the Christian assemblies. Such niceties, while they carried a show of reverence for *holy* places and things, might notwithstanding have better been let alone; having no warrant in the Gospel of Christ, nor in the practice of the earlier ages of the Church, so far as appears: neither indeed were they altogether consistent with the ancient custom of *daily* Communion, of all the faithful, which had obtained in some churches. One thing is observable, that during the first *three centuries*, we meet with no *Canons* made to enforce *frequent* Communion, scarce so

^b Tertullian. de Orat. cap. xiv. p. 136.

^d Vid. Canones Dionys. Alexandrin. Harduin. tom. i. p. 187, &c. Bevereg. Pandect. tom. ii. p. 4, &c.

^c See the whole passage above, chap. vi. p. 553.

much as *exhortations* to it, or any *complaints* of neglect in that article: which is an argument that Christians in those times were not *tardy* in that respect, but rather forward and pressing, under an high notion of the *privilege* and *comfort* of partaking of the holy Communion. Therefore the chief care and concern of Church guides, during the first ages, was rather to inculcate the necessity of *due preparation*, than to insist upon *frequency*, for which there was less occasion. But times and circumstances soon came to be altered; as we shall see presently, upon taking a view of the following centuries.

Century the Fourth.

In the year 305 (some say, 300, or 303, or 313, or 324) was held a council of nineteen Bishops, at Eliberis, or Elvira, in Andalusia, a province of Spain. Among many other Canons, a rule was then made, not to accept of an *offering* from one who did not *communicate*^e. We may judge from hence, that Christians now began to be *remiss*, with respect to *Communion*, and that such *Canon* was intended for a gentle rebuke to them; a mark of public disfavour, in order to excite and quicken them, first to *prepare*, and then to *receive*. Many perhaps might now grow cold and careless as to coming to the Lord's table; either because they had not a just sense of the *use* and *benefit* of it, and of the *obligations* they were under to it; or they loved the world too well, and were willing to put off their *repentance* from day to day, and so of course to stave off that *solemn profession* which the holy Sacrament required. The like coldness and backwardness appeared in many of that age, even with respect to *Baptism*^f: for, while they were well-wishers to it, and stood candidates for it, they yet loved to procrastinate and to feign excuses; because delaying *Baptism* was delaying *repentance*, which depraved nature was prone enough to do. The case, very probably, was much the same with respect to this other *Sacrament*: and hence arose that *coldness* towards it, which the Church guides of those times were much concerned at, and endeavoured gently to remove.

When those milder applications did not sufficiently answer, some brisker methods were thought on for the compassing the same good end. In the year 341, a Council of Antioch decreed,

^e *Episcopos, placuit, ab eo qui non communicat, munera accipere non debere. Concil. Illiberit. Can. xxviii. Harduin. 153.*

^f *Vid. Basil. Homil. in Sanct. Bapt. p. 114, &c. edit. Bened. tom. ii. Gre-*

gor. Nazianz. Orat. xl. p. 647, &c. Constit. Apostol. lib. vi. cap. 15. Gregor. Nyssen. de Baptism. Opp. tom. iii. p. 216, &c. Compare Bingham, xi. 6. 2, 3, &c.

“ That all they who came to Church, and heard the holy Scriptures read, and afterwards joined not in *prayer* with the people, or turned their backs on the *holy Communion*, after a disorderly way, should be cast out of the Church, till such time as they should make public confession of their fault, and give proofs of their repentance, and humbly sue to be reconciled &c.” This rule may seem to be a *severe* rule, on more accounts than one. 1. As it appears to run in *general* terms, making no express exceptions for those who, for *just* causes, best known to themselves, might sometimes decline *receiving*. 2. Supposing any person to absent from the Lord’s table, out of *reverence* to it, (being conscious to himself of some *secret* offences,) as it was a rule of the Church to excommunicate no man but for *open* and *scandalous* sins, it might look hard to excommunicate merely for not receiving *constantly*; because it was, in effect, extending discipline even to the most *private* and *concealed* offences, or to other impediments. 3. Since no one ought to *receive* but he that sincerely *repents*; and since repentance must be *free*, or it is really no repentance; it appears not right to excommunicate a man, in order to oblige him to *receive*, unless it were right also to excommunicate every one who should delay *repentance*, or who would not instantly be persuaded to *reform*, so far as to be capable of receiving *worthily* the holy Communion. This appears not to have been the rule of the earlier centuries: for they left men at liberty to judge (except in cases of open scandal) how far they were *worthy* or otherwise, and thereupon to choose either to *receive* or *forbear*. These or the like reasons, I presume, have put learned men upon softening explications, to mitigate the rigour of the *Canon*. Emanuel Schelstrate has suggested, that the order then made pointed chiefly at the *Audians*, or *Quarto-decimans*^b, who held private conventicles, but came occasionally to Church, to hear the Scriptures read, and sermons preached, and then departed, in a disorderly and scornful manner, upon some erroneous principles of their sect, to the great scandal and offence of the more serious and sober part of the congregation. Schelstrate’s account is favoured by two circumstances: one, that the *Canon* immediately preceding most

Ἐ Πάντας τοὺς, εἰσιόντας εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν ἀκούοντας, μὴ κοινωνούντας δὲ εὐχῆς ἅμα τῷ λαῷ, ἢ ἀποτρεφόμενους τὴν ἁγίαν μετάληψιν τῆς εὐχαριστίας, κατὰ τινα ἀταξίαν, τοὺτους ἀποβλήτους γίνεσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἕως ἂν ἐξομολογησάμενοι καὶ

δείξαντες καρποὺς μετανοίας, καὶ παρακάλεσαντες τυχὲν δυναθῶσι συγγνώμης. *Concil. Antioch. Can. ii. Bevereg. Pand. p. 431.*

^b Vid. Schelstrate de *Concil. Antiochen. p. 179, 222.*

plainly strikes at the *Quarto-decimians*, though without naming them; and the other, that the Canon does not *simply* and *absolutely* censure *all* non-communicants, but *some* only, with this *restriction*, as doing it *κατά τινα ἀραφλίαν*, which Dionysius Exiguus renders *pro quadam intemperantia*, with a *certain rudeness*; and Isidorus Mercator renders *secundum aliquam propriam disciplinam*, according to the principles of their own sect. Now, if such was the case, then the rigour of the Canon affected not the main body of the faithful, adhering to the Church, who might be still left to the same discretionary conscientious liberty as before.

Perhaps the like account may serve for the *Apostolical Canons* also, so far as concerns this article: Schelstrate was of that mind, and applied the same solution to bothⁱ. One of the *Apostolical Canons* orders, “That if any Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, “or any of the sacerdotal college, does not *communicate* when “there is a *Communion*, [oblation,] he shall be obliged to assign “a *reason*; and if it be a *just* one, he shall be excused: otherwise he shall be *suspended*, as giving offence to the people, and “as raising a suspicion upon the *administrator*, as if he did not “*salutarily* execute his office^k.” The last words put me in mind of the fourth Canon of the Council of Gangra, held a few years before the Antiochian: some place it in 324, some in 330; all agree, that it was not later than 340. That Canon decrees, “That if any one takes exception to a *married* Presbyter, as “such, thinking it not lawful to receive the *Communion* at his “hands, let him be *anathema*!” Whether the Antiochian and Apostolical Canons might not have some view to that case, in what they decreed against any one’s turning his back on the Communion, I leave to the learned to consider.

The next *Canon* called *Apostolical* makes a like order with respect to the *laity*, as the former had done with regard to the *clergy*: viz. “That as many of the faithful as came to Church, “and did not abide all the time of the *prayer* and *Communion*, “should be excommunicated, as guilty of raising disturbance in

ⁱ Schelstrate, *ibid.* p. 222.

^k Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ, προσφορὰς γενομένης, μὴ μεταλάβοι, τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπάτω· καὶ εἰς εὐλογος ἢ, συγγνώμης τυγχανέτω· εἰ δὲ μὴ λέγῃ, ἀφοριζέσθω, ὡς αἴτιος βλάβης γενηθείς τῷ λαῷ, καὶ ὑπόνοιαν ἐμπούησας κατὰ τοῦ προσενέγκαντος, ὡς μὴ

ὑγιῶς ἀνεέγκοντος. *Can. Apostol. vi.* alias viii.

^l Εἴ τις διακρίνοιτο περὶ πρεσβυτέρου γεγαμηκότος, ὡς μὴ χρεῖται, λειτουργήσαντος αὐτοῦ, προσφορὰς μεταλαμβάνειν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. *Concil. Gangrens. Can. iv.* Hard. p. 530. Bevereg. Pand. tom. i. 419.

“the Church^m.” It is hard to judge certainly of the particular drift or purport of such Canons, without a more explicit knowledge of the then present circumstances: but it is not likely that they were ever intended to oblige all the faithful to communicate as often as they came to Divine Service, or to abridge them of the reasonable liberty of judging how far they were prepared for it, and whether they might not sometimes (provided it were not customary, so as to amount to *contempt*) abstain from it. Balsamon, in his Notes upon the Apostolical Canon last cited, calls it a very *harsh decree*ⁿ: and so indeed it is, if interpreted with utmost rigour. But he intimates elsewhere, that the Greek Church in his time received it with a *softening* explication^o. Schelstrate, as before noted, has suggested another; and to both I have taken the liberty to subjoin a third. It is not reasonable to think, that a modest and sober departure, before Communion began, (a practice now common, and, I believe, always in use, more or less,) could be looked upon as a *disturbance*: but if it was done out of *dislike*, or *contempt*, and upon *factionous* principles, then indeed it would be apt to make *great disturbance*; and that, very probably, was what the compilers of those *Canons* were solicitous to prevent or remedy. But I return.

I proceed in reciting the principles of the *fourth* century, with regard to *frequent* Communion. Basil (about the year 372) being consulted on this head, declares it good and profitable to communicate *every day*; testifying withal, of the practice of the church of Cæsarea, where he was, that they celebrated the Sacrament *four* times a week, (on Sunday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday,) besides the *saints’ days*, [festivals of martyrs,] as often as they occurred^p: but he does not say how diligent or how constant the people were in attending upon it.

Chrysostom, of the same century, somewhat later, will give us the best light, both with respect to the *practices* of that age, and the *rules* whereby it was conducted. In one place of his works, he speaks thus: “Many partake of this sacrifice *once* a year, some *twice*, some *oftener*.—Which of them should we

^m Πάντας τοὺς εἰσιόντας πιστοὺς εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν ἀκούοντας, μὴ παραμένοντας δὲ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ, μεταλήψει, ὡς ἀτάξίαν ἐμποιοῦντας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀφορίζεσθαι χρή. *Can. Apostol. vii. alias ix.*

ⁿ Διορισμὸς δριμύτατός ἐστιν. *Balsam. in loc.*

^o Vid. Beveregii Annot. in Apost. *Can. ix. p. 21.*

^p Basil. Epist. xciii. (alias cclxxxix.) p. 186. ed. Bened. tom. iii. Conf. Socrat. Eccles. Histor. lib. v. cap. 22.

“ most approve of? Those that communicate *once*, or those that “ do it *often*, or those that *seldom* do it? Neither the *once-comers*, “ nor the *often*, nor the *seldom*, but those that come with a *clean* “ *conscience*, a *pure heart*, and a *life unblamable*, they that are so “ qualified should come *constantly*: but as to them that are not, “ *once* is too much for them. And why so? Because they will “ only receive to themselves *judgment* and *condemnation*, *pains* “ and *penalties*.” Here we may observe how this good Father pressed upon his hearers the duty of *constant* Communion, but under caution of coming *fitly prepared*: otherwise he thought it would not be barely *fruitless*, but *hurtful*. That was the standing rule of the Church, the settled principle which they constantly went upon, with respect to *both Sacraments*. For, whatever high notions they might entertain of the *use* or *necessity* of *Baptism*, yet they never would encourage any person to receive it, before they believed him well *qualified* for it; but would sometimes keep the *catechumens* back, for five, or ten, or twenty years, or even to the hour of death, rather than admit them in a state of *impenitence*, or before they had been well disciplined and proved^r. Sacraments were a good *superstructure*: but the *foundation* was first and principally to be looked to, the foundation of *repentance* and a *good life*. Qualifications ought to go before admission: and *service* before *privileges*. But I pass on.

Chrysostom, in another Homily, reproves the *non-communi- cants*, and presses *frequent* Communion in the manner here following: “ In vain stand we at the *altar*, none come to *receive*. “ I speak not barely to persuade you to *receive*, but to make “ yourselves *worthy*. You are not *worthy* [you will say] of the “ *sacrifice*, or not fit to receive? Then neither are you worthy “ of the *prayer*: do you not hear the *Deacon*, when he stands up “ and proclaims, *As many among you as are under penance, with-* “ *draw?* All that do not communicate, are supposed to be “ under penance. If you are of the number of *penitents*, you “ must not receive: for he that does not receive is under “ *penance*. Why does he [the Deacon] say, *All ye that cannot* “ *pray, depart?* And why do you, after that, impudently stay? “ You are not one of those, you will say, but of those who may “ receive. Have you then no regard for that, or do you think “ it a slight privilege? Consider, I beseech you, &c.—Every one “ that does not partake of the mysteries, is shameless and im-

^q Chrysostom. in Hebr. hom. xvii.
p. 856. edit. Paris.

^r See Testimonies referred to in
Bingham, xi. 6. 1.

“ pudent to stand by all the while.—You sing the *hymn* with “ the rest, and you profess yourself one of the *worthy*, by your “ not departing with the *unworthy*. With what face then can “ you presume to *stay*, and yet not partake of the table? You “ plead, you are *unworthy*: you are therefore unworthy to join “ in the *prayers*, for the Holy Spirit descends, not only in the “ offering of the *elements*, but also in the chanting of the *hymns*.” Chrysostom here pleads for *frequent* Communion, in a strong affecting way, but still loses not sight of the main point, which was the receiving *worthily*.

The argument he draws from *prayer* to *Communion* has been sometimes misunderstood, and may here deserve to be set right. He does not mean that *prayer* in general requires the same preparation that the *Communion* does, or that every one who may properly be admitted to the former may as properly be admitted to the latter also. No: that would run directly counter to the known principles and practice, and standing discipline of the Church in that age: for nothing was more usual than to admit *penitents*, of the *fourth order*, to *communion in prayers*, for two, three, four, or sometimes five years, and all the while to debar them from the *holy Communion*, as not yet *worthy* to be admitted to it[†]. But what Chrysostom meant was, that it was very absurd, and even downright impudent, for a man to claim a right to stand by, all the while that the *Communion* was administering, and to *join* in those most *sacred* and *mystical* prayers and *hymns*, which were *proper* to it, and at the same time to pretend that he was not *worthy* of it: for, if he really was not worthy to *receive*, he was not worthy to be *present* during that holy solemnity, or to bear a part in the *prayers* which peculiarly belonged to it. I know, it has been thought by

* Chrysost. in Ephes. hom. iii. p. 887, 888.

N. B. The Communion hymns are by Goar (Euchol. p. 136.) distinguished into four:

1. “*Ἕμνος ἀγγελικός*. The angelical. *Glory to God on high*, &c.

2. “*Ἕμνος χερουβικός*. The *cherubical* hymn, in Goar, p. 206.

3. “*Ἕμνος τρισάγιος*. *Sanctus Deus, sanctus fortis*, &c.

4. “*Ἕμνος ἐπινίκιος*. The *triumphal* hymn. *Holy, holy, holy*, Lord, &c. Isa. vi. 3.

But the first and fourth are the most ancient: the second and third

are both later than Chrysostom. The three last are but one *trisagium* in the main, one *cherubical*, or *seraphical* hymn, with some variations, additions, and interpolations made at different times. See Bingham, xiv. 2, 3. xv. 3, 9, 10. Allix. Dissert. de Trisagii Origine. Renaudot. Liturg. Collect. tom. i. pag. 228. tom. ii. pag. 69.

† Concil. Ancyran. Can. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, 24. Concil. Nicen. Can. 11, 12, 13. Basil. Can. 22, 30, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 66, 75, 82, 83. Concil. Carthag. vi. Can. 11. Concil. Trull. Can. 87.

persons of good learning, that the *fourth* order of penitents (called *συνιστάμενοι*, *consistentes*, in English *co-standers*, or *associates*) were allowed to be *present* during the *whole* solemnity, while prohibited from *receiving*, and that Sunday after Sunday, for several years together: which would have been committing that very *absurdity* which Chrysostom here so strongly remonstrates against. But I take that prevailing notion to be all a mistake, owing to the want of a right understanding the ancient *Canons* and ancient *phrases*. Those *co-standers* were allowed to communicate in *prayers* with the faithful^u. What prayers, is the question. I suppose the prayers *previous* to the holy kiss, *previous* also to the *oblation*; which were indeed part of the *missa fidelium*, or *Communion Service*, (like to our *prayer* for the *Church militant*;) but were not the proper *mystical* prayers belonging to the *Communion*, and of which Chrysostom is to be understood. The *co-standers*, being the highest order of *penitents*, had the privilege to *stand* in the same place of the Church with the *faithful*, and to *abide* there, after the *catechumens* and lower penitents were dismissed; and they were permitted to *communicate in prayer*, till the *oblation* began, and then they also were to withdraw. This I collect, as from several other circumstances, so particularly from hence, that the Deacons just before the *salutation* of peace, warned all *non-communicants* to withdraw^z. The *co-standers* must of course have been reckoned of that number, being forbid to communicate; and therefore they must have been obliged to withdraw after the *preparatory* prayers, and before the *Communion*, properly speaking, began. Chrysostom himself intimates in another Homily, that all *non-communicants* were warned to depart^y; and that presently after came on the *mystical hymn*. About that time the *co-standers*, as I conceive,

^u Εὐχῆς δὲ μόνης κοινωνῆσαι. *Concil. Ancyr. Can. iv. Κοινωνῆσαι χωρὶς προσφορᾶς. Ibid. Can. vi.* So in the Nicene Canons, and Basil's, &c.

All that did not depart with the *catechumens*, after the Gospel, or with the *penitents* soon after, *communicated in prayer*, as appears by the Apostolical Constitutions. Μὴ κοινωνεῖτωσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ, ἀλλ' ἐξερχέσθωσαν μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. lib. ii. cap. 39. The Council of Laodicea distinctly mentions what *prayers* preceded the *oblation*. Can. xix. p. 786. Harduin.

^x Ἐν τῇ θείᾳ ἀναφορᾷ, ὁ διάκονος προσφωνεῖ πρὸ τοῦ ἄσπασμου· οἱ ἀκοινωνήτοι περιπατήσατε. *Timoth. Alex. Resp. ix. 1104. Hard.* Οἱ τὴν πρώτην εὐχὴν εὐχόμενοι, προέλθετε. *Apost. Constitut. lib. viii. cap. 12.* Si quis non communicat, det locum. *Gregor. M. Dial. lib. ii. cap. 23.*

^y Μὴ τις τῶν κατηγορουμένων, μὴ τις τῶν μὴ ἐσθιόντων, μὴ τις τῶν κατασκόπων, μὴ τις τῶν μὴ δυναμένων θεάσασθαι τὸν μόσχον ἐσθιόμενον.—μὴ τις ἀνάξιος τῆς ζωῆς θυσίας, &c. *Chrysost. Homil. de Fil. Prod. tom. vi. p. 375. Paris.*

withdrew. Neither, indeed, is it credible, that so knowing a person as Chrysostom would have represented it as a flaming absurdity for a *non-communicant* to be present during the *whole* solemnity, had the custom of the Church allowed it in the *co-standers*, who were non-communicants.

It may be objected, that Pope Siricius (about A. D. 385.) allowed or ordered some *non-communicants* to abide till the *whole service* was over^z: and Sozomen speaks of the custom of the western churches, as obliging the penitents to wait all the time of the *Communion Service*, in order to receive the Bishop's absolution after it was ended^a. These are the principal passages which have led learned men into a persuasion, that the *co-standers* were used to be *present* during the *whole solemnity*. But they did not observe, that the *preparatory service* was called the *service*, or the *mass*, and that the *Communion*, properly, began not till that service was ended, and the non-communicants were withdrawn. Gregory Turonensis, of the sixth century, may help to clear this matter: he speaks of the *Communion's* beginning after the *masses* or *liturgies* were ended^b. Cyprian, long before, spake much after the same way^c. And even Justin Martyr has made mention of the *common prayers*, as ended, before the Communion began, before the holy *salutation*: and soon after he takes notice of the subsequent *prayers* and *thanksgivings* proper to the Communion^d. Those subsequent prayers were what Chrysostom spake of, as altogether improper for any to join in, or to be present at, except the *communicants* themselves.

A learned writer of our own observes, that " what in Chrysostom's time was reckoned a crime, was presently after accounted a piece of devotion, for the people to stay and hear " the *whole solemnity* of the service, till the time of communicat-

^z Diximus decernendum, ut *sola* intra ecclesiam fidelibus oratione jungantur; *Sacris mysteriorum celebritatibus*, quamvis non mereantur, intersint; a Dominicæ autem mensæ convivio segregentur, &c. *Siric. Epist.* p. 848. Harduin.

^a Πληρωθείσης τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ λειτουργίας. *Sozom. lib. vii. cap. 16.* p. 300. edit. Cant.

^b Ubi *peractis solemnibus*, ad sacrosanctum altarium communicandi gratia accessisset, &c. *Gregor. Turon. lib. ix. n. 3. p. 419.*

Cumque *expletis missis*, populus cæpisset sacrosanctum corpus Redemptoris accipere. *Greg. Turon. de*

Mirac. Mattin. lib. ii. cap. 47. p. 1060. Conf. Mabillon de Liturg. Gallican. p. 35, 36, 51.

^c Ubi vero *solemnibus adimpletis*, calicem diaconus offerre præsentibus cæpit, &c. *Cyprian. de Laps. p. 132.* edit. Oxon.

^d Ἀλλήλους φιλήματι ἀσπασόμεθα, παυσάμενοι τῶν εὐχῶν ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προστάτῃ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος, καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος, καὶ κράματος. Καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν, αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὁλων, διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, ἀναπέμπει. *Justin. Mart. Apol. i. p. 95.* 96. edit. Thirlb.

“ing, and then they might depart without partaking of the Communion: which was plainly a relaxation of the ancient discipline, and a deviation from the primitive practice^e.” For this he refers to the Council of Agde of the year 506, and to the first Council of Orleans in 511. I take not upon me to defend what was done in later times, but to clear Chrysostom’s argument, as consonant to the principles and practice of that age with respect to *non-communicants*, whether *co-standers* or others. However, I must observe, with respect even to the Councils of Agde and Orleans, that no order was made for *non-communicants* to stay during the *whole solemnity* of the Communion: only, they were obliged to wait for the Bishop’s *benediction*, (which was *previous*^f to the most *solemn* part of the service,) and then to depart. So that though the dismissal of the *non-communicants* might perhaps be deferred somewhat later now, than in Chrysostom’s time, yet dismissed they were before the *Communion* properly came on; and the *absurdity* which Chrysostom complained of, that of staying out the *whole solemnity* without communicating, never was admitted in those days.

The principal use I had in view, by what I have here said, was to take off a kind of popular plea, which has been sometimes urged in the name of Chrysostom, that every one who may be admitted to *prayers*, ought to be admitted to *Communion* also; and that there is no more reason for absenting from the *Communion*, on account of *unfitness*, than there is for absenting from *prayers* on the like account: for it is pleaded, that either a man is fit for *both* or for *neither*. Chrysostom never *said*, or most certainly never *meant* any such thing: so that his *authority* ought to be out of the question. As to the *reason* of the case, the plea can never hold upon that foot. It is true, *prayer* requires some *preparation*; and a man may pray *unworthily*, as well as communicate *unworthily*: and his prayer, in such circumstances, may be vain and fruitless^g. But yet it is no where said, that he who prays unworthily shall be *guilty of the body and blood* of the Lord, or that he shall draw down *judgment* upon himself by doing it. Neither is all prayer so sacred and solemn as *sacramental* prayer, nor is any mere prayer a *federal* rite, like a *Sacrament*: nor does the want of due preparation in prayer (though a culpable neglect) so directly tend to frustrate the

^e Bingham, xv. 4. 2.

^f Vid. Bona de Reb. Liturg. lib. ii. cap. 16. n. 1, 2. p. 664, &c. Mabillon de Liturg. Gallic. lib. i. cap. 4. n. 14.

p. 35. Calvoer. Ritual. Ecclesiast. vol. i. p. 713. Bingham, xv. 3. 28, 29.

^g Prov. xv. 8. Isa. i. 15.

most *sacred ties*, and to turn all religion into *hypocrisy* and *form*, as the want of it in the other case does: therefore, the two cases are by no means *parallel*, but *similar* only, and that in great disproportion. And hence it was (as I before hinted) that the ancients, while they admitted *catechumens* to some *prayers*, proper to them, and the lower degrees of *penitents* to *prayers* proper for them, and the highest order of penitents to some part of the *Communion prayers*, as not improper for them; yet they debarred even the best of them, sometimes, month after month, or year after year, as not yet *worthy* to receive the holy Communion.

I may now proceed somewhat further with Chrysostom. In another Homily, after he had been speaking of the *danger* of receiving *unworthily*, he adds, "I speak not this to deter you "from coming, but from coming *carelessly*. For, as there is "danger in coming carelessly, so there is *famine* and *death* in the "not partaking at all of the *mystical* supper. This table is, as "it were, the *sinews* of our souls, the girding up of the mind, "the support of our confidence; our hope, our health, our light, "our life^h." Here the eloquent Father seems to make it not so bad to receive *unworthily*, as to forbear receiving at all: for he represents the one as *dangerous*, the other as *fatal*. If so, the *unworthy non-communicant* would be in a worse condition than the *unworthy communicant*; and it would be *safest* to receive at all adventures: and if that were admitted, it would be hard to justify the ancient *discipline* with respect to either *Sacrament*. But here we must answer with distinction. Supposing the *unworthiness* equal in both, there is equally *contempt* in both cases, but not *equal* contempt; for the *unworthy communicant* is guilty of a *greater* contempt than the other, and is the most *profane* of the two, incurring *greater* damnation. As it were *better* not to have known the way of life, than to go counter to itⁱ; so it were *better* never to take the Sacrament, than to *profane* it as constantly as we take it. So then, to neglect it out of contempt is indeed *famine* and *death*: but still the other is more *dangerous*, as exposing the person to *sooner* death and more *grievous* punishment; which I take to be Chrysostom's real meaning. Nevertheless, if a man only *suspects* or *doubts* within himself, whether he is fit to receive, it will certainly be his *safest* way to receive; and his humble modesty, if really such, will itself be a commendable part of his *preparation*^k. The *degrees*

^h Chrysostom in 1 Cor. x. hom. xxv. p. 262.

ⁱ 2 Pet. ii. 21.

^k See Luke xviii. 13, 14.

of unworthiness are many and various, and no man is strictly *worthy*: a *sincere*, though for the present *weak* resolution to amend instantly in every known article of disobedience, seems to be ordinarily a sufficient security against the *danger* of receiving *unworthily*.

Century the Fifth.

The first Council of Toledo, in the year 400, made an order about those who were observed *never to come to Communion*, that they should be *admonished* for such their habitual and total neglect, and if they did not reform, should be obliged to submit to *penance*¹. This decree appears very mild and moderate, as being pointed only against those who *constantly* absented, and as prescribing an *admonition* before the censure; and at length *excommunicating* those only, who had in a manner excommunicated themselves. No doubt but such order might have a very good effect upon those who were barely *supine* and *careless* in that article, otherwise leading innocent lives. But perhaps *exhortation* or *admonition* alone might have been sufficient to as many as were *well disposed*; and as to the rest, *censure* might be thought too much: for who shall *force* a man to *repent*? Or how is it repentance, if it is not *free*? Or what signifies the coming to the Lord's table in *hypocrisy*? These considerations have their weight: and therefore *excommunication* in such a case, so far as it is justifiable, must be maintained upon some *general* principle, such as the *necessity* of removing notorious *offences* or *scandals*, for fear of *contagion* to the rest, and for fear of bringing an *infamy* upon the whole body, by such *connivance* as might look too like an *allowance* of so shameful a neglect. The *general good* of the Church, in some cases, ought to overrule all such considerations as have been before mentioned. For example: there are, suppose, ten thousand *officiating* clergy in a nation, who may be obliged, by the laws of Church and State, to administer and to receive the holy Communion, so often, be they *prepared* or otherwise. In such a number, some hundreds, it may be, may officiate and receive, not duly *prepared*. Let them look to that: the Church is *clear* so far, because the *necessity* of the case and the *general good* so requires. It would be trifling here to urge, that it is *forcing* men to *profane* the holy Sacrament, or forcing them to *repent* and amend. That must be

¹ De his qui intrans in ecclesiam, communicant, ad poenitentiam accedant, &c. *Concil. Tolet. i. Can. 13.*
 communicare, admoneantur, ut, si non

risked upon higher and more weighty considerations: for God's people must not be deprived of the benefit of the Sacrament in such cases. Therefore, I observed, that the considerations before mentioned *have their weight*; as indeed they ought to have; but so far only, as they are not opposed to other considerations of a more *general* nature, and of still greater weight.

The same Council made a strict order, that such of the resident *clergy* as came not to the daily prayers and Communion should be deposed, if they did not reform after admonition^m. By this we see that *daily Communion*s were yet kept up in some churches. Which appears likewise from the testimonies of Jeromeⁿ and Austin^o, of that time. Some Christians of that age were so scrupulous in that matter, that they thought themselves under a strict obligation to communicate, if possible, *every day*: others thought otherwise; and St. Austin was consulted upon the question. It was pleaded on the side of *daily* Communion, that every one ought to communicate as *often* as he *worthily* might; and that if he was not *debarred* by Church censures from it, he might be looked upon as *worthy*, the Church being judge of that case. On the other side it was pleaded, that some particular *chosen* days, when a man might be most *recollected*, and best *prepared*, were preferable; for so the greater *reverence* would be shewn towards the Sacrament, and it would be more likely to answer its end and use. St. Austin did not care to determine for either, but took a middle way to compromise the dispute; which was to advise both parties (as they intended the same thing in the main) to shew their *reverence* to the Sacrament in their *different* ways, according to their respective persuasions. For, says he, "neither of them really *dis-honours* the Lord's body and blood, while both contend, only "in a different way, who shall do most honour to the blessed "Sacrament. For neither did Zaccheus and the Centurion "strive together, or one prefer himself before the other, when "the former gladly *received* our Lord into his house, and the

^m Clericus, si intra civitatem fuerit, vel in loco quo ecclesia est, aut castello, aut vico, aut villa, et ad ecclesiam ad *sacrificium quotidianum* non accesserit, clericus non habeatur, si castigatus per satisfactionem veniam ab episcopo noluerit promereri. *Concil. Tolet. i. Can. 5.*

ⁿ Scio Romæ hanc esse consuetudinem ut fideles *semper* Christi cor-

pus accipiant: quod nec reprehendo, nec laudo; unusquisque enim in suo sensu abundat. *Hieron. adv. Jovin. p. 239. Conf. Ep. lii. ad Lucin. p. 579. ed. Bened.*

^o Alii *quotidie* communicant corpori et sanguini Domini, alii certis diebus accipiunt. *Augustin. Epist. ad Jan. liv. (alias cxviii.) p. 124. tom. ii. edit. Bened.*

“latter said, *I am not worthy that thou shouldst come under my roof*: but both did honour to our Saviour in their *several*, or rather *contrary* ways; both were sinners, and both found mercy.—So here, one out of *reverence* dares not partake *every day*: another out of the like *reverence*, dares not omit it a *single day*: all is well, so long as there is no *contempt* in either *case* upon the holy Sacrament.” This resolution of St. Austin was most certainly very wise and just, suitable to the question as there stated, whether a man should communicate *every day*, or only upon some *select days*, when fittest for it. But had the question been, whether it were sufficient for persons fitly prepared to communicate *once* or *twice* & year, or the like, he would have said *no*, but *oftener*; either *every month*, or *every week*, if opportunity offered. Gennadius, who lived in the close of the same century, (about A. D. 495,) determined as cautiously about *daily* receiving, neither approving or disapproving it: but *weekly* receiving he spoke fully up to, recommending it as highly proper for all that were competently *prepared*, that is, for all that were sincerely penitent, and were not under any *prevailing* inclination to vice⁹.

Century the Sixth.

In the beginning of this century (about A. D. 566.) the Council of Agde, in Gaul, obliged the *laity* to receive three times a year at least, at the three great festivals, Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide^r. It is the first precedent of that kind: and some very pious and serious Christians have wished, that it never

^p Neuter enim eorum *exhonorat* corpus et sanguinem Domini, sed saluberrimum sacramentum certatim *honorare* contendunt. Neque enim litigaverunt inter se, aut quisquam eorum se alteri præposuit Zachæus et ille Centurio, cum alter eorum *gaudens in domum suam* suscepit Dominum. Alter dixerit; *Non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum*: ambo Salvatorem honorificantes *diverso*, et quasi *contrario* modo; ambo peccatis miseri, ambo misericordiam consecuti.—Ille honorando non audet *quotidie* sumere; et ille honorando non audet *ullo die* prætermittere. Contemptum solum non vult cibus iste, &c. *Augustin. ibid.* p. 125.

^q *Quotidie* Eucharistiæ communionem percipere, nec laudo nec vituperò: omnibus tamen *Dominicis diebus* communicandum suadeo et hortor;

si tamen mens in affectu peccandi non sit. Nam habentem adhuc *voluntatem* peccandi, *gravari* magis dico Eucharistiæ perceptione, quam purificari. Et ideo quamvis quis peccato mordeatur, peccandi non habeat de cætero voluntatem, et communicaturus satisfaciat lacrymis et orationibus, et confidens de Domini miseratione, qui peccata piæ confessioni donare consuevit, accedat ad Eucharistiam intrepidus et securus. Sed hoc de illo dico, quem *capitalia* et *mortalia* peccata non gravant. *Gennad. Massil. inter August. Opp.* tom. viii. App. p. 78. ed. Bened.

^r Seculares, qui *Natali Domini*, *Pascha*, et *Pentecosten*, non communicaverint, Catholici non credantur, nec inter Catholicos habeantur. *Concil. Agathens.* Can. xviii. p. 1000. Hard.

had been set, because it might furnish an handle to many for imagining that they were under no obligation to *greater* frequency. But the Council designed no such inference; which at best is but a perverse construction of the thing: only, they considered, that to oblige all persons to receive *weekly* was impracticable; and to exhort them to *frequency* at large, without specifying any *certain* times, was doing nothing; and that if ordinary Christians were left to themselves, they would not, probably, communicate so often as *thrice* in the year, nor *twice*.

Other Councils, later in the same century, revived the more ancient rules: the Councils of Braccara and Luca, in Spain, (A. D. 572,) approved of the collection of old canons drawn up by Martinus Braccarensis; among which is the Second Antiochian canon, above recited, being the eighty-third in this collection^a. Afterwards, the second Council of Mascon (A. D. 585.) endeavoured to reinforce *weekly* communions, obliging both men and women to communicate every *Lord's Day*, under pain of *anathema*^t: which was severe enough, unless we may understand it only as opposed to absenting in way of *scorn* or *contempt*.

Century the Seventh.

I may here take notice, that the Council of Autun, in the year 670^u, revived the above-mentioned canon of the Council of Agde, about communicating *three* times a year, at the three great festivals. In this century, the Greeks used to communicate *weekly*; and such as neglected three weeks together were excommunicated: but in the Church of Rome, the people were left more to their own liberty^x.

Century the Eighth.

Venerable Bede, in his epistle to Ecgbriht Archbishop of York, in the year 734, has a passage to our purpose, worth the

^a It is thus worded: Si quis intrat Ecclesiam Dei, et sacras Scripturas audit, et pro luxuria sua avertit se a communione sacramenti, et in observandis mysteriis declinat constitutam regulam disciplinæ, istum talem projiciendum de Ecclesia Catholica decernimus &c. *Concil. Braccarens. et Lucens.* Can. lxxxiii. Hard. tom. iii. p. 400.

^t Decernimus, ut omnibus *Dominicis diebus*, altaris oblatio ab omnibus *viris et mulieribus* offeratur tam panis quam vini, ut per has immolationes, et peccatorum fascibus careant, et cum Abel, vel cæteris justis offerenti-

bus promereantur esse consortes. Omnes autem qui definitiones nostras per inobedientiam evacuare contendunt, *anathemate* percillantur. *Concil. Matiscon. II.* Can. iv. Hard. tom. iii. p. 461.

^u *Concil. Augustodunens.* Can. xiv. Hard. tom. iii. p. 1015.

^x Græci omni *Dominica die* communicant, sive Clerici sive Laici, et qui tribus *Dominicis* non communicaverint, excommunicantur. Romani similiter communicant qui volunt, qui autem noluerint, non excommunicantur. *Theodor. Pœnitential.* p. 46.

noting. He writes thus: "The teachers—should instruct the people, how salutary *daily communions* might be to all kinds of Christians; a point which the Church of Christ through Italy, Gaul, Africa, Greece, and the whole East, have much laboured, as you well know. This solemn service of religion, and devout sanctification to Godward, is so far sunk almost among all the *laity*, by negligence of their teachers, that even those among them who appear to have a more than ordinary sense of religion, yet presume not to partake of those holy mysteries but upon the Nativity, Epiphany, and Easter: though there are innumerable persons of very innocent and chaste conversation, boys and girls, young men and maidens, old men and matrons, who, without the least scruple of doubt, might well receive every *Lord's Day*, or over and above, upon all the festivals, whether of *Apostles* or *Martyrs*; as you have seen with your own eyes, in the holy apostolical Church of Rome."

From this remarkable paragraph, we may observe, that even so late as the eighth century, *daily* communions were still kept up, among some of the *Clergy* at least; and that all the Christian Churches, or Church guides of best note, wished to have the like prevail among the *laity*, and had laboured that point as far as they could: but as that was impracticable, hopes however were conceived, that *weekly* communions, and more, might yet take place, if due care were taken; and that it was in some measure owing to the remissness of pastors, that *communion* was grown so rare and uncommon among the *laity* of the better sort; who neglected the communion, when competently qualified for it, only for want of *opportunity*, or for want of being *reminded* of it and *exhorted* to it, or else out of *ignorance*, *supineness*, or the like, more than out of any *dislike* to it or *unfitness* for it: which may also be the case at this very day.

γ — quam salutaris sit omni Christianorum generi *quotidiana* Domini corporis ac sanguinis perceptio; juxta quod Ecclesiam Christi per Italiam, Galliam, Africam, Græciam, ac totum Orientem solerter agere nosti. Quod videlicet genus religionis ac Deo devotæ sanctificationis tam longe a cunctis pene nostræ provinciæ Laicis, per incuriam docentium, quasi prope peregrinum abest, ut hi qui inter Religiosiores esse videntur, non nisi in *Natali* Domini, et *Epiphania*,

et *Pascha* sacrosanctis mysteriis communicare præsumant; cum sint innumeri innocentes et castissimæ conversationis pueri et puellæ, juvenes et virgines, senes et anus, qui absque ullo scrupulo controversiæ; *omni die Dominico*, sive etiam in *natalitiis* sanctorum *Apostolorum*, sive *Martyrum* (quomodo ipse in sancta Romana et *Apostolica* Ecclesia fieri vidisti) mysteriis cælestibus communicare valeant. *Bed. Epist. ad Ecgbert.* p. 311. edit. Cant.

What has been here offered may be sufficient, I conceive, to give a competent idea of the state of *frequent communion*, for the first *eight* centuries: and I need not go lower; except it be to throw in a word or two of what has been done, as to this article, since the Reformation.

The Lutherans, we are told, by one that declares he is *well assured* of it^a, do in this particular excel all other Protestants: for they have a communion every *Sunday* and *holyday* throughout the year. Calvin and Beza, and the French churches, laboured to restore *monthly* or *weekly* communions; but strictly insisted upon *four* times a year, under pain of *contempt*^a. Our own Church has taken good care about *frequent* communion, time after time^b. She has been one while charged as doing *too little*, and another while charged as doing *too much*: an argument that she has competently observed the *golden mean*. But in complicated cases, where there is no passing any certain judgment, without a large comprehensive view of a vast variety of circumstances, it is impossible to please every body, or even to satisfy all the honest and well-deserving. In Queen Elizabeth's time, Mr. Cartwright managed the charge of *remissness* against us in that article: he would have had the *generality* obliged to communicate constantly, (except in cases of *infirmity* or *necessity*,) under pain of *ecclesiastical* censure, yea, and of *civil* penalties^c. Dr. Whitgift, on the other hand, pleaded for *moderate* counsels and *convenient* discipline, considering the *end* and *use*, and how it might best be attained^d.

It is well known what *canons* have been since made to enforce *frequent* communion^e: *moderate* enough, if compared with *ancient* canons, or even with those of other Reformed churches. For no express mention is made of *excommunicating* for neglect, but the affair is in a great measure left to the *prudential* care of the Diocesan, as is just and proper. Nevertheless, exceptions have been taken to the severity of those canons: and the charge has

^a Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part ii. p. 151. But compare Calvoer, a Lutheran, who gives but an indifferent account of the *number* of their communicants, being left to their own *liberty*, and no particular times strictly insisted on. *Calvoer. de Rit. Eccl.* tom. i. p. 758.

^b Bingham, French Church's Apology, c. xiv. L'Arroque, Conformity of the Reformed Churches of France,

p. 246.

^c See Wheatly on the Common Prayer, p. 326.

^d Cartwright, Reply to Whitgift, p. 117. Reply to Whitgift's Defence, part ii. p. 148.

^e Whitgift, Defence of his Answer to the Admonition, p. 530, &c. Compare Hooker, book v. sect. 68.

^f Canons of 1603. Can. 13, 21, 22, 23, 24, 112.

been well answered by our learned Divines^f, so that there is no occasion now to enter into that dispute. However, I am persuaded that *instruction* and *exhortation*, generally, are the best and most effectual methods of promoting *frequent* communion, so as to make it answer its true *end* and *use*. The most *religious* kind of persons will of course communicate as *often* as they have opportunity: the *impenitent* or *irreligious* will not *choose* to communicate at all; neither is it fit that they should, because, while they continue such, it would do them no good, but harm. There remain only the *supine*, *careless*, and *ignorant*, but *well disposed*, (such as Bede, before cited, spake of,) who perhaps make up the main body of Christians: and they are to be dealt with in a tender, engaging manner, either by *exhortations* from the pulpit, or by *private* instruction, or by putting good *books* into their hands. Much probably might be done, in this way, towards reviving *frequent* communions, if suitable care and diligence were used in it. But I have said enough on this article, and it is now time to conclude. I once thought of adding a chapter upon the *comportment* proper at and after receiving the communion: but these papers are already drawn out into a length beyond what I at first suspected; and I may the more conveniently omit what relates to the *demeanour* proper at and after receiving, since it is well provided for by most of the little *manuals* which are in every one's hands, and particularly by Bishop Taylor's Worthy Communicant, chapter the seventh.

What I have endeavoured all the way, has been to maintain the dignity of a venerable sacrament, by the light of *reason*, *Scripture*, and *antiquity*, against unreasonable attempts to depreciate or undervalue it. The common methods of *subversion* begin with lessening the work of *preparation*, and then go on to sink the *benefits*: the next step in the progress is to reduce the whole to a bare *memorial*, a memorial of an *absent* friend, master, or chief martyr; passing over the *Divine* perfections of our Lord, and the all-sufficient *merits* of what he has done and suffered for us. Now in order to build up again, as others pull down, the business of these papers has been to shew, that the sacramental *memorial* is a memorial of Christ *God-man*, who died a willing *sacrifice* for the sins of mankind; and that it is not a bare *memorial*, or *representation* of something once done and suffered, but a real and present *exhibition* of the *graces*, *comforts*, or *blessings*

^f Falkner, Libert. Eccl. book i. c. 5. Stillingsfleet, p. 119. Bingham, French p. 205, &c. Sherlock, Defence of Church's Apol. book iii. c. 14.

802 OBLIGATION TO FREQUENT COMMUNION.

accruing therefrom, to every *worthy* receiver : that therefore proper *acknowledgments* and *engagements* are expected from us, and those require suitable *preparations* and *qualifications*, and a *deportment* thereto corresponding ; in a word, *self-examination* and *self-approbation* beforehand, serious resolutions of *amendment* at the time, and a conscientious care afterwards, to persevere in well-doing to our lives' end.

A
TABLE OF TEXTS
 TO
SCRIPTURE VINDICATED, &c.

PART I.

GENESIS ii. 19.—Whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof. 171

GEN. iii. 1.—Now the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made : and he said unto the woman, &c. . . 172

GEN. iii. 6.—The woman saw that the tree was good for food, &c. . . . 177

GEN. iii. 7.—And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked, &c. 178

GEN. iii. 8.—They heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day 179

GEN. iii. 21.—Unto Adam also and to his wife did the Lord God make coats of skins, and clothed them *ib.*

GEN. vi. 6.—And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart *ib.*

GEN. viii. 21.—The Lord smelled a sweet savour 181

GEN. ix. 13.—I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth 183

GEN. xi. 7.—Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. 185

GEN. xii. 13.—Say, I pray thee, thou art my sister, &c. 186

GEN. xv. 8.—And he said, Lord God, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it? 190

GEN. xvii. 10.—This is my covenant—Every man child among you shall be circumcised.	191
GEN. xx. 17.—So Abraham prayed unto God, and God healed Abimelech, &c.	197
GEN. xxi. 12.—And God said unto Abraham, Let it not be grievous in thy sight, because of the lad, and because of thy bondwoman: in all that Sarah hath said unto thee, hearken unto her voice. For in Isaac shall thy seed be called.	198
GEN. xxii. 10.—And Abraham stretched forth his hand, and took the knife to slay his son.	199
GEN. xxvii. 19.—And Jacob said unto his father, I am Esau thy first-born, &c.	205
GEN. xxxviii. 13, &c.—The history of Judah and Tamar.	209

PART II.

EXODUS ii. 12.—He slew the Egyptian, and hid him in the sand.	215
EXODUS iii. 18.—And ye shall say unto him, (Pharaoh,) The Lord God of the Hebrews hath met with us: and now let us go (we beseech thee) three days' journey into the wilderness, that we may sacrifice to the Lord our God.	217
EXODUS xii. 35, 36—And they borrowed of the Egyptians jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment: and the Lord gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians, so that they lent unto them such things as they required. And they spoiled the Egyptians.	219
EXODUS xx. 5.—I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me.	222
LEVIT. xxvii. 28, 29.—No devoted thing, that a man shall devote unto the Lord of all that he hath, both of man and beast, and of the field of his possession, shall be sold or redeemed: every devoted thing is most holy unto the Lord. None devoted, which shall be devoted of men, shall be redeemed; but shall surely be put to death.	226
NUMB. xiv. 30—34.—Doubtless ye shall not come into the land, concerning which I swore to make you dwell therein, save Caleb, &c.—And ye shall know my breach of promise.	229
NUMB. xxi. 2, 3.—And Israel vowed a vow unto the Lord, and said, If thou wilt indeed deliver this people into my hand, then I will utterly destroy their cities. And the Lord hearkened to the voice of Israel, and delivered up the Canaanites; and they utterly destroyed them, &c.	232

- NUMB. xxii. 28.**—And the Lord opened the mouth of the ass, and she said, &c. 236
- DEUT. i. 34.**—And the Lord was wroth, and sware, saying, &c. 239
- JOSH. ii. 4.**—And the woman took the two men, and hid them, and said thus, There came men unto me, but I wist not whence they were. . . . 242
- JOSH. x. 12.**—Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon, &c. 244
- JOSH. xvi. 10.**—And they drave not out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer, &c. 251
- JUDGES iii. 20, 21.**—And Ehud said, I have a message from God unto thee. And he arose out of his seat. And Ehud put forth his left hand, and took the dagger from his right thigh, and thrust it into his belly. 253
- JUDGES iv. 21.**—Then Jael Heber's wife took a nail of the tent, &c. . . . 254
- JUDGES ix. 13.**—And the vine said unto them, Should I leave my wine, which cheereth God and man, and go to be promoted over the trees? 256
- JUDGES xi. 30.**—And Jephthah vowed a vow unto the Lord, &c. 257
- I SAM. vi. 19.**—And he smote the men of Bethshemesh, because they had looked into the ark of the Lord, even he smote of the people fifty thousand and threescore and ten men 259
- I SAM. viii. 7.**—And the Lord said unto Samuel, Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee: for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them 260
- I SAM. xv. 2, 3.**—Thus saith the Lord of hosts; I remember that which Amalek did to Israel, how he laid wait for him in the way, when he came up from Egypt. Now go and smite Amalek, &c. 263
- I SAM. xxv.** 265
- 2 SAM. xxi. 1.**—Then there was a famine in the days of David three years, year after year; and David inquired of the Lord. And the Lord answered, It is for Saul, and for his bloody house, because he slew the Gibeonites. 269
- 2 SAM. xxiv. 1.**—And again the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them to say, Go, number Israel and Judah. 271
- I KINGS xiii.** 274
- I KINGS xvii. 1. 2 KINGS i. 9.** 277
- 2 KINGS ii. 23, 24.** 278
- 2 KINGS viii. 10.**—And Elisha said unto him, Go, say unto him, Thou mayest certainly recover; howbeit, the Lord hath shewed me that he shall surely die. 279

PART III.

- 2 CHRON. xviii. 18—22.—I saw the Lord sitting upon his throne, and all the host of heaven standing on his right hand and on his left. And the Lord said, Who shall entice Ahab king of Israel, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth Gilead? &c. 309
- 2 CHRON. xxxiv. 28.—Behold, I will gather thee to thy fathers, and thou shalt be gathered to thy grave in peace, neither shall thine eyes see all the evil that I will bring upon this place, and upon the inhabitants of the same 313
- JOB ii. 1. and compare JOB i. 6.—Again there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came also among them to present himself before the Lord 314
- PSALM lxxxix. 39—49.—Thou hast made void the covenant of thy servant.—Lord, where are thy former lovingkindnesses, which thou swarest to David in thy truth? 316
- PSALM cix. 318
- PSALM cxxxvii. 8, 9.—O daughter of Babylon, who art to be destroyed; happy shall he be, that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us. Happy shall he be, that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones 322
- ISAIAH i. 18.—Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow, &c. 326
- ISAIAH v. 26.—And he will lift up an ensign to the nations from far, and will hiss unto them from the end of the earth; and, behold, they shall come with speed swiftly. 329
- ISAIAH xx. 3, 4.—And the Lord said, Like as my servant Isaiah hath walked naked and barefoot three years for a sign and wonder upon Egypt and upon Ethiopia; so shall the king of Assyria &c. 331
- ISAIAH lxiii. 17.—O Lord, why hast thou made us to err from thy ways? 339
- JEREM. iv. 10.—Then said I, Ah, Lord God! surely thou hast greatly deceived this people and Jerusalem, saying, Ye shall have peace; whereas the sword reacheth unto the soul. 340
- JEREM. vii. 22, 23.—I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices: but this thing commanded I them, saying, Obey my voice, &c. 342
- JEREM. xiii. 4.—Take the girdle that thou hast got, which is upon thy loins, and arise, go to Euphrates, and hide it there in a hole of the rock,—&c. 345
- JEREM. xv. 18.—O Lord—wilt thou be altogether unto me as a liar, and as waters that fail? 349
- JEREM. xx. 7.—O Lord, thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived: thou art stronger than I, and hast prevailed. 350

- JEREM. xxvii. 2, 3.**—Thus saith the Lord to me; Make thee bonds and yokes, and put them upon thy neck, and send them to the king of Edom, &c. . . . 351
- EZEK. iv. 1, &c.**—Thou also, son of man, take thee a tile, and lay it before thee, and pourtray upon it the city, even Jerusalem, &c. 353
- EZEK. xii. 21, 22.**—And the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Son of man, what is that proverb that ye have in the land of Israel, saying, The days are prolonged, and every vision faileth? &c. 358
- EZEK. xiv. 9.**—And if the prophet be deceived when he hath spoken a thing, I the Lord have deceived that prophet, &c. 359
- EZEK. xx. 25.**—I gave them also statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live. 361
- HOSEA i. 2.**—And the Lord said to Hosea, Go, take unto thee a wife of whoredoms and children of whoredoms; for the land hath committed great whoredom, departing from the Lord 364
- MICAH vi. 7.**—Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? 368
- ZECH. iii. 1, 2.**—And he shewed me Joshua the high priest standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan standing at his right hand to resist him, &c. 370

END OF VOL. IV.

