

CHAP. VIII.

Some new dispositions towards the Conflagration, as to the matter, form, and situation of the Earth. Concerning miraculous Causes, and how far the ministry of Angels may be engaged in this Work.

WE have given an account, in the preceding Chapter, of the ordinary preparatives of Nature for a general fire; We now are to give an account of the extraordinary, or of any new dispositions, which towards the End of the World, may be super-added to the ordinary state of Nature. I do not, by these, mean things openly miraculous, and supernatural, but such a change wrought in Nature as shall still have the face of Natural Causes, and yet have a greater tendency to the Conflagration. As for example, suppose a great Drought, as we noted before, to precede this fate, or a general heat and dryness of the Air and of the Earth; because this happens sometimes in a course of Nature, it will not be lookt upon as prodigious. 'Tis true, some of the Ancients speak of a Drought of Forty Years, that will be a forerunner of the Conflagration, so that there will not be a watery Cloud, nor a Rainbow seen in the Heavens, for so long time. And this they impute to *Elias*, who, at his coming, will stop the Rain and shut up the Heavens to make way for the last Fire. But these are excessive and ill-grounded suppositions, for half forty years drought will bring an universal sterility upon the Earth, and thereupon an Universal Famine, with innumerable diseases; so that all mankind would be destroyed before the Conflagration could overtake them.

But we will readily admit an extraordinary drought and desiccation of all bodies to usher in this great fatality. And therefore whatsoever we read in Natural History, concerning former droughts, of their drying up Fountains and Rivers, parching the Earth and making the outward Turf take fire in several places; filling the Air with fiery impressions, making the Woods and Forests ready Fuel, and sometimes to kindle by the heat of the Sun or a flash of Lightning: These and what other effects have come to pass in former droughts, may come to pass again; and that in an higher measure, and so as to be of more general extent. And we must also allow, that by this means, a great degree of inflammability, or easiness to be set on Fire, will be superinduc'd, both into the body of the Earth, and of all things that grow upon it. The heat of the Sun will pierce deeper into its bowels, when it gapes to receive his beams, and by chinks and widened pores makes way for their passage to its very heart. And, on the other hand, it is not improbable, but that upon this general relaxation and incallescency of the Body of the Earth, the *Central Fire* may have a freer efflux, and diffuse it self in greater abundance every way; so as to affect
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even these exterior Regions of the Earth, so far as to make them still more catching and more combustible.

From this external and internal heat acting upon the Body of the Earth, all Minerals that have the seeds of fire in them, will be open'd, and exhale their effluvia more copiously: as Spices, when warm'd, are more odoriferous, and fill the Air with their perfumes; so the particles of fire, that are shut up in several bodies, will easily fly abroad, when by a further degree of relaxation you shake off their chains, and open the Prison-doors. We cannot doubt, but there are many sorts of Minerals, and many sorts of Fire-stones, and of Trees and Vegetables of this nature, which will sweat out their oily and sulphureous atoms, when by a general heat and dryness their parts are loosen'd and agitated.

We have no experience that will reach so far, as to give us a full account what the state of Nature will be at that time; I mean, after this drought, towards the end of the world; But we may help our imagination, by comparing it with other seasons and temperaments of the Air. As therefore in the Spring the Earth is fragrant, and the Fields and Gardens are fill'd with the sweet breathings of Herbs and Flowers; especially after a gentle rain, when their Bodies are softned, and the warmth of the Sun makes them evaporate more freely; So a greater degree of heat acting upon all the bodies of the Earth, like a stronger fire in the Alembick, will extract another sort of parts or particles, more deeply incorporated and more difficult to be disintangled; I mean oily parts, and such undiscover'd parcels of fire, as lie fix'd and imprison'd in hard bodies. These, I imagine, will be in a great measure set afloat, or drawn out into the Air, which will abound with hot and dry Exhalations, more than with vapours and moisture in a wet season; and by this means, all Elements and elementary Bodies will stand ready, and in a proximate disposition to be inflam'd.

Thus much concerning the last drought, and the general effects of it. In the next place, we must consider the Earthquakes that will precede the Conflagration, and the consequences of them. I noted before, that the cavernous and broken construction of the present Earth, was that which made it obnoxious to be destroy'd by fire; as its former construction over the Abyss, made it obnoxious to be destroy'd with Water. This hollowness of the Earth is most sensible in mountainous and hilly Countreys, which therefore I look upon as most subject to burning; but the plain Countreys may also be made hollow and hilly by Earthquakes, when the vapours not finding an easie vent, raise the ground and make a forcible eruption, as at the springing of a Mine. And tho' plain Countreys are not so subject to Earthquakes as Mountainous, because they have not so many cavities and subterraneous Vaults to lodge the vapours in; yet every Region hath more or less of them: And after this drought the vacuities of the Earth being every where enlarg'd, the quantity of exhalations much increas'd, and the motion of them more strong and violent, they will have their effects in many places where they never had any before. Yet I do not suppose that this will raise new ridges of Mountains, like the *Alpes* or *Pyreneans*, in those Countreys that

that are now plain, but that they will break and loosen the ground, make greater inequalities in the surface, and greater cavities within, than what are at present in those places; And by this means, the fire will creep under them, and find a passage thro' them, with more ease, than if they were compact, and every where continued and unbroken.

But you will say, it may be, how does it appear, that there will be more frequent Earth-quakes towards the end of the World? If this precedent drought be admitted, 'tis plain that fiery exhalations will abound every where within the Earth, and will have a greater agitation than ordinary; and these being the causes of Earth-quakes, when they are rarified or inflam'd, 'tis reasonable to suppose that in such a state of Nature, they will more frequently happen, than at other times. Besides, Earth-quakes are taken notice of in Scripture, as signs and forerunners of the last day, as they usually are of all great changes and calamities. The destruction of *Jerusalem* was a type of the destruction of the World, and the Evangelists always mention Earth-quakes amongst the ominous Prodigies that were to attend it. But these Earth-quakes we are speaking of at present, are but the beginnings of sorrow, and not to be compar'd with those that will follow afterwards, when Nature is convuls'd in her last agony, just as the flames are seizing on her. Of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

These changes will happen as to the *matter* and *form* of the Earth, before it is attack'd by the last fire; There will be also another change as to the *situation* of it; for that will be rectified, and the Earth restor'd to the posture it had at first, namely, of a right aspect and conversion to the Sun. But because I cannot determine at what time this restitution will be, whether at the beginning, middle, or end of the Conflagration, I will not presume to lay any stress upon it. *Plato* seems to have imputed the Conflagration to this only; which is so far true, that the Revolution call'd *The Great Year*, is this very Revolution, or the return of the Earth and the Heavens to their first posture. But tho' this may be contemporary with the last fire, or some way concomitant; yet it does not follow that it is the cause of it, much less the only cause. It may be an occasion of making the fire reach more easily towards the Poles, when by this change of situation their long Nights and long Winters shall be taken away.

These new dispositions in our Earth which we expect before that great day, may be look'd upon as extraordinary, but not as Miraculous, because they may proceed from Natural Causes. But now in the last place, we are to consider *miraculous causes*: What influence they may have, or what part they may bear, in this great revolution of Nature. By *miraculous causes* we understand either God's immediate Omnipotency, or the Ministry of Angels; and what may be perform'd by the latter, is very improperly and undecently thrown upon the former. 'Tis a great step to Omnipotency: and 'tis hard to define what Miracles, on this side Creation, require an infinite power. We are sure that the Angels are Ministring Spirits, and ten thousand times ten thousand stand about the Throne of the Almighty,

Almighty, to receive his commands and execute his judgments. That perfect knowledge they have of the powers of nature, and of conducting those powers to the best advantage, by adjusting causes in a fit subordination one to another, makes them capable of performing, not only things far above our force, but even above our imagination. Besides, they have a radical inherent power, belonging to the excellency of their nature, of determining the motions of matter, within a far greater sphere than humane Souls can pretend to. We can only command our spirits, and determine their motions within the compass of our own Bodies; but their activity and empire is of far greater extent, and the outward World is much more subject to their dominion than to ours. From these considerations it is reasonable to conclude, that the generality of miracles may be and are perform'd by Angels; It being less decorous to employ a Sovereign power, where a subaltern is sufficient, and when we hastily cast things upon God, for quick dispatch, we consult our own ease more than the honour of our Maker.

I take it for granted here, that what is done by an Angelical hand, is truly providential, and of divine administration; and also justly bears the character of a miracle. Whatsoever may be done by pure material causes, or humane strength, we account Natural; and whatsoever is above these we call supernatural and miraculous. Now what is supernatural and miraculous is either the effect of an Angelical power, or of a Sovereign and Infinite power. And we ought not to confound these two, no more than Natural and Supernatural; for there is a greater difference betwixt the highest Angelical power and Omnipotency, than betwixt an Humane power and Angelical. Therefore as the first Rule concerning miracles is this, That we must not flie to miracles, where Man and Nature are sufficient; so the second Rule is this, that we must not flie to a sovereign infinite power, where an Angelical is sufficient. And the reason in both Rules is the same, namely, because it argues a defect of Wisdom in all Oeconomies to employ more and greater means than are sufficient.

Now to make application of this to our present purpose, I think it reasonable, and also sufficient, to admit the ministry of Angels in the future Conflagration of the World. If Nature will not lay violent hands upon her self, or is not sufficient to work her own destruction, Let us allow *Destroying Angels* to interest themselves in the work, as the Executioners of the Divine Justice and Vengeance upon a degenerate World. We have examples of this so frequently in Sacred History, how the Angels have executed God's Judgments upon a Nation or a People, that it cannot seem new or strange, that in this last judgment, which by all the Prophets is represented as the *Great Day of the Lord*, the day of his Wrath and of his Fury, the same Angels should bear their parts, and conclude the last scene of that Tragedy which they had acted in all along. We read of the *Destroying Angel in Ægypt*; of Angels that presided at the destruction of *Sodom*, which was a Type of the future destruction of the World, (*Jude 7.*) and of Angels that will accompany our Saviour when he comes in flames of Fire: Not, we suppose, to be Spectators
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Gen. 12. 23.

Gen. 19. 13.

2 Thess. 1. 7, 8.

only, but Actors and Superintendants in this great Catastrophe.

This ministry of Angels may be either in ordering and conducting such Natural Causes as we have already given an account of; or in adding new ones, if occasion be; I mean, encreasing the quantity of Fire, or of fiery materials, in and about the Earth. So as that Element shall be more abundant and more predominant, and overbear all opposition that either Water, or any other Body, can make against it. It is not material whether of these two Suppositions we follow, provided we allow that the Conflagration is a work of Providence, and not a pure Natural Fatality. If it be necessary that there should be an augmentation made of Fiery Matter, 'tis not hard to conceive how that may be done, either from the Heavens or from the Earth. The Prophets sometimes speak of multiplying or strengthening the Light of the Sun, and it may as easily be conceiv'd of his heat as of his light; as if the Vial that was to be pour'd upon it, and gave it a power to scorch men with fire, had something of a Natural fence as well as Moral. But there is another stream of Ethereal matter that flows from the Heavens, and recruits the *Central Fire* with continual supplies; This may be encreas'd and strengthened, and its effects convey'd throughout the whole Body of the Earth.

Isa. 30. 26.

Rev. 26. 8.

But if an augmentation is to be made of Terrestrial Fire, or of such terrestrial principles as contain it most, as Sulphur, Oyl, and such like, I am apt to believe, these will encrease of their own accord, upon a general drought and desiccation of the Earth. For I am far from the opinion of some Chymists, that think these principles immutable, and incapable of diminution or augmentation. I willingly admit that all such particles may be broken and disfigur'd, and thereby lose their proper and specific virtue, and new ones may be generated to supply the places of the former. Which supplies, or new productions being made in a less or greater measure, according to the general dispositions of Nature; when Nature is heightened into a kind of Fever and Ebullition of all her juices and humours, as she will be at that time, we must expect that more parts than ordinary, should be made inflammable, and those that are inflam'd should become more violent. Under these circumstances, when all Causes lean that way, a little help from a superior power will have a great effect, and make a great change in the state of the World. And as to the power of Angels, I am of opinion that it is very great as to the Changes and Modifications of Natural Bodies; that they can dissolve a Marble as easily as we can crumble Earth and Moulds, or fix any liquor, in a moment, into a substance as hard as Crystal. That they can either make flames more vehement and irresistible to all sorts of Bodies; or as harmless as Lambent Fires, and as soft as Oyl. We see an instance of this last, in *Nebuchadnezzar's* fiery Furnace, where the three Children walk'd unconcern'd in the midst of the Flames, under the charge and protection of an Angel. And the same Angel, if he had pleas'd, could have made the same Furnace seven times hotter than the wrath of the Tyrant had made it.

Dan. 3. 28.

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We will therefore leave it to their ministry to manage this great Furnace, when the Heavens and the Earth are on Fire. To conserve, encrease, direct, or temper the flames, according to instructions given them, as they are to be *Tutelary* or *Destroying*. Neither let any body think it a diminution of Providence to put things into the hands of Angels; 'Tis the true rule and method of it; For to employ an Almighty power where it is not necessary, is to debase it, and give it a task fit for lower Beings. Some think it devotion and piety to have recourse immediately to the arm of God to save all things; This may be done sometimes with a good intention, but commonly with little judgment. God is as jealous of the glory of his Wisdom, as of his Power; and Wisdom consists in the conduct and subordination of several causes to bring our purposes to effect; but what is dispatched by an immediate Supreme Power, leaves no room for the exercise of Wisdom. To conclude this point, which I have touch'd upon more than once, We must not be partial to any of God's Attributes, and Providence being a complexion of many, Power, Wisdom, Justice, and Goodness, when we give due place and honour to all these, then we most honour
DIVINE PROVIDENCE.

CHAP. IX.

How the Sea will be diminish'd and consum'd. How the Rocks and Mountains will be thrown down and melted, and the whole exteriour frame of the Earth dissolv'd into a Deluge of Fire.

WE have now taken a view of the Causes of the Conflagration, both ordinary and extraordinary: It remains to consider the manner of it; How these Causes will operate, and bring to pass an effect so great and so prodigious. We took notice before, that the grand obstruction would be from the Sea, and from the Mountains; we must therefore take these to task in the first place; and if we can remove them out of our way, or overcome what resistance and opposition they are capable to make, the rest of the work will not be unequal to us.

The Ocean indeed is a vast Body of Waters; and we must use all our art and skill to dry it up, or consume it in a good measure, before we can compass our design. I remember the advice a Philosopher gave *Amasis* King of *Egypt*, when he had a command sent him from the King of *Athiopia*, *That he should drink up the Sea.* *Amasis* being very anxious and solicitous what answer he should make to this strange command, the Philosopher *Bias* advis'd him to make this round answer to the King; *That he was ready to perform his command and to drink up the Sea, provided he would stop the rivers from flowing into his cup while he was drinking.* This answer baffled the

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King, for he could not stop the rivers; but this we must do, or we shall never be able to drink up the Sea, or burn up the Earth.

Neither will this be so impossible as it seems at first sight, if we reflect upon those preparations we have made towards it, by a general drought all over the Earth. This we suppose will precede the Conflagration, and by drying up the Fountains and Rivers, which daily feed the Sea, will by degrees starve that Monster, or reduce it to such a degree of weakness, that it shall not be able to make any great resistance. More than half an Ocean of Water flows into the Sea every day, from the Rivers of the Earth, if you take them all together. This I speak upon a moderate computation. *Aristotle* says the Rivers carry more water into the Sea, in the space of a year, than would equal in bulk the whole Globe of the Earth. Nay, some have ventur'd to affirm this of one single River, The *Volga*, that runs into the *Caspian Sea*. 'Tis a great River indeed, and hath seventy mouths; and so it had need have, to disgorge a mass of Water equal to the Body of the Earth, in a years time. But we need not take such high measures; There are at least an hundred great Rivers that flow into the Sea, from several parts of the Earth, Islands and Continents, besides several thousands of lesser ones; Let us suppose these, all together, to pour as much water into the Sea-chanel, every day, as is equal to half the Ocean. And we shall be easily convinc'd of the reasonableness of this supposition, if we do but examine the daily expence of one River, and by that make an estimate of the rest. This we find calculated to our hands in the *River Po* in *Italy*; a River of much what the same bigness with our *Thames*, and disburthens it self into the Gulph of *Venice*. *Baptista Riccioli* hath computed how much water this River discharges in an hour, viz. 18000 000. cubical paces of Water, and consequently 432000000. in a day; which is scarce credible to those that do not distinctly compute it. Suppose then an hundred Rivers as great as this or greater, to fall into the Sea from the Land; besides thousands of lesser, that pay their tribute at the same time into the great Receipt of the Ocean; These all taken together, are capable to renew the Sea every twice four and twenty hours. Which suppositions being admitted, if by a great and lasting drought these Rivers were dried up, or the Fountains from whence they flow, what would then become of that vast Ocean, that before was so formidable to us?

'Tis likely you will say, These great Rivers cannot be dry'd up, tho' the little ones may; and therefore we must not suppose such an Universal stop of waters, or that they will all fail, by any drought whatsoever. But great Rivers being made up of little ones, if these fail, those must be diminish'd, if not quite drain'd and exhausted. It may be all Fountains and Springs do not proceed from the same causes, or the same original; and some are much more copious than others; for such differences we will allow what is due; but still the driness of the Air and of the Earth continuing, and all the sources and supplies of moisture, both from above and from below, being lessen'd or wholly discontinued, a general decay of all Fountains and Rivers must necessarily follow, and consequently of the
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Sea, and of its fulness that depends upon them. And that's enough for our present purpose.

The first step therefore towards the Consumption of the Ocean will be the diminution or suspension of the Rivers that run into it: The next will be an Evacuation by Subterraneous passages; and the last, by Eruptions of Fires in the very Chanel of it, and in the midst of the Waters. As for Subterraneous Evacuations, we cannot doubt but that the Sea hath out-lets at the bottom of it; whereby it discharges that vast quantity of Water that flows into it every day; and that could not be discharg'd so fast as it comes from the wide mouths of the Rivers, by percolation or straining thorough the Sands: Seas also communicate with one another by these internal passages; as is manifest from those particular Seas that have no external outlet or issue, tho' they receive into them many great Rivers, and sometimes the influx of other Seas. So the *Caspian* Sea receives not only *Volga*, which we mention'd before, but several other Rivers; and yet hath no visible issue for its Waters. The *Mediterranean* Sea; besides all the Rivers it receives, hath a current flowing into it, at either end, from other Seas; from the *Atlantick* Ocean at the streights of *Gibraltar*, and from the Black Sea, above *Constantinople*: and yet there is no passage above-ground, or visible derivation of the *Mediterranean* waters out of their Chanel; which seeing they do not overflow, nor overflow the Banks, 'tis certain they must have some secret conveyances into the bowels of the Earth, or subterraneous communication with other Seas. Lastly, From the Whirl-pools of the Sea, that suck in Bodies that come within their reach, it seems plainly to appear, by that attraction and absorption, that there is a descent of waters in those places.

Wherefore when the current of the Rivers into the Sea is stop't, or in a great measure diminish'd; The Sea continuing to empty it self by these subterraneous passages, and having little or none of those supplies that it us'd to have from the Land, it must needs be sensibly lessen'd; and both contract its Chanel into a narrower compass, and also have less depth in the waters that remain. And in the last place, we must expect fiery eruptions in several parts of the Sea-chanel, which will help to suck up or evaporate the remaining Waters. In the present state of Nature there have been several instances of such eruptions of Fire from the bottom of the Sea; and in that last state of Nature, when all things are in a tendency to inflammation, and when Earth quakes and Eruptions will be more frequent every where, we must expect them also more frequently by Sea, as well as by Land. 'Tis true, neither Earth-quakes nor Eruptions can happen in the middle of the Great Ocean, or in the deepest Abyss, because there are no cavities, or mines below it, for the vapours and exhalations to lodge in; But 'tis not much of the Sea-chanel that is so deep, and in other parts, especially in streights and near Islands, such Eruptions, like Sea-Volcano's, have frequently happen'd, and new Islands have been made by such fiery matter thrown up from the bottom of the Sea. Thus, they say, those Islands in the Mediterranean call'd the *Vulcanian* Islands, had their original; being matter cast up from the bottom of the Sea, by the

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force of Fire; as new Mountains sometimes are rais'd upon the Earth. Another Island in the *Archipelago* had the same original, whereof *Strabo* gives an account. The flames, he says, sprung up through the waters, four days together, so as the whole Sea was hot and burning; and they rais'd by degrees, as with Engines, a mass of Earth, which made a new Island, twelve furlongs in compass. And in the same *Archipelago*, flames and smoke have several times (particularly in the year 1650.) rise out of the Sea, and fill'd the Air with sulphureous scents and vapours. In like manner, in the Island of *S. Michel*, one of the *Tercera's*, there have been, of later years, such eruptions of fire and flames; so strong and violent, that, at the depth of an hundred and sixty fathoms, they forc'd their way through the midst of the Waters, from the bottom of the Sea into the open Air. As has been related by those that were eye-witnesses.

In these three ways I conceive, the great force of the Sea will be broken, and the mighty Ocean reduc'd to a standing Pool of putrid waters, without vent and without recruits. But there will still remain in the midst of the Chanel a great mass of troubled liquors, like dregs in the bottom of the vessel; which will not be drunk up till the Earth be all on fire, and torrents of melted and sulphureous matter flow from the Land, and mingle with this Dead Sea. But let us now leave the Sea in this humble posture, and go on to attack the Rocks and Mountains which stand next in our way.

See how scornfully they look down upon us, and bid defiance to all the Elements. They have born the Thunder and Lightning of Heaven, and all the Artillery of the Skies, for innumerable Ages; and do not fear the crackling of thorns and of shrubs that burn at their feet. Let the Towns and Cities of the Earth, say they, belaid in ashes; Let the Woods and Forests blaze away; and the fat Soyl of the Earth fry in its own grease; These things will not affect us; We can stand naked in the midst of a Sea of Fire, with our roots as deep as the foundations of the Earth, and our heads above the Clouds of the Air. Thus they proudly despise Nature; and it must be confess'd, that these, being, as it were, the Bones of the Earth, when the Body is burning, will be the last consum'd; And I am apt to think, if they could keep in the same posture they stand in now, and preserve themselves from falling, the fire could never get an entire power over them. But Mountains are generally hollow, and that makes them subject; to a double casualty; First, Of Earth-quakes, Secondly, Of having their roots eaten away by Water or by Fire; but by Fire especially in this case: For we suppose there will be innumerable subterraneous Fires smothering under ground, before the general Fire breaks out; and these by corroding the bowels of the Earth, will make it more hollow and more ruinous; And when the Earth is so far dissolv'd, that the cavities within the Mountains are fill'd with Lakes of Fire, then the Mountains will sink, and fall into those boiling Caldrons; which, in time, will dissolve them, tho' they were as hard as Adamant.

There is another Engine that will tear the Earth with great violence, and rend in pieces whatsoever is above or about those parts of it. And that is the Element of Water, so gentle in it self, when undisturb'd.

undisturb'd. But 'tis found by experience, that when Water falls into liquid Metals, it flies about with an incredible impetuosity, and breaks or bears down every thing that wou'd stop its motion and expansion. This force I take to come from the sudden and strong rarefaction of its parts: which make a kind of explosion, when it is sudden and vehement: And this is one of the greatest forces we know in Nature. Accordingly I am apt to think, that the marvelous force of Volcano's, when they throw out lumps of Rocks, great fragments of Earth, and other heavy Bodies, to such a vast height and distance, that it is done by this way of explosion: And that explosion made by the sudden rarefaction of Sea-waters, that fall into Pans or receptacles of molten Ore and ardent Liquors within the cavities of the Mountain: and thereupon follow the noises, roarings, and eruptions of those places. 'Tis observ'd that Volcano's are in Mountains, and generally, if not always, near the Sea: And when its waters by subterraneous passages, are driven under the Mountain, either by a particular Wind, or by a great agitation of the Waves, they meet there with Metals and fiery Minerals dissolv'd, and are immediately, according to our supposition, rarefied, and by way of explosion fly out at the mouth or funnel of the Mountain, bearing before them whatsoever stands in their way. Whether this be a true account or no, of the present Volcano's and their Eruptions, 'tis manifest that such cases as we have mention'd, will happen in the Conflagration of the Earth, and that such eruptions or disruptions of the Earth will follow thereupon: and that these will contribute very much to the sinking of Mountains, the splitting of Rocks, and the bringing of all strong Holds of Nature under the power of the General Fire.

To conclude this point, the Mountains will all be brought low, in that state of Nature, either by Earthquakes or subterraneous fires; *Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low.* Which will be literally true at the second coming of our Saviour, as it was figuratively apply'd to his first coming. Now, being once level'd with the rest of the Earth, the question will only be, how they shall be dissolv'd. But there is no Terrestrial Body indissolvable to Fire, if it have a due strength and continuance; and this last Fire will have both, in the highest degrees; So that it cannot but be capable of dissolving all Elementary compositions, how hard or solid soever they be.

Isa. 40. 5

Luk. 3. 5

'Tis true, these Mountains and Rocks, as I said before, will have the privilege to be the last destroy'd. These, with the deep parts of the Sea, and the Polar Regions of the Earth, will undergo a slower fate, and be consum'd more leisurely. The action of the last Fire may be distinguish'd into two Times, or two assaults; The first assault will carry off all Mankind, and all the works of the Earth that are easily combustible; and this will be done with a quick and sudden motion. But the second assault, being employ'd about the consumption of such Bodies or such Materials as are not so easily subjected to fire, will be of long continuance, and the work of some years. And 'tis fit it should be so; that this flaming World may be view'd and consider'd by the neighbouring Worlds about it, as a dreadful

dreadful spectacle, and monument of God's wrath against disloyal and disobedient Creatures. That by this example, now before their eyes, they may think of their own fate, and what may befall them, as well as another Planet of the same Elements and composition.

Thus much for the Rocks and Mountains; which, you see, according to our Hypothesis, will be level'd, and the whole face of the Earth reduc'd to plainness and equality; nay, which is more, melted and dissolv'd into a Sea of liquid Fire. And because this may seem a Paradox, being more than is usually supposed, or taken notice of, in the doctrine of the Conflagration, it will not be improper in this place to give an account, wherein our Idea of the Conflagration and its effects, differs from the common opinion and the usual representation of it. 'Tis commonly suppos'd, that the Conflagration of the World is like the burning of a City, where the Walls and materials of the Houses are not melted down, but scorcht, inflam'd, demolish'd, and made uninhabitable. So they think in the Burning of the World, such Bodies, or such parts of Nature, as are fit Fuel for the Fire, will be inflam'd, and, it may be, consum'd, or reduc'd to smoke and ashes; But other Bodies that are not capable of Inflammation, will only be scorcht and defac'd, the beauty and furniture of the Earth spoil'd, and by that means, say they, it will be laid waste and become uninhabitable. This seems to me a very short and imperfect Idea of the Conflagration; neither agreeable to Scripture, nor to the deductions that may be made from Scripture. We therefore suppose that this is but half the work, this destroying of the outward garniture of the Earth is but the first onset, and that the Conflagration will end in a dissolution and liquefaction of the Elements and all the exterior region of the Earth: so as to become a true Deluge of Fire, or a Sea of Fire overspreading the whole Globe of the Earth. This state of the Conflagration, I think, may be plainly prov'd, partly by the expressions of Scripture concerning it, and partly from the *Renovation* of the Earth that is to follow upon it. S. Peter, who is our chief Guide in the doctrine of the

Conflagration, says, *The Elements will be melted with fervent heat; besides burning up the works of the Earth.* Then adds, *Seeing all these things shall be dissolv'd, &c.* These terms of *Liquefaction* and *Dissolution* cannot, without violence, be restrained to simple devastation and superficial scorching. Such expressions carry the work a great deal further, even to that full sence which we propose. Besides, the Prophets often speak of the melting of the Earth, or of the Hills and Mountains, at the presence of the Lord, in the day of his wrath. And S. John (*Apoc.* 15. 2.) tells us of a *Sea of Glass, mingled with Fire*; where the Saints stood, singing the song of *Moses*, and triumphing over their enemies, the Spiritual *Pharaoh* and his host, that were swallowed up in it. The *Sea of Glass* must be a Sea of *molten* glass; it must be fluid, not solid, if a Sea; neither can a solid substance be said to be *mingled with Fire*, as this was. And to this answers the *Lake of fire and brimstone*, which the Beast and false Prophet were thrown into alive, *Apoc.* 19. 20. These all refer to the end of the World and the last Fire, and also plainly imply, or express rather, that state of Liquefaction which we suppose and assert.

Further-

Isa. 34. 3, 4.
Ps. 44. 1, 2.
Nab. 1. 5.
Pf. 97. 5.

Furthermore, The *Renovation* of the World, or *The New Heavens* and *New Earth*, which S. Peter, out of the Prophets, tells us shall spring out of these that are burnt and dissolved, do suppose this Earth reduc'd into a fluid Chaos, that it may lay a foundation for a second World. If you take such a Skeleton of an Earth, as your scorching Fire would leave behind it; where the flesh is torn from the bones, and the Rocks and Mountains stand naked and staring upon you; the Sea, half empty, gaping at the Sun, and the Cities all in ruins and in rubbish; How would you raise a New World from this? and a World fit to be an *habitation for the Righteous*; for so S. Peter makes that to be, which is to succeed after the Conflagration. And a World also *without a Sea*, so S. John describes the New Earth he saw. As these characters do not agree to the present Earth, so neither would they agree to your Future one; for if that dead lump could revive and become habitable again, it would however retain all the imperfections of the former Earth, besides some scars and deformities of its own. Wherefore if you would cast the Earth into a new and better mould, you must first melt it down; and the last Fire, being as a *Refiner's fire*, will make an improvement in it, both as to matter and form. To conclude, it must be reduc'd into a fluid Mass, in the nature of a Chaos, as it was at first; but this last will be a Fiery Chaos, as that was Watery; and from this state it will emerge again into a Paradisiacal World. But this being the Subject of the following Book, we will discourse no more of it in this place.

C H A P. X.

Concerning the beginning and progress of the Conflagration, what part of the Earth will first be Burnt. The manner of the future destruction of Rome, according to Prophe-tical Indications. The last state and consummation of the general Fire.

HAVING remov'd the chief obstructions to our design, and show'd a method for weakning the strength of Nature, by draining the Trench, and beating down those Bulwarks, wherein she seems to place her greatest confidence: we must now go to work; making choice of the weakest part of Nature for our first attack, where the fire may be the easiest admitted, and the best maintain'd and preserv'd.

And for our better direction, it will be of use to consider what we noted before, *viz.* That the Conflagration is not a pure *Natural Fatality*, but a *mixt Fatality*; or a Divine Judgment supported by Natural Causes. And if we can find some part of the Earth, or of the Christian World, that hath more of these natural dispositions to Inflammation than the rest; and is also represented by Scripture

as

as a more peculiar object of God's Judgments at the coming of our Saviour, we may justly pitch upon that part of the World as first to be destroyed. Nature and Providence conspiring to make that the first Sacrifice to this Fiery Vengeance.

Now as to Natural dispositions, in any Country or Region of the Earth, to be set on Fire, They seem to be chiefly these two, Sulphureousness of the Soil, and an hollow, mountainous construction of the ground. Where these two dispositions meet in the same tract or territory, (the one as to the quality of the matter, and the other as to the form) it stands like a Pile of fit materials, ready set to have the Fire put to it. And as to Divine Indications where this General Fire will begin, the Scripture points to the Seat of Antichrist wheresoever that is, for the beginning of it. The Scripture, I say, points at this, two ways, First, in telling us that our Saviour at his coming *in flames of Fire shall consume the wicked One, The Man of sin, the Son of perdition, with the Spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his presence.* Secondly, under the name of *Mystical Babylon*; which is allowed by all to be the Seat of Antichrist, and by Scripture always condemn'd to the Fire. This we find in plain words asserted by S. *John* in the 18th Chap. of his *Revelations*, and in the 19th. (ver. 3.) under the name of the *Great Whore*; which is the same City and the same Seat, according to the interpretation of Scripture it self. And the Prophet *Daniel* when he had set the *Ancient of Days* upon his fiery Throne, says, *The Body of the Beast was given to the burning flame.* Which I take to be the same thing with what S. *John* says afterwards, (*Apoc. 19. 20.*) *The Beast and the false Prophet were cast alive into a Lake of fire burning with brimstone.* By these places of Scripture it seems manifest, that Antichrist, and the Seat of Antichrist, will be consumed with Fire, at the coming of our Saviour. And 'tis very reasonable and decorous, that the Grand Traitor and Head of the Apostasie should be made the first example of the divine vengeance.

2 Thess. 1. 7.
ch. 2. 8.
v. 8. &
ver. 19.
ch. 17. 18.
Dan. 7. 9,
10, 11.

Thus much being allow'd from Scripture, let us now return to Nature again; to seek out that part of the Christian World, that from its own constitution is most subject to burning; by the Sulphureousness of its Soil, and its fiery Mountains and Caverns. This we shall easily find to be the *Roman Territory*, or the *Country of Italy*: which, by all accounts, ancient and modern, is a store-house of fire; as if it was condemn'd to that fate by God and Nature, and to be an Incendiary, as it were, to the rest of the World. And seeing *Mystical Babylon*, the Seat of Antichrist, is the same *Rome*, and its Territory; as it is understood by most Interpreters, of former and later Ages; you see both our lines meet in this point; And that there is a fairness, on both hands, to conclude, that, at the glorious appearance of our Saviour, the Conflagration will begin at the City of *Rome* and the *Roman Territory*.

Nature hath fav'd us the pains of kindling a fire in those parts of the Earth, for, since the memory of man, there have always been subterraneous fires in *Italy*. And the *Romans* did not preserve their Vestal fire with more constancy, than Nature hath done her fiery Mountains in some part or other of that Territory. Let us then suppose,

rose, when the fatal time draws near, all these Burning Mountains to be fill'd and replenish'd with fit materials for such a design; and when our Saviour appears in the Clouds, with an Host of Angels, that they all begin to play, as Fire-works at the Triumphal Entry of a Prince. Let *Vesuvius*, *Ætna*, *Strongyle*, and all the *Vulcanian* Islands, break out into flames; and by the Earth-quakes, which then will rage, let us suppose new Eruptions, or new Mountains open'd, in the *Apennines*, and near to *Rome*; and to vomit out fire in the same manner as the old Volcano's. Then let the sulphureous ground take fire; and seeing the Soil of that Country, in several places, is so full of brimstone, that the steams and smoke of it visibly rise out of the Earth; we may reasonably suppose, that it will burn openly, and be inflam'd, at that time. Lastly, the Lightnings of the Air, and the flaming streams of the melting Skies, will mingle and joyn with these burnings of the Earth. And these three Causes meeting together, as they cannot but make a dreadful Scene, so they will easily destroy and consume whatsoever lies within the compass of their fury.

Thus you may suppose the beginning of the General Fire; And it will be carried on by like causes, tho' in lesser degrees, in other parts of the Earth. But as to *Rome*, there is still, in my opinion, a more dreadful fate that will attend it; namely, to be absorpt or swallowed up in a Lake of fire and brimstone, after the manner of *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*. This, in my judgment, will be the fate and final conclusion of *Mystical Babylon*, to sink as a great Millstone into the Sea, and never to appear more. Hear what the Prophet says, *A mighty Angel took up a stone, like a great Millstone, and cast it into the Sea, saying, thus, with violence, shall that great City Babylon be thrown down; and shall be found no more at all.* Apoc. 18. 21. Simply to be burnt, does not at all answer to this description of its perishing, by *sinking like a Millstone into the Sea, and never appearing more*, nor of, *not having its place ever more found*; that is, leaving no remains or marks of it. A City that is only burnt, cannot be said to *fall like a Millstone into the Sea*; or that it *can never more be found*: For after the burning of a City, the ruines stand, and its place is well known. Wherefore, in both respects, besides this exterior burning, there must be an absorpion of this *Mystical Babylon*, the Seat of the Beast; and thereupon a total disappearance of it. This also agrees with the suddenness of the judgment, which is a repeated character of it. *Chap. 18. 8, 10, 17, 19.* Now what kind of absorpion this will be, into what, and in what manner, we may learn from what *St. John* says afterwards, (ch. 19. 20.) *The Beast and the false Prophets were cast alive into a Lake of fire and brimstone.* You must not imagine that they were bound, hand and foot, and so thrown headlong into this Lake, but they were swallowed up alive, they and theirs, as *Corah* and his company. Or, to use a plainer example, after the manner of *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*; which perisht by fire, and at the same time sunk into a Dead Sea, or a Lake of brimstone.

This was a lively type of the fate of *Rome*, or *Mystical Babylon*; and 'tis fit it should resemble *Sodom*, as well in its punishment, as in its crimes. Neither is it a hard thing to conceive how such an ab-

forption may come to pass; That being a thing so usual in Earth-quakes, and Earth-quakes being so frequent in that Region. And lastly, that this should be after the manner of *Sodom*, turn'd into a Lake of fire, will not be at all strange, if we consider, that there will be many subterraneous Lakes of fire at that time, when the bowels of the Earth begin to melt, and the Mountains spew out streams of liquid fire. The ground therefore being hollow and rotten in those parts, when it comes to be shaken with a mighty Earth-quake, the foundations will sink, and the whole frame fall into an Abyss of fire below, as a Millstone into the Sea. And this will give occasion to that Cry, *Babylon the Great is fallen, is fallen*, and shall never more be found.

This seems to be a probable account, according to Scripture and reason, of the beginning of the general fire, and of the particular fate of *Rome*. But it may be propos'd here as an objection against this Hypothesis, that the Mediterranean Sea, lying all along the Coast of *Italy*, must needs be a sufficient guard to that Country against the invasion of fire; or at least must needs extinguish it, before it can do much mischief there, or propagate it self into other Countreys. I thought we had in a good measure prevented this objection before, by showing how the Ocean would be diminish'd before the Conflagration, and especially the Arms and Sinus's of the Ocean; and of these none would be more subject to this diminution than the Mediterranean; For, receiving its supplies from the Ocean and the Black Sea, if these came to sink in their chanel, they would not rise so high, as to be capable to flow into the Mediterranean, at either end. And these supplies being cut off, it would soon empty it self so far, partly by evaporation, and partly by subterraneous passages, as to shrink from all its shores, and become only a standing Pool of water in the middle of the Chanel. Nay, 'tis possible, by floods of fire descending from the many Volcano's upon its shores, it might it self be converted into a Lake of fire, and rather help than obstruct the progress of the Conflagration.

It may indeed be made a question, whether this fiery Vengeance upon the seat of Antichrist, will not precede the general Conflagration, at some distance of time, as a fore-runner and forewarner to the World, that the rest of the People may have space to repent; And particularly the *Jews*, being Spectators of this Tragedy, and of the miraculous appearance of our Saviour, may see the hand of God in it, and be convinc'd of the truth and divine authority of the Christian Religion. I say, this supposition would leave room for these and some other prophetick Scenes, which we know not well where to place; But seeing *The Day of the Lord* is represented in Scripture as one entire thing, without interruption or discontinuation, and that it is to begin with the destruction of Antichrist, we have warrant enough to pursue the rest of the Conflagration from this beginning and introduction.

Let us then suppose the same preparations made in the other parts of the Earth to continue the Fire; for the Conflagration of the World being a work of Providence, we may be sure such measures are taken, as will effectually carry it on, when once begun. The
Body

Body of the Earth will be loosen'd and broken by Earth-quakes, the more solid parts impregnated with sulphur, and the cavities fill'd with unctuous fumes and exhalations; so as the whole Mass will be but as one great funeral Pile, ready built, and wanting nothing but the hand of a destroying Angel, to give it fire. I will not take upon me to determine which way this devouring Enemy will steer his course from *Italy*, or in what order he will advance and enter the several Regions of our Continent; that would be an undertaking, as uncertain, as useless. But we cannot doubt of his success, which way soever he goes: unless where the Chanel of the Ocean may chance to stop him. But as to that, we allow, that different Continents may have different Fires; not propagated from one another, but of distinct sources and originals; and so likewise in remote Islands; and therefore no long passage or trajection will be requir'd from shore to shore. And even the Ocean it self, will at length be as Fiery as any part of the Land; But that, with its Rocks, like Death, will be the last thing subdued.

As to the Animate World, the Fire will over-run it with a swift and rapid course, and all living Creatures will be suffocated or consumed, at the first assault. And at the same time, the beauty of the Fields and the external decorations of Nature will be defac'd. Then the Cities and the Towns, and all the works of man's hands, will burn like stubble before the wind. These will be soon dispatch'd; but the great burthen of the Work still remains; which is that *Liquefaction* we mention'd before, or a *melting fire*, much more strong and vehement than these transient blazes, which do but sweep the surface of the Earth. This Liquefaction, I say, we prov'd before out of Scripture, as the last state of the fiery Deluge. And 'tis this, which at length, will make the Sea it self a *Lake of fire and brimstone*.
ch. 52
 When instead of Rivers of Waters which used to flow into it from the Land, there come streams and rivulets of Sulphureous Liquors, and purulent melted matter, which following the tract of their natural gravity will fall into this great drain of the Earth. Upon which mixture, the remaining parts of sweet water will soon evaporate, and the salt mingling with the Sulphur will make a Dead Sea, an *Asphaltites*, a Lake of *Sodom*, a Cup of the dregs of the Wine of the fierceness of God's Wrath.

We noted before two remarkable effects of the *Burning Mountains*, which would contribute to the Conflagration of the World; and gave instances of both in former Eruptions of *Aetna* and *Vesuvius*. One was, of those Balls or lumps of Fire, which they throw about in the time of their rage; and the other, of those torrents of liquid Fire, which rowl down their sides to the next Seas or Valleys. In the first respect these Mountains are as so many Batteries, planted by Providence in several parts of the Earth, to sling those fiery Bombs into such places, or such Cities, as are marked out for destruction. And in the second respect, they are to dry up the Waters, and the Rivers, and the Sea it self, when they fall into its Chanel. *T. Fazellus*, a *Sicilian*, who writ the History of that Island, tells us of such a River of fire (upon an eruption of *Aetna*) near twenty eight miles long; reaching from the Mountain to Port *Longina*; and

Annal. Sic.
dec. 1. l. 2. c. 4.

might have been much longer if it had not been stop't by the Sea. Many such as these, and far greater, we ought in reason to imagin, when all the Earth begins to melt, and to ripen towards a dissolution. It will then be full of these Sulphureous juices, as Grapes with Wine; and these will be squeez'd out of the Earth into the Sea, as out of a wine-press into the Receiver; to fill up that *Cup*, as we said before, *with the wine of the fierceness of God's wrath*.

If we may be allow'd to bring Prophetical passages of Scripture to a natural sense, as doubtless some of those must that respect the end of the World, these phrases which we have now suggest'd, of the *Wine-press of the wrath of God*. *Drinking the fierceness of his wine, poured, without mixture, into the cup of his indignation*, with expressions of the like nature that occur sometimes in the old Prophets, but especially in the Apocalypse; These, I say, might receive a full and emphatical explication from this state of things which now lies before us. I would not exclude any other explication of less force, as that of alluding to the *bitter cup* or *mixt potion* that us'd to be given to malefactors: but that methinks, is a low sense when applyed to these places in the Apocalypse. That these phrases signifie God's remarkable judgments, all allow, and here they plainly relate to the end of the World, to the last Plagues, and the last of the last Plagues, *chap. 16. 19*. Besides, The Angel that presid'd over this judgment, is said to be an Angel that *had power over fire*; And those who are to drink this potion, are said to be *tormented with fire and brimstone*, *ch. 14. 10*. This presid'd Angel seems to be our Saviour himself (*c. 19. 15.*) who when he comes to execute Divine Vengeance upon the Earth, gives his orders in these words, *Gather the clusters of the Vine of the Earth, for her grapes are fully ripe*. And thereupon the Destroying Angel *thrust in his sickle into the Earth, and gathered the Vine of the Earth, and cast it into the great Wine-press of the Wrath of God*. And this made a *potion compounded of several ingredients, but not diluted with water*; (*ch. 14. 10.*) and was indeed a potion of fire and brimstone and all burning materials mixt together. The similitudes of Scripture are seldom nice and exact, but rather bold, noble and great; and according to the circumstances which we have observ'd, This *Vineyard* seems to be the *Earth*, and this *Vintage* the end of the World; The pressing of the Grapes into the cup or vessel that receives them, the distillation of burning liquors from all parts of the Earth into the trough of the Sea; and that lake of red Fire, the blood of those Grapes so flowing into it.

'Tis true, This judgment of the Vintage and Wine-press, and the effects of it, seem to aim more especially at some particular region of the Earth, *ch. 14. 20*. And I am not against that, provided the substance of the explication be still retained, and the universal Sea of Fire be that which follows in the next Chapter, under the name of a *Sea of Glass, mingled with Fire*; This I think expresses the highest and compleat state of the Conflagration; when the Mountains are fled away, and not only so, but the exterior region of the Earth quite dissolv'd, like wax before the Sun; The Chanel of the Sea fill'd with a mass of fluid fire, and the same fire overflowing all the Globe, and covering the whole Earth, as the Deluge, or the first

Apoc. 14. 10, 19.
ch. 16. 19.
ch. 19. 15.

ch. 14. 18, 19.

Τὸ κάλαρος
αὐτοῦ ἀνεβήθη.

ch. 16. 2.

first Abyſs. Then will the Triumphal Songs and Hallelujah's be ſung for the Victories of the Lamb over all his Enemies and over Nature it ſelf. *Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty: Juſt and true are thy ways, thou King of Saints. Who ſhall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? for thou only art holy: for all nations ſhall come and worſhip before thee; for thy judgments are made-manifeſt.* Apoc. 15. 3, 4.

CHAP. XI.

An account of thoſe extraordinary Phenomena and Wonders in Nature, that, according to Scripture, will precede the coming of Chriſt, and the Conflagration of the World.

IF we reflect upon the History of Burning Mountains, we cannot but obſerve, that, before their Eruptions, there are uſually ſome changes in the Earth or in the Air, in the Sea or in the Sun it ſelf; as ſigns and forerunners of the enſuing ſtorm. We may then eaſily conclude that when the laſt great Storm is a coming, and all the Volcano's of the Earth ready to burſt, and the frame of the World to be diſſolv'd, there will be previous ſigns, in the Heavens and on the Earth, to introduce this Tragical fate. Nature cannot come to that extremity, without ſome ſymptomes of her illneſs, nor die ſilently, without pangs or complaint. But we are naturally heavy of belief as to Futurities, and can ſcarce fancy any other Scenes, or other ſtate of Nature, than what is preſent, and continually before our eyes; we will therefore, to cure our unbelief, take Scripture for our guide, and keep within the limits of its Predictions.

The Scripture plainly tells us of Signs or Prodigies that will precede the coming of our Saviour, and the end of the World; both in the Heavens and on the Earth. The Sun, Moon, and Stars, will be diſturb'd in their motion or aſpect; The Earth and the Sea will roar and tremble, and the Mountains fall at his Preſence. Theſe things both the Prophets and Evangeliſts have told us; But what we do not underſtand, we are ſlow to believe; and therefore thoſe that cannot apprehend how ſuch Changes ſhould come to paſs in the Natural World, chuſe rather to allegorize all theſe expreſſions of Scripture, and to make them ſignifie no more than political changes of Governments and Empires, and the great confuſions that will be amongſt the People and Princes of the Earth towards the end of the World. So that *darkning of the Sun, ſhaking of the Earth*, and ſuch like phraſes of Scripture, according to theſe Interpreters, are to be underſtood only in a moral ſence.

And they think they have a warrant for this interpretation from the Prophetick ſtyle of the Old Teſtament, where the deſtruction of Cities, and Empires, and great Princes, is often deſcrib'd by ſuch Figures, taken from the Natural World. So much is true indeed

deed as to the phrase of the old Prophets in some places; but I take the true reason and design of that, to be a typical adumbration of what was intended should literally come to pass in the great and universal destruction of the World; whereof these partial destructions were only shadows and prefigurations. But to determine this case, Let us take the known and approved rule for interpreting Scripture, *Not to recede from the literal sense without necessity*, or where the nature of the subject will admit of a literal interpretation. Now as to those cases in the Old Testament, History and matter of fact do show that they did not come to pass literally, therefore must not be so understood; But as for those that concern the end of the World, as they cannot be determin'd in that way, seeing they are yet *future*; So neither is there any Natural repugnancy or improbability that they should come literally to pass: On the contrary, from the intuition of that state of Nature, one would rather conclude the probability or necessity of them; That there may and must be such disorders in the external World before the general dissolution. Besides, If we admit Prodigies in any case, or Providential indications of God's judgments to come, there can be no case suppos'd, wherein it will be more reasonable or proper to admit them, than when they are to be the Messengers of an universal Vengeance and Destruction.

Let us therefore consider what signs Scripture hath taken notice of, as destin'd to appear at that time, to publish, as it were, and proclaim the approaching end of the World; and how far they will admit of a natural explication, according to those grounds we have already given, in explaining the causes and manner of the Conflagration. These Signs are chiefly, Earth-quakes, and extraordinary commotions of the Seas. Then the darkness or bloody colour of the Sun and Moon; The shaking of the Powers of Heaven, the fulgurations of the Air and the falling of Stars. As to Earth-quakes, we have upon several occasions shown, that these will necessarily be multiplied towards the end of the World; when, by an excess of drought and heat, exhalations will more abound within the Earth; and, from the same causes, their inflammation also will be more frequent, than in the ordinary state of Nature. And as all Bodies, when dry'd, become more porous and full of Vacuities; so the Body of the Earth will be at that time: And the Mines or Cavities wherein the fumes and exhalations lodge, will accordingly be of greater extent, open into one another, and continued through long tracts and regions; By which means, when an Earth-quake comes, as the shock will be more strong and violent, so it may reach to a vast compass of ground, and whole Islands or Continents be shaken at once, when these trains have taken fire. The effects also of such concussions, will not only affect Mankind, but all the Elements and the Inhabitants of them.

I do not wonder therefore that frequent and great Earth-quakes should be made a sign of an approaching Conflagration; and the highest expressions of the Prophets concerning the *Day of the Lord*, may be understood in a literal sense, if they be finally referr'd to the general destruction of the World, and not terminated solely upon

upon those particular Countries or People, to whom they are at first directed. Hear what *Ezekiel* says upon this subject: *For in my* ch. 38. 19, 20, 22. *Jealousy and in the fire of my wrath have I spoken; surely in that Day there shall be a great shaking in the Land of Israel. So that the Fishes of the Sea, and the Fowls of the Heaven, and the Beasts of the Field, and all creeping things that creep upon the Earth; and all the Men that are upon the face of the Earth, shall shake at my presence; and the Mountains shall be thrown down, and the steep places shall fall, and every wall shall fall to the ground.----- And I will rain an over-flowing rain, and great hail stones, fire and brimstone.* The Prophet *Isaias* describes ch. 24. 18. 19, 20. these judgments in terms as high, and relating to the Natural World: *The Windows from on high are open, and the foundations of the Earth do shake. The Earth is utterly broken down, the Earth is clean dissolv'd, the Earth is moved exceedingly. The Earth shall reel to and fro like a drunkard, and shall be removed like a Cottage, and the transgression thereof shall be heavy upon it, and it shall fall and not rise again.*

To restrain all these things to *Judæa*, as their adequate and final object, is to force both the words and the sense. Here are manifest allusions and foot-steps of the destruction of the World, and the dissolution of the Earth; partly as it was in the Deluge, and partly as it will be in its last ruine; torn, broken, and shatter'd. But most Men have fallen into that error, To fancy both the destructions of the World, by Water and by Fire, quiet, noiseless things; executed without any ruines or ruptures in Nature; That the Deluge was but a great Pool of still Waters, made by the rains and inundation of the Sea: and the Conflagration will be only a superficial scorching of the Earth, with a running fire. These are false Ideas, and unsuitable to Scripture: for as the Deluge is there represented a Disruption of the Abyss, and consequently of the then habitable Earth; so the future combustion of it, according to the representations of Scripture, is to be usher'd in and accompanied with all sorts of violent impressions upon Nature; and the chief instrument of these violences will be Earth-quakes. These will tear the Body of the Earth, and shake its foundations; rend the Rocks, and pull down the tall Mountains, sometimes overturn, and sometimes swallow up Towns and Cities; disturb and disorder the Elements, and make a general confusion in Nature.

Next to Earth-quakes, we may consider the *roarings of a troubled Sea*. This is another sign of a dying World. *S. Luke* hath set down ch. 21. 25, 26, 27. a great many of them together; Let us hear his words: *And there shall be signs in the Sun, and in the Moon, and in the Stars; and upon the Earth distress of Nations, with perplexity; The Sea and the Waves roaring. Mens hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the Earth: for the powers of Heaven shall be shaken. And then shall they see the Son of Man coming in a cloud, with power and great glory, &c.* As some would allegorize these Signs, which we noted before; so others would confine them to the destruction of *Jerusalem*. But 'tis plain, by this *coming of the Son of* rev. 28. *man in the clouds*, and the redemption of the faithful, and at the same time, the *sound of the last trumpet*, which all relate to the end of the Matt. 24. 31. World,

World, that something further is intended than the destruction of *Jerusalem*. And though there were Prodigies at the destruction of that City and State, yet not of this force, nor with these circumstances. 'Tis true, those partial destructions and calamities, as we observ'd before, of *Babylon*, *Jerusalem*, and the *Roman Empire*, being types of an universal and final destruction of all God's Enemies, have, in the pictures of them, some of the same strokes, to show they are all from the same hand; decreed by the same wisdom, foretold by the same Spirit; and the same power and Providence that have already wrought the one, will also work the other, in due time; the former being still pledges, as well as prefigurations, of the latter.

Let us then proceed in our explication of this sign, *The roaring of the Sea, and the Waves*, applying it to the end of the World. I do not look upon this ominous noise of the Sea, as the effect of a tempest, for then it would not strike such a terror into the Inhabitants of the Earth; nor make them apprehensive of some great evil coming upon the World, as this will do; what proceeds from visible causes, and such as may happen in a common course of Nature, does not so much amaze us, nor affright us. Therefore 'tis more likely these disturbances of the Sea proceed from below, partly by sympathy and revulsions from the Land; by Earth-quakes there, and exhausting the subterraneous cavities of Waters, which will draw again from the Seas what supplies they can: And partly by Earth quakes in the very Sea it self; with exhalations and fiery Eruptions from the bottom of it. Things indeed that happen at other times, more or less, but at this conjuncture, all causes conspiring, they will break out with more violence, and put the whole Body of the Waters into a tumultuary motion. I do not see any occasion, at this time, for high Winds; neither can think a superficial agitation of the Waves would answer this Phænomenon; but 'tis rather from Contorsions in the bowels of the Ocean, which make it roar, as it were, for pain. Some Causes impelling the Waters one way, and some another, make intestine struglings and contrary motions; from whence proceed unusual noises, and such a troubled state of the Waters, as does not only make the Sea innavigable, but also strikes terror into all the Maritime Inhabitants, that live within the view or sound of it.

So much for the Earth and the Sea. The face of the Heavens also will be chang'd in divers respects. The Sun and the Moon darkned, or of a bloody, or pale countenance; The Celestial Powers shaken, and the Stars unsetled in their Orbs. As to the Sun and Moon, their obscuration or change of colour is no more than what happens commonly before the Eruption of a fiery Mountain; *Dion Cassius*, you see, hath taken notice of it in that Eruption of *Ætna* which he describes; and others upon the like occasions in *Vesuvius*. And 'tis a thing of easie explication; for according as the Atmosphere is more or less clear or turbid, the Luminaries are more or less conspicuous; and according to the nature of those fumes or exhalations that swim in the Air, the face of the Sun is discolour'd sometimes one way, sometimes another. You see, in an ordinary Experiment,

periment, when we look upon one another through the fumes of Sulphur, we appear pale like so many Ghosts; and in some foggy days the Sun hangs in the Firmament as a lump of Bloud. And both the Sun and Moon at their rising, when their light comes to us through the thick vapours of the Earth, are red and fiery. These are not changes wrought in the substance of the Luminaries, but in the modifications of their light as it flows to us. For colours are but Light in a sort of disguise; as it passes through *Mediums* of different qualities, it takes different forms; but the matter is still the same, and returns to its simplicity when it comes again into a pure air.

Now the air may be changed and corrupted to a great degree, tho' there appear no visible change to our eye. This is manifest from infectious airs, and the changes of the air before storms and rains; which we feel commonly sooner than we see, and some other creatures perceive much sooner than we do. 'Tis no wonder then if before this mighty storm the dispositions of the Air be quite alter'd; especially if we consider, what we have so often noted before, that there will be a great abundance of fumes and exhalations through the whole Atmosphere of the Earth, before the last Fire breaks out; whereby the Light of the Sun may be tinctur'd in several ways. And lastly, it may be so order'd providentially, that the Body of the Sun may contract at that time some Spots or *Macula* far greater than usual, and by that means be really darkened; not to us only, but to all the neighbouring Planets. And this will have a proportionable effect upon the Moon too, for the diminution of her light. So that upon all suppositions these Phænomena are very intelligible, if not necessary forerunners of the Conflagration.

The next Sign given us, is, that the *powers of heaven will be shaken*. By the *Heavens* in this place is either understood the Planetary Heavens, or that of the *Fix'd Stars*; but this latter being vastly distant from the Earth, cannot be really affected by the Conflagration. Nor the powers of it, that is, its motions or the Bodies contain'd in it, any way shaken or disorder'd. But in appearance these celestial Bodies may seem to be shaken, and their motions disorder'd; as in a tempest by night, when the ship is toss'd with contrary and uncertain motions, the Heavens seem to fluctuate over our heads, and the Stars to reel to and fro, when the motion is only in our own Vessel. So possibly the uncertain motions of the Atmosphere, and sometimes of the Earth it self, may so vary the sight and aspect of this starry Canopy, that it may seem to shake and tremble.

But if we understand this of the *Planetary Heavens*, They may really be shaken. Providence either ordering some great changes in the other Planets previously to the Conflagration of our Planet; as 'tis probable there was a great change in *Venus*, at the time of our *Deluge*. Or the great shakings and concussions of our Globe at that time, affecting some of the neighbouring Orbs, at least that of the Moon, may cause Anomalies and irregularities in their motions. But the sense that I should pitch upon chiefly for explaining this phrase of *shaking the powers of heaven*, comprehends, in a good measure, both these Heavens, of the *Fix'd Stars* and of the Planets;

'Tis that change of situation in the Axis of the Earth, which we have formerly mention'd; whereby the Stars will seem to change their places, and the whole Universe to take another posture. This is sufficiently known to those that know the different consequences of a strait or oblique posture of the Earth. And as the heavens and the earth were, in this sence, once shaken before; namely at the Deluge, when they lost their first situation; so now they will be shaken again, and thereby return to the posture they had before that first concussion. And this I take to be the true literal sence of the Prophet *Haggai*, repeated by *S. Paul*, *Yet once more I shake not the Earth only, but also heaven.*

Ch. 2. 6.
Heb. 12. 26.

The last Sign we shall take notice of, is that of *Falling Stars*. And the Stars shall fall from Heaven; says our Saviour, *Matt. 24. 29*. We are sure, from the nature of the thing, that this cannot be understood either of fix'd Stars or Planets; for if either of these should tumble from the Skies, and reach the Earth, they would break it all in pieces, or swallow it up, as the Sea does a sinking ship; and at the same time would put all the inferiour universe into confusion. It is necessary therefore by these Stars to understand either fiery Meteors falling from the middle Region of the Air, or Comets and Blazing Stars. No doubt there will be all sorts of fiery Meteors at that time; and amongst others, those that are call'd *Falling Stars*; which, tho' they are not considerable singly, yet if they were multiplied in great numbers, falling, as the Prophet says, as *leaves from the Vine, or figs from the fig tree*, they would make an astonishing sight. But I think this expression does chiefly refer to Comets; which are dead Stars, and may truly be said to fall from heaven, when they leave their seats above, and those ethereal regions wherein they were fixt, and sink into this lower World; where they wander about with a blaze in their tail, or a flame about their head, as if they came on purpose to be the Messengers of some fiery Vengeance. If numbers of these blazing Stars should fall into our heaven together, they would make a dreadful and formidable appearance; And I am apt to think that Providence hath so contriv'd the periods of their motion, that there will be an unusual concourse of them at that time, within the view of the Earth, to be a prelude to this last and most Tragical Scene of the Sublunary World.

Ijz. 34. 4.

I do not know any more in Scripture relating to the last Fire, that, upon the grounds laid down in this discourse, may not receive a satisfactory explication. It reaches, beyond the Signs before mention'd, to the highest expressions of Scripture, As *Lakes of fire and brimstone, a molten Sea mingled with fire, the Liquefaction of Mountains*, and of the Earth it self. We need not now look upon these things as Hyperbolical and Poetical strains, but as barefac'd Prophecies, and things that will literally come to pass as they are predicted. One thing more will be expected in a just hypothesis or Theory of the Conflagration, namely, that it should answer, not only all the conditions and characters belonging to the last Fire, but should also make way and lay the foundation of another World to succeed this, or of *New Heavens* and a *New Earth*. For *S. Peter* hath taught this doctrine of the *Renovation* of the World, as positively and expressly

pressly as that of its Conflagration. And therefore they that so explain the destruction of the present World, as to leave it afterwards in an eternal rubbish, without any hopes of restoration, do not answer the Christian Doctrine concerning it. But as to our Hypothesis, we are willing to stand this farther trial, and be accountable for the consequences of the Conflagration, as well as the Antecedents and manner of it. And we have accordingly in the following Book, from the Ashes of this, rais'd a New Earth; which we leave to the enjoyment of the Readers. In the meantime, to close our discourse, we will bid farewell to the present World, in a short review of its last flames.

CHAP. XII.

An imperfect description of the Coming of our Saviour, and of the World on Fire.

Certainly there is nothing in the whole course of Nature, or of Humane Affairs, so great and so extraordinary, as the two last Scenes of them, THE COMING OF OUR SAVIOUR, and the BURNING OF THE WORLD. If we could draw in our minds the Pictures of these, in true and lively colours, we should scarce be able to attend to any thing else, or ever divert our imagination from these two objects. For what can more affect us than the greatest Glory that ever was visible upon Earth, and at the same time the greatest Terror. A God descending in the Head of an Army of Angels, and a Burning World under his feet.

These are things truly above expression; and not only so, but so different and remote from our ordinary thoughts and conceptions, that he that comes nearest to a true description of them, shall be look'd upon as the most extravagant. 'Tis our unhappiness to be so much used to little trifling things in this life, that when any thing great is represented to us, it appears phantastical: An Idea, made by some contemplative or melancholy person. I will not venture therefore, without premising some grounds out of Scripture, to say any thing concerning This Glorious Appearance. As to the Burning of the World, I think we have already laid a foundation sufficient to support the highest description that can be made of it; But the coming of our Saviour being wholly out of the way of Natural Causes, it is reasonable we should take all directions we can from Scripture, that we may give a more fitting and just account of that Sacred Pomp.

I need not mention those places of Scripture that prove the second coming of our Saviour in general, or his return to the Earth again at the end of the World: no Christian can doubt of this, 'tis so often repeated in those Sacred Writings. But the manner and circumstances of this Coming, or of this Appearance, are the things we now enquire into. And in the first place, we may observe that

*Matt. 24. 30,
31. Act. 1. 11.
1 Cor. 15. 51, 52.
Apoc. 1. 7.
Heb. 9. 28.*

that Scripture tells us our Saviour will come in *Flaming Fire*, and with an *Host of mighty Angels*; so says S. Paul to the *Theſſalonians*, *The Lord Jeſus ſhall be revealed from Heaven with mighty Angels; in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* In the ſecond place, our Saviour ſays himſelf, *The Son of man ſhall come in the glory of his Father with his Angels.* From which two places we may learn, firſt, that the appearance of our Saviour will be with flames of Fire. Secondly, With an *Hoſt of Angels.* Thirdly, In the glory of his Father. By which *Glory of the Father* I think is underſtood that *Throne of Glory* repreſented by *Daniel* for the *Ancient of Days*. For our Saviour ſpeaks here to the *Jews*, and probably in a way intelligible to them; And the *Glory of the Father* which they were moſt likely to underſtand, would be either the *Glory* wherein God appeared at *Mount Sinai*, upon the giving of the *Law*, whereof the *Apoſtle* ſpeaks largely to the *Hebrews*; or that which *Daniel* repreſents Him in at the day of *Judgment*. And this latter being more proper to the ſubject of our Saviour's diſcourſe, 'tis more likely this expreſſion refers to it. Give me leave therefore to ſet down that deſcription of the *Glory of the Father* upon his *Throne*, from the *Prophet Daniel*, ch. 7. 9. *And I beheld till the Thrones were * ſet, and the Ancient of days did ſit, whoſe garment was white as ſnow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: His Throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery ſtream iſſued and came forth from before him, thouſand thouſands miniſtred unto him, and ten thouſand times ten thouſand ſtood before him.* With this *Throne of the Glory of the Father*, let us if you pleaſe, compare the *Throne of the Son of God*, as it was ſeen by S. *John* in the *Apocalypſe*, ch. 4. 2, &c. *And immediately I was in the Spirit: and behold a throne was ſet in heaven, and one ſat on the Throne. And he that ſat, was to look upon like a Jasper, and a Sardine Stone: and there was a Rain-bow round about the Throne, in appearance like unto an Emerald. And out of the Throne proceeded Lightnings, and Thunderings, and Voices, &c. and before the Throne was a Sea of glaſs like unto Cryſtal.*

* 'Tis ill render'd in the Engliſh, caſt down.

In theſe repreſentations you have ſome beams of the *Glory of the Father* and of the *Son*; which may be partly a direction to us, in conceiving the *Luſtre of our Saviour's appearance*. Let us further obſerve, if you pleaſe, how external *Nature* will be affected at the ſight of *God*, or of this approaching *Glory*. The *Scripture* often takes notice of this, and in terms very high and eloquent. The *Pſalmiſt* ſeems to have lov'd that ſubject above others; to ſet out the greatness of the day of the *Lord*, and the conſternation of all *Nature* at that time. He throws about his thunder and lightning, makes the *Hills* to melt like wax at the preſence of the *Lord*, and the very foundations of the *Earth* to tremble, as you may ſee in the *18th Pſalm*, and the *97.* and the *104.* and ſeveral others, which are too long to be here inſerted. So the *Prophet Habakkuk*, in his *Prophetic Prayer*, Chap. 3d. hath many *Ejaculations* to the like purpoſe. And the *Prophet Nahum* ſays, *The mountains quake at him, and the hills melt, and the Earth is burnt at his preſence: yea, the world, and all that dwell therein.*

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But more particularly, as to the face of Nature just before the coming of our Saviour, that may be best collected from the signs of his coming mention'd in the precedent Chapter. Those all meeting together, help to prepare and make ready a Theater, fit for an angry God to come down upon. The countenance of the Heavens will be dark and gloomy; and a Veil drawn over the face of the Sun. The Earth in a disposition every where to break into open flames. The tops of the Mountains smoaking; the Rivers dry; Earthquakes in several places; the Sea sunk and retir'd into its deepest Chanel, and roaring, as against some mighty storm. These things will make the day dead and melancholy, but the Night-Scenes will have more of horreur in them. When the *Blazing Stars* appear, like so many Furies, with their lighted Torches, threatenng to set all on fire. For I do not doubt but the Comets will bear a part in this Tragedy, and have something extraordinary in them, at that time; either as to number, or bigness, or nearness to the Earth. Besides, the Air will be full of flaming Meteors, of unusual forms and magnitudes; Balls of fire rowling in the Skie, and pointed lightnings darted against the Earth; mixt with claps of thunder, and unusual noises from the Clouds. The Moon and the Stars will be confus'd and irregular, both in their light and motions; as if the whole frame of the Heavens was out of order, and all the laws of Nature were broken or expir'd.

When all things are in this languishing or dying posture, and the Inhabitants of the Earth under the fears of their last end; The Heavens will open on a sudden, and the Glory of God will appear. A Glory surpassing the Sun in its greatest radiancy; which, tho' we cannot describe, we may suppose it will bear some resemblance or proportion with those representations that are made in Scripture, of *God upon his Throne*. This wonder in the Heavens, whatsoever its form may be, will presently attract the eyes of all the Christian World. Nothing can more affect them than an object so unusual and so illustrious; and that, (probably) brings along with it their last destiny, and will put a period to all humane affairs.

Some of the Ancients have thought that this coming of our Sa- 2 Pet. 3. 10.
viour would be in the dead of the night, and his first glorious ap-
pearance in the midst of darkness. God is often describ'd in Scrip-
ture as Light or Fire, with darkness round about him. *He bowed*
the Heavens and came down, and darkness was under his feet. He made Psal. 18. 9, 11, 12.
darkness his secret place: His pavilion round about him were dark Waters Psal. 97.
and thick Clouds of the Skies. At the brightness that was before him, the
thick Clouds passed. And when God appear'd upon Mount *Sinai*, the Deut. 4. 11.
Mountain burnt with fire unto the midst of Heaven with darkness, clouds,
and thick darkness: Or, as the Apostle expresses it, with *blackness* and Hebr. 12. 18.
darkness, and tempest. Light is never more glorious than when sur-
rounded with darkness; and it may be the Sun, at that time, will
be so obscure, as to make little distinction of Day and Night. But
however this Divine Light over-bears and distinguishes it self from
common Light, tho' it be at Mid-day. 'Twas about Noon that the
Light shin'd from Heaven and surrounded *St. Paul*. And 'twas on Act. 22. 6.
the Day-time that *St. Stephen* saw the *Heavens opened: saw the glory* Act. 7. 55, 56.
of

of God, and Jesus standing at the right hand of God. This light, which flows from a more vital source, be it Day or Night, will always be predominant.

That appearance of God upon Mount *Sinai*, which we mention'd, if we reflect upon it, will help us a little to form an Idea of this last appearance. When God had declar'd, that he would come down in the sight of the People; The Text says, *There were thunders and lightnings, and a thick Cloud upon the Mount, and the voice of the Trumpet exceeding loud; so that all the people that was in the Camp trembled. And Mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire. And the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole Mount quaked greatly.* If we look upon this Mount as an Epitome of the Earth, this appearance gives us an imperfect resemblance of that which is to come. Here are the several parts or main strokes of it; first, the Heavens and the Earth in smoke and fire, then the appearance of a Divine Glory, and the sound of a Trumpet in the presence of Angels. But as the second coming of our Saviour is a Triumph over his Enemies, and an entrance into his Kingdom, and is acted upon the Theater of the whole Earth; so we are to suppose, in proportion, all the parts and circumstances of it, more great and magnificent.

When therefore this mighty God returns again to that Earth, where he had once been ill treated, not Mount *Sinai* only, but all the Mountains of the Earth, and all the Inhabitants of the World, will tremble at his presence. At the first opening of the Heavens, the brightness of his Person will scatter the dark Clouds, and shoot streams of light throughout all the Air. But that first appearance, being far from the Earth, will seem to be only a great mass of light, without any distinct form; till, by nearer approaches, this bright Body shows it self to be an Army of Angels, with this King of kings for their Leader. Then you may imagine how guilty Mankind will tremble and be astonish'd; and while they are gazing at this heavenly Host, the Voice of the *Archangel is heard*, the shrill sound of the Trumpet reaches their ears. And this gives the general Alarm to all the World. *For he cometh, for he cometh*, they cry, *to judge the Earth.* The crucified God is return'd in Glory, to take Vengeance upon his Enemies: Not only upon those that pierc'd his Sacred Body, with Nails and with a Spear, as *Jerusalem*; but those also that pierce him every day by their prophaneness and hard speeches, concerning his Person and his Religion. Now they see that God whom they have mock'd, or blasphem'd, laugh't at his meanness, or at his vain threats; They see Him, and are confounded with shame and fear; and in the bitterness of their anguish and despair call for the Mountains to fall upon them. *Fly into the clefts of the Rocks, and into the Caves of the Earth, for fear of the Lord, and the glory of his Majesty, when he ariseth to shake terribly the Earth.*

Mat. 2. 19.
Rev. 6. 16, 17.

As it is not possible for us to express or conceive the dread and majesty of this appearance; so neither can we, on the other hand, express the passions and consternation of the People that behold it. These things exceed the measures of humane affairs, and of humane thoughts;

thoughts; we have neither words, nor comparisons, to make them known by. The greatest pomp and magnificence of the Emperors of the East, in their Armies, in their Triumphs, in their Inaugurations, is but like the sport and entertainment of Children, if compar'd with this Solemnity. When God condescends to an external glory, with a visible Train and Equipage: When, from all the Provinces of his vast and boundless Empire, he summons his Nobles; as I may so say: The several orders of Angels and Arch-Angels, to attend his Person; tho' we cannot tell the form or manner of this Appearance, we know there is nothing in our experience, or in the whole History of this World, that can be a just representation of the least part of it. No Armies so numerous as the Host of Heaven: and in the midst of those bright Legions, in a flaming Chariot, will sit the Son of Man, when he comes to be glorified in his Saints, and triumph over his Enemies. And instead of the wild noises of the rabble, which makes a great part of our worldly state: This blessed company will breath their *Halleluiabs* into the open Air; and repeated acclamations of *Salvation to God, which sits upon the Throne, Apoc. 7. 10. and to the Lamb. Now is come salvation and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ. 12. 10.*

But I leave the rest to our silent devotion and admiration. Only give me leave, whilst this object is before our eyes, to make a short reflection upon the wonderful history of our Saviour; and the different states, which that Sacred Person, within the compass of our knowledge, hath undergone. We now see him coming in the Clouds in glory and triumph, surrounded with innumerable Angels. This is the same Person, who, so many hundred years ago, enter'd *Jerusalem*, with another sort of Equipage: mounted upon an Ass's Colt, while the little people and the multitude cry'd, *Hosanna* to the *Son of David*. Nay, This is the same Person, that, at his first coming into this World, was laid in a Manger instead of a Cradle; A naked Babe dropt in a Crib at *Bethlehem*: His poor Mother not having wherewithal to get her a better Lodging, when she was to be deliver'd of this Sacred Burthen. This helpless Infant, that often wanted a little Milk to refresh it, and support its weakness: That hath often cry'd for the Breast, with hunger and tears: now appears to be the Lord of Heaven and Earth. If this Divine Person had fallen from the Clouds in a mortal Body, cloath'd with Flesh and Blood, and spent his life here amongst sinners; That alone had been an infinite condescension. But as if it had not been enough to take upon him Humane Nature, he was content, for many months, to live the life of an Animal, or of a Plant, in the dark Cell of a Womans Womb. *This is the Lord's doing, it is marvellous in our eyes. Luke 2. 12.*

Neither is this all that is wonderful in the story of our Saviour. If the manner of his death be compar'd with his present glory, we shall think, either the one, or the other, incredible. Look up, first, into the Heavens: see how they bow under him, and receive a new light from the Glory of his Presence. Then look down upon the Earth, and see a naked Body hanging upon a cursed Tree in *Golgotha*; Crucified betwixt Two Thieves: wounded, spit upon, mock'd, abus'd. Is it possible to believe that one and the same person can act

act or suffer such different parts? That he, that is now Lord and Master of all Nature: not only of Death and Hell, and the power of darkness: but of all Principalities in heavenly places: is the same Infant Jesus, the same crucified Jesus, of whose life and death the Christian records give us an account? The History of this Person is the Wonder of this World; and not of this World only, but of the Angels above, that desire to look into it.

Let us now return to our Subject. We left the Earth in a languishing condition, ready to be made a Burnt-offering, to appease the wrath of its offended Lord. When *Sodom* was to be destroyed *Abraham* interceded with God that he would spare it for the Righteous sake: And *David* interceded to save his guiltless People from God's Judgments and the Destroying Angel. But here is no Intercessor for Mankind in this last extremity: None to interpose where the Mediator of our Peace is the party offended. Shall then *the righteous perish with the wicked? Shall not the Judge of all the Earth do right?* Or if the Righteous be translated and delivered from This Fire, what shall become of innocent Children and Infants? Must these all be given up to the merciless flames, as a Sacrifice to *Moloch*? and their tender flesh, like burnt incense, send up fumes to feed the nostrils of evil Spirits? Can the God of *Israel* smell a sweet savour from such Sacrifices? The greater half of Mankind is made up of Infants and Children: and if the wicked be destroyed, *yet these Lambs, what have they done?* Are there no bowels of compassion for such an harmless multitude? But we leave them to their Guardian Angels, and to that Providence which watches over all things.

It only remains therefore, to let fall that Fire from Heaven, which is to consume this Holocaust. Imagine all Nature now standing in a silent expectation to receive its last doom: The Tutelary and Destroying Angels to have their instructions: Every thing to be ready for the fatal hour: And then, after a little silence, all the Host of Heaven to raise their voice and sing aloud, **LET GOD ARISE:** *Let his enemies be scatter'd. As smok is driven away, so drive them away, As wax melteth before the fire, so LET the wicked perish at the presence of God.* And upon this, as upon a signal given, all the sublunary World breaks into Flames, and all the Treasuries of Fire are opened, in Heaven and in Earth.

Thus the Conflagration begins. If one should now go about to represent *the World on Fire*, with all the confusions that necessarily must be, in Nature and in Mankind, upon that occasion, it would seem to most Men a Romantick Scene. Yet we are sure there must be such a Scene. *The heavens will pass away with a noise, and the Elements will melt with fervent heat, and all the works of the Earth will be burnt up.* And these things cannot come to pass without the greatest disorders imaginable, both in the minds of Men and in external Nature: and the saddest spectacles that eye can behold. We think it a great matter to see a single person burnt alive: here are Millions, shrieking in the flames at once. 'Tis frightful to us to look upon a great City in flames, and to see the distractions and misery of the people: here is an Universal Fire through all the Cities of the

the Earth, and an Universal Massacre of their Inhabitants. Whatsoever the Prophets foretold of the desolations of *Judea*, *Jerusalem*, or *Babylon*, in the highest strains, is more than literally accomplish'd in this last and general Calamity: And those only that are Spectators of it, can make its History.

The disorders in Nature and the inanimate World will be no less, nor less strange and unaccountable, than those in Mankind. Every Element, and every Region, so far as the bounds of this Fire extend, will be in a tumult and a fury, and the whole habitable World running into confusion. A World is sooner destroyed than made, and Nature relapses hastily into that Chaos-state, out of which she came by slow and leisurely motions. As an Army advances into the field by just and regular marches, but when it is broken and routed, it flies with precipitation, and one cannot describe its posture. Fire is a barbarous Enemy, it gives no mercy; there is nothing but fury, and rage, and ruine, and destruction, wheresoever it prevails. A storm or *Hurricane*, tho' it be but the force of Air, makes a strange havock where it comes; but devouring flames, or exhalations set on Fire, have still a far greater violence, and carry more terror along with them. Thunder and Earthquakes are the Sons of Fire: and we know nothing in all Nature, more impetuous, or more irresistibly destructive than these two. And accordingly in this last war of the Elements, we may be sure, they will bear their parts, and do great execution in the several regions of the World. Earthquakes and Subterraneous Eruptions will tear the body and bowels of the Earth; and Thunders and convulsive motions of the Air, rend the Skies. The waters of the Sea will boyl and struggle with streams of Sulphur that run into them; which will make them fume, and smoak, and roar, beyond all storms and tempests. And these noises of the Sea will be answered again from the Land by falling Rocks and Mountains. This is a small part of the disorders of that day.

But 'tis not possible, from any station, to have a full prospect of this last Scene of the Earth: for 'tis a mixture of fire and darkness. This New Temple is fill'd with smoak, while it is consecrating, and none can enter into it. But I am apt to think, if we could look down upon this burning World from above the Clouds, and have a full view of it, in all its parts, we should think it a lively representation of *Hell* it self. For, Fire and darkness are the two chief things by which that state, or that place, uses to be describ'd: and they are both here mingled together: with all other ingredients that make that Tophet that is prepar'd of old. Here are Lakes of fire and brimstone: Rivers of melted glowing matter: Ten thousand Volcano's vomiting flames all at once. Thick darkness, and Pillars of smoak twisted about with wreaths of flame, like fiery Snakes. Mountains of Earth thrown up into the Air, and the Heavens dropping down in lumps of fire. These things will all be literally true, concerning that day, and that state of the Earth. And if we suppose *Beelzebub*, and his Apostate crew, in the midst of this fiery furnace: (and I know not where they can be else.) It will be hard to find any part of the Universe, or any state of things, that

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answers to so many of the properties and characters of *Hell*, as this which is now before us.

But if we suppose the storm over, and that the fire hath got an entire victory over all other bodies, and subdued every thing to itself, the Conflagration will end in a Deluge of fire: Or, in a Sea of fire, covering the whole Globe of the Earth. For, when the exterior region of the Earth is melted into a fluor, like molten glass, or running metal; it will, according to the nature of other Fluids, fill all vacuities and depressions, and fall into a regular surface, at an equal distance, every where, from its center. This Sea of fire, like the first Abyss, will cover the face of the whole Earth: make a kind of second Chaos: and leave a capacity for another World to rise from it. But that is not our present business. Let us only, if you please, to take leave of this subject, reflect upon this occasion, on the Vanity and transient glory of all this habitable World. How, by the force of one Element, breaking loose upon the rest, all the Varieties of Nature, all the works of Art, all the labours of Men are reduc'd to nothing. All that we admir'd and ador'd before, as great and magnificent, is obliterated or vanish'd. And another form and face of things, plain, simple, and every where the same, overspreads the whole Earth. Where are now the great Empires of the World, and their great Imperial Cities? Their Pillars, Trophies, and Monuments of glory? Show me where they stood: read the Inscription, tell me the Victor's name. What remains, what impressions, what difference or distinction do you see in this mass of fire? *Rome* it self, *Eternal Rome*, the Great City, the Empress of the World, whose domination and superstition, *ancient and modern*, make a great part of the History of this Earth: What is become of her now? She laid her foundations deep, and her Palaces were strong and sumptuous: *She glorified her self, and liv'd deliciously: and said in her heart, I sit a Queen, and shall see no sorrow.* But her hour is come, she is wip'd away from the face of the Earth, and buried in perpetual oblivion. But 'tis not Cities only, and works of Men's hands, but the everlasting Hills, the Mountains and Rocks of the Earth, are melted as Wax before the Sun; and *their place is no where found.* Here stood the *Alpes*, a prodigious range of Stone, the Load of the Earth, that cover'd many Countries, and reach'd their arms from the Ocean to the *Black Sea*; This huge mass of Stone is soften'd and dissolv'd, as a tender Cloud into rain. Here stood the *African Mountains*, and *Atlas* with his top above the Clouds. There was frozen *Caucasus*, and *Taurus*, and *Imaus*, and the Mountains of *Asia*. And yonder towards the North stood the *Riphaean Hills*, cloath'd in Ice and Snow. All these are vanish'd, dropt away as the Snow upon their heads: and swallowed up in a red Sea of fire. *Great and marvellous are thy Works, Lord God Almighty: Just and true are thy ways, Thou King of Saints.* Hallelujah.

Revel. 15. 3.

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The CONCLUSION.

IF the Conflagration of the World be a reality, as, both by Scripture and Antiquity, we are assur'd it is; If we be fully perswaded and convinc'd of this: 'Tis a thing of that nature, that we cannot keep it long in our thoughts, without making some moral reflections upon it. 'Tis both great in it self, and of universal concern to all Mankind. Who can look upon such an Object, *A World in Flames*, without thinking with himself, Whether shall I be in the midst of these flames, or no? What is my security that I shall not fall under this fiery vengeance, which is the wrath of an angry God? St. Peter, when he had deliver'd the doctrine of the Conflagration, makes this pious reflection upon it: *Seeing then that all these things shall be dissolv'd, what manner of persons ought you to be, in holy conversation and godliness?* ^{2 Epist. 3. 11.} The strength of his argument depends chiefly upon what he had said before in the 7th. Verse, where he told us, that the *present Heavens and Earth were reserv'd unto fire, against the Day of Judgment, and the perdition of irreligious men.* We must avoid the crime then, if we would escape the punishment. But this expression of *irreligious* or *ungodly men*, is still very general. St. Paul, when he speaks of this fiery indignation, and the Persons it is to fall upon, is more distinct in their characters. He seems to mark out for this destruction, three sorts of men chiefly, *The Atheists, Infidels, and the Tribe of Antichrist.* These are his words: *When the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from Heaven, with his mighty Angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God: and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.* ^{2 Thess. 1. 7, 8.} Then as for Antichrist and his adherents, he says, in the 2d. Chapt. and 8th. Verse, *The Lord shall consume that Wicked one with the Spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming,* or of his Presence. These, you see, all refer to the same time with St. Peter: namely, to the coming of our Saviour, at the Conflagration; and three sorts of Persons are characteriz'd as his Enemies, and set out for destruction at that time. First, those that know not God: that is, that acknowledge not God, that will not own the Deity. Secondly, those that hearken not to the Gospel; that is, that reject the Gospel and Christian Religion, when they are preach'd and made known to them. For you must not think that it is the poor barbarous and ignorant Heathens, that scarce ever heard of God, or the Gospel, that are threaten'd with this fiery vengeance. No, 'tis the Heathens, that live amongst Christians; those that are Infidels, as to the existence of God, or the truth of Christian Religion, tho' they have had a full manifestation of both. These are properly the Adversaries of God and Christ. And such adversaries, St. Paul says in another place, *A fearful judgment, and fiery indignation shall devour:* ^{Heb. 10. 27.} which still refers to the same time, and the same Persons we are speaking of. Then as to the third sort of Men, Antichrist and his Followers, besides this Text of St. Paul to the *Thessalonians*, 'tis plain to me in

the Apocalypse, that *Mystical Babylon* is to be consum'd by fire : and the *Beast* and *False Prophet* to be thrown into the *Lake that burns with fire and brimstone* : Which Lake is no where to be found till the Conflagration.

You see then for whom *Tophet* is prepar'd of old. For Atheists, Infidels, and Antichristian Persecutors. And they will have for their Companions, the Devil and his Angels, the heads of the Apostasie. These are all in open rebellion against God and Christ, and at defiance, as it were, with Heaven. Excepting Antichrist, who is rather in a secret conspiracy, than an open rebellion. For, under a pretended Commission from Jesus Christ, He persecutes his Servants, dishonours his Person, corrupts his Laws and his Government, and makes War against his Saints. And this is a greater affront and provocation, if possible, than a bare-fac'd opposition would be.

There are other Men, besides these, that are unacceptable to God. All sorts of sinners and wicked persons : but they are not so properly the Enemies of God, as these we have mention'd. An intemperate Man is an Enemy to himself, and an unjust Man is an Enemy to his Neighbour : But those that deny God, or Christ, or persecute their Servants, are directly and immediately Enemies to God. And therefore when the Lord comes in flames of fire to triumph over his Enemies : To take vengeance upon all that are Rebels or Conspirators against him and his Christ : these Monsters of Men will be the first and most exemplary Objects of the divine wrath and indignation.

To undertake to speak to these three Orders of men, and convince them of their error, and the danger of it, would be too much for the Conclusion of a short Treatise. And as for the third sort, the Subjects of Antichrist, none but the Learned amongst them are allow'd to be inquisitive, or to read such things as condemn their Church, or the Governours of it. Therefore I do not expect that this English Translation should fall into many of their hands. But those of them, that are pleas'd to look into the *Latin*, will find, in the Conclusion of it, a full and fair warning to come out of *Babylon* : which is there prov'd to be the Church of *Rome*. Then as to those that are Atheistically inclin'd, which I am willing to believe are not many, I desire them to consider, How mean a thing it is, to have hopes only in this Life : and how uneasy a thing, to have nothing but fears as to the Future. Those, sure, must be little narrow Souls, that can make themselves a portion and a sufficiency out of what they enjoy here : That think of no more, that desire no more. For what is this life, but a circulation of little mean actions ? We lie down and rise again : dress and undress : feed and wax hungry : work, or play, and are weary : and then we lie down again, and the circle returns. We spend the day in trifles, and when the Night comes, we throw our selves into the Bed of folly, amongst dreams and broken thoughts and wild imaginations. Our reason lies asleep by us ; and we are, for the time, as arrant Brutes, as those that sleep in the Stalls, or in the Field. Are not the Capacities of Man higher than these ? and ought not his ambition and expectations to be greater ? Let us be Adventurers for another World:

World: 'Tis, at least, a fair and noble Chance: and there is nothing in this, worth our thoughts or our passions. If we should be disappointed, we are still no worse than the rest of our fellow-mortals: and if we succeed in our expectations, we are eternally happy.

For my part, I cannot be persuaded, that any man of Atheistical inclinations can have a great and generous Soul. For there is nothing great in the World, if you take God out of it. Therefore such a person can have no great thought, can have no great aims, or expectations, or designs: for all must lie within the compass of this Life, and of this dull Body. Neither can he have any great instincts or noble passions: For if he had, they would naturally excite in him greater Ideas, inspire him with higher notions, and open the Scenes of the Intellectual World. Lastly, He cannot have any great sense of Order, Wisdom, Goodness, Providence, or any of the Divine Perfections. And these are the greatest things that can enter into the thoughts of man, and that do most enlarge and enoble his mind. And therefore I say again, That, He that is naturally inclined to Atheism, being also naturally destitute of all these, must have a little and narrow soul.

But you'll say, it may be, This is to expostulate rather than to prove: or to upbraid us with our make and temper, rather than to convince us of an error in speculation. 'Tis an error it may be in practice, or in point of prudence; but we seek Truth, whether it make for us or against us: convince us therefore by just reasoning and direct arguments, That there is a God, and then we'll endeavour to correct these defects in our natural complexion. You say well; and therefore I have endeavour'd to do this before, in another part of this Theory, in the *Second Book*, *ch. II.* Concerning the *Author of Nature*: where you may see, that the Powers of Nature, or of the Material World, cannot answer all the Phenomena of the Universe, which are there represented. This you may consult at leisure. But, in the mean time, 'tis a good persuasive why we should not easily give our selves up to such inclinations or opinions, as have neither generosity, nor prudence on their side. And it cannot be amiss, that these persons should often take into their thoughts, this last scene of things, The *Conflagration* of the World. Seeing if there be a God, they will certainly be found in the number of his Enemies, and of those that will have their portion in the Lake that burns with Fire and Brimstone.

The Third sort of persons that we are to speak to, are the Incredulous, or such as do not believe the truth of *Christian Religion*, tho' they believe there is a God. These are commonly men of Wit and Pleasure, that have not patience enough to consider, coolly and in due order, the grounds upon which it appears, that Christian Religion is from Heaven, and of Divine Authority. They ought, in the first place, to examine *matter of Fact*, and the History of our Saviour: That there was such a Person, in the Reigns of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, that wrought such and such Miracles in *Judæa*; taught such a Doctrine: was Crucified at *Jerusalem*: rise from the dead the Third Day, and visibly ascended into Heaven. If these matters of

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Fact be denied, then the controverſie turns only to an Hiſtorical queſtion, *Whether* the Evangelical Hiſtory be a fabulous, or true Hiſtory: which it would not be proper to examine in this place. But if matter of Fact recorded there, and in the Acts of the Apoſtles, and the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity, be acknowledged, as I ſuppoſe it is, then the Queſtion that remains is this, *Whether* ſuch matter of Fact does not ſufficiently prove the divine authority of Jeſus Chriſt and of his Doctrines. We ſuppoſe it poſſible, for a perſon to have ſuch Teſtimonials of divine authority, as may be ſufficient to convince Mankind, or the more reaſonable part of Mankind; And if that be poſſible, what, pray, is wanting in the Teſtimonies of Jeſus Chriſt? The Prophecies of the Old Teſtament bear witneſs to him: His Birth was a miracle, and his Life a train of Miracles: not wrought out of levity and vain oſtentation, but for uſeful and charitable purpoſes. His Doctrines and Morality not only blameleſs, but Noble: deſigned to remove out of the World the imperfect Religion of the *Jews*, and the falſe Religion of the *Gentiles*: All Idolatry and Superſtition: and thereby to improve Mankind, under a better and more perfect diſpenſation. He gave an example of a ſpotleſs innocency in all his Converſation, free from Vice or any evil; and liv'd in a neglect of all the Pomp or Pleaſures of this Life, referring his happineſs wholly to another World. He Propheſied concerning his own Death, and his Reſurrection: and concerning the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*: which all came to paſs in a ſignal manner. He alſo Propheſied of the Succeſs of his Goſpel: which, after his Death, immediately took root, and ſpread it ſelf every way throughout the World: maugre all oppoſition or perfection, from *Jews* or *Heathens*. It was not ſupported by any temporal power for above three hundred Years: nor were any arts uſ'd, or meaſures taken, according to humane prudence, for the conſervation of it. But, to omit other things, That grand article of his Riſing from the Dead, Aſcending viſibly into Heaven, and pouring down the miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, (according as he had promis'd) upon his Apoſtles and their followers: This alone is to me a Demonſtration of his Divine Authority. To conquer Death: To mount, like an Eagle, into the Skies: and to inſpire his followers with inimitable gifts and faculties, are things, without controverſie, beyond all humane power: and may and ought be eſteemed ſure Credentials of a perſon ſent from Heaven.

From theſe matters of Fact we have all poſſible aſſurance, that Jeſus Chriſt was no Impoſtor or deluded perſon: (one of which two Characters all unbelievers muſt fix upon him) but Commiſſion'd by Heaven to introduce a New Religion: to reform the World, to remove Judaiſm and Idolatry; The beloved Son of God, the great Prophet of the later Ages, the True Meſſiah that was to come.

It may be, you will confeſs, that theſe are great arguments that the Author of our Religion was a Divine Perſon, and had ſupernatural powers: but withal, that there are ſo many difficulties in Chriſtian Religion, and ſo many things unintelligible, that a rational man knows not how to believe it, tho' he be inclin'd to admire
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the person of Jesus Christ. I answer, If they be such difficulties as are made only by the Schools and disputacious Doctors, you are not to trouble your self about them, for they are of no Authority. But if they be in the very words of Scripture, then 'tis either in things practical, or in things meerly speculative. As to the Rules of Practice in Christian Religion, I do not know any thing in Scripture, obscure or unintelligible. And as to Speculations, great discretion and moderation is to be us'd in the conduct of them. If these matters of Fact, which we have alledg'd, prove the Divinity of the Revelation, keep close to the Words of that Revelation, asserting no more than it asserts, and you cannot err. But if you will expatiate, and determine modes, and forms, and consequences; you may easily be puzzled by your own forwardness. For besides some things that are in their own nature, Infinite and Incomprehensible, there are many other things in Christian Religion that are incompletely reveal'd; the full knowledge whereof, it has pleas'd God to reserve to another life, and to give us only a summary account of them at present. We have so much deference for any Government, as not to expect that all their Councils and secrets should be made known to us, nor to censure every action whose reasons we do not fully comprehend; much more in the Providential administration of a World, we must be content to know so much of the Councils of Heaven and of supernatural Truths, as God has thought fit to reveal to us. And if these Truths be no otherwise than in a general manner, summarily and incompletely revealed in this life, as commonly they are, we must not therefore throw off the Government, or reject the whole Dispensation: of whose Divine Authority we have otherways full proof and satisfactory evidence. For this would be, To lose the Substance in catching at a Shadow.

But Men that live continually in the noise of the World, amidst business and pleasures, their time is commonly shar'd betwixt those two. So that little or nothing is left for Meditation; at least, not enough for such Meditations as require length, justness, and order. They should retire from the crowd for one Month or two, to study the truth of Christian Religion, if they have any doubt of it. They retire sometimes to cure a Gout, or other Diseases, and diet themselves according to rule: but they will not be at that pains, to cure a disease of the Mind, which is of far greater and more fatal consequence. If they perish by their own negligence or obstinacy, the Physician is not to blame. Burning is the last remedy in some distempers: and they would do well to remember, that the World will flame about their heads one of these days: and whether they be amongst the Living, or amongst the Dead, at that time, the Apostle makes them a part of the Fewel, which that fiery vengeance will prey upon. Our Saviour hath been true to his Word hitherto: whether in his Promises, or in his Threatnings; He promis'd the Apostles to send down the Holy Ghost upon them after his Ascension, and that was fully accomplish'd. He foretold and threaten'd the destruction of *Jerusalem*: and that came to pass accordingly, soon after he had left the World. And he hath told us also, that he will come again in *the Clouds of Heaven, with power and* Matt. 24. 30.
great

& 25. 32, &c. great glory; and that will be to judge the World. *When the Son of Man shall come in his glory, and all the holy Angels with him, then shall he sit upon the Throne of his glory. And before him shall be gather'd all Nations, and he will separate the good from the bad; and to the wicked and unbelievers he will say, Depart from me ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels.* This is the same Coming, and the same Fire, with that which we mention'd before out of S. Paul. As you will plainly see, if you compare S. Mat.²⁴ them's words with S. Paul's, which are these, *When the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven, with his mighty Angels: In flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that hearken not to the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. Who shall be punished with everlasting destruction, from, or by the presence of the Lord, and the glory of his power.* This, me-thinks, should be an awakening thought, that there is such a threatning upon record, (by one who never yet fail'd in his word) against those that do not believe his Testimony. Those that reject him now as a Dupe, or an Impostor, run a hazard of seeing him hereafter coming in the Clouds to be their Judge. And it will be too late then to correct their error, when the bright Armies of Angels fill the Air, and the Earth begins to melt at the Presence of the Lord.

Ver. 41.

2 Theff. 1. 7,
8, 9.

Thus much concerning those three ranks of Men, whom the Apostle S. Paul seems to point at principally, and condemn to the flames. But, as I said before, the rest of sinners and vitious Persons amongst the Professors of Christianity, tho' they are not so directly the Enemies of God, as these are; yet being transgressors of his Law, they must expect to be brought to Justice. In every well-govern'd State, not only Traitors and Rebels, that offend more immediately against the Person of the Prince, but all others, that notoriously violate the Laws, are brought to condign punishment, according to the nature and degree of their crime. So in this case, *The fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is.* 'Tis therefore the concern of every man to reflect often upon that Day, and to consider what his fate and sentence is likely to be, at that last Trial. The Jews have a Tradition that *Elias* sits in Heaven, and keeps a Register of all Mens actions, good or bad. He hath his Under-Secretaries for the several Nations of the World, that take minutes of all that passes: and so hath the History of every Man's life before him, ready to be produc'd at the Day of Judgment. I will not vouch for the literal truth of this, but it is true in effect. Every Man's fate shall be determin'd that Day, according to the history of his Life: according to the works done in the flesh, whether good or bad. And therefore it ought to have as much influence upon us, as if every single action was formally register'd in Heaven.

If Men would learn to contemn this World, it would cure a great many Vices at once. And, methinks, S. Peter's argument, from the approaching dissolution of all things, should put us out of conceit with such perishing vanities. Lust and Ambition are the two reigning Vices of great Men: and those little fires might be soon extinguish'd, if they would frequently and seriously meditate on this last and Universal Fire; which will put an end to all Passions and

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and all Contentions. As to Ambition, the Heathens themselves made use of this argument, to abate and repress the vain affectation of glory and greatness in this World. I told you before the lesson that was given to *Scipio Africanus*, by his Uncle's Ghost, upon this Subject. And upon a like occasion and consideration, *Cæsar* hath a lesson given him by *Lucan*, after the Battle of *Pharsalia*; where *Pompey* lost the day, and *Rome* its liberty. The Poet says, *Cæsar* took pleasure in looking upon the dead Bodies, and would not suffer them to be buried, or, which was their manner of burying, to be burnt. Whereupon he speaks to him in these words:

*Hos, Cæsar, populos si nunc non ufferit Ignis,
Uret cum Terris, uret cum gurgite Ponti.
Communis mundo superest Rogus, Ossibus astra
Misturus. Quocunque Tuam Fortuna vocabit,
Hæ quoque eunt Anima; non altiùs ibis in auras,
Non meliore loco Stygiâ sub nocte jacebis.
Libera fortuna Mors est: Capit omnia Tellus
Quæ genuit; Cælo tegitur Qui non habet urnam.*

Cæsar,

*If now these Bodies want their pile and urn,
At last, with the whole Globe, they're sure to burn.
The World expects one general Fire: and Thou
Must go where these poor Souls are wandring now.
Thou'lt reach no higher, in th' Ethereal Plain,
Nor 'mongst the Shades a better place obtain.
Death levels all: And He that has not room
To make a Grave, Heaven's Vault shall be his Tomb.*

These are mortifying thoughts to ambitious Spirits. And surely our own Mortality, and the Mortality of the World it self, may be enough to convince all considering Men, That, *Vanity of Vanities, all is vanity under the Sun*: any otherwise than as they relate to a better Life.

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THEORY
OF THE
EARTH:

Containing an Account
OF THE
Original of the Earth,
AND OF ALL THE
GENERAL CHANGES

Which it hath already undergone,
OR
IS TO UNDERGO
Till the CONSUMMATION of all Things.

THE FOURTH BOOK,
Concerning the NEW HEAVENS and NEW EARTH,
AND
Concerning the CONSUMMATION of all Things.

L O N D O N,
Printed by R. N. for Walter Kettilby, at the Bishop's
Head in S. Paul's Church-Yard, 1697.

P R E F A C E

T O T H E

R E A D E R.

YOU see it is still my lot, to travel into New Worlds : having never found any great satisfaction in this. As an active people leaves their habitations in a barren soil, to try if they can make their fortune better elsewhere. I first lookt backwards, and waded through the Deluge, into the Primæval World : to see how they liv'd there, and how Nature stood in that original constitution. Now I am going forwards, to view the New Heavens and New Earth, that will be after the Conflagration. But, Gentle Reader, let me not take you any further, if you be weary. I do not love a querulous Companion. Unless your Genius therefore press you forwards, chuse rather to rest here, and be content with that part of the Theory which you have seen already. Is it not fair, to have followed Nature so far as to have seen her twice in her ruins? Why should we still pursue her, even after death and dissolution, into dark and remote Futurities? To whom therefore such disquisitions seem needless, or over-curious, let them rest here; and leave the remainder of this Work, which is a kind of PROPHECY concerning the STATE of things after the Conflagration, to those that are of a disposition suited to such studies and enquiries.

Not that any part of this Theory requires much Learning, Art, or Science, to be Master of it; But a love and thirst after Truth, freedom of Judgment, and a resignation of our Understandings to clear Evidence, let it carry us which way it will. An honest English Reader that looks only at the Sence as it lies before him, and neither considers nor cares whether it be New or Old, so it be true, may be a more competent Judge than a great Scholar full of his own Notions, and puff'd up with the opinion of his mighty knowledge. For such men think they cannot in honour own any thing to be true, which they did not know before. To be taught any new knowledge, is to confess their former ignorance; and that lessens them in their own opinion, and, as they think, in the opinion of the World; which are both uneasie reflections to them. Neither must we depend upon age only for soundness of Judgment. Men in discovering and owning truth seldom change their Opinions after threescore: especially if they be leading Opinions. It is then too late, we think, to begin the World again; and as we grow old, the Heart contracts, and cannot open wide enough to take in a great thought.

The Spheres of mens Understandings are as different, as Prospects upon the Earth. Some stand upon a Rock or a Mountain, and see far round about; Others are in an hollow, or in a Cave, and have no prospect at all. Some men consider nothing but what is present to their Senses: Others extend

THE PREFACE.

tend their thoughts both to what is past and what is future. And yet the fairest prospect in this Life is not to be compar'd to the least we shall have in another. Our clearest day here, is misty and hazy: We see not far, and what we do see is in a bad light. But when we have got better Bodies in the first Resurrection, whereof we are going to Treat; better Senses and a better Understanding, a clearer light and a higher station, our Horizon will be enlarg'd every way, both as to the Natural World and as to the Intellectual.

Two of the greatest Speculations that we are capable of in this Life, are, in my Opinion, The REVOLUTION OF WORLDS, and the REFORMATION OF SOULS; one for the Material World, and the other for the Intellectual. Toward the former of these Our Theory is an Essay: and in this our Planet, (which I hope to conduct into a Fix'd Star, before I have done with it) we give an instance of what may be in other Planets. 'Tis true, we took our rise no higher than the Chaos: because that was a known principle, and we were not willing to amuse the Reader with too many strange Stories: as that, I am sure, would have been thought one, TO HAVE brought this Earth from a Fix'd Star, and then carried it up again into the same Sphere. Which yet I believe, is the true circle of Natural Providence.

As to the Revolution of Souls, the footsteps of that Speculation are more obscure than of the former. For tho' we are assur'd by Scripture, that all good Souls will at length have Celestial Bodies; yet, that this is a returning to a Primitive State, or to what they had at their first Creation, that, Scripture has not acquainted us with. It tells us indeed that Angels fell from their Primitive Celestial Glory; and consequently we might be capable of a lapse as well as they, if we had been in that high condition with them. But that we ever were there, is not declared to us by any revelation. Reason and Morality would indeed suggest to us, that an innocent Soul, fresh and pure from the hands of its Maker, could not be immediately cast into Prison, before it had, by any act of its own Will, or any use of its own Understanding, committed either error or sin. I call this Body a Prison, both because it is a confinement and restraint upon our best Faculties and Capacities, and is also the seat of diseases and loathsomness; and, as prisons use to do, commonly tends more to debauch mens Natures, than to improve them.

Joh. 3. 13. &
6. 38. & 62.
& 17. 5.

But tho' we cannot certainly tell under what circumstances humane Souls were plac'd at first, yet all Antiquity agrees, Oriental and Occidental, concerning their pre existence in general, in respect of these mortal Bodies. And our Saviour never reproaches or corrects the Jews, when they speak upon that supposition, Luk. 9. 18, 19. Joh. 9. 2. Besides, it seems to me beyond all controversy, that the Soul of the Messiah did exist before the Incarnation, and voluntarily descended from Heaven to take upon it a Mortal Body. And tho' it does not appear that all humane Souls were at first plac'd in Glory, yet, from the example of our Saviour, we see something greater in them: Namely, a capacity to be united to the God-head. And what is possible to one, is possible to more. But these thoughts are too high for us: while we find our selves united to nothing, but diseas'd bodies and houses of clay.

The greatest fault we can commit in such Speculations, is to be over-positive and Dogmatical. To be inquisitive into the ways of Providence and the

works

T H E P R E F A C E.

works of God, is so far from being a fault, that it is our greatest perfection; We cultivate the highest principles and best inclinations of our Nature, while we are thus employ'd : and 'tis littleness or secularity of Spirit, that is the greatest Enemy to Contemplation. Those that would have a true contempt of this World, must suffer the Soul to be sometimes upon the Wing, and to raise her self above the sight of this little dark Point, which we now inhabit. Give her a large and free prospect of the immensity of God's works, and of his inexhausted wisdom and goodness, if you would make her Great and Good. As the warm Philosopher says,

Give me a Soul so great, so high,
Let her dimensions stretch the Skie :
That comprehends within a thought,
The whole extent 'twixt God and Nought.
And from the World's first birth and date,
Its Life and Death can calculate :
With all th' adventures that shall pass,
To ev'ry Atome of the Mass.

But let Her be as GOOD as GREAT,
Her highest Throne a Mercy-Seat.
Soft and dissolving like a Cloud,
Losing her self in doing good.
A Cloud that leaves its place above,
Rather than dry, and useles move :
Falls in a showre upon the Earth,
And gives ten thousand Seeds a birth.
Hangs on the Flow'rs, and infant Plants,
Sucks not their Sweets, but feeds their Wants.
So let this mighty Mind diffuse
All that's her own to others use ;
And free from private ends, retain
Nothing of S E L F, but a bare Name.

T H E

THE
THEORY
OF THE
EARTH.

BOOK IV.

Concerning the new Heavens and new Earth,
AND
Concerning the Consummation of all things.

CHAP. I.

THE INTRODUCTION.

*That the World will not be annihilated in the last Fire:
That we are to expect, according to Scripture and the
Christian Doctrine, New Heavens and a New Earth,
when these are dissolv'd or burnt up.*



WE are now so far advanc'd in the Theory of the Earth, as to have seen the End of Two Worlds: One destroy'd by Water, and another by Fire. It remains only to consider, whether we be yet come to the final period of Nature: The last Scene of all things, and consequently the utmost bound of our enquiries. Or, whether Providence, which is inexhausted in Wisdom and Goodness, will raise up, from this dead Mass, New Heavens and a New Earth. Another habitable World, better and more perfect than that which was destroyed. That, as the first World began with a Paradise, and a state of Innocency, so the last may be a kind of Renovation of that happy state; whose Inhabitants shall not die, but be translated to a blessed Immortality.

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I know 'tis the opinion of some, that this World will be annihilated, or reduc'd to nothing, at the Conflagration: and that would put an end to all further enquiries. But whence do they learn this: from Scripture, or Reason, or their own imagination? What instance or example can they give us, of this they call *Annihilation*? Or what place of Scripture can they produce, that says the World, in the last Fire, shall be reduc'd to nothing? If they have neither instance, nor proof of what they affirm, 'tis an empty Imagination of their own: neither agreeable to Philosophy, nor Divinity. Fire does not consume any substance: It changes the form and qualities of it, but the matter remains. And if the design had been *Annihilation*, the employing of fire would have been of no use or effect. For smoke and ashes are at as great a distance from *Nothing*, as the bodies themselves out of which they are made. But these Authors seem to have but a small tincture of Philosophy, and therefore it will be more proper to confute their opinion from the words of Scripture; which hath left us sufficient evidence, that another World will succeed after the Conflagration of that we now inhabit.

The Prophets, both of the Old and New Testament, have left us their predictions concerning *New Heavens and a New Earth*. So says the Prophet *Isaiab*, ch. 65. 17. *Behold I create New Heavens and a New Earth, and the former shall not be remembred, or come into mind.* As not worthy our thoughts, in comparison of those that will arise when these pass away. So the Prophet *S. John*, in his *Apocalypse*, when he was come to the End of this World, says, *And I saw a new heaven and a new earth. For the first heaven and the first earth were passed away, and there was no more Sea.* Where he does not only give us an account of a *New Heaven* and a *New Earth*, in general: but also gives a distinctive character of the *New Earth*: that it shall have *no Sea*. And in the 5th. ver. He that sat upon the Throne, says, *Behold I make all things New*; which, consider'd with the antecedents and consequents, cannot be otherwise understood than of a *New World*.

Apoc. 21. 1.

ch. 65.

But some Men make evasions here as to the words of the Prophets, and say they are to be understood in a figurate and allegorical sense: and to be applyed to the times of the Gospel, either at first or towards the latter end of the World. So as this *New Heaven and New Earth* signifie only a great change in the moral World. But how can that be, seeing *S. John* places them after the end of the World? And the Prophet *Isaiab* connects such things with his *New Heavens and New Earth*, as are not competible to the present state of Nature? However to avoid all shuffling and tergiversation in this point; let us appeal to *S. Peter*, who uses a plain literal style, and discourses down-right concerning the Natural World. In his 2d. *Epist.* and 3d. *Chap.* when he had foretold and explain'd the Future Conflagration, he adds, *But we expect New Heavens and a New Earth according to his promises.* These Promises were made by the Prophets: and this gives us full authority to interpret their *New Heavens and New Earth* to be after the *Conflagration*. *S. Peter*, when he had describ'd the Dissolution of the World in the last Fire, in full and emphatical terms, as *the passing away of the Heavens with a noise*:

wise: the melting of the Elements, and burning up all the works of the Earth: he subjoyns, Nevertheless, notwithstanding this total dissolution of the present World, We, according to his promises, look for new heavens and a new earth: wherein dwelleth Righteousness. As if the Apostle should have said, Notwithstanding this strange and violent dissolution of the present Heavens and Earth, which I have describ'd to you, we do not at all distrust God's Promises concerning New Heavens and a New Earth, that are to succeed these, and to be the seat of the Righteous.

Here's no room for Allegories or allegorical expositions: unless you will make the Conflagration of the World an Allegory. For, as Heavens and Earth were destroy'd, so Heavens and Earth are restor'd: and if in the first place you understand the natural material World. you must also understand it in the second place: They are both Allegories, or neither. But to make the Conflagration an Allegory, is not only to contradict *S. Peter*, but all Antiquity, Sacred or Prophane. And I desire no more assurance that we shall have New Heavens and a New Earth, in a literal Sence, than we have that the present Heavens and Earth shall be destroyed in a literal Sence, and by material Fire. Let it therefore rest upon that issue as to this first evidence and argument from Scripture.

Some will fancy, it may be, that we shall have New Heavens and Earth, and yet that these shall be annihilated; They would have These first reduc'd to nothing, and then others created, spick and span New, out of nothing. But why so, pray, what's the humour of that? Lest Omnipotency should want employment, you would have it do, and undo, and do again. As if new-made Matter, like new Clothes, or new Furniture, had a better Gloss, and was more creditable. Matter never wears: as fine Gold, melt it down never so often, it loses nothing of its quantity. The substance of the World is the same, burnt or unburnt: and is of the same Value and Virtue, New or Old: and we must not multiply the actions of Omnipotency without necessity. God does not make, or unmake things, to try experiments: He knows before hand the utmost capacities of every thing, and does no vain or superfluous work. Such imaginations as these proceed only from want of true Philosophy, or the true knowledge of the Nature of God and of his Works; which should always be carefully attended to, in such Speculations as concern the Natural World. But to proceed in our Subject.

If they suppose part of the World to be annihilated, and to continue so, they Philosophize still worse and worse. How high shall this Annihilation reach? Shall the Sun, Moon, and Stars be reduc'd to nothing? but what have They done, that they should undergo so hard a fate? must they be turn'd out of Being for our faults? The whole material Universe will not be Annihilated at this bout, for we are to have Bodies after the Resurrection, and to live in Heaven. How much of the Universe then will you leave standing: or how shall it subsist with this great *Vacuum* in the heart of it? This shell of a World is but the fiction of an empty Brain: For God and Nature in their works, never admit of such gaping vacuities and emptinesses.

If we consult Scripture again, we shall find that that makes mention of a *Restitution* and *Reviviscency* of all things: At the End of the World, or at the Coming of our Saviour. S. Peter, whose doctrine we have hitherto followed, in his Sermon to the *Jews* after our Saviour's Ascension, tells them that He will come again, and that there will be then a *Restitution of all things*: such as was promised by the Prophets. *The Heavens*, says he, *must receive him until the time of Restitution of all things: which God hath spoken by the mouth of his holy Prophets, since the world began.* If we compare this passage of S. Peter's, with that which we alledged before out of his second Epistle, it can scarce be doubted but that he refers to the same Promises in both places: and what he there calls a *New Heaven* and a *New Earth*, he calls here a *Restitution of all things*. For the Heavens and the Earth comprehend all, and both these are but different phrases for the Renovation of the World. This gives us also light how to understand what our Saviour calls the *Regeneration* or *Reviviscency*, when he shall sit upon his Throne of Glory, and will reward his followers an hundred fold, for all their Losses in this World: Besides Everlasting Life as the Crown of all. I know, in our English Translation, we separate *the Regeneration* from *sitting upon his Throne*: but without any warrant from the Original. And seeing our Saviour speaks here of Bodily goods, and seems to distinguish them from *everlasting life*, which is to be the final reward of his Followers, This *Regeneration* seems to belong to his Second Coming, when the World shall be renew'd or regenerated: and the Righteous shall possess the Earth.

Other places of Scripture that foretel the fate of this Material World, represent it always as a *Change*, not as an *Annihilation*. S. Paul says, *The Figure of this World passes away*: 1 Cor. 7. 31. The form, fashion and disposition of its parts: But the substance still remains. As a Body that is melted down and dissolv'd, the Form perishes, but the Matter is not destroy'd. And the Psalmist says, *The Heavens and the Earth shall be chang'd*: which answers to this Transformation we speak of. The same Apostle, in the Eighth Chapter to the *Romans*, shows also that this *change* shall be, and shall be for the better: and calls it a *Deliverance of the Creation from vanity and corruption*: and a participation of the *glorious liberty of the Children of God*. Being a sort of *Redemption*, as they have a *Redemption of their Bodies*.

But, seeing the *Renovation* of the World is a Doctrine generally receiv'd, both by ancient and modern Authors, as we shall have occasion to show hereafter: We need add no more, in this place, for confirmation of it. Some Men are willing to throw all things into a state of *Nothing* at the Conflagration, and bury them there, that they may not be oblig'd to give an account of that state of things, that is to succeed it. Those who think themselves bound in honour, to know every thing in Theology that is knowable: and find it uneasy to answer such questions and speculations, as would arise upon their admitting a New World, think it more adviseable to stifle it in the birth, and so to bound all knowledge at the Conflagration. But surely, so far as Reason or Scripture lead us, we may

may and ought to follow : otherwise we should be ungrateful to Providence, that sent us those Guides. Provided, we be always duly sensible of our own weakness : and, according to the difficulty of the subject, and the measure of light that falls upon it, proceed with that modesty and ingenuity, that becomes such fallible enquirers after Truth, as we are. And this rule I desire to prescribe to my self, as in all other Writings, so especially in this : where, tho' I look upon the principal Conclusions as fully prov'd, there are several particulars, that are rather propos'd to examination, than positively asserted.

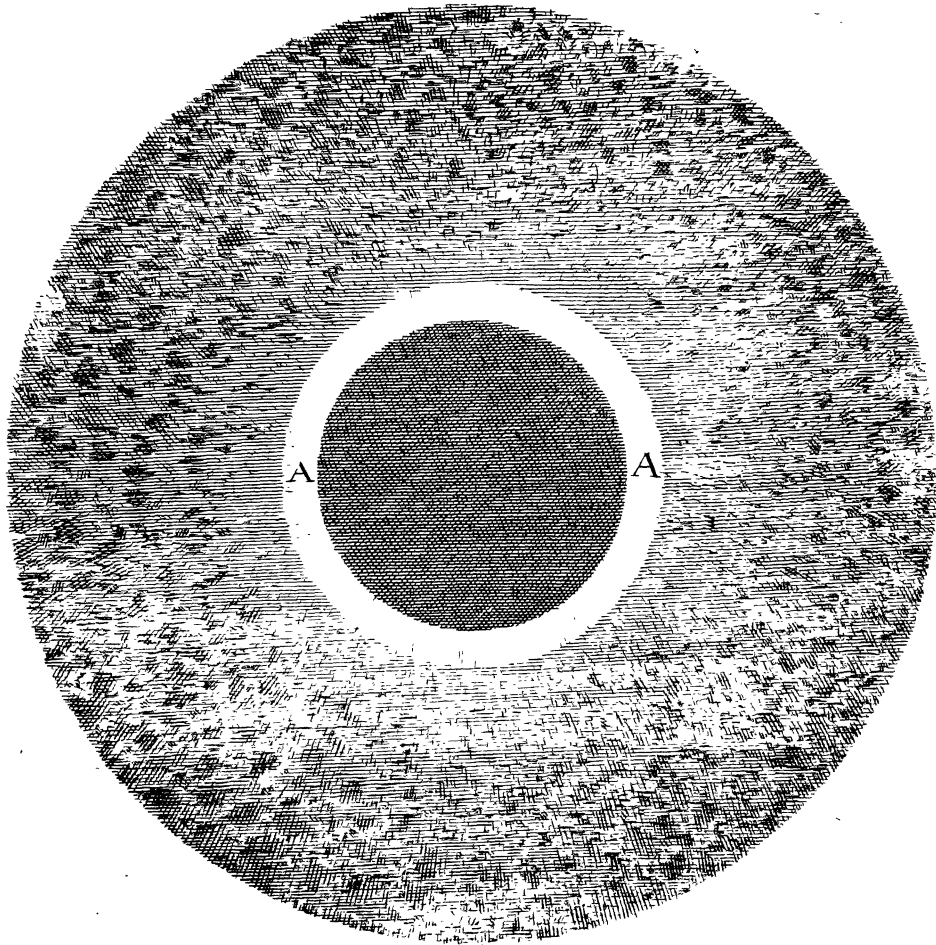
C H A P. II.

The Birth of the new Heavens and the new Earth, from the second Chaos, or the remains of the old World. The form, order, and qualities of the new Earth, according to Reason and Scripture.

HAVING prov'd from Scripture, that we are to expect *New Heavens*, and a *New Earth*, after the Conflagration ; it would be some pleasure and satisfaction to see how this new Frame will arise : and what foundation there is in Nature for the accomplishment of these promises. For, tho' the Divine Power be not bound to all the Laws of Nature, but may dispence with them when there is a necessity ; yet it is an ease to us in our belief, when we see them both conspire in the same effect. And in order to this, we must consider in what posture we left the demolish'd World : what hopes there is of a Restauration. And we are not to be discourag'd, because we see things at present wrapt up in a confus'd Mass : for, according to the methods of Nature and Providence, in that dark Womb usually are the seeds and rudiments of an Embryo-World.

Neither is there, possibly, so great a confusion in this Mass, as we imagine. The Heart and interiour Body of the Earth is still entire : and that part of it that is consum'd by the fire, will be divided, of its own accord, into two Regions. What is dissolv'd and melted, being the heaviest, will descend as low as it can : and cover and enclose the kernel of the Earth round about, as a molten Sea or Abyss : according as is explain'd and set down in the precedent Book. But what is more light and volatile, will float in the Air : as fumes, smoak, exhalations, vapours of Water, and whatsoever terrestrial parts can be elevated and supported by the strength of fire. These all mingled together, of different sizes, figures, and motions, will constitute an opaque Cloud, or thick region of darkness round the Earth : So as the Globe of the Earth, with its Atmosphere, after the Conflagration is finish'd, will stand much what in the form represented in this Scheme.

Now



Now as to the lower of these two regions, the region of melted matter, A. A. we shall have little occasion to take notice of it: seeing it will contribute nothing to the formation of the new World. But the upper region, or all above that Orb of fire, is the true draught of a Chaos: or a mixture and confusion of all the Elements, without order or distinction. Here are particles of Earth, and of Air, and of Water, all promiscuously jumbled together, by the force and agitation of the fire. But when that force ceases, and every one is left to its own inclination, they will, according to their different degrees of gravity, separate and sort themselves after this manner. First, the heaviest and grossest parts of the Earth will subside; then the watery parts will follow; then a lighter sort of Earth; which will stop and rest upon the Surface of the Water, and compose there a thin film or membrane; this membrane or tender Orb is the first rudiment or foundation of a new habitable Earth. For according as terrestrial parts fall upon it, from all the regions

regions and heights of the Atmosphere, or of the Chaos, this Orb will grow more firm, strong, and immoveable: able to support it self and Inhabitants too. And having in it all the Principles of a fruitful Soil, whether for the production of Plants or of Animals, it will want no property or character of an habitable Earth. And particularly, will become such an Earth, and of such a form, as the first Paradisiacal Earth was. Which hath been fully describ'd in the first and second Books of this Theory.

There is no occasion of examining more accurately the formation of this Second Earth, seeing it is so much the same with that of the First; which is set down fully and distinctly in the Fifth Chapter of the first Book of this Theory. Nature here repeats the same work, and in the same method; only the materials are now a little more refin'd and purg'd by the fire. They both rise out of a Chaos, and That, in effect, the same in both cases; For though in forming the first Earth, I suppos'd the Chaos or confus'd Mass to reach down to the Center, I did that only for the ease of our imagination; that so the whole Mass might appear more simple and uniform. But in reality, that Chaos had a solid kernel of Earth within, as this hath; and that matter which fluctuated above in the regions of the Air, was the true Chaos, whose parts, when they came to a separation, made the several Elements, and the form of an habitable Earth betwixt the Air and Water. This Chaos upon separation, will fall into the same form and Elements: and so in like manner create or constitute a second Paradisiacal World.

I say a *Paradisiacal* World: for it appears plainly, that this new-form'd Earth must agree with that Primigenial Earth, in the two principal and fundamental properties. First, It is of an even, entire, uniform and regular Surface, without Mountains or Sea. Secondly, That it hath a straight and regular situation to the Sun, and the *Axis* of the *Ecliptick*. From the manner of its formation, it appears manifestly, that it must be of an even and regular Surface. For the Orb of liquid fire, upon which the first descent was made, being smooth and uniform every where, the matter that fell upon it would take the same form and mould. And so the second or third Region, that were superinduc'd, would still imitate the fashion of the first: there being no cause or occasion of any inequality. Then as to the situation of its *Axis*, this uniformity of figure would determine the center of its gravity to be exactly in the middle, and consequently there would be no inclination of one Pole more than another to the general center of its motion; But, upon a free libration in the liquid Air, its *Axis* would lie parallel with the *Axis* of the *Ecliptick* where it moves. But these things having been deduc'd more fully in the second Book about *Paradise* and the *Primigenial Earth*, they need no further explication in this place.

If Scripture had left us several distinct Characters of the *New Heavens*, and the *New Earth*, we might, by compare with those, have made a full proof of our Hypothesis. One indeed St. *John* hath left us in very express terms, *There was no Sea there*, He says. His words are these: *And I saw a New Heaven, and a New Earth: for the first Heaven and the first Earth were passed away; AND THERE WAS*

WAS NO MORE SEA. This character is very particular, and you see it exactly answers to our Hypothesis: for in the new-form'd Earth, the Sea is cover'd and inconspicuous: being an Abyfs, not a Sea; and wholly lodg'd in the Womb of the Earth. And this one Character, being inexplicable upon any other supposition, and very different from the present Earth, makes it a strong presumption that we have hit upon the true model of the New Heavens and New Earth which *S. John* saw.

To this sight of the New Heavens and New Earth, *S. John* immediately subjoyns the sight of the *New Jerusalem*, *ver. 2.* as being contemporary, and in some respects the same thing. 'Tis true, the Characters of the *New Jerusalem* in these two last Chapters of the *Apocalypse*, are very hard to be understood: some of them being incompetible to a *Terrestrial* state, and some of them to a *Celestial*: so as it seems to me very reasonable to suppose, that the *New Jerusalem* spoken of by *S. John*, is twofold: That which he saw himself, *ver. 2.* and that which the Angel shewed him afterwards, *ver. 9.* For I do not see what need there was of an *Angel*, and of *taking him up into a great and high mountain*, only to shew him that which he had seen before, at the foot of the Mountain. But however that be, we are to consider in this place the *Terrestrial New Jerusalem* only, or that which is in the New Heavens and New Earth. And as *St. John* hath joyned these two together, so the Prophet *Isaiab* had done the same thing before; when he had promised *New Heavens and a New Earth*, he calls them, under another name, *Jerusalem*: and they both use the same character in effect, in the description of their *Jerusalem*.

Ver. 19. *Isaiab* says, *And I will rejoyce in Jerusalem, and joy in my people: and the voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her, nor the voice of crying.*

Apoc. 21. 3, 4. *S. John* says also in his *Jerusalem*, *God shall dwell with them, and they shall be his people: And he shall wipe away all tears from their eyes: and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain.* Now in both these Prophets, when they treat upon this subject, we find they make frequent allusions to Paradise and a *Paradisiacal* state; so as that may be justly taken as a Scripture-Character of the *New Heavens and the New Earth*. The Prophet *Isaiab* seems plainly to point at a *Paradisiacal* state, throughout that Chapter, by an universal innocency, and harmlessness of animals; and peace, plenty, health, longævity or immortality of the inhabitants. *S. John* also hath several allusions to Paradise, in those two Chapters where he describes the *New Jerusalem*. And in his discourse to the seven Churches, in one place (*ch. 2. 7.*) *To him that overcometh* is promised *to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of God.* And in another place (*ch. 3. 12.*) *to him that overcometh* is promised, *to have the name of the New Jerusalem writ upon him.* These I take to be the same thing, and the same reward of Christian Victors, The *New Jerusalem* or the *New Heavens and New Earth*, and the *Paradise of God*. Now this being the general Character of the *New Earth*, That it is *Paradisiacal*: and the particular Character, That it *hath no Sea*: and both these agreeing with our Hypothesis, as apparently deducible from those principles and that manner of its formation which we have set down: We cannot

cannot but allow, that the Holy Scriptures and the Natural Theory agree in their Testimony, as to the conditions and properties of the *New Heavens and New Earth*.

From what hath been said in this and the precedent Chapter, it will not be hard to interpret what *S. Paul* meant by his *Habitable Earth to come*: which is to be subjected to our Saviour, and not to the Angels. In the second chapter to the *Hebrews*, ver. 5. he says, *For unto the Angels hath he not put in subjection the WORLD TO COME*: So we read it, but, according to the strictest and plainest Translation, it should be *The habitable Earth to come*. Now, what Earth is this, where our Saviour is absolute Sovereign: and where the Government is neither Humane, nor Angelical, but peculiarly Theocratical? In the first place, this cannot be the present World or the present Earth, because the Apostle calls it *Future*, or the *Earth to come*. Nor can it be understood of the days of the Gospel: seeing the Apostle acknowledges, ver. 8. That this subjection, whereof he speaks, is not yet made. And seeing Antichrist will not finally be destroy'd till the appearance of our Saviour, (*2 Theff. 2. 8.*) nor Satan bound, while Antichrist is in power: during the reign of these two, (who are the Rulers of the darkness of the World) our Saviour cannot properly be said to begin his reign here. 'Tis true, He exercises his Providence over his Church, and secures it from being destroy'd: He can, by a power paramount, stop the rage either of Satan or Antichrist; *Hitherto shall you go and no further*. As sometimes when he was upon Earth, he exerted a Divine Power, which yet did not destroy his state of Humiliation; so he interposes now when he thinks fit, but he does not finally take the power out of the hands of his Enemies, nor out of the hands of the Kings of the Earth. *The Kingdom is not deliver'd up to him, and all dominion, and power; That all Tongues and Nations should serve him*. For *S. Paul* can mean no less in this place than that Kingdom in *Daniel*: Seeing he calls it *putting all things in subjection under his feet*, and says that it is not yet done. Upon this account also, as well as others, our Saviour might truly say to *Pilate* (*Joh. 18. 36.*) *my kingdom is not of this World*. And to his Disciples, *The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister*, *Matt. 20. 28*. When he comes to receive his Kingdom, he comes in the clouds of Heaven (*Dan. 7. 13, 14.*) not in the womb of a Virgin. He comes with the equipage of a King and Conqueror; with thousands and ten thousands of Angels: not in the form of a Servant, or of a weak Infant; as he did at his first coming.

τῷ οἰκουμένῳ
ἢ μέλλουσῶ.
πατρί ἢ μέλ-
λοσὶ αἰώνος,
I sa. 9. 6.

Ephes. 6. 12.

ch. 7. 13.
25, 26.

Hebr. 2. 8.

I allow the phrase *αἰὼν μέλλον*, or in the *Hebrew* עולם הבא, *The World to come*, is sometimes us'd in a large sense, as comprehending all the days of the Messiah, whether at his First or Second Coming, (for these two Comings are often undistinguish'd in Scripture) and respect the Moral World as well as the Natural. But the word *οἰκουμένη*, *Orbis habitabilis*, which *S. Paul* here uses, does primarily signify the Natural World, or the Habitable Earth, in the proper use of the word amongst the *Greeks*, and frequently in Scripture, *Luke 4. 5.* and *21. 26.* *Rom. 10. 18.* *Heb. 1. 6.* *Apoc. 3. 10.* Neither do we here exclude the Moral World, or the Inhabitants of the

the Earth, but rather necessarily include them. Both the Natural and Moral *World to come*, will be the seat and subject of our Saviour's Kingdom and Empire, in a peculiar manner. But when you understand nothing by this phrase but the *present moral World*, it neither answers the proper signification of μέλλουσα nor of οἰκουμένη, of the first or second part of the expression; And tho' such like phrases may be us'd for the Dispensation of the Messiah in opposition to that of the Law, yet the height of that distinction or opposition, and the fulfilling of the expression, depends upon the second coming of our Saviour; and upon the *Future Earth* or habitable World, where he shall Reign, and which does peculiarly belong to Him and His Saints.

Neither can this *World to come*, or this *Earth to come*, be understood of the Kingdom of Heaven. For the Greek word will not bear that sense, nor is it ever us'd in Scripture for *Heaven*. Besides, the Kingdom of Heaven, when spoken of as *future*, is not properly till the last resurrection and final judgment. Whereas *This World to come*, which our Saviour is to govern, must be before that time, and will then expire. For all his Government, as to this World, expires at the day of Judgment, and *he will then deliver up the kingdom into the hands of his father: that he may be all in all*. Having reigned first himself, and *put down all rule and all authority and power*. So that S. Paul, in these two places of his Epistles, refers plainly to the same time and the same reign of Christ: which must be in a *future World*, and before the *last day of Judgment*: and therefore according to our deductions, in the New Heavens and the New Earth.

1 Cor. 15.
24, &c.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Inhabitants of the New Earth. That Natural Reason cannot determine this point. That according to Scripture; The Sons of the first Resurrection, or the Heirs of the Millennium, are to be the Inhabitants of the New Earth. The Testimony of the Philosophers, and of the Christian Fathers, for the Renovation of the World. The first Proposition laid down.

THUS we have settled the True Notion, according to Reason and Scripture, of the *New Heavens* and *New Earth*. But where are the Inhabitants, you'll say? You have taken the pains to make us a New World, and now that it is made, it must stand empty. When the first World was destroyed, there were Eight Persons preserv'd, with a Set of Living Creatures of every Kind, as a Seminary or foundation of another World: But the Fire, it seems, is more mercilefs than the Water; for in this destruction of the

the World, it does not appear that there is one living Soul left, of any sort, upon the face of the Earth. No hopes of posterity, nor of any continuation of Mankind, in the usual way of propagation. And Fire is a barren Element, that breeds no living Creatures in it; nor hath any nourishment proper for their food or sustenance.

We are perfectly at a loss, therefore, so far as I see, for a new race of Mankind, or how to People this new-form'd World. The Inhabitants, if ever there be any, must either come from Heaven, or spring from the Earth: There are but these two ways. But *Natural Reason* can determine neither of these: sees no tract to follow in these unbeaten paths, nor can advance one step further. Farewel then, dear Friend, I must take another Guide: and leave you here, as *Moses* upon Mount *Pisgah*, only to look into that Land, which you cannot enter. I acknowledge the good service you have done, and what a faithful Companion you have been, in a long journey; from the beginning of the World to this hour, in a tract of time of six thousand years. We have travel'd together through the dark regions of a First and Second *Chaos*: seen the World twice shipwrackt. Neither Water, nor Fire, could separate us. But now you must give place to other Guides.

Welcom, *Holy Scriptures*, The Oracles of God, a Light shining in darkness, a Treasury of hidden Knowledge, and, where *humane faculties* cannot reach, a seasonable help and supply to their defects. We are now come to the utmost bounds of their dominion: They have made us a New World, but, how it shall be inhabited, they cannot tell: know nothing of the History or affairs of it. This we must learn from other Masters, inspir'd with the knowledge of things to come. And such Masters we know none, but the holy Prophets and Apostles. We must therefore now put our selves wholly under their conduct and instruction, and from them only receive our information concerning the moral state of the future habitable Earth.

In the first place therefore, The Prophet *Isaiah* tells us, as a preparation to our further enquiries, *The Lord God created the Heavens, God himself that formed the Earth, He created it not in vain, he formed it to be inhabited.* This is true, both of the present Earth and the Future, and of every habitable World whatsoever. For to what purpose is it made habitable, if not to be inhabited? That would be, as if a man should manure, and plough, and every way prepare his ground for seed, but never sow it. We do not build houses that they should stand empty, but look out for Tenants as fast as we can; as soon as they are made ready, and become Tenantable. But if man could do things in vain and without use or design, yet God and Nature never do any thing *in vain*; much less so great a work as the making of a World. Which if it were in vain, would comprehend ten thousand vanities or useless preparations in it. We may therefore in the first place, safely conclude, *That the New Earth will be inhabited.* Isa. 45. 18.

But by whom will it be inhabited? This makes the second enquiry. *S. Peter* answers this question for us, and with a particular application to this very subject of the New Heavens and New Earth. They

shall be inhabited, he says, by the *Just* or the *Righteous*. His words, which we cited before, are these. When he had describ'd the Conflagration of the World, he adds, But we *expect New Heavens and a New Earth, WHEREIN DWELLETH RIGHTEOUSNESS*. By *Righteousness* here, it is generally agreed must be understood Righteous Persons. For Righteousness cannot be without Righteous Persons: It cannot hang upon Trees, or grow out of the ground; 'Tis the endowment of reasonable Creatures. And these Righteous Persons are eminently such, and therefore call'd Righteousness in the abstract, or purely Righteous without mixture of Vice.

So we have found Inhabitants for the New Earth: Persons of an high and noble Character. Like those describ'd by *S. Peter*, (1 Ep. 2. 9.) *A chosen generation, a Royal Priesthood, an Holy Nation, a peculiar People*. As if into that World, as into *S. John's New Jerusalem*, nothing impure or unrighteous was to be admitted. These being then the happy and holy Inhabitants: The next enquiry is, *Whence do they come?* From what off-spring, or from what Original? We noted before, that there was no remnant of Mankind left at the Conflagration, as there was at the Deluge: nor any hopes of a Restauration that way. Shall we then imagine that these New Inhabitants are a Colony wafted over from some neighbouring World: as from the Moon, or Mercury, or some of the higher Planets. You may imagine what you please, but that seems to me not imaginary only but impracticable; And that the Inhabitants of those Planets are Persons of so great accomplishments, is more than I know: but I am sure they are not the Persons here understood. For these must be such as inhabited this Earth before. *WE* look for New Heavens and New Earth, says the Apostle: Surely to have some share and interest in them; otherwise there would be no comfort in that expectation. And the Prophet *Isaiab* said before, I create New Heavens and a New Earth, and the former shall come no more into remembrance: But be *YOU glad and rejoice for ever in that which I create*. The truth is, none can have so good pretensions to this spot of ground we call the Earth, as the Sons of Men, seeing they once possess it, And if it be restor'd again, 'tis their propriety and inheritance. But 'tis not Mankind in general that must possess this New World, but the *Israel of God*, according to the Prophet *Isaiab*; or the *Just*, according to *S. Peter*. And especially those that have suffer'd for the sake of their Religion. For this is that *Palingenesia*, as we noted before, that *Renovation*, or *Regeneration* of all things, where our Saviour says, Those, that suffer loss for his sake, shall be recompenced: *Matt. 19. 28, 29*.

But they must then be raised from the Dead. For all Mankind was destroy'd at the Conflagration: and there is no resource for them any other way, than by a Resurrection. 'Tis true: and *S. John* gives us a fair occasion to make this supposition, *That* there will be some raised from the Dead, before the General Day of Judgment. For he plainly distinguisheth of a *First* and *Second* Resurrection, and makes the First to be a Thousand Years before the Second, and before the general Day of Judgment. Now, If there be truly and really

really a two-fold Resurrection, as St. *John* tells us; and at a thousand Years distance from one another: It may be very rationally presum'd, that, Those that are rais'd in the first Resurrection, are those *Just* that will inhabit the *New Heavens and new Earth*. Or whom our Saviour promis'd to reward in the Renovation of the World.

For otherwise, who are those *Just* that shall inhabit the *New Earth*, and whence do they come? Or when is that Restauration which our Saviour speaks of, wherein those that suffer'd for the sake of the Gospel shall be rewarded? St. *John* says, the *Martyrs*, at this first Resurrection, shall live again and reign with Christ. Which seems to be the reward promis'd by our Saviour, to those that suffer'd for his sake: and the same Persons in both places. *And I saw the Souls of them*, says St. *John*, *that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the Word of God: and which had not worshipped the Beast, &c. and They lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.* These, I say, seem to be the same Persons to whom Christ had before promis'd and appropriated a particular reward. And this reward of theirs, or this Reign of theirs, is upon *Earth*: upon some Earth, new or old: not in Heaven. For, besides that we read nothing of their Ascension into Heaven after their Resurrection: There are several marks that shew it must necessarily be understood of a state upon Earth. For *Gog and Magog* came from the *four quarters of the Earth*, and besieged the *Camp of the Saints, and the beloved City*. That Camp and that City therefore were upon the Earth. And *fire came down from Heaven and devoured them*. If it came down from Heaven, it came upon the Earth. Furthermore, those Persons that are rais'd from the Dead, are said to be *Priests of God and of Christ, and to reign with him a thousand years*. Now these must be the same Persons with the *Priests and Kings*, mention'd in the Fifth Chapter: which are there said expressly *to reign upon Earth*, or that they should *reign upon Earth*. It remains therefore only to determine, *What Earth* this is, where the *Sons of the first Resurrection* will live and reign. It cannot be the present Earth, in the same state, and under the same circumstances it is now. For what happiness or privilege would that be, to be call'd back into a mortal life, under the necessities and inconveniences of sickly Bodies, and an incommodious World? such as the present state of mortality is, and must continue to be, till some change be made in Nature. We may be sure therefore, that a change will be made in Nature before that time, and that the state they are rais'd into, and the Earth they are to inhabit, will be, at least, *Paradisical*: And consequently can be no other than the *New Heavens* and *New Earth*, which we are to expect after the Conflagration.

From these Considerations, there is a great fairness to conclude, both as to the Characters of the Persons, and of the place or state, that *the Sons of the first Resurrection*, will be Inhabitants of the *New Earth*, and reign there with Christ a thousand years. But seeing this is one of the principal and peculiar Conclusions of this Discourse, and bears a great part in this last Book of the Theory of the Earth, it will deserve a more full explication, and a more ample proof, to make it out. We must therefore take a greater compass in

Apo. 20. 4.

Ver. 5.

Ver. 8.

Ver. 10.

in our discourse, and give a full account of that State which is usually call'd the *Millennium* : The Reign of the Saints a thousand years, or the Kingdom of Christ upon Earth. But before we enter upon this new Subject, give me leave to close our present Argument, about the *Renovation of the World*, with some Testimonies of the Ancient Philosophers, to that purpose. 'Tis plain to me, that there were amongst the Ancients several Traditions, or traditionary conclusions, which they did not raise themselves, by reason and observation, but receiv'd them from an unknown Antiquity. An instance of this is the *Conflagration of the World* : A Doctrine, as ancient, for any thing I know, as the World it self. At least as ancient as we have any Records. And yet none of those Ancients that tell us of it, give any argument to prove it. Neither is it any wonder, for they did not invent it themselves, but receiv'd it from others without proof, by the sole authority of Tradition. In like manner the *Renovation of the World*, which we are now speaking of, is an ancient Doctrine : both amongst the *Greeks* and *Eastern Philosophers* : But they shew us no method *how* the World may be *renew'd*, nor make any proof of its future Renovation ; For it was not a discovery which they first made, but receiv'd it, with an implicate faith, from their Masters and Ancestors. And these Traditionary Doctrines were all fore-runners of that Light that was to shine more clearly at the opening of the Christian dispensation ; to give a more full account of the fate and revolutions of the Natural World, as well as of the Moral.

The *Jews*, 'tis well known, held the *Renovation* of the World, and a *Sabbath* after six thousand years : according to the Prophecy that was currant amongst them, whereof we have given a larger account in the precedent Book, *ch.* 5. And that future state they call'd *Olam Hava*, or the *World to come*, which is the very same with St. Paul's *Habitable Earth to come*, *Heb.* 2. 6. Neither can I easily believe, that those constitutions of *Moses* that proceed so much upon a *Septenary*, or the number *Seven*, and have no ground or reason, in the nature of the thing, for that particular number : I cannot easily believe, I say, that they are either accidental or humourfome : without design or signification. But that they are typical, or representative of some *Septenary* state, that does eminently deserve and bear that Character. *Moses*, in the History of the Creation, makes six days work, and then a Sabbath. Then, after six years, he makes a *Sabbath-year* : and after a Sabbath of years a year of *Jubilee*, *Levit.* 25. All these lesser revolutions seem to me to point at the grand Revolution, the great *Sabbath* or *Jubilee*, after six Millennaries, which as it answers the type in point of time, so likewise in the nature and contents of it : Being a state of Rest from all labour and trouble and servitude : a state of joy and triumph : and a state of *Renovation*, when things are to return to their first condition and pristine order. So much for the *Jews*.

The Heathen Philosophers, both *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, had the same doctrine of the *Renovation* of the *World*, currant amongst them. And that under several names and phrases ; as of the *Great Year*, the *Restoration*, the *Mundane periods*, and such like. They suppos'd

עולם
הבא
הִי אוֹימוֹמֶנֶה
הִי מֵעֶלְיוֹנִים

stated and fix'd periods of time, upon expiration whereof there would always follow some great revolution of the World, and the face of Nature would be renew'd. Particularly after the Conflagration, the *Stoicks* always suppos'd a new World to succeed, or another frame of Nature to be erected in the room of that which was destroy'd. And they use the same words and phrases upon this occasion that Scripture useth; *Chrysippus* calls it *Apocatastasis*, as St. Laët. l. 7. c. 23. *Peter* does, *Act.* 3. 21. *Marcus Antoninus* in his *Meditations* several times calls it *Palingenesia*, as our Saviour does, *Mat.* 19. 28. And *Numenius* hath two Scripture-words, *Resurrection* and *Restitution*, to Euseb. præp. Ev. l. 7. c. 23. express this renovation of the World. Then as to the *Platonicks*, that Revolution of all things, hath commonly been call'd the *Platonick* year, as if *Plato* had been the first author of that opinion; But that's a great mistake; he receiv'd it from the *Barbarick* Philosophers, and particularly from the *Ægyptian* Priests, amongst whom he liv'd several years, to be instructed in their learning. But I do not take *Plato* neither to be the first that brought this doctrine into *Greece*: for, besides that the *Sibyills*, whose antiquity we do not well know, sung this Song of old, as we see it copyed from them by *Virgil* in his fourth *Eclogue*: *Pythagoras* taught it before *Plato*: and *Orpheus* before them both. And that's as high as the *Greek* Philosophy reaches.

The *Barbarick* Philosophers were more ancient: namely the *Ægyptians*, *Persians*, *Chaldeans*, *Indian Brackmans*, and other Eastern Nations. Their Monuments indeed are in a great measure lost, yet from the remains of them which the *Greeks* have transcrib'd, and so preserv'd, in their writings, we see plainly they all had this doctrine of the *Future Renovation*. And to this day the posterity of the *Brackmans* in the *East Indies*, retain the same notion, *That* the World will be renewed after the last Fire. You may see the citations, if you please, for all these Nations, in the *Latin* Treatise, *Ch. 5.* Which I thought would be too dry and tedious to be render'd into *English*.

To these Testimonies of the Philosophers of all Ages, for the Future Renovation of the World, we might add the Testimonies of the Christian Fathers: *Greek* and *Latin*, ancient and modern. I will only give you a bare List of them, and refer you to the *Latin* Treatise for the words or the places. Amongst the *Greek* Fathers, *Justin Martyr*, *Ireneus*, *Origen*; The Fathers of the *Council of Nice*, *Eusebius*, *Basil*; The two *Cyrils*, of *Jerusalem* and *Alexandria*; The two *Gregorys*, *Nazianzen* and *Nyssen*; *S. Chrysostom*, *Zacharias Mitylenensis*; and of later date, *Damascen*, *Oecumenius*, *Euthymius*, and others. These have all set their hands and Seals to this Doctrine. Of the *Latin* Fathers, *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, *S. Hilary*, *S. Ambrose*, *S. Austin*, *S. Jerome*; and many later Ecclesiastical Authors. These, with the Philosophers before mentioned, I count good authority, Sacred and Prophane: which I place here as an out-guard upon Scripture, where our principal force lies. And these three united and acting in conjunction, will be sufficient to secure this first post, and to prove our first Proposition, which is this: *That after the Conflagration of this* Propos. 1. *World, there will be New Heavens and a New Earth: and that Earth will be inhabited.*

CHAP. IV.

The proof of a Millennium, or of a blessed Age to come, from Scripture. A view of the Apocalypse, and of the Prophecies of Daniel, in reference to this Kingdom of Christ and of his Saints.

WE have given fair presumptions, if not proofs, in the precedent Chapter, That the Sons of the first Resurrection will be the persons that shall inhabit the *New Earth*, or the World to come. But to make that proof compleat and unexceptionable, I told you it would be necessary to take a larger compass in our discourse, and to examine what is meant by *That Reign with Christ a thousand years*, which is promis'd to the Sons of the first Resurrection; by St. *John* in the *Apocalypse*; and in other places of Scripture is usually call'd the *Kingdom of Christ*, and the reign of the Saints. And by Ecclesiastical Authors, in imitation of S. *John*, it is commonly styled the *Millennium*. We shall indifferently use any of these words or phrases; and examine, First, the truth of the Notion and Opinion; whether in Scripture there be such an happy state promised to the Saints, under the conduct of Christ. And then we will proceed to examine the nature, characters, place and time of it. And I am in hopes when these things are duly discuss'd and stated, you will be satisfi'd that we have found out the true Inhabitants of the New Heavens and New Earth: and the true mystery of that state which is call'd the *Millennium*, or the Reign of Christ and of his Saints.

We begin with S. *John*; whose words, in the twentieth Chapter of the *Apocalypse*, are express, both as to the first Resurrection, and as to the reign of those Saints, that rise, with Christ, for a thousand years. Satan in the mean time being bound, or disabled from doing mischief and seducing mankind. The words of the Prophet are these, *And I saw an Angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the Dragon, that old Serpent, which is the Devil and Satan; and bound him a thousand years. And I saw Thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I saw the Souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their fore-heads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years. But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first Resurrection. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first Resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God, and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.* These words do fully express a Resurrection, and a reign with Christ a thousand years. As for that particular space of time, of a *thousand years*, it is not much material to our present purpose: but the Resurrection here spoken of, and the reign with

with Christ, make the substance of the controversy, and in effect prove all that we enquire after at present. This Resurrection, you see, is call'd the *First Resurrection*, by way of distinction from the Second and general Resurrection; which is to be plac'd a thousand years after the First. And both this First Resurrection and the Reign of Christ, seem to be appropriated to the Martyrs in this place. For the Prophet says, *The Souls of those that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, &c. They lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.* From which words, if you please, we will raise this Doctrine: That, *Those that have suffered for the sake of Christ and a good Conscience, shall be raised from the dead a thousand years before the general Resurrection, and reign with Christ, in an happy state.* This Proposition seems to be plainly included in the words of S. John, and to be the intended sense of this Vision; but you must have patience a little as to your enquiry into particulars, till, in the progress of our discourse, we have brought all the parts of this conclusion into a fuller light.

In the mean time, there is but one way, that I know of, to evade the force of these words, and of the conclusion drawn from them; and that is, by supposing that the *First Resurrection* here mentioned, is not to be understood in a literal sense, but is Allegorical and mystical; signifying only a Resurrection from sin to a Spiritual Life. As we are said to be *dead in sin*, and to be *risen with Christ*, by Faith and Regeneration. This is a manner of Speech which S. Paul does sometimes use: as *Ephes. 2. 6.* and *5. 14.* and *Col. 3. 1.* But how can this be apply'd to the present case? Were the Martyrs dead in sin? 'Tis they that are here rais'd from the dead. Or, after they were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, naturally dead and laid in their graves, were they then regenerate by Faith? There is no congruity in allegories so apply'd. Besides, Why should they be said to be regenerate a thousand years before the day of Judgment: Or, to reign with Christ, after this Spiritual Resurrection, such a limited time, a Thousand Years? Why not to Eternity? For in this allegorical sense of *rising* and *reigning*, they will reign with him for everlasting. Then, after a Thousand Years must all the wicked be regenerate, and rise into a Spiritual Life? 'Tis said here, *The rest of the Dead lived not again, until the thousand years were finished.* That implies, that at the end of these thousand years, the rest of the dead did live again; which, according to the Allegory must be, that, after a thousand years, all the wicked will be regenerate, and rais'd into a Spiritual Life. These absurdities arise upon an allegorical exposition of this Resurrection, if apply'd to single Persons.

DEP. 5.

But Dr. *Hammond*, a Learned and worthy Divine, (but one that loves to contract and cramp the sense of Prophecies) making this First Resurrection allegorical, applies it not to single Persons, but to the state of the Church in general; The Christian Church, he says, shall have a Resurrection for a thousand years: that is, shall rise out of Persecution, be in a prosperous condition, and an undisturb'd profession of the true Religion, for so long a time. But this agrees with the Prophecy as little as the former; If it be a state of the Church in general, and of the Church then in being, why

is this Resurrection apply'd to the Martyrs? Why are they said to rise? seeing the state they liv'd in, was a troublesome state of the Church, and it would be no happiness to have that reviv'd again. Then as to the Time of this Resurrection of the Church, where will you fix it? The Prophet *Daniel* places this Reign of Christ, at, or after the dissolution of the fourth Monarchy: and *S. John* places it a thousand years before the last Day of Judgment: How will you adjust the Allegorical Resurrection of the Church to these limits? Or if, in point of time, you was free, as to Prophecy; yet how would you adjust it to History? Where will you take these thousand years of happiness and prosperity to the Church? These Authors suppose them past, and therefore must begin them either from the first times of the Gospel, or from the time of *Constantine*. Under the first Ages of the Gospel, were, you know, the great Persecutions by the *Heathen* Emperours: Could those be call'd the Reign of Christ and of His Saints? Was Sathan then bound? or was this Epocha but a thousand years before the Day of Judgment? And if you begin this Resurrection of the Church from the days of *Constantine*, when the Empire became Christian, how will you reckon a thousand years from that time, for the continuance of the Church in *peace* and *purity*? for the reign of Christ and of his Saints must necessarily imply both those Characters. Besides, who are the *rest of the Dead*, that liv'd after the expiration of those thousand years, if they begun at *Constantine*? And why is not the Second Resurrection and the Day of Judgment yet come? Lastly, You ought to be tender of interpreting the First Resurrection in an Allegorical sense, lest you expose the second Resurrection to be made an allegory also.

ver. 5.

To conclude, The words of the Text are plain and express for a literal Resurrection, as to the First, as well as the Second; and there is no Allegorical interpretation that I know of, that will hold through all the particulars of the Text, consistently with it self and with History. And when we shall have prov'd this future Kingdom of Christ from other places of the Apocalypse, and of Holy Writ, you will the more easily admit the literal sense of this place: Which, you know, according to the receiv'd rule of Interpreters, is never to be quitted or forsaken, without necessity. But when I speak of confirming this Doctrine from other passages of Scripture, I do not mean as to that definite time of a *thousand years*, for that is no where else mention'd in the Apocalypse or in Scripture, that I know of; and seems to be mention'd here, in this close of all things, to mind us of that type that was propos'd in the beginning of all things, *Of Six days and a Sabbath*. Whereof each Day comprehends a thousand years, and the *Sabbath*, which is the *Millennial state*, hath its thousand. According to the known Prophecy of *Elias*, which, as I told you before, was not only receiv'd amongst the *Jews*, but also own'd by very many of the Christian Fathers.

Book 3. ch. 5.

To proceed therefore to other parts of *S. John's* Prophecies, that set forth this Kingdom of Christ. The Vision of the *Seven Trumpets* is one of the most remarkable in the Apocalypse; and the Seventh Trumpet, which plainly reaches to the end of the World,
and

and the Resurrection of the Dead, opens the Scene to the *Millennium*. Hear the sound of it. *The seventh Angel sounded, and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever. And the four and twenty Elders, which sat before God on their Seats, fell upon their faces, and worshipped God: Saying, We give thee thanks, O Lord God Almighty, which art, and wast, and art to come; because thou hast taken to thee thy great power and hast reigned. And the Nations were angry, and thy wrath is come, and the time of the Dead, that they should be judged, and that thou shouldest give reward unto thy servants the Prophets, and to the Saints, and them that fear thy Name, small and great, and shouldest destroy them that destroy the Earth, &c.* This is manifestly the Kingdom of Christ: and with this is joyn'd the Resurrection of the Dead, and the rewarding of the suffering Prophets and Saints; as in the 20th. Chapter. This is that *mystery of God that was to be finish'd in the days of the voice of the seventh Angel*: as is said in the 20th. Chap. ver. 7. *As he hath declared to his servants the Prophets.* Namely, the mystery of this Kingdom, which was foretold by the Prophets of the Old Testament: and more especially by *Daniel*, as we shall see hereafter.

The *New Jerusalem*, (as it is set down, *Apoc. 21. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.*) is another instance or image of this Kingdom of Christ. And the *Palm-bearing Company*, Chap. 7. 9, &c. are some of the Martyrs that shall enjoy it. They are plainly describ'd there as Christian Martyrs; (*ver. 14.*) And their reward, or the state of happiness they are to enjoy, (*ver. 15, 16, 17.*) is the same with that of the Inhabitants of the *New Jerusalem*: Ch. 21. 2, 3, 4, &c. as, upon comparing those two places, will easily appear. Furthermore, at the opening of the *Seals*, Chap. 5. which is another principal Vision, and reaches to the end of the World, there is a prospect given us of this Kingdom of Christ, and of that reward of his Saints. For when they sing the new Song to the Lamb, (*ver. 9, 10.*) they say, *Thou art worthy to take the Book, and to open the Seals thereof: For thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God, by thy blood. And hast made us unto our God Kings and Priests: and we shall reign on the Earth.* This must be the same state, and the same thousand-years-reign mention'd in the 20th. Chapter. Where 'tis said, (*ver. 6.*) the partakers of it *shall be Priests of God, and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.*

Another compleatory Vision, that extends it self to the end of the World, is that of the *seven Vials*, Ch. 15, & 16. And as at the opening of the *Seals*, so at the pouring out of the *Vials*, a triumphal Song is sung, and 'tis call'd the *Song of Moses and of the Lamb*. 'Tis plainly a Song of Thanksgiving for a Deliverance: but I do not look upon this deliverance as already wrought, before the pouring out of the *Vials*, though it be plac'd before them: as often the grand design and issue of a Vision is plac'd at the beginning. It is wrought by the *Vials* themselves, and by their effusion, and therefore upon the pouring out of the last Vial, The Voice came out of the Temple of Heaven, from the Throne, saying, *Consummatum est: It is done.* Now the Deliverance is wrought, now the work is at an end: or, *The mystery of God is finish'd*, as the phrase was before, concerning the 7th.

Trumpet: *Ch. 10. 7.* You see therefore this terminates upon the same time, and consequently upon the same state, of the *Millennium*. And that they are the same Persons that triumph here, and reign there, *Ch. 20.* You may see by the same Characters given to both of them. Here, those that triumph, are said to *have gotten the victory* over the Beast, and over his Image, and over his mark, and over the number of his name. And there, Those that reign with Christ, are said to be those *that had not worshipped the Beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands.* These are the same Persons therefore, triumphing over the same Enemies, and enjoying the same reward.

And you shall seldom find any *Doxology* or *Hallelujah* in the Apocalypse, but 'tis in prospect of the Kingdom of Christ, and the *Millennial* state. That is still the burthen of the Sacred Song: The complement of every grand Vision, and the life and strength of the whole System of Prophecies in that Book. Even those *Hallelujah's* that are sung at the destruction of *Babylon*, in the *19th.* Chapter, are rais'd upon the view of the succeeding state, *the Reign of Christ.* For the Text says, *And I heard as it were a voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunders, saying, Hallelujah. FOR THE LORD GOD OMNIPOTENT REIGNETH. Let us be glad and rejoice and give honour to him: FOR THE MARRIAGE OF THE LAMB IS COME, AND HIS WIFE HATH MADE HER SELF READY.* This appears plainly to be the *New Jerusalem*, if you consult the *21th. ch. ver. 2.* *And I John saw the Holy City, New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of Heaven, PREPARED AS A BRIDE ADORNED FOR HER HUSBAND.* 'Tis, no doubt, the same Bride and Bridegroom, in both places; the same marriage or preparations for marriage; which are completed in the Millennial bliss, in the Kingdom of Christ and of his Saints.

I must still beg your patience a little longer, in pursuing this argument throughout the Apocalypse. As towards the latter end of *S. John's* Revelation this Kingdom of Christ shines out in a more full glory, so there are the dawns of it in the very beginning and entrance into his Prophecies. As at the beginning of a Poem, we have commonly in a few words the design of the Work, in like manner *S. John* makes this Preface to his Prophecies, *From Jesus Christ, who is the faithful witness, the first begotten of the dead, and the Prince of the Kings of the Earth: unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood: And hath made us Kings and Priests unto God and his Father; to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever, Amen. Behold, he cometh in the clouds, &c.* In this Prologue the grand argument is pointed at, and that happy Catastrophe and last Scene which is to crown the Work: The Reign of Christ and of his Saints at his second coming. He hath *made us Kings and Priests unto God*: This is always the Characteristick of those that are to enjoy the Millennial Happiness, as you may see at the opening of the Seals, *ch. 5. 10.* and in the Sons of the *First Resurrection, ch. 20. 6.* And this being joyned to the coming of our Saviour, puts it still more out of doubt. That expression also, of being *washed* from

from our sins in his blood, is repeated again both at the opening of the Seals, *Chap. 5. 9.* and in the *Palm-bearing Company, Chap. 7. 14.* both which places we have cited before as referring to the Millennial State.

Give me leave to add further, that as in this general Preface, so also in the Introductory visions of the *Seven Churches*, there are, covertly or expressly, in the conclusion of each, glances upon the *Millennium*. As in the first to *Ephesus*, the Prophet concludes, *He that hath an ear, let him hear, what the Spirit says to the Churches: TO HIM THAT OVERCOMETH WILL I GIVE TO EAT OF THE TREE OF LIFE, WHICH IS IN THE MIDST OF THE PARADISE OF GOD.* This is the Millennial happiness which is promised to the Conquerour; as we noted before concerning that phrase. In like manner in the second to *Smyrna*, He concludes: *He that overcometh, shall not be hurt of the second death.* This implies, he shall be partaker of the *first Resurrection*, for that's the thing understood; as you may see plainly by their being joyn'd in the *20th. Ch. ver. 6.* *Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first Resurrection: on such the second death hath no power: but they shall be Priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.* In the *3d* to *Pergamus*, the promise is, *to eat of the hidden Manna, to have a white stone, and a new name written in it.* But seeing the Prophet adds, *which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it,* we will not presume to interpret that new state, whatsoever it is. In *Thyatira*, the reward is, *To have power over the Nations,* and to have the *Morning Star.* Which is to reign with Christ, who is the *Morning Star*, in his Millennial Empire: both these phrases being us'd in that sense in the close of this Book. In *Sardis* the promise is, *To be clothed in white raiment, and not to be blotted out of the Book of Life.* And you see afterwards the *Palm-bearing Company* are clothed in *white robes*; and those that are admitted into the *New Jerusalem*, are such as are written in the *Lamb's book of life, Ch. 21. 27.* Then as to *Philadelphia*, the reward promised there does openly mark the Millennial state, by the *City of God, New Jerusalem which cometh down out of Heaven from God:* compar'd with *Chap. 21. 2.* Lastly, to the Church of *Laodicea* is said, *To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my Throne.* And that is the usual phrase to express the dignity of those that reign with Christ, in his Millennial Kingdom: as you may see, *Apoc. 20. 4. Mat. 19. 28. Dan. 7. 9, 13, 14.* So all these promises to the Churches aim at one and the same thing, and terminate upon the same point; 'Tis the same reward express'd in different ways; and seeing 'tis still fixt upon a victory, and appropriated to those that overcome, it does the more easily carry our thoughts to the *Millennium*, which is the proper reward of Victors, that is, of Martyrs and Confessors.

Thus you see how this notion and mystery of the Millennial Kingdom of Christ, does both begin and end the *Apocalypse*, and run thorough all its parts: As the Soul of that Body of Prophecies: A Spirit or ferment that actuates the whole mass. And if we could thoroughly understand that illustrious Scene at the opening of this Apocalyptical Theatre in the *4th.* and *5th. Chap.* I do not doubt but we should find it a Representation of the Majesty of our Saviour in the

the Glory of his future Kingdom. But I dare not venture upon the explication of it, there are so many things of difficult and dubious interpretation, coucht under those Schemes. Wherefore having made these observations upon the Prophecies of *St. John*, we will now add to them some reflections upon the Prophecies of *Daniel*. That by the agreement and concurrence of these two great Witnesses, the Conclusion we pretend to prove, may be fully established.

In the Prophecies of *Daniel* there are two grand Visions, that of the *Statue* or Image, *Chap. 2.* and that of the four Beasts, *Chap. 7.* And both these Visions terminate upon the *Millennium*, or the Kingdom of Christ. In the Vision of the Statue, representing to us the four great Monarchies of the World successively, (whereof, by the general consent of Interpreters, The *Roman* is the fourth and last) after the dissolution of the last of them, a fifth Monarchy, the Kingdom of Christ, is openly introduc'd, in these words: *And in the days of these kingdoms, shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroy'd, and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces, and consume all those kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.* This may be verified, in some measure, by the first coming of our Saviour in the days of the 4th. Kingdom; when his Religion from small beginnings, in a short time overspread the greatest part of the known World. As the *stone cut out without hands*, became a great *mountain and filled the whole Earth*. But the full and final accomplishment of this Prophecy cannot be till the second coming of our Saviour. For not till then, will he *break in pieces and consume all those kingdoms; and that in such a manner, that they shall become like the chaff of the Summer threshing-floor, carried away by the wind: so as no place shall be found for them.* This, I say, will not be done, nor an everlasting kingdom erected in their place, over all the Nations of the Earth, till his Second Coming, and his Millennial Reign.

But this Reign is declared more expressly, in the Vision of the four Beasts, *Chap. 7.* For after the destruction of the fourth Beast, the Prophet says, *I saw in the night, Visions, and behold one like the Son of man, came with the clouds of heaven. and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him: And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him: His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away: and his kingdom that which shall not be destroy'd.* Accordingly he says, ver. 21, 22. *The last Beast and the little Horn made war against the Saints, until the Ancient of days came, and judgment was given to the Saints of the most High; and the time came that the Saints possessed the kingdom.* And lastly, in pursuit still of the same argument, he concludes to the same effect in fuller words, ver. 26, 27. *But the Judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end. And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the Saints of the most High: whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.*

Here is the end of the matter: says the Prophet. Here is the upshot and result of all. Here terminate both the Prophecies of *Daniel* and *St. John*: and all the affairs of the Terrestrial World. *Daniel* brings

brings in this kingdom of Christ, in the conclusion of two or three Visions; but St. *John* hath interwoven it every where with his Prophecies, from first to last. And you may as well open a Lock without a Key, as interpret the *Apocalypse* without the *Millennium*. But after these two great WITNESSES, the one for the Old Testament, the other for the New, we must look into the rest of the Sacred Writers; for tho' every single Author there, is an Oracle, yet the concurrence of Oracles is still a further demonstration, and takes away all remains of doubt or incredulity.

C H A P. V.

A View of other places of Scripture concerning the Millennium or future Kingdom of Christ. In what sense all the Prophets have born Testimony concerning it.

THE Wife of *Zebedee* came to our Saviour, and begg'd of him, Mat. 20. 27. like a fond Mother, that her two Sons might sit, one at his right hand, th'other at his left, when he came into his Kingdom. Our Saviour does not deny the supposition, or general ground of her request, that *he was to have a Kingdom*; but tells her, The honours of that Kingdom were not then in his disposal. He had not drunk his Cup, nor been baptiz'd with his last Baptism: which were conditions, both to him and others, of entring into that Kingdom. Yet, in another place, our Saviour is so well assur'd of his interest Mat. 19. 28. and authority there, by the good will of his Father, that he promises to his Disciples and followers, that for the losses they should sustain here, upon his account, and for the sake of his Gospel, they should receive there an hundred fold; and sit upon Thrones with him, judging the Tribes of *Israel*. The words are these: *And Jesus said unto them, verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me, in the Regeneration or Renovation, when the Son of man shall sit in the Throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve Thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.* These Thrones, in all reason, must be understood to be the same with those which we mention'd in the foregoing Chapter, out of *Daniel* and the *Apocalypse*: and therefore mark the same time and the same state. And seeing, in those places, they Dan. 7. 9. Apoc. 20. 4. plainly signified the *Millennial* state, or the Kingdom of Christ and of his Saints, they must here signify the same, in this promise of our Saviour to his suffering Followers. And as to the word *Palingenesia*, which is here translated *Regeneration*, 'tis very well known, that both the *Greek* Philosophers, and *Greek* Fathers, use that very word for the *Renovation of the World*. Which is to be, as we shall hereafter make appear, at or before the *Millennial* state.

Our Saviour also, in his Divine Sermon upon the Mount, makes this one of his *Beatitudes*, *Blessed are the Meek, for they shall inherit the Earth*. But *how*, I pray, or *where*, or *when*, do the Meek inherit the

the Earth? neither at present, I am sure, nor in any past Ages. 'Tis the Great Ones of the World, ambitious Princes and Tyrants, that slice the Earth amongst them: and those that can flatter them best, or serve them in their interests or pleasures, have the next best shares. But a meek, modest, and humble Spirit, is the most unqualified Person that can be for a Court, or a Camp: to scramble for Preferment, or Plunder. Both He, and his self-denying notions, are ridicul'd, as things of no use, and proceeding from meanness and poorness of Spirit. *David*, who was a Person of an admirable devotion, but of an unequal Spirit; subject to great dejections, as well as elevations of mind; was so much affected with the prosperity of the wicked in this World, that he could scarce forbear charging Providence with injustice. You may see several touches of a repining Spirit in his *Psalms*: and in the Seventy-third *Psalms*, compos'd upon that Subject, you have both the wound and the cure. Now this Beatitude pronounc'd here by our Saviour, was spoken before by *David*, *Psal.* 37. 11. The same *David* that was always so sensible of the hard usage of the Just in this life. Our Saviour also, and his Apostles, preach the Doctrine of the Cross every where, and foretell the sufferings that shall attend the Righteous, in this World. Therefore neither *David*, nor our Saviour, could understand this *inheritance of the Earth*, otherwise than of some future state, or of a state yet to come. But as it must be a future state, so it must be a Terrestrial state; for it could not be call'd the *inheritance of the Earth*, if it was not so. And 'tis to be a state of *peace*, as well as *plenty*, according to the words of the *Psalmist*, *But the meek shall inherit the Earth, and shall delight themselves in the abundance of peace.* It follows therefore from these premisses, that, both our Saviour, and *David*, must understand some future state of the Earth, wherein the *Meek* will enjoy both peace and plenty. And this will appear to be the future Kingdom of Christ, when, upon a fuller description, we shall have given you the marks and characters of it.

In the mean time, why should we not suppose, this Earth, which the Meek are to inherit, to be that *habitable Earth to come*, which *St. Paul* mentions (*Hebr.* 2. 6.) and represents as subject to our Saviour in a peculiar manner: at his disposal and under his Government, as his Kingdom: Why should not that Earth be the subject of this Beatitude: The promis'd Land, the Lot of the Righteous? This I am sure of, that both this Text and the former deserve our serious thoughts; and tho' they do not expressly, and in terms, prove the future Kingdom of our Saviour, yet upon the fairest interpretations they imply such a state. And it will be very uneasy to give a satisfactory account, either of the *Regeneration* or *Renovation*, when our Saviour and his Disciples shall sit upon Thrones: Or of that *Earth* which the *Meek shall inherit*: Or lastly, of that *Habitable World*, which is peculiarly subject to the dominion of Jesus Christ, without supposing, on this side Heaven, some other reign of Christ and his Saints, than what we see, or what they enjoy, at present.

But to proceed in this argument. It will be necessary, as I told you, to set down some notes and characters of this Reign of Christ and of his Saints, whereby it may be distinguish'd from the present state,

state, and present Kingdoms of the World. And these characters are chiefly three, *Justice, Peace, and Divine Presence* or Conduct, which uses to be called *Theocrasie*. By these characters it is sufficiently distinguish'd from the Kingdoms of this World; which are generally unjust in their titles or exercise: stain'd with blood: and so far from being under a particular Divine Conduct, that humane passions and humane vices, are the Springs that commonly give motion to their greatest designs. But more particularly and restrainedly, the Government of Christ, is opposed to the Kingdom and Government of Antichrist, whose characters are diametrically opposite to these, being *injustice, cruelty, and humane or diabolical artifices*.

Upon this short view of the Kingdom of Christ, let us make enquiry after it amongst the Prophets of the Old Testament. And we shall find, upon examination, that there is scarce any of them, greater or lesser, but take notice of this mystical kingdom; either expressly, or under the types of *Israel, Sion, Jerusalem, and such like*. And therefore I am apt to think, that, when *S. Peter* in his Sermon to the *Jews, Aët. 3.* says, All the holy Prophets spoke of *The Restitution of all things*, he does not mean the Renovation of the World separately from the Kingdom of Christ, but complexly, as it may imply both. For there are not many of the old Prophets that have spoken of the Renovation of the *Natural World*; but a great many have spoken of the Renovation of the *Moral*, in the Kingdom of Christ. These are *S. Peter's* words: *Aët. 3. 19, 20, 21. Repent ye therefore and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord. And he shall send Jesus Christ which before was preached unto ye: whom the heavens must receive until the times of RESTITUTION OF ALL THINGS.* The Apostle here mentions three things, The *Times of refreshing*, The *Second Coming* of our Saviour, And the *Times of Restitution of all things*. And to the last of these he immediately subjoins, *which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy Prophets, since the world began.* This *Restitution of all things*, I say, must not be understood abstractly from the reign of Christ, but as in conjunction with it; and in that sense, and no other, it is the general subject of the Prophets.

To enter therefore into the Schools of the Prophets, and enquire their sense concerning this Mystery, let us first address our selves to the Prophet *Isaiab*, and the Royal Prophet *David*; who seem to have had many noble thoughts, or inspirations, upon this subject. *Isaiab* in the *65th chap.* from the *17th ver.* to the end, treats upon this argument: and joyns together the Renovation of the *Natural and Moral World*; as *S. Peter*, in the place forementioned, seems to do. And accordingly the Prophet, having set down several natural characters of that State, as indolency and joy, longevity, ease, and plenty, from *ver. 18.* to the *24th.* He there begins the moral characters, of divine favour, and such a particular protection, that they are heard and answer'd before they pray. And lastly, He represents it as a state of universal peace and innocency, *ver. 23. The Wolf and the Lamb shall feed together, &c.*

This last character, which comprehends *Peace, Justice, and Innocency*, is more fully display'd by the same Prophet, in the 11th. chap. where he treats also of the Kingdom of Christ. Give me leave to set down his words, ver. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. *But with Righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprov. with equity for the meek of the Earth: and he shall smite the Earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked. And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins. The Wolf also shall dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard shall lye down with the Kid: and the Calf and the young Lyon, and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them. And the Cow and the Bear shall feed, their young ones shall lye down together: and the Lyon shall eat straw like the Ox. And the suckling child shall play on the hole of the Asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the Cockatrice-den. They shall not hurt, nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the Earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the Sea.* Thus far the Prophet: Now if we joyn this to what we noted before, from his 65th. chap. concerning the same state, 'twill be impossible to understand it of any order of things, that is now, or hath been hitherto in the World. And consequently it must be the Idea of some state to come, and particularly of that which we call the Future Kingdom of Christ.

The same pacifick temper, Innocency and Justice, are celebrated by this Prophet when the *Mountain of the Lord shall be established in the top of the mountains*, chap. 2. 2, 4. *And he shall judge amongst the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into plow-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks. Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.* And as to righteousness, he says in the 23. chap. *Behold a King shall reign in righteousness, and Princes shall rule in judgment, &c.* These places, I know, usually are applyed to the first coming of our Saviour; the peaceableness of his doctrine, and the propagation of it through all the World. I willingly allow this to be a true fence, so far as it will go. But 'tis one thing to be a true fence, to such a degree; and another thing to be the final fence and accomplishment of a Prophecy. The affairs of the first and second coming of our Saviour are often mingled together in the Prophecies of the Old Testament; but in that mixture there are some characters whereby you may distinguish what belongs to his first, and what to his second coming; what to the time when he came to suffer, and what to the time when he shall come to reign. For instance, In these Prophecies recited, though there are many things very applicable to his first coming, yet that *Regality* which is often spoken of, and that universal Peace and Innocency that will accompany it, cannot be verified of his coming in the flesh. Seeing it is plain, that in his state of humiliation he did not come as a King, to rule over the Nations of the Earth. And he says himself expressly, *That his Kingdom is not of this World*, John 18.36. And the Prayer of *Salome*, and of the good Thief upon the Cross, suppose it not then present, but to come. Then as to the establishment of *Peace* in his Kingdom, it does not at all appear to me that there is more Peace in the World now than there

Matt. 20.21.
Luk. 23.42.

there was before our Saviour came into it; or that the Christian parts of the World are more peaceable than the unchristian. Therefore these great promises of a *Pacifick Kingdom*, which are express'd in terms as high and emphatical as can be imagin'd, must belong to some other days, and some other ages, than what we have seen hitherto.

You'll say, it may be, 'tis not the fault of the Gospel that the World is not peaceable, but of those that profess it, and do not practise it. This is true, but it does not answer the Prophecy; for that makes no such exception. And by such a reserve as this, you may elude any Prophecy. So the *Jews* say, Their *Messiah* defers his coming beyond the time appointed by Prophecy, because of their sins: but we do not allow this for a good reason. The *Israelites* had their promised *Canaan*, tho' they had render'd themselves unworthy of it; and by this method of interpreting Prophecies, all the happiness and glory promised in the Millennial Kingdom of Christ may come to nothing, upon a pretended forfeiture. Threatnings indeed may have a tacit condition; God may be better than his word, and, upon repentance, divert his judgments; but he cannot be worse than his word, or fail of performance, when, without any condition express'd, he promises or prophesies good things to come. This would destroy all assurance of Hope or Faith. Lastly, This Prophecy concerning Pacifick times or a *Pacifick Kingdom*, is in the *65th. chap.* subjoin'd to the *Renovation of the Heavens and the Earth*, and several marks of a change in the Natural World; which things we know did not come to pass at the first coming of our Saviour: there was no change of Nature then, nor has been ever since. And therefore this happy change, both in the Natural and Moral World, is yet to come.

Isa. 65.

But, as we said before, we do not speak this exclusively of the first coming of our Saviour, as to other parts of these Prophecies; for no doubt that was one great design of them. And in the Prophecies of the Old Testament, there are often three gradations, or gradual accomplishments; The first, in some King of *Israel*, or some Person or affair relating to *Israel*, as National only. The second, in the Messiah at his first coming. And the last, in the Messiah, and his Kingdom at his second coming. And that which we affirm and contend for, is, that the Prophecies foremention'd have not a final and total accomplishment, either in the Nation of the *Jews*, or at the first coming of our Saviour. And this we 'bide by.

The next Prophet that we mention'd as a witness of the future Kingdom of Christ, is *David*. Who, in his Psalms, seems to be pleas'd with this subject above all others; And when he is most exalted in his thoughts and Prophetical raptures, the Spirit carries him into the Kingdom of the Messiah, to contemplate its glory, to sing praises to its King, and triumph over his Enemies: *Psal. 68. Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered: Let them also that hate him flee before him. As Smoke is driven away, so drive them away; as wax melteth before the fire, so let the wicked perish at the presence of God. But let the Righteous be glad, &c.* The plain ground he goes upon in this Psalm, is the Deliverance out of *Egypt*, and bringing the *Israelites*

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into

unto the Land of *Canaan*; But when he is once upon the wing, he soars to an higher pitch: from the type to the Antitype: To the days of the Messiah, the Ascension of our Saviour; and, at length, to his Kingdom and Dominion over all the Earth. The 45th. Psalm is an *Epithalamium* to Christ and the Church, or to the *Lamb* and his *Spouse*. And when that will be, and in what state, we may learn from S. *John*, *Apoc.* 19. 7, 8. and *ch.* 21. 2, 9. Namely, after the destruction of *Babylon*, in the *New Jerusalem* glory. The words and matter of the Two Prophets answer to one another; Here, in this Psalm, there is a Fight and Victory celebrated as well as a Marriage: and so there is in that 19th. Chapter of S. *John*. Here, the Prophet says, *Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O most Mighty, with thy glory and thy Majesty. And in thy Majesty ride prosperously, because of truth and meekness and righteousness: and thy right hand shall teach thee terrible things. Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever; The Scepter of thy Kingdom is a right Scepter, &c.* There S. *John* says, having describ'd a Conquerour on a white Horse, *Out of his mouth goeth a sharp Sword, that with it he should smite the Nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of Iron: and he treadeth the Wine-press of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God. And he hath on his vesture, and on his thigh a Name written KING of KINGS, and LORD of LORDS.* This is the same glorious Conquerour and Bridegroom in both places: and this Victory is not gain'd, nor these Nuptials compleated till the second coming of our Saviour.

Ver. 18.

Ver. 32, &c.

Ps. 45. 3, 4, 6.

Apoc. 19. 15, 16.

In many other Psalms, there are reflections upon this happy Kingdom, and the triumph of Christ over his Enemies: as *Psal.* 2. *Psal.* 9. *Psal.* 21. and 24. and 47. and 85. and 110. and others. In these, and such like Psalms, there are lineaments and colours of a fairer state, than any we have yet seen upon Earth. Not but that in their first instances and grounds they may sometimes respect the state of *Israel*, or the Evangelical state: but the eye of the Prophet goes further, this does not terminate his sight: His Divine Enthusiasm reaches into another World: A World of *Peace* and *Justice*, and *Holiness*: of Joy, and Victory, and Triumph over all the wicked: and consequently such a World, as neither we, nor our Fathers, have yet seen.

This is an account of Two Prophets, *David* and *Isaiab*: and of what they have more openly declar'd concerning the future Kingdom of Christ. But to verifie S. *Peter's* words, in that foremention'd place, *Act.* 3. 21. viz. That all the *Holy Prophets since the World began*, have spoken of the Restauration of all things at the second coming of Christ. I say, to verifie this assertion of S. *Peter's*, we must suppose, that, where the Prophets speak of the Restauration and future glory of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, they do, under those Types, represent to us the glory and happiness of the Church in the future Kingdom of Christ. And most of the Prophets, in this sense, and under these forms, have spoken of this Kingdom: In foretelling the Restauration of *Jerusalem* and *Sion*; and happy days, peace, plenty, and prosperity to the People of *Israel*.

Most of the Prophets, I say, from *Moses* to *Malachy*, have spoken of this *Restauration*. *Moses* in the 30th. of *Deut.* ver. 4, 5, 9. *David*, in
many

many of those Psalms we have cited. *Isaiab*, besides the places fore-
 mention'd, treats amply of this subject, *Chap. 51.* and in several o-
 ther places *. So likewise the Prophet *Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel,*
Amos, Obadiab, Micah, Zephany, Haggai, Zachary, Malachy. All
 these have, either expressly, or under the Types of *Jerusalem* and
Sion, foretold happy days, and a glorious triumph to the Church of
 God. And seeing in the New Testament, and in the Prophecies of
 St. *John*, the Christian Church is still represented, as under perfe-
 ction and distress, till the fall of Antichrist, and the Millennial
 Kingdom; 'Tis then, and not till then, that we must expect the
 full accomplishment of these Prophecies; The *Restoration* that St.
Peter says was spoken of, by *all the Prophets*: and the *mystery*, which
 St. *John* says, (*Apoc. 17. 7.*) was declared by his Servants the Prophets,
 and would be finish'd under the *Seventh Trumpet*, which ushers in
 the Kingdom of Christ.

* *Isaiab* ch. 11.
 ch. 43. ch. 49.
 13, &c. ch. 66.
Ezekiel, ch. 28.
 ch. 37. *Hosea*, ch. 3.
 & ch. 14. *Joel*
 3. 18. *Amos*, ch.
 9. *Obad.* ver.
 17, &c. *Micah*
 ch. 4. ch. 5.
Zeph. 3. 14, &c.
Hag. ch. 2. *Zac.*
 2. 10, &c. &
 ch. 9. 9, &c. &
 ch. 14. *Mal.* ch.
 3. ch. 4.

It would be too long to examine all these places in the Prophets,
 which you may consult at leisure. However it cannot seem strange
 that *Jerusalem* should be us'd in a typical or allegorical sense, seeing
 we often find such applications of it in the New Testament: as *Gal.*
4. 26. Heb. 12. 22. Apoc. 3. 12. And 'tis very natural that *Jerusalem*
 restor'd, should signify the same thing as *New Jerusalem*; and therefore
 that St. *John*, by his *New Jerusalem*, intended the same thing, or the
 same state, that the ancient Prophets did by their Restoration of *Jeru-*
salem. And if neither can be understood in a literal sense, which, I be-
 lieve, you will not contend for: they must both be interpreted of the
 future happiness and glory of the Church in the Kingdom of Christ.

But to conclude this point wholly as to Scripture; If we make
 reflection upon all the passages alledg'd in this and the foregoing
 Chapter, whether out of the Old or New Testament, we must at
 least acknowledge thus much; That there are happy days, at one
 time or other: Days of Peace and Righteousness: of Joy and Tri-
 umph: of external Prosperity and internal Sanctity: when Vertue
 and Innocency shall be in the Throne, and Vice and vitious Men out
 of power or credit. That there are such happy days Prophesied of
 in Scripture, and promised to the Church of God. Whether you
 call this the *Reign of Christ* and of his Saints, or by any other name,
 it is not material at present to determine; let the title be what you
 will, as to the substance it cannot be denied to be a general Do-
 ctine of Prophetical Scripture. And we must not imagine, that the
 Prophets writ like the Poets: feigned an Idea of a Romantick state,
 that never was, nor ever will be; only to please their own fancies;
 or the credulous people. Neither is it the state of Heaven and eter-
 nal life that is here meant or intended: For, besides that they had
 little or no light concerning those Notions, in the Old Testament:
 The Prophets generally in their description of this happiness, either
 express the Earth, or at least give plain marks of a Terrestrial state.
 Wherefore the only question that remains, is this, *Whether* these
 happy Days are past already, or to come: Whether this blessed
 state of the Church is behind us, or before us: whether our Prede-
 cessors have enjoy'd it, or our posterity is to expect it? For we are
 very sure that it is not present; The World is full of Wars, and
 rumours

rumours of Wars : of Vice and Knavery, of Oppression and Persecution : and these are things directly contrary to the genius and characters of the state which we look after.

And if we look for it in times past, we can go no further back than the beginning of Christianity. For *S. John*, the last of the Apostles, Prophesied of these times, as to come : and plac'd them at the end of his systeme of Prophecies ; whereby one might conclude that they are not only within the compass of the Christian ages, but far advanc'd into them. But however, not to insist upon that at present, where will you find a thousand years, from the birth of Christianity to this present age, that deserves the name, or answers to the characters of this *Pure* and *Pacifick* state of the Church. The first ages of Christianity, as they were the most pure, so likewise were they the least peaceable. Continually, more or less, under the Persecution of the Heathen Emperours ; and so far from being the Reign and Empire of Christ and his Saints over the Nations, that Christians were then, every where, in subjection or slavery ; A poor, feeble, helpless people, thrust into Prisons, or thrown to the Lyons, at the pleasure of their Princes or Rulers. 'Tis true, when the Empire became Christian under *Constantine*, in the fourth Century, there was, for a time, peace and prosperity in the Church, and a good degree of Purity and Piety. But that peace was soon disturb'd, and that piety soon corrupted. The growing pride and ambition of the Ecclesiasticks, and their easiness to admit or introduce Superstitious Practices, destroy'd the purity of the Church. And as to the peace of it, Their contests about Opinions and Doctrines, tore the Christians themselves into pieces ; and, soon after, an inundation of Barbarous People fell into Christendom, and put it all into flames and confusion. After this Eruption of the Northern Nations, *Mahometanism* rose in the East ; and swarms of *Saracens*, like armies of Locusts, invaded, conquer'd, and planted their Religion in several parts of the *Roman* Empire, and of the Christianiz'd World. And can we call such times the Reign of Christ, or the imprisonment of Satan ? In the following ages, the *Turks* over-run the Eastern Empire and the *Greek* Church, and still hold that miserable people in slavery. Providence seems to have so order'd affairs, that the Christian World should never be without a W O E upon it, lest it should fancy it self already in those happy days of Peace and Prosperity, which are reserv'd for future times. Lastly, whosoever is sensible of the corruptions and persecutions of the Church of *Rome*, since she came to her greatness ; whosoever allows her to be *mystical Babylon*, which must fall before the Kingdom of Christ comes on ; will think that Kingdom duly plac'd by *S. John* at the end of his Prophecies, concerning the Christian Church : and that there still *remains, according to the words of St. Paul*, (Hebr. 4. 9.) *a Sabbatism to the people of God*.

CHAP. VI.

The sense and testimony of the Primitive Church concerning the Millennium, or future Kingdom of Christ: from the times of the Apostles to the Nicene Council. The second Proposition laid down. When, by what means, and for what reasons, that doctrine was afterwards neglected or discountenanc'd.

YOU have heard the voice of the *Prophets* and *Apostles*, declaring the future Kingdom of Christ. Next to these, the *Primitive Fathers* are accounted of good authority; Let us therefore now enquire into their Sense concerning this Doctrine, that we may give satisfaction to all parties; And both those that are guided by Scripture alone, and those that have a Veneration for Antiquity, may find proofs suitable to their inclinations and judgment.

And to make few words of it, we will lay down this Conclusion, *That the Millennial Kingdom of Christ was the general Doctrine of the Primitive Church, from the times of the Apostles to the Nicene Council; inclusively.* S. *John* out-liv'd all the rest of the Apostles, and towards the latter end of his life, being banish'd into the Isle of *Pathmos*, he writ his *Apocalypse*; wherein he hath given us a more full and distinct account of the Millennial Kingdom of Christ, than any of the Prophets or Apostles before him. *Papias*, Bishop of *Hierapolis*, and Martyr; one of S. *John's* Auditors, as *Irenaeus* testifies; taught the same Doctrine after S. *John*. He was the familiar friend of *Polycarp*, another of S. *John's* Disciples; and either from him, or immediately from S. *John's* mouth, he might receive this Doctrine. That he taught it in the Church, is agreed on by all hands; both by those that are his followers, as *Irenaeus*; and those that are not well-wishers to this Doctrine, as *Eusebius* and *Ferome*.

Iren.
Lib. 5. c. 33.

There is also another chanel wherein this Doctrine is Traditionally deriv'd from S. *John*, namely by the Clergy of *Asia*; as *Irenaeus* tells us in the same Chapter. For, arguing the point, he shows that the Blessing promis'd to *Jacob* from his Father *Isaac*, was not made good to him in this life, and therefore he says, *without doubt those words had a further aim and prospect upon the times of the Kingdom: (so they us'd to call the Millennial state) when the Just rising from the dead, shall reign: and when Nature renew'd and set at liberty, shall yield plenty and abundance of all things; being blest with the dew of Heaven, and a great fertility of the Earth. According as has been related by those Ecclesiasticks or Clergy, who see St. John, the Disciple of Christ; and heard of him WHAT OUR LORD HAD TAUGHT CONCERNING THOSE TIMES.* This, you see, goes to the Fountain-head. The Christian Clergy receive it from St. *John*, and St. *John* relates it from the mouth of our Saviour.

So much for the Original authority of this Doctrine, as a Tradition: that it was from St. *John*, and by him from Christ. And as

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to the propagation and prevailing of it in the Primitive Church, we can bring a witness beyond all exception, *Justin Martyr*, Contemporary with *Irenæus*, and his Senior. He says, *that himself, and all the Orthodox Christians of his time, did acknowledge the Resurrection of the flesh* (suppose the first Resurrection) *and a thousand years reign in Jerusalem restor'd, or in the New Jerusalem. According as the Prophets, Ezekiel, and Isaiah, and Others, attest with common consent.* As *St. Peter* had said before, *Act. 3. 21. That all the Prophets had spoken of it.* Then he quotes the *65th. Chapter of Isaiah*, which is a bulwark for this Doctrine, that never can be broken. And to shew the *Jew*, with whom he had this discourse, that it was the sense of our Prophets, as well as of theirs, He tells him, that *a certain Man amongst us Christians, by name John, one of the Apostles of Christ, in a Revelation made to him did prophesie, that the faithful believers in Christ should live a thousand years in the New Jerusalem; and after that should be the general Resurrection and day of Judgment.* Thus you have the thoughts and sentiment of *Justin Martyr*, as to himself: as to all the reputed Orthodox of his time; As to the sense of the Prophets in the Old Testament, and as to the sense of *St. John* in the *Apocalypse*. All conspiring in confirmation of the Millenary Doctrine.

To these three Witnesses, *Papias*, *Irenæus*, and *Justin Martyr*, we may add two more within the second Age of the Church: *Melito*, Bishop of *Sardis*, and *St. Barnabas*, or whosoever was the Author of the Epistle under his name. This *Melito*, by some is thought to be the Angel of the Church of *Sardis*, to whom *St. John* directs the Epistle to that Church: *Apoc. 3. 1.* But I do not take him to be so ancient; However he was Bishop of that place, at least in the second Century, and a Person of great Sanctity and Learning. He writ many Books, as you may see in *St. Jerome*: and, as He notes out of *Tertullian*, *was by most Christians reputed a Prophet.* He was also a declar'd Millenary, and is recorded as such, both by *Jerome* and *Gennadius*. As to the Epistle of *Barnabas*, which we mention'd, it must be very ancient, whosoever is the Author of it, and before the third Century; seeing it is often cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who was himself within the second Century. The genius of it is very much Millenarian, in the interpretation of the *Sabbath*, the *promis'd Land*, a *Day* for a *thousand years*, and concerning the *Renovation of the World*. In all which, He follows the foot-steps of the Orthodox of those times: that is, of the *Millenarians*.

De Script. Eccl.
Dogm. Eccl.
c. 55.

So much for the first and second Centuries of the Church. By which short account it appears, that the Millenary Doctrine was *Orthodox* and *Catholick* in those early days. For these Authors do not set it down as a private opinion of their own, but as a *Christian Doctrine*, or an *Apostolical Tradition*. 'Tis remarkable what *Papias* says of himself, and his way of Learning, in his Book call'd, *The Explanation of the Words of the Lord*, as *St. Jerome* gives us an account of it: He says in his Preface, *He did not follow various opinions, but had the Apostles for his Authors. And that he consider'd what Andrew, what Peter said; what Philip, what Thomas, and other Disciples of the Lord. As also what Aristion, and John the Senior, Disciples of the Lord, what they spoke. And that he did not profit so much by reading Books, as by the living*

De Script. Eccl.
c. 107

living voice of these persons which resounded from them to that day. This hath very much the air of Truth and Sincerity, and of a Man, that, in good earnest, sought after the Christian Doctrine, from those that were the most Authentick Teachers of it. I know *Eusebius* in his *Ecclesiastical History*, gives a double Character of this *Papias*; in one place, he calls him, *A very eloquent Man in all things, and skillful in Scripture*; and in another, he makes him a Man of a *small understanding*. But what reason there is to suspect *Eusebius* of partiality in this point of the *Millennium*; we shall make appear hereafter. However, We do not depend upon the Learning of *Papias*, or the depth of his understanding: allow him but to be an honest Man, and a fair Witness, and 'tis all we desire. And we have little reason to question his testimony in this point, seeing it is backt by others of good credit; and also because there is no counter-evidence, nor any witness that appears against him. For there is not extant, either the Writing, Name, or Memory, of any Person, that contested this doctrine in the first or second Century. I say, that call'd in question this Millenary Doctrine, propos'd after a Christian manner; unless such Hereticks as deny'd the Resurrection wholly: or such Christians as deny'd the Divine Authority of the Apocalypse.

Vide Hieron. Epist. 28. ad Lucinium.

We proceed now to the Third Century. Where you find *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Victorinus*, Bishop and Martyr: *Nepos Aegyptius*, *Cyprian*, and, at the end of it, *Lactantius*: All openly professing, or implicitly favouring the Millenary Doctrine. We do not mention *Clement Alexandrinus*, contemporary with *Tertullian*, because he hath not any thing, that I know of, expressly either for, or against the *Millennium*. But he takes notice that the *Seventh Day* hath been accounted *Sacred*, both by the Hebrews and Greeks, because of the *Revolution of the World*, and the *Renovation of all things*. And giving this as a reason why they kept that day *Holy*, seeing there is not a Revolution of the World every seven days, it can be in no other sense than as the *Seventh Day* represents the *seventh Millenary*, in which the Renovation of the World and the Kingdom of Christ, is to be. As to *Tertullian*, *S. Jerome* reckons him, in the first place, amongst the Latin *Millenaries*. And tho' his Book, about the *Hope of the Faithful*, as also that about *Paradise*, which should have given us the greatest light in this affair, be both lost or suppress'd; yet there are sufficient indications of his Millenary opinion in his Tracts against *Marcion*, and against *Hermogenes*. *S. Cyprian* was *Tertullian's* admirer, and inclines to the same opinion, so far as one can judge, in this particular; for his period of *Six Thousand Years*, and making the *Seventh Millenary* the Consummation of all, is wholly according to the Analogy of the Millenary Doctrine. As to the Two Bishops, *Victorinus* and *Nepos*, *S. Jerome* vouches for them. The Writings of the one are lost, and of the other so chang'd, that the sense of the Author does not appear there now. But *Lactantius*, whom we nam'd in the last place, does openly and profusely teach this doctrine, in his *Divine Institutions*: and with the same assurance that he does other parts of the Christian Doctrine. For he concludes thus, speaking of the *Millennium*, *This is the doctrine of the Holy Prophets, which we Christians follow. This is our wisdom, &c.* Yet he acknowledges

Book 7.

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there that it was kept as a mystery or secret amongst the Christians, lest the Heathens should make any perverse or odious interpretation of it. And for the same or like reason, I believe, The Book of the *Apocalypse* was kept out of the hands of the Vulgar for some time, and not read publicly, lest it should be found to have spoken too openly of the fate of the *Roman Empire*, or of this Millennial State.

So much for the First, Second, and Third Century of the Church. But, by our conclusion, we engag'd to make out this proof as far as the *Nicene Council*, inclusively, The *Nicene Council* was about the year of Christ 325. and we may reasonably suppose, *Lactantius* was then living; at least he came within the time of *Constantine's* Empire. But however the Fathers of that Council are themselves our witnesses in this point. For, in their *Ecclesiastical Forms* or *Constitutions*, in the chapter about the Providence of God, and about the World, They speak thus; *The World was made meaner or less perfect, providentially; for God foresee that man would sin. Wherefore we expect New Heavens and a New Earth, according to the Holy Scriptures: at the appearance and Kingdom of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ.* And then, as *Daniel* says (ch. 7. 18.) *The Saints of the most High shall take the Kingdom. And the Earth shall be Pure, Holy, the Land of the Living, not of the dead. Which David foreseeing by the eye of Faith, cries out (Ps. 27. 13.) I believe to see the good things of the Lord, in the Land of the Living. Our Saviour says, Happy are the meek; for they shall inherit the Earth, Matt. 5. 5. and the Prophet Isaiah says, (chap. 26. 6.) the feet of the meek and lowly shall tread upon it.* So you see, according to the judgment of these Fathers, there will be a Kingdom of Christ upon Earth; and moreover, that it will be in the *New Heavens* and the *New Earth*. And, in both these points, they cite the Prophets and our Saviour in confirmation of them.

Thus we have discharg'd our promise, and given you an account of the doctrine of the *Millennium*, or future Kingdom of Christ, throughout the Three First Ages of the Church, before any considerable corruptions were crept into the Christian Religion. And those Authorities of single and successive Fathers, we have seal'd up all together, with the declaration of the *Nicene* Fathers, in a Body. Those that think Tradition a Rule of Faith, or a considerable motive to it, will find it hard to turn off the force of these Testimonies. And those that do not go so far, but yet have a reverence for Antiquity and the Primitive Church, will not easily produce better Authorities, more early, more numerous, or more uncontradicted, for any Article that is not Fundamental. Yet these are but Seconds to the Prophets and Apostles, who are truly the Principals in this Cause. I will leave them altogether, to be examin'd and weigh'd by the Impartial Reader. And because they seem to me to make a full and undeniable proof, I will now at the foot of the account set down our second Proposition, which is this, *That there is a Millennial State; or a Future Kingdom of Christ and his Saints, Prophefied of and Promis'd, in the Old and New Testament; and receiv'd by the Primitive Church as a Christian and Catholick Doctrine.*

Propos. 2.

HAVING

HAVING dispatch'd this main point. To conclude the Chapter and this Head of our Discourse, it will be some satisfaction possibly to see, *How* a Doctrine so generally receiv'd and approv'd, came to decay and almost wear out of the Church, in following Ages. The Christian Millenary Doctrine was not call'd into question, so far as appears from History, before the middle of the third Century; when *Dionysius Alexandrinus* writ against *Nepos*, an *Aegyptian* Bishop, who had declar'd himself upon that subject. But we do not find that this Book had any great effect; for the declaration or constitution of the *Nicene Fathers* was after: and in *S. Jerome's* time, who writ towards the end of the fourth Century, this Doctrine had so much Credit, that, He, who was its greatest adversary, yet durst not condemn it, as he says himself. *Quæ licet non sequamur, tamen damnare non possumus; quia multi Ecclesiasticorum virorum & Martyres ista dixerunt. Which things, or doctrines,* speaking of the Millennium, *tho' we do not follow, yet we cannot condemn. Because many of our Church-men, and Martyrs, have affirmed these things.* And when *Apollinarius* replyed to that Book of *Dionysius*, *S. Jerome* says, that, *not only those of his own Sect, but a great multitude of other Christians did agree with Apollinarius in that particular. Ut præfagâ mente jam cernam, quantorum in me rabies concitanda sit. That I now foresee, how many will be enrag'd against me, for what I have spoken against the Millenary Doctrine.*

We may therefore conclude that in *S. Jerome's* time the Millenaries made the greater party in the Church; for a little matter would not have frighted him from censuring their opinion. *S. Jerome* was a rough and rugged Saint, and an unfair adversary, that usually run down, with heat and violence, what stood in his way. As to his unfairness, he shews it sufficiently in this very cause, for he generally represents the Millenary Doctrine after a Judaical rather than a *Christian* manner. And in reckoning up the chief Patrons of it, he always skips *Justin Martyr*. Who was not a Man so obscure as to be over-look'd: and he was a Man that had declar'd himself sufficiently upon this point, for he says, *both himself and all the Orthodox of his time, were of that judgment,* and applies both the *Apocalypse* of *S. John*, and the *65th chap. of Isaiah*, for the proof of it. As we noted before.

As *S. Jerome* was an open enemy to this Doctrine, so *Eusebius* was a back friend to it; and represented every thing to its disadvantage, so far as was tolerably consistent with the fairness of an Historian. He gives a slight character of *Papias*, without any authority for it; and brings in one *Gainus* that makes *Cerintus* to be the Author of the *Apocalypse* and of the *Millennium*: and calls the Visions there monstrous stories. He himself is willing to shuffe off that Book from *John the Evangelist* to another *John a Presbyter*: and to shew his skill in the interpretation of it, he makes the *New Jerusalem* in

Eccles. Hist.
3. 22.
Ἐξολογίας.

l. 3. 32. de vit.
Constan.

the 21th chap. to be *Constantine's Jerusalem*, when he turn'd the Heathen Temples there into Christian. A wonderful invention. As *S. Jerome* by his flouts, so *Eusebius* by sinister insinuations, endeavour'd to lessen the reputation of this Doctrine; and the Art they both us'd, was, to misrepresent it as *Judaical*. But we must not cast off every doctrine which the Jews believ'd, only for that reason; for we have the same Oracles which they had, and the same Prophets: and they have collected from them the same general doctrine that we have, namely, that *There will be an happy and pacifick state of the Church, in future times*. But as to the circumstances of this state we differ very much; They suppose the Mosaical Law will be restor'd, with all its pomp, rites, and ceremonies: whereas we suppose the Christian Worship, or something more perfect, will then take place. Yet *S. Jerome* has the confidence, even there where he speaks of the many Christian Clergy and Martyrs that held this doctrine: has the confidence, I say, to represent it, as if they held that *Circumcision, Sacrifices*, and all the Judaical rites, should then be restor'd. Which seems to me to be a great slander, and a great instance how far mens passions will carry them, in misrepresenting an opinion which they have a mind to disgrace.

But as we have reason to blame the partiality of those that oppos'd this doctrine, so, on the other hand, we cannot excuse the Patrons of it from all indiscretions. I believe they might partly themselves make it obnoxious; by mixing some things with it, from pretended Traditions, or the Books of the Sibylls, or other private Authorities, that had so sufficient warrant from Scripture; and things, sometimes, that Nature would not easily bear. Besides, in later ages, they seem to have dropt one half of the doctrine, namely, the *Renovation of Nature*, which *Irenæus, Justin Martyr*, and the Ancients, joyn inseparably with the Millennium. And by this omission, the doctrine hath been made less intelligible, and one part of it inconsistent with another. And when their pretensions were to reign upon this present Earth, and in this present state of Nature, it gave a jealousy to Temporal Princes, and gave occasion likewise to many of Fanatical Spirits, under the notion of Saints, to aspire to dominion, after a violent and tumultuary manner. This I reckon as one great cause that brought the doctrine into discredit. But I hope by reducing of it to the true state, we shall cure this and other abuses, for the future.

Lastly, It never pleas'd the Church of *Rome*; and so far as the influence and authority of that would go, you may be sure it would be depress'd and discourtenanc'd. I never yet met with a Popish Doctor that held the *Millennium*; and *Baronius* would have it pass for an Heresie, and *Papias* for the Inventor of it; whereas, if *Irenæus* may be credited, it was receiv'd from *S. John*, and by him from the mouth of our Saviour. And neither *S. Jerome*, nor his friend Pope *Damasus*, durst ever condemn it for an *heresie*. It was always indeed uneasy, and gave offence, to the Church of *Rome*, because it does not suit to that Scheme of Christianity, which they have drawn. They suppose Christ reigns already, by his Vicar, the Pope: and treads upon the Necks of Emperors and Kings. And if they could but suppress

suppress the *Northern Heresie*, as they call it, they do not know what a *Millennium* would signifie, or how the Church could be in an happier condition than she is. The *Apocalypse* of St. *John* does suppose the true Church under hardship and persecution, more or less, for the greatest part of the Christian Ages: namely for 1260 years, while the Witnesses are in Sack-cloth. But the Church of *Rome* hath been in prosperity and greatness, and the commanding Church in Christendom, for so long or longer, and hath rul'd the Nations with a Rod of Iron; so as that mark of the true Church, does not favour her at all. And the *Millennium* being properly a reward and triumph for those that come out of Persecution, such as have liv'd always in pomp and prosperity can pretend to no share in it, or benefit by it. This has made the Church of *Rome* have always an ill eye upon this Doctrine, because it seem'd to have an ill eye upon her. And as she grew in splendor and greatness, she eclips'd and obscur'd it more and more: so that it would have been lost out of the World as an obsolete error, if it had not been reviv'd by some of the Reformation.

C H A P. VII.

The true state of the Millennium, according to Characters taken from Scripture; some mistakes concerning it, examin'd.

WE have made sufficient proof of a Millennial state, from Scripture and Antiquity; and upon that firm Basis have setled our second Proposition. We should now determine the *Time* and *Place* of this future Kingdom of Christ: Not whether it is to be in Heaven, or upon Earth: for that we suppose determin'd already; but whether it is to be in the present Earth, and under the present constitution of Nature, or in the *New Heavens*, and *New Earth*, which are promis'd after the *Conflagration*. This is to make our *Third Proposition*: and I should have proceeded immediately to the examination of it, but that I imagine it will give us some light in this affair, if we enquire further into the true state of the *Millennium*, before we determine its *Time* and *Place*.

We have already noted some *moral* Characters of the *Millennial* state; And the great *Natural* Character of it, is this in general, That it will be *Paradisical*. Free from all inconveniences, either of external Nature, or of our own Bodies. For my part, I do not understand how there can be any considerable degree of happiness without *Indolency*: nor how there can be Indolency, while we have such Bodies as we have now, and such an external constitution of Nature. And as there must be *Indolency*, where there is happiness; so there must not be *Indigency*, or want of any due comforts of life. For where there is *Indigency*, there is sollicitude, and distraction, and uneasiness, and fear: Passions, that do as naturally disquiet the Soul,

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as pain does the Body. Therefore Indolency and Plenty seem to be two essential Ingredients of every happy state; and these two in conjunction make that state we call *Paradisical*.

Now the Scripture seems plainly to exempt the Sons of the *New Jerusalem*, or of the *Millennium*, from all pain or want, in those words, *Apoc. 21. 4. And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes. And there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying: neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away.* And the Lord of that Kingdom, *He that sat upon the Throne*, said, *Behold I make all things new*, ver. 5. This Renovation is a restoration to some former state: and I hope not to that state of indigency, and misery, and diseasedness, which we languish under at present. But to that pristine *Paradisical* state, which was the blessing of the first Heavens and the first Earth.

As Health and Plenty are the Blessings of Nature, so, in Civil affairs, *Peace* is the greatest blessing. And this is inseparably annexed to the *Millennium*: an indelible character of the Kingdom of Christ. And by *Peace* we understand, not onely freedom from Persecution upon religious accounts, but that *Nation shall not rise up against Nation*, upon any account whatsoever. That bloody Monster, *War*, that hath devour'd so many Millions of the Sons of *Adam*, is now at length to be chain'd up: and the Furies, that run throughout the Earth, with their Snakes and Torches, shall be thrown into the Abyss, to sting and prey upon one another. All evil and mischievous passions shall be extinguish'd: and that not in men onely, but even in Brute creatures, according to the Prophets. *The Lamb and the Lyon shall lie down together, and the sucking Child shall play with the Basilisk.* Happy days, when not onely the Temple of *Janus* shall be shut up for a thousand years, and the *Nations shall beat their swords into plowshares*: but all enmities and antipathies shall cease, all acts of hostility, throughout all nature. And this Universal Peace is a demonstration also of the former character, *Universal Plenty*: for where there is want and necessitousness, there will be quarrelling.

Fourthly, 'Tis a Kingdom of Righteousness, as well as of Peace. These also must go together; for unrighteous Persons will not live long in peace, no more than indigent Persons. The *Psalmist* therefore joyns them together: and *Plenty* also, as their necessary preservative: in his description of the Kingdom of Christ: *Psal. 85. 10, 11, 12. Mercy and truth are met together: Righteousness and peace have kissed each other. Truth shall spring out of the Earth, and righteousness shall look down from Heaven. Yea the Lord shall give good, and our Land shall yield her increase.* This will not be a medley-state, as the present World is, good and bad mingled together; but a *chosen generation, a royal Priesthood, an holy Nation, a peculiar people*. Those that have a part in the first Resurrection, the Scripture pronounceth them *Holy and Blessed*: and says, *the second death shall have no power over them*. Satan also is bound and shut up in the bottomless Pit, and has no liberty of tempting or seducing this People, for a thousand years: but at the end of that time, he will meet with a degenerate crew, separate and aliens to the Holy City, that will make war against it, and perish in the attempt. In a word, those that are to enjoy this

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state, are always distinguish'd from the multitude, as People redeem'd from the Earth; That have wash'd their Robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb; and are represented as Victors over the World; with such other Characters as are incomperible to any but the righteous.

Fifthly, This will be a state under a peculiar divine presence and conduct. It is not easie indeed to determine the manner of this presence, but the Scripture plainly implies some extraordinary divine presence to enlighten and enliven that state. When the *New Jerusalem* was come down, St. *John* says, *And I heard a great voice out of Heaven, saying, Behold the Tabernacle of God is with men: and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people: and God himself shall be with them and be their God.* And the like is promis'd to the Palm-bearing Company, *Chap. 7. 15.* where they are admitted to the privileges of the *New Jerusalem*. When our Saviour was incarnate, and vouchsafed to dwell amongst the Children of Men, the same phrase is us'd by this same Author, *Job. 1. 14. The Word was made flesh, and Tabernacled amongst us: and we beheld his glory, &c.* We read it, *He dwelt amongst us*, but render'd more closely, it is, *He set his Tabernacle amongst us*. And that which the *Hebrews* call the *Shekinah*, or *divine presence*, comes from a word of the like signification and sound with the *Greek* word here us'd. Therefore there will be a *Shekinah* in that Kingdom of Christ; but as to the mode of it, I am very willing to confess my ignorance.

The last Character that belongs to this state, or rather to those that enjoy it, is, that they are *Kings and Priests unto God*. This is a character often repeated in Scripture, and therefore the more to be regarded. It occurs thrice in the *Apocalypse* in formal terms, *Ch. 1. 6. Ch. 5. 10. Ch. 20. 6.* And as to the Regal dignity apart, that is further express'd, either by the *Donation of a Kingdom*, as in *Daniel's* phrase, *Chap. 7. 18, 22, 27.* Or by *placing upon Thrones*, with a judicial power; which is the New Testament style, *Mat. 19. 28. Luk. 22. 29, 30. Revel. 20. 4.* These two Titles, no doubt, are intended to comprehend the highest honours that we are capable of: these being the highest dignities in every Kingdom; and such as were by the Ancients, both in the East and in the West, commonly united in one and the same Person. Their Kings being Priests, like *Melchisedeck*: or as the *Roman* Emperour was *Pontifex Maximus*. But as to the Sacerdotal character, that seems chiefly to respect the temper of the mind; to signify a People dedicated to God and his Service: Separate from the World, and from secular affairs: Spending their time in devotion and contemplation, which will be the great employments of that happy state. For where there is ease, peace, and plenty of all things; refin'd Bodies, and purified Minds, there will be more inclination to intellectual exercises and entertainments: which they may attend upon, without any distraction, having neither want, pain, nor worldly business.

The Title of *King* implies a confluence of all things that constitute temporal happiness. 'Tis the highest thing we can wish any in this World, to be a King. So as the *Regal* dignity seems to comprehend all the Goods of Fortune, or external felicity: And the *Sacerdotal*, the

*Ch. 7. 14.
Ch. 14. 3, 4.
Ch. 21. 27.*

Apoc. 21. 3.

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שכינה
*Maimon. Mor.
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the Goods of the Mind, or internal : Both which concur in the constitution of true happiness. There is also a further force and emphasis in this notion, of *the Saints being made Kings*, if we consider it *comparatively*, with respect to what they were before in this World ; where they were not only mean and despicable, in subjection and servility, but often under persecution, abus'd and trampled upon, by the secular and Ecclesiastical Powers. But now the Scene is chang'd, and you see the reverse of Providence, according as *Abraham* said to the Rich man, *Son, remember that thou in thy life time receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things. But now he is comforted, and thou art tormented.* Now they are set upon Thrones and Tribunals, who were before arraigned as Criminals, and brought before tyrannical Judicatures. They are now Laws and Law-givers to themselves : in a true state of Royal Liberty, neither under the domination of evil men, nor of their own evil passions.

Some possibly may think, that this high character of *being made Priests and Kings to God*, is not general to all that enjoy the *Millennium*, but a prerogative belonging to the Apostles and some of the chief Martyrs, who are eminently rewarded for their eminent services. But Scripture, as far as I perceive, applies it to all that inherit that Kingdom. *The redeemed out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation, are made Kings and Priests to God, and shall reign on the earth, Apoc. 5. 9, 10.* And in the 20th chap. ver. 6. all the Sons of the first Resurrection are made *Priests of God and shall reign with him a thousand years.* Here is no distinction or discrimination thus far. Not that we suppose an universal equality of conditions in the Millennial state, but as to all these characters which we have given of it, I do not perceive that they are restrain'd or confin'd by Scripture to single persons, but make the general happiness of that state, and are the portion of every one that is admitted into the New Jerusalem.

Others possibly may think that this privilege of the *first Resurrection* is not common to all that enjoy the Millennial State. For tho' *S. John*, who is the only person that hath made express mention of the *first Resurrection*, and of the *thousand years reign* of Christ, does joyn these two as the same thing, and common to the same persons ; yet I know there are some that would distinguish them as things of a different extent, and also of a different nature. They suppose the Martyrs only will rise from the dead ; and will be immediately translated into Heaven, and there pass their *Millennium* in celestial glory. While the Church is still here below, in her *Millennium*, such as it is ; a state indeed better than ordinary, and free from persecution : but obnoxious to all the inconveniences of our present mortal life, and a medley of good and bad people, without separation. This is such an Idea of the *Millennium*, as, to my eye, hath neither beauty in it, nor foundation in Scripture. That the Citizens of the *New Jerusalem* are not a miscellaneous company, but a Community of righteous persons, we have noted before : and that the state of nature will be better than it is at present. But, besides this, what warrant have they for this Ascension of the Martyrs into Heaven at that time ?

time? Where do we read of that in Scripture? And in those things that are not matters of Natural Order, but of Divine Oeconomy, we ought to be very careful how we add to Scripture.

The Scripture speaks only of the Resurrection of the Martyrs, *Apoc.* 20. 45. But not a word concerning their Ascension into Heaven. Will that be visible? We read of our Saviour's Resurrection and Ascension, and therefore we have reason to affirm them both. We read also of the Resurrection and Ascension of the *Witnesses*, (*Apoc.* 11.) in a figurate sense, and in that sense we may assert them upon good grounds. But as to the Martyrs, we read of their Resurrection only, without any thing exprest or imply'd about their Ascension. By what Authority then shall we add this New Notion to the History or Scheme of the Millennium? The Scripture on the contrary, makes mention of the descent of the *New Jerusalem*, *Apoc.* 21. 2. making the Earth the Theatre of all that affair. And the Camp of the Saints is upon the Earth, *ver.* 9. and these Saints are the same persons, so far as can be collected from the text, that rise *from the dead, and reign'd with Christ*, and were *Priests to God*, *ver.* 4, 5, 6. Neither is there any distinction made, that I find, by *S. John*, of two sorts of Saints in the *Millennium*, the one in Heaven, and the other upon Earth. Lastly, The four and twenty Elders, *ch.* 5. 10. tho' they were *Kings and Priests unto God*, were content to reign upon Earth. Now who can you suppose of a superiour order to these four and twenty Elders: Whether they represent the twelve Patriarchs and twelve Apostles, or whomsoever they represent, they are plac'd next to him that sits upon the Throne, and they have Crowns of Gold upon their heads, *ch.* 4. 4. There can be no marks of honour and dignity greater than these are; and therefore seeing these highest Dignitaries in the Millennium or future Kingdom of Christ, are to reign upon Earth, there is no ground to suppose the assumption of any other into Heaven upon that account, or upon that occasion.

This is a short and general draught of the Millennial state, or future Reign of the Saints, according to Scripture. Wherein I have endeavour'd to rectifie some mistakes or misconceptions about it: That viewing it in its true Nature, we may be the better able to judge, when and where it will obtain. Which is the next thing to be consider'd.

CHAP. VIII.

The Third Propofition laid down, concerning the Time and Place of the Millennium. Several Arguments us'd to prove that it cannot be till after the Conflagration: and that the New Heavens and the New Earth are the true Seat of the blessed Millennium.

Propof. 3.

WE come now to the Third and last head of our Discourse: To determine the *Time* and *Place* of the *Millennium*. And seeing it is indifferent whether the proofs lead or follow the Conclusion, we will lay down the Conclusion in the first place, that our business may be more in view; and back it with proofs in the following part of the Chapter. Our Third and last Propofition therefore is this, *That the Blessed Millennium, (properly so called) according as it is describ'd in Scripture, cannot obtain in the present Earth, nor under the present constitution of Nature and Providence; but is to be celebrated in the New Heavens and New Earth, after the Conflagration.* This Propofition, it may be, will seem a Paradox or singularity to many, even of those that believe a *Millennium*; We will therefore make it the business of this Chapter, to state it, and prove it; by such Arguments as are manifestly founded in Scripture and in Reason.

And to prevent mistakes, we must premise this in the first place; That, tho' the Blessed *Millennium* will not be in this Earth, yet we allow that the state of the Church here, will grow much better than it is at present. There will be a better Idea of Christianity, and according to the Prophecies, a full *Resurrection of the Witnesses*, and an *Ascension* into power, and the tenth part of the City will fall; which things imply ease from Persecution, The Conversion of some part of the Christian World to the reformed Faith, and a considerable diminution of the power of Antichrist. But this still comes short of the happiness and glory wherein the future Kingdom of Christ is represented. Which cannot come to pass till the *Man of Sin* be destroy'd, with a total destruction. After the Resurrection of the Witnesses, there is a Third *WOE* yet to come: and how long that will last, does not appear. If it bear proportion with the preceding *WOES*, it may last some hundreds of years. And we cannot imagine the *Millennium* to begin till that *WOE* be finish'd. As neither till the *Vials* be poured out, in the 15th. chap. which cannot be all pour'd out till after the Resurrection of the Witnesses; those *Vials* being the last plagues that compleat the destruction of Antichrist. Wherefore allowing that the Church, upon the Resurrection and Ascension of the Witnesses, will be advanc'd into a better condition, yet that condition cannot be the Millennial state; where the Beast is utterly destroy'd, and Satan bound, and cast into the bottomless pit.

This being premis'd, let us now examine what grounds there are for the Translation of that blessed state into the New Heavens and
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New Earth: seeing that Thought, it may be, to many persons, will appear new and extraordinary. In the first place, We suppose it out of dispute, that there will be New Heavens and a New Earth after the Conflagration. This was our first Proposition, and we depend upon it, as sufficiently prov'd both from Scripture and Antiquity. This being admitted, How will you stock this New Earth? What use will you put it to? 'Twill be a much nobler Earth, and better built than the present: and 'tis pity it should only float about, empty and useles, in the wild Air. If you will not make it the seat and habitation of the Just in the blessed *Millennium*, what will you make it? How will it turn to account? What hath Providence design'd it for? We must not suppose New Worlds made without counsel or design. And as, on the one hand, you cannot tell what to do with this New Creation, if it be not thus employ'd: so, on the other hand, it is every way fitted and suited to be an happy and Paradisiacal habitation, and answers all the natural Characters of the Millennial state; which is a great presumption that it is design'd for it.

But to argue this more closely upon Scripture-grounds. *S. Peter* says, the Righteous shall inhabit the New Heavens and the New Earth: *2 Pet. 3. 13. Nevertheless, according to his promise, we look for New Heavens and New Earth, WHEREIN DWELLETH RIGHTEOUSNESS:* that is, a Righteous People, as we have shewn before. But who are these Righteous People? That's the great question. If you compare *S. Peter's* New Heavens and New Earth with *S. John's*, *Apoc. 21. 1, 2.* it will go far towards the resolution of this question: For *S. John* seems plainly to make the Inhabitants of the *New Jerusalem* to be in this *New Earth*. *I saw,* says he, *New Heavens and a New Earth:* and the *New Jerusalem descending from God out of Heaven;* therefore descending into this *New Earth*, which he had mention'd immediately before. And there *the Tabernacle of God was with men, ver. 3.* and there He that sat upon the Throne, said, *Behold I make all things New.* Referring still to this New Heavens and New Earth, as the Theatre where all these things are acted, or all these Scenes exhibited: from the first Verse to the eighth. Now the *New Jerusalem* state being the same with the Millennial, if the one be in the New Heavens and New Earth, the other is there also. And this interpretation of *S. John's* word is confirm'd and fully assur'd to us by the Prophet *Isaiab;* who also placeth the joy and rejoicing of the *New Jerusalem* in the New Heavens and New Earth: *Chap. 65. 17, 18. For behold I create new Heavens and a new Earth: and the former shall not be remembered: but be you glad and rejoyce for ever in that which I create: for behold, I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy.* Namely, in that New Heavens and New Earth. Which answers to *S. John's* Vision of the *New Jerusalem* being let down upon the New Earth.

To these Reasons, and deductions from Scripture, we might add the testimony of several of the Fathers; I mean of those that were Millenaries. For we are speaking now to such as believe the *Millennium*, but place it in the present Earth before the Renovation; whereas the ancient Millenaries suppos'd the regeneration and re-

* Li. 5. ch.
32, &c.
(a) Dial. cum
Tryph.
(b) Contra
Marc.
(c) Li. 7.
(d) Quæst. &
respon. 93.

novation of the World before the Kingdom of Christ came. As you may see in * *Irenæus*, (a) *Justin Martyr*, (b) *Tertullian*, (c) *Lactantius*, and (d) the Author *ad Orthodoxos*. And the neglect of this, I look upon as one reason, as we noted before, that brought that doctrine into discredit and decay. For when they plac'd the Kingdom of the Saints upon this Earth, it became more capable of being abus'd, by fanatical spirits, to the disturbance of the World, and the invasion of the rights of the Magistrates, Civil or Ecclesiastical, under that notion of Saints. And made them also dream of sensual pleasures, such as they see in this life: Or at least gave an occasion and opportunity to those, that had a mind to make the doctrine odious, of charging it with these consequences. All these abuses are cut off, and these scandals prevented, by placing the Millennium aright. Namely, not in this present Life, or on this present Earth, but in the New Creation, where Peace and Righteousness will dwell. And this is our first Argument why we place the Millennium in the New Heavens and New Earth: and 'tis taken partly, you see, from the reason of the thing it self, the difficulty of assigning any other use of the New Earth, and its fitness for this; and partly from Scripture-evidence, and partly from Antiquity.

Apoc. 21. 4.

The second argument for our opinion, is this; The present constitution of Nature will not bear that happiness, that is promis'd in the Millennium, or is not consistent with it. The diseases of our Bodies, the disorders of our Passions, the incommodiousness of external Nature; Indigency, fervility, and the unpeaceableness of the World; These are things inconsistent with the happiness that is promis'd in the Kingdom of Christ. But these are constant attendants upon this Life, and inseparable from the present state of Nature. Suppose the Millennium was to begin Nine or Ten Years hence, as some pretend it will. How shall this World, all on a sudden, be metamorphos'd into that happy state? No more *sorrow, nor crying, nor pain, nor death*, says *S. John*: *All former things are past away*. But how past away? Shall we not have the same Bodies: and the same external Nature: and the same corruptions of the Air: and the same excesses and intemperature of Seasons? Will there not be the same barrenness of the ground: the same number of People to be fed: and must they not get their living by the sweat of their brows, with servile labour and drudgery? How then are all former evils past away? And as to publick affairs, while there are the same necessities of humane Life, and a distinction of Nations, those Nations sometimes will have contrary interests, will clash and interfere one with another: whence differences, and contests, and Wars will arise, and the *Thousand Years Truce*, I am afraid, will be often broken. We might add also, that if our Bodies be not chang'd, we shall be subject to the same appetites, and the same passions: and upon those, vices will grow: as bad fruit upon a bad Tree. To conclude, so long as our Bodies are the same: external Nature the same: The necessities of humane Life the same: which things are the roots of evil; you may call it a *Millennium*, or what you please, but there will be still diseases, vices, wars, tears and cries, pain and sorrow in this *Millennium*; and if so, 'tis a *Millennium* of your own

own making; for that which the Prophets describe is quite another thing.

Furthermore, if you suppose the Millennium will be upon this Earth, and begin, it may be, ten or twenty years hence, How will it be introduc'd; how shall we know when we are in it, or when we enter upon it? If we continue the same, and all Nature continue the same, we shall not discern when we slip into the Millennium. And as to the Moral state of it, shall we all, on a sudden, *become Kings and Priests to God*? wherein will that change consist, and how will it be wrought? St. *John* makes the *First Resurrection* introduce the Millennium; and that's a conspicuous mark and boundary. But as to the modern or vulgar Millennium, I know not how 'tis usher'd in. Whether they suppose a visible resurrection of the Martyrs, and a visible Ascension: and that to be a Signal to all the World that the Jubilee is beginning: or whether 'tis gradual and creeps upon us insensibly: or the fall of the Beast marks it. These things need both explication and proof; for to me they seem either arbitrary, or unintelligible.

But to pursue our design and Subject. That which gives me the greatest scandal in this doctrine of the vulgar Millennium, is, their joining things together that are really inconsistent; a natural World of one colour, and a moral World of another. They will make us happy in spite of Nature: as the Stoicks would make a man happy in *Phalaris his Bull*; so must the Saints be in full bliss in the Millennium, tho' they be under a fit of the Gout, or of the Stone. For my part, I could never reconcile pain to happiness: It seems to me to destroy and drown all pleasure, as a loud noise does a still voice. It affects the Nerves with violence, and over-bears all other motions. But if, according to this modern supposition, they have the same Bodies, and breath the same air, in the Millennium, as we do now, there will be both private and Epidemical distempers, in the same manner as now; Suppose then a Plague comes and sweeps away half an hundred thousand Saints in the Millennium, is this no prejudice or dishonour to the State? Or a War makes a Nation desolate: or, in single Persons, a lingering disease makes life a burthen: or a burning Fever, or a violent Colick tortures them to death. Where such evils as these reign, christen the thing what you will, it can be no better than a Mock-Millennium. Nor shall I ever be persuaded that such a state as our present life, where an akeing Tooth, or an akeing Head, does so discompose the Soul, as to make her unfit for business, study, devotion, or any useful employment: And that all the powers of the mind, all its vertue, and all its wisdom, are not able to stop these little motions, or to support them with tranquillity: I can never persuade my self, I say, that such a state was designed by God or Nature, for a state of happiness.

Our third argument is this: The future Kingdom of Christ will not take place, till the Kingdom of Antichrist be wholly destroy'd. But that will not be wholly destroy'd till the end of the World, and the appearing of our Saviour. Therefore the Millennium will not be till then. Christ and Antichrist cannot reign upon Earth together: their Kingdoms are opposite, as Light to darkness. Besides,
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the Kingdom of Christ is universal, extends to all the Nations, and leaves no room for other Kingdoms at that time. Thus it is describ'd in *Daniel*, in the place mention'd before, *Chap. 7. 13, 14.* *I saw in the Night visions, and behold, one like the S. n of man, came with the Clouds of Heaven, and came to the Ancient of days; And there was given him dominion and glory, and a Kingdom; that all People, Nations, and Language, should serve him.* And again, ver. 27. *And the Kingdom and dominion and the greatness of the Kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the Saints of the most High; whose Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom, and all dominion shall serve and obey him.* The same character of universality is given to the Kingdom of Christ by *David*, *Isaiab*, and other Prophets. But the most direct proof of this, is from the *Apocalypse*: where the *Beast* and *false Prophet* are thrown into the Lake of Fire and Brimstone, (*Chap. 19. 20.*) before the Millennium comes on: *ch. 20.* This, *being cast into a Lake of fire burning with brimstone*, must needs signify utter destruction. Not a diminution of power only, but a total perdition and consumption. And that this was before the Millennium, both the order of the narration shows, and its place in the Prophecy; And also because notice is taken, at the end of the Millennium, of the *Beast* and *false Prophet's* being in the Lake of fire, as of a thing past, and formerly transacted. For when *Satan*, at length, is thrown into the same Lake, 'tis said, He is thrown into the Lake of fire and brimstone, *where the Beast and false Prophet are: Apoc. 20. 10.* They were there before, it seems; namely, at the beginning of the Millennium; and now at the conclusion of it, the Devil is thrown in to them. Besides, the Ligation of *Satan* proves this point effectually. For so long as *Antichrist* reigns, *Satan* cannot be said to be bound; but he is bound at the beginning of the Millennium, therefore *Antichrist's* reign was then totally expir'd. Lastly, the destruction of *Babylon*, and the destruction of *Antichrist* go together: but you see *Babylon* utterly and finally destroy'd, (*Apoc. 18. and 19.*) before the Millennium comes on. I say *utterly and finally destroy'd*. For she is not only said to be made an utter desolation, but to be consum'd by fire: and absorpt as a Millstone thrown into the Sea: and that he shall be found no more at all, *Chap. 18. 21.* Nothing can express a total and universal destruction more effectually, or more emphatically. And this is before the Millennium begins; as you may see both by the order of the Prophecies, and particularly, in that upon this destruction, the *Hallelujah's* are sung, *Chap. 19.* and concluded thus, (*ver. 6. 7.*) *Hallelujah, for the God omnipotent reigneth. Let us be glad and rejoyce and give honour to him; for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made her self ready.* This, I suppose, every one allows to be the Millennial state, which now approaches, and is making ready, upon the destruction of *Babylon*.

Thus much for the first part of our argument, That the Kingdom of Christ will not take place, till the Kingdom of *Antichrist* be wholly destroy'd. We are now to prove the second part: That the Kingdom of *Antichrist* will not be wholly destroy'd till the end of the World, and the coming of our Saviour. This, one would think, is sufficiently prov'd from *St. Paul's* words alone, *2 Theff. 2. 8.* *The*

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Lord shall consume the man of sin, who is suppos'd the same with Antichrist, with the Spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming. He will not then be destroy'd before the coming of our Saviour: and that will not be till the end of the World. For St. Peter says, *Act. 3. 21. Th: Heaven must receive him,* speaking of Christ, *until the times of restitution of all things:* that is, the renovation of the World. And if we consider that our Saviour's coming will be in flames of fire, as the same Apostle St. Paul tells us, *2 Theff. 1. 7, 8.* 'tis plain that his coming will not be till the Conflagration: in which last flames Antichrist will be universally destroy'd. This manner of destruction agrees also with the *Apocalypse*, and with *Daniel*, and the Prophets of the Old Testament. As to the *Apocalypse*, *Babylon*, the seat of Antichrist, is represented there as destroy'd by Fire, *Chap. 18. 8, 18. Chap. 14. 11. Chap. 19. 3, 20.* And in *Daniel*, when the Beast is destroy'd, *Chap. 7. 11. His body was given to the burning flame.* Then as to the other Prophets, they do not, you know, speak of Antichrist or the Beast in terms: but under the Types of *Babylon*, *Tyre*, and such like; and these places or Princes are represented by them as to be destroy'd by fire, *Isa. 13. 19. Jer. 51. 25. Ezek. 28. 18.*

So much for this third Argument. The fourth Argument is this: The Future Kingdom of Christ will not be till the day of Judgment and the Resurrection. But that will not be till the end of the World. Therefore neither the Kingdom of Christ. By the day of Judgment here I do not mean the final and universal Judgment: Nor by the Resurrection, the final and universal Resurrection: for these will not be till after the Millennium. But we understand here the first day of Judgment and the first Resurrection, which will be at the end of this present World; according as S. *John* does distinguish them, in the *20th. Chap.* of the *Apocalypse*. Now that the Millennium will not be till the day of Judgment in this sense, we have both the Testimonies of *Daniel* and of S. *John*. *Daniel* in the *7th. Chap.* supposes the Beast to rule till judgment shall sit, and then they shall take away his dominion, and it shall be given to the people of the Saints of the most High. S. *John* makes an explicate declaration of both these, in his *20th. Chap.* of the *Apocalypse*, which is the great Directory in this point of the Millennium; He says there were Thrones set, as for a Judicature. Then there was a Resurrection from the Dead: and those that rise, reigned with Christ a Thousand years. Here's a Judicial Session, a Resurrection, and the reign of Christ joyned together. There is also another passage in S. *John*, that joyns the judgment of the Dead with the Kingdom of Christ. 'Tis in the *11th. Chap.* under the seventh Trumpet. The words are these, *ver. 15. And the seventh Angel sounded, and there were great voices in heaven, saying, the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ: and he shall reign for ever and ever. And the four and twenty Elders, &c. And the nations were angry, and thy wrath is come, and the time of the Dead, that they should be judged, and that thou shouldst give reward unto thy servants the Prophets, and to the Saints, and them that fear thy name.* Here are two things plainly express'd and link'd together, *The judging of the Dead*, and the *Kingdom of Christ*; where-

*Ver. 9, &c.
Ver. 26, &c.*

Ver. 4.

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in the Prophets and Saints are rewarded. Now as the *judging of the Dead* is not in this life, so neither is the reward of the Prophets and Saints in this life: as we are taught sufficiently in the Gospel and by the Apostles, *Mat. 19. 28. 1 Thess. 1. 7. 2 Tim. 4. 8. 1 Pet. 1. 7. and Ch. 5. 4.*) Therefore the Reign and Kingdom of Christ which is joyned with these two, cannot be in this life, or before the end of the world. And as a further testimony and confirmation of this, we may observe that *S. Paul to Timothy*, hath joyn'd together these three things; The *appearance of Christ*, the *Reign of Christ*, and the *judging of the Dead*. *I charge thee therefore before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead, at his appearing, and his Kingdom,* 2 Tim. 4. 1.

This might also be prov'd from the order, extent, and progress, of the Prophecies of the *Apocalypse*; whereof some are such as reach to the end of the World, and yet must be accomplish'd before the Millennium begin: as the Vials. Others are so far already advanc'd towards the end of the World, as to leave no room for a thousand years reign; as the Trumpets. But because every one hath his own interpretation of these Prophecies, and it would be tedious here to prove any single Hypothesis in contradistinction to all the rest, we will therefore leave this remark, to have more or less effect, according to the minds it falls upon. And proceed to our fifth Argument.

Fifthly, The *New Jerusalem*-state is the same with the Millennial state: But the *New Jerusalem* state will not be till the end of the World, or till after the Conflagration: Therefore neither the Millennium. That the *New Jerusalem*-state is the same with the Millennium, is agreed upon, I think, by all Millenaries, Ancient and Modern. *Justin Martyr, Irenaus, and Tertullian*, speak of it in that sense; and so do the later Authors, so far as I have observ'd. And *St. John* seems to give them good authority for it. In the *20th. Chap.* of the *Apocalypse*, he says, the *Camp of the Saints*, and the *Beloved City* were belieg'd by Satan and his Gigantick crew at the end of the Millennium. That *Beloved City* is the *New Jerusalem*, and you see it is the same with the *Camp of the Saints*, or, at least, contemporary with it. Besides, the Marriage of the Lamb was in, or at the appearance of the *New Jerusalem*, for that was the *Spouse of the Lamb*, *Apoc. 21. 2.* Now this Spouse was ready, and this Marriage was said to be come, at the destruction of *Babylon*: which was the beginning of the Millennium, *Chap. 18. 7.* Therefore the *New Jerusalem* run all along with the Millennium, and was indeed the same thing under another name. Lastly, What is this *New Jerusalem*, if it be not the same with the Millennial state? It is promis'd as a reward to the sufferers for Christ, *Apoc. 3. 12.* and you see its wonderful priviledges, *Ch. 21. 3, 4.* and yet it is not Heaven and eternal Life; for it is said to come down from God out of Heaven, *Ch. 21. 2.* and *Ch. 3. 12.* It can therefore be nothing but the glorious Kingdom of Christ upon Earth, where the Saints shall reign with him a Thousand Years.

Now

Now as to the second part of our Argument, that the New Jerusalem will not come down from Heaven till the end of the World: of this *S. John* seems to give us a plain proof or demonstration: for he places the New Jerusalem in the New Heavens and New Earth, which cannot be till after the Conflagration. Let us hear his words, *Apoc.* 21. 1, 2. *And I saw a New Heaven and a New Earth, for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away, and there was no more sea. And I John saw the Holy City, New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of Heaven: prepared as a Bride adorned for her husband.* When the New Earth was made, he sees the New Jerusalem coming down upon it; and this Renovation of the Earth not being till the Conflagration, The New Jerusalem could not be till then, neither. The Prophet *Isaiab* had long before said the same thing, though not in terms so express; He first says, *Behold I create new heavens and a new earth, wherein you shall rejoyce.* Then subjoyns immediately, *Behold, I create Jerusalem a rejoycing.* This rejoycing is still in the same place; in the New Heavens and New Earth, or in the New Jerusalem. And *S. John* in a like method, first sets down the New Earth, then the New Jerusalem; and expresses the mind of the Prophet *Isaiab* more distinctly. *Isa. 65, 17, 18.*

This leads me to a Sixth Argument to confirm our Conclusion. The time of the *Restitution* or *Restauration of all things*, spoken of by *S. Peter* and the Prophets, is the same with the Millennium: But that Restauration will not be till the coming of Christ, and the end of the World: Therefore neither the Millennium. That this Restitution of all things will not be till the coming of our Saviour, *S. Peter* declares in his Sermon, *Act.* 3. 21. and that the coming of our Saviour will not be till the end of the World, or till the Conflagration; both *S. Paul* and *S. Peter* signifie to us, *1 Theff.* 1. 7, 8. *2 Pet.* 3. 10. Therefore it remains only to prove, that this Restitution of all things spoken of here by the Apostle, is the same with the Millennium. I know that which it does directly and immediately signifie, is the Renovation of the World: but it must include the Moral World as well as the Natural: otherwise it cannot be truly said, as *S. Peter* does there, that all the Prophets have spoken of it. And what is the Renovation of the Natural and Moral World, but the New Jerusalem or the Millennium.

These Arguments, taken together, have, to me, an irresistible evidence for the proof of our Conclusion; That the Blessed Millennium cannot obtain in the present Earth, or before the Conflagration; But when Nature is renew'd, and the Saints and Martyrs rais'd from the Dead, then they shall reign together with Christ, in the New Heavens and New Earth, or in the New Jerusalem; Satan being bound for a Thousand Years.

CHAP. IX.

*The chief employment of the Millennium, DEVOTION
and CONTEMPLATION.*

WE have now done with the substance of our Discourse; which is comprehended in these Three Propositions:

- I. *After the Conflagration of this World, there will be New Heavens and a New Earth: and That Earth will be inhabited.*
- II. *That there is an happy Millennial state; Or a future Kingdom of Christ and his Saints, prophesied of and promis'd in the Old and New Testament: and receiv'd by the Primitive Church, as a Christian and Catholick Doctrin.*
- III. *That this blessed Millennial state, according as it is describ'd in Scripture, cannot take place in the present Earth, nor under the present constitution of Nature and Providence: But is to be celebrated in the New Heavens and New Earth, after the Conflagration.*

These Three Propositions support this Work; and if any of them be broken, I confess my design is broken, and this Treatise is of no effect. But what remains to be spoken to in these last Chapters, is more circumstantial or modal; and an error or mistake in such things, does not wound any vital part of the Argument. You must now therefore lay aside your severity, and rigorous censures; we are very happy, if, in this Life, we can attain to the substance of truth: and make rational conjectures concerning modes and circumstances; where every one hath right to offer his sense, with modesty and submission. Revelations made to us from Heaven in this present state, are often incompleat, and do not tell us all: as if it was on purpose to set our thoughts a-work to supply the rest; which we may lawfully do, provided it be according to the analogy of Scripture and Reason.

To proceed therefore; We suppose, as you see, the *new Heavens* and the *new Earth* to be the seat of the *Millennium*: and that new Creation to be *Paradisical*. Its Inhabitants also to be Righteous Persons, the Saints of the most High. And seeing the ordinary employments of our present Life, will then be needless and superseded, as Military affairs, Sea-affairs, most Trades and Manufactures, Law, Physick, and the laborious part of Agriculture: it may be wonder'd, how this Happy People will bestow their time: What entertainment they will find in a state of so much ease, and so little action. To this one might answer in short, by another question, *How* would they have entertain'd themselves in Paradise, if Man had continued in Innocency? This is a revolution of the same state, and therefore

fore they may pass their time as well now as they could have done then. But to answer more particularly, besides all innocent diversions, ingenuous conversations, and entertainments of friendship, the greatest part of their time will be spent in *Devotion* and *Contemplation*. O happy employment; and next to that of Heaven itself. What do the Saints above, but sing Praises unto God, and contemplate his Perfections. And how mean and despicable, for the most part, are the employments of this present Life, if compar'd with those Intellectual Actions. If Mankind was divided into ten parts, nine of those ten employ their time to get bread to their belly, and cloaths to their back; And what impertinences are these to a reasonable Soul, if she was free from the clog of a Mortal Body; or if that could be provided for, without trouble or loss of time? Corporeal Labour is from need and necessity, but intellectual exercises are matter of choice, that please and perfect at the same time.

Devotion warms and opens the Soul, and disposes it to receive Divine Influences. It sometimes raises the mind into an heavenly ecstasie, and fills it with a joy that is not to be express'd. When it is pure, it leaves a strong impression upon the heart, of Love to God; and inspires us with a contempt of this World, having tasted the pleasures of the World to come. In the state which we speak of, seeing the *Tabernacle of God will be with men*, we may reasonably suppose that there will be greater effusions and irradiations of the Holy Spirit, than we have or can expect in this region of darkness: and consequently, all the strength and comfort that can arise from private devotion. Apo. 21. 3.

And as to their publick Devotions, all beauties of Holiness, all perfection of Divine Worship, will shine in their Assemblies. Whatsoever *David* says of *Sion* and *Jerusalem*, are but shadows of this *New Jerusalem*, and of the glory that will be in those Solemnities. Psal. 84.
Psal. 87. Imagine what a Congregation will be there of Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Christian Martyrs, and Saints of the first rank, throughout all Ages. And these all known to one another by their Names and History. This very meeting together of such Persons, must needs create a joy unspeakable: But when they unite in their praises to God and to the Lamb, with pure hearts full of divine Love: when they sing their Hallelujahs to him that sits upon the Throne, that hath wash'd them in his blood, and redeem'd them out of every Kingdom, and Tongue and People, and Nation. When, with their Palms in their hands, they triumph over Sin, and Death, and Hell, and all the Powers of Darkness: can there be any thing, on this side Heaven, and a Quire of Angels, more glorious or more joyful?

But why did I except Angels? Why may not they be thought to be present at these Assemblies? In a Society of Saints and purified Spirits, Why should we think their converse impossible? In the Golden Age, the Gods were always represented, as having freer intercourse with Men; and before the Flood, we may reasonably believe it so. I cannot think, *Enoch* was translated into Heaven without any converse with its Inhabitants before he went thither. And seeing the Angels vouchsaf'd often, in former Ages, to visit the Patriarchs upon Earth, we may with reason judge, that they will

much more converse with the same Patriarchs and holy Prophets, now they are risen from the Dead, and cleans'd from their sins, and seated in the *New Jerusalem*. I cannot but call to mind upon this occasion, That representation which *S. Paul* makes to us, of a glorious state and a glorious Assembly, too high for this present Earth: 'Tis *Hebr. 12. 22, &c.* in these words: *But you are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the City of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of Angels; To the general Assembly and Church of the First-born, which are written in Heaven; and to God the Judge of all, and to the Spirits of just men made perfect.* This, I know, several apply to the Times and state of the Gospel, in opposition to that of the Law; and it is introduc'd in that manner; But here are several expressions too high for any present state of things; They must respect a future state, either of Heaven, or of the Millennial Kingdom of Christ. And to the later of these the expressions agree, and have a peculiar fitness and applicability to it. And what follows in the context, *ver. 26, 27, 28.* *About shaking the Heavens and the Earth once more:* Removing the former Scenes, and bringing on a New Kingdom that cannot be shaken: All this, I say, answers to the Kingdom of Christ, which is to be establish'd in the New Heavens and New Earth.

But to proceed in their Publick Devotions; Suppose this August Assembly, inflam'd with all Divine Passions, met together to celebrate the Name of God; with Angels intermixt; to bear a part in this Holy Exercise. And let this concourse be, not in any Temple made with hands, but under the great roof of Heaven, (the True Temple of the most High,) so as all the Air may be fill'd with the cheerful harmony of their Hymns and Hallelujahs. Then, in the height of their Devotion, as they sing Praises to the Lamb, and to Him that sits upon the Throne, suppose the Heavens to open, and the Son of God to appear in his glory, with Thousands and Ten Thousands of Angels round about him; That their eyes may see him, who, for their sakes, was crucified upon Earth, now encircled with Light and Majesty. This will raise them into as great transports as humane nature can bear: They will wish to be dissolv'd, they will strive to fly up to him in the clouds, or to breath out their Souls in repeated doxologies of *Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, to him that sits upon the Throne, and to the Lamb, for ever and ever.*

But we cannot live always in the flames of Devotion. The weakness of our Nature will not suffer us to continue long under such strong Passions, and such intenseness of Mind. The question is therefore, What will be the ordinary employment of that Life? How will they entertain their thoughts, or spend their time? For we suppose they will not have that multiplicity of frivolous business that we have now: About our Bodies, about our Children: in Trades and Mechanicks: in Traffick and Navigation: or Wars by Sea or Land. These things being swept away, wholly or in a great measure; what will come in their place? how will they find work or entertainment for a long life? If, we consider, who they are that will have a part in this first Resurrection, and be Inhabitants of that World that is to come, we may easily believe that the most constant employ-

employment of their life will be CONTEMPLATION. Not that I exclude any innocent diversions, as I said before: The entertainments of friendship, or ingenuous conversation, but the great business and design of that life is Contemplation: as preparatory to Heaven and eternal Glory. *Ut paulatim assuescant capere Deum*, as *L. 5. c. 32.* *Irenæus* says: That they may, by degrees, enlarge their capacities, fit and *accustom themselves to receive God*. Or, as he says in another place, *That they may become capable of the glory of the Father*, that is, capable of bearing the glory and presence of God: capable of the highest enjoyment of him, which is usually call'd the *Beatifical Vision*; and is the condition of the Blessed in Heaven.

It cannot be deny'd, that in such a Millennial state, where we shall be freed from all the incumbrances of this life, and provided of better Bodies and greater light of Mind: It cannot be doubted, I say, but that we shall then be in a disposition to make great proficiency in the knowledge of all things, Divine and Intellectual: and consequently of making happy preparations for our entering upon a further state of glory. For there is nothing certainly does more prepare the mind of man for the highest perfections, than Contemplation: with that Devotion which naturally flows from it, as heat follows light. And this Contemplation hath always a greater or less effect upon the mind according to the perfection of its object. So as the Contemplation of the Divine Nature, is, of all others, the most perfective in it self, and to us, according to our capacities and degree of abstraction. An *Immense Being* does strangely fill the Soul: and Omnipotency, Omniscency, and Infinite Goodness, do enlarge and dilate the Spirit, while it fixtly looks upon them. They raise strong passions of Love and Admiration, which melt our Nature, and transform it into the mould and image of that which we contemplate. What the Scripture says of our *Transformation* into the Divine likeness: what *S. John* and the *Platonists* say of our *Union* with God. And whatever is not Cant in the *Mystical Theology*, when they tell us of being Deified; all this must spring from these sources of Devotion and Contemplation. They will change and raise us from imperfection to perfection, as from glory to glory: into a greater similitude and nearer station to the Divine Nature.

The Contemplation of God and his Works, comprehends all things. For, the one makes the uncreated World, and the other the Created. And as the Divine Essence and Attributes are the greatest object that the mind of man can set before it self; so next to that are the effects and emanations of the Divinity, or the Works of the Divine Goodness, Wisdom, and Power, in the Created World. This hath a vast extent and variety, and would be sufficient to entertain their time, in that happy state, much longer than a thousand years. As you will easily grant, if you allow me but to point at the several heads of those Speculations.

The Contemplation of the *Created World* divides it self into three parts, that of the *Intellectual World*: that of the *Corporal*: And the Government and Administration of both, which is usually call'd *Providence*. These three, drawn into one thought, with the reasons and proportions that result from them, compose that **GRAND IDEA,**

IDEA, which is the treasury and comprehension of all Knowledge. Whereof we have spoken more largely in the last Chapter of the Second Book of this *Theory*, under the name of the *Mundane Idea*. But at present we shall only mention such particulars, as may be thought proper subjects for the meditations and enquiries of those who shall enjoy that happy state which we now treat of.

As to the Intellectual World, excepting our own Souls, we know little, in this region of darkness where we are at present, more than bare names. We hear of Angels and Archangels, of Cherubins and Seraphins, of Principalities and Powers and Thrones and Dominions. We hear the sound of these words with admiration, but we know little of their natures; wherein their general notion, and wherein their distinction, consists: what peculiar excellencies they have, what offices and employments: of all this we are ignorant. Only in general, we cannot but suppose that there are more orders and degrees of Intellectual Beings, betwixt us and the Almighty, than there are kinds or species of living Creatures upon the face of the Earth: betwixt Man, their Lord and Master, and the least worm that creeps upon the ground. Nay, than there are Stars in Heaven, or Sands upon the Sea-shore. For there is an infinite distance and interval betwixt us and God Almighty: and all that, is fill'd with created Beings of different degrees of perfection, still approaching nearer and nearer to their Maker. And when this invisible World shall be open'd to us: when the Curtain is drawn, and the Celestial Hierarchy set in order before our eyes, we shall despise our selves, and all the petty glories of a mortal life, as the dirt under our feet.

As to the Corporeal Universe, we have some share already in the Contemplation and knowledge of that: tho' little in comparison of what will be then discover'd. The doctrine of the Heavens, fix'd Stars, Planets and Comets, both as to their matter, motion and form, will be then clearly demonstrated: and what are mysteries to us now, will become matter of ordinary conversation. We shall be better acquainted with our neighbouring Worlds, and make new discoveries as to the state of their affairs. The Sun especially, the Great Monarch of the Planetary Worlds: whose Dominion reaches from Pole to Pole, and the greatness of his Kingdom is under the whole Heaven. Who sends his bright Messengers every day through all the regions of his vast Empire; throwing his beams of light round about him, swifter and further than a thought can follow. This noble Creature, I say, will make a good part of their study in the succeeding World. *Eudoxus* the Philosopher, wish'd he might die like *Phaeton*, in approaching too near to the Sun; provided he could fly so near it, and endure it so long, till he had discover'd its beauty and perfection. Who can blame his curiosity: who would not venture far to see the Court of so great a Prince: who hath more Worlds under his command than the Emperors of the Earth have Provinces or Principalities. Neither does he make his Subjects slaves to his pleasure, or tributaries to serve and supply his wants; on the contrary, They live upon him, he nourishes and preserves them: gives them fruits every year, corn, and wine, and
all

all the comforts of life. This glorious Body, which now we can only gaze upon and admire, will be then better understood. A mass of Light and Flame, and Ethereal matter, ten thousand times bigger than this Earth: Enlightning and enlivening an Orb that exceeds the bulk of our Globe, as much as that does the least sand upon the Sea-shore, may reasonably be presum'd to have some great Being at the Centre of it. But what that is, we must leave to the enquiries of another life.

The *Theory of the Earth* will be a common lesson there: carried through all its vicissitudes and periods from first to last, till its entire revolution be accomplish'd. I told you in the Preface, The *Revolution of World*: was one of the greatest Speculations that we are capable of in this life: and this little World where we are, will be the first and easiest instance of it; seeing we have Records, Historical or Prophetical, that reach from the Chaos to the end of the new Heavens and new Earth: which course of time makes up the greatest part of the Circle or Revolution. And as what was before the Chaos, was but, in my opinion, the first remove from a Fixt Star; so what is after the thousand years Renovation, is but the last step to it again.

The *Theory of humane Nature* is also an useful and necessary speculation, and will be carried on to perfection in that state. Having fixt the true distinction betwixt Matter and Spirit, betwixt the Soul and the Body, and the true nature and laws of their union: The original contract, and the terms ratified by Providence at their first conjunction: It will not be hard to discover the springs of action and passion: how the thoughts of our mind, and the motions of our body act in dependance one upon another. What are the primary differences of Genius's and complexions, and how our Intellectuals or Morals depend upon them. What is the Root of Fatality, and how far it extends. By these lights, they will see into their own and every Man's breast, and trace the foot-steps of the Divine wisdom in that strange composition of Soul and Body.

This indeed is a mixt speculation, as most others are: and takes in something of both Worlds, Intellectual and Corporeal: and may also belong in part to the Third Head we mention'd, *Providence*. But there is no need of distinguishing these Heads so nicely, provided we take in, under some or other of them, what may be thought best to deserve our knowledge, now, or in another World. As to *Providence*, what we intend chiefly by it here, is the general œconomy of our Religion, and what is reveal'd to us in Scripture, concerning God, Angels, and Mankind. These Revelations, as most in Sacred Writ, are short and incompleat: as being design'd for practice more than for speculation, or to awaken and excite our thoughts, rather than to fatisfie them. Accordingly we read in Scripture of a Triune Deity: of God made flesh, in the Womb of a Virgin: Barbarously crucified by the *Jews*: Descending into Hell: rising again from the Dead: visibly ascending into Heaven: And sitting at the right hand of God the Father, above Angels and Arch-Angels. These great things are imperfectly reveal'd to us in this life; which we are to believe so far as they are reveal'd: In hopes these
mysteries

myſteries will be made more intelligible, in that happy ſtate to come, where Prophets, Apoſtles, and Angels, will meet in converſation together.

Mat. 3. 16.
Act. 2.
Matt. 1. 18.
Luk. 1. 35.

In like manner, how little is it we underſtand concerning the *Holy Ghoſt*. That he deſcended like a *Dove* upon our Saviour: Like cloven Tongues of fire upon the Apoſtles; The Place being fill'd with a ruſhing mighty Wind: That he over-shadowed the Bleſſed Virgin, and begot the Holy Infant. That He made the Apoſtles ſpeak all ſort of Tongues and Languages *ex tempore*, and pour'd out ſtrange Vertues and Miraculous Gifts upon the Primitive Chriſtians. Theſe things we know as bare matter of fact, but the method of theſe operations we do not at all underſtand. Who can tell us now, what that is which we call *INSPIRATION*? VVhat change is wrought in the Brain, and what in the Soul: and how the effect follows? VVho will give us the juſt definition of a *Miracle*? VVhat the proximate Agent is above Man, and whether they are all from the ſame power? How the manner and proceſs of thoſe miraculous changes in matter, may be conceiv'd? Theſe things we ſee darkly, and hope they will be ſet in a clearer light, and the Doctrines of our Religion more fully expounded to us, in that Future VVorld. For as ſeveral things obſcurely expreſt in the Old Teſtament, are more clearly reveal'd in the New; So the ſame myſteries, in a ſucceeding ſtate, may ſtill receive a further explication.

The Hiſtory of the Angels, Good or bad, makes another part of this Providential System. Chriſtian Religion gives us ſome notices, of both kinds, but very imperfect; VVhat intereſt the Good Angels have in the Government of the VVorld, and in ordering the affairs of this Earth and Mankind: What ſubjection they have to our Saviour, and what part in his Miniſtry: Whether they are Guardians to particular Perſons, to Kingdoms, to Empires: All that we know at preſent, concerning theſe things, is but conjectural. And as to the bad Angels, who will give us an account of their Fall, and of their former condition? I had rather know the Hiſtory of *Lucifer*, than of all the *Babylonian* and *Persian* Kings; Nay, than of all the Kings of the Earth. What the Birth-right was of that mighty Prince: what his Dominions: where his Imperial Court and Reſidence? How he was depos'd: for what Crime, and by what Power? How he ſtill wages War againſt Heaven, in his exile: What Confederates he hath: What is his Power over Mankind, and how limited? What change or damage he ſuffer'd by the coming of Chriſt, and how it alter'd the poſture of his affairs. Where he will be imprifon'd in the *Millennium*: and what will be his laſt fate and final doom: whether he may ever hope for a Revolution or Reſtauration? Theſe things lie hid in the ſecret Records of Providence, which then, I hope, will be open'd to us.

With the Revolution of *Worlds*, we mention'd before the Revolution of *Souls*; which is another great Circle of Providence, to be ſtudied hereafter. We know little here, either of the pre-exiſtence or poſt-exiſtence of our Souls. VVe know not what they will be, till the loud Trump awakes us, and calls us again into the Corporeal VVorld. VVho knows how many turns he ſhall take upon this ſtage

stage of the Earth, and how many trials he shall have, before his doom will be finally concluded. Who knows where, or what, is the state of Hell: where the Souls of the wicked are said to be forever. What is the true state of Heaven: What our Celestial Bodies: and What that Sovereign Happiness that is call'd the *Beatifical Vision*? Our knowledge and conceptions of these things, are, at present, very general and superficial; but in the future Kingdom of Christ, which is introductory to Heaven it self, these imperfections, in a great measure, will be done away; and such preparations wrought, both in the Will and Understanding, as may fit us for the Life of Angels, and the enjoyment of God in Eternal Glory.

Thus you see in general, what will be the employment of the Saints in the blessed *Milennium*. And tho' they have few of the trifling businesses of this life, they will not want the best and noblest of diversions. 'Tis an happy thing when a Man's pleasure is also his perfection: for most Men's pleasures are such as debase their nature. We commonly gratine our lower faculties, our Passions, and our Appetites: and these do not improve, but depress the Mind. And besides, they are so gross, that the finest tempers are surfeited in a little time. There is no lasting pleasure, but *Contemplation*. All others grow flat and insipid upon frequent use; and when a Man hath run thorow a Sett of Vanities, in the declension of his Age, he knows not what to do with himself, if he cannot Think. He saunters about, from one dull business to another, to wear out time: And hath no reason to value Life, but because he's afraid of Death. But Contemplation is a continual spring of fresh pleasures. Truth is inexhausted, and when you are once in the right way, the further you go, the greater discoveries you make, and with the greater joy. We are sometimes highly pleas'd, and even transported, with little inventions in Mathematicks, or Mechanicks, or Natural Philosophy; All these things will make part of their diversion and entertainment in that state; All the doctrine of Sounds and Harmony: Of Light, Colours, and Perspective, will be known in perfection. But these I call Diversions, in comparison of their higher and more serious Speculations, which will be the business and happiness of that Life.

Do but imagine, that they will have the Scheme of all humane affairs lying before them: from the Chaos to the last period. The universal history and order of Times. The whole oeconomy of the Christian Religion, and of all Religions in the World. The Plan of the undertaking of the Messiah: with all other parts and ingredients of the Providence of this Earth. Do but imagine this, I say, and you will easily allow, that when they contemplate the Beauty, Wisdom, and Goodness, of the whole design, it must needs raise great and noble Passions, and a far richer joy than either the pleasures or speculations of this Life can excite in us. And this being the last Act and close of all humane affairs, it ought to be the more exquisite and elaborate: that it may crown the work, satisfy the Spectators, and end in a general applause. The whole Theatre re-sounding with the praises of the great Dramatist, and the wonderful Art and Order of the composition.

C H A P. X.

Objections against the Millennium, answer'd. With some Conjectures concerning the state of things after the Millennium: and what will be the final Consummation of this World.

YOU see how Nature and Providence have conspir'd, to make the *Millennium* as happy a state, as any Terrestrial state can be. For, besides Health and Plenty: Peace, Truth, and Righteousness will flourish there, and all the evils of this Life stand excluded. There will be no Ambitious Princes, studying mischief one against another; or contriving methods to bring their own Subjects into slavery. No mercenary Statesmen, to assist and intrigue with them. No oppression from the Powerful, no snares or traps laid for the Innocent. No treacherous Friends, no malicious Enemies. No Knaves, Cheats, Hypocrites; the Vermin of this Earth, that swarm every where. There will be nothing but Truth, Candor, Sincerity, and Ingenuity: as in a Society or Commonwealth of Saints and Philosophers. In a word, 'twill be *Paradise restor'd*: both as to Innocency of Temper, and the Beauties of Nature.

I believe you will be apt to say, If this be not True, 'tis pity but that it should be True. For 'tis a very desirable state, where all good People would find themselves mightily at ease. What is it that hinders it then? It must be some ill *Genius*. For Nature tends to such a Renovation, as we suppose: and Scripture speaks loudly of an happy state to be, some time or other, on this side Heaven. And what is there, pray, in this present World, Natural or Moral, if I may ask with reverence, that could make it worth the while for God to create it, if it never was better, nor ever will be better? Is there not more Misery than Happiness: Is there not more Vice than Virtue, in this World? as if it had been made by a *Manichean* God. The Earth barren, the Heavens inconstant: Men wicked and God offended. This is the posture of our Affairs: such hath our World been hitherto: with Wars and Bloodshed, Sicknes and Diseases, Poverty, servitude and perpetual Drudgery for the necessities of a Mortal Life. We may therefore reasonably hope, from a God infinitely good and powerful, for better Times and a better State, before the last period and consummation of all things.

But it will be objected, it may be, that, according to Scripture, the vices and wickedness of Men will continue to the end of the World; and so there will be no room for such an happy state, as we hope for. Our Saviour says, *When the son of man cometh, shall he find faith upon the Earth?* They shall eat and drink and play, as before the destruction of the *old World*, or of *Sodom*, (*Luk. 17.26, &c.*) and the wickedness of those Men, you know, continued to the last. This objection may pinch those that suppose the *Millennium* to be in the present Earth, and a thousand years before the coming of our

Luk. 18.8.

our Saviour: for his words seem to imply that the World will be in a state of wickedness even till his coming. Accordingly Antichrist or the *Man of Sin*, is not said to be destroy'd till the coming of our Saviour, *2 Theff.* 2. 8. and till he be destroy'd, we cannot hope for a Millennium. Lastly, The coming of our Saviour is always represented in Scripture as sudden, surprising and unexpected. As *Lightning* breaking suddenly out of the clouds, (*Luk.* 17. 24. and *ch.* 21. 34, 35.) or as a *thief in the night*, *1 Theff.* 5. 2, 3, 4. *2 Pet.* 3. 10. *Apoc.* 16. 15. But if there be such a forerunner of it as the Millennial state, whose bounds we know, according as that expires and draws to an end, Men will be certainly advertis'd of the approaching of our Saviour. But this objection, as I told you, does not affect our Hypothesis, for we suppose the Millennium will not be till after the coming of our Saviour, and the Conflagration. And also that his coming will be sudden and surprising: and that Antichrist will continue in being, tho' not in the same degree of power, till that time. So that they that place the Millennium in the present Earth, are chiefly concern'd to answer this first objection.

But you will object, it may be, in the second place, That this Millennium, wheresoever it is, would degenerate at length, into sensuality, and a Mahometan Paradise. For where there are earthly pleasures and earthly appetites, they will not be kept always in order without any excess or luxuriancy: especially as to the senses of Touch and Taste. I am apt to think this is true, if the Soul have no more power over the Body than she hath at present: and our Senses, Passions, and Appetites be as strong as they are now. But according to our explication of the Millennium, we have great reason to hope, that the Soul will have a greater dominion over the Resurrection-body, than she hath over this. And you know we suppose that none will truly inherit the Millennium, but those that rise from the Dead. Nor do we admit any propagation there, nor the trouble or weakness of Infants. But that all rise in a perfect age, and never die: being translated, at the final judgment, to meet our Saviour in the clouds, and to be with him for ever. Thus we easily avoid the force of this objection. But those that place the Millennium in this Life, and to be enjoy'd in these Bodies, must find out some new preservatives against vice: otherwise they will be continually subject to degeneracy.

Another objection may be taken from the personal Reign of Christ upon Earth: which is a thing incongruous, and yet asserted by many modern Millenaries. That Christ should leave that right hand of his Father, to come and pass a thousand years here below: living upon Earth in an heavenly Body: This, I confess, is a thing I never could digest, and therefore I am not concern'd in this objection; not thinking it necessary that Christ should be personally present and resident upon Earth in the Millennium. I am apt to believe that there will be then a Celestial Presence of Christ, or a *Shekinah*, as we noted before: As the Sun is present to the Earth, yet never leaves its place in the Firmament; so Christ may be visibly never conspicuous in his Heavenly Throne, as he was to *S. Stephen*: and yet never leave the right hand of his Father. *Act.* 7. 55, 56.

more glorious and illustrious presence, than if he should descend, and converse amongst Men in a personal shape. But these things not being distinctly reveal'd to us, we ought not to determine any thing concerning them, but with modesty and submission.

We have thus far pretty well escap'd, and kept our selves out of the reach of the ordinary objections against the Millennium. But there remains one, concerning a *double Resurrection*, which must fall upon every Hypothesis: and 'tis this. The Scripture, they say, speaks but of one Resurrection: whereas the doctrine of the Millennium supposes two; one at the beginning of the Millennium, for the Martyrs, and those that enjoy that happy state, and the other at the end of it; which is universal and final, in the last day of judgment. 'Tis true, Scripture generally speaks of the Resurrection in gross: without distinguishing first and second; and so it speaks of the *Coming* of our Saviour; without distinction of first or second; yet it does not follow from that, that there is but one Coming of our Saviour: so neither that there is but one Resurrection. And seeing there is one place of Scripture that speaks distinctly of two Resurrections; namely, the 20th chap. of the *Apocalypse*: that is to us a sufficient warrant for asserting two. As there are some things in one Evangelist that are not in another, yet we think them Authentick if they be but in one. There are also some things in *Daniel*, concerning the *Messiah*, and concerning the *Resurrection*, that are not in the rest of the Prophets: yet we look upon his single testimony, as good authority. S. *John* writ the last of all the Apostles: and as the whole series of his Prophecies is new, reaching through the later times to the Consummation of all things; so we cannot wonder if he had something more particular reveal'd to him concerning the Resurrection; That which was spoken of before in general, being distinguish'd now into *First* and *Second*, or particular and universal, in this last Prophet. Some think S. *Paul* means no less, when he makes an *order* in the Resurrection: some rising sooner, some later: 1 *Cor.* 15. 23, 24. 1 *Thess.* 4. 14, 15, &c. but whether that be so or no, S. *John* might have a more distinct revelation concerning it, than S. *Paul* had, or any one before him.

See Mr. Mede.

After these Objections; a great many Queries and difficulties might be propos'd relating to the Millennium. But that's no more than what is found in all other matters, remote from our knowledge. Who can answer all the Queries that may be made concerning *Heaven*, or *Hell*, or *Paradise*? When we know a thing as to the substance, we are not to let go our hold, tho' there remain some difficulties unresolv'd: otherwise we should be eternally Sceptical in most matters of Knowledge. Therefore, tho' we cannot, for example; give a full account of the distinction of habitations and inhabitants in the *Future Earth*: or, of the order of the *First Resurrection*; whether it be performed by degrees and successively, or all the Inhabitants of the New Jerusalem rise at once, and continue throughout the whole Millennium. I say, tho' we cannot give a distinct account of these, or such like particulars, we ought not therefore to deny or doubt whether there will be a *New Earth*, or a *First Resurrection*. For the Revelation goes clearly so far: and the obscurity is only

See Mr. Mede.

only in the consequences and dependances of it. Which Providence thought fit, without further light, to leave to our search and disquisition.

Scripture mentions one thing, at the end of the Millennium, which is a common difficulty to all; and every one must contribute their best thoughts and conjectures towards the solution of it. 'Tis the strange doctrine of *Gog* and *Magog*; which are to rise up in rebellion against the Saints, and besiege the holy City, and the holy Camp. And this is to be upon the expiration of the thousand years, when Satan is loosen'd. For no sooner will his Chains be knock'd off, but he will put himself in the head of this Army of Gyants, or Sons of the Earth, and attack Heaven, and the Saints of the most High. But with ill success, for there will come down fire and lightning from Heaven, and consume them. This, methinks, hath a great affinity with the History of the Gyants, rebelling and assaulting Heaven and struck down by thunder-bolts. But that of setting mountains upon mountains, or tossing them into the Skie, that's the Poetical part, and we must not expect to find it in the Prophecy. The Poets told their Fable, as of a thing past, and so it was a Fable; But the Prophets speak of it, as of a thing to come, and so it will be a reality. But how and in what sense it is to be understood and explain'd, every one has the liberty to make the best judgment he can.

Ezekiel mentions *Gog* and *Magog*: which I take to be only types and shadows of these which we are now speaking of: and not yet exemplified, no more than his Temple. And seeing this People is to be at the end of the *Millennium*, and in the same Earth with it, We must, according to our Hypothesis, plant them in the Future Earth; and therefore all former conjectures about the *Turks*, or *Scythians*, or other *Barbarians*, are out of doors with us, seeing the Scene of this action does not lie in the present Earth. They are also represented by the Prophet, as a People distinct and separate from the Saints, not in their manners only, but also in their seats and habitations; For they are said to come up from the four corners of the Earth, upon the breadth of the Earth: and there to besiege the *Camp of the Saints and the beloved City*: This makes it seem probable to me, that there will be a double race of Mankind in that *Future Earth*: very different one from another, both as to their temper and disposition, and as to their origine. The one born from Heaven, Sons of God, and of the Resurrection: who are the true Saints and heirs of the *Millennium*. The others born of the Earth, Sons of the Earth, generated from the slime of the ground, and the heat of the Sun, as brute Creatures were at first. This second Progeny or Generation of Men in the Future Earth, I understand to be signified by the Prophet under these borrowed or feigned names of *Gog* and *Magog*. And this Earth-born race, encreasing and multiplying after the manner of Men, by carnal propagation, after a thousand years, grew numerous, as the Sand by the Sea; and thereupon made an irruption or inundation upon the face of the Earth, and upon the habitations of the Saints; As the barbarous Nations did formerly upon Christendom: Or as the Gyants are said to have made War against

against the Gods. But they were soon confounded in their impious and sacrilegious design, being struck and consum'd by fire from Heaven.

Some will think, it may be, that there was such a double race of Mankind in the first World also. *The Sons of Adam, and the Sons of God*: because it is said, *Gen. 6. When men began to multiply upon the face of the Earth, that the SONS OF GOD SAW THE DAUGHTERS OF MEN, that they were fair, and they took them Wives of all that they lik'd.* And it is added presently, *ver. 4. There were Gyants in the Earth in those days; and also after that, when the Sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them: the same became mighty men, which were of old men of renown.* Here seem to be two or three orders or races in this Ante-diluvian World. *The Sons of God: The Sons and Daughters of Adam*: and a third sort arising from the mixture and copulation of these, which are call'd *Mighty men of old*, or Hero's. Besides, here are Gyants mention'd, and to which they are to be reduc'd, it does not certainly appear.

This mixture of these two Races, whatsoever they were, gave, it seems, so great offence to God, that he destroy'd that World upon it, in a Deluge of Water. It hath been matter of great difficulty to determine, who these *Sons of God* were, that fell in love with and married the daughters of men. There are two conjectures that prevail most: One, that they were Angels: and another, that they were of the Posterity of *Seth*, and distinguish'd from the rest, by their Piety, and the worship of the true God: so that it was a great crime for them to mingle with the rest of mankind, who are suppos'd to have been Idolaters. Neither of these opinions is to me satisfactory. For as to Angels; Good Angels neither *marry, nor are given in marriage*; *Matt. 22. 30.* and bad Angels are not call'd the *Sons of God*. Besides, if Angels were capable of those mean pleasures, we ought in reason to suppose, that there are female Angels, as well as male; for surely those capacities are not in vain through a whole *Species* of Beings. And if there be female Angels, we cannot imagine, but that they must be of a far more charming beauty than the dowdy daughters of men. Then as to the line of *Seth*, It does not appear that there was any such distinction of Idolaters and true Worshipers before the Flood, or that there was any such thing, as Idolatry, at that time: nor for some Ages after. Besides, it is not said, that the Sons of God fell in love with the Daughters of *Cain*, or of any degenerate race, but with the Daughters of *Adam*: which may be the Daughters of *Seth*, as well as of any other. These conjectures therefore seem to be shallow and ill-grounded. But what the distinction was of those two orders, remains yet very uncertain.

St. Paul to the *Galatians*, (*Chap. 4. 21, 22, &c.*) makes a distinction also of a double Progeny: that of *Sarah*, and that of *Hagar*. One was born according to the flesh, after a natural manner: and the other by the divine power, or in vertue of the divine promise. This distinction of a natural and supernatural origine, and of a double progeny: the one born to servitude, the other to liberty: represents
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very well either the manner of our present birth, and of our future, at the Resurrection: Or that double progeny and double manner of birth, which we suppose in the *Future Earth*. 'Tis true, *St. Paul* applies this to the Law and the Gospel; but Typical things, you know, have different aspects and completions: which are not exclusive of one another: and so it may be here. But however this double race of Mankind in the *Future Earth*, to explain the Doctrine of *Gog* and *Magog*, is but a conjecture: and does not pretend to be otherwise consider'd.

The last thing that remains to be consider'd and accounted for, is the upshot and conclusion of all: namely, what will become of the Earth after the thousand years expir'd? Or after the Day of Judgment past, and the Saints translated into Heaven, what will be the face of things here below? There being nothing expressly reveal'd concerning this, we must not expect a positive resolution of it. And the difficulty is not peculiar to our hypothesis: for though the *Millennium*, and the final Judgment were concluded in the present Earth, the Quare would still remain, *What* would become of this Earth after the Last Day. So that all parties are equally concern'd, and equally free, to give their opinion, *What* will be the *last state and Consummation* of this Earth. Scripture, I told you, hath not defin'd this point: and the Philosophers say very little concerning it. The Stoicks indeed speak of the final resolution of all things into *Fire*, or into *Æther*: which is the purest and subtlest sort of fire. So that the whole Globe or Mass of the Earth, and all particular bodies, will, according to them, be at last dissolv'd into a liquid flame. Neither was this Doctrine first invented by the Stoicks: *Heraclitus* taught it long before them: and I take it to be as ancient as *Orpheus* himself: who was the first Philosopher amongst the *Greeks*. And he deriving his notions from the *Barbarick* Philosophers, or the Sages of the East, that School of Wisdom may be look'd upon as the true seminary of this Doctrine: as it was of most other natural knowledge.

But this dissolution of the Earth into Fire, may be understood two ways; either that it will be dissolv'd into a loose flame, and so dissipated and lost as Lightning in the Air, and vanish into nothing; or that it will be dissolv'd into a fixt flame, such as the Sun is, or a fixt Star. And I am of opinion, that the Earth after the last Day of Judgment, will be chang'd into the nature of a Sun, or of a fixt Star; and shine like them in the Firmament. Being all melted down into a mass of *Æthereal* matter, and enlightning a Sphere or Orb round about it. I have no direct and demonstrative proof of this, I confess; But if Planets were once fixt Stars, as I believe they were; their revolution to the same state again, in a great Circle of Time, seems to be according to the methods of Providence; which loves to recover what was lost or decay'd, after certain periods: and what was originally good and happy, to make it so again; All Nature, at last, being transform'd into a like glory with the Sons of Rom. 8. 21. God.

I will not tell you what foundation there is in Nature, for this change or transformation; from the interior constitution of the Earth,

Earth, and the instances we have seen of new Stars appearing in the Heavens. I should lead the *English* Reader too far out of his way, to discourse of these things. But if there be any passages or expressions in Scripture, that countenance such a state of things after the day of Judgment, it will not be improper to take notice of them. That radiant and illustrious *Jerusalem*, describ'd by St. *John*, *Apoc.* 21. ver. 10, 11, 12, &c. compos'd all of Gems and bright materials, clear and sparklin^g, as a Star in the Firmament: Who can give an account what that is? Its foundations, walls, gates, streets, all the Body of it, resplendent as light or fire. What is there in Nature, or in this Universe, that bears any resemblance with such a Phenomenon as this, unless it be a Sun or a fixt Star? Especially if we add and consider what follows, That *the City had no need of the Sun, nor of the Moon, to shine in it.* And that *there was no night there.* This can be no Terrestrial Body; it must be a substance luminous in itself, and a fountain of light, as a fixt Star. And upon such a change of the Earth, or transformation, as this, would be brought to pass the saying that is written, **DEATH IS SWALLOWED UP IN VICTORY.** Which indeed S. *Paul* seems to apply to our Bodies in particular, 1 *Cor.* 15. 54. But in the Eighth Chapter to the *Romans* He extends it to all Nature. *The Creation it self also shall be deliver'd from the bondage of Corruption, into the glorious liberty of the Sons of God.* And accordingly S. *John*, speaking of the same time with St. *Paul* in that place to the *Corinthians*, namely of the general Resurrection and day of Judgment, says, *Death and Hades, which we render Hell, were cast into the lake of fire.* This is their being swallow'd up in victory, which S. *Paul* speaks of; when Death and Hades, that is, all the Region of mortality: The Earth and all its dependances: are absorpt into a mass of Fire; and converted, by a glorious Victory over the powers of darkness, into a Luminous Body and a region of Light.

Ver. 23.

Ver. 25.

Ver. 21.

Apoc. 20. 14.

This great Issue and Period of the Earth, and of all humane affairs, tho' it seem to be founded in nature, and supported by several expressions of Scripture; yet we cannot, for want of full instruction, propose it otherwise than as a fair Conjecture. The Heavens and the Earth shall flie away at the day of Judgment, says the Text: *Apoc.* 20. 11. *And their place shall not be found.* This must be understood of our Heavens and our Earth. And their *flying away* must be their removing to some other part of the Universe; so as their place or residence shall not be found any more here below. This is the easie and natural sense of the Words; and this translation of the Earth will not be without some change preceding, that makes it leave its place, and, with a lofty flight, take its seat amongst the Stars.-----There we leave it; Having conducted it for the space of Seven Thousand Years, through various changes, from a *dark Chaos* to a *bright Star*.

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L O N D O N,

Printed by *R. N.* for *Walter Kettilby*, at the Bishop's-
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TO take a review of this Theory of the Earth, which we have now finish'd, We must consider, first, the extent of it: and then the principal parts whereof it consists. It reaches, as you see, from one end of the World to the other: From the first Chaos to the last day, and the Consummation of all things. This, probably, will run the length of Seven Thousand Years: which is a good competent space of time to exercise our Thoughts upon, and to observe the several Scenes which Nature and Providence bring into View within the compass of so many Ages.

The matter and principal parts of this Theory, are such things as are recorded in Scripture. We do not feign a Subject, and then descant upon it, for diversion; but endeavour to give an intelligible and rational account of such matters of Fact, past or future, as are there specif'd and declar'd. What it hath seem'd good to the Holy Ghost to communicate to us, by History or Prophecy, concerning the several States and general Changes of this Earth, makes the Argument of our Discourse. Therefore the things themselves must be taken for granted, in one sense or other: seeing besides all other proofs, they have the Authority of a Revelation; and our business is only to give such an explication of them, as shall approve it self to the faculties of Man, and be conformable to Scripture.

We will therefore first set down the things themselves, that make the subject matter of this Theory: and remind you of our explication of them. Then recollect the general proofs of that explication, from Reason and Nature: but more fully and particularly shew how it is grounded upon Scripture. The primary *Phænomena* whereof we are to give an account, are these Five or Six.

- I. *The original of the Earth from a Chaos.*
- II. *The state of Paradise, and the Ante-diluvian World.*
- III. *The Universal Deluge.*
- IV. *The Universal Conflagration.*
- V. *The Renovation of the World, or the New Heavens and New Earth.*
- VI. *The Consummation of all things.*

These are unquestionably in Scripture: and these all relate, as you see, to the several forms, states and revolutions of this Earth. We are therefore oblig'd to give a clear and coherent account of these Phænomena, in that order and consecution wherein they stand to one another.

There are also in Scripture some other things, relating to the same Subjects, that may be call'd the Secondary Ingredients of this Theory, and are to be referr'd to their respective primary heads. Such are, for instance,

- I. *The Longevity of the Ante-diluvians.*
- II. *The Rupture of the Great Abyss, at the Deluge.*
- III. *The appearing of the Rainbow after the Deluge: as a sign that there never should be a second Flood.*

These things Scripture hath also left upon record: as directions and indications how to understand the Ante-diluvian state, and the Deluge it self. Whosoever therefore shall undertake to write the Theory of the Earth, must think himself bound to give us a just explication of these secondary Phænomena, as well as of the primary; and that in such a dependance and connexion, as to make them give and receive light from one another.

1 Cor. 15.
Apoc. 20.

The former part of the Task is concerning the World behind us, Times and Things past, that are already come to light. The later is concerning the World before us, Times and Things to come: That lie yet in the bosom of Providence, and in the seeds of Nature. And these are chiefly the *Conflagration* of the World, and the *Renovation* of it. When these are over and expir'd, then comes the *end*, as S. Paul says. Then *the Heavens and the Earth fly away*, as S. John says. Then is the *Consummation* of all things, and the last period of this sublunary World, whatsoever it is. Thus far the Theorist must go, and pursue the motions of Nature, till all things are brought to rest and silence. And in this latter part of the Theory, there is also a collateral Phænomenon, the *Millennium*, or Thousand Years Reign of Christ and his Saints, upon Earth, to be consider'd. For this according as it is represented in Scripture, does imply a change in the Natural World, as well as in the Moral: and therefore must be accounted for, in the Theory of the Earth. At least it must be there determin'd, whether that state of the World, which is singular and extraordinary, will be before or after the *Conflagration*.

These are the Principals and Incidents of this Theory of the Earth, as to the Matter and Subject of it: which, you see, is both important, and wholly taken out of Scripture. As to our explication of these points, that is sufficiently known, being set down at large in four Books of this Theory. Therefore it remains only, having seen the Matter of the Theory, to examine the Form of it, and the proofs of it: for from these two things it must receive its censure. As to the form, the characters of a Regular Theory seem to be these three; *Few and ease Postulatum: Union of Parts: and a Fitness to answer, fully and clearly, all the Phænomena to which it is to be apply'd.*

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We think our Hypothesis does not want any of these Characters. As to the First, we take but one single *Postulatum* for the whole Theory: and that an easie one, warranted both by Scripture and Antiquity: Namely, *That this Earth rise, at first, from a Chaos.* As to the second, *Union of Parts,* The whole Theory is but one Series of Causes and Effects from that first Chaos. Besides, you can scarce admit any one part of it, first, last, or intermediate, but you must, in consequence of that, admit all the rest. Grant me but that the Deluge is truly explain'd, and I'll desire no more for proof of all the Theory. Or, if you begin at the other end, and grant the *New Heavens and New Earth* after the Conflagration, you will be led back again to the first Heavens and first Earth that were before the Flood. For St. *John* says, that *New Earth* was without a *Sea*: *Apoc. 21. 1.* And it was a *Renovation,* or *Restitution* to some former state of things: there was therefore some former Earth without a *Sea*; which not being the present Earth, it must be the Ante-diluvian. Besides, both St. *John,* and the Prophet *Isaias,* have represented the New Heavens and New Earth, as *Paradisical*; According as is prov'd, *Book the 4th. chap. 2.* And having told us the form of the New-future-Earth, that it will have *no Sea,* it is a reasonable inference that there was no *Sea* in the *Paradisical Earth.* However from the form of this Future Earth, which St. *John* represents to us, we may at least conclude, That an *Earth without a Sea* is no *Chimæra,* or impossibility: but rather a fit seat and habitation for the Just and the Innocent.

Thus you see the parts of the Theory link and hold fast one another: according to the second character. And as to the third, of being *suitèd to the Phenomena,* we must refer that to the next head, of *Proofs.* It may be truly said, that bare coherence and union of parts is not a sufficient proof; The parts of a Fable or Romance may hang aptly together, and yet have no truth in them. This is enough indeed to give the title of a just Composition to any work, but not of a true one: till it appear that the conclusions and explications are grounded upon good natural evidence, or upon good Divine authority. We must therefore proceed now to the third thing to be consider'd in a Theory, *What* its Proofs are: or the grounds upon which it stands, whether Sacred or Natural.

According to Natural evidence, things are proved from their Causes or their Effects. And we think we have this double order of proofs for the truth of our Hypothesis. As to the method of Causes, we proceed from what is more simple, to what is more compound: and build all upon one foundation. Go but to the Head of the Theory, and you will see the Causes lying in a train before you, from first to last. And tho' you did not know the Natural History of the World, past or future, you might, by intuition, foretell it, as to the grand revolutions and successive faces of Nature, through a long series of Ages. If we have given a true account of the motions of the Chaos, we have also truly form'd the first habitable Earth. And if that be truly form'd, we have thereby given a true account of the state of Paradise, and of all that depends upon it. And not of that only, but also of the universal Deluge. Both these we have shewn in their causes: The one from the Form of that Earth, and the
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the other from the Fall of it into the Abyfs. And tho' we had not been made acquainted with thefe things by Antiquity, we might, in contemplation of the Caufes, have truly conceiv'd them, as properties or incidents to the Firft Earth. But as to the Deluge, I do not fay, that we might have calculated the Time, manner, and other circumftances of it: Thefe things were regulated by Providence, in fubordination to the Moral World. But that there would be, at one time or other, a difruption of that Earth, or of the Great Abyfs: and in confequence of it, an univerfal Deluge: So far, I think, the light of a Theory might carry us.

*Theor. Book 3.
ch. 7, ¶ 8.*

Furthermore, In confequence of this difruption of the Primeval Earth, at the Deluge, the prefent Earth was made hollow and cavernous: and by that means, (due preparations being ufed) capable of *Combustion*, or of perifhing by an univerfal Fire: Yet, to fpeak ingenuoufly, This is as hard a ftep to be made, in vertue of Natural caufes, as any in the whole Theory. But in recompence of that defect, the Conflagration is fo plainly and literally taught us in Scripture, and avow'd by Antiquity, that it can fall under no difpute, as to the thing it felf. And as to a capacity or difpofition to it in the prefent Earth, that I think is fufficiently made out.

Then, the Conflagration admitted, in that way it is explain'd in the Third Book: The Earth, you fee, is, by that fire, reduc'd to a fecond Chaos. A Chaos truly fo call'd. And from that, as from the Firft, arifes another Creation, or *New Heavens* and a *New Earth*; By the fame caufes, and in the fame form, with the Paradifiacal. This is the *Renovation* of the World: The *Reftitution* of all things: mentioned both by Scripture and Antiquity: And by the Prophet *Isaiah*, *St. Peter* and *St. John*, call'd the *New Heavens* and *New Earth*. With this, as the laft period, and moft glorious Scene of all humane affairs, our Theory concludes, as to this method of Caufes, whereof we are now fpeaking.

I fay, here it ends as to the *method of Caufes*. For tho' we purfue the Earth ftill further, even to its laft Diffolution: which is call'd the Consummation of all things: yet all, that we have fuperadded upon that occafion, is but Problematical: and may, without prejudice to the Theory, be argued and difputed on either hand. I do not know, but that our conjectures there may be well grounded: but however, not fpringing fo directly from the fame root, or, at leaft, not by ways, fo clear and vifible, I leave that part undecided. Efppecially feeing we pretend to write no more than the Theory of *the Earth*, and therefore as we begin no higher than the *Chaos*, fo we are not obliged to go any further than to the laft ftate of a Terreftrial confiftency: which is that of the *New Heavens* and the *New Earth*.

This is the firft natural proof, From the order of Caufes. The fecond is from the confideration of Effects. Namely of fuch effects as are already in being. And therefore this proof can extend only to that part of the Theory, that explains the prefent and paft form and Phenomena of the Earth. What is Future, muft be left to a further trial, when the things come to pafs, and prefent themfelves to be examin'd and compar'd with the Hypotheis. As to the prefent
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Form of the Earth, we call all Nature to witness for us: The Rocks and the Mountains, the Hills and the Valleys, the deep and wide Sea, and the Caverns of the Ground: Let these speak, and tell their origine: How the Body of the Earth came to be thus torn and mangled: If this strange and irregular structure was not the effect of a ruine: and of such a ruine as was universal over the face of the whole Globe, But we have given such a full explication of this, in the first part of the Theory, from *Chapt. the 9th.* to the end of that Treatise, that we dare stand to the judgment of any that reads those four Chapters, to determine if the Hypothesis does not answer all those Phenomena, easily and adequately.

The next Phenomenon to be consider'd, is the *Deluge*, with its adjuncts. This also is fully explain'd by our Hypothesis, in the 2d. 3d. and 6th. Chapters of the first Book. Where it is shewn, that the *Mosaical Deluge*, that is, an universal Inundation of the whole Earth, above the tops of the highest Mountains, made by a breaking open of the Great Abyfs, (for thus far *Moses* leads us) is fully explain'd by this Hypothesis, and cannot be conceiv'd in any other method hitherto propos'd? There are no sources or stores of Water sufficient for such an effect, that may be drawn upon the Earth, and drawn off again, but by supposing such an Abyfs, and such a Disruption of it, as the Theory represents.

Lastly, As to the Phenomena of Paradise and the Ante-diluvian World, we have set them down in order in the 2d. Book: and apply'd to each of them its proper explication, from the same Hypothesis. We have also given an account of that Character which Antiquity always assign'd to the first age of the World, or the Golden Age, as they call'd it: namely, *Equality of Seasons* throughout the Year, or a perpetual Equinox. We have also taken in all the adjuncts or concomitants of these States, as they are mention'd in Scripture. *The Longevity* of the Ante-diluvians, and the declension of their age by degrees, after the Flood. As also that wonderful Phenomenon, the *Rainbow*: which appear'd to *Noah* for a Sign, that the Earth should never undergo a second Deluge. And we have shewn, Theor. Book 2. chap. 5. wherein the force and propriety of that Sign consisted, for confirming *Noah's* faith in the promise and in the divine veracity.

Thus far we have explain'd the past Phenomena of the Natural World. The rest are Futurities, which still lie hid in their Causes; and we cannot properly prove a Theory from effects that are not yet in being. But so far as they are foretold in Scripture, both as to substance and circumstance, in prosecution of the same Principles we have ante-dated their birth, and shew'd how they will come to pass. We may therefore, I think, reasonably conclude, That this Theory has performed its task, and answer'd its title: having given an account of all the general changes of the Natural World, as far as either Sacred History looks backwards, or Sacred Prophecy looks forwards. So far as the one tells us what is past in Nature, and the other what is to come. And if all this be nothing but an appearance of truth, 'tis a kind of fatality upon us to be deceiv'd.

SO much for Natural Evidence, from the Causes or Effects. We now proceed to Scripture, which will make the greatest part of this Review. The Sacred Basis upon which the whole Theory stands, is the doctrine of S. Peter, deliver'd in his *Second Epistle* and *Third Chapter*, concerning the *Triple Order* and Succession of the Heavens and the Earth. That comprehends the whole extent of our Theory: which indeed is but a large Commentary upon S. Peter's Text. The Apostle sets out a threefold state of the Heavens and Earth: with some general properties of each: taken from their different Constitution and different Fate. The Theory takes the same threefold state of the Heavens and the Earth: and explains more particularly, wherein their different Constitution consists: and how, under the conduct of Providence, their different fate depends upon it. Let us set down the Apostle's words, with the occasion of them: and their plain sense, according to the most easie and natural explication.

2 Pet. 3.

Ver. 3. *Knowing this first, that there shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts.*

4. *And saying, Where is the promise of his coming? for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation.*

5. *For this they willingly are ignorant of, that by the word of God, the heavens were of old, and the earth consisting of water and by water.*

6. *Whereby the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished.*

7. *But the heavens and the earth that are now, by the same word, are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment, and perdition of ungodly men.-----*

10. *The day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night, in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat; the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burnt up.*

13. *Nevertheless we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.*

This is the whole Discourse so far as relates to our Subject. S Peter, you see, had met with some that scoff'd at the future destruction of the World, and the coming of our Saviour; and they were men, it seems, that pretended to Philosophy and Argument; and they use this argument for their opinion, *Seeing there hath been no change in Nature, or in the World, from the beginning to this time, why should we think there will be any change for the future?*

The Apostle answers to this, That they willingly forget or are ignorant that there were Heavens of old; and an Earth, so and so constituted; consisting of Water and by Water; by reason whereof that World, or those Heavens and that Earth, perish'd in a Deluge of Water. But, saith he, the Heavens and the Earth that are now, are of another constitution, fitted and reserved to another fate,

fate, namely, to perish by Fire. And after these are perish'd, there will be New Heavens and a New Earth, according to God's promise.

This is an easie Paraphrase, and the plain and genuine sense of the Apostle's discourse; and no body, I think, would ever look after any other sense, if this did not carry them out of their usual road, and point to conclusions which they did not fancy. This sense, you see, hits the objection directly, or the Cavil which these scoffers made; and tells them, that they vainly pretend that there hath been no change in the World since the beginning, for there was one sort of Heavens and Earth before the Flood, and another sort now; the first having been destroy'd at the Deluge. So that the Apostle's argument stands upon this Foundation, That there is a diversity betwixt the present Heavens and Earth, and the Ante-diluvian Heavens and Earth; take away that, and you take away all the force of his Answer.

Then as to his *New Heavens* and *New Earth* after the Conflagration, they must be material and natural, in the same sense and signification with the former Heavens and Earth; unless you will offer open violence to the Text. So that this Triplicity of the Heavens and the Earth, is the first, obvious, plain sense of the Apostle's discourse: which every one would readily accept, if it did not draw after it a long train of Consequences, and lead them into other Worlds than they ever thought of before, or are willing to enter upon now.

But we shall have occasion by and by, to examine this Text more fully in all its circumstances. Give me leave in the mean time to observe, That *S. Paul* also implies that *triple Creation* which *S. Peter* expresses. *S. Paul*, I say, in the *8th Chap.* to the *Rom.* ver. 20, 21. tells us of a *Creation* that will be *redeem'd from Vanity*: which are the New Heavens and New Earth to come. *A Creation in subjection to Vanity*: which is the present state of the World, And a *Creation* that was subjected to *Vanity*, in hopes of being restor'd: which was the first Paradisiacal Creation. And these are the Three States of the Natural World, which make the subject of our Theory.

To these two places of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, I might add that third in *S. John*, concerning the New Heavens and New Earth; with that distinguishing Character, that the Earth was *without a Sea*. As this distinguisheth it from the present Earth, so, being a *Restitution* or *Restoration*, as we noted before, it must be the same with some former Earth: and consequently, it implies that there was another precedent state of the Natural World, to which this is a Restitution. These three places I alledge, as comprehending and confirming the Theory in its full extent. But we do not suppose them all of the same force and clearness. *S. Peter* leads the way, and gives light and strength to the other two. When a Point is prov'd by one clear Text, we allow others, as auxiliaries, that are not of the same clearness; But being open'd, receive light from the primary Text, and reflect it upon the Argument.

So much for the Theory in general. We will now take one or two principal heads of it, which virtually contain all the rest, and examine them more strictly and particularly, in reference to their agreement with Scripture. The two Heads we pitch upon, shall be, our

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Explication of the Deluge, and our Explication of the New Heavens and New Earth. We told you before, these Two were as the Hinges, upon which all the Theory moves, and which hold the parts of it in firm union one with another. As to the Deluge, if I have explain'd that aright, by the Disruption of the Great Abyfs, and the Dissolution of the Earth that cover'd it, all the rest follows in such a chain of Consequences, as cannot be broken. Wherefore in order to the proof of that Explication, and of all that depends upon it, I will make bold to lay down this Proposition, *That our Hypothesis concerning the Universal Deluge, is not only more agreeable to Reason and Philosophy than any other yet propos'd to the World, but is also more agreeable to Scripture.* Namely, to such places of Scripture, as reflect upon the *Deluge*, the *Abyfs*, and the form of the *first Earth*. And particularly, to the *History of Noah's Flood*, as recorded by *Moses*. If I can make this good, it will, doubtless, give satisfaction to all that are free and intelligent. And I desire their patience, if I proceed slowly and by several steps. We will divide our task into parts, and examine them separately: First, by Scripture in general, and then by *Moses* his History and description of the Flood.

Our Hypothesis of the Deluge consists of Three Principal Heads, or differs remarkably in Three things from the common Explication. First, In that we suppose the Ante-diluvian Earth to have been of another Form and Constitution from the present Earth: with the Abyfs placed under it.

Secondly, In that we suppose the Deluge to have been made, not by any inundation of the Sea, or overflowing of Fountains and Rivers: nor (principally) by any excess of Rains: but by a real dissolution of the Exterieur Earth, and disruption of the Abyfs which it cover'd. These are the two principal points, to which may be added, as a Corollary,

Thirdly, That the Deluge was not in the nature of a standing Pool: The Waters lying every where level, of an equal depth and with an uniform Surface: But was made by a fluctuation and commotion of the Abyfs upon the disruption: Which commotion being over, the Waters retired into their Channels, and let the dry Land appear.

These are the most material and fundamental parts of our Hypothesis: and these being prov'd consonant to Scripture, there can be no doubt of the rest.

We begin with the first: That the Ante-diluvian Earth was of another form and constitution from the present Earth, with the Abyfs placed under it. This is confirm'd in Scripture, both by such places as assert a diversity in general: and by other places that intimate to us, wherein that diversity consisted, and what was the form of the first Earth. That discourse of *S. Peter's*, which we have set before you concerning the past, present, and future, Heavens and Earth, is so full a proof of this diversity in general, that you must either allow it, or make the Apostle's argumentation of no effect. He speaks plainly of the Natural World, *The Heavens and the Earth*: And he makes a plain distinction, or rather opposition, betwixt those before and after the Flood: so that the least we can conclude from his words, is a diversity betwixt them; in answer to that Identity or Immuta-

Immutability of Nature, which the Scoffers pretended to have been ever since the beginning.

But tho' the Apostle, to me, speaks plainly of the *Natural World*; and distinguishes that which was before the Flood, from the present: Yet there are some that will allow neither of these to be contain'd in *S. Peter's* words; and by that means would make this whole Discourse of little or no effect, as to our purpose. And seeing we, on the contrary, have made it the chief Scripture-basis of the whole Theory of the Earth, we are oblig'd to free it from those false glosses or mis-interpretations, that lessen the force of its testimony, or make it wholly ineffectual.

These Interpreters say, That *S. Peter* meant no more than to mind these Scoffers, that the World was once destroy'd by a Deluge of Water: meaning the *Animate World*, Mankind and living Creatures. And that it shall be destroy'd again by another Element, namely by Fire. So as there is no opposition or diversity betwixt the two Natural Worlds, taught or intended by the Apostle; but only in reference to their different fate or manner of perishing, and not of their different nature or constitution.

Here are two main points, you see, wherein our interpretations of this discourse of the Apostles, differ. First, In that they make the Apostle (in that *sixth verse*) to understand only the World *Animate*, or Men and brute Creatures. That these were indeed destroy'd, but not the Natural World, or the form and constitution of the then Earth and Heavens. Secondly, That there is no diversity or opposition made by *S. Peter* betwixt the ancient Heavens and Earth, and the present, as to their form and constitution. We pretend that these are mis-apprehensions, or mis-representations of the sense of the Apostle in both respects, and offer these reasons to prove them to be so.

For the first point; That the Apostle speaks here of the Natural World, particularly in the *6th Verse*; and that it perish'd, as well as the animate, These Considerations seem to prove.

First, Because the Argument or ground these Scoffers went upon, was taken from the Natural World, its constancy and permanency in the same state from the beginning; Therefore if the Apostle answers *ad idem*, and takes away their Argument, he must understand the same Natural World, and show that it hath been chang'd, or hath perish'd.

You will say, it may be, the Apostle doth not deny, nor take away the ground they went upon, but denies the consequence they made from it; That *Therefore there would be no change, because there had been none*. No, neither doth he do this, if by the *World* in the *6th. ver.* he understands Mankind only; for their ground was this, *there hath been no change in the Natural World*; Their consequence, this, *Therefore there will be none*, nor any Conflagration. Now the Apostle's answer, according to you, is this, *You forget that Mankind hath been destroyed in a Deluge*. And what then? what's this to the Natural World, whereof they were speaking? This takes away neither antecedent nor consequent, neither ground nor inference; nor any way toucheth their Argument, which proceeded from the Natural World to the Natural World. Therefore you must either suppose that the

Apostle takes away their ground, or he takes away nothing.

Secondly, What is it that the Apostle tells these Scoffers they were ignorant of? That there was a Deluge, that destroyed Mankind - They could not be ignorant of that, nor pretend to be so; It was therefore the constitution of those Old Heavens and Earth, and the change or destruction of them at the Deluge, that they were ignorant of, or did not attend to; and of this the Apostle minds them. These Scoffers appear to have been *Jews* by the phrase they use, *since the Fathers fell asleep*, which in both parts of it is a Judaical expression; and does *S. Peter* tell the *Jews* that had *Moses* read to them every Sabbath, That *they were ignorant that Mankind was once destroyed with a Deluge in the Days of Noah?* or could they pretend to be ignorant of that without making themselves ridiculous both to *Jews* and *Christians*? Besides, these do not seem to have been of the vulgar amongst them, for they bring a Philosophical Argument for their opinion; and also in their very argument they refer to the History of the Old Testament, in saying. *Since the Fathers fell asleep*, amongst which Fathers, *Noah* was one of the most remarkable.

There was a
a Sect amongst
the *Jews* that
held this per-
petuity and
immutability
of Nature; and
Maimonides
himself was of
this principle,
and gives the
same reason for
it with the
Scoffers here
in the Text,
Quod mundus retinet & sequitur consuetudinem suam.
And as to those
of the *Jews*
that were
Aristoteleans,
it was very
suitable to
their principles
to hold the
incorruptibility
of the World,
as their Master
did. *Vid. Med. in loc.*

and gives the same reason for it with the Scoffers here in the Text, *Quod mundus retinet & sequitur consuetudinem suam.* And as to those of the *Jews* that were *Aristoteleans*, it was very suitable to their principles to hold the incorruptibility of the World, as their Master did. *Vid. Med. in loc.*

Thirdly, The design of the Apostle is to prove to them, or to dispose them to the belief of the Conflagration, or future destruction of the World; which I suppose you will not deny to be a destruction of the Natural World; therefore to prove or persuade this, he must use an argument taken from a precedent destruction of the Natural World; for to give an instance of the perishing of Mankind only, would not reach home to his purpose. And you are to observe here that the Apostle does not proceed against them barely by Authority; for what would that have booted? If these Scoffers would have submitted to Authority, they had already the Authority of the Prophets and Apostles in this point: but he deals with them at their own weapon, and opposes reasons to reasons; What hath been done may be done, and if the Natural World hath been once destroyed, 'tis not hard, nor unreasonable, to suppose those Prophecies to be true, that say it shall be destroyed again.

Fourthly, Unless we understand here the Natural World, we make the Apostle both redundant in his discourse, and also very obscure in an easie Argument. If his design was only to tell them that Mankind was once destroy'd in a Deluge, what's that to the Heavens and the Earth? The 5th Verse would be superfluous; which yet he seems to make the foundation of his discourse. He might have told them how Mankind had perish'd before with a Deluge, and aggravated that destruction as much as he pleas'd, without telling them how the Heavens and the Earth were constituted then; what was that to the purpose, if it had no dependance or connection with the other? In the precedent Chapter, *ver. 5.* when he speaks only of the Floods destroying Mankind, he mentions nothing of the Heavens or the Earth: and if you make him to intend no more here, what he says more is superfluous.

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I also add, that you make the Apostle very obscure and operose in a very easie argument. How easie had it been for him, without this *Apparatus*, to have told them, as he did before, that God brought a Flood upon the World of the ungodly; and not given us so much difficulty to understand his sence, or such a suspicion and appearance, that he intended something more; for that there is at least a great appearance and tendency to a further sence, I think none can deny; And St. *Austin*, *Didymus Alex. Bede*, as we shall see hereafter, understood it plainly of the natural World: Also modern Expositors and Criticks; as *Cajetan*, *Estius*, *Drusius*, *Heinsius*, have extended it to the natural World, more or less; tho' they had no Theory to mislead them, nor so much as an hypothesis to support them; but attended only to the tenor of the Apostle's discourse, which constrain'd them to that sence, in whole or in part.

Fifthly, the opposition carries it upon the natural World. The opposition lies betwixt the οἱ ἑκπαλαι ἕρανοι καὶ γῆ and οἱ νῦν ἕρανοι καὶ γῆ, the Heavens that were of old, and the Earth, and the present Heavens and Earth, or the two natural Worlds. And if they will not allow them to be oppos'd in their natures (which yet we shall prove by and by) at least they must be oppos'd in their fate; and as This is to perish by fire, so That perish'd by water; And if it perish'd by water, it perish'd; which is all we contend for at present.

Lastly, if we would be as easily govern'd in the exposition of this place, as we are of other places of Scripture, it would be enough to suggest, that in reason and fairness of interpretation, the same World is destroy'd in the 6th. verse, that was describ'd in the foregoing verse; but it is the Natural World that is describ'd there, the Heavens and the Earth, so and so constituted; and therefore in fairness of interpretation they ought to be understood here; that World being the subject that went immediately before, and there being nothing in the words that restrains them to the animate World or to Mankind. In the 2d ch. ver. 5. the Apostle does restrain the word κόσμος by adding ἀσεβῶν, the World of the ungodly; but here 'tis not only illimited, but according to the context, both preceding and following, to be extended to the Natural World. I say by the following context too, for so it answers to the World that is to perish by Fire; which will reach the frame of Nature as well as Mankind.

For a conclusion of this first point, I will set down S. *Austin's* judgment in this case; who in several parts of his works hath interpreted this place of S. *Peter*, of the natural world. As to the heavens, he hath these words in his Exposition upon *Genesis*, *Hos etiam aerios caelos quondam perisse Diluvio, in quâdam earum quæ Canonica appellantur, Epistolâ legimus. We read in one of the Epistles called Canonical, meaning this of S. Peter's, that the aerial heavens perish'd in the Deluge.* And he concerns himself there to let you know that it was not the starry heavens that were destroy'd; the waters could not reach so high; but the regions of our air. Then afterwards he hath these words, *Facilius eos (caelos) secundum illius Epistolæ auctoritatem credimus*

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mus periisse, & alios, sicut ibi scribitur, repositos. We do more easily believe, according to the authority of that Epistle, those heavens to have perish'd; and others, as it is there written, substituted in their place. In like manner, and to the same sence, he hath these words upon Psal. 101. *Aerii utique cæli perierunt ut propinqui Terris, secundum quod dicuntur volucres cæli; sunt autem & cæli cælorum, superiores in Firmamento; sed utrum & ipsi perituri sint igni, an hi soli, qui etiam diluvio perierunt, disceptatio est aliquanto scrupulosior inter doctos.* And in his Book *de Civ. Dei*, he hath several passages to the same purpose, *Quemadmodum in Apostolicâ illâ Epistolâ à toto pars accipitur, quod diluvio periisse dictus est mundus, quamvis sola ejus cum suis cælis pars ima perierit.* These being to the same effect with the first citation, I need not make them English; and this last place refers to the Earth as well as the Heavens, as several other places in *S. Austin* do, whereof we shall give you an account, when we come to shew his judgment concerning the second point, *the diversity of the ante-diluvian and post-diluvian World.* This being but a foretaste of his good will and inclinations towards this Doctrine.

These considerations alledg'd, so far as I can judge, are full and unanswerable proofs, that this discourse of the Apostle's comprehends and refers to the Natural World; and consequently they warrant our interpretation in this particular, and destroy the contrary. We have but one step more to make good, *That there was a change made in this natural world at the Deluge*, according to the Apostle; and this is to confute the second part of their interpretation, which supposeth that *S. Peter* makes no distinction or opposition betwixt the antediluvian Heavens and Earth, and the present Heavens and Earth, in that respect.

This second difference betwixt us, methinks, is still harsher than the first; and contrary to the very form, as well as to the matter of the Apostle's discourse. For there is a plain antithesis, or opposition made betwixt the Heavens and the Earth of old (*ver. the 5th.*) and the Heavens and the Earth that are now (*ver. the 7th.*) *οἱ ἔκπαλαι οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ* and *οἱ νῦν οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ*, and the adversative particle, *but*, you see marks the opposition; so that it is full and plain according to Grammar and Logick. And that the parts or members of this opposition differ in nature from one another, is certain from this, because otherwise the Apostle's argument or discourse is of no effect, concludes nothing to the purpose; he makes no answer to the objection, nor proves any thing against the Scoffers, unless you admit that diversity. For they said, *All things had been the same from the beginning in the Natural World*, and unless he say, as he manifestly does, that there hath been a change in Nature, and that the Heavens and Earth that are now, are different from the ancient Heavens and Earth, which perish'd at the Flood, he says nothing to destroy their argument, nor to confirm the Prophetical doctrine of the future destruction of the Natural World.

This, I think, would be enough to satisfy any clear and free mind concerning the meaning of the Apostle; but because I desire to give as full a light to this place as I can, and to put the sence of it out of controversy, if possible, for the future, I will make some further remarks to confirm this exposition. And

And we may observe that several of those reasons which we have given to prove, That the *Natural World* is understood by S. Peter, are double reasons ; and do also prove the other point in question, a *diversity betwixt the two Natural Worlds*, the Ante diluvian and the present. As for instance, unless you admit this diversity betwixt the two natural Worlds, you make the *5th. verse* in this *Chapter* superfluous and useless : and you must suppose the Apostle to make an inference here without premises. In the *6th. verse* he makes an inference, * *Whereby* the World, that then was, perish'd in a Deluge ; what does this *whereby* relate to ? *by reason* of what ? sure of the particular constitution of the Heavens and the Earth immediately before describ'd. Neither would it have signified any thing to the Scoffers, for the Apostle to have told them how the Ante-diluvian Heavens and Earth were constituted, if they were constituted just in the same manner as the present.

* δι' ὧν, per qua. Vulgat. Quamobrem. Beza. Quia de causa, Grot. Nemo interpretum reddidit δι' ὧν per quas ; subintelligendo aquas.

Hoc enim argumentationem Apostolicam tolleret, supponeretque illustres illos ignorasse quod olim fuerit Diluvium ; Quod supponi non posse supra ostendimus.

Besides, what is it, as I ask'd before, that the Apostle tells these Scoffers they were ignorant of ? does he not say formally and expressly (*ver. 5.*) that they were ignorant that the Heavens and the Earth were constituted so and so, before the Flood ? but if they were constituted as these present Heavens and Earth are, they were not ignorant of their constitution ; nor did pretend to be ignorant, for their own (mistaken) argument supposeth it.

But before we proceed any further, give me leave to note the impropriety of our Translation, in the *5th. Verse*, or latter part of it ; Εξ ὕδατος καὶ δι' ὑδάτων (vel δι' ὑδάτων) συνεστάσα, This we translate *standing in the water, and out of the water*, which is done manifestly in compliance with the present form of the Earth, and the notions of the Translators : and not according to the natural force and sense of the *Greek* words. If one met with this sentence * in a *Greek* Author, who would ever render it *standing in the water and out of the water* ? nor do I know any *Latin* Translator that hath ventur'd to render them in that sense ; nor any *Latin* Father ; St. *Austin* and St. *Jerome* I'm sure do not, but *Consistens ex aqua*, or *de aqua*, & *per aquam* : for that later phrase also συνεστάναι δι' ὕδατος does not with so good propriety signify *to stand in the water*, as to consist or subsist by water, or by the help of water, *Tanquam per causam sustentem* ; as St. *Austin* and *Jerome* render it. Neither does that instance they give from *1 Pet. 3. 20.* prove any thing to the contrary, for the Ark was sustain'd by the waters, and the *English* does render it accordingly.

* This phrase or manner of speech συνεστάναι ἐν vel ἐξ is not unusual in *Greek* Authors, and upon a like subject ; *Plato* saith, τὸν δὲ κόσμον συνίσταναι ἐν πυρὶ, ὕδατι, ἀέρι, γῆν, but he that should translate *Plato*, *The World stands*

out of fire, water, &c. would be thought neither *Gracian*, nor *Philosopher*. The same phrase is us'd in reciting *Heraclitus* his opinion, τὰ πάντα ἐν πυρὶ συνεστάναι, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ ἀναλύσθαι. And also in *Thales* his, which is still nearer to the subject, ἐν ὕδατι συνεστάναι πάντα, which *Cicero* renders, *ex aqua dixit, consistere omnia*. So that it is easie to know the true importance of this phrase, and how ill it is render'd in the *English*, *standing out of the water*.

The Translation being thus rectified, you see the ante diluvian Heavens and Earth consisted of *Water*, and by water ; which makes way

Book 2. c. 5.
p. 233.

way for a second observation to prove our sense of the Text ; for if you admit no diversity betwixt those Heavens and Earth, and the present, shew us 'pray, how the present Heavens and Earth consist of water, and by water. What watery constitution have they ? The Apostle implies rather, that *The now Heavens and Earth* have a fiery constitution. We have now Meteors of all sorts in the air, winds, hail, snow, lightning, thunder, and all things engender'd of fiery exhalations, as well as we have rain ; but according to our Theory, the antediluvian Heavens, of all these Meteors had none but dews and vapors, or watery Meteors only ; and therefore might very aptly be said by the Apostle to be *constituted of water*, or to have a watery σύστασις. Then the Earth was said to *consist by water*, because it was built upon it, and at first was sustain'd by it. And when such a Key as this is put into our hands, that does so easily unlock this hard passage, and makes it intelligible, according to the just force of the words, why should we pertinaciously adhere to an interpretation, that neither agrees with the words, nor makes any sense that is considerable ?

Whether you refer the words ἕτερον οὐρανόν καὶ γῆν ἕτεραν. separately, to the Heavens and the Earth, or both to the Earth, or both to both, it will make no great difference as to our interpretation.

Thirdly, If the Apostle had made the ante-diluvian Heavens and Earth the same with the present, his apodosis in the 7th. Verse, should not have been οἱ δὲ νῦν ἕτεροι, but καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἕτεροι καὶ ἡ γῆ τεθησαυρισμένοι εἰσι, &c. I say, it should not have been by way of antithesis, but of identity or continuation ; *And the same Heavens and Earth are kept in store reserv'd unto fire, &c.* Accordingly we see the Apostle speaks thus, as to the Logos, or the *Word of God*, Verse 7. τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, *by the same Word of God* ; where the thing is the same, he expresseth it as the same ; And if it had been the same Heavens and Earth, as well as the same Word of God, Why should he use a mark of opposition for the one, and of identity for the other ? to this I do not see what can be fairly answer'd.

Theor. 1 Book 2.
c. 2.

Fourthly, the ante-diluvian Heavens and Earth were different from the present, because, as the Apostle intimates, they were such ; and so constituted, as made them obnoxious to a Deluge ; whereas ours are of such a form, as makes them incapable of a Deluge, and obnoxious to a Conflagration ; the just contrary fate.

If you say there was nothing of natural tendency or disposition in either World to their respective fate, but the first might as well have perish'd by fire, as water, and this by water as by fire, you unhinge all Nature and natural providence in that method, and contradict one main scope of the Apostle in this discourse. His first scope is to assert, and mind them of that diversity there was betwixt the ancient Heavens and Earth, and the present ; and from that, to prove against those Scoffers, that there had been a change and revolution in Nature ; And his second scope seems to be this, to show that diversity to be such, as, under the Divine conduct, leads to a different fate, and expos'd that World to a Deluge ; for when he had describ'd the constitution of the first Heavens and Earth, he subjoyns, δι' ὧν ὁ τότε κόσμος ὕδατι κατακλυθεὶς ἀπόλετο. *Quia talis erat,*

erat, saith *Grotius*, *qualem diximus, constitutio & Terræ & Cæli. WEHREBY* the then World perish'd in a Flood of Water. This *whereby* notes some kind of causal dependance, and must relate to some means or conditions precedent. It cannot relate to *Logos*, or the Word of God, Grammar will not permit that; therefore it must relate to the state of the Ante-diluvian Heavens and Earth immediately premis'd. And to what purpose indeed should he premise the description of those Heavens and Earth, if it was not to lay a ground for this interence?

Having given these Reasons for the necessity of this Interpretation; in the last place, let's consider *S. Austin's* judgment, and his sense upon this place, as to the point in question. As also the reflections that some other of the Ancients have made upon this doctrine of *S. Peter's*. *Didymus Alexandrinus*, who was for some time *S. Jerome's* Master, made such a severe reflection upon it, that he said this Epistle was corrupted, and should not be admitted into the Canon, because it taught the doctrine of a *Triple* or *Triform World* in this third Chapter. As you may see in his *Enarr. in Epist. Canonicas*. Now this threefold World is first that in the 6th ver. *The World that then was*. In the 7th ver. *The Heavens and the Earth that are now*. And in the 13th ver. *We expect new Heavens and a new Earth, according to his promise*. This seems to be a fair account that *S. Peter* taught the doctrine of a Triple World; And I quote this testimony, to show what *S. Peter's* words do naturally import, even in the judgment of one that was not of his mind. And a Man is not prone to make an exposition against his own Opinion, unless he think the words very pregnant and express.

But *S. Austin* owns the authority of this Epistle, and of this doctrine, as deriv'd from it, taking notice of this Text of *S. Peter's* in several parts of his Works. We have noted three or four places already to this purpose, and we may further take notice of several passages in his Treatise, *de Civ. Dei*, which confirm our exposition. In his 20th. Book, *ch. 24.* he disputes against *Porphyrus*, who had the same Principles with these Eternalists in the Text; or, if I may so call them, Incorruptarians; and thought the World never had, nor ever would undergo any change, especially as to the Heavens. *S. Austin* could not urge *Porphyrus* with the authority of *S. Peter*, for he had no veneration for the Christian Oracles; but it seems he had some for the Jewish, and arguing against him, upon that Text in the Psalms, *Cæli peribunt*, he shows upon occasion how he understands *S. Peter's* destruction of the Old World. *Legitur Cælum & Terra transibunt, Mundus transit, sed puto quod præterit, transit, transibunt aliquantò mitius dicta sunt quàm peribunt. In Epistolâ quoque Petri Apostoli, ubi aquâ inundatus, qui tum erat, periisse dictus est Mundus, satis clarum est quæ pars mundi à toto significata est, & quatenus periisse dicta sit, & qui cæli repositi igni reservandi.* This he explains more fully afterwards by subjoyning a caution (which we cited before) that we must not understand this passion of *S. Peter's*, concerning the destruction of the Ante diluvian World, to take in the whole Universe, and the highest Heavens, but only the aerial Heavens, and the sublunary World. *In Apostolicâ illâ Epistolâ à toto pars*
Z
accipitur,

accipitur, quod Diluvio periisse dictus est mundus quamvis sola ejus, cum suis cælis, pars ima perierit. In that Apostolical Epistle, a part is signified by the whole, when the World is said to have perish'd in the Deluge, although the lower part of it only, with the Heavens belonging to it, perished: that is, The Earth with the regions of the Air that belong to it. And consonant to this, in his exposition of that hundred and first Psalm, upon those words, The Heavens are the work of thy hands, They shall perish, but thou shalt endure. This perishing of the Heavens, he says, S. Peter tells us, hath been once done already, namely, at the Deluge; Apertè dixit hoc Apostolus Petrus, Cæli erant olim & Terra, de aquâ & per aquam constituti, Dei verbo; per quod qui factus est mundus, aquâ inundatus deperit; Terra autem & cæli qui nunc sunt, igni reservantur. Jam ergo dixit periisse cælos per Diluvium.

These places shew us that S. Austin understood S. Peter's discourse to aim at the Natural World, and his *perit* or *periisse* (ver. 6.) to be of the same force as *peribunt* in the Psalms, when 'tis said the Heavens shall perish; and consequently that the Heavens and the Earth, in this Father's opinion, were as really chang'd and transform'd at the time of the Flood, as they will be at the Conflagration. But we must not expect from S. Austin, or any of the Ancients a distinct account of this Apostolical Doctrine, as if they knew and acknowledg'd the Theory of the First World; that does not at all appear; but what they said was either from broken Tradition, or extorted from them by the force of the Apostle's words and their own sincerity.

There are yet other places in S. Austin worthy our consideration upon this subject; especially his exposition of this 3d. chap. of S. Peter, as we find it in that same Treatise *de Civ. Dei*. There he compares again, the destruction of the World at the Deluge, with that which shall be at the Conflagration, and supposeth both the Heavens and Earth to have perish'd. *Apostolus commemorans factum ante Diluvium, videtur admonuisse quodammodo quatenus in fine hujus seculi mundum istum periturum esse credamus. Nam & illo tempore periisse dixit, qui tunc erat, mundum; nec solum orbem terræ, verum etiam cælos.* Then giving his usual caution, That the Stars and Starry Heavens should not be comprehended in that mundane destruction, He goes on, *Atque hoc modo (penè totus aer) cum terra perierat; cujus Terra utique prior facies (nempe ante-diluviana) fuerat deleta Diluvio. Qui autem nunc sunt cæli & terra eodem verbo repositi sunt igni reservandi; Proinde qui cæli & quæ Terra, id est, qui mundus, pro eo mundo qui Diluvio perit, ex eadem aquâ repositus est, ipse igni novissimo reservatur.* Here you see S. Austin's sense upon the whole matter; which is this, That the Natural World, the Earth with the Heavens about it, was destroyed and chang'd at the Deluge into the present Heavens and Earth; which shall again in like manner be destroyed and chang'd by the last Fire. Accordingly in another place, to add no more, he saith the figure of the (sublunary) World shall be chang'd at the Conflagration, as it was chang'd at the Deluge. *Tunc figura hujus mundi, &c. cap. 16.*

Thus you see, we have S. Austin on our side, in both parts of our interpretation; that S. Peter's discourse is to be referr'd to the natural

tural inanimate World, and that the present Natural World is distinct and different from that which was before the Deluge. And *S. Austin* having applyed this expressly to *S. Peter's* doctrine by way of Commentary, it will free us from any crime or affectation of singularity in the exposition we have given of that place.

Venerable *Bede* hath followed *S. Austin's* footsteps in this doctrine; for, interpreting *S. Peter's Original World* (*Ἀρχαῖον Κόσμον*) *2 Pet.* 2. 5. he refers both that and this (*chap. 3. 6.*) to the natural inanimate World, which he supposeth to have undergone a change at the Deluge. His words are these, *Idem ipse mundus est* (nempe quoad materiam) *in quo nunc humanum genus habitat, quem inhabitaverunt hi qui ante diluivium fuerunt, sed tamen rectè Originalis Mundus, quasi alius dicitur; quia sicut in consequentibus hujus Epistolæ scriptum continetur, Ille tunc mundus aquâ inundatus perit. Cælis videlicet quierant prius, id est, cunctis aeris hujus turbulenti spaciis, aquarum accrescentium altitudine consumptis, ac Terrâ in alteram faciem, excedentibus aquis, immutatâ. Nam etsi montes aliqui atque convalles ab initio facti creduntur, non tamentanti quanti nunc in orbe cernuntur universo. 'Tis the same World* (namely, as to the matter and substance of it) *which mankind lives in now, and did live in before the Flood, but yet that is truly call'd the ORIGINAL WORLD, being as it were another from the present. For 'tis said in the sequel of this Epistle that the World that was then, perish'd in the Deluge; namely, The regions of the air were consumed by the height and excess of the waters, and by the same waters the Earth was chang'd into another form or face. For although some Mountains and Valleys are thought to have been made from the beginning, yet not such great ones as now we see throughout the whole Earth.*

You see this Author does not only own a change made at the Deluge, but offers at a further explication wherein that change consisted, *viz.* That the Mountains and inequalities of the Earth were made greater than they were before the Flood; and so he makes the change or the difference betwixt the two Worlds gradual, rather than specifical, if I may so term it. But we cannot wonder at that, if he had no principles to carry it further, or to make any other sort of change intelligible to him. *Bede* also pursues the same sense and notion in his interpretation of that fountain, *Gen. 2. 5.* that watered the face of the Earth before the Flood. And many other transcribers of Antiquity have recorded this Tradition concerning a difference, gradual or specifical, both in the Ante-diluvian heavens (*Gloss. Ordin. Gen. 9. de Iride. Lyran. ibid. Hist. Scholast. c. 35. Rab. Mirrus & Gloss. Inter. Gen. 2. 5, 6. Alcuin. Quæst. in Gen. inter. 135.*) and in the Ante-diluvian Earth, as the same Authors witness in other places. As *Hist. Schol. c. 34. Gloss. Ord. in Gen. 7. Alcuin. Inter. 118, &c.* Not to instance in those that tell us the properties of the Ante-diluvian World under the name and notion of Paradise.

De 6. dier. creat.

Thus much concerning this remarkable place in *S. Peter*, and the true exposition of it; which I have the more largely insisted upon, because I look upon this place as the chief repository of that great Natural Mystery, which in Scripture is communicated to us concerning the Triple State or Revolution of the World. And of those

Men that are so scrupulous to admit the Theory we have propos'd, I would willingly know whether they believe the Apostle in what he says concerning the *New Heavens* and the *New Earth to come*, ver. 13. and if they do, why they should not believe him as much concerning the *Old Heavens* and the *Old Earth*, past; ver. 5, & 6. which he mentions as formally, and describes more distinctly than the other. But if they believe neither past nor to come, in a natural sense, but an unchangeable state of Nature from the Creation to its annihilation, I leave them then to their Fellow Eternalists in the Text, and to the character or censure the Apostle gives them, *Κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμίας πορευόμενοι*, men that go by their own private humour and passions, and prefer that to all other evidence.

They deserve this censure, I am sure, if they do not only disbelieve, but also scoff, at this Prophetick and Apostolick doctrine concerning the Vicissitudes of Nature and a Triple World; The Apostle in this discourse does formally distinguish Three Worlds (for 'tis well known that the *Hebrews* have no word to signify the Natural World, but use that Periphrasis, *The Heavens* and *the Earth*) and upon each of them engraves a Name and Title that bears a note of distinction in it; He calls them the *Old Heavens and Earth*, the *Present Heavens and Earth*, and the *New Heavens and Earth*. 'Tis true, these Three are one, as to Matter and Substance; but they must differ as to Form and Properties; otherwise what is the ground of this distinction and of these three different appellations? Suppose the *Jews* had expected *Ezekiel's* Temple for the Third, and Last, and most perfect; and that in the time of the Second Temple they had spoke of them with this distinction, or under these different names, *The Old Temple*, the *Present Temple*, and the *New Temple* we expect: Would any have understood those Three of one and the same Temple; never demolish'd, never chang'd, never rebuilt; always the same both as to Materials and Form? no, doubtless, but of Three several Temples succeeding one another. And have we not the same reason to understand this Temple of the World, whereof *S. Peter* speaks, to be threefold in succession; seeing he does as plainly distinguish it into the *Old* heavens and earth, the *Present* heavens and earth, and the *New* heavens and earth. And I do the more willingly use this comparison of the Temple, because it hath been thought an Emblem of the outward World.

I know we are naturally averse to entertain any thing that is inconsistent with the general frame and texture of our own thoughts; That's to begin the World again; and we often reject such things without examination. Neither do I wonder that the generality of Interpreters beat down the Apostle's words and sense to their own notions; They had no other grounds to go upon, and Men are not willing, especially in natural and comprehensible things, to put such a meaning upon Scripture, as is unintelligible to themselves; They rather venture to offer a little violence to the words, that they may pitch the sense at such a convenient height, as their Principles will reach to. And therefore though some of our modern Interpreters, whom I mention'd before, have been sensible of the natural tendency of this discourse of *S. Peter's*, and have much ado to bear of the
force

force of the words, so as not to acknowledge that they import a real diversity betwixt the two Worlds spoken of; yet having no Principles to guide or support them in following that Tract, they are forc'd to stop or divert another way. 'Tis like entering into the mouth of a Cave, we are not willing to venture further than the light goes. Nor are they much to blame for this; the fault is only in those Persons that continue wilfully in their darkness, and when they cannot otherwise resist the light, shut their eyes against it, or turn their head another way.-----but I am afraid I have staid too long upon this argument: not for my own sake, but to satisfy others.

You may please to remember that all that I have said hitherto, belongs only to the first Head: To prove a *Diversity in general* betwixt the Ante-diluvian Heavens and Earth, and the present: not expressing what their particular form was. And this general diversity may be argued also by observations taken from *Moses* his History of the World, before and after the Flood. From the Longevity of the Antediluvians: The Rain-bow appearing after the Deluge: and the breaking open an Abyfs capable to overflow the Earth. The Heavens that had no Rain-bow, and under whose benign and steady influence, Men liv'd seven, eight, nine hundred years and upwards, must have been of a different aspect and constitution from the present Heavens. And that Earth that had such an Abyfs, that the disruption of it made an universal Deluge, must have been of another form than the present Earth. And those that will not admit a diversity in the two worlds, are bound to give us an intelligible account of these Phænomena: How they could possibly be in Heavens and Earth, like the present. Or if they were there once, why they do not continue so still, if Nature be the same.

See Theor.
Book 2. ch. 5.

We need say no more, as to the Ante-diluvian Heavens: but as to the Earth, we must now, according to the second Part of the first Head; enquire, If that *Particular Form*, which we have assign'd it before the Flood, be agreeable to Scripture. You know how we have describ'd the Form and situation of that Earth: namely, that it was built over the Abyfs, as a regular Orb, covering and encompassing the waters round about: and founded, as it were, upon them. There are many passages of Scripture that favour this description: Some more expressly, others upon a due explication. To this purpose there are two express Texts in the Psalms: as *Psal. 24. 1, 2. The Earth is the Lords, and the fulness thereof: The habitable World, and they that dwell therein. FOR he has founded it upon * the Sea, and establish'd it upon the Floods.* An Earth founded upon the Seas, and establish'd upon the Waters, is not this the Earth we have describ'd? the first

* I know some would make this place of no effect by rendering the

Hebrew particle *י* *juxta*, by or *near* to; so they would read it thus, *He hath founded the Earth by the Sea-side*, and establish'd it by the Floods. What is there wonderful in this, that the shores should lie by the Sea-side; Where could they lie else? What reason or argument is this, why the Earth should be the Lord's? The Earth is the Lord's, for he hath founded it *near* the Seas, Where is the consequence of this? But if he founded it upon the Seas, which could not be done by any other hand but his, it shows both the Workman and the Master. And accordingly in that other place, *Psal. 136. 6.* if you render it, *he stretch'd out the Earth near the Waters.* How is that one of God's great wonders? as it is there represented to be. Because in some few places this particle is render'd otherwise, where the sense will bear it, must we therefore render it so when we please, and where the sense will not bear it? This being the most usual signification of it, and there being no other word that signifies *above* more frequently or determinately than this does, Why must it signify otherwise in this place? Men will wriggle any way to get from under the force of a Text, that does not suit to their own Notions.

Earth

Earth, as it came from the hands of its Maker. Where can we now find in Nature, such an Earth as has the Seas and the Water for its foundation? Neither is this Text without a second, as a fellow-witness to confirm the same truth: For in the 136. *Pfal. ver. 4, 5, 6.* we read to the same effect, in these words: *To him, who alone does great wonders: To him that by wisdom made the Heavens: To him that stretched out the Earth above the Waters.* We can hardly express that form of the Ante-diluvian Earth, in words more determinate than these are; Let us then in the same simplicity of heart, follow the words of Scripture; seeing this literal sense is not repugnant to Nature, but, on the contrary, agreeable to it upon the strictest examination. And we cannot, without some violence, turn the words to any other sense. What tolerable interpretation can these admit of, if we do not allow the Earth once to have encompass'd and overspread the face of the Waters? To be *founded* upon the waters, to be *est. blissh'd* upon the waters, to be *extended* upon the waters, what rational or satisfactory account can be given of these phrases and expressions from any thing we find in the present situation of the Earth: or how can they be verified concerning it? Consult Interpreters, ancient or modern, upon these two places: see if they answer your expectation, or answer the natural importance of the words, unless they acknowledge another form of the Earth, than the present. Because a Rock hangs its nose over the Sea, must the body of the Earth be said to be *stretch'd over the waters*? Or because there are waters in some subterraneous cavities, is the Earth therefore *founded upon the Seas*? Yet such lame explications as these you will meet with; and while we have no better light, we must content our selves with them; but when an explication is offer'd, that answers the propriety, force, and extent of the words, to reject it, onely because it is not fitted to our former opinions, or because we did not first think of it, is to take an ill method in expounding Scripture. This *Foundation* or *Establishment* of the Earth upon the Seas, this *Extension* of it above the waters, relates plainly to the body, or whole circuit of the Earth, not to parcels and particles of it; as appears from the occasion, and its being joyn'd with the Heavens, the other part of the World. Besides, *David* is speaking of the Origin of the World, and of the Divine power and wisdom in the construction and situation of our Earth, and these attributes do not appear from the holes of the Earth, and broken Rocks; which have rather the face of a ruin, than of wisdom; but in that wonderful libration and expansion of the first Earth over the face of the waters, sustained by its own proportions, and the hand of his Providence.

These two places in the Psalms being duly consider'd, we shall more easily understand a third place, to the same effect, in the *Proverbs*; delivered by *WISDOM*, concerning the Origin of the World, and the form of the first Earth, in these words, *Chap. 8. 27. When he prepared the Heavens I was there, when HE SET an Orb or Sphere upon the face of the Abyss.* We render it, when we set a *Compass* upon the face of the Abyss; but if we have rightly interpreted the Prophet *David*, 'tis plain enough what compass is here to be understood; not an imaginary circle, (for why should that be thought one
of

of the wonderful works of God) but that exterior Orb of the Earth that was set upon the waters. That was the Master-piece of the Divine art in framing of the first Earth, and therefore very fit to be taken notice of by *Wisdom*. And upon this occasion, I desire you to reflect upon St. *Peter's* expression, concerning the first Earth, and to compare it with *Solomon's*, to see if they do not answer one another. St. *Peter* calls it, γῆ καθεστῶσα δι' ὑδάτων, *An Earth consisting, standing, or sustained by the waters*. And *Solomon* calls it חַגְוָה עַל פְּנֵי תְהוֹמוֹת *An Orb drawn upon the face of the Abyss*. And St. *Peter* says, that was done τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ by the *wisdom of God*: which is the same Λόγος or *wisdom*, that here declares her self, to have been present at this work. Add now to these two places, the two foremention'd out of the *Psalmist*; *An Earth founded upon the Seas*, (*Psal.* 24. 2.) and an *Earth stretched out above the waters*: (*Psal.* 136. 6.) Can any body doubt or question, but all these four Texts refer to the same thing? And seeing St. *Peter's* description refers certainly to the Ante-diluvian Earth, they must all refer to it; and do all as certainly and evidently agree with our Theory concerning the form and situation of it.

The pendulous form and posture of that first Earth being prov'd from these four places, 'tis more ease and emphatical to interpret in this sense that passage in *Job* ch. 26. 7. *He stretcheth out the North over the Tophet*, (for so it is in the original) and *hangereth the Earth upon nothing*. And this strange foundation or no foundation of the exterior Earth seems to be the ground of those noble questions propos'd to *Job* by God Almighty, Ch. 38. *Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the Earth? Declare if thou hast understanding. Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastned, and who laid the corner-stone?* There was neither foundation, nor corner-stone, in that piece of Architecture; and that was it which made the art and wonder of it. But I have spoken more largely to these places in the Theory it self. And if the four Texts before-mentioned be consider'd without prejudice, I think there are few matters of natural Speculation that can be so well prov'd out of Scripture, as the Form which we have given to the Ante-diluvian Earth.

Book 1.
p. 88.

But yet it may be thought a just, if not a necessary appendix to this discourse, concerning the form of the Ante-diluvian Earth, to give an account also of the *Ante-diluvian Abyss*, and the situation of it according to Scripture; for the relation which these two have to one another, will be a further means to discover if we have rightly determin'd the form of that Earth. The *Abyss* or *Tehom-Rabbah* is a Scripture notion, and the word is not us'd, that I know of, in that distinct and peculiar sense in Heathen Authors. 'Tis plain that in Scripture it is not always taken for the Sea (as *Gen.* 1. 2. & 7. 11. & 49. 25. *Deut.* 33. 13. *Job* 28. 14. & 38. 16. *Psal.* 33. 7. & 71. 20. & 78. 15. & 135. 6. *Apoc.* 20. 1. 3.) but for some other mass of waters, or subterraneous store-house. And this being observ'd, we may easily discover the nature, and set down the History of the Scripture-Abyss.

The Mother-Abyss is no doubt that in the beginning of *Genesis*, v. 2. which had nothing but darkness upon the face of it, or a thick caliginous air. The next news we hear of this Abyss is at the Deluge, (*Gen.* 7. 11.) where 'tis said to be broke open, and the waters of it to have drowned

drowned the World. It seems then this Abyfs was clos'd up some time betwixt the Creation and the Deluge, and had got another cover than that of darknefs. And if we will believe *Wisdom*, (*Prov.* 8. 27.) who was there present at the formation of the Earth, an *Orb* was set upon the face of the Abyfs at the beginning of the World.

That these three places refer to the same Abyfs, I think, cannot be questioned by any that will compare them and consider them. That of the Deluge, *Moses* calls there *Tebom-Rabbah*, the *Great Abyfs*; and can there be any greater than the forementioned Mother-Abyfs? And *WISDOMÉ*, in that place in the *Proverbs*, useth the same phrase and words with *Moses*, *Gen.* 1. 2. עַל פְּנֵי תְהוֹמַי: upon the face of the Deep or of the Abyfs; changing *darknefs* for that *Orb* of the exterior Earth which was made afterwards to inclose it. And in this vault it lay, and under this cover, when the *Psalmist* speaks of it in these words (*Psal.* 33. 7. *He gathereth the waters of the Sea, as in a* * *bag; he layeth up the Abyfs in store-houses.* Lastly, we may observe that 'twas this Mother-Abyfs whose womb was burst at the Deluge, when the Sea was born, and broke forth as if it had issued out of a womb; as God expresth it to *Job*, *ch.* 38. 8. in which place the *Chaldee Paraphrase* reads it, when it broke forth, *coming out of the Abyfs*. Which disruption at the Deluge seems also to be alluded to *Job* 12. 14, 15. and more plainly, *Prov.* 3. 20. *by his knowledge the Abysses are broken up.*

* This reading or translating is generally followed, (*Theor.* Book 1. p. 86.) though the English Translation read on a heap, unsuitably to the matter and to the sense.

Thus you have already a threefold state of the Abyfs, which makes a short History of it; first, *Open*, at the beginning; then *covered*, till the Deluge. Then *broke open* again, as it is at present. And we pursue the History of it no further; but we are told, *Ap c.* 20. 3. That it shall be shut up again, and the great Dragon in it, for a Thousand years. In the mean time we may observe from this form and posture of the Ante diluvian Abyfs, how suitable it is and coherent with that form of the Ante-diluvian Earth which *St. Peter* and the *Psalmist* had describ'd, *sustain'd by the waters; founded upon the waters; stretcht above the waters*; for if it was the cover of this Abyfs (and it had some cover that was broke at the Deluge) it was spread as a Crust or Ice upon the face of those waters, and so made an *Orbis Terrarum*, an habitable sphere of Earth about the Abyfs.

SO much for the form of the Ante-diluvian Earth and Abyfs; which as they aptly correspond to one another, so, you see, our Theory answers and is adjust'd to both; and, I think, so fitly, that we have no reason hitherto to be displeas'd with the success we have had in the examination of it, according to Scripture. We have dispatch'd the two main points in question, first, to prove a diversity in general betwixt the two natural Worlds, or betwixt the Heavens and the Earth before and after the Flood. Secondly, to prove wherein this diversity consisted; or that the particular form of the Ante-diluvian Heavens and Earth was such according to Scripture, as we have describ'd it in the Theory. You'll say, then the work is done, what

what needs more, all the rest follows of course; for if the Antediluvian Earth had such a form as we have propos'd and prov'd it to have had, there could be no Deluge in it but by a dissolution of its parts and exterior frame: And a Deluge so made, would not be in the nature of a standing Pool, but of a violent agitation and commotion of the Waters. This is true; These parts of the Theory are so cemented, that you must grant all, if you grant any. However we will try if even these two particulars also may be prov'd out of Scripture; That is, if there be any marks or memorandums left there by the Spirit of God, of such a fraction or dissolution of the Earth at the Deluge. And also such characters of the Deluge it self, as show it to have been by a fluctuation and impetuous commotion of the Waters.

To proceed then; That there was a Fraction or Dissolution of the Earth at the Deluge, the history of it by *Moses* gives us the first account, seeing he tells us, as the principol cause of the Flood, That the Fountains of the *Great Abyss* were cloven or burst asunder; and upon this disruption the waters gush'd out from the bowels of the Earth, as from the widen'd mouths of so many Fountains. I do not take *Fountains* there to signifie any more than Sources or Stores of Water; noting also this manner of their eruption from below; or out of the ground, as Fountains do. Accordingly in the *Proverbs*, (*chap. 3. 20.*) 'tis only said, the *Abysses were broken open*. I do not doubt but this refers to the Deluge, as *Bede*, and others understand it; the very word being us'd here, both in the *Hebrew* and *Septuagint*, that expres'd the disruption of the *Abyss* at the Deluge.

נבקעו
האֲבִיִּסוֹת.

And this breaking up of the Earth at that time, is elegantly express'd in *Job*, by the bursting of the Womb of Nature, when the Sea was first brought to light; when after many pangs and throes and dilacerations of her body, Nature was delivered of a burthen which she had born in her Womb Sixteen Hundred Years.

ch. 38.

These three places I take to be memorials and proofs of the disruption of the Earth, or of the *Abyss*, at the universal Deluge. And to these we may add more out of the Prophets. *Job*, and the *Psalms*, by way of allusion (commonly) to the state of Nature at that time. The Prophet *Isaiab* in describing the future destruction of the World, *chap. 24. 18, 19.* seems plainly to allude and have respect to the past destruction of it at the Deluge; as appears by that leading expressi-
on, *the windows from an high are open*, אֲרָבוֹת סְמוֹרֹם נִפְתְּחוּ, *Suei-*
des en τῶν ὑψῶν ἠνεώχθησαν, taken manifestly from *Gen. 7. 11.* Then see how the description goes on, *the windows from an high are open, and the foundations of the Earth do shake. The Earth is utterly broken down, the Earth is quite dissolv'd, the Earth is exceedingly moved.* Here are Concussions, and Fractions, and dissolutions, as there were in the Mundane Earth-quake and Deluge; which we had express'd before only by *breaking open the Abyss*. By the Foundations of the Earth here and elsewhere, I perceive many understand the Centre; so by *moving* or *shaking* the foundations, or putting them out of course, must be understood a displacing of the Centre; which was really done at the Deluge, as we have shewn in its proper place. If we therefore remember that there was both a dislocation, as I may so

Theor. book 2
p. 194, 197.

A a say;

say; and a fraction in the body of the Earth, by that great fall; a dislocation as to the Centre, and a fraction as to the Surface and Exterior Region, it will truly answer to all those expressions in the Prophet, that seem so strange and extraordinary. 'Tis true, this place of the Prophet respects also and foretels the future destruction of the World; but that being by Fire, when the *Elements shall melt with fervent heat, and the Earth with the works therein shall be burnt up*, these expressions of *fractions and concussions*, seem to be taken originally from the manner of the World's first destruction, and to be transferr'd, by way of application, to represent and signify the second destruction of it, though, it may be, not with the same exactness and propriety.

There are several other places that refer to the dissolution and subversion of the Earth at the Deluge: *Amos 9. 5, 6. The Lord of Hosts is he that toucheth the Earth, and it shall melt, or be dissolv'd.—and it shall rise up wholly like a Flood, and shall be drowned as by the Flood of Egypt.* By *this* and by *the next verse* the Prophet seems to allude to the Deluge, and to the dissolution of the Earth that was then. This in *Job* seems to be call'd *breaking down the Earth, and overturning the Earth*, Chap. 12. 14, 15. *Behold he breaketh down and it cannot be built again, He shutteth upon man, and there can be no opening. Behold, he withholdeth the waters, and they dry up; also he sendeth them out, and they overturn the Earth:* Which place you may see paraphras'd, *Theor. Book 1. p. 91, 92.* We have already cited, and I shall hereafter cite, other places out of *Job*; And as that Ancient Author (who is thought to have liv'd before the Judaical Oeconomy, and nearer to *Noah* than *Moses*) seems to have had the *Præcepta Noachidarum*, so also he seems to have had the *Dogmata Noachidarum*; which were deliver'd by *Noah* to his Children and Posterity, concerning the mysteries of Natural Providence, the origine and fate of the World, the Deluge and Ante-diluvian state, &c. and accordingly we find many strictures of these doctrines in the Book of *Job*. Lastly, In the *Psalms* there are Texts that mention the *shaking of the Earth*, and the *foundations* of the World, in reference to the Flood; if we judge aright; whereof we will speak under the next Head, concerning the raging of the Waters in the Deluge.

These places of Scripture may be noted, as left us to be remembrancers of that general ruine and disruption of the Earth at the time of the Deluge. But I know it will be said of them, That they are not strict proofs, but allusions only. Be it so; yet what is the ground of those allusions? something must be alluded to, and something that hath past in Nature, and that is recorded in Sacred History; and what is that, unless it be the Universal Deluge, and that change and disturbance that was then in all Nature. If others say, that these and such like places are to be understood morally and allegorically, I do not envy them their interpretation; but when Nature and Reason will bear a literal sence, the rule is, that we should not recede from the Letter. But I leave these things to every one's thoughts; which the more calm they are, and the more impartial, the more easily they will feel the impressions of Truth. In the meantime, I proceed to the last particular mention'd, *The form of the Deluge it self.*

This

This we suppose to have been not in the way of a standing Pool, the Waters making an equal Surface, and an equal height every where; but that the extreme height of the Waters was made by the extreme agitation of them; caus'd by the weight and force of great Masses or Regions of Earth falling at once into the Abyfs; by which means, as the Waters in some places were prest out, and thrown at an excessive height into the Air, so they would also in certain places gape, and lay bare even the bottom of the Abyfs; which would look as an open Grave ready to swallow up the Earth, and all it bore. Whilst the Ark, in the mean time, falling and rising by these gulphs and precipices, sometimes above water, and sometimes under, was a true Type of the state of the Church in this World; And to this time and state *David* alludes in the name of the Church, *Psal.* 42. 7. *Abyfs calls unto Abyfs at the noise of thy Cataracts or Water-spouts; All thy waves and billows have gone over me.* And again, *Psal.* 46. 2, 3. In the name of the Church, *Therefore will not we fear, tho' the Earth be removed, and tho' the mountains be carried into the midst of the Seas. The waters thereof roar and are troubled, the mountains shake with the swelling thereof.*

But there is no description more remarkable or more eloquent, than of that Scene of things represented, *Psal.* 18. 7, 8, 9, &c. which still alludes, in my opinion, to the Deluge-scene, and in the name of the Church. We will set down the words at large.

Ver. 6. *In my distress I called upon the Lord, and cryed unto my God; He heard my voice out of his Temple, and my cry came before him into his ears.*

7. *Then the Earth shook and trembled, the foundations also of the hills moved and were shaken, because he was wroth.*

8. *There went up a smoke from his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured; Coals were kindled by it.*

9. *He bowed the Heavens also and came down, and darkness was under his feet.*

10. *And he rode upon a Cherub and did flie, he did flie upon the wings of the wind.*

11. *He made darkness his secret place; his pavilion round about him was dark waters and thick clouds of the skie.*

12. *At the brightness before him the thick clouds passed, hail and coals of fire.*

13. *The Lord also thunder'd in the Heavens, and the Highest gave his voice, hail and coals of fire.*

14. *Yea, he sent out his arrows, and scatter'd them: and he shot out lightnings and discomfited them.*

15. *Then the Channels of waters were seen, and the foundations of the World were discovered; at thy rebuke, O Lord, at the blast of the breath of thy nostrils.*

He sent from above, he took me; he drew me out of great waters.

מִיַּם רַבִּים

This I think is a rough * draught of the face of the Heavens and the Earth at the Deluge, as the last Verses do intimate; and 'tis apply'd

See *Philofophus* his description of the Deluge, both as to the commotions of the Heavens, and the fractions of the Earth. In his first Treatise de *Abrahamo*, mihi, p. 279.

ply'd to exprefs the dangers and deliverances of the Church: The Expreffions are far too high to be apply'd to *David* in his Perfon, and to his deliverance from *Saul*; no fuch agonies or diforders of Nature as are here inflanc'd in, were made in *David's* time, or upon his account; but 'tis a Scheme of the Church, and of her fate, particularly, as represented by the Ark, in that difmal diftrefs, when all nature was in confufion. And though there may be fome things here intermixt to make up the Scene, that are not fo clofe to the fubject as the reft, or that may be referr'd to the future deftruction of the World: yet that is not unufual, nor amifs, in fuch descriptions, if the great ftrokes be fit and rightly plac'd. That there was Smoke, and Fire, and Water; and Thunder, and Darknefs, and Winds, and Earth-quakes at the Deluge, we cannot doubt, if we confider the circumftances of it; Waters dash'd and broken make a fmoke and darknefs, and no Hurricano could be fo violent as the motions of the Air at that time; Then the Earth was torn in pieces, and its Foundations fhaken; And as to Thunder and Lightning, the encounters and collifions of the mighty Waves, and the cracks of a falling World, would make flafhes and noifes, far greater and more terrible, than any that can come from vapours and clouds. There was an Univerfal Tempeft, a conflict and clafhing of all the Elements; and *David* feems to have represented it fo; with God Almighty in the midft of it, ruling them all.

But I am apt to think fome will fay, all this is Poetical in the Prophet, and thefe are Hyperbolical and figurate expreffions, from which we cannot make any inference, as to the Deluge and the Natural World. 'Tis true, thofe that have no Idea of the Deluge, that will answer to fuch a Scene of things, as is here represented, muft give fuch a flight account of this Pfalm. But on the other hand, if we have already an Idea of the Deluge that is rational, and alfo confonant to Scripture upon other proofs, and the description here made by the Prophet answer to that Idea, whether then is it not more reasonable to think that it ftands upon that ground, than to think it a meer fancy and Poetical Scene of things: This is the true ftate of the cafe, and that which we muft judge of. Methinks 'tis very harfh to fuppofe all this a bare fiction, grounded upon no matter of fact, upon no Sacred Story, upon no appearance of God in Nature. If you fay it hath a moral fignification, fo let it have, we do not deftroy that; it hath reference no doubt, to the dangers and deliverances of the Church; but the queftion is, whether the words and natural fence be a fancy only, a bundle of randome hyperboles: or whether they relate to the hiftory of the Deluge, and the ftate of the Ark there representing the Church. This makes the fence doubly rich, Hiftorically and Morally; and grounds it upon Scripture and Reafon, as well as upon Fancy.

That violent eruption of the Sea out of the Womb of the Earth, which *Job* fpeaks of, is, in my judgment, another description of the Deluge; 'Tis *Chap.* 38. 8, 9, 10, 11. *Who fhut up the Sea with doors, when it broke forth, as if it had iffued out of a Womb; When I made the cloud the garment thereof, and thick darknefs a fwadling band for it. And broke up for it my decreed place——hitherto fhalt thou come. &c.*

Here

Here you see the birth and nativity of the Sea, or of *Oceanus*, describ'd * ; how he broke out of the Womb, and what his first garment and swadling cloaths were ; namely clouds and thick darkness. This cannot refer to any thing, that I know of, but to the face of Nature at the Deluge ; when the Sea was born, and wrapt up in clouds and broken waves, and a dark impenetrable mist round the body of the Earth. And this seems to be the very same that *David* had express'd in his description of the Deluge, *Psal. 18. 11. He made darkness his secret place, his pavilion round about him were dark waters and thick clouds of the skies.* For this was truly the face of the World in the time of the Flood, tho' we little reflect upon it. And this dark confusion every where, above and below, arose from the violent and confus'd motion of the Abyss ; which was dash'd in pieces by the falling Earth, and flew into the air in misty drops, as dust flies up in a great ruin.

* *Uti comparatio precedens, Ver. 4, 5, 6. de ortu Telluris, sumitur ab edificio, ita hæc altera de ortu maris, sumitur à partu ; & exhibetur Oceanus, primum, ut fœtus inclusus in utero, dein ut erumpens & prodeuns, denique ut fasciis & primis suis pannis involutus. Atque ex aperto Terræ utero prorupit aquarum moles, ut proluviæ illæ, quam simul cum fœtu profunderè solet puerpera.*

See Theor. Book 1. p. 99.

But I am afraid, we have stay'd too long upon this particular, *the form of the Deluge* ; seeing 'tis but a Corollary from the precedent article about the dissolution of the Earth. However time is not ill spent about any thing that relates to natural Providence, whereof the two most signal instances in our Sacred Writings, are, the *Deluge* and the *Conflagration*. And seeing *Job* and *David* do often reflect upon the works of God in the external creation, and upon the administrations of Providence, it cannot be imagin'd that they should never reflect upon the Deluge ; the most remarkable change of Nature that ever hath been, and the most remarkable judgment upon mankind. And if they have reflected upon it any where, 'tis, I think, in those places and those instances which I have noted ; and if those places do relate to the Deluge, they are not capable, in my judgment, of any fairer or more natural interpretation than that which we have given them ; which, you see, how much it favours and confirms our Theory.

I have now finish'd the heads I undertook to prove, that I might shew our Theory to agree with Scripture in these three principal points ; first, in that it supposeth a diversity and difference betwixt the Ante-diluvian Heavens and Earth, and the present Heavens and Earth. Secondly, in assigning the particular form of the Ante-diluvian Earth and Abyss. Thirdly, in explaining the Deluge by a dissolution of that Earth, and an eruption of the Abyss. How far I have succeeded in this attempt, as to others, I cannot tell ; but I am sure I have convinc'd my self, and am satisfied that my thoughts, in that Theory, have run in the same tract with the holy Writings : with the true intent and spirit of them. There are some persons that are wilfully ignorant in certain things, and others that are willing to be ignorant as the Apostle phraseth it ; speaking of those Eternalists that denied the doctrine of the change and revolutions of the Natural World : And 'tis not to be expected but there are many still of the same humour ; and therefore may be called *willingly ignorant*, that is, they will not use that pains and attention that is necessary for the examination of such a doctrine, nor impartiality in judg-

ing after examination ; they greedily lay hold on all evidence on one side, and willingly forget, or slightly pass over, all evidence for the other ; this I think is the character of those that are *willingly ignorant* ; for I do not take it to be so deep as a down-right wilful ignorance, where they are plainly conscious to themselves of that wilfulness ; but where an insensible mixture of humane passions inclines them one way, and makes them averse to the other ; and in that method draws on all the consequences of a *willing ignorance*.

There remains still, as I remember, one Proposition that I am bound to make good ; I said at first, that our Hypothesis concerning the Deluge was more agreeable not only to Scripture in general, but also to the particular History of the Flood left us by *Moses* ; I say, more agreeable to it than any other Hypothesis that hath yet been propos'd. This may be made good in a few words. For in *Moses's* History of the Deluge there are two principal points, The extent of the Deluge, and the Causes of it ; and in both these we do fully agree with that sacred Author. *As to the extent of it* ; He makes the Deluge universal ; *All the high hills under the whole heaven were cover'd, fifteen cubits upwards* ; We also make it universal, over the face of the whole Earth ; and in such a manner as must needs raise the waters above the top of the highest Hills every where. *As to the causes of it*, *Moses* makes them to be the disruption of the *Abyss*, and the *Rains* ; and no more ; and in this also we exactly agree with him ; we know no other causes, nor pretend to any other but those two. Distinguishing therefore *Moses's* narration as to the substance and circumstances of it, it must be allowed that these two points make the substance of it, and that an Hypothesis that differs from it in either of these two, differs from it more than Ours ; which, at the worst, can but differ in matter of circumstance. Now seeing the great difficulty about the Deluge is the quantity of Water required for it, there have been two explications propos'd, besides ours, to remove or satisfy this difficulty ; One whereof makes the Deluge not to have been universal, or to have reacht only *Judea* and some neighbouring Countries ; and therefore less water would suffice ; The other owning the Deluge to be universal, supplies it self with Water from the Divine Omnipotency, and says *new Waters* were created then for the nonce, and again annihilated when the Deluge was to cease. Both these explications you see, (and I know no more of note that are not obnoxious to the same exceptions) differ from *Moses* in the substance, or in one of the two substantial points, and consequently more than ours doth. The first changeth the Flood into a kind of national inundation, and the second assigns other causes of it than *Moses* had assigned. And as they both differ apparently from the Mosaical History, so you may see them refuted upon other grounds also, in the third Chapter of the First Book of the Theory.

This may be sufficient as to the History of the Flood by *Moses*. But possibly it may be said the principal objection will arise from *Moses's* his Six-days Creation in the first Chapter of *Genesis* : where another sort of Earth, than what we have form'd from the Chaos, is represented to us ; namely, a Terraqueous Globe, such as our Earth is at pre-

present. 'Tis indeed very apparent, that *Moses* hath accommodated his Six-days Creation to the present form of the Earth; or to that which was before the eyes of the people when he writ. But it is a great question, whether that was ever intended for a true Physical account of the origine of the Earth: or whether *Moses* did either Philosophize or Astronomize in that description. The ancient Fathers, when they answer the Heathens, and the adversaries of Christianity, do generally deny it; as I am ready to make good upon another occasion. And the thing it self bears in it evident marks of an accommodation and condescension to the vulgar notions concerning the form of the World. Those that think otherwise, and would make it literally and physically true in all the parts of it, I desire them, without entring upon the strict merits of the cause, to determine these Preliminaries. First, whether the whole universe rise from a Terrestrial Chaos. Secondly, what Systeme of the World this Six-days Creation proceeds upon: whether it supposes the Earth, or the Sun, for the Center. Thirdly, Whether the Sun and Fixt Stars are of a later date, and a later birth, than this Globe of Earth. And lastly, Where is the Region of the Super-celestial Waters. When they have determin'd these Fundamentals, we will proceed to other observations upon the Six-days work, which will further assure us, that 'tis a narration suited to the capacity of the people, and not to the strict and physical nature of things. Besides, we are to remember, that *Moses* must be so interpreted in the first Chapter of *Genesis*, as not to interfere with himself in other parts of his History; nor to interfere with *S. Peter*, or the Prophet *David*, or any other Sacred Authors, when they treat of the same matter. Not lastly, so, as to be repugnant to clear and uncontested Science. For, in things that concern the natural World, that must always be consulted.

With these precautions, let them try if they can reduce that narrative of the Origine of the World, to physical truth; so as to be consistant, both with Nature, and with Divine Revelation every where. It is easily reconcileable to both, if we suppose it writ in a Vulgar style, and to the conceptions of the People: And we cannot deny that a Vulgar style is often made use of in the holy Writings. How freely and unconcernedly does Scripture speak of God Almighty, according to the opinions of the vulgar? of his *passions, local motions, parts and members of his body*. Which all are things that do not belong, or are not compatible with the Divine Nature, according to truth and Science. And if this liberty be taken, as to God himself, much more may it be taken as to his works. And accordingly we see, what motion the Scripture gives to the Sun: what figure to the Earth: what figure to the Heavens: All according to the appearance of sense and popular credulity; without any remorse for having transgressed the rules of intellectual truth.

This vulgar style of Scripture in describing the natures of things, hath been often mistaken for the real sense, and so become a stumbling-block in the way of truth. Thus the *Anthropomorphites* of old contended for the humane shape of God, from the Letter of Scripture; and brought many express Texts for their purpose: but found
reason

reason at length, got the upper hand of Literal authority. Then, several of the Christian Fathers contended, that there were no *Antipodes*: and made that doctrine irreconcilable to Scripture. But this also, after a while, went off, and yielded to reason and experience. Then, the Motion of the Earth must by no means be allow'd, as being contrary to Scripture: for so it is indeed, according to the Letter and Vulgar style. But all intelligent Persons see thorough this Argument, and depend upon it no more in this case, than in the former. Lastly, The original of the Earth from a Chaos, drawn according to the rules of Physiology, will not be admitted: because it does not agree with the Scheme of the Six-days Creation. But why may not this be writ in a Vulgar style, as well as the rest? Certainly there can be nothing more like a Vulgar style, than to set God to *work by the day*, and in Six-days to finish his task: as he is there represented. We may therefore probably hope that all these disguises of truth will at length fall off, and that we shall see God and his Works in a pure and naked Light.

Thus I have finish'd what I had to say in confirmation of this Theory from Scripture. I mean of the former part of it, which depends chiefly upon the Deluge, and the Ante-diluvian Earth. When you have collated the places of Scripture, on either side, and laid them in the balance, to be weigh'd one against another; If you do but find them equal, or near to an equal poise, you know in whether Scale the Natural Reasons are to be laid: and of what weight they ought to be in an argument of this kind. There is a great difference betwixt Scripture with Philosophy on its side, and Scripture with Philosophy against it: when the question is concerning the Natural World. And this is our Case: which I leave now to the consideration of the unprejudic'd Reader: and proceed to the Proof of the Second Part of the Theory.

THE later Part consists of the *Conflagration of the World*, and the *New Heavens and New Earth*. And seeing there is no dispute concerning the former of these two, our task will now lie in a little compass. Being only this, To prove that there will be New Heavens, and a New Earth, after the Conflagration. This, to my mind, is sufficiently done already, in the first, second and third Chapters of the 4th. Book, both from Scripture and Antiquity, whether Sacred or Prophane: and therefore, at present, we will only make a short and easie review of Scripture-Testimonies, with design chiefly to obviate and disappoint the Evasions of such, as would beat down solid Texts into thin Metaphors and Allegories.

The

The Testimonies of Scripture concerning the *Renovation of the World*, are either express, or implicit. Those I call express, that mention the New Heavens and New Earth: And those implicit that signify the same thing, but not in express terms. So when our Saviour speaks of a *Palingenesia*, or Regeneration, (*Matt.* 19. 28, 29.) Or S. Peter of an *Apocatastasis* or Resitution, (*Act.* 3. 21.) These being words us'd by all Authors, Prophane or Ecclesiastical, for the *Renovation* of the World, ought, in reason, to be interpreted in the same sense in the Holy Writings. And in like manner, when S. Paul speaks of his *Future Earth*, or an *habitable World to come*, *Hebr.* 2. 5. or of a *Redemption* or melioration of the present state of Nature, *Rom.* 8. 21, 22. These lead us again, in other terms, to the same *Renovation* of the World. But there are also some places of Scripture, that set the *New Heavens* and *New Earth* in such a full and open view, that we must shut our eyes not to see them. S. John says, he saw them, and observ'd the form of the New Earth, *Apoc.* 21. 1. The Seer *Isaiab* spoke of them in express words; many hundred years before. And S. Peter marks the time when they are to be introduc'd, namely, after the Conflagration, or after the Dissolution of the present Heavens and Earth: *2 Pet.* 3. 12, 13.

ἡ ἐκκλιθήσεται
ἢ μελλούσα.

Isa. 65. 17.

These later Texts of Scripture, being so express, there is but one way left to elude the force of them; and that is, by turning the *Renovation of the World* into an Allegory: and making the New Heavens and New Earth to be Allegorical Heavens and Earth, not real and material, as ours are. This is a bold attempt of some modern Authors, who chuse rather to strain the Word of God, than their own Notions. There are Allegories, no doubt, in Scripture, but we are not to allegorize Scripture without some warrant: either from an Apostolical Interpretation, or from the necessity of the matter: and I do not know how they can pretend to either of these, in this case. However, That they may have all fair play, we will lay aside, at present, all the other Texts of Scripture, and confine our selves wholly to S. Peter's words: to see and examine whether they are, or can be turn'd into an Allegory, according to the best rules of Interpretation.

S. Peter's words are these: *Seeing then all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be, in holy conversation and godliness? Looking for, and hastening the coming of the Day of God: wherein the Heavens being on fire shall be dissolv'd, and the Elements shall melt with fervent heat. NEVERTHELESS, we, according to his promise, look for New Heavens and a New Earth, wherein Righteousness shall dwell.* The Question is concerning this last Verse, *Whether the New Heavens and Earth* here promis'd, are to be real and material Heavens and Earth, or only figurative and allegorical. The words, you see, are clear: and the general rule of Interpretation is this, *That* we are not to recede from the letter, or the literal sense, unless there be a necessity from the subject matter; such a necessity, as makes a literal Interpretation absurd. But where is that necessity in this Case? Cannot God make New Heavens and a New Earth, as easily as he made the Old ones: Is his strength decay'd since that Time,

2 Pet. 3. 11,
12, 13.

Time, or is Matter grown more disobedient? Nay, does not Nature offer her self voluntarily to raise a New World from the Second Chaos, as well as from the First: and, under the conduct of Providence, to make it as convenient an habitation as the Primæval Earth? Therefore no necessity can be pretended of leaving the literal sense upon an incapacity of the subject matter.

The Second Rule to determine an Interpretation to be Literal or Allegorical, is, The use of the same words or phrase in the Context, and the signification of them there. Let's then examine our case according to this rule. S. *Peter* had us'd the same phrase of *Heavens and Earth* twice before in the same Chapter. The *Old Heavens and Earth*, ver. 5. The *Present Heavens and Earth*, ver. 7. and now he uses it again, ver. 13. The *New Heavens and Earth*. Have we not then reason to suppose, that he takes it here in the same sense, that he had done twice before, for real and material Heavens and Earth? There is no mark set of a new signification, nor why we should alter the sense of the words. That he us'd them always before for the material Heavens and Earth, I think none will question; and therefore, unless they can give us a sufficient reason, why we should change the signification of the words, we are bound, by this second rule also, to understand them in a literal sense.

Lastly, The very form of the Words, and the manner of their dependence upon the Context, leads us to a literal sense, and to material Heavens and Earth. *NEVERTHELESS*, says the Apostle, *we expect New Heavens, &c.* Why *Nevertheless!* that is, notwithstanding the dissolution of the present Heavens and Earth. The Apostle foresaw, what he had said, might raise a doubt in their minds, whether all things would not be at an end: Nothing more of Heavens and Earth, or of any habitable World, after the Conflagration; and to obviate this, he tells them, *Notwithstanding* that wonderful desolation that I have describ'd, we do, according to God's promises, expect New Heavens and a New Earth, to be an Habitation for the Righteous.

You see then the New Heavens and New Earth, which the Apostle speaks of, are substituted in the place of those that were destroy'd at the Conflagration; and would you substitute Allegorical Heavens and Earth in the place of Material? A shadow for a substance? What an Equivocation would it be in the Apostle, when the doubt was about the material Heavens and Earth, to make an answer about Allegorical. Lastly, The Timeing of the thing determines the sense. When shall this New World appear? after the Conflagration, the Apostle says: Therefore it cannot be understood of any Moral Renovation, to be made at, or in the times of the Gospel, as these Allegorists pretend. We must therefore, upon all accounts, conclude, that the Apostle intended a literal sense: real and material Heavens, to succeed these after the Conflagration: which was the thing to be prov'd. And I know not what Bars the Spirit of God can set, to keep us within the compass of a Literal Sense, if these be not sufficient.

Thus much for the Explication of S. *Peter's* Doctrine, concerning the New Heavens and New Earth: which secures the Second Part

of our Theory. For the Theory stands upon two Pillars, or two Pedestals, The Ante-diluvian Earth and the Future Earth: or, in *S. Peter's* phrase, The Old Heavens and Earth, and the New Heavens and Earth: And it cannot be shaken, so long as these two continue firm and immoveable. We might now put an end to this Review, but it may be expected possibly that we should say something concerning the *Millennium*: which we have, contrary to the general Sentiment of the Modern *Millenaries*, plac'd in the *Future Earth*. Our Opinion hath this advantage above others, that, all fanatical pretensions to power and empire in this World, are, by these means, blown away, as chaff before the wind. Princes need not fear to be dethron'd, to make way to the Saints: nor Governments unhing'd, that They may rule the World with a rod of Iron. These are the effects of a wild Enthusiasm; seeing the very state which they aim at, is not to be upon this Earth.

But that our sense may not be mistaken or misapprehended in this particular, as if we thought the Christian Church would never, upon this Earth, be in a better and happier posture than it is in at present: We must distinguish betwixt a *melioration* of the World, if you will allow that word: and a *Millennium*. We do not deny a reformation and improvement of the Church, both as to Peace, Purity, and Piety. That knowledge may increase, mens minds be enlarg'd, and Christian Religion better understood: That the power of Antichrist shall be diminish'd, Persecution cease, Liberty of Conscience allow'd, amongst the Reformed: and a greater union and harmony establish'd. That Princes will mind the publick good, more than they do now; and be themselves better examples of Vertue and true Piety. All this may be, and I hope will be, e're long. But the *Apocalyptical Millennium*, or the *New Jerusalem*, is still another matter. It differs not in degree only from the present state, but is a new order of things: both in the Moral World and in the Natural; and that cannot be till we come into the *New Heavens* and *New Earth*. Suppose what Reformation you can in this World, there will still remain many things inconsistent with the true Millennial state. Antichrist, tho' weakned, will not be finally destroy'd till the coming of our Saviour, nor Satan bound. And there will be always Poverty, Wars, Diseases, Knaves and Hypocrites, in this World: which are not consistent with the *New Jerusalem*, as *S. John* describes it. *Apoc. 21. 2, 3, 4, &c.*

You see now what our notion is of the Millennium, as we deny this Earth to be the Seat of it. 'Tis the state that succeeds the first Resurrection, when Satan is lockt up in the bottomless pit. The state when the Martyrs are to return into Life, and wherein they are to have the first lot and chief share. A state which is to last a thousand years. *And Blessed and Holy is he, that hath a part in it: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be Priests of God and Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.* If you would see more particular reasons of our judgment in this case, why such a Millennium is not to be expected in this World: they are set down in the *8th. Chapt.* of the *4th. Book*, and we do not think it necessary that they should be here repeated.

As

As to that dissertation that follows the Millennium, and reaches to the Consummation of all things, seeing it is but problematical, we leave it to stand or fall by the evidence already given. And should be very glad to see the conjectures of others, more learned, in Speculations so abstruse and remote from common knowledge. They cannot surely be thought unworthy or unfit for our Meditations, seeing they are suggested to us by Scripture it self. And to what end were they propos'd to us there, if it was not intended that they should be understood, sooner or later ?

I have done with this Review : and shall only add one or two reflections upon the whole discourse, and so conclude. You have seen the state of the Theory of the Earth, as to the *Matter*, *Form*, and *Proofs* of it : both Natural and Sacred. If any one will substitute a better in its place, I shall think my self more obliged to him, than if he had shew'd me the Quadrature of the Circle. But it is not enough to pick quarrels here and there : that may be done by any writing, especially when it is of so great extent and comprehension. They must build up, as well as pull down ; and give us another Theory instead of this, fitted to the same Natural History of the Earth, according as it is set down in Scripture : and then let the World take their choice. He that cuts down a Tree, is bound in reason to plant two, because there is an hazard in their growth and thriving.

Then as to those that are such rigorous Scripturists, as to require plainly demonstrative and irrefragible Texts for every thing they entertain or believe ; They would do well to reflect and consider, whether, for every article in the three Creeds (which have no support from natural reason) they can bring such Texts of Scripture as they require of others : or a fairer and juster evidence, all things consider'd, than we have done for the substance of this Theory. We have not indeed said all that might be said, as to Antiquity : that making no part in this Review, and being capable still of great additions. But as to Scripture and Reason I have no more to add. Those that are not satisfied with the proofs already produc'd upon these two heads, are under a fate, good or bad, which is not in my power to overcome.

F I N I S.

AN
ANSWER
TO THE LATE
EXCEPTIONS
MADE BY
M^r Erasmus Warren
AGAINST THE
THEORY
OF THE
EARTH.



L O N D O N,

Printed by *R. Norton*, for *Walter Kettilby*, at the Bishop's
Head in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, 1690.

A N
A N S W E R

To the late

E X C E P T I O N S

M A D E B Y

M^r ERASMUS WARREN

A G A I N S T

The THEORY of the EARTH.



IF it be a Civility to return a speedy Answer to a demand or a message, I will not fail to pay that respect to the late Author of *Exceptions against the Theory of the Earth*. I know, short follies, and short quarrels, are the best: and to offer satisfaction at the first opportunity, is the fairest way to put an end to controversies. Besides, such personal altercations as these, are but *res periturae*, which do not deserve much time or study; but, like Repartees, are best made off hand, and never thought on more. I only desire that friendliness, that some allowance may be made as to unaccuracy of style: which is always allow'd in hasty dispatches.

I shall make no excursions from the Subject, nor use any other method than to follow the learned *Exceptor* from Chapter to Chapter, and observe his steps and motions, so far as they are contrary to the Theory. But if he divert out of his way, for his pleasure, or other reasons best known to himself, I may take notice of it perhaps, but shall not follow him any further than my business leads me; having no design to abridge his liberty, but to defend my own Writings where they are attackt. Give me leave therefore, without any other preface or ceremony, to fall to our work.

E X C E P T I O N S.

C H A P. I.

Pag. 44. **T**HIS Chapter is only an Introduction, and treats of other things, without any particular opposition to the Theory. And therefore I shall only give you the Conclusion of it, in the Author's own words: *So much for the first Chapter; which may be reckoned as an Introduction to the following Discourse. Which if any shall look upon as a Collection of Notes somewhat confusedly put together, rather than a formal, well digested Treatise, they will entertain the best or truest Idea of it.* A severe Censure: But every man best understands his own works.

C H A P. II.

Pag. 45. **H**ERE he begins to enter upon particular Exceptions: and his first head is against the *Formation of the Earth*, as explain'd by the Theory. To this he gives but one exception in this chapter: Namely, that *It would have taken up too much time. The World being made in six days.* Whereas many separations of the Chaos and of the Elements, were to be made, according to the Theory, which could not be dispatch'd in so short a time. To this Exception the general Answer may be this; either you take the Hypothesis of an ordinary Providence, or of an extraordinary, as to the time allowed for the Formation of the Earth; If you proceed according to an ordinary Providence, the formation of the Earth would require much more time than Six days. But if according to an extraordinary, you may suppose it made in six minutes, if you please. 'Twas plain work, and a simple process, according to the Theory; consisting only of such and such separations, and a Concretion: And either of these might be accelerated, and dispatch'd in a longer or shorter time, as Providence thought fit.

How-

The Theory of the Earth.

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However this Objection does not come well from the hands of this Author, who makes all the Mountains of the Earth, (the most operose part of it, as one would think) to be rais'd in a small parcel of a day, by the heat and action of the Sun. As we shall find in the 10th. Chapter, hereafter. He seems to proceed by natural Causes, for such are the heat and action of the Sun: and if so, he will find himself as much straiten'd for time, as the Theorist can be. But if he say, the work of Nature and of the Sun was accelerated by an extraordinary power, he must allow us to say the same thing of the Separations of the Chaos, and the first Concretion of the Earth. For he cannot reasonably debar us that liberty which he takes himself, unless we have debarr'd and excluded our selves. Now 'tis plain the Theorist never excluded an extraordinary Providence in the formation and construction of the Earth; as appears and is openly exprest in many parts of the Theory. See, if you please, the conclusion of the *fifth Chapter*, which treats about the formation of the Earth. The last paragraph is this: *Give me leave onely, before we proceed any further, to annex here a short Advertisement, concerning the Causes of this wonderful Structure of the first Earth: 'Tis true, we have propos'd the Natural Causes of it, and I do not know wherein our Explication is false or defective; but in things of this kind we may easily be too credulous. And this Structure is so marvellous, that it ought rather to be consider'd as a particular effect of the Divine Art, than as the work of Nature. The whole Globe of the water vaulted over, and the exterior Earth hanging above the Deep, sustain'd by nothing but its own measures and manner of Construction: A building without foundation or Corner-stone. This seems to be a piece of Divine Geometry or Architecture; and to this, I think, is to be refer'd that magnificent Challenge which God Almighty made to Job; Where was thou when I laid the foundations of the Earth? Declare, &c. Moses also, when he had describ'd the Chaos, saith, The Spirit of God mov'd upon, or sat brooding upon the face of the waters; without all doubt to produce some effects there. And St. Peter, when he speaks of the form of the Ante-diluvian Earth, how it stood in reference to the*

waters,

4 *An Answer to the late Exceptions made against*

waters, adds, By the word of God, or by the wisdom of God it was made so. And this same wisdom of God, in the Proverbs, as we observed before, takes notice of this very piece of work in the formation of the Earth: When he set an Orb over the face of the Deep, I was there. Wherefore to the great Architect, who made the boundless Universe out of nothing, and form'd the Earth out of a Chaos, let the praise of the whole work, and particularly of this Master-piece, for ever with all honour be given. In like manner, there is a larger account of Providence; both Ordinary and Extraordinary, as to the Revolutions of the Natural World, in the last Paragraph of the 8th. Chapter; and like reflections are made in other places when occasion is offer'd.

Eng. Theor.
p. 106, 107.

We have not therefore any where excluded the influence and benefit of superiour causes, where the case requires it. Especially when 'tis only to modify the effect, as to time and dispatch. And in that case none will have more need of it than himself, as we shall find in the examination of his Tenth Chapter, about the Origine of Mountains.

The rest of this Second Chapter is spent in three Excursions. One in justifying the Cartesian way of forming Light and the Sun, as agreeable to *Moses*. The Second about the *Jewish Cabala*, and *Cabalistical interpretations*. And the Third about *Mystical numbers*. But the Theory not being concern'd in these things, I leave them to the Author and his Readers, to enjoy the pleasure and profit of them, and proceed to the Third Chapter.

C H A P. III.

p. 73.

IN This Chapter a Second Exception against the formation of the Earth, as propos'd in the Theory, is alledg'd: And 'tis this, The fluctuation of the Chaos, or of that first watery Globe, would hinder, he says, any Concretion of Earth upon its surface. Not that there were Winds or Storms then, to agitate those waters. Neither would the motion of the Earth, or the rotation of that Globe, disturb them, as he allows there. But the disturbance would have
rise

c. 74. lin.
18, 19.

rise from Tides, or the ebbings and flowings of that great Ocean: which, he says, must have been then, as well as now. And the reason he gives is this, Because the Flux and Reflux of the Sea depend upon the Moon: And the Moon was then present, as he says, in our Heavens, or in our Vortex: and therefore would have the same effect then, upon that Body of waters which lay under it, that it hath now upon the Sea.

That the Moon was in the Heavens, and in our Neighbourhood, when the Earth was form'd, he proves from the Six-days Creation: and spends two or three pages in wit and scolding upon this subject. p. 77, 78, 79. But, with his leave, when all is done, his argument will be of no force, unless he can prove that *the Fourth Day's Creation was before the Third*. I confess, I have heard of a wager that was lost upon a like case, namely, whether *Henry the 8th.* was before *Henry the 7th*? But that was done by complot in the Company, to whom it was refer'd to decide the Question. We have no plot here, but appeal fairly to that Judge the Excepter hath chosen, namely to Scripture, which tells us, that the Moon was made the *4th.* Day and the Earth was form'd the *3d.* Therefore unless the *4th.* Day was before the *3d.* the Moon could not hinder the formation of the Earth.

But, I hope, say you, this is a misrepresentation. The Animadverter sure would not put the matter upon this issue. Yes, he does. For when he had oppos'd to our Formation of the Earth, the Fluctuation of the Waters: caus'd, as he phrases it, by the *bulkie presence* of the Moon, He concludes with these words, (p. 77. Paragr. 3.) *But in reference to this matter, there is a Doubt made by the Theorist, which must be consider'd and removed. Otherwise most of what hath been said, touching the instability and fluctuation of these Waters, will be vain and groundless. The Doubt is, Whether the Moon were then in our neighbourhood.* You see that matter is put upon this issue, Whether the Moon was in the Neighbourhood of the Earth, at the time of its formation. We say she was not, and prove it by this plain argument: If she was not in Being at that time, she was not in our Neighbourhood: But unless the
4th.

4th. day was before the 3d. she was not in Being. *Ergo.*

But after all, If the Moon had been present then, and there had been Tides, or any other fluctuation towards the Poles, we have no reason to believe, according to the experiences we have now, that that would have hinder'd the formation of the Earth, upon the surface of the Chaos. For why should they have hinder'd that more, than they do the formation of Ice upon the Surface of the Sea? We know, in cold Regions, the Seas are frozen, notwithstanding their Tides. And in the mouths of Rivers, where there is both the current and stream of the River on one hand, and the counter-current of the Tides on the other, these together cannot hinder the Concretion that is made on the Surface of the Water. And our water is a substance more thin, and easily broken, than that tenacious film was, that cover'd the Chaos. WHEREFORE, upon all suppositions, we have reason to conclude, that no fluctuations of the Chaos could hinder the formation of the First Earth.

Lastly, The Observator opposes the reasons that are given by the Theorist, *why the presence of the Moon was less needful in the first World.* Namely, *because there were no long Winter-nights: nor the great Pool of the Sea to move or govern.* As to the Second reason, 'tis onely Hypothetical: and if the Hypothesis be true, *That there was no open Sea at that time,* (which must be else-where examin'd) the consequence is certainly true. But as to the first reason, He will not allow the Consequence, tho' the Hypothesis be admitted. For he says, *As there were no long Winter-nights then, so there were no short Summer ones neither. So that set but the one against the other, and the presence of the Moon may seem to have been as needful then, in regard of the length of nights, as she is now.* This looks like a witty observation, but it does not reach the point. Is there as much need of the Moon in *Spain*, as in *Lapland*, or the Northern Countries? There is as much Night in one place as another, within the compass of a Year: but the great inconvenience is, when the Night falls upon the hours of Travel, or the hours of work and business. For if it fall onely upon hours of sleep, or
of

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of rest and retirement: as it does certainly more in *Spain*, and in those Climates that approach nearer to an Equinox, the Moon is there less necessary in that respect. We can sleep without Moon-shine, or without Light; but we cannot travel, or do business abroad, without hazard and great inconvenience, if there be no light. So that the reason of the Theorist holds good *viz.* That there would be more necessity of Moon shine in long Winter-Nights, than in a perpetual Equinox.

We proceed now to the rest of this Chapter, which is made up of some secondary Charges against this part of the Theory, concerning the Chaos and the Formation of the first Earth. As first, that it is *precarious*: Secondly, *Unphilosophical*: and Thirdly, *Antiscriptural*, which we shall answer in order. He seems to offer at three or four instances of *precariousness*, as to the ingredients of the Chaos, their proportions, and separations. But his quarrel is chiefly with the oily particles. These he will scarce allow at all: nor that they could separate themselves, in due time, to receive the Terrestrial: at least in due proportions.

First, He would have no oily particles in the Chaos. But why so, I pray? what proof or just exception is there against them? Why may there not be original Oily particles, as well as original Salt particles? Such as your great master *D. Cartes* supposes. He who considers that vast quantity of Oleagineous matter that is dispersed every where: in Vegetables, in Animals, and in many sorts of Earths: And that this must have been from the beginning, or as soon as the Earth had any furniture: will see reason to believe that such particles must be thought Original and Primeval. Not forg'd below the Abyss, and extracted from the inferior regions of the Earth. For that would require a process of many ages; whereas these being the principles of Fertility, it is reasonable to suppose that a New World abounds with them more than an Old one. Lastly, if we suppose Oily particles to be tenuious and branchy, as your Philosopher does, too gross to be Air, and too light for Water: Why should we imagine that in that vast mass and variety of particles,

B whereof

*p. 80, 81.
p. 83.*

*Prin. pp. 4. S. 84.
Meteor. c. 1. S. 8*

whereof the Chaos consisted, there should not be any of this figure, as well as of others? Or, what reason is there to suppose, that there are none of that figure, but what are brought from the inferiour Regions of the Earth? For, of all others, these seem to be the most unlikely, if not incapable, of being extracted from thence. And if there be only a gradual difference, in magnitude and mobility, betwixt the particles of Air and of Oil, as that Philosopher seems to suppose, why must we exclude these degrees, and yet admit the higher and lower?

Prin. phil.
l. 4. §. 76.

The second thing which he charges with *precariousness*, is the separation of this Oily matter, in due time, so as to make a mixture and concretion with the terrestrial particles that fell from above. This objection was both made and answered by the Theorist: which the Observator might have vouchsaf'd to have taken notice of: and either confuted the answer, or spar'd himself the pains of repeating the objection.

Eng. Theor.
p. 58, 59.

The third *precariousness* is concerning the quantity and proportion of these particles: and the fourth, concerning the quantity and proportion of the Water. The Excepter, it seems, would have had the Theorist to have gag'd these liquors, and told him the just measure and proportion of each. But in what Theory or Hypothesis is that done? Has his great Philosopher, in his Hypothesis of *Three Elements*, (which the Excepter makes use of, p. 52.) Or in his several Regions of the uniform'd Earth, in the *4th Book of his Principles*, defin'd the quantity and dimensions of each? Or in the Mineral particles and juices, which he draws from the lower Regions, does he determine the quantity of them? And yet these, by their excess or defect, might be of great inconvenience to the World. Neither do I censure him for these things, as *precarious*. For when the nature of a thing admits a latitude, the original quantity of it is left to be determin'd by the effects: and the Hypothesis stands good, if neither any thing antecedent, nor any present *phænomena* can be alledged against it.

But if these examples from his great Philosopher, be not sufficient, I will give him one from an Author beyond

beyond all exception: and that is from himself. Does the Animadverter in his new Hypothesis concerning the Deluge, *ch.* 15. give us the just proportions of his Rock-water, and the just proportions of his Rain-water, that concurred to make the Deluge? I find no calculations there, but general expressions, that the one was far greater than the other: and that may be easily presumed concerning the oily substance and the watery in the Chaos. What scruples therefore p. 80, 81; he raises in reference to the Chaos, against the Theorist, for not having demonstrated the proportions of the liquors of the Abyss, fall upon his own Hypothesis, for the same or greater reasons. And you know what the old verse says, *Turpe est Doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipsum.*

But however, He will have such exceptions to stand p. 81. good against the Theorist, tho' they are not good against other persons.

Because the Theorist stands upon * terms of certainty, and in one place of his Book, has this sentence, *Ego quidem, &c.* These words, I think, are very little exceptionable, if they be taken with the Context. For this Evidence and certainty which the Theorist speaks of, is brought in there in opposition to

* Ego quidem in cā sum sententiā, si in harum rerum de quibus agitur, cognitionem, aut aliarum quarumcunque, quæ momenti sunt, visum fuerit Deo aut Nature ut pateret hominibus ratio perveniendi, ratio illa certa est, & in aliquā clarā & invictā evidentiā fundata: non conjecturalis, vaga, & dubia. Qualem nempe ii, qui optime utuntur libertate sua, & qui maxime sibi cavent ab erroribus, nunquam amplectentur.

such uncertain arguments as are taken from the interpretation of *Fables* and *Symbols*: or from *Etymologies* and *Grammatical Criticisms*, which are expressly mention'd in the preceding discourse. And yet this sentence, because it might be taken in too great an extent, is left out in the 2^d Edition of the Theory, and therefore none had reason to insist upon it. But I see the Excepter puts himself into a state of War, and thinks there is no foul play against an Enemy.

So much for his charge of *precariousness*. We now come to the 2^d, which is call'd *unphilosophicalness*. And why is the Theorist, in this case, unphilosophical? Because, says the Excepter, He supposes Terrestrial particles to be dispers'd through the whole Sphere of the Chaos, as high as the Moon. And why not, pray, if it be a meer Chaos? where, antecedently to separa-

tions, all things are mixt and blended without distinction of gravity or levity. Otherwise it is not a meer Chaos. And when separations begin to be made, and distinction of parts and regions, so far it is ceasing to be a meer Chaos. But then, says the Observator, why did not the Moon come down, as well as these Terrestrial particles? I answer by another question, Why does not the Moon come down now? Seeing she is still in our Vortex, and at the same distance; and so the same reason which keeps her up now, kept her up then. Which reason he will not be at a loss to understand, if he understand the principles of his great Philosopher.

We come now to the last charge, That the Theory, in this part of it, is *Antiscriptural*. And why so? because it supposes the Chaos *dark*, whereas the Scripture says there was Light the first day. Well, but does the Scripture say that the Chaos was thoroughly illuminated the first day? the Excepter, as I remember, makes the primigenial Light to have been the Rudiment of a Sun: and calls it there a *faint light*, and a *feeble light*; and in this place, a *faint glimmering*. If then the Sun, in all its strength and glory, cannot sometimes dispel a mist out of the Air, what could this *faint, feeble glimmering* do, towards the dissipation of such a gross caliginous opacity, as that was? This Light might be sufficient to make some distinction of Day and Night in the Skies; and we do not find any other mark of its strength in Scripture, nor any other use made of it.

So we have done with this Chapter. Give me leave only, without offence, to observe the style of the Excepter in reference to Scripture and the Theory. He is apt to call every thing *antiscriptural*, that suits not his Sence. Neither is that enough, but he must also call it a *bold affront* to Scripture. He confesses, he hath made a *little bold* with Scripture himself, in his new Hypothesis. How much that *little* will prove, we shall see hereafter. But however as to that hard word, *affront*, a discreet man, as he is not apt to give an affront, so neither is he forward to call every cross word an affront. Both those humours are extremes, and breed

Pag. 52.

lin. 17.

lin. 27.

p. 78.

p. 299. pen.

breed quarrels. Suppose a Man should say boldly, God Almighty *hath noright hand*. Oh, might the Animadverter cry, *That's a bold affront to Scripture*: For, I can shew you many and plain Texts of Scripture, both in the Old Testament, and in the New Testament; where express mention is made of God's *Right Hand*. And will you offer to oppose *Reason* and *Philosophy* to express words of Scripture, often repeated, and in both Testaments? *O Tempora, O Mores*. So far as my observation reaches, weak reasons commonly produce strong passions. When a Man hath clear reasons, they satisfy and quiet the mind, and he is not much concern'd whether others receive his notions, or no. But when we have a strong aversion to an opinion, from other Motives and Considerations: and find our reasons doubtful or insufficient, then, according to the course of humane nature, the passions rise for a further assistance: and what is wanting in point of argument, is made up by invectives and aggravations.

C H A P. IV.

THIS Chapter is chiefly concerning the *Central Fire*, and the *Origine* of the *Chaos*. Of both which the Theorist had declared he would not treat. And 'tis an unreasonable violence to force an Author to treat of what things we please, and not allow him to prescribe bounds to his own discourse. As to the first of these, see what the Theorist hath said, *Engl. Theor.* p. 48. 64. & 324. By which passages it is evident, that he did not meddle with the Central parts of the Earth: nor thought it necessary for his Hypothesis. As is also more fully express'd in the *Latine* * Theory, p. 45. For, do but allow him a Chaos from the bottom of the Abyss, upwards to the Moon, and he desires no more for the formation of an habitable Earth. Neither is it the part of wisdom, to load a new subject with unnecessary curiosities.

p. 86.

* Si admittamus insuper Ignem Centralem, sive Massam ignis in centro Terræ: quod quidem non est hujus argumenti. Neque partem intimam Chaos, nisi obiter & pro forma, consideravi, cum ad rem nostram non spectet. Vid. etiam p. 186. edit. 2.

Then as to the *Origine* of the *Chaos*, see how the Theorist

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Eng. Theor.
p. 324.

Theorist bounds his discourse as to that. *I did not think it necessary to carry the story and original of the Earth, higher than the Chaos, as Zoroaster and Orpheus seem to have done; but taking that for our foundation, which Antiquity sacred and profane does suppose, and natural reason approve and confirm, we have form'd the Earth from it.* To form an habitable Earth from a Chaos given, and to show all the great Periods and general Changes of that Earth, throughout the whole course of its duration, or while it remain'd an Earth, was the adequate design of the Theorist. And was this design so short or shallow, that it could not satisfy the great Soul of the Excepter? but it must be a *flaw* in the Hypothesis, that it did go higher than the Chaos. We content our selves with these bounds at present. And when a man declares that he will write only the *Roman History*, Will you say his work's imperfect, because it does not take in the *Persian* and *Assyrian*?

88.

These things consider'd, to speak freely of this Chapter, it seems to me, in a great measure, impertinent. Unless it was design'd to show the learning of the Observator: who loves, I perceive, to dabble in Philosophy, tho' little to the purpose. For, as far as I see, his disquisitions generally end in Scepticism; He disputes first one way, and then another, and, at last, determines nothing. He rambles betwext *D.Cartes* and *Moses*, the *Rabbies*, the *Septuagint*, the *Platonists*, *Magnetisme*, *striate Particles*, and *præexistence of Souls*: and ends in nothing as to the formation of the Earth, which was to be the subject of the Chapter. We proceed therefore to the next, in hopes to meet with closer reasoning.

C H A P. V.

p. 106.

FROM the manner of the Earth's formation, the Excepter now proceeds to the *Form* of it, if compleated. And his first Exception is, That it would want *Waters* or *Rivers* to water it. He says there would either be no Rivers at all: or none, at least, in due time.

The Theorist hath replenisht that Earth with Rivers,
flowing

flowing from the extreme parts of it towards the middle, in continual streams: and watering, as a Garden, all the intermediate climates. And this constant supply of water was made from the Heavens, by an uninterrupted stream of Vapours: which had their course through the Air, from the middle parts of the Earth towards the extreme; and falling in Rains, return'd again upon the surface of the Earth, from the extreme parts to the middle. For that Earth being of an Oval, or something oblong figure, there would be a declivity all a-long, or descent, from the Polar parts towards the Equinoctial, which gave course and motion to these waters. And the vapors above never failing in their course, the Rivers would never fail below; but a perpetual Circulation would be establish'd, betwixt the waters of the Heavens and of the Earth.

This is a short account of the state of the Waters in the Primeval Earth. Which you may see represented and explain'd more at large, in the *2d. Book of the Theory, Chap. 5.* And this, I believe, is an Idea more easily conceived, than any we could form concerning the Waters and Rivers of the present Earth, if we had not experience of them. Suppose a Stranger that had never seen this Terraqueous Globe, where we live at present, but was told the general Form of it: How the Sea lies, how the Land, and what was the constitution of the Heavens: If this Stranger was askt his opinion, whether such an Earth was habitable: and particularly, whether they could have waters commodiously in such an Earth, and how the Inland Countries would be supplied? I am apt to think, he would find it more difficult (upon an Idea onely, without experience) to provide Waters for such an Earth, as ours is at present, than for such an one as the Primeval Earth was. 'Tis true, He would easily find Rains, possible and natural: but with no constancy or regularity; and these he might imagine would onely make transient torrents, not any fixt and permanent Rivers. But as for Fountains deriv'd from the Sea, and breaking out in higher grounds, I am apt to believe, all his Philosophy would not be able
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to make a clear discovery of them. But things that are familiar to us by experience, we think easie in speculation, or never enquire into the causes of them. Whereas, other things that never fall under our experience, tho' more simple and intelligible in themselves, we reject often as Paradoxes or Romances. Let this be applied to the present case, and we proceed to answer the Exceptions.

p. 114. Let us take that Exception first, as most material, that pretends there would have been no Rivers at all in the Primeval Earth, if it was of such a Form as the Theorist has describ'd. And for this He gives one grand Reason, *Because* the Regions towards the Poles, where the Rains are suppos'd to fall, and the Rivers to rise, would have been all frozen and congeal'd: and consequently no fit Sources of water for the rest of the Earth. Why we should think those Regions would be frozen, and the Rains that fell in them, he gives two Reasons, the Distance, and the Obliquity of the Sun. As also the experience we have now, of the coldness and frozenness of those parts of the Earth. But as to the Distance of the Sun, He confesses that is not the thing *that does onely or chiefly* make a Climate cold. He might have added, *particularly in that Earth, where the Sun was never at a greater distance than the Equator.* Then as to the Obliquity of the Sun, neither was that so great, nor so considerable, in the first Earth, as in the present. Because the Body of that lay in a direct position to the Sun, whereas the present Earth lies in an Oblique. And tho' the Polar circles or circumpolar parts of that Earth, did not lie so perpendicular to the Sun as the Equinoctial, and consequently were cooler, yet there was no danger of their being frozen or congeal'd. It was more the moisture and excessive Rains of those parts that made them uninhabitable, than the extreme coldness of the Climate, of it self. And if the Excepter had well consider'd the differences betwixt the present and primitive Earth: as to obliquity of position, and, that which follows from it, the length of Nights: He would have found no reason to have charg'd that Earth with *nipping and freezing cold*; where there was
not,

p. 118.

not, I believe, one morsel of Ice from one pole to another. But that will better appear, if we consider the causes of Cold.

There are three general causes of Cold: the distance of the Sun, his Obliquity, and his total Absence; I mean in the Nights. As to distance, that alone must be of little effect, seeing there are many Planets, (which must not be lookt upon as meer lumps of Ice) at a far greater distance from the Sun than ours. And as to Obliquity, you see it was much less considerable in the respective parts of the Primitive Earth, than of the present. Wherefore these are to be consider'd but as secondary causes of Cold, in respect of the third, the total absence of the Sun in the night time. And where this happens to be long and tedious, there you must expect excess of Cold. Now in the primitive Earth there was no such thing, as long winter nights, but every where, a perpetual Equinox, or a perpetual Day. And consequently, there was no room or cause of excessive cold in any part of it. But on the contrary, the case is very different in the present Earth. For in our Climate, we have not the presence of the Sun, in the depth of Winter, half as long as he is absent. And towards the Poles they have nights that last several weeks or months together. And then 'tis, that the Cold rages, binds up the ground, freezes the Ocean, and makes those parts, more or less, uninhabitable. But where no such causes are, you need not fear any such effects.

Thus much to shew that there might be Rains; Waters, and Rivers, in the primigenial Earth, and towards the extreme parts of it, without any danger of freezing. But however, says the other part of the exception, *These Rivers would not be made in due time.* That's wholly according to the process you take; If you take a meer natural process, the Rivers could not flow throughout the Earth, all on a sudden: but you may accelerate that process, as much as you please, by a Divine Hand. As to this particular indeed of the Rivers, one would think there should be no occasion for their sudden flowing through the Earth: because mankind could not be suddenly propagated
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throughout the Earth. And if they did but lead the way, and prepare the ground, in every countrey, before mankind arrived there, that seems to be all that would be necessary upon their account. Neither can it be imagin'd, but that the Rivers would flow faster than mankind could follow; for 'tis probable, in the first hundred years, men did not reach an hundred miles from home, or from their first habitations: and we cannot suppose the defluxion of Water, upon any declivity, to be half so slow. As to the chanel of these Rivers, the manner of their progress, and other circumstances, Those things are set down fully enough in the 5th Chapter of the 2d Book of the *English Theory*, and it would be needless to repeat them here.

But the Anti-theorist says, this slow production and propagation of Rivers is contrary to Scripture: Both because of the Rivers of Paradise, and also because Fishes were made the Sixth day. As to that of the Fishes, He must first prove that those were River-fishes; for the Scripture makes them Sea-fish, and instances in great Whales. But he says, (p. 113, 114.) it will *appear in the sequel of his Discourse*, that the Abyss could be no receptacle of fishes. To that sequel of his Discourse therefore we must refer the examination of this particular. Then as to Paradise, that was but one single spot of ground, according to the ordinary Hypothesis: which he seems to adhere to; and Rivers might be there as soon as he pleases, seeing its seat is not yet determin'd. But as for the Lands which they are said to traverse or encompass, that might be the work of time, when their chanel and courses were extended and settled. As they would be doubtless long before the time that *Moses* writ that description. But as to the *Rivers of Paradise*, it would be a long story to handle that dispute here. And 'tis fit the Authors should first agree amongst themselves, before we determine the original of its River, or Rivers.

Gen. 1. 22.
& 22.

ch. 13.

C H A P. VI.

WE come now to the Deluge: where the great Exception is this, That according to the Theory, the Deluge would have come to pass, whether mankind had been degenerate or no. p. 121.

We know mankind did degenerate, and 'tis a dangerous thing to argue upon false suppositions: and to tell what would have come to pass, in case such a thing had not come to pass. Suppose *Adam* had not sin'd, what would have become of the *Messiah* and the Dispensation of the Gospel? which yet is said to have been determin'd more early than the Deluge. Let the Anti-theorist answer himself this question, and he may answer his own. Eph. 1. 4.
1 Pet. 1. 20,
Apoc. 13. 8.

But to take a gentler instance, Suppose *Adam* had not eaten the forbidden fruit: How could He and all his Posterity have liv'd in Paradise? A few generations would have fill'd that place, and should the rest have been turn'd out into the wide World, without any sin or fault of theirs? You suppose the Ante-diluvian Heavens and Earth to have been the same with the present, and consequently subject to the same accidents and inconveniences. The action of the Sun would have been the same then, as now, according to your Hypothesis: The same excesses of heat and cold, in the several regions and climates: The same Vapours and Exhalations extracted out of the Earth: The same impurities and corruptions in the air: and, in consequence of these, the same external dispositions to Epidemical distempers. Besides, there would be the same storms and tempests at Sea, the same Earth-quakes and other desolations at Land. So that *had all the Sons and Daughters of men, to use the Ex-ceptor's elegant style, been as pure and bright, as they could possibly have dropt out of the mint of Creation, They should still have been subject to all these inconveniences and calamities: If mankind had continued spotless and undegenerate till the Deluge, or for sixteen hundred years, they might as well have continued so for sixteen hundred more. And in a far less time,* p. 122.

according to their fruitfulness and multiplication, the whole face of the Earth would have been thick covered with inhabitants: every Continent and every Island, every Mountain and every Desert, and all the climates from Pole to Pole. But could naked innocency have liv'd happy in the frozen Zones! where Bears and Foxes can scarce subsist. In the midst of Snows and Ice, thick foggs, and more than Ægyptian darkness, for some months together. Would all this have been a *Paradise*, or a *Paradisiacal* state, to these *Virtuous Creatures*? I think it would be more adviseable for the Excepter, not to enter into such disputes, grounded only upon suppositions. God's prescience is infallible, as his counsels are immutable.

p. 121.

But the Excepter further suggests, that the Theory does not allow a judicial and extraordinary Providence in bringing on the Deluge, as a punishment upon mankind. Which, I must needs say, is an untrue and uncharitable suggestion. As any one may see,

** Notandum verò, quamvis mundi veteris dissolutionem & rationes Diluvii secundum ordinem causarum naturalium explicemus, quòd eo modo magis clarè & distinctè intelligantur; non ideo in pœnam humani generis ordinatum fuisse diluvium, singulisque ipsius motibus præfuisse providentiam, insciamur: imò in eo elucet maxime Sapiëntia divina, quòd mundum naturalem morali ita coaptet & attemperet, ut hujus ingenio, illius ordo & dispositio semper respondeat: & amborum libratis momentis, simul concurrant & undè compleantur utriusque tempora & vicissitudines, ipse etiam Apostolus Petrus diluvii & excidii mundani causas naturales assignat, cum ait, &c.*

both in the Latin Theory * *Chap. 6th.* and in the English, in several places. So at the entrance upon the explication of the Deluge (*Theor. p. 68.*) are these words, *Let us then suppose, that at a time appointed by Divine Providence, and from causes made ready to do that great execution upon a sinful world, that this Abyss was open'd, and the frame of the Earth broke, &c.* And accordingly in the conclusion of that discourse about the Deluge, are these words,

(*Theor. p. 105.*) *In the mean time I do not know any more to be added in this part, unless it be to conclude with an advertisement to prevent any mistake or misconstruction, as if this Theory, by explaining the Deluge in a natural way, or by natural causes, did detract from the power of God, by which that GREAT JUDGMENT WAS BROUGHT UPON THE WORLD, IN A PROVIDENTIAL AND MIRACULOUS MANNER.*

*Theor. p.
106, 107,
108.*

And in the three following Paragraphs, which conclude that Chapter, there is a full account given both
of

of an ordinary and extraordinary Providence, in reference to the Deluge, and other great revolutions of the Natural World.

But it is a weakness however to think, that, when a train is laid in Nature, and Methods concerted, for the execution of a Divine Judgment, therefore it is not *Providential*. God is the Author and Governor of the Natural World, as well as of the Moral: and He sees through the futuritions of both, and hath so dispos'd the one, as to serve him in his just Judgments upon the other. Which Method, as it is more to the honour of his Wisdom, so it is no way to the prejudice of his Power or Justice. And what the Excepter suggests concerning Atheists, and their presum'd cavils at such an explication of the Deluge, is a thing only said at random and without grounds. On the contrary, so to represent the sense of Scripture, in natural things, as to make it unintelligible, and inconsistent with Science and Philosophick truth, is one great cause, in my opinion, that breeds and nourishes Atheism.

CHAP. VII.

THIS Chapter is about the places of Scripture, alludg'd in confirmation of the Theory. And chiefly concerning that remarkable Discourse in St. Peter, 2 *Epist.* 3. which treats of the difference of the Antediluvian World and the present World. That Discourse is so fully explain'd in the *Review of the Theory*, that I think it is plac'd beyond all exception. And the Animadverter here makes his exception only against the first words, *Λανθάνει γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὸτο δέλοισις.* which we thus render, *For this they willingly are ignorant of.* But he generally renders it, *wilfully ignorant of:* and lays a great stress upon that word *wilfully*. But if he quarrel with the *English* Translation, in this particular, he must also fault the *Vulgate*, and *Beza*, and all others that I have yet met withal. And it had been very proper for him, in this case, to have given us some Instances or proofs, out of Scripture or *Greek* Authors, where this Phrase signifies a *wilful and obstinate*

Ver. 5.

nate ignorance. He says it must have been a wilful ignorance, otherwise it was not blameable: whereas *St. Peter* gives it a sharp reproof. I answer, There are many kinds and degrees of blameable ignorance, a contented ignorance, an ignorance from prejudices, from non-attendance, and want of due examination. These are all blameable in some degree, and all deserve some reproof; but it was not their ignorance that *St. Peter* chiefly reproofs, but their deriding and *scoffing* at the Doctrine of the coming of our Saviour, and the Conflagration of the World. And therefore He calls them *Scoffers, walking after their own lusts.*

p. 137.

But the Excepter seems at length inclinable to render the foremention'd words, thus, *They are willingly mindless or forgetful.* And I believe the translation would be proper enough. And what gentler reproof can one give, than to say, you are *willing to forget* such an Argument or such a Consideration. Which implies little more than non-attention, or an inclination of the will towards the contrary opinion. We cannot tell what evidence or what Traditions they might have then concerning the Deluge, but we know they had the History of it by *Moses*, and all the marks in Nature, that we have now, of such a Dissolution. And They, that pretended to Philosophize upon the works of Nature and the immutability of them, might very well deserve that modest rebuke, That they were *willing to forget* the first Heavens and first Earth, and the destruction of them at the Deluge, when they talkt of an immutable state of Nature.

Theor. c. I.

Neither is there any thing in all this, contrary to what the Theorist had said, concerning the Ancient Philosophers, That none of them ever invented or demonstrated from the Causes, the true state of the first Earth. This must be granted; But it is one thing to demonstrate from the Causes, or by way of Theory, and another thing to know at large: whether by Scripture, Tradition, or collection from effects. The mutability and changes of the World, which these Pseudo-Christians would not allow of, was a knowable thing, taking all the means which they might and ought to have attended to: At least, before

fore they should have proceeded so far as to reject the Christian doctrine concerning the future changes of the World, with scorn and derision. Which is the very thing the Apostle so much censur'd them for.

So much for what is said by the Excepter concerning this place of St. Peter. To all the rest he gives an easie answer, (in the Contents of this Chapter) viz. That they are *Figurative, and so not argumentative*. The places of Scripture upon which the Theory depends are stated distinctly and in order, in the REVIEW: and, to avoid repetitions, we must sometimes refer to that: particularly, as to two remarkable places, *Psal. 24. 2.* and *Psal. 136. 6.* concerning the *Foundation and Extension of the Earth upon the Seas*. Which the Excepter quickly dispatches by the help of a *Particle* and a *Figure*. Review, p. 29, &c.

The next He proceeds to, is, *Psal. 33. 7.* *He gathereth the waters of the Sea, as in a Bagg: He layeth up the Abysses in store-houses.* But, he says, it should be render'd, as *on a heap*: which is the *English Translation*. Whether the Authorities produc'd, in this case, by the Theorist*, or by the Excepter, are more considerable, I leave the Reader to judge. But however, he cites another place, *Psal. 78. 13.* where the same word is us'd and apply'd to the Red-Sea, which could not be enclos'd as in a bag. Take whether Translation you please for this second place; it is no prejudice to the Theory, if you render it *on an heap*: for it was a thing done by Miracle. But the other place speaks of the ordinary posture and constitution of the waters, which is not *on a heap*, but in a level or spherical convexity with the rest of the Earth. This reason the Animadverter was not pleas'd to take notice of, tho' it be intimated in that same place of the Theory which he quotes. But that which I might complain of most, is his unfair citation of the next Paragraph of the Theory, which he applies peculiarly to this Text of *Psal. 33. 7.* whereas it belongs to all the Texts alledg'd out of the *Psalms*, and is a modest reflection upon the explication of them. As the Reader may plainly see, if he please to look the Theory, and compare it with his citation. * Eng. Theor. p. 86.

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p. 141. The next place he attacks, is, *Job 26.7. He stretches the North over the Tohu, or, as we render it, over the empty places: and hangeth the Earth upon nothing.* Here he says, *Job* did either accommodate himself to the vulgar, or else was a perfect *Platonist*. Methinks *Plato* should rather be a *Jobist*, if you will have them to imitate one another. Then he makes an Objection, and answers it himself: Concluding however, that *Job* could not but mean this of the present Earth, because in the next Verse he mentions *Clouds*. But how does it appear, that every thing that *Job* mentions in that Chapter, refers to the same time.

The next place, is, *Job 38. 4, 5, 6. Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the Earth, &c.* These eloquent expostulations of the Almighty, he applies all to the present Form of the Earth: where he says, there are the *Embossings of Mountains, the Enamelling of lesser Seas, the open-work of the vast Ocean, and the Fret-work of Rocks, &c.* These make a great noise, but they might all be apply'd to the ruins of an old Bridge, fallen into the water. Then he makes a large harangue in commendation of Mountains and of the present Form of the Earth: which, if you please, you may compare with the 10th. Chap. of the *Latin Theory*, and then make your judgment upon both.

p. 146. But it is not enough for the Excepter to admire the beauty of Mountains, but he will make the Theorist to do so too, because he hath express'd himself much pleas'd with the sight of them. Can we be pleas'd with nothing in an object, but the beauty of it? does not the Theorist say there, in the very words cited by the Excepter, *Sæpe loci ipsius insolentia & spectaculorum novitas delectat magis quàm venustas in rebus notis & communibus.* We are pleas'd in looking upon the Ruines of a *Roman Amphitheater*, or a *Triumphal Arch*, tho' time have defac'd its beauty. A man may be pleas'd in looking upon a *Monster*, will you conclude therefore that he takes it for a beauty? There are many things in objects besides beauty, that may please: but he that hath not sense and judgment enough to see the difference of those cases, and whence the pleasure arises, it would be very tedious to beat it into him by multitude of words. After

After his commendation of Mountains, he falls upon the commendation of Rain: making those Countries, that enjoy it, to be better water'd than by Rivers; and consequently the present Earth better than that Paradisiacal Earth describ'd by the Theorist. And in this he says, he follows the rule of Scripture, for these are his words. *And that these rules whereby we measure the usefulness of this Earth, and shew it to be more excellent than that of the Theory; are the most true and proper rules: is manifest from God's making use of the same, in a case not unlike: For he comparing Egypt and Palestine, prefers the later before the former; because in Egypt the Seed sown was watered with the foot, as a Garden of herbs; but Palestine was a Land of Hills and Valleys, and drank water of the rain of Heaven, Deut. 11. 10, 11.* p. 148.

Let this rest a while. In the mean time let us take notice how unluckily it falls out for the Observator, that a Country, that had no rain, should be compared in Scripture, or joyn'd in priviledge, with Paradise it self, and the Garden of God. For so is this very *Ægypt*, Gen. 13. 10. tho' it had no rain, but was water'd by Rivers. The words of Scripture are these. *And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered every where, (before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrha) even as the Garden of the Lord, like the land of Ægypt.* The Plain of *Jordan* you see is commended for its fruitfulness and being well watered: and as the height of its commendation, it is compar'd with *Ægypt*, and with the *Paradise of God*. Now in *Ægypt* we know there was little or no rain: and we read of none in *Paradise*: but they were both water'd by Rivers. Therefore the greatest commendation of a Land, for pleasure and fertility, according to Scripture, is its being well water'd with Rivers: which makes it like a paradise. Surely then you cannot blame the Theorist, having this authority besides all other reasons, for making the *Paradisiacal Earth* to have been thus water'd.

Now let the Excepter consider how he will interpret and apply his place in *Deuteronomy*, and make it consistent with this in *Genesis*. Till I see a better Interpretation,

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pretation,

pretation, I like this very well, tho' quite contrary to his: Namely, *That* they were not to expect such a Land as *Ægypt*, that was a Plain naturally fruitful, as being well water'd; But the Land they were to possess, depended upon the benediction of Heaven: And therefore they might expect more or less fertility, according as they kept God's Commandments. And so much for those two texts of Scripture.

p. 149.

Lastly, The Excepter in the conclusion of his discourse about that place in *Job*, makes a reflection upon the impropriety of those expressions in *Job*, about *Foundations* and *Corner-stones*, if they be apply'd to the first Earth describ'd by the Theorist. But this seems to me an Elegancy in that discourse, which he makes a fault: whether it be understood as an Allusion only to our manner of building, by deep Foundations, and strong Corner-stones: Or an Ironic interrogation, as it seems to me; implying, that there was no Foundation, (strictly so call'd) nor Corner-stone, in that great Work, tho' we cannot build a cottage or little bridge without such preparations.

He proceeds then to the following verses in that 38th chap. *Who shut up the Sea with doors, when it broke forth as if it had issued out of a Womb?* This the Theorist understands of the *Disruption* of the *Abyss* at the Deluge, when the Sea broke forth out of the womb of the Earth: or out of that subterraneous cavity, where it was enclosed as in a womb. 'Tis plainly imply'd in the words of the Text, That the Sea was shut up in some *Womb*, before it broke forth. I desire therefore to know in what *Womb* that was. You will find Interpreters much at a loss to give a fair answer to that question: What was that inclos'd state of the Sea? and what place, or part of Nature, was that Receptacle where it lay? But the Excepter hath found out a new answer. He says it was that *Womb* of non-entity. These are his words, *It just then (at its creation) gush'd out of the womb of nothing, into existence.* This is a subtle and far-fetcht notion. Methinks the *Womb of nothing*, is much what the same as *no Womb*. And so this is no answer. But however let us consider

der how far it would suit this case, if it was admitted. If you understand the *Womb of Non-entity*, the Gen. 1. 2. Sea broke out of that womb the first day, and had no bars or doors set to it, but flow'd over all the Earth without check or controul. Therefore that could not be the time or state here spoken of. And to refer that restraint, or those bars and doors, to another time, which are spoken of here in the same verse, would be very inexcusable in the Excepter: Seeing he will not allow the Theorist to suppose those things that are spoken of in different verses, to be understood of different times. To conclude, this Metaphysical notion of the *Womb of nothing*, is altogether impertinent, at least in this case: For the Text is plainly speaking of things Local and Corporeal, and this prison of the Sea must be understood as such.

p. 150.

He proceeds now to the last place alledg'd, *Prov. 8. 27, 28. When he prepared the Heavens, I was there: when he set a Compass upon the face of the deep.* The word *in* which we render *compass*, he says, signifies no more than the rotundity or spherical figure of the Abyfs. And so the sence will run thus, *When God set a rotundity, or spherical figure, upon the face of the Abyfs.* But whereas the word may as well signifie a *Sphere* or *Orb*, the Theorist thinks it more reasonable that it should be so translated: and so the sentence would run thus, *When God set an Orb upon the face of the Deep.* And this discourse of *Solomon's*, referring to the beginning of the World, he thinks it rational to understand it of the *first habitable Earth*: which was really an *Orb set over the face of the Deep.*

One cannot swear for the signification of a word in every particular place, where it occurs: but when there are two senses whereof it is capable, and the one is much more important than the other, it is a fair presumption to take it in the more important sense; especially in such a place, and upon such an occasion, where the great works of the Divine Wisdom and Power are celebrated: as they are here by *Solomon.* And it cannot be deny'd, that our sense of the words is more important than the other: For of what consequence is it to say, *God made the*

Body of the Abyss round. Every one knows that Fluids of their own accord run into that figure. So as that would be a small remark upon a great occasion.

The construction of this Orb we speak of, minds me of an injustice which the Excepter hath done the Theory, in the precedent part of this Chapter, by a false accusation. For he says, The Theory makes the construction of the first Earth to have been *meerly Mechanical*. At least his words seem to signifie as much, which are these. *And so its Formation, speaking of the first Earth, had been meerly Mechanical, as the Theory makes it.* That the construction was not meerly Mechanical, in the opinion of the Theorist, you may see, *Eng. Theor. p. 65.* which, because we have cited it before, we will not here repeat. The Theorist might also complain that the Excepter cites the first Edition of the Theory for such things as are left out in the second: which yet was printed a twelve-month before his Animadversions. And therefore in fairness he ought always to have consulted the last Edition and last sence of the Author, before he had censured him or his work. But this unfair method, it seems, pleas'd his humour better: as you may see in this Chapter, (*p. 154.*) and in several other places; where passages are cited and insisted upon, that are no where to be found in the second Edition. Not to mention his defective citations; omitting that part that qualifies the sentence, as *p. 99.* last citation, and else-where. I make this note that the Reader may judge, how well this answers that *sincerity*, with which he profess he would examine this work. *Only as a friend and servant to Truth. And therefore with such Candour, Meekness and Modesty, as becomes one who assumes and glories in so fair a Character, p. 43.*

p. 143.

p. 81.
p. 100.
last part.
p. 154.
p. 227, 228.
p. 244.
p. 279, 280.
p. 288.

The rest of this Chapter is a general Censure of citations out of Scripture, that are only Tropical or Figurative Schemes of Speech. These must be made so indeed, if our sence of them be not allow'd. But what necessity is there of a figurative interpretation of all these Texts? The rule we go by, and I think all good Interpreters, is this, That we are not to leave the literal sence, unless there be a necessity from

from the subject matter. And there is no such necessity in this case, upon our Hypothesis: for it suits with the literal sense. And 'tis to beg the Question, to say the literal sense is not to be admitted, because it complies too much with the Theory. But as for that Text of his own, which he instances in, the *Pillars of the Earth tremble*, that cannot be understood (by the same Rule) of Pillars *literally*; because there are no such Pillars of the Earth, upon any Hypothesis.

C H A P. VIII.

THIS Chapter is concerning that grand property of the Antediluvian Earth, a *perpetual Equinox*, or a Right position to the Sun. This perpetual Equinox the Excepter will by no means admit. But I'me afraid he mistakes the notion: for as he explains it in the two first Sections of this Chapter, he seems to have a false Idea of the whole matter. He thinks, I perceive, that when the Earth chang'd its situation, it was translated from the Equator into the Ecliptick: and that before that change, in the Antediluvian state, it mov'd directly under the Equator. For these are his words, *So that in her Annual motion about the Sun, namely, the Earth before that change, she was carried directly under the Equinoctial: without any manner of obliquity in her site, or declination towards either of the Tropicks, in her course; And therefore could never cut the Equinoctial, by passing (as now she is presum'd to do) from one Tropick to the other.* By which words, you see, he imagines that the Earth mov'd perpetually under the Equator, when it had a perpetual Equinox. And when it came out of that state, into this wherein it is now, it did not only change its position, and the posture of its Axis, but was also really translated from one part of the Heavens into Another: namely, from under the Equator to the Ecliptick, and so took another road in its annual course about the Sun. This is a great mistake: And I cannot blame him, if he was so averse to admit this change, seeing it lay so cross in his imagination. For what Pullies or Leavers should we employ

p. 158.

Lat. Theor.
li. 2. c. 4.

ploy to remove the Earth out of the Equator into the Ecliptick? *Archimedes* pretended, if he had ground to plant his Engines upon, that he would move the Earth out of its place; but that it was done before, I never knew, nor heard of: And if the Excepter had consider'd what is said in the Theory upon that occasion, he might easily have prevented his mistake. But we shall meet with the same Errour again in another place; Let us consider now what Arguments he uses against this change.

p. 159.

He says, *If there had been such a change*, either Providence or Mankind would have preserv'd the memory of it. How far the memory of it hath been preserv'd, we shall see hereafter. In the mean time, we will give him instances of other things to reflect upon, that are lost out of memory, unless he be the happy Man that shall retrieve them. The *Age of the World* hath not been preserv'd, either by the memory of Man, or by the care of Providence. And was not that both a thing of importance, and of easie preservation? *Noah* could not but know the Age of the World, for he was contemporary with five or six Generations, that were contemporary with *Adam*. And knowing the Age of the World himself, he could not easily forbear, one would think, to tell it to his Sons and Posterity. But to this day, we do not know what the true Age of the World is. There are three Bibles, if I may so say, or three *Pentateuchs*, the *Hebrew*, *Samaritan*, and *Greek*: which do all differ very considerably in their accounts, concerning the Age of the World: and the most Learned men are not yet able to determine with certainty, which of the three accounts is most authentick. Then; what think you of the place of *Paradise*? How well is the memory or knowledge of that preserv'd? Could *Noah* be ignorant of it: and was it not a fit subject to discourse of, and entertain his Sons and Nephews, and by them to communicate it to Posterity? Yet we seek it still in vain. The *Jews* were as much at a loss as we are: and the Christian Fathers, you think, were out in their opinions, both about the place and conditions of it: neither do you venture to determine them your self:

p. 263, 264,
265.

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so that Paradise is lost in a manner out of the world. What wonder then if this single property of it be lost? If the Excepter had well consider'd what the Theorist Eng. Theor. has said concerning the Providential conduct of p. 286, 287. knowledge in the World, this doubt or objection might have been spar'd.

After a long excursion, little to the purpose, but to show his reading: He tells us next, that Scripture does not favour this notion of a perpetual Equinox before the Flood: And cites *Gen. 8. 22.* which the Theorist had cited as a place that did suggest to us that vicifitude of Seasons that was establish'd after the Flood. The words indeed are not so determinate in themselves, but that they may be understood, either of the restauration of a former order in the Seasons of the Year, or of the establishment of a new one. And in whether sense they are to be taken, is to be determin'd by collateral Reasons and Considerations. Such the Theorist had set down, to make it probable, that they ought to be understood as a Declaration of such an Order for the Seasons of the Year, as was brought in at that time, and was to continue to the end of the World. The Excepter hath not thought fit to take notice of, or refute, those Reasons, and therefore they stand good, as formerly. Besides, the Excepter must remember that this Text stands betwixt two remarkable Phænomena, the Longevity of the Antediluvians in the old World, and the appearance of the Rainbow in the New. Both which were marks of a different state of nature in the two Worlds. p. 166.

He further excepts against that perpetual Equinox before the Flood, for another Scripture-reason: *Viz.* Because the Earth was curst before that time, and consequently, he says, had not a perpetual Equinox. But if that curse was supernatural, it might have its effect in any position of the Earth. For God can make a Land barren, if he think fit, in spite of the course of Nature. And so he also must suppose it to have been in this case. For, upon all suppositions, whether of a perpetual Equinox, or no, the Earth is granted to have been very fruitful at first: and so would have continued, if that curse had not interven'd. p. 168.

Lastly,

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p. 169. Lastly, He makes that an argument, that the Air was cold and intemperate in Paradise, and consequently no constant Equinox, *because Adam and Eve made themselves Aprons to cover their nakedness.* So, he confesses, Interpreters generally understand that it was to *cover their nakedness.* But he will not allow that to be the true sense, but says those Fig-leaves were to keep them warm. And the other Interpretation of *covering their nakedness,* he will not admit, for three reasons. First because the Scripture, as he pretends, does not declare it so. See, pray, *Gen. 3. 7.* Secondly, *What shame,* says he, *need there have been betwixt Husband and Wife?* Thirdly, *If it was modesty; when they were innocent, they should have been more modest.* Some arguments answer themselves, and I do not think these deserve a confutation. But, he says, however God made them *Coats of Skins* afterwards, and that was to be a *defence against cold.* He must tell us in what Climate he supposes Paradise to have stood: and which way, and how far, *Adam* and *Eve* were banisht from it. When those things are determin'd, we shall know what to judge of his argument, and of *Coats of Skins.*

p. 170. After *Lastly,* I expected no more: but he hath two or three reasons after the *Last.* As first, he says, upon our Hypothesis, one Hemisphere of the Globe must have been unpeopled: because the Torrid Zone was unpassable. And was not the Ocean as unpassable, upon your Hypothesis? How got they into *America?* and not only into *America,* but into all the Islands of the Earth, that are remote from Continents. Will you not allow us one Miracle, for your many? I'm sure the Theorist never excluded the Ministry of Angels? and They could as easily carry them thorough the Torrid Zone, as over the Ocean. But Secondly, he says, There could be no Rains, to make the Flood, if there was a perpetual Equinox. Were not those rains that made the Flood, extraordinary, and out of the course of Nature? you would give one angry words that should deny it. Besides, the *Flood-gates* of *Heaven* were open'd when the *Great Deep* was broken up, (*Gen. 7. 11.*) and no wonder the Disruption of the Earth should cause some extraordinary Commotions

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in the air: and either compress the vapours, or stop their usual course towards the Poles, and draw them down in streams upon several parts of the Earth. But the Excepter says, this could not be, because the Theorist makes the rains fall before the disruption of the Abyss. But he does not suppose the *Cataracts of Heaven* to have been open'd before, which made the grand rains. And how unfairly that passage of the Theory is represented, we shall see hereafter in the 14th. Chapter.

Lastly, He concludes all with this remark: That all sorts of Authors have disputed, in what season of the Year the Deluge came, and in what season of the Year the World began: therefore they thought there were then different seasons of the Year. These disputes, he confesses, did *manifestly proceed from inadvertency*, or something worse: Because there could not be any one season throughout all the Earth at once. He might have added, unless upon the supposition of the Theory, which makes an universal Equinox at that time. And why may not that have given occasion to the general belief, *that the world begun in the Spring?* and when the true reason of the Tradition was lost, they fell into those impertinent questions, *In what season of the Year the World began.* But however we do not depend upon the belief, either of the Ancients or the Moderns, as to the generality: for we know they had other notions of these things than what the Theory proposes; otherwise it would have been a needless work. But notwithstanding the general error, that Providence did preserve some Traditions and Testimonies concerning that ancient Truth, we shall see in the next following discourse.

So much for Scripture and Reasons. He now comes to examine Authorities: Namely such Testimonies as are alledg'd by the Theorist, to shew that there was a Tradition amongst the Ancients, of a *change that had been, as to the position of the Earth:* and consequently, as to the form and seasons of the Year. The first Testimony that he excepts against is that of *Diogenes* and *Anaxagoras*; who witness plainly, That there had been an *Inclination* of the Earth, or a

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change

change of posture, since it was form'd and inhabited. But the Excepter says they have not assign'd a true *final cause*, nor such as agrees with the Theory. The
 p. 178. second Testimony is that of *Empedocles*, which he ex-
 p. 179. cepts against, because he hath not given a good *Efficient Cause* of that change. The third witness is *Leucippus*:
 p. 180. against whom he makes the same exception, that he does not assign the Causes a-right. The fourth witness is *Democritus*: whom he quarrels upon the same account. But is this a fair hearing of Witnesses? Or are these just and legal grounds of rejecting their testimony, as to matter of Fact, because they are unskilful in giving the causes and reasons of that matter of Fact? That is not requir'd in witnesses: and they are often impertinent when they attempt to do it. The Theorist does not cite these Authors to learn of them the causes either Efficient or Final, of that *Inclination*, or change of posture in the Earth, but only matter of Fact. To let you see, that, according to their testimony, there was a Tradition in that time, which they took for true, concerning a change made in the posture of the Earth. And this is all we require from them. If you pretend to invalidate their testimony, because they do not Philosophize well about that change: That's as if you should deny that there was such a War as the *Peloponnesian* war, because the Historian hath not assigned the true causes and reasons of it. Or as if a man should give you the history of a Comet, that appear'd in such a year, was of such a form, and took such a course in the Heavens; and you should deny there was any such Comet, because the same Author had not given a good account of the generation of that Comet, nor of the Causes of its form and motion. The exceptions made against the testimonies of these Philosophers, seem to me to be no less injudicious.

p. 181. After these Testimonies, He makes three or four remarks or reflections upon them. But they all concern, either the time of this Change, or the Causes of it. Neither of which the Theorist either engag'd or intended to prove from these Witnesses.

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There is still one Testimony behind, which the Excepter hath separated from the rest, that he might encounter it singly. 'Tis another passage from *Anaxagoras*, which both notes this *Inclination*, and the posture of the Heavens and Earth before that *Inclination*. But here the Excepter quarrels, first, with the word $\sigma\omicron\lambda\omicron\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\omega}$: because *Ambrosius* the Monk, would have it to be $\sigma\omicron\lambda\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\varsigma$: but without the Authority of any Manuscript : and, as *Casaubon* says, *malé*. Then, he says, *Aldobrandinus* translates it *turbulentè*, but gives no reason for that translation, in his notes. Therefore he cannot rest in this, but in the third place, he gives another sense to $\phi\omicron\rho\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\ \sigma\omicron\lambda\omicron\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\eta}$. And if that will not please you, he has still a fourth answer in reserve. I do not like when a man shifts answers so often, 'tis a sign he has no great confidence in any one. But let us have his fourth answer, 'Tis this, That *Anaxagoras* was a kind of heterodox Philosopher, and what he says is not much to be heeded. These are the words of the Excepter. *If this will not satisfy, I have one thing more to offer. Grant that Anaxagoras should mean that very Declination, which the Theory would have him, yet this truly would contribute little towards the proof of the thing. For he was a man as like to be Heterodox, as like to broach and maintain false and groundless opinions, as any of the learned Ancients. Had he made this exception against this witness at first, it might have sav'd both himself and us a great deal of pains. For we do allow, if you can prove a witness to be persona infamis, or non compos mentis, 'tis sufficient to invalidate his Testimony.*

p. 184.

But this is a rude and groundless censure ; Shall that famous *Anaxagoras*, that was call'd *MENS*, $\kappa\alpha\tau'\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\xi\omicron\chi\lambda\omega$, not be thought so much as *mentis compos* ? nor have credit enough for an honest witness ? I am apt to think, from those sentences, and those remains we have left of him, that there was not a more considerable man amongst the Ancients, for nobleness of mind and natural knowledg. I could bring the testimonies of many ancient Authors, and of many Christian fathers, to clear his reputation, and place it above envy. 'Tis generally acknowledg'd, that he first introduc'd

an intellectual principle, in the formation of the Universe: to dispose and order confus'd matter. And accordingly *Eusebius* gives him this fair character, $\xi\tau\theta$. *Prep. Evan. l. 10. c. ult. p. 504. Col.* $\delta\eta\ \pi\rho\omega\tau\theta\ \delta\iota\eta\rho\delta\rho\omega\sigma\epsilon$, &c. *He first rectified the doctrine of Principles: For he did not only discourse about the matter or substance of the Universe, as other Philosophers: but also of the cause and principle of its motion.* And the same Author, in his 14th Book, repeats and enlarges this character.

I wonder, the Excepter, of all men, should lessen the name of *Anaxagoras*. For, besides his Orthodoxy as to the intellectual World: He was one that establish'd the notion of *Vortices*, in the Corporeal. As you may see in *Clem. Alexandrinus*, and in *Plato's Phædo*. And tho' the *Father*, and *Socrates*, (who never was a friend to natural Philosophy) both blame him for it; yet the excepter, who is deservedly pleas'd with that Systeme of *Vortices*, ought to have shew'd him some favour and esteem for the sake of this doctrine. Lastly, as to his moral temper; his contempt of the World, and his love of contemplation; you have many instances of it in the short story of his life in *Laertius*. And I shall always remember that excellent saying of his in *Clem. Alexandrinus*, $\tau\omega\ \delta\epsilon\omega\epsilon\lambda\alpha\nu\ \tau\theta\ \beta\iota\omega\ \tau\epsilon\lambda\theta$. $\xi\theta$, $\kappa\upsilon\ \tau\ \alpha\pi\theta\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma\ \epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\iota\alpha\nu$, *That the end of life is Contemplation; and that liberty, that accompanies it, or flows from it.*

But we are not to imagine, that all the opinions of the ancient Philosophers, are truly conveyed or represented to us. Neither can we in reason or justice believe, that they could be guilty of such absurd notions, as are sometimes fathered upon them. The Excepter instances in an extravagant assertion, (as the story is told to us) ascrib'd to *Anaxagoras*: of a *stone that fell from the Sun*. This cannot be literally true, nor literally the opinion of *Anaxagoras*, if he believ'd *Vortices*; therefore methinks so witty a man as the Excepter, and so well vers'd in the modern Philosophy, should rather interpret this of the Incrustation of a fixt Star, and its descent into the lower World: That a Star fell from the Ethereal regions, and became an Opaque and Terrestrial Body. Especially seeing *Diogenes*,

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as he says, supposes it a Star. Some things were ænigmatically spoken at first: and some things afterwards so much corrupted, in passing thorough unskilful hands, that we should be very injurious to the memory of those great Men, if we should suppose every thing to have come so crudely from them, as it is now deliver'd to us. And as to this Philosopher in particular; As the *Ionick* Physiology, in my opinion, was the most considerable amongst the Ancients; so there was none, of that order, more considerable than *Anaxagoras*. Whom, tho' you should suppose extravagant, *quoad hoc*, that would not invalidate his testimony in other things.

Upon the whole matter, let us now sum up the Evidence, and see what it will amount to. Here are five or six Testimonies of considerable Philosophers: *Anaxagoras*, *Diogenes*, *Empedocles*, *Leucippus* and *Democritus*. To which he might have added *Plato*, both in his *Politicus* and *Phædo*, if he had pleas'd to have lookt Li. 2. c. 10. p. 274. into the 2d. Edition of the *Latin* Theory. These Philosophers do all make mention of a change that hath been in the posture of the Earth and the Heavens. And tho' they differ in assigning causes, or other circumstances, yet they all agree as to matter of Fact: that there was such a thing, or, at least, a Tradition of such a thing. And this is all that the Defendant desir'd or intended to prove from them, as Witnesses in this cause.

To these *Philosophers*, he might have added the Testimonies of the *Poets*, who may be admitted as witnesses of a Tradition, though it be further questioned, whether that Tradition be true or false. These Poets when they speak of a *Golden Age*, or the *Reign of Saturn*, tell us of a *perpetual Spring*, or a Year without change of Seasons. This is expressly said by *Ovid*, *Ver erat Æternum*, &c. And upon the expiration of the *Golden Age*, he says,

*Jupiter Antiqui contraxit tempora Veris,
Perque Hyemes, Æstusque, & inæquales Autummos,
Et breve Ver, spatiis exegit quattuor annum.*

Ovid

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Ovid liv'd in the time of our Saviour. And the Tradition, it seems, was then a foot, and very express too. *Plato*, who was much more ancient, hath said the same thing, in his *Politicus*, concerning the *Reign of Saturn*. And if we may have any regard to *Mythology*, and make *Janus* the same with *Noah*, which is now an Opinion generally receiv'd: That power that is given him by the Ancients, of *changing Times and Seasons*, cannot be better expounded, than by that great change of time, and of the Seasons of the Year, that happen'd in the Days of *Noah*. Neither must we count it a meer Fable, what is said by the Ancients, concerning the Inhabitability of the *Torrid Zone*: and yet that never was, if the Earth was never in any other posture, than what it is in now.

Vid. *Theor.*
Lat. li. 2.
c. 10. in fine.

Lastly, As the Philosophers and Poets are witnesses of this Tradition, so many of the Christian Fathers have given such a Character of *Paradise*, as cannot be

* *De Grat. prim. hom. c. 12.*
Accedit ad hæc, quod Paradisus ita describitur à Sancto Basilio, in Libro de Paradiso; à Joan. Damasceno Libro secundo, de fide, capite undecimo; à Sancto Augustino libro decimo quarto de civitate Dei, capit. 10. Ab Alchimo, Avito, & Claud. Mario victore, & aliis supra citatis. Isidoro libro decimo quarto Etymolog. capite tertio, & aliis communiter; ut fuerit in eo ver perpetuum, nulla frigora, nulli aestus, nulla pluvia, nives, grandines, nulla etiam nubes; quod ipsum significat scriptura, cum dicit primos homines in Paradiso fuisse nudos.

understood upon any other supposition, than of a *Perpetual Equinox*. This *Card. Bellarmine* * hath noted to our hands; and also observ'd, that there could not be a perpetual Equinox in the Countries of *Asia*, nor indeed in any Topical Paradise, (unless it stood in the middle of the *Torrid Zone*) *nisi alius tunc fuerit cursus solis, quàm nunc est; unless the course of the Sun, or, which is all one,*

the posture of the Earth, *was otherwise at that time, than what it is now*: which is a true observation. The *Jewish Doctors* also, as well as the Christian, seem to go upon the same supposition, when they place Paradise under the Equinoctial; Because they suppos'd it certain, as *Aben Ezra* tells us, that the Days and Nights were always equal in Paradise.

See *Eng. Theor.*
p. 253.

We have now done with the examination of Witnesses: *Philosophers, Poets, Jews, and Christians*. From all these we collect, That there was an opinion, or Tradition, amongst the Ancients, of a change made in the state of the Natural World, as to the diversity of Seasons in the Year: And that this did arise from the change

change of the posture of the Earth. Whether this Opinion, or this Tradition, was *de jure*, as well as *de facto*, is a question of another nature, that did not lie before us at present. But the thing that was only in debate in this Chapter, was matter of Fact, which I think we have sufficiently prov'd.

In the close of this Chapter, The Excepter makes two Queries: still by way of objection to the Antediluvian Equinox. The First is this, *Supposing an Equinox in the beginning of the World, would it (in likelihood) have continued to the Flood.* If you grant the first part, I believe few will scruple the second. For why should we suppose a change before there appear any cause for it. He says, the Waters might possibly have weigh'd more towards one Pole, than towards another. But why the Waters more than the Air? The Waters were not more rarified towards one Pole, than towards another, no more than the Air was: for which the Excepter had justly blam'd *Leucippus* before. But however, *says He*, that Earth would be very unstable, because, in process of time, there would be an empty space betwixt the Exterior Region of the Earth, and the Abyss below. But that empty space would be fill'd with such gross vapors, that it would be little purer than water: and would stick to the Earth much closer than its Atmosphere that is carried about with it. We have no reason to change the posture of the Earth, till we see some antecedent change that may be a cause of it. And we see not any, till the Earth broke. But then indeed, whether its posture depended barely upon its *Æquilibrium*, or upon its *magnetisme*, either, or both of them, when its parts were thrown into another situation, might be chang'd. For the parts of a ruine seldom lie in the same libration the Fabrick stood in. And as to the magnetisme of the Earth, that would change, according as the Parts, and Regions of the Earth chang'd their situation.

The second Query is this. Granting there was such an Equinox in the first World, *Would not the natural day, towards the later end of that World, have been longer, than in the former periods of the same.* Suppose this was true,

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p. 138. true, which yet we have no reason to believe, That the Days were longer towards the flood, than towards the beginning of the World: why is this contrary to Scripture? He tells you how, in these words. *That the days just before the flood were of no unusual length, is evident in the very story of the Flood; the duration of which we find computed by Months, consisting of thirty days a-piece. Whereas had days been grown longer, fewer of them would have made a Month.* This is a meer Paralogisme, or a meer blunder. For if thirty days were to go to a Month, whether the days were longer or shorter, there must be thirty of them; and the Scripture does not determine the length of the days. If thirty circumgyrations of the Earth make a Month, whether these circumgyrations are slow or swift, thirty are still thirty. But I suppose that which he would have said, and which he had confusedly in his mind, was this, That the *Month* would have been longer at the Flood than it was before. *Longer*, I say, as to extent of time, or duration in general, but not as to number of days. And you could not cut off a slip of one day, and tack it to the next, through the intermediate Night, to make an abridgment of the whole. Therefore this Objection is grounded upon a mistake, and ill reasoning, which is now sufficiently detected.

CHAP. IX.

p. 189. **T**HIS Chapter is against the *Oval Figure of the first Earth*: which the Theorist had asserted, and grounded upon a general motion of the Waters, forc'd from the Equinoctial Parts towards the Polar. But before we proceed to his Objections against this Explication, we must rectifie one Principle. The Excepter seems to suppose, that Terrestrial Bodies have a *nitency inwards or downwards, towards their Central point.*
 p. 190. Whereas the Theorist supposes, that all Bodies moving round, have, more or less, a nitency from the Center of their motion: and that 'tis by an external force that they are prest down, against their first inclination or nitency.

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This being premis'd, we proceed to his exceptions: where his first and grand quarrel is about the use of a word: whether the motion of the Water from the middle of the Earth towards the Poles, can be call'd *defluxus*. Seeing those Polar Parts, in this suppos'd case, were as high, or higher than the Equinoctial. I think we do not scruple to say, *undæ defluunt ad litora*: tho' the shores be as high, or higher than the Surface of the Sea. For we often respect, as the Theorist did, the *middle* and the *sides*, in the use of that word: And so, *defluere è medio ad latera*, is no more than *prolabi ad latera*. But 'tis not worth the while to contest about a word. Especially seeing 'tis explain'd in the 2d. Edition of the Theory, by adding *detrusione*: but it would have spoil'd all this pedantry, and all his little triumphs, if he had taken notice of that Explication.

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Wherefore setting aside the *word*, Let us consider his *reasons* against this motion of the Waters towards the Poles: which, he says, could not be, because it would have been an ascent, not a descent. We allow and suppose that. But may not Waters ascend by force and detrusion: when it is the easiest way they can take to free themselves from that force, and persevere in their motion? And this is the case we are speaking to. They were impell'd to ascend, or recide from the Center, and it was easier for them to ascend laterally, than to ascend directly: upon an inclin'd Plain, than upon a perpendicular one. Why then should we not suppose that they took that course? Methinks the Observator, who seems to be much conversant in the *Cartesian* Philosophy, might have conceiv'd this detrusion of the Waters towards the Poles by the resistance of the superambient Air, as well as their flowing towards and upon the shores, by the pressure of the Air under the Moon. And if the Moon continued always in the same place, or over the middle of the Sea, that posture of the waters would be always the same: though it be an ascent, both upon the Land and into the Rivers. And this, methinks, is neither contradiction, nor absurdity. But an Enemy, that is little us'd to Victory, makes a great noise upon a small advantage.

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He proceeds now to show, that it was improbable that the Figure of the first Earth should be Oval, upon other considerations. As first, Because of its position: which would be cross to the stream of the Air, that turns it round, or carries it about the Sun. As a Ship, he says, that stands side-ways against a stream, cannot fail. But if that Ship was to turn round upon her Axis, as a Mill-wheel, and as the Earth does, what posture more likely to have such an effect, than to stand cross to the stream that turns it? And the stream would take more hold of an Oblong-Body, than of a round. Then, as to its annual course, which he mentions, that's nothing, but so many Circumvolutions: for in turning round it is also progressive, as a Cylinder in rowling a Garden. And three-hundred sixty-five circumgyrations compleat its annual course. So that this argument turns wholly against him, and does rather confirm the Oval Figure of the Earth.

His Second Argument against the Oval Figure of the First Earth, is the Spherical Figure of the present Earth. And how does he prove that? First from Authorities: *Anaximander, Pythagoras, and Parmenides* thought so. But how does he prove that their asserting the Earth to be *round*, was not meant in opposition to its being *Plain*: as the *Epicureans*, and the *Vulgar* would have it? That was the Question *Socrates* promis'd himself to be resolv'd in by *Anaxagoras*, *πότερον ἢ γῆ πλατεία ἔστιν, ἢ σφαιρική*. *Whether the Earth was flat, or round.* And 'tis likely the dispute was generally understood in that sence. However the Theorist hath alledg'd many more Authorities than these, in favour of the Oval Figure of the Earth. For besides *Empedocles* in particular, and those whom *Plutarch* mentions in general, the Philosophy of *Orpheus*, the *Phœnician, Ægyptian, and Persian Philosophers* did all compare the Earth to an Egg: with respect to its Oval external form, as well as internal composition. These you may see fully set down in the *Theory*: And it had been fair in the Excepter to have taken some notice of them, if he would contend in that way of Authorities. But he has thought fit rather to pass them over wholly in silence.

*Plat. in
Phad.*

*Plat. Theo:
lib. 2. c. 10.*

His

The Theory of the Earth.

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p. 197.

His reasons to prove the figure of the present Earth to be Spherical and not Oval, are taken, first, from the Conical figure, of the shadow of the Earth, cast upon the Moon. But that cannot make a difference, sensible to us at this distance, whether the Body that cast the shadow was exactly Spherical or Oval. His Second reason is *from the place of the waters*: which, he says, would all retire from the Poles to the Equator, if the Polar parts were higher. But this has been answer'd before. The same cause that drive the Waters thither, would make them keep there. As we should have a perpetual Flood, if the Moon was always in our Meridian. And whereas he suggests, that by this means the Sea should be shallowest under the Poles: which, he says, is against experience. We tell him just the contrary, That, according to our Hypothesis, the Sea should be deepest towards the Poles; which agrees with experience. That the Sea should be deepest under the Poles, if it was of an Oval form, he may see plainly by his own Scheme, or by the Theory Scheme: So that if his observation be true, of an extraordinary depth of the Ocean in those parts, it confirms our suspicion, that the Sea continues still Oval. Lastly, he urges, If this Earth was Oval, Navigation towards the Poles would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, because upon an ascent. But if there be a continual draught of Waters from the Equator towards the Poles, this will balance the difficulty, and be Equivalent to a gentle Tide, that carries Ships into the mouth of a River, though upon a gradual ascent.

p. 186.

Theor. Lat.
li. 2. c. 5.

p. 198.

Thus much we have said in complacency to the Excepter. For the Theorist was not oblig'd to say any thing, in defence of the Oval form of the present Earth, seeing he had no where asserted it. It not being possible, as to what evidence we have yet, to determine in what order the Earth fell, and in what posture the ruins lay after their fall. But however, to speak my mind freely upon this occasion, I am inclinable to believe, that the Earth is still Oval or Oblong. What things the Antitheorist hath suggested, will not decide the controversy: nor, it may be, any natural history;

nor any of those observations, that we have already. The surface of the Sea lies more regular than that of the Land, and therefore I should think, that observations made there, would have the best effect. I should particularly recommend these two: First, that they would observe towards the Poles, whether the Sun rise and set, according to the rules of a true Globe, or of a Body exactly Spherical. Secondly, that they would observe whether the degrees of latitude are of equal extent in all the parts of a Meridian; that is, if the quantity of sea or land that answers to a degree in the heavens, be of equal extent towards the Equator as towards the Poles. These two observations would go the nearest of any, I know, to determine whether the figure of the Earth be truly spherical or oblong.

CH A P. X.

THIS Chapter is concerning the *Original of Mountains*, and that they were before the Flood, or from the beginning. Which the Excepter endeavours to prove from Scripture: not directly, but because mention is made of them in the same places where the beginning of the Earth is mentioned, as *Psal.* 90. 1, 2. and *Prov.* 8. 25. therefore they must be co-eval and contemporary. We have, I think, noted before, that things are not always Synchronal that are mention'd together in Scripture. The Style of Scripture is not so accurate, as not to speak of things in the same place, that are to be referr'd to different times. Otherwise we must suppose the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and of the *World*, to have been intended for the same time: seeing our Saviour joyns them in the same discourse, (*Matt.* 24.) without any distinction of time. Or with such a distinction, as rather signifies an immediate succession (*ver.* 29.) than so great a distance as we now find to be betwixt the destruction of *Jerusalem* and the end of the *World*. Greater than that, betwixt the Beginning and the Flood. So in the Prophets sometimes, in the same discourse, one part is to be referr'd to the first coming of our Saviour, and another

other part to the second: without making any distinction of time, but what is to be gathered from the fence. Neither is there any incongruity in the fence, or in the tenour of the words, if those expressions in the Psalmist be referr'd to different times. God existed *before the Mountains were brought forth, and the Earth and the World were made.* This is certainly true, whether you take it of the same or different times. And if you take it of different times, 'tis a way of speaking we often use. As suppose a man should say concerning the Antiquity of *Troy*, that it existed before *Rome* and *Carthage*, that does not necessarily imply, that *Rome* and *Carthage* were built at the same time; but only that *Troy* was before them both. And so this of the Psalmist may be very well thus exprest; by a gradation from a lower Epocha to an higher. Then as for that place in *Prov.ch.8.* It would be very hard to reduce all those things that are mentioned there, (from *ver. 22.* to the *30.*) to the same time of existence; and there is no necessity from the words that they should be so understood. The design and intention of the Holy Ghost is plain in both these places: In the one to set out the Eternity of God, and in the other, of the *Logos* in particular. And this is done by shewing their pre-existence to this Earth, and to all its greatest and most remarkable parts.

Isa. 9. 6. 7.
Isa. 9. 1. &c.
Luk. 1. 31,
32, 33.

He mentions also, *Deut. 33. 15.* where the Hills are call'd *Lasting*, and the Mountains *Ancient.* And therefore they were before the Flood. This is a hard consequence. The River *Kisbon* is call'd the *ancient* River. *Judg. 5. 21.* but I do not therefore think it necessary, that that brook should have been before the Flood. Things may very well deserve that character of *Lasting* or *Ancient*, though they be of less antiquity than the Deluge. If one should say the *lasting Pyramids*, and *ancient Babylon*, none could blame the expression, nor yet think that they were therefore from the beginning of the World.

p. 202.

After these allegations from Scripture, He descends to a natural argument, taken from the *mountains in the Moon.* Which, he says, are much higher than the mountains upon the Earth: and therefore, seeing her

p. 203.

Body

44 *An Answer to the late Exceptions made against*

Body is less, they could not be made by a Dissolution of that Planet, as these of the Earth are said to have been. Though we are not bound to answer for the Mountains in the Moon, yet however 'tis easie to see that this is no good argument. For, besides that the Orb there might be more thick, all ruines do not fall alike. They may fall double, or in ridges and arches, or in steep piles, some more than others, and so stand at a greater height. And we have reason to believe that those in the Moon fell otherwise than those of the Earth: because we do not see her turn round: nor can we ever get a sight of her back-side, that we might better judge of the shapes of her whole Body.

p. 206. From this Natural Argument, he proceeds to an Historical Argument, taken from the *Talmudists* and *Josephus*. The *Talmudists* say, that *many Giants sav'd themselves from the Flood upon Mount Sion*. But this, the Excepter confesses, is *wholly fabulous*. What need it then be mention'd as an argument? Then he says, *Josephus* reports that *many sav'd themselves from the flood upon the mountain Baris in Armenia*. But this also, he says, is *false in the gross, and a formal fiction*. Why then, say I, is it brought in as an argument? Lastly, he quotes a passage out of *Plato*, who says, when the gods shall drown the Earth, the *Herdsmen and Shepherds shall save themselves upon mountains*. And this the Excepter calls a *piece of confus'd forgery*. Why then, say I still, is it alledg'd as an argument against the Theory? But however, says the Excepter, these things argue that many thought there were mountains before the Flood. But did the Theorist ever deny that it was the vulgar and common opinion? Therefore such allegations as these, may be of some use to shew reading, but of no effect at all to confute the Theory.

ibid. Yet the Excepter is not content with these stories, but he must needs add a fourth. Which, he says, is a *plain intimation that there were mountains in the beginning of the World*. Take his own words for the story and the application of it. *I will only add that Traditional story which is told of Adam; namely, how that after his fall, and when he repented of his Sin, he bewailed it for several hundreds of years, upon the mountains of India.*

Another

Another plain intimation that *THERE WERE MOUNTAINS* in the beginning of the World. This is a plain intimation indeed, that those that made this Fable, thought there were mountains then: but is it a proof that there really was so? as you seem to infer. Does the Excepter really believe that *Adam* wander'd an hundred years upon the mountains of *India*? If the matter of fact be false, the supposition it proceeds upon may as well be false. And he does not so much as cite an Author here, for the one or the other.

We are now come to the main point, a new Hypothesis concerning the *original of Mountains*, which the Excepter hath vouchsafed to make for us. And in short, it is this. When the Waters were drain'd off the Land, on the 3^d day, while it was moist and full of Vapours, the *Sun* by his heat, made the Earth heave and rise up in many places, which thereupon became Mountains. But lest we mistake or misrepresent the Author's sense, we will give it in his own words. *Now the Earth by this collection of the waters into one place, being freed from the load and pressure of them, and laid open to the Sun; the moisture within, by the heat of his beams, might quickly be turu'd into Vapours. And these Vapours being still increased by the continued rarifying warmth from above, at length they wanted space wherein to expand or dilate themselves. And at last not enduring the confinement they felt, by degrees heaved up the Earth above; somewhat after the manner that leaven does Dough, when it is laid by a fire; but much more forcibly and unevenly. And lifting it up thus in numberless places, and in several quantities, and in various figures; Mountains were made of all shapes and sizes. Whose origine and properties, he says, upon this Hypothesis, will be obvious, or at least intelligible, to thinking and Philosophick Minds.*

p. 208,
209, &c.

p. 209.

I must confess I am none of those *Thinking and Philosophick Minds*, to whom this is either obvious or intelligible. For there seem to me, to be a great many palpable defects or oversights in this new Hypothesis. Whereof this is on of the grossest, that he supposes the Sun, by his heat, the 3^d Day to have raised these Mountains upon the Earth; whereas the Sun was not created

p. 51. the 4th.
day was the
first day of
the Sun's ex-
istence.

created till the 4th. Day. So that it had this powerful effect, it seems, one day before it came into Being.

p. 209.

But suppose the Sun had then existed: This is a prodigious effect for the Sun to perform, in so short a time, and with so little force. The greatest part of that Day was spent in draining the Waters from off the Land. Which had a long way to go, from some Inland Countries, to reach the Sea, or their common receptacle. And, he says, without an extraordinary power, *perhaps they could not have been drained off the Earth in one Day.* Let us then allow, at least, half a Day, for clearing the Ground; so the Sun might begin his work about Noon: And before Night, he had rais'd all the Mountains of one Hemisphere. It will require a strong Philosophick Faith, to believe this could be all done by the action of the Sun, and in so short a time. Besides we must consider, that the Sun, by Noon, had past all the Eastern Countries, yet cover'd with Water, or not well drain'd: So that after they were dry'd, he could only look back upon them, with faint and declining rays. Yet the Mountains of the East are as great and considerable as else-where. But there is still another great difficulty in the case, as to the Northern and Southern Mountains of the Earth: for they lie quite out of the road of the Sun: being far remov'd towards either Pole; where, by reason of his distance and obliquity, his beams have little force. How would he heave up the *Riphæan* Mountains, those vast heaps of Stone and Earth, that lie so far to the North? You see what observations the Excepter hath made (p. 119, 120.) concerning the cold of those Countries: And it falls out very untowardly for this new Hypothesis, that the Northern parts of the Earth, as *Norway, Sweedland, Island, Scythia, Sarmathia, &c.* should be such Mountainous and Rocky Countries; where he had before declar'd the Sun had so little force. And indeed, according to his Scheme, all the great Mountains of the Earth should have been under the Equator, or, at least, betwixt the Tropicks.

But to examine a little the manner and method of this great Action: and what kind of Bodies these new Moun-

Mountains would be. Either the Sun drew up only the surface and outward skin of the Earth, as Cupping-glasses raise Blisters. Or his beams penetrated deep into the Earth, and heaved up the substance of it, as Moles cast up mole-hills. If you take the first method, these superficial Mountains would be nothing but so many baggs of Wind: and not at all answerable to those huge masses of Earth and stone, whereof our mountains consist. And if you take the second method, and suppose them pusht out of the solid Earth, and thrown up into the air, imagine then how deep these raies of the Sun must have penetrated in a few hours time, and what strength they must have had, to agitate the vapours to that degree, that they should be able to do such prodigies as these. Several Mountains, upon a moderate computation, are a mile high from the level of the Earth. So that it was necessary that the beams of the Sun should penetrate, at least, a mile deep, in so short a time: and there loosen and rarefie the vapours, and then tear up by the roots vast loads and extents of ground, and heave them a mile high into the open air; and all this in less than half a day. Such things surely are beyond all imagination: and so extravagant, that one cannot, in conscience, offer them to the belief of a man. Can we think that the Sun, who is two or three hours in licking up the Dew from the grass, in a *May*-morning: should be able, in as many more hours, to suck the *Alps* and *Pyreneans* out of the bowels of the Earth? And not to spend all his force upon them neither. For he would have as much work in other Countries. To raise up *Taurus*, for instance, and *Imaus*, and frozen *Caucasus* in *Asia*. And the mighty *Atlas* and the *Mountains* of the *Moon* in *Africk*. Besides the *Andes* in *America*, which, they say, far exceed all the Mountains of our Continent. One would be apt to think, that this Gentleman never see the face of a Mountainous Country. For he writes of them, as if he had taken his Idea of Mountains, and the great ridges of Mountains, upon the Earth, from the *Devil's Ditch*, and *Hogmagog Hills*. And he raises them faster than Mushromes, out of the ground. If the New-born Sun, at his first appearance,

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could

could make such great havock, and so great changes; upon the face of the Earth, what hath he been doing ever since? we never heard, nor read, of a Mountain, since the memory of Man, rais'd by the heat of the Sun. We may therefore enquire in the last place,

Why have we no Mountains made now by the same causes? We have no reason to believe, that the heat or strength of the Sun is lessen'd since that time, why then does it not produce like effects? But I imagine he hath an answer for this. Namely, that the moisture of the first Earth, when it was new-drain'd and marshy, contributed much to this effect: which now its driness hinders. But besides, that the driness of the Earth should rather give an advantage, by the collection of Vapours within its Cavities: However we might expect, according to this reason, that all our drain'd Fens and marshy grounds should presently be rais'd into Mountains. Whereas we see them all to continue arrand Plains, as they were before. But if you think these are too little spots of ground to receive a strong influence from the Sun, take *Ægypt* for an instance. That's capacious enough, and it's overflow'd every Year, and by that means made soft and moist to your mind, as the new Earth when it rise from under the Abyfs. Why then is not *Ægypt* converted into Mountains, after the inundation and retirement of *Nile*? I do not see any qualification wanting according to the Excepter's Hypothesis: *Ægypt* hath a moist Soil and a strong Sun; much stronger than the *Alpes* or *Pyreneans* have: and yet it continues one of the plainest Countries upon the Earth. But there is still a greater instance behind against this Hypothesis, than any of the former: And that is, of the whole Earth after the Deluge: when it had been overflow'd a second time by the Abyfs; upon the retirement of those Waters it would be much what in the same condition as to moisture, that it was in the 3^d. Day, when it first became dry Land. Why then should not the same effect follow again, by the heat of the Sun: And as many new Mountains be rais'd upon this second draining of the Earth, as upon the first? These are plain and obvious Instances, and as plainly

plainly unanswerable. And the whole Hypothesis, which this Vertuoso hath propos'd concerning the *Origine* of Mountains, is such an heap of Incredibilities, and things inconsistent one with another, that I'me afraid I shall be thought to have spent too much time in confutation of it.

In the conclusion of this Chapter, he hath an attempt to prove that there were Mountains before the Flood, *because there were Metals*: which are commonly found about the Roots of Mountains. But the Theorist, he says, *to shun this great inconvenience, fairly consents to the abolishing of metals out of the first state of nature.* Yet he's hard put to it, to prove that the Theorist hath any where asserted, whatsoever he thought, that there were no Metals then. The first Citation he produces, only recites the opinion of others, and says, he *thinks they do not want their reasons.* Of the two other Citations out of the Preface, the first does not reach home, making no mention of Metals. And the Second is wholly misconstrued, and perverted to a sence quite contrary to what the Author intended, or the Context will bear. But however the Theorist appears doubtful whether there were Metals, or no, in the First World: and upon this doubt the Excepter lays this heavy charge. *Thus the Fidelity of Moles is assaulted, and another intolerable affront put upon the HOLY GHOST.* For, *do not both inform us, that the City Enoch was built, and the Ark prepared before the Flood? But how could either be done without Iron-tools?* But does either *Moses*, or the Holy Ghost tell us, that there were Iron-tools, in building that City, or the Ark? If they do not, we onely affront the consequence, which the Excepter draws from the words, and not the Authors of them. By what divine authority does the Animadverter assert, that there was Iron, or Iron-tools, in building this City, or that Ark? I'me sure Scripture does not mention either, upon those occasions. And seeing it mentions onely *Gopher Wood* and *Pitch* for the building of the Ark, 'tis a presumption rather, that there were no other Materials us'd. And as to the City, 'tis true, if he fancy the City which *Enoch* built, to have been like *Paris*, or *London*,

p. 215.

p. 216.

p. 215. li. 24.

Gen. 6. 14.

London, he has reason to imagine, that they had Iron-tools to make it. But suppose it was a number of Cottages, made of Branches of Trees, of Osiers and

* *Per ludibrium rogant nasuti homines, unde Architectos & Opifices conduxerit Cain ad urbem extruendam; Nos vicissim ab illis quarimus, quo auctore credant Urbem ex quadratis lapidibus fuisse extructam: & magno artificio, multisque sumptibus, & longi temporis opera, adificium hoc constitisse. Nihil enim aliud colligere licet ex verbis Moysi, quam rudes ex rudi materia, Cain sibi & posteris circumdedit.* Cal. in loc.

Bulrushes, (and what needed they any other House, when the Air was so temperate) or, if you will, * of Mud-walls, and a Roof of Straw: with a Fence about it to keep out Beasts: there would be no such necessity of Iron-tools. Consider, pray, how long the World was without knowing the use of Iron, in several

parts of it, as in the North, and in *America*: and yet they had Houses and Cities after their fashion. For the Northern Countries you may see *Olaus Magnus*, li. 12. c. 13. For *America*, *Pet. Martyr*, Dec. 1. But the Excepter will save you your pains, as to the *Indians*, for he says himself in another place, that they had no Instruments of Iron, when the *Spaniards* came amongst them. And if in those late Ages of the World, they were still without the use of Iron, or Iron-tools, we have less reason to believe that the Children of *Cain* had them four or five thousand years before.

p. 259.

It is also worthy our Consideration, how many things must have been done, before they could come at these Iron-tools. How came the Children of *Cain* to dig into the Earth, I know not to what depth, to seek for a thing they had never heard of before? when it was so difficult to dig into the Earth without such Tools: more difficult, methinks, than to build an House without them. But suppose they did this, we know not how; and, amongst many other Stones, or Earths, found that which we call Iron-ore: How did they know the nature and use of it? Or, if they guess'd at that, how did they know the way and manner of preparing it? By Furnaces, Wind-forges, and Smelting-Mills. These would be as hard to make or build, without Iron-tools, as dwelling Houses. And when they had got a Lump of Iron, till they knew how to temper it, they could not make Tools of it still. Unless *Cain's* Children had an Inspiration from Heaven, I do not see how they could discover all these things,

in so short a time. And this is only to make good what the Theorist said, that such an Hypothesis *does not want its reasons*. And as to *Tubal-cain*, let those that positively assert that there was no Iron in the First World, tell us in what sense that place is to be understood. For, I believe, Iron or Brass is not once mention'd in all the Theory.

CHAP. XI.

THIS Chapter is to prove that the *Sea was open* before the Deluge. 'Tis something barren of Philosophical arguments, but we will begin with such as it has, which are taken from this Topick, *That the Fishes could not live in our Abyss*: and that for three reasons. First, because it was too dark. *2dly.* too close, and *3dly.* too cold. As for coldness, methinks he might have left that out, unless he suppose that there are no fish in the frozen Seas, towards the North and South: which is against all sense and experience: for cold countreys abound most in fish. And according to reason, there would be more danger of too much warmth, in those subterraneous waters, than of too much cold, in respect of the Fishes.

p. 224.

Then as to darkness and closeness, this minds me of the saying of *Maimonides*: *That no man* ever would believe, that a child could live so many months, shut up in its Mothers Belly, if he never had seen the experience of it. There's closeness and darkness in the highest degree: and in Animals, that, as soon as born, cannot live without respiration. Whereas Fishes, of all creatures, have the least need of Respiration, if they have any. And as for *darkness*, how many subterraneous Lakes have we still, wherein Fishes live? And we can scarce suppose the Main and fathomless Ocean to have light to the bottom: at least when it is troubled or tempestuous. How the Eyes of fish are, or might be form'd or conform'd, we cannot tell, but we see they feed and prey on the night time, and take baits as greedily as on the day. But it is likely they were less active and agile in that Abyss, than they are now; Their life was more sluggish then, and their motions

Job 38. 8.

motions more flow. As being still in that *womb* of nature that was broke up at the Deluge. And as to Air, they would have enough for their imperfect way of breathing in that state. But if they have a more perfect now, which is still a question: They might have some passages, in their body, open'd, (at the disruption of the Abyfs) when they were born into the light and free air, which were not open'd before. As we see in Infants, upon their birth, a new passage is made into their lungs, and a new circulation of the bloud, which before took another course.

p. 219,
220.

So much for pretended reasons and Philosophy. The rest of this long Chapter is spent either in consequences made from Scripture, or in a prolix discourse about Rain. As to Scripture, He makes this the first objection, that, whereas *Adam* had a dominion given him over the fish of the Sea, it could have no effect, if they were enclosed in the Abyfs. *Adam* had no more dominion given him over the fish of the Sea, than over the fowls of the Air: which he could not come at, or seize at his pleasure, unless he could fly into the air after them. *Adam* was made Lord of all Animals upon this Earth, and had a right to use them for his conveniency, when they came into his power. But I do not believe that *Adam* was made stronger than a Lyon, nor could master the Leviathan, or command him to the shore. He had a right however, and his posterity, to dispose of all creatures for their use and service, whensoever, upon occasion offer'd, they fell into their power.

p. 225,
226.

Gen. I. 17.

Next he says, The Waters were gather'd into one place, and a Firmament was made to divide the Waters from the Waters. Well, allow this, tell us then what was that Firmament. For it is said there, that God set the Sun, Moon, and Stars, in the Firmament. Therefore you can argue nothing from this, unless you suppose Supercelestial Waters: which, when you have prov'd, we will give you an account of the Subcelestial, and of the Subterraneous. And here the Excepter cites some things from the Theory, that are not in the second Edition, and therefore the Theorist is not concern'd to answer them.

Lastly,

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Lastly, The Excepter comes to his long Harangue in commendation of the *Clouds* and of *Rain*: which takes up a great part of this Chapter. In his Exordium he makes this Complement to the Clouds. *Sometimes they mount up and fly aloft, as if they forgot, or disdain'd the meanness of their Origin. Sometimes again they sink and stoop so low, as if they repented of their former proud aspirings, and did remorseful humble penance for their high presumption. And though I may not say they weep to expiate their arrogance, or kiss the earth with bedewed cheeks in token of their penitence; yet they often prostrate in the dust, and sweep the lowest grounds of all, with their misty foggy trains. One while they, &c.* This Harangue about the Clouds and Rain, is pursued for fourteen or fifteen pages, and, with submission to better judgments, I take it to be a Countrey-Sermon, about the *usefulness of Rain*. And, I believe, whosoever reads it, will, both from its matter and form, be of the same opinion. I do not speak this in derogation to his Sermon, but he would have done better, methinks, to have printed it in a pamphlet by it self; there being no occasion for it in this Theory.

p. 234

Towards the conclusion of the Chapter, He answers an objection made by the Theorist against the supposed Islands and Continents in the First Earth. Namely, *That it would render the propagation of mankind difficult, into those broken parts of the World.* And the many imperfect shifting answers which the Excepter gives, or conjectures without authority, do but confirm the objection of the Theorist, or make his words true, *quod Res esset difficilis explicatu.* Which is all that the Theorist said upon that Subject.

p. 246

CHAP. XII.

THIS is a short Chapter, and will be soon dispatch'd. 'Tis to prove that the *Rainbow was before the Flood.* And notwithstanding that, a good sign that there should never be a Flood again. This is to me a Paradox, but he confirms it by a greater Paradox: for he says, God might as well (as to significancy, or authenticalness) *have appointed the Sun, as*
the

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the Rainbow, for a sign that there never should have been another Flood. So that if God had said to *Noah*, I do assure thee there shall never be a second Deluge, and for a sign of this, *Behold I set the Sun in the Firmament*: This would have done as well, he says, as the Rainbow. That is, in my judgment, it would have done nothing at all, more than the bare promise. And if it had done no more than the bare promise, it was superfluous. Therefore if the Rainbow was no more than the Sun would have been, it was a superfluous sign. They to whom these two signs are of equal significancy and effect, lye without the reach of all conviction, and I am very willing to indulge them their own opinions.

2. 257.

But he says, *God sometimes has made things to be signs, that are common and usual.* Thus the fruit of a Tree growing in Paradise, was made a sign of man's Immortality. But how does it appear that this was a common Tree: or that it was given to *Adam* as a sign that he should be Immortal? neither of these appear from Scripture. Secondly, he says, *Shooting with bow and arrows upon the ground, was made a sign to Joash of his prevailing against the Syrians.* This was only a command to make war against *Syria*, and a Prophecy of success; both deliver'd in a Symbolical or Hieroglyphical way. The command was signified by bidding the King shoot an arrow, which was the sign of War. And the sign of Victory or of divine assistance, was the Prophets strengthening the King's hands to draw the Bow. This is nothing as to a sign given in Nature, or from the Natural World, in confirmation of a Divine Promise: which is the thing we are only to consider.

2 Kings 13.
... 17.

All the rest of this Chapter is lax discourse without proof. And as to the significancy of the Rainbow, upon supposition that it was a New Appearance: And its insignificancy upon supposition that it was an Old Appearance, we have spoken so fully in the Theory itself, that it would be needless here to make any longer stay upon this argument.

Eng. Theor.
book 2. ch. 5.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

THIS Chapter is concerning *Paradise*; But our Author fairly baulks all the difficulties in that Doctrine, and contents himself with a few generals; which every body knows. The Doctrine of Paradise consists chiefly of two parts; the site or place of it: and the state or properties of it. As to the first, If the Excepter wou'd have confuted the Theory, he should have set down the Conclusions that are advanc'd by the Theory, concerning the place of Paradise, which are these; First, The place of Paradise cannot be determin'd by Scripture only. Neither the word *Mekeddem*, (*Gen. 2. 8.*) nor the four Rivers mentioned there, make the place of it defineable. Secondly, The place of Paradise cannot be determin'd by the Theory. Seeing then neither Scripture, nor Reason determine the place of Paradise, if we will determine it, it must be by Antiquity. And if we appeal to Antiquity in this case, we shall find, first, that it was not in *Mesopotamia*. Secondly, that according to the plurality of Votes, both amongst the Heathen and Christian Authors, it was plac'd in the other Hemisphere. And this is all the Theory says upon that Point. As you may see *Eng. Theor. Book 2. ch. 7.* and *Lat. Theor. 2d. Edit. p. 194. & p. 214, 215.* Wherefore if the Animadverter would undertake to confute the Theory in this Point, he should have confuted those four Particulars. But he slips over these, and gives us only a Paraphrase upon some Verses in the *2d.* and *3d. Chap.* of *Gen.* which says little to this purpose, and yet more than it proves.

*Eng. Theor.
book 2. ch. 7*

p. 265

In the Second place, As to the state and properties of Paradise, or the Antediluvian world; *The longevity of the Antediluvians* is the thing he insists upon. But this he handles so loosely, that in the conclusion of his discourse, one cannot tell whether he affirms it, or denies it. This Sceptical humour of the Excepter hath been taken notice of before, and 'tis continued in this Chapter, where there is little or nothing positively determin'd. The Theorist, on the contrary, expressly

p. 273.

H

affirms

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affirms the Longevity of the Antediluvians, and gives these reasons for his assertion. First, because all the Lives, and all the Generations recorded in Scripture, before the Flood, from Father to Son, in a Line of sixteen hundred years, are longeval. Of six, seven, eight, nine hundred years a-piece. Secondly, Antiquity, both *Greek* and *Barbarian*, have attested the same thing, and recorded the Tradition. Thirdly, the Generations recorded in Scripture after the Flood, as they exceed the term of succeeding Ages, so they decline by degrees from the Antediluvian Longevity. Lastly, *Jacob* complains of the shortness of his life, and fewness of his days, in comparison of his Forefathers, when he had liv'd one hundred and thirty years; which had been a groundless complaint, if his Ancestors had not lived much longer.

See the Table of both. *Eng. Theor.* p. 220.

Gen. 47.9.

These two last reasons the Excepter has not thought fit to take notice of. And, in answer to the two former, he hath onely the usual subterfuges. As, that the long lives of the Antediluvian Patriarchs was a thing extraordinary and providential: confin'd to their Persons; not of a general extent, nor according to the course of Nature. But how does this appear? It must be made out, either by Scripture or Reason. Scripture makes no distinction, nor exception of Persons in this case; All, whereof it hath left any account, as to term of life, are declar'd to have liv'd several hundreds of years. And why should we not conclude the same thing concerning the rest? Then as to Reason, you cannot suppose Longevity, in that World, against reason or nature, unless you first suppose the form and constitution of that World to have been the same with the present: Which is to beg the Question. Admitting that form and constitution of the first Heavens and Earth, which the Theory hath given, Longevity will be a natural consequence of it. And having such a course of nature laid before us, as agrees with the reports of Scripture, and with general Tradition, why should we quit that, to comply with an imaginary presumption: that these were miraculously preserv'd, and all the rest were short-liv'd. I know he pretends, we may as well conclude all Men were Gyants

Thom. bar. 1. 1. 486.

p. 277.

ants in those days, because *Moses* says, *There were Giants upon the Earth in those days*, Gen. 6. 4. as conclude that all Men were long-liv'd in those days, because *Moses* mentions some that were so. There had been some pretence for this, if *Moses* had made a distinction of two races of Men in the first World: Long-livers and short-livers; as he hath distinguish'd the Giants from the common Race of Mankind. Or, as he hath said in one case, *There were Giants on the Earth in those days*. So if he had said in the other, *there were Long-livers upon the Earth in those days*: and upon that, had given us a List of the Long-liv'd Patriarchs: this indeed would have made the cases pretty parallel. But, on the contrary, *Moses* makes no such distinction of long-living and short-living races, before the Flood; nor yet notes it as a mark of divine favour, or extraordinary benediction upon those persons that liv'd so long. Therefore, not to suppose it general to Mankind at that time, is a groundless restriction, which is neither founded upon Scripture nor Reason.

As to the second Argument for Antediluvian longevity, taken from Tradition and the Testimony of the Ancients; He objects, that *Josephus* does not seem to be firm in that opinion himself. But what then? The Theorist lays no stress upon *Josephus's* single opinion, but refers to the Testimonies of those Authors, whether *Greeks*, or such as have given an account of the *Ægyptian, Chaldean, and Phœnician Antiquities*: which are call'd in by *Josephus*, as witnesses of this Truth or Tradition, concerning the long lives of the first Men. And at last, the Excepter seems content, this Tradition should be admitted: seeing the *Authors are too many, and too considerable, to have their Testimonies question'd or reject'd*. But then he will make a further Question, *Why there should not also be a Tradition concerning the Perpetual Equinox, or Perpetual Spring, upon which this Longevity depended*. But this Question is fully answer'd, and the Tradition fully made out before, in the 8th. Chapter, which I need not here repeat. In like manner, all the secondary Questions which he there mentions, depending upon, and being included in this first, receive their resolution from it. For when a per-

petual Equinox is once truly stated, there is no difficulty concerning the rest.

After these contests about Traditions, he hath one
 p. 279, 280. or two *Reasons* against this *Antediluvian Longevity*.
 First, Because the Earth, by this means, would have
 been over-stockt with People before the time of the
 Deluge. Secondly, They should all have been of the
 same Longevity before the Flood. Neither of these,
 methinks, have any strength in them. As to the first,
 That Earth was much more capacious than this is;
 where the Sea takes away half of its Surface, and renders
 it uninhabitable. And whereas he suggests, as a
 recompence, *That Mountains* have more surface and capacity
 than Plains; That's true, but they are also less
 habitable, by reason of their barrenness and ruggedness.
 Who can believe that there are as many People
 in *Wales*, as in other parts of *England*, upon the same
 compass of level ground? Or no more in *Holland*, than
 upon a like number of Acres upon the *Alpes* or *Pyreneans*?
 There would be room enough for twice as many
 People as there are in the World, and twice as many
 Animals, if there was food enough to nourish them.
 But here I have two things to complain of, as foul
 play: First, the Excepter cites the Theory partially.
 Secondly, he does not mark the place whence he takes
 that citation: as if it was on purpose to hide his partiality.
 The words he cites are these, *If we allow the first Couple, at the end of one hundred years, or of the first Century, to have left ten pair of Breeders, which is an easie supposition, there would arise from these in fifteen hundred years, a greater number than the Earth was capable of: allowing every pair to multiply in the same decuple proportion the first pair did.* Here the Excepter stops, and makes this inference, that upon an *easie supposition*, which the Theorist makes and allows, the Earth would have been over-stockt in fifteen hundred years. This is an *easie supposition* for the *first Century*, as the Theorist put it; But it would be a very uneasie one for the following Centuries; when they came to be at any considerable distance from the beginning. And therefore the Theorist tells you, in that very Page, *The same measure cannot run equally through all the Ages.* And in his Calculation

bid.

Eng. Theor.
 P. 23.

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culatation you see, after the first Century, he hath taken only a *quadruple proportion for the increase of mankind*. As judging that a *moderate and reasonable measure betwixt the Highest and the Lowest*. This the Excepter might easily have observed, and as easily avoided this mis-application of the words of the Theorist.

ibid.

His second reason against the antediluvian longevity is slighter than the first. For he pretends that all the Antediluvians, upon that supposition, should have been equally long-liv'd. You may as well say, that all the children of the same parents, and that live in the same place, should now be equally long-liv'd; the external world being the same to them all. But, besides accidents, their *stamina* and constitutions might then be of a different strength, as well as now: tho' they were born of the same Parents, and liv'd in the same Air. Lastly, he moves a difficulty about the multiplication of Animals in the first World, that they would have been too numerous before the Flood. I can say nothing to that, nor He neither, upon good grounds: unless we knew what Species's of Animals were then made, and in what degrees they multiplied. The Theorist always supposes a Divine Providence to superintend, proportion, and determine, both the number and food of Animals upon the Earth: suitably to the constitution and circumstances of every World. And seeing that Earth was no less under the care and direction of Providence, than the present, we may conclude that due measures were taken for adjusting the numbers and food of Animals in such manner, as neither to be a burthen to one another, nor to man.

p. 280.

p. 281.

C H A P. XIV.

THIS Chapter is against the Explication of the Deluge by the *Dissolution of the Earth*. That dissolution, as is pretended, being unfit or insufficient to produce such an effect. And to prove this, the Anti-theorist gives us five Arguments, whereof the first is this: *Moses* having left us an accurate description of Paradise, according to the proper rules of *Topography*, such a description would have been improper and insufficient

p. 285.

cient to determine the place of Paradise, and consequently useless, if the Earth had been dissolv'd: and by that means the bounds of those Countreys, and the Channels of those Rivers, broken and chang'd. This objection, I'me afraid, will fall heavier upon *Moses*, or upon the Excepter himself, than upon the Theorist. However one would have expected that the Excepter should have determin'd here the place of Paradise, in vertue of that description. So learned and sagacious a person, having before him an exact draught of Paradise, according to the proper rules of Topography, could not fail to lay his finger upon the very spot of ground where it stood. Yet I do not find that he hath ventur'd to determine the place of Paradise, either in this Chapter, or in the precedent. Which gives me a great suspicion, that he was not satisfied where it stood, notwithstanding the Mosaical Topography. Now if it cannot be understood or determin'd by that Topography, one of these two things must be allowed, either that the description was insufficient and ineffectual: or that there has been some great change in the Earth, whereby the marks of it are destroy'd; namely, the bounds of Countries, and the courses of the Rivers. If he take the second of these answers, he joyns with the Theorist. If the first, he reflects, according to his way of arguing, upon the honour of *Moses*, or confutes himself.

p. 286.

But here is still a further charge: *Moses's* description of Paradise would have been *False* (which he notes for *horrid blasphemy*) if the Earth was broken at the Deluge. For then those Rivers, by which *Moses* describes Paradise, could not have been before the Flood. But why so, I pray? The Theorist supposes Rivers before the Flood, in great plenty: and why not like to these? And if their channels were very much chang'd by the Flood, that's no more than what good Interpreters suppose. Being unable, upon any other supposition, to give an account, why it is so hard (notwithstanding *Moses's* description) to determine the place of Paradise. Now where is the *Blasphemy* of this: *Horrid Blasphemy against the holy Ghost?* A rude and injudicious defence of Scripture, by railing and illlanguage,

ibid.

guage, is the true way to lessen and disparage it. Especially when we make our own consequences to be of the same authority with the Word of God: and what soever is against them, must be charg'd with blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. Is it not a strange thing that the Dissolution of the Earth should be made Blasphemy? when the Prophets and inspir'd Authors speak so often of the *Disruptions, Fractiions, Concussions,* See Review, p. 35, &c. and *Subversions* of the Earth. And that very expression, that the *Earth is dissolv'd*, is a Scripture-expression. (*Psal.* 75. 3. *Isa.* 24. 19. *Amos* 9. 5.) which, methinks, might have been enough to have protected it from the imputation of blasphemy. But there is nothing safe against blind zeal, and opinionative ignorance; which, by how much they find themselves weaker in reasons, by so much they become more violent in passions.

But to return to the objection; upon the whole matter, he casts the burthen of the charge upon *Moses* himself, as we noted before. For take whether Hypothesis you will, that the Earth was, or was not, broken: the question still returns, if the Mosaical Topography was exact and sufficient, why can we not yet find out the situation of Paradise? 'Tis now above three thousand years since *Moses* dyed, and men have been curious and very inquisitive, in all ages, to find out the place of Paradise: but it is not found out to this day to any satisfaction. So that, methinks, upon the whole, the Theory, which supposeth the Earth very much chang'd, makes the fairest Apology both for *Moses* and mankind, in this particular. But to proceed to his second Argument.

Secondly, says the Excepter, *The dissolution of the Earth could not be the cause of the general Flood, because it would have utterly destroy'd Noah's Ark, and all that were in it.* I thought the Theorist had effectually prevented this objection, by putting the Ark under the conduct of its Guardian Angels, and of a miraculous Providence. These are his words, *I think it had been impossible for the Ark to have liv'd upon the raging Abyss, or for Noah and his family to have been preserv'd, if there had not been a miraculous hand of Providence to take care* p. 288
of Eng. Theor. p. 108.

of them. Now, either the Excepter did not take notice of this passage in the Theory, or he does not allow that a miraculous hand was sufficient to preserve the Ark: or thirdly, he made an objection, which he knew himself, to be impertinent. And, I confess, I am inclinable to think the last is true. For as to the first, he confesses (p. 354.) that the *Theory represents the Ark, with its Guardian Angels about it, in the extremity of the Flood.* And as to the second, He himself makes use of a miraculous power to preserve the Ark, upon his Hypothesis: in answer to the eighth objection, p. 351, 352, &c. Why then may not we make use of the same power and with the same effect? It remains therefore, that he was conscious to himself that he made this objection to no purpose.

But that is not all: He has also us'd foul play in his citation. For whereas the great danger of the Ark would be at the first fall of the Earth, or the disruption of the Abyss; The Theorist, he says, to prevent this, makes the Ark to be a-float by the Rains, before the Abyss was broken. But is that all the Theorist says in that place? does he not assign another way how the Ark might be a-float? namely, in a River, or in a Dock.

p. 98. These are the words of the Theory, *So as the Ark, if it could not float upon these Rain-waters, at least taking the advantage of a River, or of a dock or cistern made to receive them, it might be a-float before the Abyss was broken open.* And these words being in the same place whence he makes his citation, it must be a wilful dissimulation not to take notice of them. But he see they would have taken off the edge of his objection, and therefore thought fit not to touch upon them. But after all, there is no necessity that the Ark should be a-float, before the Earth broke. Those things were premis'd in the Theory, only to soften the way to men that are hard of belief in such extraordinary matters. For the Angels, (whose ministry we openly own, upon these grand occasions) could as easily have held the Ark, a-float, in the Air, as on the water. And the Ark, being an Emblem of the Church, God certainly did give his Angels charge over it; that they should bear it up in their hands, that it might not be dash'd against

a stone. And this having been more than once; profest by the Theorist, we must again conclude this objection superfluous and useles.

The third objection is this. If the Earth had been thus dissolv'd, *The present Earth would have been, in likelihood, of another figure, than what now it bears.* These are his words, but I suppose he means, that it would have been of another form, as to Sea and Land. And the reason he gives is this: Because, says he, it would have broke first, in the Equator, and consequently that part falling down first, would have been swallowed up by the waters, and become all Sea. Whereas we find, that under the Equator that then was (which he supposeth the present Ecliptick) *the dry ground is of most spacious extent and continuity.* We need not examine his account of Sea and Land, because it proceeds upon a false supposition. He relapses here into his former Astronomical error, or to his first adds a second; *viz.* That the Earth, when it chang'd its situation, chang'd its Poles and Circles. This is a great mistake; the change of position in respect of the Heavens, did not change the places of its Circles in respect to its own Globe. As when you change a Sphere or a Globe out of a *right situation* into an *oblique*, the Circles do not change their places, as to that Sphere or Globe: but have only another position to the Heavens. The Earth's Ecliptick runs through the same places it did before: and the Equinoctial regions of that Earth were the same with the Equinoctial regions of this; only bear another posture to the Heavens and the Sun. These Circles have not chang'd places with one another, as he imagines: and which is worse, would father this imagination upon the Theory; in these words, *under the Ecliptick (which, in the Primitive situation of the Earth, (ACCORDING TO THE THEORY) was its Equinoctial, and divided the Globe into two Hemispheres, as the Equator does now) the dry ground, &c.* He that affirms this, with respect to the Earth, neither understands the *Theory*, nor the *Doctrine of the Sphere*. But let's press no further upon a mistake.

The fourth objection is this: That such a Dissolution of the Earth, would have caus'd great barrenness

ness after the Flood. Partly by turning up some dry and unfruitful parts of the Earth: and partly by the soil and filth that would be left upon its surface. As to the first, I willingly allow, that some of the interior and barren parts of the Earth might be turn'd up; as we now see in Mountainous and wild Countries: but this rather confirms the Theory, than weakens it. But as to the second, that the filth and soil would have made the Earth more barren, I cannot allow that. For good Husbandmen overflow their grounds, to make their crop more rich. And 'tis generally suppos'd, that the Inundation of *Nile*, and the mud it leaves behind it, makes *Ægypt* more fruitful. Besides, this part of the objection lies against the common explication of the Deluge, as well as against that which is given by the Theory. For if you suppose an universal Deluge, let it come from what causes you please, it must overflow all the Earth, and leave mud and slime and filth upon the surface of it. And consequently cause barrenness, according to this argumentation.

p. 292.

He adds another consideration under this head, namely, that if the Earth had been dissolv'd in this manner, *All the buildings erected before the Flood, would have been shaken down, or else overwhelmed. Yet we read of some that outstood the Flood, and were not demolish'd. Such were the pillars of Seth, and the Cities Henoehia and Joppa.* As to *Seth's* pillars, they are generally accounted fabulous. And I perceive the excepter will not vouch for them. For he concludes, (p. 295.) *I know the very being is question'd of Seth's pillars, &c.* If he will not defend them, why should I take the pains to confute them? I do not love to play with a Man, that will put nothing to the stake. That will have his chance to win, but can lose nothing, because he stakes nothing. Then as to the City *Henoehia*, it hath no authority, but that of *Annius Viterbiensis*, and his *Berosus*. A Book generally exploded, as fictitious. Lastly, as to *Joppa*, the authority indeed is better, though still uncertain. But however, suppose the ruins of one Town remain'd after the Flood, does this prove that the Earth was not dissolv'd? I do not doubt, but there were several tracts of the Earth, much greater than that

that Town, that were not broken all to pieces by their fall. But you and your *English* Historian are mistaken; if you suppose the Altars and Inscriptions mention'd by *Mela*, to have been Antediluvian Altars and Inscriptions. Unless you will make the Fable of *Perseus* and *Andromeda*, and the *Sea-Monster*, to have been an Antediluvian Fable. Neither hath your Historian been lucky in translating those words of *Mela*, *cum religione plurimâ, with the grounds and principles of their religion*, which signifie only, *with a religious care or superstition*. But to leave Fables, and proceed.

His last Argument against the Dissolution is this. Had the Dissolution of the Earth been the cause of the Deluge, *It would have made God's Covenant with Noah a very vain and trifling thing*. So much is true, That the Deluge, in the course of Nature, will not return again in the same way. But unless God prevent it, it both may and will return in another way. That is, if the World continue long enough, the Mountains will wear and sink, and the Waters in proportion rise: and overflow the whole Earth. As is plainly shewn, by a parallel case, in the *first Book* of the *Theory*, *ch. 4*. Besides; God might, when he pleas'd, by an extraordinary power, and for the sins of Men, bring another Deluge upon the World. And that is the thing which *Noah* seems to have fear'd, and which God, by his Covenant, secur'd him against. For, as the Excepter hath said himself, in answering an harder objection, (p. 152.) *When God assigned to the Waters the place of their abode, he did not intend to fortifie them in it against his own omnipotence, or to devest himself of his Sovereign Prerogative of calling them forth when he pleased*. This being allow'd, with what we said before, that Covenant was not vain or trifling, either in respect of an ordinary or extraordinary Providence.

p. 296.

Thus we have done with all the Exceptions against the Theory. For the two next Chapters are concerning a new Hypothesis of his own. And the last of all; excepts not against the truth of the Theory, but the certainty of it. In reflection upon this whole matter, give me leave to declare Two things; First, That I have not knowingly omitted any one Objecti-

on that I thought of moment. Secondly, That I have not from these Exceptions found reason to change any part of the Theory, nor to alter my opinion, as to any particular in it. No doubt there are several Texts of Scripture, which, understood according to the Letter in a Vulgar way, stand cross, both to this, and other natural Theories. And a Child that had read the first Chapters of *Genesis*, might have observ'd this, as well as the Excepter: but could not have loaded his charge with so much bitterness. Some Men, they say, though of no great Valour, yet will fight excellently well behind a Wall. The Excepter, behind a Text of Scripture, is very fierce and rugged. But in the open Field of Reason and Philosophy, he's gentle and tractable. The Theorist had declar'd his intentions, and oblig'd himself, to give a full account of *Moses* his *Cosmogonia*, or *six-days Creation*: but did not think it proper to be done in the Vulgar Language, nor before the whole Theory was compleated. This might have spar'd much of the Excepter's pains; But till that account be given, if the Excepter thinks fit to continue his Animadversions, and go thorough the Two last Books, as he hath done the two first, it will not be unacceptable to the Theorist. Provided it be done with sincerity, in reciting the words, and representing the sence of the Author.

*Eng. Theor.
book 2. ch. 9.
at the end.*

C H A P. XV.

P. 299. **I**N This Chapter the Anti-theorist lays down a new Hypothesis for the Explication of the Deluge. And the War is chang'd, on his side, from Offensive, to Defensive. 'Tis but fair that he should lie down in his turn: and if some blows smart a little, he must not complain, because he begun the Sport. But let's P. 299, 300. try his Hypothesis, without any further ceremony. The first Proposition laid down for the establishing of it, is this: *That the Flood was but fifteen Cubits high, above the ordinary level of the Earth.* This is an unmerciful Paradox, and a very unlucky beginning; For under what notion must this Proposition be receiv'd?

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ceiv'd? As a *Postulatum*, or as a *Conclusion*? If it be a *Postulatum*, it must be clear from its own light, or acknowledg'd by general consent. It cannot pretend to be clear from its own light, because it is matter of Fact, which is not known, but by Testimony. Neither is it generally acknowledg'd: For the general opinion is, that the Waters cover'd the tops of the Mountains; Nay, that they were fifteen Cubits higher than the tops of the Mountains. And this he confesses himself, in these words: *We shall find there is a great mistake in the common Hypothesis, touching their depth: namely, of the Waters. For Whereas they have been supposed to be fifteen Cubits higher than the highest Mountains: They were indeed but fifteen Cubits high in all, above the Surface of the Earth.* And this Opinion, or Doctrin, he calls, *The general standing Hypothesis: The usual Hypothesis: The usual sence they have put upon the Sacred Story.* It must not therefore be made a *Postulatum*, that such an Hypothesis is false, but the falsity of it must be demonstrated by good Proofs. Now I do not find that this new Hypothesis, of a *fifteen-cubit-Deluge*, offers at any more than one single proof, namely, from *Gen. 7. 20.* But before we proceed to the examination of that, give me leave to note one or two things, wherein the new-Theorist seems to be inconsistent with himself, or with good sence.

p. 300.

p. 329. lin.
19. c. 31.
p. 339. lin.
18.

At his entrance upon this new Hypothesis, he hath these words, (P. 300.) *Not that I will be bound to defend what I say, as true and real, &c.* But why then does he trouble himself, or the World, with an Hypothesis, which he does not believe to be *true* and *real*? or if he does believe it to be so, Why will he not defend it? for we ought to defend truth. But he says moreover, (p. 302. lin. 19.) *Our supposition stands supported by Divine authority: as being founded upon Scripture. Which tells us, as plainly as it can speak, that the Waters prevailed but fifteen Cubits upon the Earth.* If his Hypothesis be founded upon Scripture: and upon Scripture *as plainly as it can speak*, Why will not he defend it as *true* and *real*? For to be supported by Scripture, and by plain Scripture, is as much as we can alledge for the
Articles

Articles of our Faith: which every one surely is bound to defend.

But this is not all the difficulty we meet with. The whole period which we quoted runs thus. *Not that I will be bound to defend what I say, as true or real; any more than to believe (what I cannot well endure to speak) that the Church of God has ever gone on in an irrational way of explaining the Deluge. Which yet she must needs have done, if there be no other rational method of explaining it, and no other intelligible Causes of it, than what the Theory has propos'd;* Now for the word *Theory*, put the word *Excepter*, or *Excepter's Hypothesis*, and see if this charge, *That the Church of God has ever gone on in an irrational way of explaining the Deluge*, does not fall as much upon the Excepter's new Hypothesis, as upon the Theory. If the Church-Hypothesis was rational, what need he have invented a new one? why does he not propose that Hypothesis, and defend it? I'me afraid it will be found that he does not only contradict the Church-Hypothesis, but reject it as mistaken and irrational. For what is the Church-Hypothesis, but the *Common Hypothesis*? (p. 300. lin. 24.) The *general standing Hypothesis*: The *usual Hypothesis*: *The usual sence they put upon the Sacred story*. All these he rejects and disputes against; as you may see in the places fore-cited. And also he calls them such *Inventions*, as have been, and justly may be *disgustful*, not only to nice and squeamish, but to the best and soundest Philosophick judgments. And, p. 319. He says by his Hypothesis, *we are excused from running to those Causes or Methods, which seem unreasonable to some, and unintelligible to others, and unsatisfactory to most*. And, to name no more, he says, p. 330. The ordinary supposition, that the Mountains were cover'd with water in the Deluge, brings on a *necessity of setting up a new Hypothesis for explaining the Flood*. Now, whose Methods, Inventions and Suppositions are these, which he reflects upon? Are they not the commonly receiv'd Methods and Suppositions? 'Tis plain, most of those which he mentions, (p. 310, 311, 313, 314, 318.) are not the Theorist's. For the Theorist had rejected before, those very Methods and Inventions, which the Excepter rejects now.

p. 312. ult.

Eng. Theor.
ch. 2. § 3.

now: and so far he justifies the Theory *. These reflections therefore must fall upon some other Hypothesis: And what Hypothesis is that, if it be not the Church-Hypothesis? To conclude, I argue thus in short, to show the Excepter inconsistent with himself in this particular. The Church-way of explaining the Deluge, is either *rational* or *irrational*. If he say it is *rational*, why does he desert it, and invent a new one? And if he say it is *irrational*, then that dreadful thing, which, *he cannot well endure to speak*, That the Church of God has ever gone on in an *irrational* way of explaining the Deluge, falls flat upon himself.

* The Excepter rejects, first the *Waters of the Sea*. Then the *Waters in the bowels of the Earth*. Then the *Supercelestial Waters*. Then a *New Creation of Waters*. Then the *mass of Air* chang'd into water. And lastly, a *partial Deluge*. And therefore he puts men fatally, either upon the Theory, or upon his new Hypothesis:

Thus much in general, for his Introduction. We proceed now to examine particularly his new Hypothesis. Which, as we told you before, consists chiefly in this, *That the Waters of the Deluge were but fifteen Cubits higher than the common unmountainous Surface of the Earth*. This, which seems so odd and extravagant, he says, is the *Foundation* of his Hypothesis. And, which is still more surprizing, he says this depth, or rather shallowness, of the Waters of the Deluge, is told us by Scripture, *as plainly as it can speak*. This must needs raise our curiosity, to see that place of Scripture, which has been over-lookt by all the Learned hitherto. Well, 'tis *Gen. 7. 20.* in these words, *Fifteen Cubits upwards did the Waters prevail*. This, me-thinks, is somewhat general: for the Basis of these *fifteen Cubits* is not exprest, in these words. But why does our Author stop in the middle of a Verse: Why does he not transcribe the whole Verse: for the last part of it, is as good Scripture as the first. And that says plainly, that the *Mountains were cover'd with the Waters*. The whole Verse runs thus: *Fifteen Cubits upwards did the Waters prevail; AND THE MOUNTAINS WERE COVERED*. Now, if the Basis of these *fifteen Cubits* was the common Surface, or plain level of the Earth, as this new Hypothesis will have it: How could fifteen Cubits, from that Basis, reach to the tops of the Mountains? Are the highest Mountains but fifteen Cubits higher

p. 301.

p. 302. lin.
21.

1 Sam. 17.4. higher than the common surface of the Earth? *Goliath* was six cubits and a span high. So *Pic Tenariff* would not be thrice as high as *Goliath*. Yet *David* flung a stone up to his forehead. Take what cubit you please, Sacred or common, it does not amount to two foot. So the height of the greatest Mountains, from bottom to top, must not be thirty foot, or ten paces: according to this New Hypothesis. Who ever measured Mountains at this rate? The modern Mathematicians allow for their height a mile perpendicular, upon a moderate computation; and that makes 3000 foot. How then could waters that were not 30 foot high, cover Mountains that were 3000 foot high? That the highest Mountains of the Earth were cover'd with the waters, you may see express'd more fully in the precedent verse. *And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the Earth. And all the high Hills that were under the whole Heaven were cover'd.* There can scarce be words more plain and comprehensive. The Excepter says, the Scripture tells us, as *plainly as it can speak*, that the waters were but fifteen cubits high from the common surface of the Earth. And I say, The Scripture tells us as *plainly as it can speak*, That, *all the high Hills under the whole Heaven, were covered with water.* And it must be a strange sort of Geometry, that makes fifteen cubits of water reach to the top of the highest Hills. Lastly, the same History of *Moses* says, the tops of the Mountains were discover'd, when the waters begun to decrease, *Gen. 8.5.* Is not that a plain demonstration that they were cover'd before, and cover'd with those waters.

We may therefore safely conclude two things. First, that this new Hypothesis, besides all other faults, is

* This he acknowledges, p. 325. (*He expound a Text or two of Scripture so as none ever did; and deserting the common receiv'd sense, put an unusual Gloss upon them, not to say, ιδίαι ἐπιλυσις, a private interpretation,*) and p. 359.

contrary to the general exposition of the text of *Moses**. Secondly, that it is contrary to the general receiv'd Doctrine of the Deluge. And if he has deliver'd a doctrine, contrary to these two, methinks, it should be hard for him to maintain his ground, and not pronounce at the same time, what he dreads so much to speak, *That the Church of God has ever gone on in an irrational way of explaining the Deluge.* But

But let's reflect a little upon this Fifteen-cubit Deluge; to see what figure it would make, or what execution it would do upon mankind and upon other Creatures. If you will not believe *Moses* as to the overflowing of the Mountains, at least, I hope, you will believe him as to the universal destruction made by the Deluge. Hear his words, *Gen. 7. 21, 22, 23.* we'll take only the last verse, which is this, *And every living substance was destroyed, which was upon the face of the ground. Both man and cattle, and creeping things, and the fowl of the heavens; and they were destroyed from the Earth: and Noah only remained alive, and they that were with him in the Ark.* Now I would gladly know how this could be verified in a fifteen-cubit Deluge. The birds would naturally fly to the tops of Trees, when the ground was wet. And the Beasts would retire by degrees to the Mountains and higher parts of the Earth, as the lower begun to be overflow'd; and if no waters could reach them there, how were they all destroy'd, while they had so many Sanctuaries and places of refuge?

Or if you suppose some of these Creatures had not wit enough to save themselves, (though their wit and instincts lie chiefly in that) at least mankind would not be so stupid: when men see the waters begin to rise, they could not fail to retire into Mountains. And tho' the upper stories of their houses might be sufficient to save them from fifteen cubits of water; yet if fear made them think themselves not secure there, whither could it drive them, but still into higher places. And an House seated upon an Eminency, or a Castle upon a Rock, would be always a safe retreat from this diminutive Deluge. I speak all this upon the suppositions of the Excepter, who allows not only Mountains and Rocks, but also Castles and Cities before the Deluge: built of good Timber, and Stone, and Iron, and such substantial materials. But how in such a case, and in such a state of things, all mankind (except *Noah*, and his Family) should be destroy'd by fifteen cubits of water, is a lump of Incredibilities, too hard and big for me to swallow.

p. 215, 216, 292, &c.

But there is still another difficulty, that we have not mention'd. As those that were upon the Land might easily save themselves from ruine, so those that were upon the Sea, in ships, would never come in danger. For what would it signifie to them, if the Sea was made a few fathoms deeper, by these new waters? It would bear their vessels as well as it did before, and would be no more to them than a Spring-tide. And lastly how shall we justifie the Divine Wisedom, which gave such punctual orders, for the building of an Ark, to save *Noah*, and a set of Creatures, for a new World: when there were so many more easie and obvious ways to preserve them, without that trouble?

These objections, in my opinion, are so plain and full, that it is not needful to add any more. Nor to answer such evasions as the new Theorist attempts to make to some of them. As for instance, to that plain objection from *Moses's* words, that *the Mountains were cover'd with the waters*, he says, first, that it is a *Synecdoche*, where the whole is put for a part. Or Secondly, 'tis an *Hyperbole*: where more is said than understood. Or Thirdly, 'tis a *Poetical History*. Or Lastly, if none of these will do, by the *Tops* of the Mountains is to be understood the *bottoms* of the Mountains: and that cures all. The truth is, he has taken a great deal of pains in the next Chapter to cure an incurable Hypothesis. We will give you but one instance more. 'Tis about the *appearance of the tops of the Mountains at the decrease of the Deluge*. Which argues strongly that they were cover'd in the Deluge. But take it in his own words, with the answer, *It is recorded, Gen. 8.5. that the waters decreased continually until the tenth month, and on the first day of the month, WERE THE TOPS OF THE MOUNTAINS SEEN.* Now if the mountains had not been quite under water, and so invisible for the time they were overwhelmed; how could they be said to become visible again, or to be seen upon the Floods going off? This is a plain and bold objection. And after two answers to it, which he seems to distrust, his 3^d and last is this: *If these two considerations will not satisfie, we must carry on the enquiry a little further, and seek for a Third. And truly some one or other must needs be found out.-----*

Thirdly

p. 330.

p. 332,
333.

p. 337.

p. 337.

Thirdly, therefore we consider: that the tops of the mountains may be said to be seen, at the time mentioned, upon account of their EMERGENCY OUT OF DARKNESS, NOT OUT OF WATERS. This is his final Answer. The tops of the Mountains, at the decrease of the Deluge, were seen: not that they were covered before with water, says he, but with darkness. Where finds he this account? 'tis neither in the Text nor in reason. If it was always so dark, and the tops of the Mountains and Rocks naked and prominent every where, how could the Ark avoid them in that darkness? Moreover, If the Deluge was made in that gentle way that he supposes, I see no reason to imagine, that there would be darkness, after the forty-days-rain. For these rains being fallen, and all the Vapours and clouds of the Air, discharg'd, methinks there should have ensued an extraordinary clearness of the Air: as we often see after rainy seasons. Well, 'tis true: But the rains, he supposes, were no sooner fallen, but the Sun retracted them again in Vapours: with that force and swiftness that it kept the Air in perpetual darkness. Thus he says afterwards. He's mightily beholden to the Sun, upon many accounts: and the Sun is no less beholden to him: for he gives him a miraculous power to raise Mountains, and draw up Waters. 'Tis well the Sun did not presently fall to his old work again, of raising Mountains out of this moist Earth: as the Excepter says he did, when the Earth was first drain'd. That he contented himself now to suck up the Waters only, and let the Earth alone: We are not a little beholden to him for this. For he seems to have had the same power and opportunity, at the decrease of the Deluge, of making new ravages upon the Earth, that he had before when it was first drain'd. But let's see, how or when, these waters were suck'd up, or resolv'd into vapours.

p. 343.

See ch. 10.

Upon the expiration of the 40 days rain, whether was the Air purg'd of Vapours and clear, or no? Yes; it was purg'd. He says (p. 343.) *The Atmosphere was never so exhausted of Vapours, and never so thin: as when the waters were newly come down.* Then in that clear Air, the tops of the Mountains might have been seen, if

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Gen. 8. 5. they lay above water. But *Moses* says, it was in the *Tenth Month* that they begun to be seen, when the Waters were decreas'd; 'twas therefore the Waters, not the gross Air, that hindered the sight of them before. And according to this Method of the Excepter, after the first Forty days, the Deluge begun to decrease. For the Sun forth-with set his Engines a work, and resolv'd the Waters into vapor and exhalations, at such a rate, that he presently made all the Atmosphere dark with thick Mists and Clouds: and, in proportion, lessen'd the Waters of the deluge. But we do not read in *Moses* of any abatement in the Deluge, till the end of one hundred and fifty days; (*Gen. 8. 3.*) which is four Months after this term. The truth is, The whole notion of *spending the Waters of the Deluge by Evaporation*, is no better than what the Excepter suspected it would be thought: *Ameer fancy, a whimsical groundless figment.* For what could the Sun do, in the Northern and Southern parts of the World, towards the exhaling of these Waters? And in the temperate Climates, why should they not fall again in Rains, (if he had a power to exhale them) as they do now? Was not the Earth in the same position, and the Sun of the same force? Besides, where does he find this notion in Scripture, that the Waters of the Deluge were consum'd by Evaporation? *Moses* says, the Waters returned from off the Earth, in going and returning: *Gen. 8. 3, 5.* that is, after frequent reciprocations, they settled at length in their Channels. Where *bounds were set them, that they might not pass over: that they return not again to cover the Earth.* Seeing therefore this notion hath no foundation, either in Scripture or reason, 'tis rightly enough styl'd, in the Excepter's words, *a meer fancy, and groundless figment.*

p. 341.

p. 343.

p. 303.

But I think we have had enough of these shifts and evasions. Let us now proceed to the 2d. part of his new Hypothesis, which is this: That the *Abyss* or *Tehom-Rabbah*, which was broken open at the Deluge, and (together with the Rains) made the Flood, was nothing but the Holes and Caverns of Rocks and Mountains: which open'd their mouths at that time, and pour'd out a great quantity of Water. To support

port this new notion of *Tehom-Rabbah*, he alledgeth but one single Text of Scripture: *Pfal. 78. 15. He clave the Rocks in the Wilderness, and gave them drink, as out of the Great Depths.* That is, copiously and abundantly, as if it were out of the great Deep. So the next Verse implies, and so it is generally understood. As you may see both by Interpreters, and also by the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* Translations, and those of the *Chaldee Paraphrase* and the *Syriack*. But the Excepter, by all means, will have these holes in the Rocks to be the same with the *Mosaical Abyss*, or Great Deep, that was broken open at the Deluge. So the *Great Deep* was not one thing, or one continued Cavity, as *Moses* represents it, but ten thousand holes, separate and distant one from another. Neither must the Great Deep, according to him, signify a *low place*, but an *high place*. For he confesses

* p. 303. *But though these Caverns be called Deeps, we must not take them for profound places, that went down into the Earth, below the common Surface of it: on the contrary, they were situate above it.*

these Caverns were higher than the common level of the Earth*. But I do not see, how, with any tolerable propriety or good sense, that, which is higher than the Surface of the Earth, can be call'd the *Great Deep*. An Abyss, in the Earth, or in the Water, is certainly *downwards*, in respect of their common Surface. As much as a Pit is *downwards*. And what is downwards from us, we cannot suppose to be above us, without confounding all dimensions, and all names, of things. Calling that low, which is high: a Mountain a Valley, or a Garret a Cellar.

Neither is there any thing in this Text, *Pfal. 78. 15.* that can justly induce us to believe the *Great Abyss* to be the same thing with Caverns in Rocks. For whether you suppose it to be noted here as a miraculous thing, that God should give them Water *out of a Rock, or out of a FLINT**, as plentifully, as if it had been out of the Great Abyss. Or whether you understand the original of Fountains to be noted here: which are said in Scripture to come from the Sea, or the great Abyss; neither of these senses make any thing to the purpose of the new Hypothesis, and

* *Pfal. 114. 7, 8. Tremble thou Earth at the presence of the Lord, at the presence of the God of Jacob, which turned the Rock into a standing water, the flint into a fountain of Waters.*

Num. 20. 10, 11. And Moses and Aaron gathered the Congregation together before the Rock, and he said unto them, Hear now you rebels: must we fetch you water out of this Rock? And Moses lift up his hand, and with his rod he smote the Rock twice: and the Water came out abundantly.

yet

yet they are the fairest and easiest fence that can be put upon the words: and that which agrees best with other places of Scripture, where the same matter of fact, or the same History is related. And therefore there can be no necessity, from the Text, of changing the general notion and signification of *Deep* or *Abyss*. Both from that which it hath in common use, and that which it hath in Scripture-use.

I say, as in the common use of words, *Deep* or *Abyss* signifies some low or inferiour place: So the general use of it in Scripture, is in the same sense. Either to signify the Sea, or some subterraneous place. *Who shall descend into the Abyss or Deep*: says the Apostle, *Rom. 10. 7.* Is that as much, as if he had said, *Who shall ascend into the holes of the Rocks?* And when *Jacob* speaks of the blessings of the *Abyss*, or of the *Deep*, he calls them the blessings of the *Deep that lieth under*: *Gen. 49. 25.* In like manner, *Moses* himself calls it the *Deep that coucheth beneath*: *Deut. 33. 13.* And I know no reason why we should not understand the same *Deep* there, that he mentioned before in the History of the Deluge. Which therefore was subterraneous, as this is. Then as for the other use of the word, namely, for the Sea, or any part of the Sea, (whose bottom is always lower than the level of the Earth) that is the most common use of it in Scripture. And I need not give you Instances, which are every where obvious.

One must needs think it strange therefore, that any Man of judgment should break thorough, both the common use of a word, and so many plain Texts of Scripture that shew the signification of it, for the sake of one Text; which, at most, is but dubious. And then lay such stress upon that new signification, as to found a new doctrine upon it. And a doctrine that is neither supported by reason, nor agrees with the History of the Deluge. For, as we noted before, at the decrease of the Deluge, the Waters are said to *return from off the Earth*: *Gen. 8. 3.* Did they not return to the places from whence they came? but if those places were the Caverns in the Rocks, whose mouths lay higher than the Surface of the Deluge, as he says they

they did: I see no possibility of the Waters returning into them. But the Excepter hath found out a marvellous invention to evade this argument. He will have the *returning* of the Waters, to be understood of their returning into their Principles, (that is, into vapors) not to their Places. In good time: So the Dove's *returning*, was her returning into her Principles: that is, into an Egg, not into the Ark. Subtleties ill-founded, argue two things, wit and want of judgment. *Moses* speaks as plainly of the local return of the Waters, *in going and returning*; as of the local going and returning of the Raven and Dove. See *Gen.* 8. 3, & 5. compar'd with Verse 7th. & 9th.

Lastly, That we may end this Discourse; the whole notion of these Water-pots in the tops of Mountains, and of the broaching of them at the Deluge, is a groundless imagination. What reason have we to believe, that there were such Vessels then, more than now: if there was no Fraction of the Earth, at the Deluge, to destroy them? And he ought to have gag'd these Casks, (according to his own rule*) and told us the number and capacity of them, that we might have made some judgment of the effect. Besides, if the opening the Abyss at the Deluge, had been the opening of Rocks, why did not *Moses* express it so: and tell us; that the *Rocks were cloven, and the waters gushed out*, and so made the Deluge? This would have been as intelligible, if it had been true, as to tell us that the *Tehom-Rabbah* was broken open. But there is not one word of *Rocks*, or the *cleaving of Rocks*, in the History of the Flood. Upon all accounts therefore, we must conclude, that this Virtuoso might have as well suspected, that his whole Theory of the Deluge, as one part of it, would be accounted *a meer fancy, and groundless figment*.

C H A P. X V I.

THIS Chapter is made up of Eight Objections, against his own Hypothesis. And those that have a mind to see them, may read them in the Author. I have taken as much notice of them, as I thought

thought necessary, in the precedent Chapter: and therefore leave the Excepter now to deal with them all together. I omitted one objection (*p. 311.*) concerning the shutting up of the Abyss, and the Fountains of the Abyss, because it was answer'd before in the English Theory, *p. 104.* namely, There were fountains in the Abyss, as much as Windows in Heaven: and those were shut up, as well as these; that is, ceas'd to act, and were put into a condition to continue the Deluge no longer.

C H A P. XVII.

TH E R E is nothing in this Chapter against the Truth of the Theory, but the Author is blam'd for believing it to be true. I think he had been more blame-worthy, if he had troubled the World with a Theory which he did not believe to be true: and taken so much pains to compose, what he thought himself no better than a Romance. As to what the Theorist has said in reference to his assurance or belief of the Theory, which the Excepter calls *positiveness*: upon examination, I cannot find any thing amiss in his conduct, as to that particular. For, first, he imposes his sentiments upon no man: He leaves every one their full liberty of dissenting. *Preface to the Reader, at the end. Lastly, in things purely speculative, as these are, and no ingredients of our Faith, it is free to differ from one another, in our opinions and sentiments; And so I remember S. Austin hath observ'd, upon this very subject of Paradise. Wherefore as we desire to give no offence our selves, so neither shall we take any at the difference of judgment in others. Provided, this liberty be mutual, and that we all agree to study PEACE, TRUTH, and a GOOD LIFE.* And as the Theorist imposes his Sentiments upon no man, so, as to matter of certainty, he distinguisheth always betwixt the *substance* of the Theory, and *particularities*. So, at the latter end of the *First Book*, this profession is made; *I mean this only, speaking about certainty, as to the general parts of the Theory. For as to particularities, I look upon them only as problematical: and accordingly I affirm nothing therein,*
but

but with a power of revocation, and a liberty to change my opinion when I shall be better inform'd. And accordingly, he says in another place: *I know how subject we are to mistakes, in these great and remote things, when we descend to particularities.* Eng. Theor. p. 96. But I am willing to expose the Theory to a full triall, and to shew the way for any to examine it, provided they do it with equity and sincerity. I have no other design than to contribute my endeavours to find out truth, &c. Lastly, To cite no more places, he says, *There are many particular explications that are to be consider'd with more liberty and latitude: and may, perhaps, upon better thoughts and better observations, be corrected, &c.* Eng. Theor. p. 288. The Theorist having thus stated and bounded his belief or assurance, and given liberty of dissenting to all others, according to their particular judgments or inclinations, I see nothing unfair or undecent in this conduct. How could the Observator have made it more unexceptionable? Would he have had the Theorist to have profess'd Scepticism: and declar'd that he believ'd his own Theory no more than a Romance or phantastical Idea? That had been, both to bely his own conscience, and to mock the World. I remember I have heard a good Author once wish, That there were an *Act of Parliament*, that whoever Printed a Book, should, when he took a Licence, Swear, that he thought the *Contents of his Book to be true*, as to substance. And I think such a method would keep off a great many impertinencies. We ought not to trouble the World with our roving thoughts, meerly out of an itch of Scripturiency, when we do not believe our selves what we Write. I must always profess my assent to the substance of that Theory: and am the more confirm'd in it, by the weakness and inefficacy of these Exceptions.

We need not take notice of the particular citations he makes use of, to prove this *positiveness* of the Theorist. For they only affirm, what we still own, That the Theory is more than an *Idea*: or that it is not an *Imaginary Idea*: or that it is a *reality*. And, together with its proofs from Scripture: especially from *S. Peter*: hath more than the certainty of a *bare Hypothesis*, or a *moral certainty*. These are the expressions he cites,

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and we own all, that, in fair construction, they amount to. And find no reason, either from the nature of the thing, or from his objections, to change our opinion, or make any Apology for too much positiveness.

p. 43.

I wish the Excepter had not more to answer for, as to his *Partiality*: than the Theorist hath, for his *positiveness*. And now that we draw to a conclusion, it will not be amiss to observe, how well the Excepter hath answered that character, which he gave himself at the beginning of his work. These are his words. *This I will endeavour to do, namely, to examine the Theory, with all sincerity; and that only as a Friend and Servant to Trnth. And therefore with such Candour, Meekness, and Modesty, as becomes one who assumes and glories in so fair a Character: And also with such respect to the Virtuoso who wrote the Theory, as may testify to the world, that I esteem his Learning, while I question his Opinion.* 'Tis of little consequence what opinion he has of the *Virtuoso*, as he calls him. But let us see with what *sincerity* and *meekness*, he has examin'd his Work. As to his sincerity, we have given you some proofs of it before (p. 26.) both in his defective and partial citations: and also, in his never taking notice of the last Edition of the Theory: where several citations he has made use of, are not extant. Now, by his own Rule, he ought to have had regard to this; for he says, (p. 356.) He will there take notice only of the English Edition, as *coming out after the other: and so with more deliberation and mature thoughts of things.* By the same reason, say I, he ought to have taken notice of the last Edition of the Theory, as being the last product, and the most *deliberate and mature thoughts* of the Author. But this, it seems, was not for his purpose.

So much for his Sincerity: Now for his *Meekness*. So impatient he is to fall upon his Adversary, that he begins his charge in the Preface: and a very fierce one it is. (p. iii.) *The Theorist hath assaulted Religion, and that in the very foundation of it.* Here I expected to have found two or three Articles of the Creed assaulted or knock'd down by the Theory. But that

that is not the case, it seems: he understands something more general: namely, our contradicting Scripture. For so he explains himself in the next Page. *In several things (as will appear by our discourse) it contradicts Scripture; and by too positive asserting the truth of its Theorems, makes that to be false, upon which our religion is founded.* Let us remember, that this contradicting Scripture, here pretended, is onely in natural things: and also observe, how far the Excepter himself, in such things, hath contradicted Scripture. As for other reproofs which he gives us, those that are more gentle, I easily pass over: but some-where he makes our assertions *too bold an affront to Scripture.* And in another place represents them, as (either directly, or consequentially) *Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost:* which is the unpardonable Sin: *Matt. 12. 31.*

p. 78.

p. 286

There is no pleasure in repeating such expressions, and dreadful sentences. Let us rather observe, if the Excepter hath not made himself obnoxious to them. But first, we must state the case truly, that so the blame may not fall upon the Innocent. The case therefore is this, *Whether, to go contrary to the Letter of Scripture, in things that relate to the natural World, be destroying the foundations of Religion: affronting Scripture: and blaspheming the Holy Ghost.* In the case propos'd, *We take the Negative, and stand upon that Plea.* But the Excepter hath taken the *Affirmative:* and therefore all those heavy charges must fall upon himself, if he go contrary to the Literal sense of Scripture, in his Philosophical opinions or assertions. And that he hath done so, we will give you some Instances, out of this Treatise of his: *Pag. 314.* He says, *It is most absurd to think, that the Earth is the center of the World.* Then the Sun stands still, and the Earth moves, according to his doctrine. But this is expressly contrary to Scripture, in many places. The *Sun rejoices, as a strong Man, to run his race,* says *David: His going forth is from the end of the Heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it.* No such thing, says the Excepter: The Sun hath no race to run: he is fixt in his seat, without any progressive motion. He hath no course from one end of the Heavens to the other.

Pf. 19. 5. 6

Jes. 10. 12.

13. 2 Kin. 20.

10, 11. Isa. 38. 8.

In like manner, *Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon*, says the Sacred Author: *and the Sun stood still*. No, says the Excepter, 'twas the Earth stood still, upon that miracle: for the Sun always stood still. And 'tis *absurd*, yea *most absurd*, to think otherwise. And he blames *Tycho Brahe* for following Scripture in this particular. Now is not this, in the language of the Excepter, to *destroy the foundations of Religion: To affront Scripture: and blaspheme against the Holy Ghost?* But this is not all. The Excepter says, (*Chap. 10.*) the Sun rais'd up the Mountains on the *3d. Day*. And the Sun was not in being till the *4th. Day*: according to Scripture: *Gen. 1. 14.* The Moon also, which according to Scripture, was not created till the *4th. Day*: he says, would hinder the formation of the Earth, which was done the *3d. Day*. Lastly, In his new Hypothesis, he makes the Waters of the Deluge, to be but fifteen Cubits higher than the Plain, or common Surface of the Earth. Which Scripture affirms expressly to have cover'd the tops of the highest Hills, or Mountains, under Heaven. These two things are manifestly inconsistent. The Scripture says, they cover'd the tops of the highest Mountains: And the Excepter says, they reach but fifteen Cubits, about, or upon the skirts of them. This, I think, is truly to contradict Scripture: or, according to his talent of loading things with great words, *This is not onely flatly, but loudly contradictory to the most express word of the Infallible God.*

These observations, I know, are of small use, unless perhaps to the Excepter himself. But if you please, upon this occasion, let us reflect a little upon the Literal style of Scripture: and the different authority of that style, according to the matter that it treats of. The subject matter of Scripture is either such, as lies without the cognizance and comprehension of humane reason, or such as lies within it. If it be the former of these, 'tis what we call properly and purely *Revelation*. And there we must adhere to the literal style, because we have nothing to guide us but that. Such is the Doctrine of the Trinity, and the Incarnation: wherein we can have nothing to authorize our deviation from the Letter and words of Scripture. And there-

therefore the School-Divines, who have spun those Doctrines into a multitude of Niceties and Subtleties, had no warrant for what they did, and their conclusions are of no authority.

The second matter or subject of Scripture, is such, as falls under the view and comprehension of Reason, more or less: and, in the same proportion, gives us a liberty to examine the Literal sense: how far it is consistent with reason, and the faculties of our mind. Of this nature there are several things in the Holy Writings, both Moral, Theological, and Natural, wherein we recede from the Letter, when it is manifestly contrary to the dictates of reason. I will give some Instances in every kind. First, as to Moral things. Our Saviour says, *If thy right Eye offend thee, pluck it out.* Mat. 5. 29. *If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off.* 30. There is no Man that thinks himself oblig'd to the Literal practice of this doctrine: And yet it is plainly deliver'd, you see, in these terms, in the Gospel. Nay, which is more, our Saviour backs and enforces the letter of this doctrine with a *Reason: For it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole Body should be cast into Hell.* As if he had intended that his Precept should have been really executed according to the Letter. In like manner, our Saviour says, *If any man will sue thee at Law, and take away thy Coat, let him have thy Cloak also.* And yet there is no Christian so good-natur'd, as to practise this: nor any Casuist so rigid, as to enjoin it, according to the Letter. Other Instances you may see in our Saviour's Sermon upon the Mount, where we do not scruple to lay aside the Letter, when it is judg'd contrary to the Light of Nature, or impracticable in humane Society.

In all other things also, that lie within the sphere of humane reason, we are allow'd to examine their *practicability*, or their *credibility*. To instance in something Theological: The words of *Consecration* in the Sacrament. Our Saviour, when he instituted the last Supper, us'd these words; *This is my Body*: taking the Bread into his hand. Which words joyn'd with that action, are very formal and expressive. Yet we do not scruple to forsake the Literal sense, and take the words

words in another way. But upon what warrant do we this? Because the literal sence contains an absurdity: Because it contradicts the light of Nature? Because it is inconsistent with the Idea of a Body, and so destroys it self. In like manner, upon the Idea of the Divine Nature, we dispute Absolute Reprobation, and an Eternity of Torments, against the letter of Scripture. And, Lastly, Whether the Resurrection-Body consists of the same individual parcels and particles, whereof the mortal Body consisted, before it was putrified or dispers'd. And whether the *Book of Life* are to be understood in a literal sence.

Phil. 4. 3.
Apo. 3. 5.
& 20, 12.

The last Head is of such things as belong to the Natural World. And to this may be reduc'd innumerable Instances, where we leave the literal sence, if inconsistent with Science, or experience. And the truth is, if we should follow the Vulgar Style and literal sence of Scripture, we should all be *Anthropomorphites*, as to the Nature of God: And as to the Nature of his works in the external Creation, we must renounce Philosophy and Natural Experience, if the descriptions and accounts given in Scripture, concerning the *Heavens*, the *Earth*, the *Sea*, and other parts of the World, be received as accurate and just representations of the state and properties of those Bodies. Neither is there any danger lest this should affect or impeach the Divine Veracity; for Scripture never undertook, nor was ever designed to teach us Philosophy, or the Arts and Sciences. And whatsoever the Light of Nature can reach and comprehend, is improperly the Subject of Revelation. But some men, out of love to their own ease, and in defence of their ignorance, are not only for a Scripture-Divinity, but also for a Scripture-Philosophy. 'Tis a cheap and compendious way, and saves them the trouble of farther study or examination.

Upon the whole, you see, it is no fault to recede from the literal sence of Scripture, but the fault is when we leave it without a just cause. As it is no fault for a man to separate from a Church: or for a Prince to make war against his Neighbour: but to do the one or the other, without a just cause, is a real

real fault. We all leave the literal sense in certain cases, and therefore that alone is no sufficient charge against any man. But he that makes a separation, if I may so call it, without good reasons, he is truly obnoxious to censure. The great result of all therefore, is this, to have some common Rule to direct us, when every one ought to follow, and when to leave, the Literal Sense. And that Rule which is generally agreed upon by good Interpreters, is this, *Not* to leave the literal Sense, when the subject matter will bear it, without absurdity or incongruity. This Rule I have always proposed to my self, and always endeavoured to keep close to it. But some inconsiderate minds make every departure from the Letter, let the Matter or Cause be what it will, to be an affront to Scripture. And there, where we have the greatest liberty, I mean in things that relate to the Natural world, They have no more indulgence or moderation, than if it was an intrenchment upon the Articles of Faith, In this particular I cannot excuse the present Animadverter; yet I must needs say, he is a very Saint in comparison of another Animadverter, who hath writ upon the same subject, but neither like a Gentleman: nor like a Christian: nor like a Scholar. And such Writings answer themselves.

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A SHORT
CONSIDERATION
OF
M^r ERASMUS WARREN'S
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OF HIS
EXCEPTIONS
Against the
THEORY
OF THE
EARTH:

In a Letter to a Friend.



LONDON,

Printed by *R. Norton*, for *Walter Kettilby*, at the Bishops-
Head in *S. Paul's Church-Yard*, 1691.

A SHORT
CONSIDERATION
 OF
 Mr *ERASMUS WARREN*'s
DEFENCE of his **EXCEPTIONS**
 Against the **THEORY** of the **EARTH**.

SIR,



Have read over Mr. *Er. Warren*'s Defence of his Exceptions against *the Theory of the Earth*: which, it may be, few will do after me; as not having curiosity or patience enough, to read such a long Pamphlet, of private or little use. Such altercations as these, are to you, I believe, as they are to me, a sort of folly; but the Aggressor must answer for that, who makes the trouble unavoidable to the Defendant. And 'tis an unpleasant exercise: a kind of Wild-goose-chase; where he that leads must be followed, through all his extravagances.

The Author of this Defence must pardon me, if I have less apprehensions both of his judgment and temper, than I had before. For, as he is too verbose and long-winded ever to make a close reasoner: So it was unexpected to me to find his style so captious and angry, as it is in this last paper. And the same strain continuing to the end, I was sorry to see that his blood had been kept upon the fret, for so many months together, as the Pamphlet was a-making.

He might have made his work much shorter, without any loss to the Sence. If he had left out his popular enlargements, juvenile excursions, stories and strains of Country-Rhetorick, (whereof we shall give you some instances hereafter) his Book would have been reduc'd to half the compass. And if from that reduc'd half, you take away again trifling altercations

A short Consideration of the Defence

and pedantick repartees, the remainder would fall into the compass of a few pages. For my part, I am always apt to suspect a man that makes me a long answer: for the precise point to be spoken to, in a multitude of words is easily lost: and words are often multiplied for that very purpose.

However if his humour be verbose, it might have been, at least, more easie and inoffensive: there having been no provocation given him in that kind. But let us guess, if you please, as well as we can, what it was in the late Answer, that so much discomposed the Excepter and altered his style. Either it must be the words and language of that Answer: or the Sence of it, without respect to the Language. As to the Words, 'tis true, he gives some instances of expressions offensive to him; yet they are but three or four, and those methinks, not very high: tho' he calls them the *brats of passion*; they are these *indiscreet, rude, injudicious, and uncharitable*. These characters, it seems, are applyed to the Excepter, in some part of the answer, upon occasion offer'd. And whether those occasions were just or no, I dare appeal to your judgment. As to the word *Rude*, which seems the most harsh, I had said indeed, that he was *rude to Anaxagoras*: and so he was, not to allow him to be a competent witness in matter of fact, whom all Antiquity, sacred and prophane, hath represented to us as one of the greatest men amongst the ancients. I had also said in another place, that, *a rude, and injudicious defence of Scripture by railing and ill language, is the true way to lessen and disparage it*. This I still justify as true, and if he apply it to himself, much good may it do him. I do not remember that it is any where said that he was *rude* to the Theorist; if it be, 'tis possibly upon occasion of his charging him with *Blasphemy, horrid blasphemy against the Holy Ghost*, for saying, *the Earth was dissolv'd at the Deluge*. And I appeal to any man, whether this is not an *uncharitable, and a rude* charge. If a man had cursed God, or call'd our Saviour an Impostor, what could he have been charg'd with more, than *Blasphemy, horrid blasphemy*? And if the same things be charg'd upon a man, for saying, the Earth was

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was dissolv'd at the Deluge, either all crimes and errors must be equal, or the charge must be rude. But however it must be rude in the opinion of the Theorist, who thinks this neither crime nor error.

What says the *Defence* of the Exceptions to this? It makes use of distinctions for mitigation of the censure: and says, it will *indirectly, consequentially, or reductively, be of blasphemous importance.* Here blasphemy is changed into *blasphemous importance*, and *horrid blasphemy* into *consequential, &c.* But taking all these mitigations, it seems however, according to his Theology, all errors in Religion are *blasphemy*, or of *blasphemous importance.* For all errors in Religion must be against Scripture one way or other: at least consequentially, indirectly, or reductively: and all that are so, according to the doctrine of this Author, must be *blasphemy* or of *blasphemous importance.* This is crude Divinity, and the Answerer had reason to subjoin what we cited before, That, a rude and injudicious defence of Scripture, is the true way to lessen and disparage it.

P. 153.

Thus much for *rude* and *uncharitable*: as for the other two words, *indiscreet* and *injudicious*, I cannot easily be induc'd to make any apology for them. On the contrary, I'm afraid, I shall have occasion to repeat these characters again, especially the latter of them, in the perusal of this Pamphlet. However they do not look like *brats of passion*, as he calls them: but rather as cool and quiet judgments, made upon reasons and premises. I had forgot one expression more. The answer, it seems, somewhere calls the Excepter a *Dabbler in Philosophy*, which he takes ill. But that he is a dabbler, both in Philosophy and Astronomy, I believe will evidently appear upon this second examination of the same passages upon which that Character was grounded. We will therefore leave that to the trial, when we come to those passages again, in the following discourse.

These, *Sir*, as far as I remember, are the words and expressions which he hath taken notice of, as offensive to him, and effects of passion. But, methinks, these cannot be of force sufficient to put him so much out
of

of humour, and change his style so much, as we find it to be in this last Pamphlet. And therefore I am inclinable to believe, that 'tis the sence rather, than the words or language of the Answer, that hath had this effect upon him: and that some unhappy passages, that have expos'd his mistakes, were the true causes of these resentments. Such passages I will guess at, as well as I can, and note them to you as they occur to my memory.

But give me leave first, upon this occasion of his new way of writing, to distinguish and mind you of three sorts of arguing, which you may call, *Reasoning*, *wrangling*, and *scolding*. In fair reasoning, regard is had to Truth only, not to Victory: let it fall on whether side it will. But in wrangling and scolding, 'tis victory that is pursued and aim'd at in the first place, with little regard to truth. And if the contention be manag'd in civil terms, 'tis but wrangling: if in uncivil, 'tis scolding. I will not so far anticipate your judgment as to rank this Arguer in any of the three orders: if you have patience to read over his Pamphlet, you will best see how and where to set him in his proper place.

*Exc. p. 77,
&c.*

We now proceed to those passages in the answer, which probably have most exasperated the Author of the Exceptions and the Defence. In his Exceptions he had said, *The Moon being present, or in her present place in the Firmament, at the time of the Chaos, she would certainly trouble and discompose it, as she does now the waters of the Sea: and, by that means, hinder the formation of the Earth. To this we answer'd, that the Moon that was made the 4th. day, could not hinder the formation of the Earth, which was made the 3d. day.* This was a plain intelligible answer: and at the same time discover'd such a manifest blunder in the objection, as could not but give an uneasy thought to him that made it.

Def. p. 12.

However we must not deny, but that he makes some attempt to shift it off in his Reply: For he says, *the Earth formed the 3d. day, was Moses's Earth, which the Excepter contends for: but the Earth he disputes against, is the Theorist's, which could not be formed the 3d. day.*

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He should have added, and therefore *would be hinder'd by the Moon*: otherwise this takes off nothing. And now the question comes to a clear state: for when the Excepter says, the Moon would have hinder'd the formation of the Earth, either he speaks upon *Moses's* hypothesis, or upon the Theorist's hypothesis. Not upon the Theorist's Hypothesis, for the Theorist does not suppose the Moon present then. And if he speaks upon *Moses's* Hypothesis, the Moon that was made the 4th. day, must have hinder'd the formation of the Earth the 3^d. day. So that the objection is a blunder upon either Hypothesis.

*Exc. p. 77, 78.
Def. p. 73.
lin. 12, 13*

Furthermore, whereas he suggests that the Answerer makes use of *Moses's* hypothesis to confute his adversary, but does not follow it himself: 'Tis so far true, that the Theorist never said that *Moses's* six-days Creation was to be understood literally, but however it is justly urg'd against those that understand it literally, and they must not contradict that interpretation which they own and defend.

So much for the Moon, and this first passage, which I suppose was troublesome to our Author. But he makes the same blunder, in another place, as to the *Sun*. Both the Luminaries, it seems, stood in his way. In the 10th. Chapter of his Exceptions, he gives us a new Hypothesis about the *Origin of Mountains*: which, in short, is this, that they were drawn or suckt out of the Earth by the influence and instrumentality of the Sun. Whereas the Sun was not made, according to *Moses*, till the 4th. day, and the Earth was form'd the 3^d. day. 'Tis an unhappy thing to split twice upon the same rock, and upon a rock so visible. He that can but reckon to four, can tell whether the 3^d. day, or 4th. day, came sooner.

To cure this Hypothesis about the *Origin of Mountains*, he takes great pains in his *Defence*, and attempts to do it chiefly by help of a distinction: dividing Mountains into *Maritime* and *Inland*. Now 'tis true, says he, *These maritime Mountains, and such, as were made with the hollow of the Sea, must rise when that was sunk or deprest*: namely, the 3^d. day. Yet *Inland* ones, he says, might be raised some earlier, and some later: and by

*P. 97, 98, 99.
100, 101.*

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the influence of the Sun. This is a weak and vain attempt to defend his notion; for, besides that this distinction of *Maritime* and *Inland Mountains*, as arising from different causes, and at different times, is without any ground, either in Scripture or reason: if their different origin was admitted, the Sun's extracting these *Inland Mountains* out of the Earth, would still be absurd and incongruous upon other accounts.

Scripture, I say, makes no such distinction of Mountains, made at different times and from different causes. This is plain, seeing *Moses* does not mention Mountains at all in his six-days Creation: nor any where else, till the Deluge. What authority have we then to make this distinction: or to suppose that all the great Mountains of the Earth were not made together? Besides, what length of time would you require, for the production of these *Inland Mountains*? were they not all made within the six-days Creation? hear what *Moses* says at the end of the 6th. day. *Thus the Heavens and the Earth were finished, and all the host of them. And on the 7th. day, God ended his work which he had made.* Now if the Excepter say, that the Mountains were all made within these six-days, we will not stand with him for a day or two: for that would make little difference as to the action of the Sun. But if he will not confine their production to *Moses's* six days, how does he keep to the Mosaical Hypothesis? or how shall we know where he will stop, in his own way? for if they were not made within the six days, for any thing he knows, they might not be made till the Deluge; seeing Scripture no where mentions Mountains before the Flood.

And as Scripture makes no distinction of *Maritime* and *Inland Mountains*, so neither hath this distinction any foundation in Nature or Reason. For there is no apparent or discernible difference betwixt *Maritime* and *Inland Mountains*, nor any reason why they should be thought to proceed from different causes, or to be rais'd at different times. The *Maritime Mountains* are as rocky, as ruderous, and as irregular and various in their shape and posture, as the *Inland Mountains*. They have no distinctive characters, nor
any

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any different properties, internal or external: in their matter, form, or composition: that can give us any ground to believe, that they came from a different Original. So that this distinction is meerly precarious, neither founded in Scripture nor reason: but made for the nonce to serve a turn.

Besides, what bounds will you give to these Maritime Mountains? are they distinguished from Inland Mountains barely by their distance from the Sea, or by some other Character? If barely by distance, tell us then how far from the Sea do the Maritime Mountains reach, and where do the Inland begin, and how shall we know the *Terminalis Lapis*? Especially in a continued chain of Mountains, that reach from the Sea many hundreds of miles Inland: as the *Alpes* from the Ocean to *Pontus Euxinus*, and *Taurus*, as he says, *Def. p. 143.* fifteen hundred miles in length, from the *Chinese Ocean* to the Sea of *Pamphylia*. In such an uninterrupted Ridge of Mountains, where do the Land-Mountains end, and the Sea-mountains begin? Or what mark is there, whereby we may know that they are not all of the same race, or do not all spring from the same original? Such obvious enquiries as these, shew sufficiently, that the distinction is meerly arbitrary and fictitious.

But suppose this distinction was admitted, and the Maritime Mountains made the 3^d. day, but Inland Mountains I know not when: the great difficulty still remains, *How* the Sun rear'd up these Inland Mountains afterwards. Or if his power be sufficient for such effects, why have we not Mountains made still to this day? seeing our Mountain-maker the Sun is still in the Firmament, and seems to be as busie at work, as ever. The *Defender* hath made some answer to this question, *Def. p. 99.* in these words, *The question is put, why have we no Mountains made now? It might as well have been askt, says he, why does not the fire make a dough-bak'd loaf swell and puff up? And, he says, this answer must be satisfactory to the question propounded.* It must be, that is, for want of a better: for otherwise this Dowe-comparison is unsatisfactory upon many accounts. First, there was no ferment in the Earth, as in this Dowe-cake: at least it

is not prov'd, or made appear, that there was any. Nay, in the *Exceptions*, when this Hypothesis was propos'd, there was no mention at all made of any ferment or leaven in the Earth: but the effect was wholly imputed to *Vapors* and the *Sun*. But to supply their defects, he now ventures to add the word *fermentive*, as he calls it. *A fermentive, flatulent principle*, which heav'd up the Earth, as Leaven does Dowe. But, besides, that this is a meer groundless and gross Postulatum, to suppose any such leaven in the Earth; If there had been such a principle, it would have swoln the whole mass uniformly, heav'd up the exterior region of the Earth every where, and so not made Mountains, but a swoln bloated Globe.

Ibid *lin.* 19.

This, Sir, is a *2d.* passage, which I thought might make the Defender uneasy. We proceed now to a *3d.* and *4th.* in his Geography and Astronomy. In the *14th.* Chapter of his *Exceptions*, speaking of the change of the situation of the Earth, from a right posture to an oblique, he says, *according to the Theory, the Ecliptick in the Primitive Earth, was its Equinoctial now.* This, he is told by the Answer, is a great mistake; namely, to think that the *Earth, when it chang'd its situation, chang'd its poles and circles.* What is now reply'd to this? *He speaks against a change, says the Defence, in the poles and circles of the Earth; A needless trouble, and occasion'd by his own oversight. For had he but lookt into the Errata's, he might have seen there, that these parentheses, upon which he grounded what he says, should have been left out.* So this is acknowledg'd an *Erratum*, it seems, but an *erratum Typographicum*; not in the sence, but only in the *parentheses*, which, he says, should have been left out. Let us then lay aside the *Parentheses*, and the sentence stands thus, *For under the Ecliptick, which in the primitive situation of the Earth, according to the Theory, was its Equinoctial: and divided the Globe into two Hemispheres, as the Equator does now. The dry ground, &c.* How does this alter or mend the sence? Is it not still as plainly affirm'd, as before, that, according to the Theory, the Ecliptick in the Primitive Earth was its Equinoctial? And the same thing is suppos'd throughout all this Paragraph. And if he will

P. 289.

Exc. *p.* 289,
290.

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will own the truth, and give things their proper name; 'tis down-right ignorance or a gross mistake in the doctrine of the Sphere, which he would first father upon the Theory, and then upon the parentheses.

And this leads me to a 4th. passage, much-what of the same nature, where he would have the Earth to have been translated out of the Æquator into the Ecliptick, and to have chang'd the line of its motion about the Sun, when it chang'd its situation. His words are these, *So that in her annual motion about the Sun, she,* Exc. p. 158, namely, the Earth before her change of situation, *was* 159. *carried directly under the Equinoctial.* This is his mistake. The Earth mov'd in the Ecliptick, both before and after her change of situation: for the change was not made in the Circle of her motion about the Sun; but in her posture or inclination in the same Circle. Whereas he supposes that she *shifed both posture, and* ibid. p. 159. *also her circuit about the Sun,* as his words are in the next paragraph. But we shall have occasion to reflect upon this again in its proper place. We proceed now to another Astronomical mistake.

A 5th. passage, which probably might disquiet him; is his false argumentation at the end of the 8th. chap. concerning *Days and Months.* He says there, if the natural days were longer towards the Flood, than at first: Exc. p. 187; (which no body however affirms) fewer than thirty would have made a month: whereas the duration of the Flood is computed by months consisting of thirty days a-piece: *therefore, says he, they were no longer than ordinary.* This argumentation the Answer told him, *was a meer paralogism, or a meer blunder.* For 30 days are 30 days, whether they are longer or shorter: and Scripture does not determine the length of the days. There are several pages spent in the Defence, to get off this blunder: Let's here how he begins: *Tho' Scripture does not limit or account for the length of days expressly, yet it does it implicitly, and withal very plainly and intelligibly.* This is deny'd, and if he make this out, that Scripture does very *plainly and intelligibly* determine the length of days at the Deluge, and makes them equal with ours at present, then, I acknowledge, he hath remov'd the blunder: otherwise it stands the P. 78, 79, 80, 81.
same;

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same, unmov'd and unmodified. Now observe how he makes this out; *For, says he, Scripture gives us to understand, that days before the Flood were of the same length that they are of now, BY INFORMING US, that months and years, which were of the same length then, that they are of at present, were made up of the same number of days.* Here the blunder is still continued, or, at best, it is but transferr'd from days to months, or from months to years. He says, *Scripture informs us that months and years were of the same length then, that they are of at present.* If he mean by the *same length*, the *same number of days*, he relapses into the old blunder, and we still require the length of those days. But if Scripture informs us that the months and years at the Flood, were of the same length that they are of now, according to any absolute and known measure, distinct from the *number of days*, then the blunder is sav'd. Let's see therefore by whether of these two ways he proves it in the next words, which are these, *For how could there be just 12 months in the year, at the time of the Deluge: and 30 days in each of those months, if days then had not consisted, as they do now, of 24 hours a piece.* We allow a day might then consist of 24 hours, if the distinction of hours was so ancient. But what then, the question returns concerning the length of those *hours*, as it was before concerning the length of the *days*: and this is either *idem per idem*, or the same error in another instance. If you put but *hours* in the place of *days*, the words of the *Answer* have still the same force: *Twenty four hours were to go to a day, whether the hours were longer or shorter: and Scripture does not determine the length of the hours.* This, you see, is still the same case, and the same paralogism hangs upon both instances.

But he goes on still in this false tract, in these words: *And as Providence hath so ordered nature, that days (that depend upon its diurnal motion) should be measur'd by circumgyrations of the Earth--- So it hath taken care that each of these circumrotations should be performed in 24 hours: and consequently that every day should be just so long that 30 of them (in way of round reckoning) might compleat a month.* Admit all this, that 30 days compleat a month. Still if Scripture hath not determin'd the

the length of those days, nor the slowness or swiftness of the circumgyrations that make them, it hath not determin'd to us the length of those months, nor of the years that depend upon them. This one would take to be very intelligible: yet he goes on still in the same maze, thus, *But now had the circumgyrations of the Earth grown more slow towards the Deluge (by such causes as the Excepter suggested) so as every day had consisted of 30 hours, &c.* But how so, I pray? This is a wild step: why 30 hours? where does Scripture say so: or where does the Theorist say so? We say the Day consisted then as now of 24 hours, whether the hours were longer or shorter: and that Scripture hath not determin'd the length of those hours, nor consequently of those days, nor consequently of those months, nor consequently of those years. So, after all this a-do, we are just where we were at first, namely, That Scripture not having determin'd the absolute length of any one, you cannot by that determine the length of any other. And by his shifting and multiplying instances, he does but *absurda absurdis accumulare, ne perpluant.*

We offer'd before, in our Answer, to give the Excepter some light into his mistake: by distinguishing in these things, what is *absolute* from what is *relative*: the former whereof, cannot, under these or any such like circumstances, be determin'd by the latter. For instance; A man hath ten children, and he will not say absolutely and determinately what portion he will give with any one of them: but he says, I will give my eldest child a tenth part more than my 2^d, and my second a 9th. part more than my 3^d, and my third an 8th. part more than my 4th; and so downwards in proportion, to the youngest. Not telling you, in any absolute sum, what money he will give the youngest, or any other: you cannot by this tell what portion the man will give with any of his children. I leave you to apply this, and proceed to a nearer instance, by comparing the measures of *Time* and *Longitude*. If you know how many inches make a foot, how many feet a pace, how many paces a mile, &c. you cannot by these numbers determine the absolute quantity of any one of the foresaid measures, but only their relative quantity.

quantity as to one another. So if Scripture had determin'd, of how many hours a Day consisted: of how many days a Month: of how many months a Year: you could not by this alone determine the absolute duration or quantity of any one of these, nor whether they were longer or shorter than our present hours, days, months, or years. And therefore, I say still, as I said at first, 30 days are 30 days, whether they are longer or shorter: and 30 circumgyrations of the Earth, are 30, whether they be slower or swifter. And that no Scripture-proof can be made from this, either directly or consequentially, that the days before the Flood, were or were not, longer than they are at present. But we have been too long upon this head.

We proceed now from his Astronomy to his Philosophy. 'Twas observ'd in the *Answer*, that the Excepter in the beginning of the *9th. Chap.* suppos'd Terrestrial Bodies to have a *nitency inwards, or downwards towards the Center*. This we noted as a false principle in Philosophy: and to rectifie his mistake, he now replies, That he understood that expression only of *self-central and quiescent Bodies*. Whereas in truth, the question he was speaking to, was about a fluid Body turning upon its Axis. But however let us admit his new sence, his principle, I'm afraid, will still need rectification; namely, he affirms now, that *Quiescent Earthly Bodies are impregnated with a nitency inward, or downward towards the Center*. I deny also this reform'd principle; if Bodies be turn'd round, they have a nitency upwards, or from the Center of their motion. If they be not turn'd round, nor mov'd, but quiescent, they have no nitency at all, neither upwards nor downwards: but are indifferent to all lines of motion, according as an external impulse shall carry them, this way or that way. So that his *impregnation with a nitency downwards*, is an occult and fictitious quality, which is not in the nature of Bodies, whether in motion or in rest. The truth is, The Author of the Exceptions makes a great flutter about the *Cartesian Philosophy*, and the *Copernican Systeme*, but the frequent mistakes he commits in both, give a just suspicion that he understands neither.

P. 38.

Def. p. 82.

Lastly, we come to the grand discovery of a *Fifteen-Cubit-*

Cubit-Deluge, which, it may be, was as uneasy to him upon second thoughts, as any of the rest: at least one would guess so, by the changes he hath made in his Hypothesis. For he hath now, in this *Defence*, reduc'd the Deluge to a destruction of the world by *Famine*, rather than by *drowning*. I do not remember in Scripture any mention made of *Famine* in that great judgment of water brought upon mankind, but he thinks he hath found out something that favours his opinion: namely, *that a good part of mankind at the Deluge, were not drown'd, but starv'd for want of victuals*. And the argument is this, because in the story of the Deluge, men are not said to be *drown'd*, but to *perish, die* or be *destroy'd*. But are they said any where in the story of the Deluge, to have been *famish'd*? And when God says to *Noah*, *I will bring a flood of waters upon the Earth, to destroy all flesh*, Does it not plainly signifie, that that destruction should be by *drowning*? But however let us hear our Author: when he had been making use of this new Hypothesis of *starving*, to take off some arguments urged against his fifteen-cubit Deluge (particularly, that it would not be sufficient to destroy all mankind) he adds these words by way of proof. *And methinks there is one thing which seems to insinuate, that a good part of the Animal world might perhaps come to an end thus: by being driven to such streights by the overflowing waters, as to be FAMISH'T or STARV'D to death. The thing is this, in the story of the Deluge, it is no where said of men and living creatures, that they were drown'd, but they dyed, or were destroyed. Those that are drown'd are destroy'd, I imagine, as well as those that are starv'd: so this proves nothing. But that the destruction here spoken of, was by drowning, seems plain enough, both from God's words to Noah before the Flood, and by his words after the Flood, when he makes his Covenant with Noah, in this manner: I will establish my Covenant with you, neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a Flood. Now to be cut off, or destroy'd by the waters of a Flood, is, methinks, to be drown'd. And I take all flesh to comprehend the Animal World, or at least, all mankind. Accordingly our Saviour says, Matt. 24. 39. in Noah's time, the flood came, and took them all away: namely, all mankind.* This

P. 181, 182.

Gen. 6. 17

Def. p. 182.

Gen. 9. 11

Def. 165. &
180.

This is one Expedient our Author hath found out, to help to bear off the inconveniences that attend his fifteen-cubit Deluge: namely, by converting a good part of it into a *Famine*. But he hath another Expedient to joyn to this, by increasing the Waters: and that is done, by making the *Common Surface* of the Earth, or the *highest parts* of it, as he calls them, to signifie ambiguously, or any height that pleases him; and consequently fifteen Cubits above that, signifies also what height he thinks fit. But in reality, there is no surface common to the Earth, but either the *exteriour surface*, whether it be high or low: or the *ordinary level* of the Earth, as it is a Globe or convex Body. If by his *common surface* he mean the *exteriour surface*, that takes in Mountains as well as Low-lands, or any other superficial parts of the Earth. And therefore if the Deluge was fifteen Cubits above this common surface, it was fifteen Cubits above the highest Mountains, as we say it was. But if by the common surface he mean the common level of the Earth, as it is a Globular or convex Body, then we gave it a right name when we call'd it the *ordinary level* of the Earth: namely, that level or surface that lies in an equal convexity with the surface of the Sea. And his fifteen Cubits of water from that level, would never drown the World. Lastly, If by the common surface of the Earth, he understand a *3^d* surface, different from both these, he must define it, and define the height of it: that we may know how far this fifteen-cubit Deluge rise, from some known basis. One known basis is the surface of the Sea, and that surface of the Land that lies in an equal convexity with it: tell us then if the waters of the Deluge were but fifteen Cubits higher than the surface of the Sea, that we may know their height by some certain and determinate measure, and upon that examine the Hypothesis. But to tell us they were fifteen Cubits above, not the Mountains or the Hills, but the Highlands, or the *highest parts of the common surface of the Earth*, and not to tell us the height of these highest parts from any known basis: nor how they are distinguisht from Hills and Mountains, which incur our censures, and are the measures given us by
Moses:

of the Exceptions against the Theory of the Earth. 15

Moses: This, I say, is but to cover his Hypothesis with ambiguities, when he had made it without grounds: and to leave room to set his Water-mark higher or lower, as he should see occasion or necessity. And of this indeed we have an instance in his last Pamphlet, for he has rais'd his Water-mark there, more than an hundred Cubits higher than it was before. In his *Exceptions* he said, *not that the waters were no where higher P. 300.* than just fifteen Cubits, above the ground, they might in most places be *thirty, forty, or fifty Cubits higher*: But in his *Defence* he says, the Waters might be an *P. 180,* hundred or two hundred Cubits higher, than the *general ordinary plain* of the Earth. Now what security have we, but that in the next Pamphlet, they may be 500 or a 1000 Cubits higher than the ordinary surface of the Earth.

This is his 2d. Expedient, raising his Water-mark indefinitely. But if these two methods be not sufficient to destroy Mankind, and the animate World, he hath yet a third, which cannot fail: and that is, *Destroying them by Evil Angels. Flectere si nequeo.* This *Def. p. 90.* is his last refuge; to which purpose he hath these words, *When Heaven was pleas'd to give Satan leave, he caus'd the fire to consume Job's sheep, and caused the wind to destroy his Children. And how easily could these spirits, that are ministers of God's vengeance, have made the waters of the Flood fatal to those Creatures that might have escaped them, if any could have done it?* As suppose an Eagle, or a Faulcon: The Devil and his crue catcht them all, and held their noses under water. However, methinks, this is not fair play, to deny the Theorist the liberty to make use of the ministry of *good Angels*, when he himself makes use of *evil Spirits*.

These, Sir, and such like passages, where the notions of the Excepter have been expos'd, were the causes, I imagine, of his angry reply. Some Creatures, you know, are more fierce after they are wounded: and some upon a gentle chase will fly from you, but if you press them and put them to extremities, they turn and fly in your face. I see by our Author's example, how easily, in these personal altercations, reasoning degenerates into wrangling, and wrangling into scolding.

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ing. However, if I may judge from these two Hypotheses which he hath made, about the *rise of Mountains*, and a *fifteen-cubit Deluge*, of all trades I should never advise him to turn *Hypothesis-maker*. It does not seem at all to lie to his hand, and things never thrive that are undertaken, *Diis iratis, genioque sinistro*.

But as we have given you some account of this Author's Philosophical notions, so it may be you will expect that we should entertain you with some pieces of his wit and eloquence. The truth is, he seems to delight and value himself upon a certain kind of Country-wit and popular eloquence, and I will not grudge you the pleasure of enjoying them both, in such instances as I remember. Speaking in contempt of the Theory and the Answer, (which is one great subject of his wit) he expresses himself thus: *But if arguments be so weak, that they will fall with a fillip, why should greater force be used to beat them down? To draw a Rapier to stab a Fly; or to charge a Pistol to kill a Spider; I think would be preposterous.* I think so too, in this we're agreed. In another place, being angry with the Theorist, that he would not acknowledge his errors to him, he hath these words, *'Tis unlucky for one to run his head against a post: But when he hath done, if he will say he did not do it, and stand in and defend what he says: 'tis a sign he is as senceless as he was unfortunate: and is fitter to be pitied than confuted.* This wit, it may be, you'll say, is downright clownery. The truth is, when I observ'd, in reading his Pamphlet, the courseness of his repartees, and of that sort of wit wherein he deals most and pleases himself, it often rais'd in my mind, whether I would or no, the Idea of a *Pedant*: Of one that had seen little of the World, and thought himself much wittier and wiser than others would take him to be. I will give you but one Instance more of his rustical wit: Telling the Theorist of an itch of writing: *Methinks, says he, he might have laid that prurient humour, by scratching himself with the briars of a more innocent controversie: or by SCRUBBING SOU NDLY against something else than the holy Scripture.* He speaks very sensibly, as if he understood the disease, and the way of dealing with it. But I think

Def. p. 48.

P. 108.

P. 214.

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think *Holy Scripture* does not come in well upon that occasion.

All this is nothing, Sir, in comparison of his popular eloquence. See with what alacrity he runs it off hand, in a similitude betwixt *Adam* and a Lord Lieutenant of a County. *When the King makes a Gentleman Lord-Lieutenant of a County, by virtue of his Commission is he presently the strongest man that is in it? Does it enable him to encounter whole Regiments of Souldiers in his single person? Does it empower him to carry a Cannon upon his neck? Or when the great Gun is fir'd off, to catch the Bullet as it flies, and put it up in his Pocket? So when God gave Adam dominion over the Fowls, did he mean that he should dive like a Duck, or soar like a Falcon? that he should swim as naturally as the Swan, and hunt the Kite, or Hobby, as Boys do the Wren? Did he mean that he should hang up Ostriches in a Cage, as people do Linnets: or fetch down the Eagles to feed with his Pullen, and make them perch with his Chickens in the Henroost?*

P. 113.

So much for the Fowls, now for the Fish. *When God gave Adam dominion over the Sea, was he to be able to dwell at the bottom, or to walk on the top of it? To drain it as a Ditch, or to take all its Fry at once in a Dragnet? Was he to snare the Shark, as we do young Pickarels: or to bridle the Sea-Horse, and ride him for a Pad? Or to put a slip upon the Crocodile's neck, and play with him as with a Dog? &c.* Sir, I leave it to you, as a more competent Judge, to set a just value upon his gifts and elocution. For my part, to speak freely, Dull fence, in a phantastick style, is to me doubly nauseous.

Ibid.

But lest I should cloy you with these luscious harangues, I will give you but one more: and 'tis a miscellany of several pieces of Wit together. *Should twenty Mariners, says he, confidently affirm, that they sail'd in a Ship from Dover to Calis, by a brisk gale out of a pair of Bellows: Or if forty Engineers should positively swear, that the Powder-mill near London, was late blown up, by a Mine then sprung at Great Waradin in Hungary, must they not be grievously perjur'd persons? ----- Or if the Historian that writes the Peloponnesian war, had told that the Soldiers who fell in it, fought only with Sun beams, and single Currants which grew thereabouts, and that hundreds and*

Def. p. 68

thousands were stabb'd with the one, and knock'd on the head with the other: who would believe that ever there were such weapons in that war; that ever there was such a fatal war in that Country? even so, &c. These, Sir, are flights and reaches of his Pen, which I dare not censure, but leave them to your judgment.

Eng. Theo.
p. 287.

Excep. p. 293.

Def. p. 168,
169.

Thus much is to give you a tast only of his wit and eloquence: and if you like it, you may find more of the same strain, here and there, in his writings. I have only one thing to mind him of, *That he was desir'd by the Theorist to write in Latin (if he was a Scholar) as being more proper for a subject of this nature.* If he had own'd and followed that character, I'm apt to think it would have prevented a great many impertinencies: His tongue probably would not have been so flippant in popular excursions and declamations, as we now find it. Neither is this any great presumption or rashness of judgment, if we may guess at his skill in that Language by his translations, here and there. *Cum plurimâ religione* is render'd with the principles of their Religion. And if he say he followed Sir *W. Rawleigh* in his translation, he that follows a bad translator without correction or notice, is suppos'd to know no better himself. And this will appear the more probable, if we consider another of his translations, in this present work. *Rei personam* he translates *the Representation of the thing*: instead of *the person of the Guilty*: or the person of him that is *Reus* not *Actor*. And in this, I dare say, he was seduc'd by no example. But least we should be thought to misrepresent him, take his own words, such as they are. *Yea, though it was spoken never so positively, it was but to set forth REI PERSONAM: to make the more full and lively representation of the supposed thing.* Here, you see, he hath made a double blunder, first, in jumbling together *person* and *thing*: then, if they could be jumbled together, *rei persona* would not signify the *full and lively representation of the thing*, but rather a disguise or personated representation of the thing. However I am satisfied from these instances, that he had good reason, notwithstanding the caution or desire of the Theorist to the contrary, to write his Books in his Mother's tongue.

Thus

Thus we have done with the first part: which was to mark out such passages, as we thought might probably have inflam'd the Authors style in this reply. When men are resolv'd not to own their faults, you know there is nothing more uneasy and vexatious to them, than to see them plainly discover'd and expos'd. We must now give you some account of the contents of his Chapters, so far as they relate to our subject. *Chap. 1st. Nothing.* *Chap. 2d.* is against *extraordinary providence*: or that the Theorist should not be permitted to have recourse to it upon any occasion. This recourse to extraordinary providence being frequently objected in other places, and of use to be distinctly understood: we will speak of it apart at the latter end of the Letter. *Chap. 3.* is about the *Moon's hindering the formation of the Earth before she was form'd her self, or in our neighbourhood*; as we have noted before. Another thing in this Chap. is his urging, *Oily* or *Oleagineous* particles not to have been in the *Chaos*, but made since. I'll give a short answer to this: Either there was or was not, *Oleagineous* matter in the new-made Earth, (I mean in its superficial region.) when it came first out of a *Chaos*? If there was, there was also in the *Chaos*, out of which that Earth was immediately made. And if there was no oleagineous matter in the new-made Earth, how came the soil to be so fertile, so fat, so unctuous? I say not only *fertile*; but particularly *fat* and *unctuous*: for he uses these very words frequently in the description of that soil. And all fat and unctuous liquors are oleagineous: and accordingly we have us'd those words promiscuously, in the description of that Region: (*Eng. Theor. Chap. 5.*) understanding only such unctuous liquors as are lighter than water and swim above it, and consequently would stop and entangle the terrestrial particles in their fall or descent. And seeing such unctuous and oleagineous particles were in the new-made Earth, they must certainly have been in the matter out of which it was immediately form'd, namely, in the *Chaos*. All the rest of this Chapter we are willing to leave in its full force: apprehending the Theory, or the Answer, to be in no danger from such argumentations or reflections.

*Exc. p. 211.
Def. p. 69, &
p. 98.*

The *4th. Chap.* is very short and hath nothing argumentative.

mentative. The 5th.Chap. is concerning the cold in the circumpolar parts, which was spoken to in the Answer sufficiently, and we stand to that. What is added about extraordinary providence, will be treated of in its proper place. The 6th.Chap. is also short, against this particular, *that it is not safe to argue upon suppositions actually false*. And I think there needs no more to prove it, than what was said in the Answer. Chap. 7. is chiefly about texts of Scripture, concerning which I see no occasion of saying any more than what is said in the *Review of the Theory*. He says (p.49.) that the Theorist catches himself in a trap, by allowing that *Pf. 33.7.* is to be understood of the ordinary posture of the waters, and yet applying it to their extraordinary posture under the vault of the Earth. But that was not an extraordinary posture according to the Theorist, but their natural posture in the first Earth. Yet I allow the expression might have been better thus, in *a level or spherical convexity, as the Earth*. He interprets גן יהוה (p.53.) which we render *the Garden of the Lord*, not to be Paradise, but any pleasant Garden; yet gives us no authority, either of ancient Commentator or Version, for this novel and paradoxical interpretation. The Septuagint render it *παράδεισος* τῷ θεῷ. The *Vulgate, Paradisus Domini*: and all ancient Versions that I have seen render it to the same sense. Does he expect then that his single word and authority, should countervail all the ancient Translators and Interpreters? To the last place alledged by the Theorist, *Prov.8.28.* he says the Answerer charges him unjustly that he understands by that word הַיָּם no more than the *rotundity* or *spherical figure* of the Abyss. Which, he says, is a *point of nonsence*. I did not think the charge had been so high however, seeing some Interpreters understand it so. But if he understand by הַיָּם the *banks* or *shores* of the Sea, then he should have told us how those banks or shores are *עַל פְּנֵי תְהוֹמוֹת* *super faciem Abyssis*, as it is in the Text.

Gen.13. 10.

Pag.59. He says the Excepter does not misrepresent the Theorist when he makes him to affirm the construction of the First Earth to have been meerly mechanical; and he cites to this purpose two places, which only prove, that the Theorist made use of no other causes,

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causes, nor see any defect in them, but never affirm'd that these were the only causes. You may see his words to this purpose expressly, *Engl. Theor. p.65.* whereof the Excepter was minded in the *Answer, p.3.* In the last Paragraph of this Chapter, if he affirms any thing, he will have *the Pillars of the Earth* to be understood *literally.* Where then, pray, do these Pillars stand that bear up the Earth? or if they bear up the Earth, what bears them up? what are their Pedestals, or their foundations? But he says Hypotheses must not regulate Scripture, though in natural things, but be regulated by it, and by the letter of it. I would gladly know then, how his Hypothesis of the motion of the Earth, is regulated by Scripture, and by the letter of it. And he unhappily gives an instance just contrary to himself, namely, of the Anthropomorphites: for they regulate natural reason and philosophy by the letter or literal sense of Scripture, and therein fall into a gross error. Yet we must not call the Author *injudicious,* for fear of giving offence.

The 8th. Chap. begins with the Earths *being carried directly under the Equinoctial,* before its change of situation: *without any manner of obliquity in her site, or declination towards either of the Tropicks in HER COURSE.* Here you see, when the Earth chang'd its situation, it chang'd, according to his Astronomy, two things: its *site,* and its *course;* its site upon its axis, and its course in the heavens. And so he says again in the next paragraph, *put the case the Earth shift her posture, and also her CIRCUIT about the Sun, in which she persisted till the Deluge.* Here is plainly the same notion repeated: that the Earth chang'd not only *its site,* but also its *road or course* about the Sun. And in consequence of this he supposes its course formerly to have been under the Equinoctial, and now under the Ecliptick: it being translated out of the one into the other, at its change. Yet he seems now to be sensible of the absurdity of this doctrine, and therefore will not own it to have been his sense: and as an argument that he meant otherwise, he alledges, that he declar'd before, that by the Earths right situation to the Sun, *is meant that the axis of the Earth was always kept in a parallelism to that of the Ecliptick.* But what's this
to

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to the purpose? This speaks only of the *site* of the Earth, whereas his error was in supposing its *course* or *annual orbit* about the Sun, as well as its *site* upon its own axis, to have been different, and chang'd at the Deluge: as his words already produc'd against him, plainly testify.

What follows in this Chapter is concerning the perpetual Equinox. And as to the reasoning part of what he says in defence of his Exceptions, we do not grudge him the benefit of it, let it do him what service it can. And as to the Historical part, he will not allow a witness to be a good witness as to matter of fact, if he did not assign true causes of that matter of fact. To which I only reply, tho' *Tiverton Steeple* was not the cause of *Goodwin sands*, as the *Kentish* men thought, yet their testimony was so far good, That there were such Sands, and such a Steeple. He also commits an error as to the nature of *Tradition*. When a Tradition is to be made out, it is not expected that it should be made appear that none were ignorant of that Tradition in former Ages: or that all that mention'd it, understood the true grounds and extent of it: but 'tis enough to shew the plain footsteps of it in Antiquity, as a Conclusion, tho' they did not know the reasons and premises upon which it depended. For instance, The *Conflagration* of the world is a doctrine of Antiquity, traditionally deliver'd from age to age: but the *Causes* and *manner* of the *Conflagration*, they either did not know, or have not deliver'd to us. In like manner, that the first age and state of the world was without change of Seasons, or under a perpetual Equinox, of this we see many footsteps in Antiquity, amongst the Jews, Christians, Heathens: Poets, Philosophers; but the Theory of this perpetual Equinox, the causes and manner of it, we neither find, nor can reasonably expect, from the Ancients. So much for the Equinox.

This Chapter, as it begun with an error, so it unhappily ends with a paralogism: namely, that, *because 30 days made a month at the Deluge, therefore those days were neither longer nor shorter than ours are at present*. Tho' we have sufficiently expos'd this before, yet one thing more may be added, in answer to his confi-

confident conclusion, in these words; But to talk, as the Answerer does, that the Month should be lengthen'd by the Days being so, is a fearful blunder indeed. For let the days (by slackening the Earth's diurnal motion) have been never so long, yet (its annual motion continuing the same) the Month must needs have kept its usual length: only fewer days would have made it up. 'Tis not usual for a Man to persevere so confidently in the same error; As if the intervals of time, hours, days, months, years, could not be proportionably increas'd: so as to contain one another in the same proportion they did before, and yet be every one increas'd as to absolute duration. Take a Clock, for instance, that goes too slow: The circuit of the Dial-plate is 12. hours, let these represent the 12. Signs in his Zodiack: and the hand to be the Earth that goes thorough them all: and consequently the whole circuit of the Dial-plate represents the Year. Suppose, as we said, this Clock to go too slow, this will not hinder but still fifteen minutes make a quarter, in this Clock: four quarters make an hour, and 12. hours the whole circuit of the Dial-plate. But every one of these intervals will contain more time than it did before, according to absolute duration, or according to the measures of another Clock that does not go too slow. This is the very case which he cannot or will not comprehend: but concludes thus in effect, that because the hour consists still of four quarters in this Clock, therefore it is no longer than ordinary.

The 9th. Chapter also begins with a false notion, that *Bodies quiescent* (as he hath now alter'd the case) *have a nitency downwards*. Which mistake we rectified before, if he please. Then he proceeds to the *Oval* figure of the Earth. And many flourishes and harangues are made here to little purpose. For he goes upon a false supposition, that the Waters of the Chaos were made Oval by the weight or gravitation of the Air. A thing that never came into the words or thoughts of the Theorist. Yet upon this supposition he runs into the *deserts of Bilebulgerid*, and the waters of *Mare del Zur*: Words that make a great noise; but to no effect. If he had pleas'd he might have seen the Theorist made no use of the weight of the Air upon this occasion, by

Def. p. 85, 86.

the instance he gave of the pressure of the Moon, and the flux of the waters by that pressure. Which is no more done by the gravitation of the Air, than the Banks are press'd, in a swift current and narrow chanel, by the gravitation of the water. But he says rarefied Air makes less resistance than gross Air: and rarefied water in an Æolipile, it may be, he thinks presses with less force than unrarefied. Air possibly may be rarefied to that degree as to lessen its resistance: but we speak of Air moderately agitated, so as to be made only more brisk and active. Moreover he says, the waters that lay under the Poles must have risen perpendicularly, and why might they not, as well, have done so under the Equator? The waters that lay naturally and originally under the Poles, did not rise at all: but the waters became more deep there, by those that were thrust thither from the middle parts of the Globe. Upon the whole I do not perceive that he hath weaken'd any one of the Propositions upon which the formation of an Oval Earth depended. Which were these, *First*, that the tendency of the waters from the center of their motion, would be greater and stronger in the Equinoctial parts, than in the Polar: or in those parts where they mov'd in greater circles, and consequently swifter, than in those where they were mov'd in lesser circles and slower. Secondly, Agitated Air hath more force to repel what presses against it, than stagnant Air: and that the Air was more agitated and rarefied under the Equinoctial parts, than under the Poles. Thirdly, Waters hinder'd and repell'd in their primary tendency, take the easiest way they can to free themselves from that force, so as to persevere in their motion. Lastly, to flow laterally upon a Plain, or to ascend upon an inclin'd Plain, is easier than to rise perpendicularly. These are the Propositions upon which that discourse depended, and I do not find that he hath disprov'd any one of them. And this, Sir, is a short account of a long Chapter, impertinencies omitted.

Chap. 10. Is concerning the original and causes of Mountains, which the Excepter unhappily imputes to the heat and influence of the Sun. Whether his Hypothesis be effectually confuted, or not, I am very willing
to

to stand to the judgment of any unconcern'd person, that will have the patience to compare the *Exceptions* and the *Answer*, in this Chapter. Then as to his *Historical* arguments, as he calls them, to prove there were Mountains before the Flood, from *Gyants that sav'd themselves from the Flood upon Mount Sion: and Adam's wandering several hundreds of years upon the Mountains of India; These, and such like, which he brought to prove that there were Mountains before the Flood, he now thinks fit to renounce, and says he had done so before by an anticipative sentence. But if they were condemn'd before by an anticipative sentence, as fables and forgeries, why were they stuf't into his Book, and us'd as Traditional evidence against the Theory?* Def. p. 97.

Lastly, he contends in this Chapter for *Iron and Iron-tools* before the Flood, and as early as the time of *Cain*: because he *built a City*; which, he says, could not be built without *Iron and Iron-tools*. To which it was Answer'd, that, *if he fancied that City of Cain's, like Paris or London, he had reason to believe that they had Iron-tools to make it. But suppose it was a number of Cottages, made of branches of Trees, of Osiers, and Bulrushes: or, if you will, of mud-walls, and a roof of straw, with a fence about it to keep out Beasts: there would be no such necessity of Iron-tools. Consider, pray, how long the world was without knowing the use of Iron, in several parts of it: as in the Northern Countries and America: and yet they had Houses and Cities, after their fashion. And to come nearer home, consider what Towns and Cities our Ancestros, the Britains, had in Caesar's time: more than two thousand Years after the time of Cain. Oppidum Britanni vocant, cum Sylvam impeditam vallo atque fossâ munierant: quò incursionis hostium vitandæ causâ, convenire consueverunt: Why might not Henochia, Cain's City, be such a City as this?* Ans. p. 49, 50. Com. li. 5.

And as to the *Ark*, which he also would make a proof that there were *Iron and Iron-tools* before the Flood, 'twas answer'd, that *Scripture* does not mention *Iron or Iron-tools* in building of the *Ark*: but only *Gopher wood and Pitch*. To which he replies, *If Scriptures silence concerning things be a ground of presumption that they were* ibid. Def. p. 103.

not, what then shall we think of an Oval and unmountainous Earth, an inclosed Abyss, a Paradisiacal world, and the like: which the Scripture makes no mention of. I cannot easily forbear calling this an *injudicious* reflection, tho' I know he hath been angry with that word, and makes it a *brat of passion*. But I do assure him I call it so coolly and calmly. When a thing is deduc'd by natural arguments and reason, the silence of Scripture is enough. If he can prove the *motion of the Earth* by natural arguments, and that Scripture is silent in that point, we desire no better proof. Now in all those things which he mentions, an Oval and unmountainous Earth, an Inclosed Abyss, a Paradisiacal world, Scripture is at least silent: and therefore 'tis natural arguments must determine these cases. And this ill-reasoning he is often guilty of, in making no distinction betwixt things that are, or that are not, prov'd by natural arguments, when he appeals to the interpretation of Scripture.

Chap. 11. Is to prove an Open Sea (such as we have now) before the Flood. All his Exceptions were answer'd before, and I am content to stand to that answer: reserving only what is to be said hereafter concerning the literal sense of Scripture. However he is too lavish in some expressions here, as when he says, (*p. 115.*) that *Adam* died before so much as one Fish appear'd in the world. And a little before he had said, *For fishes, if his Hypothesis be believ'd, were never upon this Earth, in Adam's time.* These expressions I say cannot be justified upon any Hypothesis. For why might not the Rivers of that Earth have Fish in them, as well as the Rivers of this Earth, or as our Rivers now? I'm sure the *Theory*, or the *Hypothesis* he mentions, never said any thing to the contrary: but rather suppos'd the waters fruitful, as the ground was. But as to an *open Sea*, whether side soever you take, that there was, or was not, any, before the Flood: I believe however *Adam*, to his dying day, never see either Sea or Sea-fish: nor ever exercis'd any dominion over either.

Chap. 12. Is concerning the Rainbow: and hath no new argument in it, nor reinforcement. But a question is mov'd, whether *as well*, necessarily signifies *as much*. The real question to be consider'd here, setting aside pedantry,

pedantry, is this, whether that Thing (Sun, or Rainbow, or any other) could have any significancy as a sign, which signified no more than the bare promise would have done without a sign. This is more material to be consider'd and resolv'd, than whether *as well* and *as much* signifie the same.

Chap. 13. Is concerning Paradise, and to justifie or excuse himself why he baulkt all the difficulties, and said nothing new or instructive, upon that subject. But he would make the Theorist inconsistent with himself, in that he had said, that *neither Scripture, nor reason, determine the place of Paradise: and yet determines it by the judgment of the Christian Fathers.* Where's the inconsistency of this? The Theory, as a Theory, is not concern'd in a *Topical* Paradise; and says moreover that neither Scripture, nor reason, have determin'd the place of it; but if we refer our selves to the judgment and tradition of the Fathers, and stand to the majority of their Votes, (when Scripture and reason are silent) they have so far determin'd it, as to place it in the other Hemisphere, rather than in this: and so exclude that shallow opinion of some moderns, that would place it in *Mesopotamia*. And to baffle that opinion was the design of the Theorist; as this Author also seems to take notice.

P. 131

After this and an undervaluing of the Testimonies of the Fathers, he undertakes to determine the place of Paradise by Scripture, and particularly that it was in *Mesopotamia*, or some region thereabouts. And his Argument is this, because in the last verse of the 3d. chap. of *Genesis*, the *Cherubims* and *flaming sword* are said to be plac'd *מִקְרָם לְגוֹ-עֵדֶן*, which he says is, *to the East of the Garden of Eden*. But the *Septuagint* (upon whom he must chiefly depend for the interpretation of the word *מִקְרָם* in the first place, *ch. 2. 8.*) read it here *ἀπέναντι τῆς παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς*. And the *Vulgate* renders it, *ante Paradisum voluptatis*: and according to the *Samaritan Pentateuch* 'tis rendered *ex adverso*. Now what better authorities can he bring us for his translation? I do not find that he gives any, as his usual way is, but his own authority. And as for the word *מִקְרָם* in the 2d. chap. and 8th. ver. which is the principal place, 'tis well known, that, except the *Septuagint*, all the ancient Versions, Greek and Latin,

Latin, (besides others) render it to another sence. And there is a like uncertainty of translation in the word עֵרֶן, as we have noted elsewhere. Lastly, the Rivers of Paradise, and the countreys they are said to run through or encompass, are differently understood by different Authors, without any agreement or certain conclusion. But these are all beaten subjects, which you may find in every Treatise of Paradise, and therefore 'tis not worth the time to pursue them here.

P. 139. Then he proceeds to the *longevity of the Ante-diluvians*: which, so far as I can understand him to affirm any thing, he says was not *general*: but the lives of some few were *extraordinarily length'ned by a special blessing*; the *elongation of them being a work of Providence, not of nature*. This is a cheap and vulgar account, (and so are all the contents of this Chap.) prov'd neither by Scripture, nor reason: and calculated for the humour and capacity of those, that love their ease more than a diligent enquiry after truth. He hath indeed a bold assertion afterwards, that *Moses* does distinguish, as much or more, betwixt *two races of men before the Flood*: the one *long-livers*, and the other *short-livers*, As he hath distinguished the *Gyants* before the Flood, from the common race of mankind. These are his words, *Is not his distinction equally plain in both cases?* speaking of this formentioned distinction. Or, *if there be any difference, does he not distinguish better betwixt long-livers and short-livers, than he does betwixt men of Gigantick and of usual proportion?* Let's see the truth of this: *Moses* plainly made mention of two races of mankind: the ordinary race, and those of a Gigantick race, or *Gyants*. Now tell me where he plainly makes mention of *short-livers* before the Flood. And if he no where make mention of *short-livers*, but of *long-livers* only, how does he distinguish as plainly of these two races, as he did of the other two? for in the other he mention'd plainly and severally both the parts or members of the distinction, and here he mentions but one, and makes no distinction.

P. 141.

Gen. 6. 4.

Then he comes to the Testimonies cited by *Josephus* for the longevity of the *Ante-diluvians*, or first inhabitants of the Earth. And these he roundly pronounces to be *utterly false*. This Gentleman does not seem

to

to be much skill'd in Antiquity, either sacred or profane: and yet he boldly rejects these Testimonies (as he did those of the Fathers before) as *utterly false*: which *Josephus* had alledg'd in vindication of the History of *Moses*. The only reason he gives, is, because these Testimonies say, They liv'd *a thousand years*: whereas *Moses* does not raise them altogether so high. But the question was not so much concerning the precise number of their years, as about the excess of them beyond the present lives of men: and a round number in such cases is often taken instead of a broken number. Besides, seeing according to the account of *Moses*, the greater part of them liv'd above nine hundred years, at least he should not have said these Testimonies in *Josephus* were *utterly false*, but false in part, or not precisely true;

Now he comes to his reasons against the Ante-diluvian longevity; which have all had their answers before, and those we stand to. But I wonder he should think it reasonable, that mankind, throughout all ages, should increase in the same proportion as in the first age: And if a decuple proportion of increase was reasonable at first, the same should be continued all along: and the product of mankind, after sixteen hundred years, should be taken upon that supposition. I should not grudge to admit that the first pair of Breeders might leave ten pair: but that every pair of these ten, should also leave ten pair, without any failure: and every pair in their children should again leave ten pair: and this to be continued, without diminution or interruption, for sixteen hundred years, is not only a hard supposition, but utterly incredible. For still the greater the number was, the more room there would be for accidents, of all sorts: and every failure towards the beginning, and proportionably in other parts, would cut off thousands in the last product.

Chap. 14. Is against the Dissolution of the Earth, and the Disruption of the Abyss, at the Deluge: such as the Theory represents. Here is nothing of new argument, but some strokes of new railing wit, after his way. He had said in his *Exceptions* that the *Dissolution of the Earth was horrid blasphemy*: now he makes it *Reductive Blasphemy*, as being *indirectly, consequentially, or reductively*, contrary

trary to Scripture. By this rule, we told him, all errors in Religion would be blasphemy, and if he extend this to errors in Philosophy also, 'tis still more harsh and injudicious. I wonder how he thinks, the doctrine, which he owns, about the motion of the Earth, should escape the charge of *Blasphemy*: that being not only indirectly, but directly and plainly contrary to Scripture. We thought that expression, *the Earth is dissolv'd*, being a Scripture expression, would thereby have been protected from the imputation of *blasphemy*: and we alledg'd to that purpose, (besides, *Pf. 75. 3.*) *Isa. 24. 19. Amos 9. 5.* He would have done well to have prov'd these places in the Prophets *Isaiab* and *Amos*, to have been *figurative* and *tropological*, as he calls it: for we take them both to relate to the dissolution of the Earth, which literally came to pass at the Deluge. And he not having prov'd the contrary, we are in hopes still that the *Dissolution of the Earth* may not be *horrid blasphemy*, nor of *blasphemous importance*.

Then having quarrel'd with the Guard of Angels which the Theorist had assign'd for the preservation of the Ark, in the time of the Deluge: he falls next into his blunder, that the Equator and Ecliptick of the Earth were interchang'd, when the situation of the Earth was chang'd. This error in the Earth is cousin-germain to his former error in the heavens, *viz.* that the Earth chang'd its tract about the Sun, and leapt out of the Equator into the Ecliptick, when it chang'd its situation. The truth is, this Copernican Systeme seems to ly cross in his imagination. I think he would do better to let it alone. However, tho' at other times he is generally verbose and long-winded, he hath the sence to pass this by, in a few words: laying the blame upon certain parentheses or semicircles, whose innocency notwithstanding we have fully clear'd, and shew'd the poison to be spread throughout the whole paragraph, which is too great to be made an *Erratum Typographicum*.

P. 160,
161.

Then after *Hermus, Caister, Menander* and *Caicus: Nile and its mud: Piscenius Niger*, who contended with *Septimus Severus* for the Empire, and reprimanded his Souldiers for hankering after wine. *Du Val*, an ingenious French writer, and *Cleopatra* and her admired *Antony*: he concludes, that the

the waters of the Deluge raged amongst the fragments, with *lasting, incessant, and unimaginaire turbulence.*

And so he comes to an argument against the Dissolution of the Earth. That; *All the buildings erected before the Flood, would have been shaken down at that time, or else overwhelmed.* He instanc'd in his *Exceptions*, in *Seth's pillars; Henochia, Cain's City; and Joppa;* these he suppos'd such buildings as were made before, and stood after, the Flood. But now *Seth's pillars* and *Henochia* being dismiss'd, he insists upon *Joppa* only; and says, This must have consisted of *such materials, as could never be prepared, formed, and set up; without Iron tools.* Tho' I do not much believe that *Joppa* was an Antediluvian Town; yet whatever they had in *Cain's* time, they might, before the Deluge, have Mortar and Brick; which as they are the first stony materials, that we read of, for building: so the ruines of them might stand after the Deluge. And that they had no other materials is the more probable, because, after the Flood, at the building of *Babel*, *Moses* plainly intimates that they had no other materials than those. For the Text says, *They said one to another, go to, let us make Brick, and burn them thoroughly; And they made Brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar.* But now this argument, methinks, may be retorted upon the Excepter with advantage. For, if there were no dissolutions; concussions; or absorptions, at the Deluge; instead of the ruines of *Joppa*, methinks we might have had the ruines of an hundred Antediluvian Cities. Especially, if, according to his Hypothesis, they had good stone; and good Iron, and all other materials, fit for strong and lasting building. And, which is also to be consider'd, that it was but a fifteen-cubit Deluge, so that Towns built upon eminences or high-lands, would be in little danger of being ruin'd: much less of being abolish'd.

His last argument (*p. 163.*) proves, if it prove any thing, that God's promise, that *the world* should not be drown'd again, was a *vain and trifling thing*, to us, who know it must be burnt. And consequently, if *Noah* understood the conflagration of the World, he makes it a *vain and trifling thing* to *Noah* also. If the Excepter delight in such conclusions, let him enjoy them; but they are not at all to the mind of the Theorist.

Chap. 15. Now we come to his new Hypothesis of a *Fifteen-cubit Deluge.* And what shifts he hath made to de-

stroy the World with such a diminutive Flood, we have noted before: First, by raising his water-mark, and making it uncertain. Then by converting the Deluge, in a great measure, into a *Famine*. And lastly, by destroying Mankind and other Animals, with *evil Angels*. We shall now take notice of some other incongruities in his Hypothesis. When he made *Moses's Deluge* but *fifteen Cubits deep*, we said that was an *unmerciful Paradox*, and askt, whether he would have it receiv'd as a *Postulatum*, or as a *Conclusion*. All he answers to this is, That the same question may be askt concerning several parts of the Theory: particularly, that the Primitive Earth had no *Open Sea*. Whether is that, says he, to be receiv'd as a *Postulatum*, or as a *Conclusion*? The answer is ready, as a *Conclusion*: deduc'd from premises, and a series of antecedent reasons. Now can he make this answer for his fifteen-Cubit Deluge? Must not that still be a *Postulatum*, and an unmerciful one? As to the Theory, there is but one *Postulatum* in all, *viz.* That the *Earth rise from a Chaos*. All the other Propositions are deduc'd from premises, and that one *Postulatum* also is prov'd by Scripture and Antiquity. We had noted further in the Answer, that the Author had said in his Exceptions, that he would not defend his Hypothesis as *true* and *real*: and we demanded thereupon, *Why* then did he trouble himself or the World with what he did not think *true* and *real*? To this he replies, *Many have written ingenious and useful things, which they never believ'd to be true and real*. Romances suppose, and Poetical fictions: Will you have your fifteen-cubit Deluge pass for such? But then the mischief is, where there is neither Truth of Fact, nor Ingenuity of invention, such a composition will hardly pass for a Romance, or a good fiction. But there is still a greater difficulty behind: The Excepter hath unhappily said, *Our supposition stands supported by Divine Authority: as being founded upon Scripture: which tells us as plainly as it can speak, that the waters prevailed but fifteen Cubits upon the Earth*. Upon which words the Answerer made this remark, *If his Hypothesis be founded upon Scripture, and upon Scripture as plainly as it can speak, Why will not he defend it as TRUE and REAL? for to be supported by Scripture, and by plain Scripture, is as much as we can alledge for the articles of our Faith*. To this he replies now, that he begg'd allowance at first, to make bold

p. 166.

A. N. C. p.
302.Answ. p.
67.Def. p.
168.

with

with Scripture a little. This is a bold excuse: and he especially, one would think, should take heed how he makes bold with Scripture: lest, according to his own notion; he fall into *blasphemy* or something of *blasphemous importance*; indirectly, consequentially, or reductively, at least. However this excuse, if it was a good one, would take no place here: for to understand and apply Scripture, in that sense that it speaks *as plainly as it can speak*, is not to make bold with it, but modestly to follow its dictates and plain sense.

He feels this load to lie heavy upon him, and struggles again to shake it off, with a distinction. When he said his fifteen-cubit Deluge was *supported by divine authority, &c.* This, he says, was spoken *by him, in an Hypothetick or suppositious way: and that it cannot possibly be understood otherwise by men of sense.* Here are two hard words, let us first understand what they signify, and then we shall better judge how Men of sense would understand his words. His *Hypothetick* or *suppositious way*, so far as I understand it, is the same thing as by *way of supposition*; Then his meaning is, he *supposes* his fifteen-cubit Deluge is *supported by divine authority*: And he *supposes* it is *founded upon Scripture as plainly as it can speak.* But this is to suppose the Question, and no Man of sense would make or grant such a supposition. So that I do not see what he gains by his *Hypothetick* and *suppositious way*. But to draw him out of this mist of words, Either he affirms this, that his *Hypothesis is supported by divine authority: and founded upon Scripture as plainly as it can speak*: or he denies it, or he doubts of it. If he affirm it, then all his excuses and diminutions are to no purpose, he must stand to his cause, and show us those plain Texts of Scripture. If he deny it; he gives up his cause, and all that divine authority he pretended to. If he doubt of it, then he should have expressed himself doubtfully; as, *Scripture may admit of that sense, or may be thought to intimate such a thing*; but he says, with a plerophory, *Scripture speaks it as plainly as it can speak.* And to mend the matter, he unluckily subjoins in the following words, *Yea, tho' it was spoken never* P. 168.
so positively, it was but to set forth REI PERSONAM: 167.
to make a more full and lively representation of the supposed thing. He does well to tell us what he means by *Rei Personam*, for otherwise no Man of sense, as his phrase is;

Ibid

would ever have made that translation of those words: But the truth is, he is so perfectly at a loss how to bring himself off, as to this particular, that in his confusion he neither makes good sense, nor good Latin.

Exc. p.
300.

See the
Citations
in the
Answ. p.
68.

Def. p.
170.

P. 171.

Now he comes to another inconsistency which was charg'd upon him by the *Answer*: Namely, that he rejects the *Church-Hypothesis* concerning the Deluge, and yet had said before, *I cannot believe (which I cannot well endure to speak) that the Church hath ever gone on in an irrational way of explaining the Deluge.* That he does reject this Church-Hypothesis was plainly made out from his own words: because he rejects the *Common Hypothesis*: The *general standing Hypothesis*: The *usual Hypothesis*: The *usual sense they put upon Sacred story, &c.* These citations he does not think fit to take notice of in his reply: but puts all upon this general issue, which the *Answerer* concludes with: *The Church-way of explaining the Deluge, is either rational or irrational. If he say it is rational, why does he desert it, and invent a new one. And if he say it is irrational, then that dreadful thing, which he cannot well endure to speak, That, the Church of God hath ever gone on in an irrational way of explaining the Deluge, falls flat upon himself.* Let's hear his answer to this Dilemma. *We say, says he, that the Church-way of explaining the Deluge, (by creating and annihilating waters for the nonce) is very rational.* Then say I still, why do you desert it, or why do you trouble us with a new one? Either his Hypothesis is more rational than the Church-Hypothesis, or less rational? If less rational, why does he take us off from a better, to amuse us with a worse? But if he say his Hypothesis is more rational than that of the Church's, Then *Woe* be to him, in his own words, that so *black a blemish should be fasten'd upon the wisest and noblest Society in the World*, as to make himself more wise than they, and his Hypothesis more rational than theirs. The truth is, This Gentleman hath a mind to appear a *Virtuoso*: for the new Philosophy, and the *Copernican System*: and yet would be a Zealot for orthodoxy, and the Church-way of explaining things. Which two designs do not well agree, as to the natural World; and so betwixt two Stools he falls to the ground, and proves neither good Church-man, nor good Philosopher.

But he will not still be convinc'd that he deserts the Church-

Church-hypothesis, and continues to deny the desertion in these words, *We say that we do not desert or reject the Church way of explaining the Deluge.* Now to discover, whether these words are true or false, Let us observe, *First*, what he acknowledges to have said against the Church-Hypothesis: *Secondly*, what he hath said more than what he acknowledges here. He acknowledges that he said the Church-Hypothesis *might be disgustful to the best and soundest Philosophick judgments.* And this is no good Character. Yet this is not all, for he hath fairly dropt a principal word in the sentence, namely, *justly.* His words, in his *Exceptions*, were these, *such inventions* (which he applies to the Church-Hypothesis) *as have been, and, JUSTLY may be disgustful, not only to nice and squeamish, but to the best and soundest Philosophick judgments.* Now judge whether he cited this sentence before, truly and fairly: and whether in these words, truly cited, he does not disparage the Church-Hypothesis, and justify those that are disgusted at it.

He furthermore acknowledges that the usual ways of explaining the Deluge *seem unreasonable to some, and unintelligible to others, and unsatisfactory to the most.* But, it seems, he will neither be of these *some, others, or most.* Lastly, he acknowledges that he had said, *The ordinary supposition, that the Mountains were covered with waters in the Deluge, brings on a necessity of setting up a new Hypothesis for explaining the Flood.* If so, what was this *ordinary supposition*: was it not the supposition of the Church? And was that such, as made it necessary to set up a new Hypothesis for explaining the Flood? Then the old Hypothesis was insufficient, or irrational.

Thus much he acknowledges: but he omits what we noted before, his rejecting or disapproving the *common Hypothesis, the general standing Hypothesis, the usual sense they put upon the sacred story, &c.* And do not all these phrases denote the Church-Hypothesis? He further omits, that he confessed, *he had expounded a Text or two of Scripture, about the Deluge, so as none ever did. And deserting the common receiv'd sense, puts an unusual gloss upon them.* And is not that *common receiv'd sense*, the sense of the Church? and his *unusual gloss* contrary to it? Lastly, he says, by his Hypothesis, we need not fly to a *new Creation of Waters*, and gives his reasons at large against that opinion, which you may see, *Except. p. 313.* Now those reasons he thought either to be *good reasons, or bad reasons*: if bad, why did he set them down,

or

Def. p.
136.

or why did he not confute them? if good, they stand good against the Hypothesis of the Church: for he makes that *new Creation* and *Annihilation* of waters at the Deluge, to be the Hypothesis of the Church. *Defen. p. 170.* I fear I have spent too much time in shewing him utterly inconsistent with himself in this particular. And I wonder he should be so sollicitous to justify the Hypothesis of the Church in this point, seeing he openly dissents from it in a greater: I mean in that of the *Systeme of the World*. Hear his words, if you please, to this purpose. *And what does the famous Aristotelian Hypothesis seem to be now, but a mass of Errours? where such a Systeme was contrived for the Heavens, and such a situation assign'd to the Earth, as neither reason can approve, nor nature allow. Yet so prosperous and prevailing was this Hypothesis, that it was generally receiv'd, and successfully propagated for many ages. This prosperous prevailing error, or mass of errors, was it not espoused and supported by the Church? And to break from the Church in greater points, and scruple it in less, is not this to strain at Gnats, and swallow Camels?*

So much for his inconsistency with himself. The rest of this Chapter in the *Answer*, shews his inconsistency with *Moses*; both as to the waters covering the tops of the Mountains, which *Moses* affirms and the Excepter denies; and as to the decrease of the Deluge, which *Moses* makes to be, by the waters retiring into their chanel, after frequent reciprocations, *going* and *coming*. But the Excepter says, the Sun suck'd up the waters from the Earth: just as he had before suck'd the mountains out of the Earth. These things are so groundless, or so gross, that it would be tedious to insist longer upon them. And whereas it is not reasonable to expect, that any others should be idle enough, as we must be, to collate three or four Tracts, to discern where the advantage lies in these small alterations: I desire only, if they be so dispos'd, that they would collate the *Exceptions*, *Answer* and *Defence*, in this one Chapter, which is our Author's Master-piece: And from this I am willing they should take their measures, and make a judgment, of his good or bad success in other parts.

What shifts he hath us'd to make his *fifteen-cubit Deluge* sufficient to destroy all mankind and all animals, we have noted before: and here 'tis (*p. 181, 182.*) that he reduces them to *famine*. And after that, he comes to a long

excur-

excursion of seven or eight pages, about the imperfection of *Shipping* after the Flood: a good argument for the Theorist, that they had not an open Sea, Iron-tools, and materials for shipping, before the Flood. For what should make them so inexpert in Navigation for many years and ages after the Flood, if they had the practice and experience of it, before the Flood? And what could hinder their having that practice and experience, if they had an open Sea, and all Iron and other materials, for that use and purpose?

Lastly, he comes to his notion of the *Great Deep*, or *Tehom-Rabbah*. Which he had made before, in express words, to be the Holes and Caverns in the Rocks; I say, in express words, such as these, *Now supposing that the Caverns in the Mountains were this great Deep*: speaking of *Moses's Great Deep*, according to this new Hypothesis. He says further (p. 105.) *In case it be urg'd, that Caverns, especially Caverns so high situate, cannot properly be called the great Deep*. Where you see, his own objection supposes that he made those caverns the *Great Deep*. And in the same page, speaking of the Psalmists *Great Deeps* (in his own sense of making them holes in rocks) and *Moses's Great Deep*, he says, *the same thing might be meant by both*. By all these expressions one would think it plain, that by his *Great Deep* he meant his caverns in rocks: yet now, upon objections urged against it, he seems desirous to fly off from that notion. But does not yet tell us plainly what must be meant by *Moses's Great Deep*. If, upon second thoughts, he would have the Sea to be understood by it, why does he not answer the objections that are made by the Theorist against that Interpretation? Nay, why does he not answer what he himself had objected before (*Except p. 310.*) against that supposition? He seems to unsay now, what he said before: and yet substitutes nothing in the place of it, to be understood by *Moses's Tehom-Rabbah*.

Chap. 16. Is a few words concerning these expressions of *Shutting the windows of Heaven* and the *Fountains of the Abyss*, after the Deluge. And these were both shut alike, and both of them no less than the *Caverns* in the Mountains.

Chap. 17. Hath nothing of argumentation or Philosophy: but runs on in a popular declamatory way, and (if I may use that forbidden word) injudicious. All amounts to this, *Whether* we may not go contrary to the letter of Scripture, in natural things, when that goes contrary to plain

Def. p.
183, 184,
185, &c.

Def. p.
191.

Exc. p.
312.

Ib. p. 105.

Engl. Th.
p. 81, &c.

Def. p.
215.

plain reason. This we affirm, and this every one must affirm that believes the *motion of the Earth*, as our Vertuoso pretends to do. Then he concludes all with an Harmonious close, that he follows the great example of a R. Prelate, and *militates under that Episcopal banner*. I am willing to believe that he writ at first, in hopes to curry favour with certain persons, by his great zeal for Orthodoxy; but he hath made such an hotch-potch of new Philosophy and Divinity, that I believe it will scarce please the party he would cajole: nor so much as his R. Patron. I was so civil to him in the Answer, as to make him a Saint in comparison of that former Animadverter: but, by the style and spirit of this last Pamphlet, he hath forfeited with me all his faintship, both absolute and comparative.

Thus much for his Chapters: and as to his reflections upon the *Review of the Theory*, they are so superficial and inconsiderable, that I believe he never expected that they should be regarded. I wonder however, that he should decline an examination of the 2d. part of the Theory. It cannot be for want of good will to confute it: he hath shewn that to the height, whatsoever his power was. Neither can it be for want of difference or disagreement in opinion, as to the contents of this later part: for he hath reckon'd the *Millennium* amongst the errors of the ancient *Fathers*, (*Def. p. 136.*) and the *Renovation of the World* he makes *Allegorical*. (*p. 224. &c.*) It must therefore be for want of some third thing: which he best knows.

But before we conclude, Sir, we must remember that we promised to speak apart to two things, which are often objected to the Theorist by this Writer, and to little purpose; namely, his flying to *Extraordinary Providence*, and his flying from the *literal sence* of Scripture. As to *Extraordinary Providence*, Is the Theorist alone debarr'd from recourse to it, or would he have all men debarr'd, as well as the Theorist? If so, why doth he use it so much himself? And if it be allow'd to others, there is no reason it should be deny'd the Theorist, unless he have disown'd it, and so debarr'd himself that common privilege. But the contrary is manifest, in a multitude of places, both of the first and second part of the Theory.

For,

of the Exceptions against the Theory of the Earth.

39

For, besides a discourse on purpose upon that subject, in the 8th. Chap. of the first Book, in the last Chapter and last words of the same book (*Latin*) he does openly avow, both Providence (natural and moral) and miracles: in these words, *Deniq; cùm certissimum sit, à divinâ Providentiâ pendere res omnes, cujuscunque ordinis, & ab eâdem vera miracula edita esse, &c.* And as to the second part of the Theory, the ministry of Angels is there acknowledg'd frequently, both as to natural and moral administrations. From all which instances it is manifest, that the Theorist did not debar himself, by denying either *Miracles, Angelical ministry, or extraordinary Providence*; But if the Excepter be so injudicious (pardon me that bold word) as to confound all extraordinary Providence with the *Acts of Omnipotency*, he must blame himself for that, not the Theorist. The *Creation and Annihilation* of waters is an act of pure Omnipotency, This the Theorist did not admit of at the Deluge: and if this be his fault, as it is frequently objected to him (*Def. p. 9. 66. 170, &c.*) he perseveres in it still, and in the reasons he gave for his opinion, which are no where confuted. But as for acts of Angelical power, he does every where acknowledge them in the great Revolutions, even of the natural World. If the Excepter would make the Divine Omnipotency as cheap as the ministry of Angels, and have recourse as freely and as frequently to that, as to this: If he would make all extraordinary Providence the same, and all miracles, and set all at the pitch of Infinite power, this may be an effect of his ignorance or inadvertency, but is no way imputable to the Theorist.

Eng. The.
p. 105,
&c.

Eng. The.
p. 18, 19.

The. Lat.
p. 53. *Eng.*
p. 107,
108.

In the next place it may be observ'd, that the Theorist hath no where asserted, that *Moses's Cosmopœia* (which does not proceed according to ordinary Providence) is to be literally understood; and therefore what is urg'd against him from the letter of that *Cosmopœia*, is improperly urg'd and without ground. There are as good reasons, and better Authorities, that *Moses's six-days Creation* should not be literally understood, than there are, why those Texts of Scripture that speak about the *motion of the Sun*, should not be literally understood. And as to the Theorist, he had often intimated his sense of that *Cosmopœia*, that it was express *more humano, & ad captum populi*: as appears in several passages; In the Latin Theory,

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speaking of the *Mosaical Cosmogonia*, he hath these words:

Theor. li. *Constat hæc Cosmopœia duabus partibus, quarum prima, massas*
2. c. 8. *generales atque rerum inconditarum statum exhibet: sequiturque eadem principia, & eundem ordinem, quem antiqui usque retinuerunt. Atque in hoc nobiscum conveniunt omnes ferè interpretes Christiani: nempe, Tohu Bohu Mosaicum idem esse ac Chaos Antiquorum. Tenebras Mosaicas, &c. hucusque convenit Mosi cum antiquis Philosophis,----- methodum autem illam Philosophicam hic abrumpit, aliamque orditur, humanam, aut, si mavis, Theologicam: quâ, motibus Chaos, secundum leges naturæ, & divini amoris actionem, planè neglectis, & successivis ipsius mutationibus in varias regiones & elementa: His, inquam, post-habitis, popularem narrationem de ortu rerum hoc modo instituit. Res omnes visibiles in sex classes, &c.* This is a plain indication how the Theorist understood that *Cosmopœia*. And accordingly in the

P. 288. *English Theory* the Author says, *I have not mention'd Moses's Cosmopœia: because I thought it deliver'd by him as a Law-giver, not as a Philosopher. Which I intend to show at large in another Treatise: not thinking that discussion proper for the vulgar Tongue.* The Excepter was also minded of this in the Answer, p. 66. Now, 'tis much, that he, who hath searcht all the corners, both of the *English* and *Latin* Theory, to pick quarrels, should never observe such obvious passages as these. But still make objections from the letter of the *Mosaical Cosmopœia*: which affect the Theorist no more than those places of Scripture that speak of the motion of the Sun, or the Pillars of the Earth.

In the last place, the Theorist distinguisht two methods for explaining the natural World: that of an *ordinary* and that of an *extraordinary Providence*. And those that take the second way, he said, might dispatch their task as soon as they pleas'd, if they engag'd omnipotency in the work. But the other method would require time: it must proceed by distinct steps, and leisurely motions, such as Nature can admit; And, in that respect, it might not suit with the busie lives, or impatient studies, of most Men. Whom he left notwithstanding to their liberty to take what method they pleas'd; provided they were not troublesome in forcing their hasty thoughts upon all others. Thus the Theorist hath exprest himself at the end of the first Book: *Interea, cum non omnes à naturâ ita compositi simus, ut Philosophiæ studiis delectemur: Neque etiam*

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liceat multis, propter occupationes vitæ, iisdem vacare, quibus per ingenium licuisset: iis jure permittendum est, compendiario sapere; & relictis viis naturæ & causarum secundarum, quæ sæpe longiusculæ sunt, per causas superiores philosophari; idq; potissimum, cum ex piis affectibus hoc quandoque fieri possit: quibus, vel male fundatis, aliquid dandum esse existimo, modo non sint turbulenti. Thus the Theorist, you see, sets two ways before them, and 'tis indifferent to him whether they take, if they will go on their way peaceably. And he does now moreover particularly declare, That he hath no ambition, either to make the Excepter, or any other of the same dispositions of will, and the same elevation of understanding, profelytes to his Theory.

Thus much for *Providence*; As to the *literal sence* of Scripture, I find, if what was noted before in the *Answer*, had been duly consider'd, there would be little need of additions upon that subject. The matter was stated freely and distinctly, and the remarks or reflections which the Excepter hath made in his *Defence*, upon this doctrine, are both shallow & partial. I say, *partial*: in perverting the sence, and separating such things as manifestly depend upon one another. Thus the Excepter falls upon that expression in the *Answer*, *Let us remember that this contradicting Scripture, here pretended, is only in natural things*: where he should have added the other part of the sentence, *And also observe how far the Excepter himself, in such things, hath contradicted Scripture.* Here he makes an odious declamation, as if the Answerer had confessed that he *contradicted Scripture in natural things*: whereas the words are *contradicting Scripture, here pretended*: and 'tis plain by all the discourse, that 'tis the literal sence of Scripture that is here spoken of, which the Excepter is also said to contradict. Such an unmanly captiousness shews the temper and measure of that spirit, which rather than say nothing will misrepresent the plain sence of an Author. In like manner, when he comes to those words in the *Answer*, *The case therefore is this, whether to go contrary to the letter of Scripture in things that relate to the natural world, be, destroying the foundation of religion, affronting Scripture, and blaspheming the Holy Ghost.* He says, *This is not to state the case truly, for it is not, says he, going contrary to the letter of Scripture that draws such evil consequences after it, but going contrary to the letter of Scripture, where it is to be literally understood.* And *this the Theorist does, he says, and the Excepter does not.* But who says so besides himself? This is fairly to beg the question, and can he suppose the Theorist so easie as to grant this without proof? It must be the subject matter that determines, what is, and what is not, to be literally understood. However he goes on, begging still the question in his own behalf, and says, those Texts of Scripture that speak of the motion and course of the Sun, are not to be understood literally. But why not? because the literal sence is not to his mind? Of four Texts of Scripture which the Theorist alledg'd against him, for the motion of the Sun, he answers but one, & that very superficially, to say no worse. 'Tis *Pf. 19.* where the Sun at his rising is said to be as a *Bridegroom coming out of his Chamber, and to rejoyce as a strong man to run his race. And his going forth is from the end of the heaven, and his circuit to the ends of it.* Which he answers with this vain flourish: *Then the Sun must be a man, and must be upon his marriage; and must be drest in fine cloaths, as a Bridegroom is. Then he must come out of a Chamber, and must give no more light, and cast no more heat than a Bridegroom does, &c.* If a man should ridicule, at this rate, the discourse of our Saviour concerning *Lazarus* in *Abraham's* bosom, and *Dives* in hell, with a great gulf betwixt them, yet talking audibly to one another; And

P. 82,
83. &c.

Def. p.
202.

Def. P.
206.

P. 207.

And that *Lazarus* should be sent so far, as from heaven to hell, only to dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool *Dives* his tongue. He that should go about thus to expose our Saviours parable, would have a thankless office, and effect nothing: for the substance of it would stand good still: namely, that mens Souls live after death, and that good Souls are in a state of ease and comfort, and bad Souls in a state of misery. In like manner, his ridiculing some circumstances in the comparison made by the Psalmist, does not at all destroy the substance of that discourse: namely, that the Sun moves in the firmament, with great swiftness and lustre, and hath the circuit of its motion round the Earth. This is the substance of what the Psalmist declares, and the rest is but a similitude which need not be literally just in all particulars.

After this he would fain persuade the Theorist, that he hath excused the Excepter for his receding from the literal sense, as to the motion of the Earth: Because he hath granted, that, in certain cases, we may and must recede from the literal sense. But where, pray, hath he granted, that the motion of the Earth was one of those cases? yet suppose it be so, may not the Theorist then enjoy this privilege of receding from the literal sense upon occasion, as well as the Excepter? If he will give, as well as take, this liberty, let us mutually enjoy it. But he can have no pretence to deny it to others, and take it himself. It uses to be a rule in writing, that a man must not *stultum fingere Lectorem*. You must suppose your Reader to have common sense. But he that accuses another of *blasphemy* for receding from the literal sense of Scripture in natural things, and does himself, at the same time, recede from the literal sense of Scripture, in natural things: one would think, *quoad hoc*, either had not, or would not exercise, common sense: in a literal way.

Lastly, He comes to the common known rule, assign'd to direct us, when every one ought to follow, or leave, the literal sense: which is, *not to leave the literal sense, when the subject matter will bear it, without absurdity or incongruity*. This he repeats in the next page thus, The rule is, *When no kind of absurdities or incongruities accrue to any Texts, from the literal sense*. If this be his rule, to what Texts does there accrue any absurdity or incongruity, by supposing the Sun to move? for Scripture always speaks upon that supposition, and not one word for the motion of the Earth. Thus he states the rule, but the *Answerer* supposed, that the absurdity or incongruity might arise from the *subject matter*. And accordingly he still maintains, that there are as just reasons (from the subject matter) and better authorities, for receding from the literal sense, in the narrative of the six-days Creation, than in those Texts of Scripture, that speak of the motions and course of the Sun. And to affirm the *Earth to be mov'd*, is as much *Blasphemy*, and more contrary to Scripture, than to affirm it to have been *dissolv'd*, as the Theorist hath done.

Sir, I beg your excuse for this long Letter, and leave it to you to judge whether the occasion was just or no. I know such jarrings as these, must needs make bad musick to your ears: 'tis like hearing two instruments play that are not in tune and consort with one another. But you know self-defence, and to repel an assailant, is always allow'd: and he that begins the quarrel, must answer for the consequences. However, Sir, to make amends for this trouble, I am ready to receive your commands upon more acceptable subjects.

Your most Humble Servant, &c.

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