THE
WORKS
OF
JOHN LOCKE Esq;

VOL. III.

CONTAINING,

Some Thoughts concerning Education.
A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians.
A Paraphrase and Notes on St. Paul's First and Second Epistle to the Corinthians.
A Paraphrase and Notes on his Epistle to the Romans.
A Paraphrase and Notes on his Epistle to the Ephesians.

POSTHUMOUS WORKS, Viz.
I. Of the Conduct of the Understanding.
II. An Examination of P. Malebranche's Opinion, of Seeing all Things in God.
III. A Discourse of Miracles.
IV. Part of a Fourth Letter for Toleration.
V. Memoirs relating to the Life of Anthony first Earl of Shaftesbury.
VI. His new Method of a Common-Place-Book, written originally in French, and now translated into English.
Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke and several of his Friends.

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The Works of John Locke Ep

CONTAINING

Vol. III

London

Printed for A W HENAM CHURCHILL, and sold
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SOME
THOUGHTS
CONCERNING
EDUCATION.
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TO

Edward Clarke of Chipley, Esq.;

SIR,

H E S E Thoughts concerning Education, which now come
Abroad into the World, do of right belong to You, being written
several Years since for Your sake, and are no other than what You
have already by You in my Letters. I have so little varied any
Thing, but only the Order of what was sent You at different Times,
and on several Occasions, that the Reader will easily find, in the
Familiarity and Fashion of the Style, that they were rather the pri-
vate Conversation of two Friends, than a Discourse designed for publick View.

The Importunity of Friends is the common Apology for Publications Men are afraid
to own themselves forward to. But You know I can truly say, That if some, who
having heard of these Papers of mine, had not pressed to see them, and afterwards to
have them printed, they had lain dormant still in that Privacy they were designed for.
But those whole Judgment I defer much to, telling me, That they were perfomed,
that this Rough Draught of mine might be of some Use, if made more publick, and
touch'd upon what will always be very prevalent with me. For I think it every
Man's indispensable Duty, to do all the Service he can to his Country: And I see
not what difference he puts between himself and his Cestel, who loves without that
Thought. This Subject is of so great Concernment, and a right way of Education is
of so general Advantage, that did I find my Abilities answer my Wills, I should
not have needed Exhortations or Importunities from others. However, the Manners
of these Papers, and my just Distraught of them, shall not keep me, by the Shame of
doing so little, from contributing my Mite, when there is no more required of me,
than my throwing it into the publick Receptacle. And if there be any more of their
Size and Numinis, who liked them so well, that they thought them worth Printing, I
may flatter my self, they will not be lost Labour to every Body.

My self have been accused of late by so many, who profess themselves at a
Loss how to breed their Children; and the early Corruption of Youth is now become so
general a Complaint, that he cannot be thought wholly improper, who brings the
Confederation of this Matter on the Stage, and offers something, if it be but to excite
others, or afford Matter of Correction. For Errors in Education should be least indul-
ged than any: These, like Faults in the first Constitution, that are never mended in
the second or third, carry their afterwards-incurrable Taint with them, through all
the Parts and Stations of Life.

I am so far from being conceited of anything I have here offered, that I should not
be sorry, even for your sake, if some one able and fitter for such a Task, would in
a just Treatise of Education, suited to our English Genius, rectify the Mistakes I
have made in this; it being much more deferable to me, that young Gentlemen should
be
The Epistle DEDICATORY.

be put into (as which every one ought to be solicitous about) the best way of being formed and instructed, than that my Opinion should be received concerning it. You will however, in the mean time, bear me witness, that the Method here proposed had had no ordinary effects upon a Gentleman's Son it was not designed for. I will not say the good Temper of the Child did not very much contribute to it, but this, I think, You and the Parents are satisfied of, that a contrary Usage, according to the ordinary Disciplining of Children, would not have mended that Temper, nor have brought him to be in love with his Book; to take a Pleasure in Learning, and to desire, as he does, to be taught more than those about him think fit always to teach him.

But my Business is not to recommend this Treatise to You, whose Opinion of it I know already; nor to the World, either by your Opinion or Patronage. The well-Educating of their Children is so much the Duty and Concern of Parents, and the Welfare and Prosperity of the Nation so much depends on it, that I would have every one lay it seriously to Heart; and after having well examined and distinguished what Fancy, Custom, or Reason advises in the Cafe, set his helping hand to promote everywhere that way of training-up Youth, with regard to their several Conditions, which is the easiest, best, and likelyest to produce virtuous, useful, and able Men in their different Callings: Though that most to be taken care of, is the Gentleman's Calling. For if those of that Rank are by their Education once set right, they will quickly bring all the rest into Order.

I know not whether I have done more than show my good Wishes towards it in this short Discourse: Such as it is the World now has it; and if there be any thing in it worth their Acceptance, they owe their Thanks to you for it. My Affection to you gave the first Rise to it, and I am pleased, that I can leave to Posterity this Mark of the Friendship has been between us. For I know no greater Pleasure in this Life, nor a better Remembrance to be left behind one, than a long continued Friendship, with an honest, useful, and worthy Man, and Lover of his Country. I am,

SIR,

Your most humble and most faithful Servant,

7 March,
1692.

John Locke.
SOME
THOUGHTS
CONCERNING
EDUCATION.

§ 1. A SOUND Mind in a sound Body, is a short, but full Description of a happy State in this World: He that has these Two, has little more to wish for; and he that wants either of them, will be but little the better for any thing else. Men's Happiness or Misery, is most part of their own making. He, whose Mind directs not wisely, will never take the right Way; and he, whose Body is crazy and feeble, will never be able to advance in it. I confess there are some Minds Constitutions of Body and Mind so vigorous, and well framed by Nature, that they need not much Assistance from others, but by the Strength of their natural Genius, they are from their Cradles carried towards what is Excellent; and by the Privilege of their happy Constitutions, are able to do Wonders. But Examples of this kind are but few, and I think I may say, that of all the Men we meet with, nine parts of ten are what they are, good or evil, useful or not, by their Education. 'Tis that which makes the great Difference in Mankind. The little, or almost insensible Impressions on our tender Infancies, have very important and lasting Consequences: And there 'tis, as in the Fountains of some Rivers, where a gentle application of the hand turns the flexible Waters into Channels, that make them take quite contrary Courses; and by this little Direction given them at first in the Source, they receive different Tendencies, and arrive at last at very remote and distant Places.

§ 2. I imagine the Minds of Children as easily turned this or that way, as Water it felt; and though this be the principal Part, and our main Care should be about the Infide, yet the Clay Cottage is not to be neglected. I shall therefore begin with the Cafe, and consider first the Health of the Body, as that, which perhaps you may rather expect from that Study I have been thought more peculiarly to have applied my self to; and that also which will be soonest dispatch'd, as lying, if I guess not amiss, in a very little compass.

§ 3. How necessary Health is to our Business and Happiness: And how requisite a strong Constitution, able to endure Hardships and Fatigue, is to one that will make any Figure in the World; is too obvious to need any Proof.

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§ 4. The Consideration I shall have of Health, shall be, not what a Physician ought to do with a sick or crazy Child; but what the Parents, without the help of Physick, should do for the Preservation and Improvement of a healthy, or at least, not sickly Constitution in their Children. And this perhaps might be all dispatched in this one short Rule, viz. That Gentlemen should use their Children, as the honest Farmers and Substantial Yeomen do theirs. But because the Mothers possibly may think this a little too hard, and the Fathers too short, I shall explain my self more particularly; only laying down this as a general and certain Observation for the Women to consider, viz. That most Children's Constitutions are either spoiled, or at least harmed, by Cockery and Tenderness.

§ 5. The first Thing to be taken care of, is, That Children be not too warmly clad, Winter or Summer. The Face, when we are Born, is no less tender than any other part of the Body: 'Tis Ufe alone hardens it, and makes it more able to endure the Cold. And therefore the Systhian Philosopher gave a very significant Advice to the Athenian, who wonder'd how he could go Naked in Frost and Snow: How, said the Systhian, can you endure your Face exposed to the sharp Winter Air? My Face is used to it, said the Athenian. Think me all Face, replied the Systhian. Our Bodies will endure any thing, that from the Beginning they are accustomed to.

An eminent Instance of this, though in the contrary excess of Heat, being to our present purpose to shew what Ufe can do, I shall set down in the Author's Words, as I meet with it in a late ingenious Voyage. * The Heats, says he, are more violent in Malta, than in any part of Europe: they exceed those of Rome it self, and are perfectly Stifling; and so much the more, because there are seldom any cooling Breezes here. This makes the common People as black as Gypsies: But yet the Peasants defy the Sun: they work on in the hottest part of the Day, without intermission, or sheltering themselves from his scorching Rays. This has convinced me that Nature can bring it self to many things which seem impossible, provided we accustom our selves from our Infancy. The Malayes do so, who harden the Bodies of their Children, and reconcile them to the Heat, by making them go stark naked, without Shirt, Drawers, or any thing on their Head, from their Cradles, till they are Ten Years old.

Give me leave therefore to advise you, not to fence too carefully against the Cold of this our Climate: There are those in England who wear the same Clothes Winter and Summer, and that without any Inconvenience, or more Sense of Cold than others find. But if the Mother will needs have an Allowance for Frost and Snow, for fear of harm; and the Father for fear of Cenfure; be sure let not his Winter-Clothing be too warm: And amongst other things remember, That when Nature has so well cover'd his Head with Hair, and strengthen'd it with a Year or two's Age, that he can run about by Day without a Cap, it is best that by Night a Child should also lie without one; there being nothing that more exposes to Head-ach, Colds, Catarrhs, Coughs, and several other Diseases, than keeping the Head warm.

§ 6. I have said here, because the principal Aim of my Discourse is, how a young Gentleman should be brought up from his Infancy, which, in all things will not so perfectly suit the Education of Daughters; though, where the Difference of Sex requires different Treatments, 'twill be no hard matter to distinguish.

§ 7. I would also advise his Feet to be wash'd every Day in cold Water; and to have his Shoes so thin, that they might leak and wet in Water, when ever he comes near it. Here, I fear, I shall have the Milkmaids and Maids too against me. One will think it too filthy; and the other, perhaps, too much Pains to make clean his Stockings. But yet Truth will have it, that his Health is much more worth than all such Considerations, and ten-times as much more. And he that considers how mischievous and mortal a thing, taking Wet in the Feet is, to those who have been bred nicely, will with he had with the poor People's Children gone Bare-foot: who, by that means, come to be so reconciled to Custom, to Wet in their Feet, that they take no more Cold or Harm by it, than if they were Wet in their Hands. And what
what is it, I pray, that makes this great difference between the Hands and the Feet. Feet in others, but only Custom? I doubt not, but if a Man from his Cradle had been always used to go Bare-foot, whilst his Hands were constantly wrap’d up in warm Mittens, and cover’d with Handshoes, as the Dutch call Gloves; I doubt not, I say, but such a Custom would make taking wet in his Hands as dangerous to him, as now taking wet in their Feet is to a great many others. The way to prevent this, is to have his Shoes made so as to leak water; and his Feet wath’d constantly every day in cold water. It is recommendable for its cleanliness: But that which I aim at in it is Health. And therefore I limit it not precisely to any time of the day. I have known it used every night, with very good success, and that, all the Winter, without the omitting it so much as one night in extrem cold Weather; when thick Ice cover’d the water, the Child bath’d his Legs and Feet in it; though he was of an Age not big enough to rub and wipe them himself, and when he began this Custom, was pulsing and very tender. But the great end being to harden those parts by a frequent and familiar use of cold Water, and thereby to prevent the Mistakes that usually attend accidental taking wet in the Feet, in those who are bred otherwise; I think it may be left to the Prudence and Convenience of the Parents, to chuse either night or morning. The time I deem indifferent, so the thing be effectually done. The Health and Hardines procured by it, would be a good Purchase at a much dearer rate. To which, if I add the preventing of Corns, that to some Men would be a very valuable Consideration. But begin first in the Spring with luke-warm, and so colder and colder every time, till in a few days, you come to perfectly cold water, and then continue it to Winter and Summer. For it is to be obser’d in this, as in all other Alterations from our ordinary way of living, the Changes must be made by gentle and insensible degrees; and so we may bring our Bodies to any thing without Pain, and without Danger.

How fond Mothers are like to receive this Doctrine, is not hard to foresee. What can it be less than to murder their tender Babes to use them thus? What! put their Feet in cold water in Frost and Snow, when all one can do is little enough to keep them warm? A little to remove their fears by Examples, without which the plainest Reason is seldom hearken’d to; Seneca tells us of himself, Ep. 52 and 82, that he used to bathe himself in cold Spring-water in the midst of Winter. This, if he had not thought it not only tolerable, but healthy too, he would scarce have done, in an exuberant Fortune, that could well have born the expense of a warm Bath; and in an Age (for he was then Old) that would have excused greater Indulgence. If we think his Stoico Principles led him to this severity; let it be so, that this Sect reconcile’d cold water to his Sufferance: What made it agreeable to his Health? For that was not impair’d by this hard Usage. But what shall we say to Horace, who warm’d not himself with the Reputation of any Sect, and left of all affected Stoico Austerities? Yet he assures us, he was wont in the Winter Season to bathe himself in cold water. But perhaps Italy will be thought much warmer than England, and the chills of their Waters not to come near our’s in Winter. If the Rivers of Italy are warmer, those of Germany and Poland are much colder, than any in this our Country; and yet in these, the Jews, both Men and Women, bathe all over, at all Seasons of the year, without any prejudice to their Health. And every one is not apt to believe it is Miracle, or any peculiar virtue of St. Winifred’s Well, that makes the cold Waters of that famous Spring do no harm to the tender Bodies that bathe in it. Every one is now full of the Miracles done by cold Baths on decay’d and weak Constitutions, for the recovery of Health and Strength, and therefore they cannot be impracticable or intolerable, for the improving and hardening the Bodies of those who are in better Circumstances.

If these Examples of grown Men be not thought yet to reach the Case of Children; but that they may be judg’d still to be too tender and unable to bear such Usage; let them examine what the Germans of old, and the Irish now do to them; and they will find that Infants too, as tender as they are thought, may, without any danger, endure Bathing, not only of their Feet, but of their
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their whole Bodies in cold water. And there are, at this day, Ladies in the Highlands of Surnland, who use this discipline to their Children in the midst of Winter; and find that cold water does them no harm, even when there is ice in it.

Swimming.

§ 8. I shall not need here to mention Swimming, when he is of an Age able to learn, and has any one to teach him. *Tis that saves many a Man's life: And the Romans thought it for necessary, that they rank'd it with Letters; and it was the common Præfæ to make one ill Educated and good for nothing; That he had neither learn'd to Read nor to Swim. Nec literas dedicas nec natare.

But besides the gaining a Skill, which may serve him at need; the advantages to Health, by often bathing in cold water, during the heat of Summer, are so many, that I think nothing need to be said to encourage it, provided this one caution be used, That he never go into the water, when Exercise has at all warm'd him, or left any emotion in his Blood or Pulse.

Air.

§ 9. Another thing that is of great advantage to every one's Health, but especially Children's, is, to be much in the open Air, and very little as may be by the Fire, even in Winter. By this he will accustom himself also to Heat and Cold, Shine and Rain; all which if a Man's body will not endure, it will serve him to very little purpose in this World: And when he is grown up, it is too late to begin to use him to it. It must be got early and by degrees. Thus the Body may be brought to bear almost any thing. If I should advise him to play in the Wind and the Sun without a Hat, I doubt whether it could be born. There would a thousand Objections be made against it, which at first would amount to no more in truth, than being Sun-burnt. And if my young Master be to be kept always in the Shade, and never exposed to the Sun and Wind, for fear of his Complexion, it may be a good way to make him a Bean, but not a Man of Business. And although greater regard be to be had to Beauty in the Daughters, yet I will take the liberty to say, that the more they are in the Air, without prejudice to their Faces, the stronger and healthier they will be; and the nearer they come to the Hardships of their Brothers in their Education, the greater advantage will they receive from it all the remaining part of their lives.

§ 10. Playing in the open Air, has but this one danger in it, that I know; and that is, That when he is hot with running up and down, he should sit or lie down on the cold or moist Earth. This I grant, and drinking cold drink, when they are hot with Labour or Exercise, brings more People to the Grave, or to the brink of it, by Fevers, and other Diseases, than any thing I know. These Mischiefs are easily enough prevented whilst he is little, being then seldom out of sight. And if during his Childhood, he be constantly and rigorously kept from sitting on the ground, or drinking any cold Liquor whilst he is hot, the Custom of forbearing grown into a habit, will help much to preserve him, when he is no longer under his Maid's or Tutor's eye. This is all I think can be done in the cafe. For, as years encrease, Liberty must come with them; and in a great many things he must be trusted to his own conduct, since there cannot always be a Guard upon him; except what you have put into his own Mind by good Principles, and establish'd Habits, which is the belt and surest, and therefore most to be taken care of. For, from repeated Cautions and Rules, ever so often inculcated, you are not to expect any thing either in this, or any other cafe, farther than practice has establish'd them into Habits.

Clothes.

§ 11. One thing the mention of the Girls brings into my Mind, which must not be forget; and that is, That your Son's Clothes be never made frias, especially about the Breast. Let Nature have scope to fashion the Body as she thinks best. She works of her self a great deal better and exacter, than we can direct her. And if Women were themselves to frame the Bodies of their Children in their Wombs, as they often endeavour to mend their Shapes when they are out, we should as certainly have no perfect Children born, as we have few well-shap'd that are frias-faced, or much tamper'd with. This Consideration should methinks keep better People (I will not say ignorant Nurses and Bodice-makers) from meddling in a matter they understand not; and they should be afraid to put Nature out of her way in fashioning the Parts,
Parts, when they know not how the least and meanest is made. And yet I Cloths,
have been so many Infancies of Children receiving great harm from froward-
ling, that I cannot but conclude there are other Creatures, as well as Mon-
keys, who little wiser than they, destroy their young ones by senesce fond-
ness, and too much embracing.
§ 12. Narrow Breaths, short and flinking Breath, ill Lungs, and Crook-
edness, are the natural and almost constant effects of hard Bodes, and Clothes
that pinch. That way of making slender Wafles and fine Shapes, serves but the
more effectually to spoil them. Nor can there indeed but be disproportion
in the Parts, when the Nourishment prepared in the several Offices of the
Body, cannot be distributed as Nature designeth. And therefore what wonder
it is, if, it being laid where it can, on some part not so braided, it often makes
a Shoulder or a Hip higher or bigger than its just proportion. 'Tis generally
known that the Women of China (imagining I know not what kind of
Beauty in it) by braiding and binding them hard from their Infancy, have
very little Feet. I saw lately a pair of China Shoes, which I was told were
for a grown Woman; they were so exceedingly disproportion'd to the Feet
of one of the same Age amongst us, that they would scarce have been big
enough for one of our little Girls. Besides this, 'tis observ'd that their Wo-
men are also very little, and short-liv'd; whereas the Men are of the ordinary
Stature of other Men, and live to a proportionable Age. These defects in the
Female Sex of that Country, are by some imputed to the unreasonable bind-
ing of their Feet; whereby the free circulation of the Blood is hinder'd, and
the Growth and Health of the whole Body suffers. And how often do we see
that some small part of the Foot being injur'd by a Wrench or a Blow, the
whole Leg, or Thigh thereby loses it's Strength and Nourishment, and
dwindles away? How much greater Inconveniences may we expect, when
the Thoras, wherein is placed the heart and seat of Life, is unnaturally com-
presst, and hinder'd from its due expansion?
§ 13. As for his Diet, it ought to be very plain and simple; and if I might Dict-
advise, Flesh should be forbear as long as he is in Coats, or at least till he is
two or three years old. But whatever advantage this may be to his present
and future Health and Strength, I fear it will hardly be contended to by Par-
ents, misled by the Custom of eating too much Flesh themselves; who will be
apt to think their Children, as they do themselves, in danger to be star-
ved, if they have not Flesh at least twice a day. This I am sure, Children
would breed their Teeth with much less danger, be freer from Diætes whilst
they were little, and lay the Foundations of an healthy and strong Constitu-
tion much furer, if they were not cram'd so much as they are by fond Mothers
and foolish Servants, and were kept wholly from Flesh, the first three or four
years of their Lives.

But if my young Master must needs have Flesh, let it be but once a day,
and of one part at a Meal. Plain Beef, Mutton, Veal, &c. without other Sauc-
ese than Hunger, is best: And great care should be used, that he eat
Bread plentifully, both alone and with every thing else. And whatever he
eats that is solid, make him chew it well. We English are often negligent
herein; from whence follows Indigestion, and other great Inconveniences.
§ 14. For Breakfast and Supper, Milk, Milk-Pottage, Water-Gruel, Flummery,
and twenty other things, that we are wont to make in England, are very fit
for Children: Only, in all these let care be taken, that they be plain, and
without much mixture, and very sparingly season'd with Sugar, or rather
none at all: Especially all Spice, and other things that may heat the Blood,
are carefully to be avoided. Be sparing also of Salt in the seafoning of all his
Victuals, and use him not to high-season'd Meats. Our Palates grow into a
relish; and liking of the Seafoning and Cookery which by Custom they are
set to; and an over-much use of Salt, besides that it occasions Thirst, and over-
much Drinking, has other ill effects upon the Body. I should think that a
good piece of well made and well baked Brown-bread, sometimes with, and
sometimes without Butter or Cheese, would be often the best Breakfast for my
young Master. I am sure it is as wholesome, and will make him as strong a
Man as greater Dainties; and if he be used to it, it will be as pleasant to
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Diet. If he at any time calls for Victuals between Meals, use him to nothing but dry Bread. If he be hungry more than wanton, Bread alone will down; and if he be not hungry, 'tis not fit he should eat. By this you will obtain two good effects: 1. That by Custom he will come to be in love with Bread; for, as I said, our Palates and Stomachs too are pleased with the things we are used to. Another good you will gain hereby, is, That you will not teach him to eat more, nor other than Nature requires. I do not think that all Peoples Appetites are alike: Some have naturally stronger, and some weaker Stomachs. But this I think, that many are made Gormand and Gluttony by Custom, that were not so by Nature: And I see in some Countries Men as fuly and strong, that eat but two Meals a day, as others that have let their Stomachs by a constant usage, like Larums to call on them for four or five. The Romans usually falted till Supper; the only set Meal, even of those who ate more than once a day: And those who used Breakfasts, as some did at eight, some at ten, others at twelve of the Clock, and some later, neither ate Flesh, nor had any thing made ready for them. Augustus, when the highest Monarch on the Earth, tells us, he took a bit of dry Bread in his Chariot. And Senea in his age Epistle, giving an account how he managed himself, even when he was Old, and his Age permitted Indulgence, says, That he used to eat a piece of dry Bread for his Dinner, without the formality of fitting it to: Though his Eate would have as well paid for a better Meal (had Health requir'd it) as any Subject's in England, were it doubled. The Masters of the World were bred up with this faire Diet: And the young Gentlemen of Rome felt no want of Strength or Spirit, because they ate but once a day. Or if it happen'd by chance, that any one could not fast so long as till Supper, their only set Meal; he took nothing but a bit of dry Bread, or at most a few Raisins, or some such light thing with it, to stay his Stomach. This part of Temperance was found so necessary both for Health and Buses, that the Cutfom of only one Meal a day held out against that prevailing Luxury, which their Eastern Conquests and Spoils had brought in amongst them: And those who had given up their old frugal Eating, and made Feasts, yet began them not till the evening. And more than one set Meal a day was thought so monstrous, that it was a reproach as low down as Caesar's time, to make an Entertainment, or sit down to a full Table, 'till towards Sun-set. And therefore, if it would not be thought too severe, I should judge it most convenient, that my young Master should have nothing but Bread too for Breakfast. You cannot imagine what force Cutfom is: And I impute a great part of our Difeaile in England, to our eating too much Flesh, and too little Bread.

Meals. § 15. As to his Meals, I should think it best, that as much as it can be conveniently avoided, they should be kept conjointly to an hour. For when Cutfom has fix'd his eating to certain fixt periods, his Stomach will expect Victuals at the usual hour, and grow peevish if he passes it; either fretting it self into a troublesome excels, or flagging into a downright want of Appetite. Therefore I would have no time kept conjointly to for his Breakfast, Dinner and Supper, but rather varied almost every day. And if betwixt these, which I call Meals, he will eat, let him have, as often as he calls for it, good dry Bread. If any one think this too hard and sparing a Diet for a Child, let them know, that a Child will never starve, nor dwindle for want of nourishment, who, besides Flesh at Dinner, and Spoon-meat, or some such other thing at Supper, may have good Bread and Beer as often as he has a Stomach: For thus, upon second thoughts, I should judge it best for Children to be order'd. The Morning is generally desig'd for Study, to which a full Stomach is but an ill preparation. Dry Bread, though the beast nourishment, has the least temptation: And no body would have a Child cram'd at Breakfast, who has any regard to his Mind or Body, and would not have him dull and unhealthy. Nor let any one think this unuitable to one of Estate and Condition. A Gentleman in any Age, ought to be so bred, as to be fitted to bear Arms, and be a Soldier. But he that in this, breeds his Son, as if he design'd him to flee over his Life, in the plenty and ease of a full Fortune he intends to leave him, little considers the examples he has seen, or the Age he lives in.

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§ 16. His Drink should be only Small Beer; and that too he should never Drink, be usher'd to have between Meals, but after he had eat a piece of Bread. The Reasons why I say this, are these:

§ 17. 1. More Fevers and Scurvies are got by People's Drinking when they are hot, than by any one thing I know. Therefore, if by Play he be hot and dry, Bread will ill go down; and so, if he cannot have Drink, but upon that Condition, he will be forced to forbear. For, if he be very hot, he should by no means Drink. At least, a good piece of Bread first to be eaten, will gain time to warm the Beer Blood-hot, which then he may drink safely. If he be very dry, it will go down so warm'd, and quench his Thirst better: And if he will not drink it so warm'd, abstaining will not hurt him. Besides, This will teach him to forbear, which is an Habit of greatest Ufe for Health of Body and Mind too.

§ 18. 2. Not being permitted to drink without eating, will prevent the Custom of having the Cup often at his Nose; a dangerous Beginning, and Preparation to Good-fellowship. Men often bring habitual Hunger and Thirst on themselves by Custom. And if you please to try, you may, though he be weaned from it, bring him by Ufe, to such a Necessity again of Drinking in the Night, that he will not be able to sleep without it. It being the Lullaby used by Nurseries, to still crying Children; I believe Mothers generally find some Difficulty to wean their Children from Drinking in the Night, when they first take them home. Believe it, Custom prevails as much by Day as by Night; and you may, if you please, bring any one to be Thirsty every hour.

I once lived in an House, where to appease a froward Child, they gave him Drink as often as he cried; so that he was constantly babbling: And tho' he could not speak, yet he drank more in twenty four hours than I did. Try it when you please, you may with Small, as well as with Strong Beer, drink your self into a Drought. The great Thing to be minded in Education is, what Habits you settle: And therefore in this, as all other Things, do not begin to make any thing Customary, the Practice whereof you would not have continue, and increase. It is convenient for Health and Sobriety, to drink no more than natural Thirst requires: And he that eats not Salt Meats, nor drinks Strong Drink, will seldom thirst between Meals, unless he has been accustomed to such unreasonble Drinking.

§ 19. Above all, take great Care that he seldom, if ever, taste any Wine, Strong or Strong Drink. There is nothing so ordinarily given Children in England, and nothing so destructive to them. They ought never to drink any Strong Liquor, but when they need it as a Cordial, and the Doctor prescribes it. And in this Case it is, that Servants are most narrowly to be watched, and most severely to be reprehended, when they transgress. Tho' mean Sort of People, placing a great part of their Happines in Strong Drink, are always forward to make court to my young Master, by offering him that which they love best themselves: And finding themselves made merry by it, they foolishly think 'twill do the Child no harm... This you are carefully to have your Eye upon, and restrain with all the Skill and Industry you can; There being nothing that lays a furer Foundation of Mischief, both to Body and Mind, than Children's being used to Strong Drink; especially, to drink in private with the Servants.

§ 20. Fruit makes one of the most difficult Chapters in the Government of Health, especially that of Children. Our first Parents ventur'd Paradise for it: And 'tis no wonder our Children cannot stand the Temptation, though it cost them their Health. The Regulation of this cannot come under any one General Rule: For I am by no means of their mind, who would keep Children almost wholly from Fruit, as a thing totally wholesome for them: By which strict way they make them but the more ravenous after it: and to eat good and bad, ripe or unripe, all that they can get, whenever they come at it. Melons, Peaches, most sorts of Plums, and all sorts of Grapes in England, I think Children should be wholly kept from, as having a very tempting Taint, in a very unwholesome Juice; so that, if it were possible, they should never so much as see them, or know there were any such thing.
Fruit. But Strawberries, Cherries, Goose-berries, or Currants, when thorough ripe, I think may be very safely allowed them, and that with a pretty liberal Hand, if they be eaten with theae Cautions. 1. Not after Meals, as we usually do, when the Stomach is already full of other Food. But I think they should be eaten rather before or between Meals, and Children should have them for their Breakfasts. 2. Bread eaten with them. 3. Perfectly ripe. If they are thus eaten, I imagine them rather conducing, than hurtful to our Health. Summer Fruits, being suitable to the hot Seazn of the Year they come in, refresh our Stomachs, languishing and fainting under it: And therefore I should not be altogether so strict in this Point, as some are to their Children; who, being kept so very short, instead of a moderate quantity of well-chosen Fruits, which being allowed them, would content them, whenever they can get loose, or bribe a Servant to supply them, satisfie their Longing with any Traffic they can get, and eat to a Surfeit.

Apples and Pears too, which are thorough ripe, and have been gathered some time, I think may be safely eaten at any time, and in pretty large quantities; especially Apples, which 'never did any body hurt, that I have heard, after October.

Fruits also dried without Sugar, I think very wholesome. But Sweet-meats of all kinds are to be avoided; which whether they do more harm to the Maker, or Eater, is not easy to tell. This I am sure, it is one of the most inconvenient ways of Expence, that Vanity hath yet found out; and so I leave them to the Ladies.

Fruit. § 21. Of all that looks soft and effeminate, nothing is more to be indulged in Children than Sleep. In this alone they are to be permitted to have their full Satisfaction; nothing contributing more to the Growth and Health of Children, than Sleep. All that is to be regulated in it is, in what part of the twenty-four Hours they should take it: Which will easily be resolved, by only saying, That it is of great Use to accustom them to rise early in the Morning. It is best so to do, for Health: And he that from his Childhood, has by a settled Custom made Rising betimes easy and familiar to him, will not, when he is a Man, waste the best and most useful part of his Life in Drowsiness, and Lying a Bed. If Children therefore are to be called up early in the Morning, it will follow of course, that they must go to Bed betimes; whereby they will be accustomed to avoid the unhealthy and unsafe Hours of Debauchery, which are those of the Evenings: And they who keep good Hours, seldom are guilty of any great Disorders. I do not say this, as if your Son, when grown up, should never be in Company past Eight, nor ever chat over a Glass of Wine till Midnight. You are now, by the accustoming of his tender Years, to indure him to those Inconveniences as much as you can: And it will be no small advantage, that contrary Practice having made Sitting-up unseemly to him, it will make him often avoid, and very seldom propose Midnight-Revels. But if it should not reach so far, but Fashion and Company should prevail, and make him live as others do above Twenty, its worth the while to accustom him to Early Rising, and Early going to Bed, between this and that; for the present Improvement of his Health, and other Advantages.

Though I have said a large Allowance of Sleep, even as much as they will take, should be made to Children when they are little; yet I do not mean, that it should always be continu'd to them in so large a Proportion, and they suffer'd to indulge a drowsy Laziness in their Beds as they grow up bigger. But whether they should begin to be refrain'd at Seven, or Ten Years old, or any other time, is impossible to be precisely determin'd. Their Tempers, Strength and Constitutions must be consider'd. But some time between Seven and Fourteen, if they are too great Lovers of their Beds, I think it may be favourable to begin to reduce them by degrees to about Eight Hours, which is generally Reckoned enough for Healthy grown People. If you have accustom'd him, as you should do, to rise constantly very early in the Morning, this Fault of being too long in Bed will easily be reform'd; and most Children will be forward enough to shorten that time themselves, by coveting to fit up with the Company at Night: Though, if they be not look'd after,
after, they will be apt to take it out in the Morning, which should by no means be permitted. They should constantly be call’d up, and made to rise at their early Hour; but great care should be taken in waking them, that it be not done hastily, nor with a loud or shrill Voice, or any other sudden violent Noise. This often affrights Children, and does them great harm. And found Sleep thus broke off, with fuddain Alarms, is apt enough to discompose any one. When Children are to be waken’d out of their Sleep, before to begin with a low Call, and some gentle Motion, and so draw them out of it by Degrees, and give them none but kind Words and Usage, till they are come perfectly to themselves, and being quite Drest, you are sure they are thoroughly awake. The being forced from their Sleep, how gently soever you do it, is Pain enough to them: And care should be taken not to add any other Uneasiness to it, especially such that may terrify them.

§ 22. Let his Bed be hard, and rather Quilts than Feathers. Hard Lodging strengthens the Parts; whereas being buried every Night in Feathers, melts and dissolves the Body, is often the cause of Weakness, and the Fore-runner of an early Grave. And, besides the Stone, which has often its rise from this warm Wrapping of the Reins; several other Indispositions, and that which is the Root of them all, a tender weakly Constitution, is very much owing to Down-Beds. Besides, He that is used to hard Lodging at Home, will not miss his Sleep (where he has most need of it) in his Travels abroad, for want of his soft Bed, and his Pillows laid in order. And therefore, I think it would not be amiss, to make his Bed after different Fashions, sometimes lay his Head higher, sometimes lower, that he may not feel every little Change he must be sure to meet with, who is not design’d to lie always in my young Master’s Bed at home, and to have his Maid lay all Things in print, and tuck him in warm. The great Cordial of Nature is Sleep. He that misuses that, will suffer by it: And he is very unfortunate, who can take his Cordial only in his Mother’s fine Gilt Cup, and not in a Wooden Duff. He that can sleep soundly, takes the Cordial: And it matters not, whether it be on a soft Bed, or the hard Boards. ‘Tis Sleep only that is the thing necessary.

§ 23. One thing more there is, which hath a great Influence upon the Coffin-Health, and that is, Going to Stool regularly; People that are very loose, have restless Thoughts, or strong Bodies. But the Cure of this, both by Diet, and Medicine, being much more easie than the contrary Evil, there needs not much to be said about it: For if it come to threaten, either by its Violence, or Duration, it will soon enough, and sometimes too soon, make a Physician be lent for: And if it be moderate or short, it is commonly best to leave it to Nature. On the other side, Coffinness has too its ill Effects, and is much harder to be dealt with by Physick; purging Medicines, which seem to give relief, rather increasing than removing the Evil.

§ 24. It being an Indisposition I had a particular reason to enquire into, and not finding the Cure of it in Books, I let my Thoughts on work, believing that greater Changes than that might be made in our Bodies, if we took the right Course, and proceed by rational Steps.

1. Then I considered, that Going to Stool was the effect of certain Motions of the Body, especially of the Peristaltick Motion of the Guts.

2. I considered, that several Motions, that were not perfectly voluntary, might yet by Use and constant Application, be brought to be Habitual, if by an unintermittent Custom, they were at certain Seasons endeavoured to be constantly produced.

3. I had observed some Men, who by taking after Supper a Pipe of Tobacco, never failed of a Stool; and began to doubt with my self, whether it were not more Custom, than the Tobacco, that gave them the Benefit of Nature; or at least, if the Tobacco did it, it was rather by exciting a vigorous Motion in the Guts, than by any purging quality; for then it would have had other Effects.

Having thus once got the Opinion, that it was possible to make it habitual; the next thing was to consider, what way and means was the likeliest to obtain it.
4. Then I guessled, that if a Man, after his first eating in the Morning, would presently sollicite Nature, and try, whether he could refrain himself so as to obtain a Stool, he might in time, by a constant Application, bring it to be habitual.

§. 25. The Reasons that made me chuse this Time, were:
1. Because the Stomach being then empty, if it received any thing grateful to it (for I would never, but in case of Necessity, have any one Eat, but what he likes, and when he has been at his Table) it was apt to embrace it close by a strong Contraction of its Fibres; which Contraction, I supposed, might probably be continued on in the Guts, and so increase their peristaltick Motion; as we see in the Item, that an inverted Motion, being begun any where below, continues it self all the whole length, and makes even the Stomach obey that irregular Motion.

2. Because when Men eat, they usually relax their Thoughts, and the Spirits, then free from other Employments, are more vigorously distributed into the lower Belly, which thereby contribute to the same Effect.

3. Because, whenever Men have leisure to eat, they have leisure enough also to make so much Court to Madam Conventica, as would be necessary to our present purpose; but else, in the variety of humane Affairs and Accidents, it was impossible to affix it to any Hour certain; whereby the Custom would be interrupted. Whereas Men in Health, seldom failing to eat once a Day, tho' the Hour be changed, the Custom might still be preferred.

§. 26. Upon these Grounds, the Experiment began to be tried, and I have known none, who have been steady in the Performance of it, and taken care to go constantly to the necessary House, after their first Eating, when ever that happen'd, whether they found themselves called on or no, and there endeavour'd to put Nature upon her Duty, but in a few Months they obtained the desired Success, and brought themselves to so regular an Habit, that they seldom ever failed of a Stool, after their first eating, unless it were by their own neglect. For, whether they have any motion or no, if they go to the Place, and do their part, they are sure to have Nature very obedient.

§. 27. I would therefore advise, that this Course should be taken with a Child every Day, prefently after he has eaten his Break-fast. Let him be set upon the Stool, as it disburthening were as much in his power, as filling his Belly; and let not him, or his Maid know any thing to the contrary, but that it is so: And if he be forced to endeavour, by being hinder'd from his Play, or eating again till he has been effectually at Stool, or at least done his unadol; I doubt not but in a little while it will become natural to him. For there is reason to suspect, that Children being usually intent on their Play, and very heedless of any thing else, often let pass those Motions of Nature, when she calls them but gently; and so they, neglecting the reasonable Offers, do by degrees bring themselves into an habitual Coifiveness. That by this method Coifiveness may be prevented, I do more than guess; having known, by the constant Practice of it for some time, a Child brought to have a Stool regularly after his Break-fast every Morning.

§. 28. How far any grown People will think fit to make trial of it, must be left to them; tho' I cannot but say, that considering the many Evils that come from that defect, of a requisite eating of Nature, I fear: know any thing more conducing to the preservation of Health than this is. Once in four and twenty Hours, I think is enough; and no body, I guess, will think it too much. And by this means it is to be obtained without Physick, which commonly proves very ineffectual, in the Cure of a settled and habitual Coifiveness.

Physick. §. 29. This is all I have to trouble you with concerning his Management, in the ordinary Course of his Health. Perhaps it will be expected from me, that I should give some Directions of Physick, to prevent Difeases; For which, I have only this one very Sacredly to be observed: Never to give Children any Physick for prevention. The Observation of what I have already advised, will, I suppose, do that better than the Ladies Diet-drinks or Apothecary's Medicines. Have a great care of tampering that way, lest, instead of
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of preventing, you draw on Difeases. Nor even upon every little Indisposition is Physick to be given, or the Physician to be called to Children; especially if he be a busy Man, that will presently fill their Windows with Gally-pots, and their Stomachs with Drugs. It is fatter to leave them wholly to Nature, than to put them into the hands of one forward to tamper; or that thinks Children are to be cured in ordinary Dilemurs, by any thing but Diet, or by a method very little distant from it. It seeminguitable both to my Reason and Experience, that the tender Constitution of Children, should have as little done to them as is possible, and as the absolute necessity of the Case requires. A little cold-flill'd red Poppy-water, which is the true Sarsaput-water, with ease and abstinence from Flesh, often puts an end to several Dilemurs in the beginning, which, by too forward Applications, might have been made luyf Difeases. When such a gentle treatment will not stop the growing Mischief, nor hinder it from turning into a form'd Disease, it will be time to seek the Advice of some sober and efficient Physician. In this part, I hope, I shall find an easy belief; and no body can have a Pretence to doubt the Advice of one, who has spent some time in the Study of Physick, when he counsels you not to be too forward in making use of Physick and Physicians.

§ 30. And thus I have done with what concerns the Body and Health, which reduces it self to these few and eaily observable Rules. Plenty of open Air, Exercise and Sleep; plain Diet, no Wine or Strong-drink, and very little or no Physick; not too warm and freight Clothing; especially the Head and Face kept cold, and the Feet often used to cold water, and exposed to wet.

§ 31. Due care being had to keep the Body in strength and vigour, so that it may be obey and execute the orders of the Mind; the next Mind and principal Business is, to set the Mind right, that on all occasions it may be disposed to content to nothing, but what may be suitable to the dignity and excellency of a rational Creature.

§ 32. If what I have said in the beginning of this Discourse be true; as I do not doubt but it is, viz. That the difference to be found in the Manners and Abilities of Men, is owing more to their Education than to any thing else; we have reason to conclude, that great care is to be had of the forming Children's Minds, and giving them that seasoning early, which shall influence their Lives always after. For when they do well or ill, the praisfe or blame will be laid there: And when any thing is done awkwardly, the common saying will pass upon them, That it is suitable to their Breeding.

§ 33. As the strength of the Body lies chiefly in being able to endure Hardships, so also does that of the Mind. And the great Principle and Foundation of all Virtue and Worth, is placed in this, That a Man is able to deny himself his own Desires, crofs his own Inclinations, and purely follow what Reafon directs as best, tho' the Appetite lean the other way.

§ 34. The great Mistake I have observ'd in People's breeding their Children has been, that this has not been taken care enough of in its due season; That the Mind has not been made obedient to Discipline, and pliant to Reason, when at first it was most tender, most easy to be bowed. Parents, being wisely ordain'd by Nature to love their Children, are very apt, if Reason watch not that natural Affection very warily; are apt, I say, to let it run into Fondnesses. They love their little ones, and 'tis their duty: But they often, with them, cherish their Faults too. They must not be crofsed, forsooth; they must be permitted to have their Wills in all things; and, they being in their Infancies not capable of great Vices, their Parents think they may safely enough indulge their little irregularities, and make themselves sport with that pretty Perverfelines, which they think well enough becomes that innocent Age. But to a fond Parent, that would not have his Child corrected for a perverfe trick, but excused it, saying, it was a small matter; Selen very well replied, ' Ay, but Cuffon is a great one.

§ 35. The Fondling must be taught to strike, and call Names; must have what he cries for, and do what he pleases. Thus Parents, by humouring and cockering them when little, corrupt the Principles of Nature in their Children; and wonder afterwards to call the bitter Waters, when they themselves have poisoned
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Early. poisoned the Fountain. For when their Children are grown up, and these ill habits with them; when they are now too big to be dandled, and their Parents can no longer make use of them as Play-things; then they complain, that the Brats are untoward and perverse; then they are offended to see them willful, and are troubled with those ill humours, which they themselves infused and fomented in them; and then, perhaps too late, would be glad to get out those Weeds which their own hands have planted, and which now have taken too deep root to be easily extirpated. For he that has been used to have his Will in every thing, as long as he was in Coats, why should we think it strange, that he should desire it, and contend for it still, when he is in breeches? Indeed, as he grows more towards a Man, Age shews his Faults the more, so that there be few Parents then so blind, as not to see them; few so inconstant as not to feel the ill effects of their own Indulgence. He had the will of his Maid before he could speak or go; he had the mastery of his Parents ever since he could prattle; and why, now he is grown up, is stronger and wiser than he was then, why now of a sudden must he be restrained and curbed? Why must he at seven, fourteen, or twenty years old, lose the Privilege which the Parents Indulgence, till then, so largely allow'd him? Try it in a Dog or an Horse, or any other Creature, and see whether the ill and refty tricks, they have learn'd when young, are easily to be mended when they are knit: And yet none of those Creatures are half so willful and proud, or half so defirous to be Masters of themselves and others, as Man.

§ 36. We are generally wise enough to begin with them when they are very young; and discipline betimes those other Creatures we would make useful and good for somewhat. They are only our own Offspring, that we neglect in this point; and having made them ill Children, we foolishly expect they should be good Men. For if the Child must have Grapes, or Sugar-plumbs, when he has a mind to them, rather than make the poor Babby cry, or be out of humour; why, when he is grown up, must he not be satisfied too, if his Desires carry him to Wine or Women? They are Objects as fitable to the longing of one of more years, as what he cried for, when little, was to the inclinations of a Child. The having Desires accommodated to the apprehensions and relish of those several Ages, is not the Fault; but the not having them subject to the Rules and Restraints of Reason: The Difference lies not in the having or not having Appetites, but in the power to govern, and deny our selves in them. He that is not used to submit his Will to the Reason of others, when he is young, will scarce hearken or submit to his own Reason, when he is of an Age to make use of it. And what a kind of a Man such a one is like to prove, is easy to foresee.

§ 37. These are over-fights usually committed by those who seem to take the greatest care of their Children's Education. But if we look into the common management of Children, we shall have reason to wonder, in the great dissoluteness of Manners which the World complains of, that there are any Foot-steps at all left of Virtue. I desire to know what Vice can be named, which Parents, and those about Children, do not feaon them with, and drop into them the Seeds of, as often as they are capable to receive them? I do not mean by the Examples they give, and the Patterns they set before them, which is encouragement enough; but that which I would take notice of here, is the downright teaching them Vice, and actual putting them out of the way of Virtue. Before they can go, they principle them with Violence, Revenge, and Cruelty. Give me a Blow that I may beat him, is a Leaven, which mott Children every day hear: And it is thought nothing, because their Hands have not strength enough to do any mischief. But I ask, Does not this corrupt their Minds? Is not this the way of Force and Violence, that they are set in? And if they have been taught, when little, to strike and hurt others by Proxy, and encouraged to rejoice in the harm they have brought upon them, and see them suffer; are they not prepar'd to do it, when they are strong enough to be felt themselves, and can strike to some purpose?

The coverings of our Bodies, which are for Modesty, Warmth, and Defence, are, by the Folly or Vice of Parents, recommended to their Children for other uses. They are made matter of Vanity and Emulation.
is set a longing after a new Suit, for the finery of it: And when the little Early
Girl is tricked up in her new Gown and Commode, how can her Mother do
less than teach her to Admire her Self, by calling her, her little Queen and her
Princess? Thus the little ones are taught to be Proud of their Clothes, before
they can put them on. And why should they not continue to value them-
selves for this out-side Fashionablenes of the Taylor or Tire-woman's ma-
king, when their Parents have so early instructed them to do so?

Lying and Equivocations, and Excuses little different from Lying, are put
into the Mouths of young People, and commended in Apprentices and Chil-
dren, whilst they are for their Master's or Parent's Advantages. And can it
be thought, that he, that finds the straining of Truth dispended with, and
encouraged, whilst it is for his Godly Master's turn, will not make use of
that Privilege for himself, when it may be for his own Profit?

These of the meaner Sort are hinder'd by the freethinness of their For-
tunes, from encouraging Intemperance in their Children, by the Temptation
of their Diet, or Invitations to Eat or Drink more than enough: But their
own ill Examples, whenever Plenty comes in their way, shew that 'tis not
the dislike of Drunkenness and Gluttony that keeps them from Excess, but
want of Materials. But if we look into the Houses of those who are a lit-
tle warmer in their Fortunes, there Eating and Drinking are made so much
the great Buinsens and Happiness of Life, that Children are thought ne-
lected, if they have not their share of it. Sauces, and Ragouts, and Food
disguised by all the Arts of Cookery, must tempt their Palates, when their
Bellies are full: And then, for fear the Stomach should be over-charg'd, a
pretence is found for other Glasses of Wine to help Digestion, though it
only serves to increase the Surfeit.

Is my young Master a little out of Order: The first Question is, What
will my Dear eat? What shall I get for thee? Eating and Drinking are instantly
prescribed: And every Body's Invention is set on work to find out something,
luscious and delicate enough to prevail over that want of Appetite, which
Nature has wisely order'd in the Beginning of Dilimperies, as a defence
against their Increase; that, being freed from the ordinary Labour of diges-
ting any new load in the Stomach, she may be at leisure to correct, and
mater the peccant Humours.

And where Children are so happy in the Care of their Parents, as by
their Prudence to be kept from the Excess of their Tables, to the Sobriety
of a plain and simple Diet; yet there too they are fearless to be preferred
from the Contagion that poisons the Mind. Though by a discreet Manage-
ment, whilst they are under Tuition, their Healths perhaps may be pretty
well secured; yet their Doxes must needs yield to the Lethons, which every
where will be read to them upon this part of Epicurism. The Commenda-
tion that eating well has everywhere, cannot fail to be a successful Incentive
to natural Appetite, and bring them quickly to the Licking and Expanse of a
fashionable Table. This shall have from every one, even the Reprovers of
Vice, the Title of Living well. And what shall sufficient Reason dare to say
against the Publick Testimony? Or can it hope to be heard, if it should
call that Luxury, which is so much owned, and universally practised by those
of the best Quality?

This is now so grown a Vice, and has so great Supports, that I know not
whether it do not put in for the Name of Virtue; and whether it will not
be thought Folly, or want of Knowledge of the World, to open one's Mouth
against it. And truly I should suspect, that what I have here said of it might
be cenfured as a little Satyr out of my way, did I not mention it with this
View, that it might awaken the Care and Watchfulness of Parents in the Ed-
ucation of their Children; when they see how they are befet on every side,
not only with Temptations, but Instructors to Vice, and that perhaps in those
they thought Places of Security.

I shall not dwell any longer on this Subject; much less run over all the
Particulars, that would shew what Pains are used to corrupt Children, and
infill Principles of Vice into them: But I desire Parents soberly to consider,
What Irregularity or Vice there is, which Children are not visibly taught;
and whether it be not their Duty and Wisdom to provide them other In-
structions.

Craving. § 38. It seems plain to me, that the Principle of all Vertue and Excel-
ienity lies in a Power of denying our selves the Satisfaction of our own De-
ires, where Reason does not authorize them. This Power is to be got and
improved by Custom, made easie and familiar by an early Practice. If there-
fore I might be heard, I would advise, that, contrary to the ordinary way,
Children should be used to submit their Desires, and go without their Long-
ings, even from their very Cradles. The very first thing they should learn to
know should be, that they were not to have anything, because it pleased
them, but because it was thought fit for them. If things suitable to their
Wants were supplied to them, so that they were never suffered to have what
they once cried for, they would learn to be content without it; would nev-
er with Bawling and Pecivifhness contend for Maftery; nor be half so uneafie
to themselves and others as they are, because from the first Beginning they are
not thus handled. If they were never suffered to obtain their Desire by the
Impatience they expressed for it, they would no more cry for other Things,
than they do for the Moon.

§ 39. I say not this, as if Children were not to be indulged in any Thing,
or that I expected they should, in Hanging-Sleeves, have the Reason and
Conduct of Counsellors. I consider them as Children, who must be tenderly
used, who must play, and have Play-things. That which I mean is, That
whenever they cried what was not fit for them to have or do, they should
not be permitted it, because they were little, and desired it: Nay, Whatever
they were importunate for, they should be for, for that very Reason, to be
denied. I have seen Children at a Table, who, whatever was there, never
asked for any thing, but contentedly took what was given them: And at
another Place I have seen others cry for every Thing they saw, must be fer-
vored out of every Dish, and that first too. What made this vast Difference,
but this; That one was accustomed to have what they called or cried for;
the other to go without it? The younger they are, the less I think are their
unread and disorderly Appetites to be complied with; and the less Reason
they have of their own, the more are they to be under the Absolute Power
and Restraint of those, in whose Hands they are. From which, I confess,
it will follow, That none but different People should be about them. If the
World commonly does otherwise, I cannot help that. I am saying what I
think should be; which, if it were already in Fashion, I should not need to
trouble the World with a Discourse on this Subject. But yet I doubt not, but
when it is considered, there will be others of Opinion with me, That the
former this Way is begun with Children, the easiier it will be for them, and
their Governours too; And, that this ought to be observed as an inviolable
Maxim, That whatever once is denied them, they are certainly not to ob-
tain by Crying or Importunity, unleas one has a Mind to teach them to be
impatient and troublesome, by rewarding them for it, when they are so.

§ 40. Thofe therefore that intend ever to govern their Children, should
begin it whilft they are very little; and look that they perfectly comply with
the Will of their Parents. Would you have your Son obedient to you when
past a Child? Be sure then to establish the Authority of a Father, as soon as
he is capable of Submissiion, and can understand in whole Power he is. If
you would have him stand in Awe of you, imprint it in his Infancy; and, as
he approaches more to a Man, admit him nearer to your Familiarity: So
shall you have him your obedient Subject (as is fit) whilst he is a Child, and
your affectionate Friend, when he is a Man. For, methinks, they mightly
misplace the Treatment due to their Children, who are indulgent and fami-
liar when they are little, but severe to them, and keep them at a distance
when they are grown up. For Liberry and Indulgence can do no Good to
Children: Their want of Judgment makes them stand in need of Restraint
and Discipline. And, on the contrary, Imperiousness and Severity, is but
an ill Way of Treating Men, who have Reason of their own to guide them;
unles you have a mind to make your Children when grown up, weary of
you; and secretly to lay within themselves, When will you Die, Father?

§ 41.
§ 41. I imagine every one will judge it reasonable, that their Children, 
when little, should look upon their Parents as their Lords, their Absolute Gov-
ernors; and, as such, stand in Awe of them: And that, when they come
to riper Years, they should look on them as their best, as their only sure
Friends; and, as such, love and reverence them. The Way, I have mentioned,
if I mistake not, is the only one to obtain this. We must look upon our Chil-
dren, when grown up, to be like our selves; with the same Passions, the same
Desires. We would be thought Rational Creatures, and have our Freedom; 
we love not to be uneasie under constant Rebukes and Brow-beatings; nor
can we bear severe Humours, and great Distance in Those we converse with.
Whoever has such Treatment when he is a Man, will look out other Compa-
y, other Friends, other Conversation, with whom he can be at Ease. If
therefore a strict Hand be kept over Children from the Beginning, they will in
that Age, be tractable, and quietly submit to it, as never having known any
other: And if, as they grow up to the Use of Reason, the Rigour of Gov-
ernment be, as they deserve it, gently relaxed, and the Father’s Brow more
smooth’d to them, and the distance by Degrees abated; his former Restraints
will increase their Love, when they find it was only a Kindness to them, and
a Care to make them capable to deserve the Favour of their Parents, and the
Election of every Body else.

§ 42. Thus much for the Settling your Authority over your Children in
general. Fear and Awe ought to give you the first Power over their Minds,
and Love and Friendship in riper Years to hold it: For the Time must come,
when they will be past the Rod, and Correction; and then, if the Love of
you make them not obedient and dutiful; if the Love of Virtue and Reputation
keep them not in laudable Courses; I ask, What Hold will you have
upon them, to turn them to it? Indeed, Fear of having a scanty Portion if
they displease you, may make them Slaves to your Estate, but they will be
never the less ill and wicked in private; and that Restraint will not last al-
ways. Every Man must some time or other be trusted to himself, and his own
Conduct; and he that is a good, a vertuous and able Man, must be made so
within. And therefore, what he is to receive from Education, what is to way
and influence his Life, must be something put into him betimes: Habits woven
into the very Principles of his Nature; and not a counterfeit Carriage, and
diffembl'd Outside, put on by Fear, only to avoid the present Anger of a
Father, who perhaps may disinherit him.

§ 43. This being laid down in general, as the Course ought to be taken.
1 Punishment must we now come to consider the Parts of the Discipline to be used, a lit-
tle more particularly. I have spoken so much of carrying a strict Hand over
Children, that perhaps I shall be suspected of not considering enough, what
is due to their tender Age and Constitutions. But that Opinion will vanish,
when you have heard me a little farther. For I am very apt to think, that
great Severity of Punishment does but very little Good; nay, great Harm in
Education: And I believe it will be found, that, ceteris paribus, those Chil-
dren who have been most chastised, seldom make the best Men. All that I
have hitherto contended for, is, That whatsoever Rigour is necessary, it is
more to be used the younger Children are, and having by a due Application
wrought its Effect, it is to be relaxed, and changed into a milder Sort of
Government.

§ 44. A Compliance, and Supplicency of their Wills, being by a steady Awe.
Hand introduced by Parents, before Children have Memories to retain the
Beginnings of it, will seem natural to them, and work afterwards in them,
as if it were so; preventing all Occasions of Struggling, or Repining. The
only Care is, That it be begun early, and indelibly kept to, till Awe and Respect
be grown familiar, and there appears not the least Reluctancy in the Sub-
mission, and ready Obedience of their Minds. When this Reverence is once
thus established, (which it must be early, or else it will cost Pains and Blows
to recover it, and more, the longer it is deferred) 'tis by it, mixed still
with as much Indulgence as they made not an ill Use of, and not by Binding,
Chiding, or other Servile Punishments, they are for the future to be governed, as
they grow up to more Understanding.

§ 45.
§ 45. That this is so, will be easily allowed, when it is but consider'd, what is to be aim'd at in an ingenious Education; and upon what it turns: 1. He that has not a Maftery over his Inclinations, he that knows not how to resist the Importunity of present Pleasure or Pain, for the sake of what Reason tells him is fit to be done, wants the true Principle of Virtue and Industry; and is in danger of never being good for anything. This Temper therefore, so contrary to unguided Nature, is to be got betimes; and this Habit, as the true Foundation of future Ability and Happiness, is to be wrought into the Mind, as early as may be, even from the first Dawnings of any Knowledge or Apprehension in Children; and so to be confirmed in them, by all the Care and Ways imaginable, by those who have the Over-sight of their Education.

§ 46. 2. On the other side, if the Mind be curbed, and humbled too much in Children; if their Spirits be abased and broken much, by too strict an Hand over them, they lose all their Vigour and Indulgy, and are in a worse State than the former. For extravagant young Fellows, that have Livelines and Spirit, come sometimes to be set right, and so make Able and Great Men: But dejected Minds, timorous and tame, and low Spirits, are hardly ever to be riled, and very seldom attain to any thing. To avoid the Danger that is on either hand, is the great Art; and he that has found a way how to keep up a Child's Spirit, easy, active and free; and yet, at the same time, to restrain him from many things he has a Mind to, and to draw him to things that are uneasy to him; he, I say, that knows how to reconcile these seeming Contradictions, has, in my Opinion, got the true Secret of Education.

§ 47. The usual lazy and short way by Chastisement, and the Rod, which is the only Instrum of Government that Tutors generally know, or ever think of, is the most unfit of any to be used in Education; because it tends to both those Mischiefs; which, as we have shewn, are the Sylla and Charybdis, which on the one hand or the other, ruin all that militancy.

§ 48. 1. This kind of Punishment contributes not at all to the Mastery of our Natural Propensity to indulge corporal and present Pleasure, and to avoid Pain at any rate; but rather encourages it; and thereby strengtheneth that in us, which is the Root from whence spring all Vicious Actions, and the Irregularities of Life. For what other Motive, but of senseful Pleasure and Pain, does a Child act by, who drudges at his Book against his Inclination or abstains from eating unwholsome Fruit, that he takes Pleasure in, only out of Fear of whipping? He in this only prefers the greater Corporal Pleasure, or avoids the greater Corporal Pain. And what is it, to govern his Actions, and direct his Conduct by such Motives as these? What is it, I say, but to cherish that Principle in him, which it is our Business to root out and destroy? And therefore I cannot think any Correction useful to a Child, where the Shame of Suffering for having done amiss, does not werk more upon him than the Pain.

§ 49. 2. This sort of Correction naturally breeds an Aversion to that which 'tis the Tutor's Business to create a liking to. How obvious is it to observe, that Children come to hate things which were at first acceptable to them, when they find themselves whipped, and chid, and teased about them? And it is not to be wondered at in them; when grown Men would not be able to be reconciled to any thing by such Ways. Who is there that would not be disgusted with any innocent Recreation, in it fell indifferent to him, if he should with Blows, or ill Language be hated to it, when he had no Mind; Or be constantly so treated, for some Circumstances in his Application to it? This is natural to be so. Offensive Circumstances ordinarily infect innocent things, which they are joynd with: And the very sight of a Cup, where-in any one uses to take noxious Physhick, turns his Stomach; so that nothing will relish well out of it, tho' the Cup be ever so clean, and well shaped, and of the richest Materials.

§ 50. 3. Such a sort of Slavish Discipline makes a Slavish Temper. The Child submits and diffembs Obedience, whilst the Fear of the Rod hangs over him; but when that is removed, and, by being out of sight, he can promise himself...
himself Impunity, he gives the greater scope to his natural Inclination; but which by this way is not at all alter'd, but on the contrary heighten'd and increased in him; and after such restraint, breaks out usually with the more Violence; or,

§ 51. 4. If Severity carried to the highest pitch does prevail, and works a Cure upon the present unruly Distemper, it is often bringing in the room of it a worse and more dangrous Difease, by breaking the Mind; and then in the place of a disorderly young Fellow, you have a low-spirited mean'd Creature: Who, however with his unnatural Sobriety he may please silly People, who commend tame unactive Children because they make no noise, nor give them any trouble; yet, at laft, will probably prove as uncomfortable a thing to his Friends, as he will be, all his Life, an useless thing to himself, and others.

§ 52. Beating them, and all other sorts of slavish and corporal Punishments, are not the Discipline fit to be used in the Education of those we would have wise, good, and ingenuous Men; and therefore very rarely to be applied, and that only in great Occasions, and cafes of Extremity. On the other side, to flatter Children by Rewards of things, that are pleafant to them, is as carefully to be avoided. He that will give to his Son Apples, or Sugar-plumbs, or what efl! of this kind he is most delighted with; to make him learn his Book, does but authorize his Love of Pleasure, and cocker up that dangerous Propensity, which he ought by all means to subdue and stifle in him. You can never hope to teach him to master it, whilft you compound for the check you give his Inclination in one place, by the satisfaction you propofe to it in another. To make a good, a wise, and a virtuous Man, 'tis fit he should learn to crofs his Appetite, and deny his Inclinations to Riches, Honours, or pleasing his Palates, &c. whenever his Reason advices the contrary, and his Duty requires it. But when you draw him to do any thing that is fit, by the offer of Money; or reward the pains of learning his Book, by the pleasure of a lucrative Merit; When you promise him a Lace-Cravat, or a fome new Suit, upon performance of some of his little tasks; what do you, by proposing thefe as Rewards, but allow them to be the good things he shou'd aim at, and thereby encourage his longing for them, and accustom him to place his happiness in them? Thus People, to prevail with Children to be industrious about their Grammar, Dancing, or some other such matter, of no great moment to the happiness or usefulness of their Lives, by mis-applied Rewards and Punishments sacrifice their Virtue, invert the Order of their Education, and teach them Luxury, Pride, or Covetousness, &c. For in this way, flattering those wrong Inclinations, which they shou'd restrain and suppress, they lay the Foundations of those future Vices, which cannot be avoided, but by curbing our Desires, and accustoming them early to submit to Reason.

§ 53. I say not this, that I would have Children kept from the Conveniences or Pleasures of Life, that are not injurious to their Health or Virtue: On the contrary, I would have their Lives made as pleasant, and as agreeable to them as may be, in a plentiful enjoyment of whatsoever might innocently delight them: Provided it be with this Caution, that they have thefe Enjoyments, only as the Consequences of the state of Esteem and Acceptation they are in with their Parents and Governors; but they shou'd never be offered or bestowed on them, as the Rewards of this or that particular Performance that they shew an aversion to, or to which they would not have applied themselves without that temptation.

§ 54. But if you take away the Rod on one hand, and these little Encouragements, which they are taken with, on the other: How then (will you say) shall Children be govern'd? Remove Hope and Fear, and there is an end of all Discipline. I grant, that Good and Evil, Reward and Punishment, are the only Motives to a rational Creature; these are the Spur and Reins, whereby all Mankind are set on work, and guided, and therefore they are to be made use of to Children too. For I advife their Parents and Governors always to carry this in their Minds, that Children are to be treated as rational Creatures.
§ 55. Rewards, I grant, and Punishments must be proposed to Children, if we intend to work upon them. The Mistake, I imagine, is, that those that are generally made use of, are ill chosen. The Pains and Pleasures of the Body are, I think, of ill consequence, when made the Rewards and Punishments, whereby Men would prevail on their Children: For, as I said before, they serve but to encrease and strengthen those Inclinations which 'tis our Business to subdue and master. What Principle of Virtue do you lay in a Child, if you will redeem his Desires of one Pleasure, by the proposal of another? This is but to enlarge his Appetite, and instruct it to wander. If a Child cries for an unwholesome and dangerous Fruit, you purchase his quiet by giving him a lefs hurtful Sweet-meat. This perhaps may preserve his Health, but spoils his Mind, and sets that farther out of order. For here you only change the Object; but rather fill his Appetite, and allow that must be satisfied, wherein, as I have shewed, lies the root of the Mischief: And till you bring him to be able to bear a Denial of that Satisfaction, the Child may at present be quiet and orderly, but the Diseafe is not cured. By this way of proceeding you foment and cherish in him, that which is the Spring from whence all the Evil flows, which will be sure on the next occasion to break out again with more Violence, give him stronger Longings, and you more Trouble.

§ 56. The Rewards and Punishments then, whereby we should keep Children in order, are quite of another kind; and of that force, that when we can get them once to work, the Busines, I think, is done, and the difficulty is over. Esteem and Disgrace are, of all others, the most powerful Incentives to the Mind, when once it is brought to relish them. If you can once get into Children a Love of Credit, and an Apprehension of Shame and Disgrace, you have put into them the true Principle, which will constantly work, and incline them to the right. But it will be asked, How shall this be done? I confess, it does not at first appearance want some difficulty; but yet I think it worth our while to seek the ways (and practice them when found) to attain this, which I look on as the great Secret of Education.

§ 57. First, Children (earlier perhaps than we think) are very sensible of Praise and Commendation. They find a Pleasure in being esteem’d, and valued, especially by their Parents, and those whom they depend on. If therefore the Father cares and commend them, when they do well; shews a cold and neglectful Countenance to them upon doing ill; and this accompanied by a like Carriage of the Mother, and all others that are about them, it will in a little time make them sensible of the difference; and this, if constantly observed, I doubt not but will of it itself work more than Threats or Blows, which lose their force, when once grown common, and are of no use when Shame does not attend them; and therefore are to be forborn, and never to be used, but in the Case hereafter mentioned, when it is brought to extremity.

§ 58. But Secondly, To make the Sense of Esteem or Disgrace sink the deeper, and be of the more weight, other agreeable or disagreeable things should constantly accompany these different States; not as particular Rewards and Punishments of this or that particular Action, but as necessarily belonging to, and constantly attending one, who by his Carriage has brought himself into a State of Disgrace or Commendation. By which way of treating them, Children may as much as possible be brought to conceive, that those that are commended and in esteem for doing well, will necessarily be belov’d and cherished by every Body, and have all other good things as a Consequence of it; and on the other side, when any one by Mis-carriage, falls into dif-esteem, and cares not to preserve his Credit, he will unavoidably fall under Neglect and Contempt; and in that State the Want of what ever might satisfy or delight him, will follow. In this way the Objects of their Desires are made afflicting to Virtue; when a settled experience from the beginning teaches Children, that the Things they delight in, belong to, and are to be enjoy’d by those only, who are in a State of Reputation. If by these Means you can come once to humble them out of their Faults, (for besides that, I would willingly have no Punishment) and make them...
them in love with the Pleasure of being well thought on, you may turn them as you please, and they will be in love with all the ways of Virtue.
§ 59. The great difficulty here, is, I imagine, from the Folly and Per-
veriends of Servants, who are hardly to be hinder’d from crosting herein the
design of the Father and Mother. Children, discountenanced by their Pa-
rents for any Fault, find usuall a Refuge and Relief in the Careless of those-
folk with Flatterers, who thereby undo whatever the Parents endeavour to es-
ablish. When the Father or Mother looks fowre on the Child, every Body
else should put on the same coldness to him, and no body give him Count-
nance, till Forgiveness ask’d, and a Reformation of his Fault, has set him
right again, and referr’d him to his former Credit. If these were constantl
obliv’d, I guess there would be little need of Blows, or Chiding: Their own safe and satisfaction would quickly teach Children to court Commendation,
and avoid doing that which they found every Body condemn’d, and they
were sure to suffer for, without being chid or beaten. This would teach
them Modesty and Shame; and they would quickly come to have a natural
abhorrence for that, they found made them flighted and neglected by
every body. But how this Inconvenience from Servants is to be remedied,
I must leave to Parents Care and Consideration. Only I think it of great
importance; and that they are very happy, who can get discreet People
about their Children.
§ 60. Frequent Beating or Chiding is therefore carefully to be avoided. Be-
cause this sort of Correction never produces any Good, farther than it serves
to raise Shame and Abhorrence of the Miscarriage that brought it on them.
And if the greatest part of the Trouble be not the Sense that they have done
amiss, and the Apprehension that they have drawn on themselves the full Dis-
pleasure of their best Friends, the pain of Whipping will work but an im-
perfect Cure. It only patches up for the present, and skims it over, but
reaches not to the bottom of the Sore. Ingenious Shame, and the Appre-
hensions of Displeasure, are the only true restraint: These alone ought to hold
the Reins, and keep the Child in order. But corporal Punishments must nec-
cessarily lose that effect, and wear out the Sense of Shame, where they fre-
quently return. Shame in Children has the same place that Modesty has in
Women; which cannot be kept, and often transgressed against. And as to the
Apprehension of Displeasure in the Parents, that will come to be very insignif-
ican, if the Marks of that Displeasure quickly cease, and a few Blows fully
expire. Parents should well consider, what Faults in their Children are
weighty enough to deserve the Declaration of their Anger: But when their
Displeasure is once declared to a degree that carries any Punishment with it,
they ought not prefently to lay by the Severity of their Brows, but to refor-
their Children to their former Grace with some difficulty; and delay a full
Reconciliation, till their Conformity, and more than ordinary Merit, make
good their Amendment. If this be not so order’d, Punishment will by Famili-
arity become a mere thing of Course, and lose all its influence; Offending,
being chastid, and then forgiven, will be thought as natural and necessary
as Noon, Night, and Morning following one another.
§ 61. Concerning Reputation; I shall only remark this one Thing more of it; That, though it be not the true Principle and Measure of Virtue, (for
that is the Knowledge of a Man’s Duty; and the Satisfaction it is to obey his
Makers, in following the Dictates of that Light God has given him, with
the Hopes of Acceptation and Reward) yet it is that which comes nearest
to it: And being the Testimony and Applause that other People’s Reason,
as it were by a common Consent, gives to virtuous and well-order’d Actions;
it is the proper Guide and Encouragement of Children, till they grow able to
judge for themselves, and to find what is right by their own Reason.
§ 62. This Consideration may direct Parents, how to manage themselves in reproving and commending their Children. The Rebukes and Chiding,
which their Faults will sometimes make hardly to be avoided, should not only
be in sober, grave and unpassionate Words, but also alone and in private;
But the Commendations Children receive, they should receiv before others.
This doubles the Reward, by spreading their Praife; but the Backwardness
Parents
Parents, if they indulge in divulging their faults, will make them not be given a greater value on their credit themselves, and teach them to be the more careful to preserve the good opinion of others, whilst they think they have it: But when, being exposed to shame, by publishing their miscarriages, they give it up for lost, that check upon them is taken off; And they will be the less careful to preserve others good thoughts of them, the more they suspect that their reputation with them is already blazoned.

§ 63. But if a right course be taken with children, there will not be so much need of the application of the common rewards and punishments, as we imagine, and as the general practice has established. For all their innocent folly, playing, and childlike actions, are to be left perfectly free and unrestrained, as far as they can conduce with the respect due to those that are present; and that with the greatest allowance. If these faults of their age, rather than of the children themselves, were, as they should be, left only to time and imitation, and riper years to cure, children would escape a great deal of misapplied and useless correction; which either fails to overpower the natural disposition of their childhood, and so, by an ineffectual familiarity, makes correction in other necessary cafes of lese ufes; or else, if it be of force to restrain the natural gaiety of that age, it serves only to spoil the temper both of body and mind. If the noise or buffle of their play prove at any time inconvenient, or unsuitable to the place or company they are in (which can only be where their parents are) a look or a word from the father or mother, if they have established the authority they should, will be enough either to remove, or quiet them for that time. But this game-like humour, which is wisely adapted by nature to their age and temperament, should rather be encouraged, to keep up their spirits, and improve their strength and health, than curbed or restrained: And the chief art is to make all that they have to do, sport and play too.

§ 64. And here give me leave to take notice of one thing I think a fault in the ordinary method of education; and that is, the charging of children with memories, upon all occasions, with rules and precepts, which they often do not understand, and constantly as soon forget as given. If it be some action you would have done, or done otherwise; whenever they forget, or do it awkwardly, make them do it over and over again, till they are perfect: whereby you will get these two advantages: First, To see whether it be an action they can do, or is fit to be expected of them. For sometimes children are bid to do things, which, upon trial, they are found not able to do; and had need be taught and exercised in, before they are required to do them. But it is much easier for a tutor to command, than to teach. Secondly, Another thing got by it will be this; That by repeating the same action, till it be grown habitual in them, the performance will not depend on memory, or reflection, the concomitant of prudence and age, and not of childhood; but will be natural in them. Thus bowing to a gentleman when he salutes him, and looking in his face when he speaks to him, is by constant use as natural to a well-bred man, as breathing; it requires no thought, no reflection. Having this way cured in your child any fault, it is cured for ever: And thus one by one you may weed them out all, and plant what habits you please.

§ 65. I have seen parents so heap rules on their children, that it was impossible for the poor little ones to remember a tenth part of them, much less to observe them. However, they were either by words or blows corrected for the breach of those multiplied and often very impertinent precepts. Whence it naturally followed, that the children minded not what was said to them; when it was evident to them, that no attention, they were capable of, was sufficient to preserve them from transgressions, and the rebukes which followed it.

Let therefore your rules to your son, be as few as is possible, and rather fewer than more than seem absolutely necessary. If for you burden him with many rules, one of these two things must necessarily follow; that either he must be very often punished, which will be of ill consequence, by making punishment too frequent and familiar; or else you must let the transgressions
Transgressions of some of your Rules go unpunish'd, whereby they will of Rules, course grow contemptible, and your Authority become cheap to him. Make but few Laws, for they be well observed, when once made. Few Years require but few Laws, and as his Age increases, when one Rule is by Practice well establisht, you may add another.

§. 66. But pray remember, Children are not to be taught by Rules, which will be always slipping out of their Memories. What you think necessary for them to do, settle in them by an indispensible Practice, as often as the Occasion returns; and if it be possible make Occasions. This will beget Habits in them, which being once establisht, operate of themselves easily and naturally, without the assistance of the Memory. But here let me give two Cautions.

1. The one is, That you keep them to the Practice of what you would have grow into a Habit in them, by kind Words, and gentle Admonitions, rather as minding them of what they forget, than by harsh Rebukes and Chiding, as if they were willfully guilty. zids, Another thing you are to take care of, is, not to endeavour to settle too many Habits at once, left by variety you confound them, and so perfect none. When constant Custom has made any one thing easy and natural to them, and they practice it without Reflection, you may then go on to another.

This Method of teaching Children by a repeated Practice, and the same Action done over and over again, under the Eye and Direction of the Tutor, till they have got the Habit of doing it well, and not by relying on Rules trusted to their Memories, has so many Advantages, which way sooner we consider it, that I cannot but wonder if ill Customs could be wonder'd at in any thing) how it could possibly be so much neglected. I shall name one more that comes now in my way. By this Method we shall see, whether what is requir'd of him be adapted to his Capacity, and any way suited to the Child's natural Genius and Constitution: For that too must be consider'd in a right Education. We must not hope wholly to change their Original Tempers, nor make the Gay Pensive and Grave, nor the Melancholy Sportive, without spoiling them. God has stamp'd certain Characters upon Mens Minds, which, like their Shapes, may perhaps be a little mended; but can hardly be totally alter'd, and transform'd into the contrary.

He therefore, that is about Children, should well study their Natures and Aptitudes, and see by often Tryals, what turn they easily take, and what becomes them; observe what their Native Stock is, how it may be improved, and what it is fit for: He should consider what they want, whether they be capable of having it wrought into them by Industry, and incorporated there by Practice; and whether it be worth while to endeavour it. For in many Cafes, all that we can do, or should aim at, is to make the best of what Nature has given, to prevent the Vices and Faults to which such a Constitution is most inclined, and give it all the Advantages it is capable of. Every one's Natural Genius should be carried as far as it could, but to attempt the putting another upon him, will be but Labour in vain; and what is so Pfalif'd on, will at best sit but untowardly, and have always hanging to it the Ungracefulness of Contraint and Affection.

Affection is not, I confes, an early Fault of Childhood, or the Product of untutored Nature; it is of that fort of Weeds, which grow not in the wild uncultivated Vales, but in Garden-Plots, under the negligent Hand, or unskilful Care of a Gardiner. Management and Instrucion, and some Sense of the Necessity of Breeding, are requisite to make any one capable of Affection, which endeavours to correct Natural Defects, and has always the Laudable Aim of Pleasing, though it always mislès it; and the more it labours to put on Gracefulness, the farther it is from it. For this Reason it is the more carefully to be watched, because it is the proper Fault of Education; a pervert't Education indeed, but such as young People often fall into, either by their own Mistake, or the ill Conduct of those about them.

He that will examine wherein that Gracefulness lies, which always please, will find it arises from that Natural Coherence, which appears between the thing done, and such a Temper of Mind, as cannot but be approved.
Of Education.

Affection of as suitable to the Occasion. We cannot but be pleased with an Humane, Friendly, Civil Temper, where-ever we meet with it. A Mind free, and Master of itself and all its Actions, not low and narrow, not haughty and insolent, not blemish’d with any great Defect, is what every one is taken with. The Actions, which naturally flow from such a well-form’d Mind, please us also, as the genuine Marks of it; and being as it were natural Emanations from the Spirit and Disposition within, cannot but be easy and unconstrain’d. This seems to me to be that Beauty, which shines through some Mens Actions, sets off all that they do, and takes all they come near; when by a constant Practice, they have fashion’d their Carriage, and made all those little Expressions of Civility and Respect, which Nature or Custom has established in Conversation so easy to themselves, that they seem not Artificial or Studied, but naturally to follow from a Sweetness of Mind, and a well-turn’d Disposition.

On the other side, Affection is an awkward and forced Imitation of what should be genuine and easy, wanting the Beauty that accompanies what is Natural; because there is always a Disagreement between the outward Action, and the Mind within, one of these two ways: 1. Either when a Man would outwardly put on a Disposition of Mind, which then he really has not, but endeavours by a forced Carriage to make show of; yet so, that the Constraint he is under, discovers it felt: And thus Men affect sometimes to appear Sad, Merry, or Kind, when, in Truth, they are not so.

2. The other is, when they do not endeavour to make show of Dispositions of Mind, which they have not, but to express those they have, by a Carriage not suited to them: And such in Conversation are all constrain’d Motions, Actions, Words, or Looks, which, though designed to such either their Respect or Civility to the Company, or their Satisfaction and Ease in it, are not yet Natural nor Genuine Marks of the one or the other; but rather of some Defect or Mistake within. Imitation of others, without differing what is Graceful in them, or what is peculiar to their Characters, often makes a great part of this. But Affection of all kinds, whenever it proceeds, is always Offensive: Because we naturally hate whatever is Counterfeit; and condemn those, who have nothing better to recommend themselves by.

Plain and rough Nature left to it self, is much better than an Artificial Ungracefulness, and such studied Ways of being ill fashion’d. The want of an Accomplishment, or some Defect in our Behaviour, coming short of the utmost Gracefulness, often escapes Observation and Confuse. But Affection in any part of our Carriage, is lighting up a Candle to our Defects; and never fails to make us be taken notice of, either as wanting Sense, or wanting Simplicity. This Governours ought the more diligently to look after; because, as I above observ’d, ’tis an acquired Ugliness, owing to Mistaken Education, few being Guilty of it, but those who pretend to Breeding, and would not be thought Ignorant of what is fashionable and becoming in Conversation: And, if I mistake not, it has often its rise from the lazy Admonitions of those who give Rules, and propose Examples, without joining Practice with their Instructions, and making their Pupils repeat the Action in their Sight, that they may Correct what is indecent or constrain’d in it, till it be perfected into an habitual and becoming Easefulness.

Manners. § 67. Manners, as they call it, about which Children are so often perplex’d, and have so many goodly Exhortations made them, by their wife Maids and Governesses, I think, are rather to be learn’d by Example than Rules; and then Children, if kept out of ill Company, will take a pride to behave themselves prettily, after the fashion of others, perceiving themselves esteemed and commended for it. But if, by a little Negligence in this part, the Boy should not put off his Hat, nor make Leg’s very gracefully, a Dancing-master will cure that Defect, and wipe off all that Plainness of Nature, which the A-la-mode People call Clownishness. And since nothing appears to me to give Children so much becoming Confidence and Behaviour, and so to raise them to the Conversation of those above their Age, as Dancing; I think they should be taught to Dance, as soon as they are capable of learning it. For, though this consist only in outward gracefulness of Motion, yet, I know
know not how, it gives Children many Thoughts, and Carriage more than Manners.

Never trouble your self about those Faults in them, which you know Age will cure. And therefore want of well-fashion’d Civility in the Carriage, whilst Gravity is not wanting in the Mind (for there you must take care to plant it early) should be the Parents leaft care, whilst they are young. If his tender Mind be fill’d with a Veneration for his Parents and Teachers, which confines in Love and Esteem, and a Fear to offend them; and with Respect and good Will to all People; that Respect will of it self teach those ways of expressing it, which he observes most acceptable. Be sure to keep up in him the Principles of good Nature and Kindness; make them as habitual as you can, by Credit and Commendation, and the good Things accompanying that State: And when they have taken root in his Mind, and are settled there by a continued Practice, fear not, the Ornaments of Conversation, and the Out-aside of fashionable Manners, will come in their due time; If when they are remov’d out of their Maid’s Care, they are put into the Hands of a well-bred Man to be their Governour.

Whilst they are very young, any Carelessness is to be born with in Children, that carries not with it the Marks of Pride or ill Nature: But those when ever they appear in any Action, are to be corrected immediately by the Ways above mentioned. What I have said concerning Manners, I would not have fo underfooted, as if I meant that tho’se, who have the Judgment to do it, should not gently fashion the Motions, and Carriage of Children, when they are very young. It would be of great Advantage, if they had People about them, from their being first able to go, that had the Skill, and would take the right way to do it. That which I complain of, is the wrong Course; that is usually taken in this Matter. Children who were never taught any such thing as Behaviour, are often (especially when Strangers are present) chid for having some way or other failed in good Manners, and have thereupon Reproofs and Precepts heaped upon them, concerning putting off their Hats, or making of Legs, &c. Though in this tho’se concern’d pretend to correct the Child, yet in truth, for the most part, it is but to cover their own Shame: And they lay the Blame on the poor little Ones, sometimes passionately enough, to divert it from themselves, for fear the By-fanders should impute to their want of Care and Skill the Child’s ill Behaviour.

For, as for the Children themselves, they are never one jot better’d by such occasional Lectures: They at other times shou’d be thrown what to do, and by reiterated Actions, be fashioned before-hand into the Practice of what is fit and becoming; and not told, and talk’d to do upon the Spot, of what they have never been accustom’d, nor know how to do as they shou’d: To have and rate them thus at every turn, is not to teach them, but to vex, and torment them to no purpose. They shou’d be let alone, rather than Chid for a Fault, which is none of their’s, nor is in their Power to mend for speaking to. And it were much letter their natural childish Negligence or Plainness shou’d be left to the Care of riper years, than that they shou’d frequently have Rebukes misplaced upon them, which neither do, nor can, give them graceful Motions. If their Minds are well disposed, and principled with inward Civility, a great part of the Roughness, which sticks to the outside for want of better Teaching, Time and Observation will rub off, as they grow up, if they are bred in good Company; but if in ill, all the Rules in the World, all the Correction imaginable, will not be able to polish them. For you must take this for a certain Truth, that let them have what Instructions you will, and ever fo learned Lectures of Breeding daily inculcated into them, that which will most influence their Carriage, will be the Company they converse with, and the fashion of those about them. Children (nay, and Men too) do most by Example. We are all a fort of Camelions, that still take a Tincture from things near us: Nor is it to be wonder’d at in Children, who better understand what they see, than what they hear.

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$§$. 68. I mention’d above, one great Mischief that came by Servants to Children, when by their Flatteries they take off the edge and force of the Parents’ Reukes, and so lessen their Authority. And here is another great inconvenience which Children receive from the ill Examples which they meet with amongst the meaner Servants.

They are wholly, if possible, to be kept from such Conversation: For the Contagion of these ill Precedents, both in Civility and Virtue, horribly infects Children, as often as they come within reach of it. They frequently learn from unbridled or debauched Servants such Language, unwarrantly Tricks and Vices, as otherwise they possibly would be ignorant of all their Lives.

$§$. 69. ’Tis a hard matter wholly to prevent this Mischief. You will have very good luck, if you never have a Clownish or Vicious Servant, and if from them your Children never get any Infection. But yet so much must be done towards it, as can be; and the Children kept as much as may be $†$ in the Company of their Parents, and those to whom Care they are committed. To this purpose, their being in their presence should be made ease to them: They should be allowed the Liberties and Freedom suitable to their Ages, and not be held under unnecessary Restraints, when in their Parent’s or Governor’s sight. If it be a Prison to them, ’tis no wonder they should not like it. They must not be hinder’d from being Children, or from playing, or doing as Children, but from doing ill. All other Liberty is to be allowed them. Next, to make them in love with the Company of their Parents, they should receive all their good things there, and from their hands. The Servants should be hinder’d from making court to them, by giving them strong Drink, Wine, Fruit, Play-things, and other such matters, which may make them in love with their Conversation.

$§$. 70. Having named Company, I am almost ready to throw away my Pen, and trouble you no farther on this Subject. For since that does more than all Precepts, Rules, and Instructions, methinks ’tis almost wholly in vain to make a long Discourse of other things, and to talk of that almost to no purpose. For you will be ready to say, What shall I do with my Son? If I keep him always at Home, he will be in danger to be my young Master; and if I send him abroad, how is it possible to keep him from the contagion of Rudenesfs and Vice, which is everywhere so in fashion? In my House, he will perhaps be more innocent, but more ignorant too of the World: Wanting there change of Company, and being used constantly to the same Faces, he will, when he comes abroad, be a sycophant or conceited Creature.

I confess, both sides have their Inconveniences. Being abroad, ’tis true, will make him bolder, and better able to bufle and thift amongt Boys of his own age; and the Emulation of School-fellows often puts Life and Industry into young Lads. But till you can find a School, wherein it is possible for the Master to look after the Manners of his Scholars, and can shew as great Effects of his Care of forming their Minds to Virtue, and their Carriage to good Breeding, as of forming their Tongues to the learned Languages; you must confess, that you have a strange value for Words, when preferring the Languages of the ancient Greeks and Romans, to that which made them such brave Men, you think it worth while, to hazard your Son’s Innocence and Virtue, for a little Greek and Latin. For, as for that Boldness and Spirit which Lads get amongst their Play-fellows at School, it has ordinarily such a mixture of Rudenesfs, and an ill-turn’d Confidence, that those mis-becoming and dif-ingenious ways of shifting in the World, must be unlearn’d, and all the Tinckture wath’d out again, to make way for better Principles, and such Manners as make a truly worthy Man. He that considers how diametrically opposite the Skill of living well, and managing, as a Man should do, his Affairs in the World, is to that mal-pertnefs, tricking, or violence learnt amongst School-Boys, will think the Faults of a private Education infinitely to be prefer’d to such Improvements; and will take care to preferve his Child’s Innocence and Modesty at Home, as being nearer
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nearer of Kin, and more in the way of those qualities which make an useful and able Man. Nor does any one find, or so much as suspect, that that Retirement and Bashfulness, which their Daughters are brought up in, makes them less knowing or less able Women. Conversation, when they come into the World, soon gives them a becoming Assurance; and whatsoever, beyond that, there is of rough and boisterous, may in Men be very well spared too: For Courage and Steadiness, as I take it, lie not in Roughness and ill Breeding.

Vertue is harder to be got, than a Knowledge of the World; and if lost in a young Man, is seldom recovered. Sheepishnes and Ignorance of the World, the Faults imputed to a private Education, are neither the necessary Consequences of being bred at Home, nor if they were, are they incurable Evils. Vice is the more stubborn, as well as the more dangerous Evil of the two; and therefore, in the first place, to be fenced against. If that sheepish softness, which often enervates those who are bred like Fondlings at Home, be carefully to be avoided, it is principally so for Vertue's sake: For fear lest such a yielding temper should be too susceptible of vicious Impressions, and expose the Novice too easily to be corrupted. A young Man, before he leaves the shelter of his Father's House, and the Guard of a Tutor, should be fortified with Resolution, and made acquainted with Men, to secure his Vertues; not to be led into some ruinous course, or fatal precipice, before he is sufficiently acquainted with the Dangers of Conversation, and has Steadies enough not to yield to every Temptation. Were it not for this, a young Man's Bashfulness, and Ignorance in the World, would not so much need an early Care. Conversation would cure it in a great measure; or if that will not do it early enough, is it only a stronger reason for a good Tutor at Home. For if pains be to be taken to give him a manly air and assurance betimes, it is chiefly as a fence to his Vertue when he goes into the World under his own Conduct.

It is prepossessor therefore to sacrifice his Innocency to the attaining of Confidence, and some little Skill of buffeting for himself among others, by his Conversation with ill-bred and vicious Boys; when the chief ufe of that flurdiness, and standing upon his own Legs, is only for the preservation of his Vertue. For if Confidence or Cunning come once to mix with Vice, and support his Miscarriages, he is only the surer lost: And you must undo again, and strip him of that he has got from his Companions, or give him up to Ruin. Boys will unavoidably be taught assurance by Conversation with Men, when they are brought into it; and that is time enough. Modesty and Submission till then, better fits them for Instruction: And therefore there needs not any great Care to flock them with Confidence beforehand. That which requires most time, pains, and affluence, is to work into them the Principles and Practice of Vertue, and good Breeding. This is the Seasoning they should be prepar'd with, so as not easily to be got out again. This they had need to be well provided with. For Conversation, when they come into the World, will add to their knowledge and assurance, but be too apt to take from their Vertue; which therefore they ought to be plentifully fortified with, and have that tincture funk deep into them.

How they should be fitted for Conversation, and entered into the World, when they are ripe for it, we shall consider in another place. But how any one's being put into a mixed Herd of unruly Boys, and there learning to wrangle at Trap, or rook at Span-farthing, fits him for civil Conversation, or Buxiness, I do not see. And what Qualities are ordinarily to be got from such a Troop of Play-fellows as Schools usually assemble together from Parents of all kinds, that a Father should so much covet it, is hard to divine. I am sure, he who is able to be at the charge of a Tutor at home, may there give his Son a more genteel Carriage, more manly Thoughts, and a Sense of what is worthy and becoming, with a greater Proficiency in Learning into the Bargain, and ripen him up sooner into a Man, than any at School can do. Not that I blame the School-Master in this, or think it to be laid to his charge. The difference is great between two or three Pupils in the same House, and three or fourscore Boys lodg'd up and down. For let the Vol. III. H Master's
Company. Master's Industry and Skill be ever so great, it is impossible he should have 50 or 100 Scholars under his Eye, any longer than they are in the School together: Nor can it be expected, that he should instruct them Successfully in any thing but their Books; the forming of their Minds and Manners requiring a constant Attention, and particular Application to every single Boy, which is impossible in a numerous Flock; and would be wholly in vain (could he have time to Study and Correct every one's particular Defects, and wrong Inclinations) when the Lad was to be left to himself, or the prevailing Infection of his Fellows, the greatest part of the four and twenty Hours.

But Fathers, observing that Fortune is often most successfully courted by bold and bullying Men, are glad to fee their Sons pert and forward betimes; take it for an happy Omen that they will be thriving Men, and look on the Tricks they play their School-fellows, or learn from them, as a Proficiency in the Art of Living, and making their way through the World. But I must take the liberty to say, that he that lays the Foundation of his Son's Fortune in Vertue, and good Breeding, takes the only sure and warrantable way. And 'tis not the Waggeries or Cheats practised among School-boys, 'tis not their Roughnesses one to another, nor the well-laid Plots of Robbing an Orchard together, that makes an able Man; but the Principles of Justice, Generosity and Sobriety, joynd with Observance and Industry, Qualities, which I judge School-boys do not learn much of one another. And if a Young Gentleman, bred at home, be not taught more of them than he could learn at School, his Father has made a very ill choice of a Tutour. Take a Boy from the top of a Grammar-School, and one of the same Age, bred as he should be in his Father's Family, and bring them into good Company together, and then see which of the two will have the more manly Carriage, and address himself with the more becoming Affurance to Strangers. Here I imagine the School-boy's Confidence will either fail or discredit him: And, if it be such as fits him only for the Conversation of Boys, he had better be without it.

Vice, Vice, if we may believe the general Complaint, ripens so fast now-a-days, and runs up to Seed so early in young People, that it is impossible to keep a Lad from the spreading Contagion, if you will venture him abroad in the Herd, and trust to Chance or his own Inclination for the choice of his Company at School. By what Fate Vice has so thriven amongst us these Years past; and by what Hands it has been nurs'd up into so unconstroul'd a Dominion, I shall leave to others to enquire. I wish, that tho' the Complaint of the great Decay of Christian Piety and Vertue everywhere, and of Learning and acquired Improvements in the Gentry of this Generation, would know how to retrieve them in the next. This I am sure, That if the Foundation of it be not laid in the Education and Principle of the Youth, all other Endeavours will be in vain. And if the Innocence, Sobriety, and Industry, of those who are coming up, be not taken care of and preferred, 'twill be ridiculous to expect, that those who are to succeed next on the Stage, should abound in that Vertue, Ability, and Learning, which has hitherto made England confederable in the World. I was going to add Courage too, though it has been look'd on as the natural Inheritance of Englishmen. What has been talked of some late Actions at Sea, of a Kind unknown to our Ancestors, gives me occasion to say, that Debauchery sinks the Courage of Men: And when Dillufuteness has eaten out the Senfe of true Honour, Bravery seldom stays long after it. And I think it impossible to find an infatnce of any Nation, however renowned for their Valour, who ever kept their Credit in Arms, or made themselves redoubtable amongst their Neighbours, after Corruption had once broke through, and diffus'd the restraint of Discipline; and Vice was grown to such an head, that it durst fliew it self barefaced, without being out of Countenance.

'Tis Vertue then, direct Vertue, which is the hard and valuable part to be aimed at in Education; and not a forward Pertness, or any little Arts of Shifting. All other Considerations and Accomplishments should give way and be postponed to this. This is the solid and substantial good, which Tu-tours should not only read Lectures, and talk of; but the Labour, and Art of Educa-
Education should furnish the Mind with, and fasten there, and never cease till the young Man had a true Relish of it, and placed his Strength, his Glory and his Pleasure in it.

The more this advances, the easier way will be made for other Accomplishments in their turns. For he that is brought to submit to Vertue, will not be refractory, or refly, in any thing that becomes him. And therefore I cannot but prefer Breeding of a young Gentleman at Home in his Father’s sight, under a good Governour, as much the better and safer way to this great and main End of Education; when it can be had, and is order’d as it should be. Gentlemens Houles are seldom without Variety of Company: They should use their Sons to all the Strange Faces that come there, and engage them in Conversation with Men of Parts and Breeding, as soon as they are capable of it. And why those who live in the Country should not take them with them, when they make Visits of Civility to their Neighbours, I know not: This I am sure, a Father that breeds his Son at home, has the Opportunity to have him more in his own Company, and there give him what Encouragement he thinks fit; and can keep him better from the Taint of Servants, and the meaner sort of People, than is possible to be done Abroad. But what shall be resolv’d in the Cafe, must in great measure be left to the Parents, to be determin’d by their Circumstances and Conveniences. Only I think it the want of good Husbandry, for a Father not to strain himself a little for his Son’s Breeding; which, let his Condition be what it will, is the best Portions he can leave him. But if, after all, it shall be thought by some, that the Breeding at Home has too little Company; and that at ordinary Schools, not such as it should be, for a young Gentleman; I think there might be ways found out to avoid the Inconveniences on the one side, and the other.

§. 71. Having under Consideration how great the Influence of Company is, and how prone we are all, especially Children, to Imitation; I must here take the liberty to mind Parents of this one Thing, viz. That he that will have his Son have a Respect for him, and his Orders, must himself have a great Reverence for his Son, Maximus debetur puellis reverentia. You must do nothing before him, which you would not have him imitate. If any thing escape you, which you would have pass for a Fault in him, he will be sure to shelter himself under your Example, and shelter himself so, as that it will not be easy to come at him to correct it in him the right way. If you punish him for what he sees you præfice your self, he will not think that Severity to proceed from Kindness in you, careful to amend a Fault in him; but will be apt to interpret it, the Peculiars, and Arbitrary Imperiousness of a Father, who, without any ground for it, would deny his Son the Liberty and Pleasures he takes himself. Or if you assume to your self the liberty you have taken, as a Privilege belonging to ripen Years, to which a Child must not aspire, you do but add new force to your Example, and recommend the Action the more powerfully to him. For you must always remember, that Children affect to be Men earlier than is thought; And they love Breeches, not for their Cut, or Ease, but because the having them is a Mark or a Step towards Manhood. What I say of the Father’s Carriage before his Children, must extend it self to all those who have any Authority over them, or for whom he would have them have any Respect.

§. 72. But to return to the Business of Rewards and Punishments. All the Punishments of Childishness, and unashamed Carriage, and whatever Time ment, and Age will of it self be sure to reform, being (as I have said) exempt from the Discipline of the Rod, there will not be so much need of beating Children, as is generally made use of. To which if we add Learning to Read, Write, Dance, Foreign Language, &c. as under the same Privilege, there will be but very rarely any occasion for Blows or Force in an ingenuous Education. The right way to teach them those Things, is, to give them a Liking and Inclination to what you propone to them to be learnt, and that will engage their Industry and Application. This I think no hard matter to do, if Children be handled as they should be, and the Rewards and Punishments above-mention’d be carefully applied, and with them these few Rules observ’d in the Method of Instructing them.

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Tab. § 73. 1. None of the Things they are to learn should ever be made a Burthen to them, or imposed on them as a Task. Whatever is so proposed presently becomes irksome: The Mind takes an Aversion to it, though before it were a thing of Delight or Indifference. Let a Child be but ordered to whip his Top at a certain Time every day, whether he has, or has not a mind to it; let this be but required of him as a Duty, wherein he must spend so many Hours Morning and Afternoon, and fee whether he will not soon be weary of any Play at this rate. Is it not so with grown Men? What they do cheerfully of themselves, do they not presently grow sick of, and can no more endure, as soon as they find it is expected of them as a Duty? Children have as much a mind to shew that they are free, that their own good Actions come from themselves, that they are absolute and independent, as any of the proudest of you grown Men, think of them as you please.

Disposition. § 74. 2. As a Consequence of this, they should seldom be put about doing even those Things you have got an Inclination in them to, but when they have a Mind and Disposition to it. He that loves Reading, Writing, Music, &c. finds yet in himself certain Seasons wherein those Things have no reliish to him: And, if at that time he forces himself to it, he only patters and wastes himself to no purpose. So it is with Children. This Change of Temper should be carefully observed in them, and the favourite Seasons of Aisitude and Inclination be heedfully laid hold of: And if they are not often enough forward of themselves, a good Disposition should be talk’d into them, before they be set upon any thing. This I think no hard Matter for a discreet Tutor to do; who has studied his Pupil’s Temper, and will be at little pains to fill his Head with suitable Ideas, such as may make him in love with the present Busines. By this means a great deal of Time and Tiring would be saved. For a Child will learn three times as much when he is in tune, as he will with double the time and pains, when he goes awkwardly, or is drag’d unwillingly to it. If this were minded as it should, Children might be permitted to weary themselves with Play, and yet have Time enough to learn what is suited to the Capacity of each Age. But no such thing is confided in the ordinary way of Education, nor can it well be. That rough Discipline of the Rod is built upon other Principles, has no Attraction in it, regards not what Humour Children are in, nor looks after favourable Seasons of Inclination. And indeed it would be ridiculous, when Compulsion and Blows have raised an Aversion in the Child to his Task, to expect he should freely of his own accord leave his Play, and with Pleasure court the Occasions of Learning. Whereas, were Matters order’d right, learning any thing they should be taught, might be made as much a Recreation to their Play, as their Play is to their Learning. The Pains are equal on both sides: Nor is it that which troubles them, for they love to be buf’fle, and the Change and Variety is that which naturally delights them. The only odds is in that which we call Play, they act at liberty, and employ their Pains (whereof you may observe them never sparing) freely; but what they are to learn, is forced upon them: They are called, compelled, and driven to it. This is that, which at first entrance balks and cools them; they want their Liberty: Get them but to ask their Tutor to teach them, as they do often their Play-fellows, instead of his calling upon them to learn; and they being satisfied that they act as freely in this, as they do in other things, they will go on with as much Pleasure in it, and it will not differ from their other Sports and Play. By these ways, carefully pursued, a Child may be brought to desire to be taught any thing you have a mind he should learn. The hardest Part, I confess, is with the first or eldest; but when once he is set aright, it is easy by him to lead the rest whither one will.

§ 75. Though it be past doubt, that the fittest Time for Children to learn any thing, is, when their Minds are in tune, and well dispos’d to it; when neither Flagging of Spirit, nor Intentions of Thought upon something else makes them awkward and averse; yet two Things are to be taken care of: 1. That these Seasons either not being warily observ’d, and laid hold
Hold on, as often as they return; or else not returning as often as they should, Displease the Improvement of the Child be not thereby neglected, and so be let grow into an habitual Idleness, and confirm’d in this Indifference. That other Things are ill learned when the Mind is either indiffrated, or otherwise taken up; yet it is of great Moment, and worth our Endeavours, to teach the Mind to get the Masterly over it self; and to be able, upon choice, to take it self off from the hot pursuit of one thing, and set it self upon another with Facility and Delight; or at any time to shake off its Sluggishness, and vigorously employ it self about what Reason, or the Advice of another shall direct. This is to be done in Children, by trying them sometimes, when they are by Laziness unbet, or by Avocation bent another way, and endeavouring to make them buckle to the Thing propos’d. If by this means the Mind can get an habitual Dominion over it self, lay by Idea’s, or Befingers, as occasion requires, and betake it self to new and less acceptable Employments, without Reluctancy or Discomposure, it will be an Advantage of more Consequence than Latin, or Logick, or most of those Things Children are usually required to learn.

§ 76. Children being more Active and Busier in that Age, than in any other Part of their Life, and being indifferent to any Thing they can do, so soon they may be but doing, Dancing and Seath-hopper would be the same Thing to them, were the Encouragements and Discouragements equal. But to Things we would have them learn, the great and only Discouragement I can observe, is, that they are called to it; ’tis made their Befingers; they are teased and chid about it, and do it with Trembling and Apprehension: Or, when they come willingly to it, are kept too long at it, till they are quite tired; All which intrenches too much on that natural Freedom they extreamly affect. And ’tis that Liberty alone which gives the true Relish and Delight to their ordinary Play-Games. Turn the Tables, and you will find, they will soon change their Application; especially if they see the Examples of others, whom they esteem and think above themselves. And if the Things which they observe others to do, be order’d so that they imitate themselves into them, as the Privilege of an Age or Condition above their’s, then Ambition, and the Delire still to get forward, and higher, and to be like those above them, will set them on work, and make them go on with Vigour and Pleasure: Pleasure in what they have begun by their own desire. In which way the enjoyment of their dearly beloved Freedom will be no small Encouragement to them. To all which, if there be added the Satisfaction of Credit and Reputation, I am apt to think, there will need no other Spur to excite their Application and Affiduity, as much as is necessary. I confess, there needs Patience and Skill, Gentleness and Attention, and a prudent Condukt to attain this at first. But, why have you a Tutour, if there needed no pains? But when this is once establi’d, all the rest will follow more easily than in any more severe and imperious Discipline. And I think it is no hard matter, to gain this Point: I am sure it will not be, where Children have no ill Examples set before them. The great danger therefore I apprehend, is only from Servants, and other ill-ordered Children, or such other vicious or foolish People, who spoil Children, both by the ill Pattern they set before them in their own ill Manners, and by giving them together, the two Things they should never have at once: I mean, vicious Pleasures, and Commendation.

§ 77. As Children should very seldom be corrected by Blows; so, I think, Chiding frequent, and especially, passionate Chiding of almost as ill Consequence. It lessens the Authority of the Parents, and the Respect of the Child: For I did you still remember, they distinguish early between Pasion and Reason; And as they cannot but have a Reverence for what comes from the latter, so they quickly grow into a Contempt of the former; or if it causes a present Terror, yet it soon wears off, and natural Inclination will easily learn to flight such Scare-crows, which make a Noise, but are not animated by Reason. Children being to be restrained by the Parents only in vicious (which, in their tender years, are only a few) things, a Look or Nod only ought to correct them, when they do amiss: Or, if words are sometimes to be used, Vol. III. they
they ought to be grave, kind and sober, representing the ill, or unbecoming-
nels of the Faults, rather than a hasty rating of the Child for it, which makes
him not sufficiently distinguish, whether your Dullike be not more directed to
him, than his Fault. Passionate chiding usually carries rough and ill Lan-
guage with it; which has this further ill effect, that it teaches and justifies it in
Children: And the Names that their Parents or Preceptors give them,
they will not be ashamed or backward to bestow on others, having so good
Authority for the use of them.

Obstinacy.
§ 78. I foresee here it will be objected to me; What then, will you
have Children never beaten nor Chid for any Fault? This will be to let
loose the Reins to all kind of Disorder. Not so much, as is imagined, if a
right Course has been taken in the first seasoning of their Minds, and im-
planting that Awe of their Parents above-mentioned. For Beating, by con-
tant Observation, is found to do little good, where the Smart of it is all the
Punishment is feared, or felt in it; for the influence of that quickly wears
out, with the memory of it. But yet there is one, and but one Fault, for
which, I think, Children should be beaten; and that is Obstinacy, or Re-
bellion. And in this too, I would have it order'd so, if it can be, that the
Shame of the Whipping, and not the Pain, should be the greatest part of
the Punishment. Shame of doing amiss, and deferring Chastisement, is the
only true Restraint belonging to Virtue. The Smart of the Rod, if Shame
accompanies it not, soon ceases, and is forgotten, and will quickly, by use,
lose its Terour. I have known the Children of a Person of Quality kept
in awe, by the fear of having their Shoes pulled off, as much as others by
apprehensions of a Rod hanging over them. Some such Punishment, I think
better than Beating; for, 'tis Shame of the Fault, and the Disgrace that
attends it, that they stand in fear of, rather than Pain, if you would have
them have a Tempor truly ingenuous. But Stubbornness, and an obstinate
Disobedience, must be matter'd with Force and Blows: For this there is no
other Remedy. Whatever particular Action you bid him do, or forbear, you
must be sure to see your self obey'd; no Quarter in this cafe, no Resistance.
For when once it comes to be a Trial of Skill, a Contest for Mastery be-
twixt you, as it is if you command, and he refuseth; you must be sure to carry
it, whatever Blows it costs, if a Rod or Words will not prevail; unless, for
ever after, you intend to live in obedience to your Son. A prudent and
kind Mother, of my Acquaintance, was, on such an occasion, forced to
whip her little Daughter, at her first coming home from Nurture, eight times
successively the same Morning, before she could master her Stubbornness,
and obtain a compliance in a very eafe and indifferent matter. If she had left
off sooner, and stop'd at the seventh Whipping, she had spoiled the Child
for ever; and, by her unprevailing Blows, only confirmed her Refractoriness,
very hardly afterwards to be cured: But wisely persifling till she had bent
her Mind, and suppled her will, the only end of Correction and Chastisement,
she established her Authority thoroughly in the very first occasions, and had
ever after a very ready Compliance and Obedience in all things from her
Daughter. For as this was the first time, so, I think, it was the last too the
ever struck her.

The Pain of the Rod, the first occasion that requires it, continued and in-
creased without leaving off till it has thoroughly prevailed, should first bend
the Mind, and settle the Parent's Authority: And then Gravity mixed with
Kindness, should for ever after keep it.

This, if well reflected on, would make People more wary in the use of
the Rod and the Cudgel; and keep them from being so apt to think Beating
the safe and universal Remedy, to be applied at random, on all occasions.
This is certain however, if it does no good, it does great harm; if it reaches
not the Mind, and makes not the Will supple, it hardens the Offender; and
whatever pain he has suffered for it, it does but inure to him his beloved
Stubbornness, which has got him this time the Victory, and prepares him to
contest and hope for it for the future. Thus, I doubt not, but by ill order'd
Correction, many have been taught to be obstinate and refractory, who other-
wise would have been very plaint and tractable. For if you punish a Child
so, as if it were only to revenge the past Fault, which has raised your Cho-
er: What operation can this have upon his Mind, which is the part to be
amended? If there were no flustered humour, or wilfulness mixed with his Fault,
there was nothing in it, that required the severity of Blows. A kind, or
grate Admonition is enough, to remedy the slips of Frailty, Forgetfulness, or
Inadvertency, and is as much as they will stand in need of. But if there were
a Perseverens in the Will, if it were a designed, resolute Disobedience, the
Punishment is not to be measured by the greatness or smallness of the matter,
wherein it appeared, but by the opposition it carries, and stands in, to that
Respect and Submission is due to the Father's Orders; which must always be
rigorously exacted, and the Blows, by pauses laid on, till they reach the Mind,
and you perceive the Signs of a true Sorrow, Shame, and purpose of Obe-
dience.

This, I confess, requires something more than setting Children a Task,
and Whipping them without any more ado, if it be not done, and done to
our Fancy. This requires Care, Attention, Observation, and a nice study
of Children's Tempers, and weighing their Faults well, before we come to
this sort of Punishment. But is not that better than always to have the Rod
in Hand, as the only Instrument of Government; and, by frequent use of
it on all Occasions, misapply and render ineffectual this laft and
useful Remedy, where there is need of it? For, what else can be expected,
when it is promiscuously ufed upon every little slip? When a Miftake in
Concordance, or a wrong Pofition in Verfe, shall have the severity of the Lath
in a well-temper'd and indolent Lad, as surely as a wilful Crime in an
obstinate and pervers Oftender: How can such a way of Correction be ex-
pected to do good on the Mind, and get that right? Which is the only thing
to be look'd at; and when fet right, brings all the reft that you can defire
along with it.

§ 79. Where a wrong Beft of the Will wants not Amendment, there can
be no need of Blows. All other Faults, where the Mind is rightly di-
poi'd, and refuses not the Government and Authority of the Father or
Tutour, are but Miftakes, and may often be over-look'd; or when they
are taken notice of, need no other but the gentle Remedies of Advice,
Direction and Reproof; till the repeated and wilful Neglect of these,
shews the Fault to be in the Mind, and that a manifest Perseverens of the
Will lies at the Root of their Disobedience. But when ever Obstinate, which
is an open Defiance, appears, that cannot be wink'd at, or neglected, but
must in the first Instance, be subdu'd and manner'd: Only Care must be
had, that we mistake not; and we must be sure it is Obstinance, and nothing
else.

§ 80. But since the Occasions of Punishment, especially Beating, are
as much to be avoided as may be, I think it should not be often brought
to this Point. If the Awe I spoke of be once got, a Look will be sufficient
in most Cases. Nor, indeed should the fame Carriage, Seriousness or
Application be expected from young Children, as from those of riper
Growth. They must be permitted, as I said, the Foolish and Childish
Aftions suitable to their Years, without taking notice of them. Inadver-
tency, Carelessness, and Gayety is the Character of that Age. I think the
Severity I spoke of is not to extend it itself to such unreasonable Retraints;
nor is that hastily to be interpreted Obstinate, or Wilfulness, which is the
natural Produce of their Age or Temper. In such Miftakes they are to
be affi'd, and help'd towards an Amendment, as weak People under a na-
tural Infirmity; which though they are warn'd of, yet every Relapse must
not be counted a perfect Neglect, and they presently treated as Obstinate.
Faults of Frailty, as they should never be neglected, or let pass without
minding; so, unless the Will mix with them, they should never be exagge-
 rated, or very sharply reproved; but with a gentle Hand let right, as
Time and Age permit. By this means, Children will come to see what
'tis in any Miftake, that is chiefly offensive, and so learn to avoid
It. This will encourage them to keep their Wills right; which is the great
Business; when they find that it prefers them from any great Displeasure;
and that in all their other Failings they meet with the kind Concern and Help, rather than the Anger and passionat Reproaches of their Tutour and Parents. Keep them from Vice, and vicious Dispositions, and such a kind of Behaviour in general will come, with every Degree of their Age, as is suitable to that Age, and the Company they ordinarily converse with: And as they grow in Years, they will grow in Attention and Application. But that your Words may always carry Weight and Authority with them, if it shall happen, upon any Occasion, that you bid him leave off the Doing of any even Childish things, you must be sure to carry the Point, and not let him have the Maffery. But yet, I say, I would have the Father seldom interpose his Authority and Command in these Cases, or in any other but such as have a Tendency to vicious Habits: I think there are better ways of prevailing with them: And a gentle Persuasion in Reasoning (when the first Point of Submition to your Will is got) will most Times do much better.

Reasoning. § 81. It will perhaps be wonder'd that I mention Reasoning with Children: And yet I cannot but think that the true Way of Dealing with them, They understand it as early as they do Language; and, if I mis-observe not, they love to be treated as Rational Creatures sooner than is imagined. 'Tis a Pride should be cherished in them, and as much as can be, made the greatest Instrumet to turn them by.

But when I talk of Reasoning, I do not intend any other, but such as is suited to the Child's Capacity and Apprehension. No Body can think a Boy of Three, or Seven Years old, should be argued with, as a grown Man. Long Discourses, and Philosophical Reasonings, at belf, amaze and confound, but do not instruct Children. When, I say therefore, that they must be treated as Rational Creatures, I mean, that you should make them sensible, by the Mildness of your Carriage, and the Composure even in your Correction of them, that what you do is reasonable in you, and useful and necessary for them: And that it is not out of Capricio, Passion, or Fancy, that you command or forbid them any Thing. This they are capable of understanding, and there is no Vertue they should be excited to, nor Fault they should be kept from, which I do not think they may be convinced of, but it must be by such Reason as their Age and Understanding are capable of, and those proposed always in very few and plain Words. The Foundations on which several Duties are built, and the Fountains of Right and Wrong, from which they spring, are not perhaps, easily to be let into the Minds of grown Men, not used to abstrct their Thoughts from common receiv'd Opinion. Much less are Children capable of Reasonings from remote Principles. They cannot conceive the Force of long Deductions: The Reasons that move them must be obvious, and level to their Thoughts, and such as may (if I may so say,) be felt, and touched. But yet, if their Age, Temper, and Inclinations be considered, there will never want such Motives, as may be sufficient to convince them. If there be no other more particular, yet these will always be intelligible, and of force, to deter them from any Fault, fit to be taken notice of in them (viz.) That it will be a Dificredit and Difgrace to them, and displease you.

Examples. § 82. But of all the ways whereby Children are to be instructed, and their Manners formed, the plainest, easiest, and most efficacious, is, to set before their Eyes the Examples of those Things you would have them do, or avoid. Which, when they are pointed out to them, in the Practice of Persons within their Knowledge, with some Reflections on their Beauty or Unbecomingness, are of more force to draw or deter their Imitation, than any Discourses which can be made to them. Vertues and Vices can by no Words be so plainly set before their Understandings, as the Actions of other Men will shew them, when you direct their Obserivation, and bid them view this or that good or bad Quality in their Practice. And the Beauty or Unsembleness of many Things, in good and ill Breeding, will be better learnt, and make deeper Impressions on them, in the Examples of others, than from any Rules or Instructions can be given about them.
This is a Method to be used, not only whilst they are young, but to be continued even as long as they shall be under another's Tuition or Conduct. Nay, I know not whether it be not the best way to be used by a Father, as long as he shall think fit, on any occasion, to reform any thing he wishes mended in his Son: Nothing sinking so gently, and so deep, into Men's Minds, as Example. And what Ill they either overlook, or indulge in them themselves, they cannot but dislike, and be ashamed of, when it is set before them in another.

§ 83. It may be doubted concerning Whipping, when, as the last Remedy, it comes to be necessary; at what Times, and by whom it should be done: Whether presently upon the committing the Fault, whilst it is yet fresh and hot; And whether Parents themselves should beat their Children. As to the First: I think it should not be done presently, lest Passion mingle with it; and so, though it exceed the just proportion, yet it lose of its due Weight: For, even Children discern when we do things in Passion. But, as I said before, that has most weight with them, that appears sedately to come from their Parent's Reason; and they are not without this distinction. Next, If you have any discreet Servant capable of it, and has the Place of governing your Child (for if you have a Tutor, there is no doubt) I think it is best the Smart should come more immediately from another's hand, though by the Parent's Order, who should see it done; whereby the Parent's Authority will be prefered, and the Child's Aversion for the Pain it suffers rather be turn'd on the Person that immediately inflicts it. For I would have a Father seldom strike his Child, but upon very urgent Necessity, and as the last Remedy: And then perhaps it will be fit to do it so, that the Child should not quickly forget it.

§ 84. But, as I said before, Beating is the worst, and therefore the last Means to be used in the Correction of Children; and that only in Cases of Extremity, after all gentler Ways have been tried, and proved unsuccessful: Which, if well observ'd, there will be very seldom any need of Blows. For, it not being to be imagin'd that a Child will often, if ever, dispute his Father's present Command in any particular Instance; and the Father not interpolating his absolute Authority, in peremptory Rules, concerning either childish or indifferent Actions, wherein his Son is to have his Liberty; or concerning his Learning or Improvement, wherein there is no Compulsion to be used: There remains only the Prohibition of some vicious Actions, wherein a Child is capable of Obstinate, and consequently can defer Beating: And so there will be but very few occasions of that Discipline to be used by any one, who considers well, and orders his Child's Education as it should be. For the first Seven Years, What Vices can a Child be guilty of, but Lying, or some ill-natur'd Tricks; the repeated Commissen whereof, after his Father's direct Command against it, shall bring him into the Condemnation of Obstinate, and the Chaftisement of the Rod? If any vicious Inclination in him be, in the first Appearances and Instances of it, treated as it should be, first, with your Wonder; and then, if returning again a second time, discomfitenced with the severe brow of the Father, Tutor, and all about him, and a Treatment suitable to the State of Discredit before-mentioned; and this continued till he be made sensible, and ashamed of his Fault; I imagine there will be no need of any other Correction, nor ever any Occasion to come to Blows. The Necessity of such Chaftisement is usuall the Consequence only of former Indulgencies, or Neglects. If vicious Inclinations were watched from the Beginning, and the first Irregularities which they caused, corrected by those gentler ways, we should seldom have to do with more than one Disorder at once; which would be easily set right without any flir or noise, and not require so harsh a Discipline as Beating. Thus, one by one, as they appear'd, they might all be weeded out, without any Signs or Memory that ever they had been there. But we letting their Faults (by Indulging and Humouring our little Ones) grow up, till they are Sturdy and Numerous, and the Detormity of them makes us ashamed and uneasie; we are fain to come to the Plough and the Harrow; the Spade and the Pick-axe must go deep to come to the Roots, and all the Force, Vol. III. K. Skill,
Of Education.

Skill, and Diligence we can use, is scarce enough to cleanse the vitiated Seed-Plat overgrown with Weeds, and reduce us the Hopes of Fruits to reward our Pains in its Season.

§ 85. This Course, if observed, will spare both Father and Child the trouble of repeated Injunctions, and multiplied Rules of Doing and Forbearing. For, I am of Opinion, that of those Actions, which tend to vicious Habits (which are those alone that a Father should interpose his Authority and Commands in) none should be forbidden Children till they be found Guilty of them. For such untimely Prohibitions, if they do nothing worse, do at least so much towards teaching and allowing them, that they suppose that Children may be guilty of them, who would possibly be safer in the Ignorance of such Faults. And the best Remedy to stop them, is, as I have said, to shew Wonder and Amusement at any such Action as hath a vicious tendency, when it is first taken notice of in a Child. For Example, When he is first found in a Lye, or any ill-natur'd Trick; the first Remedy should be, to talk to him of it as a strange Mysterious Matter that it could not be imagin'd he would have done, and so shame him out of it.

§ 86. It will be ('tis like) objected, That whatsoever I fancy of the Travail and Efforts of Children, and the Prevalency of those foster ways of Shame and Commandation; yet there are many, who will never apply themselves to their Books, and to what they ought to learn, unless they are scourged to it. This I fear is nothing but the Language of ordinary Schools and Fashion, which have never suffered the other to be tried as it should be, in Places where it could be taken notice of. Why, else, does the Learning of Latin and Greek need the Rod, when French and Italian need it not? Children learn to Dance and Fence without Whipping; nay, Arithmetic, Drawing, &c. they apply themselves well enough to without Beating: Which would make one suspect, that there is something strange, unnatural, and disagreeable to that Age, in the things requir'd in Grammar-Schools, or in the Methods used there, that Children cannot be brought to, without the severity of the Lash, and hardly with that too; or else, that it is a mistake, that those Tongues could not be taught them without Beating.

§ 87. But let us suppose some so Negligent or Idle, that they will not be brought to learn by the gentle ways proposed: For we must grant, that there will be Children found of all Tempers: Yet it does not thence follow, that the rough Discpline of the Cudgel is to be used to all. Nor can any one be concluded unmanageable by the milder Methods of Government, till they have been thoroughly tried upon him; and if they will not prevail with him to use his Endeavours, and do what is in his Power to do, we make no Executes for the Obstinate: Blows are the proper Remedies for those; but Blows laid on in a way different from the ordinary. He that wilfully neglects his Book, and stubbornly refuses anything he can do, required of him by his Father expressing himself in a positive ferious Command, should not be corrected with two or three angry Lashes, for not performing his Task, and the same Punishment repeated again and again, upon every the like Default: But when it is brought to that pass, that Willfulness evidently shews it self, and makes Blows necessary; I think the Chastisement should be a little more Sedate, and a little more Severe; and the Whipping (mingled with Admonition between) so continued, till the Impressions of it on the Mind were found legible in the Face, Voice, and Submission of the Child, not so sensitive of the Smart, as of the Fault he has been guilty of, and melting in true Sorrow under it. If such a Correction as this, tried some few times at fit Distances, and carried to the utmost Severity, with the visible Dileasure of the Father all the while, will not work the Effect, turn the Mind, and produce a future Compliance: What can be hoped from Blows, and to what purpose should they be any more used? Beating, when you can expect no good from it, will look more like the Fury of an enraged Enemy, than the good Will of a compassionate Friend; and such Chastisement carries with it only Provocation without any prospect of Amendment. If it be any Father's Misfortune to have a Son thus perverse and untractable, I know not what more he can do, but pray for him.
him. But, I imagine, if a right Course be taken with Children from the be-
ing, very few will be found to be such; and when there are any such
Influences, They are not to be the Rule for the Education of those who are
better Natur'd, and may be managed with better Ufage.

§. 88. If a Tutor can be got, that, thinking himself in the Father's place, Tutor,
charged with his Care, and relishing these Things, will at the beginning
apply himself to put them in Practice, he will afterwards find his Work very
easy: And you will, I guess, have your Son in a little time, a greater Pro-
cfficient in both Learning and Breeding, than perhaps you imagine. But let
him by no Means beat him, at any time, without your Consent and Direc-
tion; at least till you have Experience of his Discretion and Temper. But yet
to keep up his Authority with his Pupil, besides concealing that he has
not the Power of the Rod, you must be sure to use him with great Respect
yourself, and cause all your Family to do so too. For you cannot expect,
your Son should have any regard for one, whom he fes you, or his Mother,
or others flight. If you think him worthy of Contempt, you have chosen
amis: And if you shew any Contempt of him, he will hardly scape it from
your Son: And whenever that happens, whatever Worth he may have in
himself, and Abilities for this Imployment, they are all lost to your Child,
and can afterwards never be made ueful to him.

§. 89. As the Father's Example must teach the Child Respect for his Tutor;
so the Tutor's Example must lead the Child into those Actions he would have
him do. His Practice must by no means cross his Precepts, unless he intend
to let him wrong. It will be to no purpose for the Tutor to talk of the Re-
straint of the Paffions, whilst any of his own are let loose: And he will in
vain endeavour to reform any Vice or Indecency in his Pupil, which he al-
ows in himself. Ill Patterns are sure to be followed more than good Rules;
And therefore he must also carefully preserve him from the Influence of
il Precedents, especially the most dangerous of all, the Examples of the
Servants; from whose Company he is to be kept, not by Prohibitions, for
that will but give him an Itch after it, but by other Ways I have men-
tion'd.

§. 90. In all the whole Busines of Education, there is nothing like to be
lefts heark'n'd to, or harder to be observ'd, than what I am now going
to say; and that is, That Children should from their first beginning to talk,
have some Discipline, Sober, nay, Wise Persons about them, whole Care it should
be to fashion them aright, and keep them from all Ill, especially the In-
fection of bad Company. I think this Province requires great Sobriety, Tempe-
rance, Tenderness, Diligence, and Discretion; Qualities hardly to be found uni-
ited in Persons, that are to be had for ordinary Salaries; nor easily to be
found any where. As to the Charge of it, I think it will be the Money belt
laid out that can be about our Children; and therefore though it may be
Expensive more than is ordinary, yet it cannot be thought dear. He, that at
any Rate procures his Child a good Mind, well Principled, temper'd to
Vertue and Ufefulnes, and adorned with Civility and good Breeding, makes
a better Purchase for him, than if he laid out the Money for an Addition of
more Earth to his former Acres. Spare it in Toys and Play-Games, in Silk
and Ribbons, Laces and other uleful Expenes, as much as you please; but
be not sparing in so necessary a part as this. 'Tis not good Husbandry to
make his Fortune rich, and his Mind poor. I have often with great Admi-
ration seen People lavish it profusely in tricking up their Children in fine
Clothes, Lodging, and Feeding them sumptuously, allowing them more than
enough of uleful Servants, and yet at the same time starve their Minds, and
not take sufficient Care to cover that, which is the most Shameful Nakednes,
viz., their natural wrong Inclinations and Ignorance. This I can look on
as no other than a Sacrificing to their own Vanity; it shewing more their
Pride, than true Care of the Good of their Children. Whatsoever you imploy
in the Advantage of your Son's Mind will shew your true Kindnes, tho' it
be to the lefening of his Estate. A Wife and Good Man can hardly want
either the Opinion or Reality of being Great and Happy. But he that is
Foolish, or Vicious, can be neither Great nor Happy, what Estate soever
you
you leave him: And I ask you, Whether there be not Men in the World, whom you had rather have your Son be with 500 l. per Annun., than some other you know, with 5000 l.?

§ 91. The Consideration of Charge ought not therefore to deter those who are able: The great difficulty will be where to find a proper Person. For those of small Age, Parts, and Vertue, are unfit for this Employment; and those that have greater, will hardly be got to undertake such a Charge. You must therefore look out early, and enquire every where: For the World has People of all sorts. And I remember, Montaigne says in one of his Essays, That the Learned Castello was fain to make Trenchers at Bale to keep himself from Starving, when his Father would have given any Money for such a Tour for his Son, and Castello have willingly embraced such an Employment upon very reasonable Terms; But this was for want of Intelligence.

§ 92. If you find it difficult to meet with such a Tour, as we desire, you are not to wonder. I only can say, Spare no Care nor Cost to get such an one. All things are to be had that way: And I dare assure you, That if you can get a good one, you will never repent the Charge; but will always have the Satisfaction to think it the Money of all other the better laid out. But be sure take no Body upon Friends, or Charitable, no, nor bare great Con- mendations. Nay, if you will do as you ought, the Reputation of a Sober Man with a good Stock of Learning (which is all usually required in a Tour) will not be enough to serve your turn. In this Choice be as Curious, as you would be in that of a Wife for him: For you must not think of Trial, or Changing afterwards: That will caufe great Inconvenience to you, and greater to your Son. When I consider the Scruples and Cautions I here lay in your way, methinks it looks, as if I advized you to something, which I would have offer’d at, but in Effect not done. But he that shall consider, how much the Business of a Tour, rightly employed, lies out of the Road; and how remote it is from the Thoughts of many, even of those who pro- pose to themselves this Employment, will perhaps be of my Mind, that one, fit to educate and form the Mind of a Young Gentleman, is not everywhere to be found; and that more than ordinary Care is to be taken in the Choice of him, or else you may fail of your End.

§ 93. The Character of a Sober Man and a Scholar, is, as I have above observ’d, what every one expects in a Tour. This generally is thought enough, and is all that Parents commonly look for. But when such an one has emptied out into his Pupil all the Latin and Logick he has brought from the University, will that Furniture make him a fine Gentleman? Or can it be expected, that he should be better Bred, better skill’d in the World, better Principled in the Grounds and Foundations of true Vertue and Genero-

ity, than his young Tour is?

To form a young Gentleman as he should be, ‘tis fit his Governor should himself be well-Bred, understand the Ways of Carriage, and Measures of Civility in all the Variety of Perasons, Times and Places; and keep his Pupi-l, as much as his Age requires, constantly to the Observation of them. This is an Art not to be learnt, nor taught by Books. Nothing can give it but good Company, and Observation joynd together. The Taylor may make his Cloathes Model, and the Dancing-Master give Fashion to his Motions; yet neither of these, though they set off well, make a well-bred Gentleman; No, though he have Learning to boot; which, if not well man- aged, makes him more impertinent and intolerable in Conversation. Breeding is that which sets a Glos upon all his other good Qualities, and renders them useful to him, in procuring him the Esteem and Good-Will of all that he comes near. Without good Breeding, his other Accomplishments make him pafs but for Proud, Conceived, Vain, or Foolish.

Courage in an ill-bred Man, has the Air, and scapes not the Opinion of Brutality: Learning becomes Pedantry; Wit, Buffoonyr; Plainness, Roundness; Good Nature, Fawning. And there cannot be a good Quality in him, which want of Breeding will not warp, and disfigure to his Disadvantage. Nay, Vertue and Parts, though they are allow’d their due Commendation, yet
yet are not enough to procure a Man a good Reception, and make him Welcome where ever he comes. No body contents himself with rough Diamonds, and wears them so, who would appear with Advantage. When they are polished, and set, then they give a luster. Good Qualities are the Substantial Riches of the Mind, but 'tis good Breeding lets them off: And he that will be acceptable, must give Beauty as well as Strength to his Actions. Solidity, or even Usefulness, is not enough: A graceful Way and Fashion, in every thing, is that which gives the Ornament and Likin. And in most Cases the manner of doing is of more Consequence than the thing done; And upon that depends the Satisfaction or Disgust wherewith it is received. This therefore, which lies not in the putting off the Hat, nor making of Complements; but in a due and free composure of Language, Looks, Motion, Posture, Place, &c. suited to Persons and Occasions, and can be learn'd only by Habit and Use, though it be above the capacity of Children, and little ones should not be perplex'd about it; yet it ought to be begun, and in a good Measure learn'd by a young Gentleman whilst he is under a Tuteur, before he comes into the World upon his own Legs: For then usually it is too late to hope to reform several habitual Indecencies, which lie in little things. For the Carriage is not as it should be, till it is become Natural in every Part; falling, as skilful Musicians Fingers do, into Harmonious Order, without Care, and without Thought. If in Conversation a Man's Mind be taken up with a solicitous Watchfulness about any part of his Behaviour; instead of being mended by it, it will be constrain'd, uneasy, and ungraceful.

Besides, this part is most necessary to be form'd by the Hands and Care of a Governor: Because, though the Errors committed in Breeding are the first that are taken notice of by others, yet they are the last that any one is told of. Nor, but that the Malice of the World is forward enough to take of them; but it is always out of his hearing, who should make profit of their Judgment, and Reform himself by their Censure. And indeed, this is so nice a Point to be meddled with, that even those who are Friends, and with it were mended, scarce ever dare mention it, and tell those they love, that they are Guilty in such or such Cases of ill Breeding. Errors in other things, may often with Civility be flown another; and 'tis no Breach of good Manners or Friendship, to let him right in other Mistakes: But good Breeding it felt allows not a Man to touch upon this; or to intimate to another that he is guilty of want of Breeding. Such Information can come only from those who have Authority over them: And from them too it comes very hardly and harshly to a grown Man; and however often'd, goes but ill down with any one, who has lived ever so little in the World. Wherefore it is necessary, that this Part should be the Governor's principal Care; that an habitual Gracefulness, and Politeness in all his Carriage may be settled in his Charge, as much as may be, before he goes out of his Hands: And that he may not need Advice in this Point, when he has neither Time, nor Disposition to receive it, nor has any Body left to give it him. The Tuteur therefore ought in the first place to be well bred: And a young Gentleman, who gets this one Qualification from his Governor, sets out with great Advantage; and will find, that this one Accomplishment, will more open his way to him, get him more Friends, and carry him further in the World, than all the hard Words, or real Knowledge he has got from the Liberal Arts, or his Tuteur's learned Encyclopaedia; not that those should be neglected, but by no means prefer'd, or suffer'd to thrust out the other.

§ 94. Besides being well-bred, the Tuteur should know the World well; the Ways, the Humours, the Follies, the Cheats, the Faults of the Age he is fallen into, and particularly of the Country he lives in. Thefe he should be able to shew to his Pupil, as he finds him capable; teach him Skill in Men, and their Manners; pull off the Mask which their several Callings, and Pretences cover them with; and make his Pupil dexter what lies at the bottom under such Appearances; that he may not as unexperienced young Men are apt to do, if they are unwarr'd, take one thing for another, judge
Of Education.

Thus judge by the Outside, and give himself up to Show, and the Institution of a fair Carriage, or an obliging Application; A Governor should teach his Scholar to guess at, and beware of, the Designs of Men he hath to do with, neither too much Supposition, nor too much Confidence; but, as the young Man is by Nature most inclined to either side, rectify him and bend him the other way. He should accustom him to make as much as is possible a true Judgment of Men by those Marks, which serve best to shew what they are, and give a Prospect into their Inside; which often shews it self in little things, especially when they are not in Parade, and upon their Guard. He should acquaint him with the true State of the World, and dispise him to think no Man better or worse, wiser or foolisher, than he really is. Thus by safe and insensible Degrees, he will pass from a Boy to a Man; which is the most hazardous Step in all the whole Course of Life. This therefore should be carefully watch’d, and a young Man with great Diligence handed over it; and nos, as now usually is done, be taken from a Governor’s Conduct, and all at once thrown into the World under his own, not without manifest Dangers of immediate Spoiling; there being nothing more frequent, than Instancies of the great Loosening, Extravagancy and Debauchery, which young Men have run into as soon as they have been let loose from a severe and strict Education; Which I think may be chiefly imputed to their wrong way of Breeding, especially in this Part. For having been bred up in a great Ignorance of what the World truly is, and finding it quite another thing, when they come into it, than what they were taught it should be, and so imagined it was, are easily persuaded, by other kind of Tutours, which they are sure to meet with, that the Discipline they were kept under, and the Lectures were read to them, were but the Formalities of Education, and the Refraints of Childhood; that the Freedom belonging to Men, is to take their Swing in a full Enjoyment of what was before forbidden them. They shew the young Novice the World full of fashionable and glittering Examples of this every where, and he is presently dazzled with them. My young Master, failing not to be willing to shew himself a Man, as much as any of the Sparks of his Years, lets himself loose to all the Irregularities he finds in the most Debauch’d; and thus courts Credit and Manliness, in the casting off the Modesty, and Sobriety, he has till then been kept in; and thinks it brave, at his first setting out, to signalize himself in running counter to all the Rules of Virtue, which have been preach’d to him by his Tutour.

The shewing him the World as really it is, before he comes wholly into it, is one of the best Means, I think, to prevent this Mischief. He should by degrees be informed of the Vices in fashion, and warn’d of the Applications and Designs of those, who will make it their Business to corrupt him. He should be told the Arts they use, and the Tricks they lay, and now and then have set before him the tragical or ridiculous Examples of those, who are ruining, or ruined this way. The Age is not like to want Instancies of this kind, which should be made Land-marks to him; that by the Disgraces, Difcusses, Beggary and Shame of hopeful young Men thus brought to Ruin, he may be precaution’d, and be made fee, how those joy in the Contempt and Neglect of them that are undone, who by Presences of Friendship and Respect lead them into it, and help to prey upon them whilst they were undoing; that he may fee, before he buys it by a too dear Experience, that those who persuade him not to follow the sober Advice he has received from his Governor, and the Counsel of his own Reason, which they call being govern’d by others, do it only, that they may have the Government of him themselves; and make him believe, he goes like a Man of himself, by his own Conduct, and for his own Pleasure, when, in truth, he is wholly as a Child led by them into those Vices which best serve their Purposes. This is a Knowledge which, upon all Occasions, a Tutor should endeavour to infill, and by all Methods try to make him comprehend, and thoroughly relish.

I know it is often said, That to discover to a young Man the Vices of the Age, is to teach them him. That I confess is a good deal so, according
as it is done; and therefore requires a discreet Man of Parts, who knows the World, and can judge of the Temper, Inclination and weak Side of his Pupil. This farther is to be remember'd, that it is not possible now (as perhaps formerly it was) to keep a young Gentleman from Vice, by a total Ignorance of it; unless you will all his Life mew him up in a Closet, and never let him go into Company. The longer he is kept thus hood-wink'd, the less he will see, when he comes Abroad into open Day-light, and be the more exposed to be a Prey to himself, and others. And an old Boy at his first Appearance, with all the Gravity of his Ivy-bush about him, is sure to draw on him the Eyes and Chirping of the whole Town Volery; amongst which, there will not be wanting some Birds of Prey, that will presently be on the wing for him.

The only Fence against the World, is a thorough Knowledge of it: into which a young Gentleman should be enter'd by Degrees, as he can bear it; and the earlier the better, so he be in safe and skilful Hands to guide him. The Scene should be gently open'd, and his Entrance made Step by Step; and the Dangers pointed out that attend him, from the several Degrees, Tempers, Designs and Clubs of Men. He should be prepared to be shock'd by some, and careless'd by others; warn'd who are like to oppose, who to mislead, who to undermine him, and who to serve him. He should be instructed how to know, and distinguish them; where he should let them fee, and when dissemble the Knowledge of them, and their Aims and Workings. And if he be too forward to venture upon his own Strength and Skill, the Perplexity and Trouble of a Misadventure now and then, that reaches not his Innocence, his Health, or Reputation, may not be an ill way to teach him more Caution.

This I confess, containing one great part of Wisdom, is not the PRODUCT of some superficial Thoughts, or much Reading; but the effect of Experience and Observation in a Man, who has lived in the World with his Eyes open, and convers'd with Men of all Sorts. And therefore I think it of most value to be infil'd into a young Man, upon all Occasions which offer themselves, that, when he comes to launch into the Deep himself, he may not be like one at Sea without a Line, Compass, or Sea-Chart; but may have some notice before-hand of the Rocks and Shoals, the Currents and Quick-fands, and know a little how to steer, that he sink not, before he get Experience. He that thinks not this of more moment to his Son, and for which he more needs a Governess, than the Languages and learned Sciences, forgets of how much more use it is to judge right of Men, and manage his Affairs wisely with them, than to speak Greek and Latin, or argue in Mood and Figure: Or to have his Head fill'd with the abstruse Speculations of Natural Philosophy, and Metaphysics; nay, than to be well-verfied in Greek and Roman Writers, though that be much better for a Gentleman, than to be a good Peripatetic or Cartesian: Because those ancient Authors offer'd and painted Mankind well, and give the best Light into that kind of Knowledge. He that goes into the Eastern Parts of Asia, will find able and acceptable Men without any of these: But without Virtue, Knowledge of the World and Civility, an accomplished and valuable Man can be found no where.

A great part of the Learning now in fashion in the Schools of Europe, and that goes ordinarily into the Round of Education, a Gentleman may in a good measure be unfurnished with, without any great Disparagement to himself, or Prejudice to his Affairs. But Prudence and good Breeding are in all the Stations and Occurrences of Life necessary; and most young Men suffer in the want of them; and come rawer and more awkward into the World than they should, for this very Reason; because these Qualities, which are of all other the most necessary to be taught, and first most in need of the assistance and help of a Teacher, are generally neglected, and thought but a Slight, or no part of a Tutor's Business. Latin and Learning make all the Noise: And the main Stress is laid upon his Proficiency in Things, a great part whereof belong not to a Gentleman's Calling; which is to have the Knowledge of a Man of Business, a Carriage suitable to his Rank, and to
Of Education.

Tutour, be Eminent and Useful in his Country, according to his Station. Whenever either spare Hours from that, or an Inclination to perfect himself in some parts of Knowledge, which his Tutour did but just enter him in, set him upon any Study; the first Rudiments of it, which he learn’d before, will open the way enough for his own Industry to carry him as far as his Fancy will prompt, or his Parts enable him to go. Or, if he thinks it may have his Time and Pains, to be help’d over some Difficulties by the Hand of a Master, he may then take a Man that is perfectly well skill’d in it, or choose such an one as he thinks fittest for his purpose. But to initiate his Pupil in any part of Learning, as far as is necessary for a young Man in the ordinary course of his Studies, an ordinary Skill in the Government is enough. Nor is it requisite, that he should be a thorough Scholar, or poiss’d in perfection all those Sciences, which ’tis convenient a young Gentleman should have a taste of in some general View, or short System. A Gentleman, that would penetrate deeper, must do it by his own Genius and Industry afterwards: For no Body ever went far in Knowledge, or became Eminent in any of the Sciences by the Discipline and Constraint of a Master.

The great Work of a Government is to fashion the Carriage, and form the Mind; to settle in his Pupil good Habits, and the Principles of Vertue and Wisdom; to give him by little and little a view of Mankind; and work him into a love and imitation of what is Excellent and Prize-worthy; and in the Prosecution of it to give him Vigour, Activity, and Industry. The Studies which he fets him upon, are but as it were the Exercises of his Faculties, and Employment of his Time, to keep him from Sautering and Idenefs, to teach him Application, and accustom him to take Pains, and to give him some little taste of what his own Industry must perfect. For who expects, that under a Tutour a young Gentleman should be an accomplished Critick, Oratour, or Legician; Go to the bottom of Metaphyicks, Natural Philosophy or Mathematicks; Or be a Master in History or Chronology? Though something of each of these is to be taught him: But it is only to open the Door, that he may look in, and as it were begin an Acquaintance, but not to dwell there: And a Government would be much to be blam’d, that should keep his Pupil too long, and lead him too far in most of them. But of good Breeding, Knowledge of the World, Vertue, Industry, and a love of Reputation, he cannot have too much: And if he have these, he will not long want what he needs, or desires of the other.

And since it cannot be hoped, he should have Time and Strength to learn all Things, molt Pains should be taken about that which is most necessary; and that principally look’d after, which will be of most and frequented Use to him in the World.

Seneca complains of the contrary Practice in his time: And yet the Burgerfidoins and the Scheiblers did not swarm in those Days, as they do now in thefe. What would he have thought, if he had lived now, when the Tutours think it their great Business to fill the Studies and Heads of their Pupils with such Authors as these? He would have had much more Reason to say, as he does, Non Vive sed Schola difsimus, we learn not to live, but to Dispose; and our Education fits us rather for the University than the World. But ’tis no Wonder if those who make the Fashion, suit it to what they have, and not to what their Pupils want. The Fashion being once establisht’d, who can think it strange, that in this, as well as in all other things it should prevail; and that the greatest part of those, who find their Account in an easie Submission to it, should be ready to cry out Herefe, when any one departs from it? ’Tis nevertheless Matter of Astonishment, that Men of Quality and Parts, should suffer themselves to be so far misled by Custom and Implicit Faith. Reason, if consulted with, would advise, that their Childrens time should be spent in acquiring what might be useful to them when they come to be Men, rather than to have their Heads stuff’d with a deal of Trivia, a great part whereof they usually never do (’tis certain they never need to) think on again as long as they live; and so much of it as does stick by them are only the worse for. This is so well known, that I appeal to Parents themselves, who have been at Cost to have their young Heirs taught
taught it, whether it be not Ridiculous for their Sons to have any Tincture of that Fort of Learning, when they come abroad into the World; whether any appearance of it would not leffen and disgrace them in Company. And that certainly must be an admirable Acquisition, and deferves well to make a part in Education, which Men are ashamed of where they are most concerned to shew their Parts and Breeding.

There is yet another Reason, why Politenefs of Manners, and Knowledge of the World should principally be look’d after in a Tutor: And that is, because a Man of Parts, and Years, may enter a Lad far enough in any of those Sciences which he has no deep insight into himself. Books in these will be able to furnish him, and give him Light, and Precedency enough, to go before a young Follower: But he will never be able to set another right in the Knowledge of the World, and above all, in Breeding, who is a Novice in them himself.

This is a Knowledge he must have about him, worn into him by Use, and Conversation, and a long forming himself by what he has observ’d to be practised and allowed in the best Company. This, if he has it not of his own, is no where to be borrowed, for the use of his Pupil: Or if he could find pertinent Treatises of it in Books, that would reach all the Particulars of an English Gentleman’s Behaviour; his own ill-fashion’d Example, if he be not well-bred himself, would spoil all his Lectures; it being impossible, that any one should come forth well fashion’d, out of unpolish’d, ill-bred Company.

I say this, not that I think such a Tutor is every Day to be met with, or to be had at the ordinary Rates. But that those, who are able, may not be sparing of Enquiry or Cold in what is of so great moment; and that other Parents, whose Estates will not reach to greater Salaries, may yet remember, what they shou’d principally have an eye to in the Choice of one to whom they would commit the Education of their Children; and what part they shou’d chiefly look after themselves, whether they are under their Care, and as often as they come within their Observation; and not think, that all lies in Latin and French, or some dry Systems of Logick and Philosophy.

§. 95. But to return to our Method again. Though I have mentioned the Severity of the Father’s Brow, and the Awe settled thereby in the Mind of Children when young, as one main Instrument, whereby their Education is to be managed; yet I am far from being of an Opinion, that it should be continued all along to them; whilst they are under the Discipline and Government of Pupilage, I think it should be relaxed, as fast as their Age, Discretion, and Good Behaviour could allow it; even to that degree, that a Father will do well, as his Son grows up, and is capable of it, to talk familiarly with him; nay, ask his Advice, and Consult with him, about those things wherein he has any Knowledge, or Understanding. By this, the Father will gain two things, both of great moment. The one is, That it will put serious Considerations into his Son’s Thoughts, better than any Rules or Advice he can give him. The sooner you treat him as a Man, the sooner he will begin to be one: And, if you admit him into serious Discourses sometimes with you, you will insensibly raise his Mind above the usual Amusements of Youth; and those trifling Occupations which it is commonly wafted in. For it is easy to observe, that many young Men continue longer in the Thought and Conversation of School-Boys, than otherwise they would, because their Parents keep them at that Distance, and in that low Rank, by all their Carriage to them.

§. 96. Another thing, of greater consequence, which you will obtain by such a way of treating him, will be his Friendship. Many Fathers, though they proportion to their Sons liberal Allowances, according to their Age and Condition; yet they keep the knowledge of their Estates, and Concerns from them, with as much Refervements, as if they were guarding a secret of State from a Spy, or an Enemy. This, if it looks not like Jealousy, yet it wants those Marks of Kindness and Intimacy, which a Father should shew to his Son; and, no doubt, often hinders, or abates, that Cheriftfulness and Satisfaction, wherewith a Son should address himself to, and rely upon, V. 1. III.
his Father. And I cannot but often wonder to see Fathers, who love their Sons very well, yet so order the matter by a constant Stiffnes, and a Mein of Authority and Distance to them all their Lives, as if they were never to enjoy or have any Comfort from those they love best in the World, till they had loft them by being removed into another. Nothing cements and establishes Friendship and Good-will, so much as confident Communication of Concernments and Affairs. Other Kindnesses without this, leave still some Doubts: But when your Son sees you open your Mind to him, when he finds that you interest him in your Affairs, as Things you are willing should in their turn come into his Hands, he will be concerned for them, as for his own; wait his Seafon with Patience, and love you in the mean time, who keep him not at the Distance of a Stranger. This will also make him see, that the Enjoyment you have is not without Care; which the more he is sensible of, the less will he envy you the Potestion, and the more think himself Happy under the Management of so favourable a Friend, and so careful a Father. There is scarce any young Man of so little Thought, or so void of Sense, that would not be glad of a true Friend, that he might have recourse to, and freely Consult on Occasion. The Referednes and Distance, that Fathers keep, often deprive their Sons of that Refuge, which would be of more Advantage to them than an hundred Rebukses and Chidings. Would your Son engage in some Frolick, or take a Vagary, were it not much better he should do it with, than without your Knowledge? For, since Allowances for such Things must be made to Young Men, the more you know of his Intrigues and Designs, the better will you be able to prevent great Mischiefs; and, by letting him see what is like to follow, take the right way of prevailing with him to avoid less Inconveniences. Would you have him open his Heart to you, and ask your Advice? You must begin to do so with him first, and by your Carriage beget that Confidence.

§. 97. But whatever he confuits you about, unless it lead to some fatal and irremediable Mischief, be sure you advise only as a Friend of more Experience; but with your Advice mingle nothing of Command or Authority, nor more than you would to your Equal, or a Stranger. That would be to drive him for ever from any farther demanding, or receiving Advantage from your Counsel. You must confider that he is a Young Man, and has Pleasures and Fancies, which you are pass'd. You must not expect his Inclinations should be just as your's, not that at Twenty he should have the same Thoughts you have at Fifty. All that you can with is, That since Youth must have some Liberty, some Out-leaps, they might be with the Ingenuity of a Son, and under the Eye of a Father, and then no very great harm can come of it. The way to obtain this, as I said before, is (according as you find him capable) to talk with him about your Affairs, propose Matters to him familiarly, and ask his Advice; and when he ever lights on the Right, follow it as his; and if it succed well, let him have the Commendation. This will not at all leffen your Authority, but increase his Love and Esteem of you. Whilst you keep your Ellate, the Staff will be in your own Hands; and your Authority the furer, the more it is strengthen'd with Confidence and Kindnes. For you have not that Power you ought to have over him, till he comes to be more afraid of offending so good a Friend, than of loosing some part of his future Expectation.

§. 98. Familiarity of Discourse, if it can become a Father to his Son, may much more be condenced to by a Tuteur to his Pupil. All their time together should not be spent in Reading of Lectures, and magisterially dictating to him what he is to observe and follow: Hearing him in his turn, and using him to reason about what is propos'd, will make the Rules go down the easier, and sink the deeper, and will give him a liking to Study and Instruction: And he will then begin to value Knowledge when he sees that it enables him to Discourse; and he finds the Pleasure, and Credit of being a Part in the Conversation, and of having his Reasons sometimes approved, and hearken'd to. Particularly in Morality, Prudence, and Breeding, Caes should be put to him, and his Judgment ask'd: This opens the Understanding better than Maxims, how well foever explain'd, and settles the Rules better in the Memory for Practice.
Practice. This way lets things into the Mind, which stick there, and re-
tain their Evidence with them; whereas Words at best are faint Repre-
sentations, being not so true as the true Shadows of Things, and are much
sooner forgotten. He will better comprehend the Foundations and Measures
of Decency, and Justice; and have livelier, and more lasting Impressions of
what he ought to do, by giving his Opinion on Cases proposed, and Rea-
soning with his Tutor on fit Instances, than by giving a silent, negligent,
sleepy Audience to his Tutor’s Lectures; and much more than by captious
Logical Difpures, or fet Declamations of his own, upon any Question.
The one lets the Thoughts upon Wit, and false Colours, and not upon Truth:
The other teaches Fallacy, Wrangling and Opiniary: And they are both of
them things, that spoil the Judgment, and put a Man out of the way of
right and fair Reasoning; and therefore carefully to be avoided by one who
would improve himself, and be acceptable to others.

§ 99. When, by making your Son sensible that he depends on you, and
is in your Power, you have established your Authority; and by being in-
flexibly severe in your Carriage to him, when obstinately persisting in any ill-
natur’d Trick which you have forbidden, especially Lying, you have imprint-
ed on his Mind that Awe which is necessary; and on the other side, when
(by permitting him the full Liberty due to his Age, and laying no Re-
straint in your Preference to those childish Actions and Gaiety of Carriage,
which, whilst he is very young, is as necessary to him as Meat or Sleep)
you have reconciled him to your Company, and made him sensible of your
Care and Love of him by Indulgence and Tenderness, especially Caring
him on all Occasions wherein he does anything well, and being kind to
him after a thousand Fashions suitable to his Age, which Nature teaches
Parents better than I can: When, I say, by these Ways of Tenderness and
Afection, which Parents never want for their Children, you have also
planted in him a particular Afection for you, he is then in the State you
could desire, and you have form’d in his Mind that true Reverence, which is
always afterwards carefully to be continued, and maintain’d in both Parts of
it, Love and Fear, as the great Principles, whereby you will always have
hold upon him, to turn his Mind to the Ways of Vertue and Honour.

§ 100. When this Foundation is once well laid, and you find this Rever-
ence begin to work in him, the next thing to be done, is carefully to con-
sider his Temper, and the particular Constitution of his Mind. Stubbornness,
Lying, and ill-natur’d Actions are not (as has been said) to be permitted in
him from the Beginning, whatever his Temper be: Those Seeds of Vices are
not to be suffer’d to take any Root, but must be carefully weeded out, as soon
as ever they begin to show themselves in him; and your Authority is to
take place, and influence his Mind from the very Dawning of any Know-
ledge in him, that it may operate as a natural Principle, whereof he never
perceived the Beginning, never knew that it was, or could be otherwise.
By this, if the Reverence he owes you be established early, it will always be
Sacred to him, and it will be as hard for him to reft it, as the Principles of
his Nature.

§ 101. Having thus very early set up your Authority, and, by the gentler
Applications of it, shamed him out of what leads towards an immoral Ha-
bit; as soon as you have observ’d it in him (for I would by no means have
Chiding used, much less Blows, till Oblivion and Incorrigibility make
it absolutely necessary) it will be fit to consider which way the natural
Make of his Mind inclines him. Some Men by the unalterable Frame of their
Constitutions are Stout, others Timorous; some Cautious, others Modest, Tra-
vable or Obstinate, Curious or Careless, Quick or Slow. There are not more
Differences in Mens Faces, and the outward Lineaments of their Bodies,
than there are in the Looks and Tempers of their Minds; only there is
this Difference, that the distinguishing Characters of the Face, and the
Lineaments of the Body grow more plain and visible with Time and Age,
but the peculiar Physiognomy of the Mind is most discernible in Children,
before Art and Cunning have taught them to hide their Deformities, and con-
ceal their ill Inclinations under a dissembl’d Outside.

§ 102. Be-
Temper. § 102. Begin therefore betimes nicely to observe your Son's Temper; and that, when he is under least restraint, in his Play, and as he thinks out of your sight. See what are his predominate Passions, and prevailing Inclinations; whether he be Fierce or Mild, Bold or Bashful, Compassionate or Cruel, Open or Refrains, &c. For as these are different in him, so are your Methods to be different, and your Authority must hence take measures to apply it itself different ways to him. These native Propensities, these Prevalencies of Constitution, are not to be cured by Rules, or a direct Conceit; especially those of them that are the humbler and meaner sort, which proceed from fear, and lowsness of Spirit; though with Art they may be much mended, and turned to good purposes. But this, be sure, after all is done, the Boy will always hang on that side that Nature first placed it on. And if you carefully observe the Characters of his Mind, now in the first Scenes of his Life, you will ever after be able to judge which way his Thoughts lean, and what he aims at, even hereafter, when, as he grows up, the Plot thickens, and he puts on several Shapes to act it.

Dominion. § 103. I told you before that Children love Liberty; and therefore they should be brought to do the things that are fit for them, without feeling any Restraint laid upon them. I now tell you, they love something more; and that is Dominium: And this is the first Original of most vicious Habits, that are ordinary and natural. This Love of Power and Dominion shews it felt very early, and that in these Two Things.

§ 104. 1. We see Children (as soon almost as they are born, I am sure long before they can speak) cry, grow peevish, full, and out of humour, for nothing but to have their Will. They would have their Desires submitted to by others; they contend for a ready compliance from all about them; especially from those that stand near, or beneath them in Age or Degree, as soon as they come to consider others with those distinctions.

§ 105. Another thing wherein they shew their Love of Dominion, is their desire to have things to be their's; they would have Property and Possession, pleasing themselves with the Power which that seems to give, and the Right they thereby have to dispose of them as they please. He, that has not observed these two Humours working very betimes in Children, has taken little notice of their Actions: And he, who thinks that these two Roots of almost all the Injustice and Contention, that so disturb Humane Life, are not early to be weeded out, and contrary Habits introduced, neglects the proper Season to lay the Foundations of a good and worthy Man. To do this, I imagine, these following things may somewhat conduce.

Craving. § 106. 1. That a Child should never be suffered to have what he craves, much less what he cries for, I had said, or so much as speaks for. But, that being apt to be mis-understood, and interpreted as if I meant a Child should never speak to his Parents for any thing; which will perhaps be thought to lay too great Curb on the Minds of Children, to the prejudice of that Love and Affection which should be between them and their Parents; I shall explain my self a little more particularly. It is fit that they should have liberty to declare their Wants to their Parents, and that with all Tenderness they should be heard on, and supplied, at least whilst they are very little. But 'tis one thing to say, I am hungry; another to say, I would have Roast Meat. Having declared their Wants, their natural Wishes, the Pain they feel from Hunger, Thirst, Cold, or any other necessity of Nature; 'tis the Duty of their Parents, and those about them, to relieve them: But Children must leave it to the choice and ordering of their Parents, what they think proper for them, and how much; and must not be permitted to choose for themselves, and say, I would have Wine, or White-bread; the very naming of it should make them lose it.

§ 107. That which Parents should take care of here, is to distinguish between the Wants of Fancy, and those of Nature, which Horace has well taught them to do in this Verse,
Of Education.

Those are truly Natural Wants, which Reason alone, without some other Help, is not able to fence against, nor keep from disturbing us. The Pains of Sickness and Hurts, Hunger, Thirst and Cold; want of Sleep, and Rest or Relaxation of the Part wearied with Labour, are what all Men feel, and the best dispos'd Minds cannot but be sensible of their uneasiness: And therefore ought by fit Applications to seek their removal, though not with impatience, or over-great haste, upon the first approaches of them, where Delay does not threaten some irreparable harm. The Pains that come from the Necessities of Nature, are Monitors to us to beware of greater Milchfevers, which they are the Forerunners of: And therefore they must not be wholly neglected, nor strait'd too far. But yet the more Children can be end'd to Hardships of this kind, by a wise Care to make them stronger in Body and Mind, the better it will be for them. I need not here give any Caution to keep within the Bounds of doing them good, and to take Care, that what Children are made to suffer, shou'd neither break their Spirits, nor injure their Health; Parents being but too apt of themselves to incline more than they shou'd to the softer Side.

But whatever Compliance the Necessities of Nature may require, the Wants of Fancy Children should never be gratified in, nor suffer'd to mention. The very speaking for any such thing, should make them lose it. Cloaths, when they need, they must have; but if they speak for this Stuff, or that Colour, they should be sure to go without it: Not that I would have Parents purposely cross the Defires of their Children in matters of indifferency: On the contrary, where their Carriage derer's it, and one is sure it will not corrupt, or effeminate their Minds, and make them fond of Trifles, I think all things should be contrived, as much as could be, to their Satisfaction, that they might find the ease and pleasure of doing well. The belt for Children is, that they should not place any pleasure in such things at all, nor regulate their Delight by their Fancies; but be indifferent to all that Nature has made fo. This is what their Parents and Teachers should chiefly aim at; but till this be obtain'd, all that I oppose here, is the liberty of Asking; in which thefse things of Conceit ought to be refrain'd by a constant forfeiture annex'd to it.

This may perhaps be thought a little too severe by the natural Indulgence of tender Parents: But yet it is no more than necessary. For since the Method I propose, is to banish the Rod; this Restraint of their Tongues will be of great use to fettle that Awe we have elsewhere spoken of, and to keep up in them the Respect and Reverence due to their Parents. Next, it will teach them to keep in, and to fatter their Inclinations. By this means they will be brought to learn the Art of stifling their Defires as soon as they rise up in them, when they are easiest to be subdued. For giving vent gives Life and Strength to our Appetites; and he that has the confidence to turn his Will into Demands, will be but a little way from thinking he ought to obtain them. This I am sure, every one can more easil'y bear a denial from himself, than from any Body else. They should therefore be accustomed by times to consult, and make use of their Reason, before they give allowance to their Inclinations. 'Tis a great Step towards the mastery of our Defires, to give this ftep to them, and shut them up in Silence. This Habit, got by Children, of faying the forwardness of their Fancies, and deliberating whether it be fit or no, before they speak, will be of no small Advantage to them in Matters of greater Consequence, in the future course of their Lives. For that which I cannot too often inculcate, is, That whatever the matter be, about which it is converfant, whether great or small, the main (I had almost said only) thing to be consider'd in every Action of a Child, is, what influence it will have upon his Mind; what Habit it tends to, and is like to settle in him; How it will become him when he is bigger; and if it be encouraged, whither it will lead him when he is grown up.

My meaning therefore is, that Children should purposely be made uneasie: This would relive too much of Inhumanity, and ill Nature; and be apt to infect them with it. They should be brought to deny their Appetites; and their Minds, as well as Bodies, be made vigorous, eafie, and strong,
strong, by the Custom of having their Inclinations in Subjection, and their Bodies exercised with Hardships: But all this, without giving them any mark or apprehension of ill-will towards them. The constant loss of what they earved or card'd to themselves shoul teach them Modesty, Submission, and a Power to forbear: But the rewarding their Modesty, and Silence, by giving them what they liked, shoul also allure them of the love of those, who rigorously exacted this Obedience. The contending themselves now in the want of what they wish'd for is a Vertue, that another time should be rewarded with what is suited and acceptable to them; which shoul be bestowed on them, as if it were a natural confluence of their Good-Behaviour, and not a Bargain about it. But you will lose your Labour, and what is more, their Love and Reverence too, if they can receive from others what you deny them. This is to be kept very flank, and carefully to be watched. And here the Servants come again in my way.

§ 168. If this be begun betimes, and they accustom themselves early to silence their Desires, this useful Habit will settle them; and as they come to grow up in Age and Discretion, they may be allowed greater liberty; when Reason comes to speak in them, and not Passion. For, whenever Reason would speak, it should be hearken'd to. But as they should never be heard, when they speak for any particular thing they would have, unless it be first propound to them; so they should always be heard, and fairly and kindly answered, when they ask after any Thing they would know, and desire to be inform'd about. Curiosity should be as carefully cherished in Children, as other Appetites supped. However strict an Hand is to be kept upon all Desires of Fancy, yet there is one case wherein Fancy must be permitted to speak, and be hearken'd to also. Recreation is as necessary as Labour, or Food. But because there can be no Recreation without Delight, which depends not only on Reason, but often on Fancy, it must be permitted Children not only to divert themselves, but to do it after their own Fashion; provided it be innocently, and without prejudice to their Health: And therefore in this case they should not be deny'd, if they propos'd any particular kind of Recreation. Though, I think, in a well-order'd Education, they will seldom be brought to the necessity of asking any such liberty. Care should be taken, that what is of Advantage to them they should always do with Delight; and, before they are wearied with one, they should be timely divert'd to some other useful Employment. But if they are not yet brought to that Degree of Perfection, that one way of Improvement can be made a Recreation to them, they must be let loose to the child-like Play they fancy; which they should be weaned from, by being made surfeit of it: But from Things of use, that they are employ'd in, they should always be sent away with an Appetite; at least be dismissed before they are tired, and grow quite sick of it; that so they may return to it again, as to a Pleasure that diverts them. For you must never think them set right, till they can find Delight in the Practice of laudable Things; and the useful Exercises of the Body and Mind, taking their turns, make their Lives and Improvement pleasant in a continued train of Recreations, wherein the wearied part is constantly relieved, and refresh'd. Whether this can be done in every Temper, or whether Tutors and Parents will be at the Pains, and have the Discretion, and Patience to bring them to this, I know not; but that it may be done in most Children, if a right course be taken to raise in them the Desire of Credit, Esteem, and Reputation, I do not at all doubt. And when they have so much true Life put into them, they may freely be talked with about what most delights them, and be directed, or let loose to it; so that they may perceive that they are belov'd and cherished, and that those under whose Tuition they are, are not Enemies to their Satisfaction. Such a Management will make them in love with the Hand that directs them, and the Virtue they are directed to.

This farther Advantage may be made by a free liberty permitted them in their Recreation, That it will discover their natural Tempers, shew their Inclinations, and Aptitudes; and thereby direct wise Parents in the choice, both of the Course of Life, and Employment they shall design them for, and
Of Education.

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§ 109. 2. Children who live together often strive for Mastery, whose Wills shall carry it over the rest: Whoever begins the Contests, should be sure to be crost'd in it. But not only that, but they should be taught to have all the Deference, Complaisance and Civility one for the other, imaginable. This, when they see it procures them Respect, Love, and Esteem, and that they lose no Superiority by it, they will take more Pleasure in, than in insolent Domineering; for to plainly is the other.

The Accusations of Children one against another, which usually are but the Clamours of Anger and Revenge, desiring Aid, should not be favourably receiv'd, nor hearken'd to. It weakens and effeminates their Minds to suffer them to Complain: And if they endure sometimes Crossing, or Pain from others, without being permitted to think it strange or intolerable, it will do them no harm to learn Sufferance, and harden them early. But though you give no Countenance to the Complaints of the Querulous, yet take care to curb the Infolence and Ill-nature of the Injurious. When you observe it your self, reprove it before the injured Party: But if the Complain be of something really worth your Notice, and Prevention another time, then reprove the Offender by himfelf alone, out of sight of him that complained, and make him go and ask Pardon, and make Reparation. Which coming thus, as it were from himself, will be the more cheerfully perform'd, and more kindly receiv'd, the Love strenghten'd between them, and a Custom of Civility grow familiar amongst your Children.

§ 110. 3. As to having and posseling of Things, teach them to part Liberal with what they have easily and freely to their Friends; and let them find by Experience, that the most Liberal has always most Plenty, with Esteem and Commendation to boot, and they will quickly learn to practice it. This I imagine will make Brothers and Sisters kinder and civiller to one another, and consequentially to others, than twenty Rules about good Manners, with which Children are ordinarily perplex'd and cumber'd. Covetousnes, and the Desire of having in our Possession, and under our Dominion, more than we have need of, being the Root of all Evil, should be early and carefully weeded out, and the contrary Quality of a Readiness to impart to others, implanted. This should be encouraged by great Commendation and Credit, and constantly taking care, that he loes nothing by his Liberality. Let all the Inflances he gives of such Freeness, be always repaid, and with Interest; and let him sensibly perceive, that the Kindness he shews to others is no ill Husbandry for himself; but that it brings a Return for Kindness both from those that receive it, and those that look on. Make this a Contest among Children, Who shall out-do one another this way: And by this Means, by a constant Practice, Children having made it easy to themselves to part with what they have, good Nature may be settled in them into an Habit, and they may take Pleasure, and pique themselves in being Kind, Liberal and Civil to others.

If Liberality ought to be encouraged, certainly great Care is to be taken that Children transgress not the Rules of Justice: And whenever they do, they should be set right, and, if there be occasion for it, severely rebuk'd.

Our first Actions being guided more by Self love, than Reason or Reflection, 'tis no wonder that in Children they should be very apt to deviate from the just Measures of Right and Wrong; which are in the Mind the Refult of improved Reason and serious Meditation. This the more they are apt to mistake, the more careful Guard ought to be kept over them; and every the least Slip in this great Social Virtue taken notice of and rectified; and that in Things of the least Weight and Moment, both to instruct their Ignorance, and prevent ill Habits, which from small Beginnings, in Pins and Cherry-stones, will, if let alone, grow up to higher Frauds, and be in danger to end at last in down-right harden'd Dishonesty. The first Tendency to any Injustice that appears, must be suppresse'd with a shew of Wonder and Abhorrence in the Parents and Governours. But because Children cannot well comprehend what Injustice is, till they understand Property, and how particular
Of Education.

Crying. Crying is a Fault that should not be tolerated in Children; not only for the unpleasent and unbecoming Noise it fills the House with, but for more considerable Reasons, in reference to the Children themselves; which is to be our Aim in Education.

Their Crying is of two sorts; either Stubborn and Domineering, or Querulous and Whining.

1. Their Crying is very often a Striving for Mastery, and an open Declaration of their Infolence, or Obstinance: When they have not the Power to obtain their Desire, they will by their Clamour and Sobbing, maintain their Title and Right to it. This is an avowed continuing of their Claim, and a Sort of Remonstrance against the Oppression and Injustice of those who deny them what they have a Mind to.

2. Sometimes their Crying is the Effect of Pain or true Sorrow, and a Bemoaning themselves under it.

These two, if carefully observed, may, by the Mien, Looks, and Actions, and particularly by the Tone of their Crying, be easily distinguished; but neither of them must be suffer’d, much less encourag’d.

1. The obstinate or clamorous Crying should by no means be permitted; because it is but another way of flattering their Desires, and encouraging those Passions which ’tis our main Business to subdue: And if it be, as often it is, upon the receiving any Correction, it quite defeats all the good Effects of it. For any Chastisement, which leaves them in this declar’d Oppostion, only serves to make them worse. The Restraints and Punishments laid on Children are all misapplied and loll, as far as they do not prevail over their Wills; teach them to submit their Passions, and make their Minds supple, and pliant to what their Parent’s Reason advices them now, and so prepare them to obey what their own Reason shall advise hereafter. But if, in any thing wherein they are crooked, they may be suffer’d to go away crying, they confirm themselves in their Desires, and cherish the ill Humour, with a Declaration of their Right, and a Resolution to satisfy their Inclination the first Opportunity. This therefore is another Argument against the frequent Use of Blows: For, whenever you come to that Extremity, ’tis not enough to Whip, or Beat them; you must do it, till you find you have subdued their Minds; till with Submission and Patience they yield to the Correction; which you shall beft discover by their Crying, and their ceasing from it upon your bidding. Without this, the beating of Children is but a passionate Tyranny over them; and it is meer Cruelty, and not Correction, to put their
their Bodies in Pain, without doing their Minds any good. As this gives us a Reason why Children should seldom be corrected, so it also prevents their being so. For if, whenever they are chastised, it were done thus without our Passion, soberly and yet effectually too, laying on the Blows and Smart not furiously and all at once, but slowly, with Reasoning between, and with Observation how it wrought, stopping when it had made them pliant, penitent and yielded; they would seldom need the like Punishment again, being made careful to avoid the Fault that deferv'd it. Besides, by this means, as the Punishment would not be lost for being too little and not effectual, so it would be kept from being too much, if we gave off as soon as we perceived it that reach'd the Mind, and that was better'd. For since the Chiding or Beating of Children should be always the least that possibly may be; that which is laid on in the Heat of Anger, seldom observes that Measure; but is commonly more than it should be, though it prove less than enough.

§ 113. 2. Many Children are apt to Cry, upon any little Pain they suffer; and the least Harm that befalls them puts them into Complaints and Bawling. This few Children avoid: For it being the first and natural way to declare their Sufferings or Wants, before they can speak; the Compassion that is thought due to that tender Age, foolishly encourages, and continues it in them long after they can speak. 'Tis the Duty, I confess, of those about Children to compassionate them, whenever they suffer any Hurt; but not to shew it in pitying them. Help and ease them the best you can, but by no means bemoan them. This softens their Minds, and makes them yield to the little Harms that happen to them; whereby they sink deeper into that part which alone feels, and make larger Wounds there, than otherwise they would. They should be harden'd against all Sufferings, especially of the Body, and have no Tendernefs but what arises from an ingenuous Shame, and a quick Sense of Reputation. The many Inconveniences this Life is exposed to, require we should not be too sensible of every little Hurt. What our Minds yield not to, makes but a slight Impression, and does us but very little harm: 'Tis the Suffering of our Spirits that gives and continues the Pain. This Brawninesfs and Intensibility of Mind is the bell Armour we can have, against the common Evils and Accidents of Life; and being a Temper that is to be got by Exerçize and Custom, more than any other way, the Practice of it should be begun betimes, and happy is he that is taught it early. That Effeminacy of Spirit, which is to be prevented or cured, as nothing, that I know, so much increaseth in Children as Crying; so nothing on the other side, so much checks and restrains, as their being hinder'd from that fort of Complaining. In the little Harms they suffer from Knocks and Falls, they should not be pitied for falling, but bid do so again; which, besides that it stops their Crying, is a better way to cure their Heedlenefs, and prevent their Tumbling another time, than either chiding or bemoaning them. But let the Harms they receive be what they will, stop their Crying, and that will give them more Quiet and Ease at present, and harden them for the future.

§ 114. The former fort of Crying requires Severity to silence it; and where a Look or a positive Command will not do it, Blows must. For it proceeding from Pride, Obstinance and Stomach, the Will, where the Fault lies, must be bent, and made to comply, by a Rigour sufficient to matter it. But this latter, being ordinarily from Softness of Mind, a quite contrary Sense ought to be treated with a gentler Hand. Persuasion, or diverting the Thoughts another Way, or laughing at their Whining, may perhaps be at first the proper Method. For this the Circumstances of the Thing, and the particular Temper of the Child must be considered: No certain unvariable Rules can be given about it, but it must be left to the Prudence of the Parents or Tutor. But this I think I may say in general, that there should be a constant Difcountenancing of this fort of Crying also; and that the Father, by his Authority, should always stop it; mixing a greater Degree of Roughnefs in his Looks or Words, proportionably as the Child is of a greater Age, or a fludier Temper: But always let it be enough to silence their Whining, and put an end to the Disorder.
§ 115. Cowardice and Courage are so nearly related to the forementioned Tempers, that it may not be amiss here to take notice of them. Fear is a Passion, that, if rightly govern'd, has it's Use. And though Self-love feldom fails to keep it watchful and high enough in us, yet there may be an Excess on the daring side; Fool-hardiness and Insensibility of Danger being as little reasonable, as Trembling and Shrinking at the Approach of every little Evil. Fear was given us as a Monitor to quicken our Industry, and keep us upon our Guard against the Approaches of Evil: And therefore to have no Apprehension of Mischiefs at hand; not to make a just Estimate of the Danger, but heedlessly to run into it, be the Hazard what it will, without considering of what Use or Consequence it may be, is not the Resolution of a rational Creature, but brutifh Fury. Those, who have Children of this Temper, have nothing to do, but a little to awaken their Reason, which Self-preservation will quickly dispose them to hearken to; unless (which is usually the Case) some other Passion hurries them on head-long, without Sense, and without Consideration. A Dislike of Evil is so natural to Man-kind, that no Body, I think, can be without Fear of it; Fear being nothing but an Uneasiness under the Apprehension of that coming upon us which we dislike. And therefore whenever any one runs into Danger, we may say'tis under the Conduct of Ignorance, or the Command of some more impecunious Passion; No Body being so much an Enemy to himself, as to come within the reach of Evil out of free Choice, and court Danger for Danger's sake. If it be therefore Pride, Vain-glory, or Rage, that silences a Child's Fear, or makes him not hearken to its Advice, those are by fit means to be abated; that a little Consideration may allay his Fear, and make him bethink himself whether this Attempt be worth the Venture. But this being a Fault that Children are not so often guilty of, I shall not be more particular in its Cure. Weakness of Spirit is the more common Defect, and therefore will require the greater Care.

Fortitude is the Guard and Support of the other Virtues; and without Courage a Man will scarce keep steady to his Duty, and fill up the Character of a truly worthy Man.

Courage, that makes us bear up against Dangers that we fear, and Evils that we feel, is of great use in an Estate, as our's is in this Life, exposed to Assaulfs on all hands: And therefore it is very advisable to get Children into this Armour as early as we can. Natural Temper, I confess, does here a great deal: But even where that is defective, and the Heart is in it felt weak and timorous, it may, by a right Management, be brought to a better Resolution. What is to be done to prevent breaking Children's Spirits by frightful Apprehensions industri'd into them when young, or bemoaning themselves under every little Suffering, I have already taken notice. How to harden their Tempers, and raise their Courage, if we find them too much subject to Fear, is farther to be consider'd.

True Fortitude, I take to be the quiet possession of a Man's self, and an undisturb'd doing his Duty, whatever Evil befals, or Danger lies in his way. This there are so few Men attain to, that we are not to expect it from Children. But yet something may be done: And a wise Conduct by insensible Degrees, may carry them farther than one expects.

The Neglect of this great Care of them whilst they are young, is the Reason, perhaps, why there are so few that have this Virtue in its full Latitude when they are Men. I should not say this in a Nation so naturally Brave, as our's is, did I think, that true Fortitude required nothing but Courage in the Field, and a Contempt of Life in the Face of an Enemy. This, I confess, is not the least part of it, nor can be denied the Laurels and Honours always juftly due to the Valour of those who venture their Lives for their Country. But yet this is not all. Dangers attack us in other Places besides the Field of Battle; and though Death be the King of Terroors, yet Pain, Disgrace and Poverty have frightful Looks, able to discompose most Men, whom they seem ready to seize on: And there are those who contain some of these, and yet are heartily frighted with the other. True Fortitude is prepar'd for Dangers of all kinds, and unmoved whatsoever Evil it be
be that threatens: I do not mean unmov'd with any Fear at all. Where 
Danger shows itself, Apprehension cannot without Stupidity be wanting. 
Where Danger is, Sense of Danger should be; and so much Fear as should 
keep us awake, and excite our Attention, Industry and Vigour; but not dis-
urb the calm Use of our Reason, nor hinder the Execution of what that 
dictates.

The first Step to get this noble and manly Steadiness, is, what I have above 
mention'd, carefully to keep Children from Frights of all kinds, when they 
are young. Let not any fearful Apprehensions be talked into them, nor ter-
rible Objects surprize them. This often so hatters and discomposes the Spi-
rits, that they never recover it again; but during their whole Life, upon the 
first Suggestion, or Appearance of any terrifying Idea, are scatter'd and con-
founded; the Body is enervated, and the Mind disturb'd, and the Man scarce 
himself, or capable of any composed or rational Action. Whether this be 
from an habitual Motion of the Animal Spirits, introduc'd by the first strong 
Impression, or from the Alteration of the Constitution by some more un-
accountable way, this is certain, that so it is. Instincts of such, who in a 
weak timorous Mind have born, all their whole Lives through, the Effects 
of a Fright when they were young, are every where to be seen; and there-
fore as much as may be to be prevented.

The next thing is by gentle degrees to accustom Children to those things 
they are too much afraid of. But here great Caution is to be used, that you 
do not make too much halfe, nor attempt this Cure too early, for fear left 
you increas't the Mischiefe instead of remediing it. Little Ones in Arms 
may be easily kept out of the way of terrifying Objects, and, till they can 
talk and understand what is said to them, are scarce capable of that Rea-
soning and Discourse, which should be used to let them know there is no 
harm in those frightful Objects, which we would make them familiar with, 
and do, to that purpose, by gentle degrees bring nearer and nearer to them. 
And therefore 'tis seldom, there is need of any Application to them of this 
kind, till after they can run about and talk. But yet, if it should happen, 
that Infants should have taken offence at any thing which cannot be easily 
kept out of their way; and that they shew Marks of Terreur as often as it 
comes in fight; all the Alarms of Fright, by diverting their Thoughts, or 
mixing plesant and agreeable Appearances with it, must be used; till it be 
grown familiar and inoffensive to them.

I think we may obverse, That, when Children are first born, all Objects 
of fight, that do not hurt the Eyes, are indifferent to them; and they are 
no more afraid of a Blackamore, or a Lion, than of their Nurie, or a Cat. 
What is it then, that afterwards, in certain mixtures of Shape and Colour, 
comes to affright them? Nothing but the Apprehensions of Harm, that ac-
companies those things. Did a Child suck every Day a new Nurie, I make 
account it would be no more affrighted with the Change of Faces at fix 
Months old than at Sixty. The Reason then, why it will not come to a 
Stranger, is, because having been accustomed to receive its Food and kind 
Usage only from one or two that are about it, the Child apprehends, by 
coming into the Arms of a Stranger, the being taken from what delights and 
feeds it, and every moment supplies its Wants, which it often feels, and 
therefore fears when the Nurie is away.

The only thing we naturally are afraid of, is Pain or Loss of Pleasure. Terreur.
And because these are not annex'd to any Shape, Colour, or Size of visible nes. 
Objects, we are frighted with none of them, till either we have felt Pain from 
them, or have Notions put into us, that they will do us harm. The plea-
sant Brightness, and Lustre of Flame, and Fire, so delights Children, that at 
first they always desire to be handling of it: But when constant Experience 
has convinced them, by the exquisite Pain it has put them to, how cruel and 
unmerciul it is, they are afraid to touch it, and carefully avoid it. This 
being the Ground of Fear, 'tis not hard to find whence it arises, and how it is 
to be cured in all mistaken Objects of Terreur. And when the Mind is con-
firm'd against them, and has got a Mastery over it self, and its usual Fears, 
in lighter Occasions, it is in good Preparation to meet more real Dangers.

Your
Of Education.

Your Child shrieks, and runs away at the sight of a Frog; let another catch it, and lay it down at a good distance from him: At first accustom him to look upon it; when he can do that, then to come nearer to it, and see it leap without emotion; then to touch it lightly when it is held fast in another's hand; and so on, till he can come to handle it as confidently as a butterfly, or a Sparrow. By the same way any other vain Terours may be removed; if care be taken, that you go not too fast, and push not the Child on to a new degree of Assurance, 'till he be thoroughly confirmed in the former. And thus the young Soldier is to be train'd on to the Warfare of Life; wherein Care is to be taken, that more things be not represented as dangerous, than really are so; and then, that whatever you observe him to be more frightened at than he should, you be sure to set him on to by insensible degrees, till he at last, quitting his fears, masters the difficulty, and comes off with applause. Successes of this kind often repeated, will make him find, that Evils are not always so certain, so great, as our fears represent them; and that the way to avoid them is not to run away, or be discomposed, dejected, and deterred by fear, where either our credit or duty requires us to go on.

But since the great foundation of fear in children, is pain, the way to harden, and fortify children against fear and danger, is to accustom them to suffer pain. This is possible will be thought, by kind parents, a very unnatural thing towards their children; and by most unreasonable, to endeavour to reconcile any one to the sense of pain, by bringing it upon him. 'Twill be said, it may perhaps give the child an aversion for him that makes him suffer; but can never recommend to him suffering it felt. This is a strange method. You will not have children whipped and punished for their faults, but you would have them tormented for doing well, or for tormenting's fake. I doubt not but such objections as these will be made, and I shall be thought inconfident with my self, or phantastical, in proposing it. I confess, it is a thing to be managed with great discretion, and therefore it falls not out amiss, that it will not be received and relish'd, but by those who consider well, and look into the reason of things. I would not have children much beaten for their faults, because I would not have them think bodily pain the greatest punishment: And I would have them, when they do well, be sometimes put in pain, for the same reason, that they might be accustom'd to bear it without looking on it as the greatest evil. How much education may reconcile young people to pain, and sufferance, the examples of Sparta do sufficiently shew: And they, who have once brought themselves not to think bodily pain the greatest of evils, or that which they ought to flinch most in fear of, have made no small advance towards virtue. But I am not so foolish to propose the Lacedaemonian discipline in our age, or constitution. But yet I do say, that ensuring children gently to suffer some degrees of pain without shirking, is a way to gain firmness in their minds, and lay a foundation for courage and resolution, in the future part of their lives.

Not to bemoan them, or permit them to bemoan themselves, on every little pain they suffer, is the first step to be made. But of this I have spoken elsewhere.

The next thing is, sometimes designedly to put them in pain: But care must be taken, that this be done when the child is in good humour, and satisfied of the good will and kindness of him that hurts him, at the time that he does it. There must be no marks of anger, or displeasure, on the one side; nor compassion, or repenting, on the other, go along with it; And it must be sure to be no more than the child can bear without repining, or taking it amiss, or for a punishment. Managed by these degrees, and with such circumstances, I have seen a child run away laughing, with good smart blows of a wand on his back, who would have cried for an unkinder word, and have been very sensible of the chastisement of a cold look, from the same perfon. Satisfy a child, by a constant course of your care and kindness, that you perfectly love him: And he may by degrees be accustom'd to bear very painful, and rough usage from you, without flinching or complaining:
And this we see Children do every Day in play one with another. The softer you find your Child is, the more you are to seek Occasions at fit times thus to harden him. The great Art in this is to begin with what is but very little painful, and to proceed by inestimable Degrees, when you are playing, and in good Humour with him, and speaking well of him; and when you have once got him, to think himself made amends for his Suffering, by the Praife is given him for his Courage; when he can take a Pride in giving such Marks of his Manliness; and can prefer the Reputation of being Brave and Stout, to the avoiding a little Pain, or the Shrinking under it; you need not despair in time, and, by the Assistance of his growing Reaflon, to master his Timorousnes, and mend the Weaknes of his Constitution. As he grows bigger, he is to be fet upon bolder Attempts than his natural Temper carries him to, and whenever he is observ’d to flinch from what one has reason to think he would come off well in, if he had but Courage to undertake; that he should be afflied in at first, and by Degrees thamed to, till at laft Practice has given more Affurance, and with it a Maftery; which must be rewarded with great Praife, and the good Opinion of others, for his Performance. When by these Steps he has got Resolution enough not to be deterre’d from what he ought to do, by the Apprehenfion of Danger; when Fear does not, in sudden or hazardous Occurrences, difcompose his Mind, fet his Body a trembling, and make him unfit for Action, or run away from it, he has then the Courage of a rational Creature: And such an Hardines we should endeavour by Cuftern and Ufe to bring Children to, as proper Occasions come in our way.

§. 116. One thing I have frequently observed in Children, that when they have got Possession of any poor Creature, they are apt to ufe it ill: They often torment, and treat very roughly young Birds, Butterflies, and such other poor Animals, which fall into their Hands, and that with a seeming kind of Pleasure. This, I think, should be watched in them, and if they incline to any such Cruelty, they should be taught the contrary Usage. For the Custon of Tormenting and Killing of Beasts, will, by Degrees, harden their Minds even towards Men; and they, who delight in the Suffering and Destruction of inferior Creatures, will not be apt to be very compassionate, or benign to those of their own kind. Our Practice takes notice of this in the Exclusion of Butchers from Juries of Life and Death. Children should from the beginning be bred up in an abhorrence of killing, or tormenting any living Creature; and be taught not to cause or destroy anything, unless it be for the Preservation or Advantage of some other that is Noble. And truly, if the Preservation of all Mankind, as much as in him lies, were every one’s Persuasion, as indeed it is every one’s Duty, and the true Principle to regulate our Religion, Politicks and Morality by, the World would be much quieter, and better natur’d than it is. But to return to our present Business; I cannot but commend both the Kindness and Prudence of a Mother I knew, who was wont always to indulge her Daughters, when any of them defired Dogs, Squirrels, Birds, or any such things, as young Girls use to be delighted with: But then, when they had them, they must be sure to keep them well, and look diligently after them, that they wanted nothing, or were not ill ufed. For, if they were negligent in their Care of them, it was counted a great Fault, which often forelost their Possession, or at least they fail’d not to be rebuked for it; whereby they were early taught Diligence and good Nature. And indeed, I think People should be accustomed, from their Cradles, to be tender of all sentient Creatures, and to spoil or waffle nothing at all.

This Delight they take in doing of Mischief, whereby I mean spoiling of any thing to no purpose; but more especially the Pleasure they take to put any thing in Pain, that is capable of it, I cannot persuade my self to be any other than a foreign and introduced Disposition, an Habit borrowed from Custon and Conversation. People teach Children to strike, and laugh, when they hurt, or see Harm come to others; And they have the Examples of most about them to confirm them in it. All the Entertainment and Talk of History is of nothing almoft but Fighting and Killing: And the Honour and Renown, that is beflowed on Conquerors, who for the most part
Of Education.

Cruelty, part are but the great Butchers of Mankind) farther midead growing Youth, who by this means come to think Slaughter the laudable Buiines of Mankind, and the most Heroick of Vertues. By these Steps unnatural Cruelty is planted in us; and what Humanity abhors, Custom reconciles and recommends to us, by laying it in the way to Honour. Thus, by Fashion and Opinion, that comes to be a Pleasure, which in it self neither is, nor can be any. This ought carefully to be watched, and early remedied, so as to settle and cherish the contrary, and more natural Temper of Benignity and Compassion in the room of it: But still by the same gentle Methods, which are to be applied to the other two Faults before-mentioned. It may not perhaps be unreasonable here to add this farther Caution, &c. That the Mischiefs, or Harms, that come by Play, Inadvertery, or Ignorance, and were not known to be Harms, or designed for Mischiefs' sake, though they may perhaps be some times of considerable Damage, yet are not at all, or but very gently, to be taken notice of. For this, I think, I cannot too often inculcate, That whatever Miscarriage a Child is guilty of, and whatever be the Consequence of it, the thing to be regarded in taking notice of it, is only what Root it springs from, and what Habit it is like to elabriph; And to that the Correction ought to be directed, and the Child not to suffer any Punishment, for any Harm which may have come by his Play or Inadvertery. The Faults to be amended lie in the Mind; and if they are such, as either Age will cure, or no ill Habits will follow from; The present Action, whatever displeasing Circumstances it may have, is to be pass'd by, without any Animadversion.

§. 117. Another way to infill Sentiments of Humanity, and to keep them lively in young Folks, will be, to accustom them to Civility in their Language and Deportment towards their Inferiors and the meaner sort of People, particularly Servants. It is not unusual to observe the Children, in Gentlemens Families, treat the Servants of the House with domineering Words, Names of Contempt, and an impertinent Carriage; as if they were of another Race, and Species beneath them. Whether ill Example, the Advantage of Fortune, or their natural Vanity, inflame this Haughtiness, it should be prevented, or weeded out; and a gentle, courteous, amiable Carriage towards the lower Ranks of Men, placed in the room of it. No part of their Superiority will be hereby lost; but the Distinction increased, and their Authority strengthen'd; when Love in Inferiors is joynd to outward Respect; and an Esteem of the Person has a Share in their Submission: And Dolemicks will pay a more ready and cheerful Service, when they find themselves not spurn'd, because Fortune has laid them below the Level of others at their Master's Feet. Children should not be suffer'd to lose the Consideration of Humane Nature, in the Shufflings of outward Conditions. More they have, the better humour'd they should be taught to be; and the more compassionate, and gentle to those of their Brethren, who are placed lower, and have scantier Portions. If they are suffer'd from their Cradles to treat Men ill and rudely, because by their Father's Title, they think they have a little Power over them, at first it is ill bred, and if Care be not taken, will, by degrees, raise up their natural Pride into an habitual Contempt of those beneath them. And where will that probably end, but in Oppression and Cruelty?

Curiosity. §. 118. Curiosity in Children (which I had occasion just to mention, §. 102.) is but an Appetite after Knowledge; and therefore ought to be encouraged in them, not only as a good Sign, but as the great Instrument Nature has provided, to remove that Ignorance they were born with; and which, without this buse Inquisitiveness, will make them dull and useless Creatures. The ways to encourage it, and keep it active and buse, are, I suppose, these following.

1. Not to check or discountenance any Enquiries he shall make, nor suffer them to be laughed at; but to answer all his Questions, and explain the Matters, he desires to know, so as to make them as much intelligible to him, as fits the Capacity of his Age and Knowledge. But confound not his Understanding with Explications or Notions, that are above it: Or with
the Variety or Number of things, that are not to his present purpose. Mark *Curiosity* what 'tis his Mind aims at in the Question, and not what Words he expresses it in: And when you have informed and satisfied him in that, you shall see how his Thoughts will enlarge themselves, and how by fit Answers he may be led on farther than perhaps you could imagine. For Knowledge is grateful to the Understanding, as Light to the Eyes: Children are pleased and delighted with it exceedingly, especially if they see that their *Enquiries* are regarded, and that their *Desire of Knowing* is encouraged and commended. And I doubt not, but one great Reason, why many Children abandon themselves wholly to silly Sports, and trifle away all their time impiety, is, because they have found their *Curiosity* baulk'd, and their *Enquiries* neglected. But had they been treated with more Kindness and Respect, and their *Questions* answered, as they should, to their Satisfaction; I doubt not but they would have taken more Pleasure in Learning and Improving their Knowledge, wherein there would be still Newness and Variety, which is what they are delighted with, than in returning over and over to the same Play, and Play-things.

§ 119. 2. To this serious Answering their *Questions*, and informing their Understandings in what they desire, as if it were a Matter that needed it, should be added some peculiar ways of *Commendation*. Let others whom they esteem, be told before their Faces of the Knowledge they have in such and such things; and since we are all, even from our Cradles, vain and proud Creatures, let their Vanity be flatter'd with Things that will do them good; and let their Pride set them on work on something which may turn to their Advantage. Upon this ground you shall find, that there cannot be a greater Spur to the attaining what you would have the Eldest learn, and know himself, than to let him upon *teaching it his younger Brothers* and *Sisters*.

§ 120. 3. As Children's *Enquiries* are not to be slighted; so also great care is to be taken, that they never receive *Destructive and Eulogistic* Answers. They easily perceive when they are slighted, or deceived; and quickly learn the Trick of Neglect, *Dissimulation* and *Falsehood*, which they observe others to make use of. We are not to intrench upon *Truth in any Conversation*, but leave of all with Children; since if we play false with them, we not only deceive their Expectation, and hinder their Knowledge, but corrupt their Innocence, and teach them the worst of Vices. They are *Travelers newly arrived in a strange Country*, of which they know nothing: We should therefore make Confidence not to mislead them. And though their Questions seem sometimes not very material, yet they should be seriously answer'd: For however they may appear to us (to whom they are long since known) *Enquiries* not worth the making; they are of Moment to those who are wholly ignorant. Children are *Strangers* to all we are acquainted with; and all the things they meet with, are at first unknown to them, as they once were to us: And happy are they who meet with civil People, that will comply with their Ignorance, and help them to get out of it.

If you or I now should be set down in *Japan*, with all our Prudence and Knowledge about us, a Conceit whereof makes us perhaps so apt to slight the Thoughts and *Enquiries* of Children; should we, I say, be set down in *Japan*, we should, no doubt (if we would inform our selves of what is there to be known) ask a Thousand Questions, which, to a supercilious or incourteous *Japane*, would seem very idle and impertinent; though to us they would be very material and of Importance to be resolved; and we should be glad to find a Man so complaisant and courteous, as to satisfy our Demands, and instruct our Ignorance.

When any new thing comes in their way, Children usually ask, the common Question of a Stranger: *What is it?* Whereby they ordinarily mean nothing but the Name; and therefore to tell them how it is called, is usually the proper Answer to that Demand. The next Question usually is: *What is it for?* And to this it should be answer'd truly and directly: The use of the thing should be told, and the way explained, how it serves to such a Purpose, as far as their Capacities can comprehend it. And so of any other Circumstances they shall ask about it; not turning them going, till you have given
Curiosity, given them all the Satisfaction they are capable of; and so leading them by your Answers, into farther Questions. And perhaps to a grown Man, such Conversation will not be altogether so idle and insignificant, as we are apt to imagine. The native and untaught Suggestions of inquisitive Children, do often offer things that may set a considering Man's Thoughts on work. And I think there is frequently more to be learnt from the unexpected Questions of a Child, than the Discourses of Men, who talk in a road, according to the Notions they have borrowed, and the Prejudices of their Education.

§ 121. Perhaps it may not sometimes be amiss to excite their Curiosity, by bringing strange and new things in their way, on purpose to engage their Enquiry, and give them Occasion to inform themselves about them: And if by chance their Curiosity leads them to ask what they should not know; it is a great deal better to tell them plainly, That it is a thing that belongs not to them to know, than to pop them off with a Falsity, or a frivolous Answer.

§ 122. Pertinence, that appears sometimes so early, proceeds from a Principle, that seldom accompanies a strong Constitution of Body, or ripens into a strong Judgment of Mind. If it were desirable to have a Child a more brisk Talker, I believe there might be ways found to make him so. But, I suppose a wise Father had rather that his Son should be able and useful, when a Man, than pretty Company, and a Diversion to others, whilst a Child: Though if that too were to be consider'd, I think I may say, there is not so much Pleasure to have a Child prattle agreeably, as to reason well. Encourage therefore his Inquisitiveness all you can, by satisfying his Demands, and informing his Judgment as far as it is capable. When his Reasons are any way tolerable, let him find the Credit and Commendation of them; And when they are quite out of the way, let him, without being laugh'd at for his Mistake, be gently put into the right; And if he shew a forwardness to be reasoning about things that come in his way, take care as much as you can, that no body check this Inclination in him, or mislead it by captious or fallacious ways of talking with him. For when all is done, this, as the highest and most important Faculty of our Minds, deserves the greatest Care and Attention in cultivating it; The right improvement, and exercise of our Reason, being the highest Perfection that a Man can attain to in this Life.

§ 123. Contrary to this buxie inquisitive Temper, there is sometimes observable in Children a lisping Carelessnes, a want of regard to any thing, and a sort of trifling even at their Business. This Sannurian Humour I look on, as one of the worst Qualities can appear in a Child, as well as one of the hardest to be cured, where it is natural. But it being liable to be mistaken in some Cases, care must be taken to make a just Judgment concerning that trifling at their Books or Business, which may sometimes be complained of in a Child. Upon the first Suspicion a Father has, that his Son is of a Sannurian Temper, he must carefully observe him, whether he be lisping and indifferent in all his Actions, or whether in some things alone he be slow and sluggish, but in others vigorous and eager. For though he find that he does loiter at his Book, and let a good deal of the time he spends in his Chamber or Study, run idly away; he must not presently conclude, that this is from a Sannurian Humour in his Temper. It may be childishness, and a preferring something to his Study, which his Thoughts run on: And he dislikes his Book, as is natural, because it is forced upon him as a Task. To know this perfectly, you must watch him at Play, when he is out of his Place and Time of Study, following his own Inclinations; and see there, whether he is flitting and active; whether he desirous any thing, and with labour and eagerness pursues it, till he has accomplished what he aimed at: or whether he idly and listlessly dreams away his time. If this Sloth be only when he is about his Book, I think it may be easily cured. If it be in his Temper, it will require a little more pains and Attention to remedy it.

§ 124. If you are satisfied, by his earneiness at Play, or any thing else he lets his Mind on, in the intervals between his Hours of Business, that he is not of himself inclined to lisping, but that only want of relish of his Book makes
makes him negligent, and sluggish in his application to it. The first step is to try by talking to him kindly of the Folly and Inconvenience of it, whereby he loses a good part of his time, which he might have for his Diversion: But be sure to talk calmly and kindly, and not much at first, but only these plain Reasons in short. If this prevails, you have gained the point in the most desirable way, which is that of Reason and Kindness. If this foster application prevails not, try to shame him out of it, by laughing at him for it, asking every day, when he comes to Table, if there be no Strangers there, How long he was that Day about his Business? And if he has not done it, in the time he might be well suppos’d to have dispatch’d it, expose and turn him into ridicule for it; but mix no chiding; only put on a pretty cold, Brow towards him, and keep it till he reform; and let his Mother, Tutor, and all about him do so too. If this work not the Effect you desire, then tell him: he shall be no longer troubled with a Tutor to take Care of his Education, you will not be at the Charge to have him spend his Time idly with him; but since he prefers this or that [whatever Play he delights in] to his Book, that only he shall do; so in earnest let him to work on his beloved Play, and keep him steadily, and in earnest, to it Morning and Afternoon, till he be fully wonted, and would, at any Rate, change it for some Hours at his Book again. But when you thus set him his Task of Play, you must be sure to look after him yourself, or let somebody else do it, that may constantly see him employed in it, and that he be not permitted to be idle at that too. I say, your self look after him; for it is worth the Father’s while, whatever Business he has, to bestow two or three Days upon his Son, to cure so great a Mishap as his sauntering at his Business.

§ 125. This is what I propose, if it be suffered not from his general Temper, but a peculiar or acquired Aversion to Learning, which you must be careful to examine and distinguish. But though you have your Eyes upon him, to watch what he does with the Time which he has at his own Disposal, yet you must not let him perceive that you or any Body else do so; for that may hinder him from following his own Inclination, which he being full of, and not daring, for fear of you, to prosecute what his Head and Heart are set upon, he may neglect all other Things, which then he relishes not, and so may seem to be idle and listless, when in truth it is nothing but being intent on that, which the fear of your Eye or Knowledge keeps him from executing. To be clear in this Point, the Observation must be made when you are out of the Way, and he not so much as under the Restraint of a Suspicion that any Body has an Eye upon him. In these Seasons of perfect Freedom, let Somebody you can trust mark how he spends his Time, whether he unactively loitera it away, when, without any Check, he is left to his own Inclination. Thus, by his employing of such Times of Liberty, you will easily discern whether it be listlessness in his Temper, or Aversion to his Book, that makes him saunter away his Time of Study.

§ 126. If some Defect in his Constitution has cast a Damp on his Mind, and he be naturally listless and dreaming, this unpromising Disposition is none of the easiest to be dealt with, because, generally carrying with it an Unconcernedness for the future, it wants the Two great Springs of Action, Forethought and Defire; which, how to plant and increase, where Nature has given a cold and contrary Temper, will be the Question. As soon as you are satisfied that this is the Case, you must carefully enquire whether there be nothing he delights in: Inform your self, what it is he most pleased with; and if you can find any particular Tendency his Mind hath, increase it all you can, and make use of that to set him on work, and to excite his Industry. If he loves Praise, or Play, or fine Clothes, & c. or, on the other side, dreads Pain, Disgrace, or your Displeasure, & c., whatever it be that he loves most, except it be Sloth (for that will never set him on work) let that be made use of to quicken him, and make him better himself. For in this listless Temper you are not to fear an Excess of Appetite (as in all other Cales) by cherishing it. 'Tis that which you want, and therefore must labour to raise and increase; for where there is no Defire, there will be no Industry.
If you have not Hold enough upon him this Way to stir up Vigour and Activity in him, you must employ him in some constant bodily Labour, whereby he may get an Habit of doing something. The keeping him hard to some Study were the better Way to get him an Habit of exercising and applying his Mind. But because this is an invisible Attention, and no Body can tell when he is, or is not Idle at it, you must find bodily Employments for him, which he must be constantly bufied in, and kept to; and if they have some little Hardship and Shame in them, it may not be the worse, that they may the sooner weary him, and make him desire to return to his Book. But be sure, when you exchange his Book for his other Labour, set him such a Task, to be done in such a Time, as may allow him no Opportunity to be idle. Only after you have by this Way brought him to be attentive and industrious at his Book, you may, upon his dispatching his Study within the Time set him, give him, as a Reward, some Repast from his other Labour; which you may diminish as you find him grow more and more steady in his Application, and, at last, wholly take off, when his Manuring at his Book is cured.

We formerly observ'd, that Variety and Freedom was That that delighted Children, and recommended their Plays to them; and that therefore their Book, or any Thing we would have them learn, should not be enlinked them as Business. This their Parents, Tutors, and Teachers are apt to forget; and their Impatience to have them bufied in what is fit for them to do, suffers them not to deceive them into it: But by the repeated Injunctions they meet with, Children quickly distinguish between what is required of them, and what not. When this Mistake has once made his Book uneasie to him, the Cure is to be applied at the other End. And since it will be then too late to endeavour to make it a Play to him, you must take the contrary Course; obverse what Play he is most delighted with; enjoin him, and make him play so many Hours every Day, not as a Punishment for playing, but as if it were the Business required of him. This, if I mistake not, will, in a few Days, make him so weary of his most beloved Sport, that he will prefer his Book, or any Thing, to it, especially if it may redeem him from any Part of the Task of Play is set him, and he may be suffer'd to employ some Part of the Time defined to his Work of Play in his Book, or such other Exercise as is really useful to him. This I at least think a better Cure than that Forbidding (which usually increases the Desire) or any other Punishment should be made use of to remedy it: For, when you have once glutted his Appetite (which may safely be done in all Things but eating and drinking) and made him feel what you would have him avoid, you have put into him a Principle of Aversion, and you need not so much fear afterwards his longing for the same Thing again.

This, I think, is sufficiently evident, that Children generally hate to be idle. All the Care then is, that their busie Humour should be constantly employ'd in something of use to them; which, if you will attain, you must make what you would have them do, a Recreation to them, and not a Business. The Way to do this, so that they may not perceive you have any Hand in it, is this propounded here; viz. To make them weary of that which you would not have them do, by enjoying and making them, under some Pretence or other, do it till they are fatigued. For Example: Does your Son play at Top and Scourge too much? Enjoin him to play so many Hours every Day, and look that he do it; and you shall see he will quickly be sick of it, and willing to leave it. By this Means making the Recreation you dislike a Business to him, he will of himself with Delight betake himself to those things you would have him do, especially if they be proposed as Rewards for having perform'd his Task in that Play which is commanded him. For, if he be order'd every Day to whip his Top, so long as to make him sufficiently weary, do you not think he will apply himself with Eagernees to his Book, and with for it, if you promise him as a Reward of having whipped his Top lustily, quite out all the time that is set him? Children, in the things they do, if they comport with their Age, find little Difference so they may be doing: The Fifteen they have for one Thing above another they borrow from others:
so that what those about them make to be a Reward to them, will really be 
so. By this Art it is in their Governour's Choice, whether Starch-boppers shall 
reward their Dancing, or Dancing their Starch-boppers; whether Peg-top, or 
Reading; playing at Trap, or studing the Globes, shall be more accepta-
ble and pleasing to them; all that they desire being to be busy; and busy, as 
they imagine, in Things of their own Choice, and which they receive as 
Favours from their Parents, or others for whom they have a respect, and 
with whom they would be in Credit. A Set of Children thus ordered, and 
kept from the ill Example of others, would All of them, I suppose, with as 
much Earnestness and Delight, learn to read, write, and what else one 
would have them, as others do their ordinary Plays: And the Elders being 
thus enter'd, and this made the Fashion of the Place, it would be as impossi-
bile to hinder them from learning the one, as it is ordinarily to keep them 
from the other.

§. 130. Play-things, I think, Children should have, and of divers sorts; play-
but still to be in the Custody of their Tutours, or some Body else, whereas 
the Child should have in his Power but one at once, and should not be suf-
ficed to have another but when he restored that. This teaches them timestes 
to be careful of not losing or spoiling the Things they have; whereas Plenty 
and Variety in their own keeping makes them wanton and careless, and 
teaches them from the Beginning to be Squanderers and Wasters. Thefe, I 
confefs, are little things, and such as will seem beneath the Care of a Govern-
our; but nothing that may form Children's Minds is to be over-look'd and 
neglected, and whatsoever introduces Habits and sets Bills Customs in them, 
defers the Care and Attention of their Governours, and is not a small 
Thing in its Consequences.

One thing more about Childrens Play-things may be worth their Par-
ent's Care: Though it be agreed they should have of several Sorts, yet, I 
think, they should have none bought for them. This will hinder that great 
Variety they are often over-charged with, which serves only to teach the 
Mind to wander after Change and Superfluity, to be unquiet, and perpetu-
ally fretting it felt after something more full, though it knows not what, 
and never to be satisfied with what it hath. The Court that is made to Peo-
ple of Condition in such kind of Presents to their Children, does the little 
one great harm. By it they are taught Pride, Vanity and Covetousness al-
most before they can speak: And I have known a young Child so distracted 
with the Number and Variety of his Play-games, that he tired his Maid ev-
ey Day to look them over; and was so accustom'd to abundance, that he 
ever thought he had enough, but was always asking, What more? What 
more? What new Thing shall I have? A good Introduction to moderate 
Desires, and the ready Way to make a contented happy Man!

How then shall they have the Play-Games you allow them, if none must 
be bought for them? I answer, They should make them themselves, or at least 
endeavour it, and let themselves about it; till then they should have none, and 
till then they will want none of any great Artifice. A smooth Pebble, a piece 
of Paper, the Mother's Bunch of Keys, or any Thing they cannot hurt them-
selves with, serves as much to divert little Children as those more chargeable 
and curious Toys from the Shops, which are presently put out of order and bro-
ken. Children are never dull or out of Humour for want of such Play-things, 
unless they have been used to them. When they are little, whatever occurs serves 
the turn; and as they grow bigger, if they are not floored by the expensive 
Folly of others, they will make them themselves. Indeed, when they once begin 
to set themselves to work about any of their Inventions, they should be taught 
and assisted; but should have nothing whihl they lazily fit full, expecting to be 
 furnished from other Hands without employing their own. And if you help them 
where they are at a Stand, it will more endure you to them than any chargeable 
Toys you shall buy for them. Play-things which are above their Skill to make, 
as Tops, Gigs, Battledores, and the like, which are to be used with Labour, should 
indeed be procured them: These 'tis convenient they should have, not for 
Variety but Exercise; but these too should be given them as bare as might be. If 
they had a Top, the Scourge-kirk and Leather-strap should be left to their own 
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Making and fitting. If they fit gaping to have such Things drop into their Mouths, they should go without them. This will accustom them to seek for what they want in themselves, and in their own Endeavours; whereby they will be taught Moderation in their Desires, Application, Industry, Thought, Contrivance, and good Husbandry; Qualities that will be useful to them when they are Men, and therefore cannot be learnt too soon, nor fix'd too deep. All the Plays and Diversions of Children should be directed towards good and useful Habits, or else they will introduce ill ones. Whatever they do, leaves some Impression on that tender Age, and from thence they receive a Tendency to Good or Evil: And whatever hath such an Influence, ought not to be neglected.

Lying.

§ 131. Lying is so ready and cheap a Cover for any Mischief, and so much in fashion amongst all sorts of People, that a Child cannot hardly avoid observing the Use is made of it on all Occasions, and so can scarce be kept, without great Care, from getting into it. But it is so ill a Quality, and the Mother of so many ill ones that spawn from it, and take shelter under it, that a Child should be brought up in the greatest Abhorrence of it imaginable. It should be always (when occasionally it comes to be mentioned) spoke of before him with the utmost Detestation, as a Quality so wholly incongruent with the Name and Character of a Gentleman, that no Body of any Credit can bear the Imputation of a Lye; a Mark that is judged the utmost Disgrace, which debases a Man to the lowest Degree of a shameful Meaness, and ranks him with the most contemptible Part of Mankind, and the abhorred Rascality; and is not to be endured in any one who would converse with People of Condition, or have any Esteem or Reputation in the World. The first Time he is found in a Lye, it should rather be wonder'd at as a monstrous Thing in him, than reproved as an ordinary Fault. If that keeps him not from relapsing, the next Time he must be sharply rebuked, and fall into the State of great Displeasure of his Father and Mother, and all about him, who take notice of it. And if this Way work not the Cure, you must come to Blows; for after he has been thus warned, a premeditated Lye must always be looked upon as Obstinacy, and never be permitted to escape unpunished.

Excuses.

§ 132. Children, afraid to have their Faults seen in their naked Colours, will, like the rest of the Sons of Adam, be apt to make Excuses. This is a Fault usually bordering upon, and leading to Untruth, and is not to be indulged in them; but yet it ought to be cured rather with Shame than Roughness. If therefore, when a Child is questioned for any Thing, his first Answer be an Excuse, warn him soberly to tell the Truth; and then if he perfoils to shuffle it off with a Falsehood, he must be chazlified; but if he directly confesses, you must commend his Ingenuity, and pardon the Fault be it what it will, and pardon it so, that you never so much as reproach him with it, or mention it to him again: For if you would have him in love with Ingenuity, and by a constant Practice make it habitual to him, you must take care that it never procure him the least Inconvenience; but on the contrary, his own Confession bringing always with it perfect Impurity, should be besides encouraged by some Marks of Approbation. If his Excuse be such at any time, that you cannot prove it to have any Falsehood in it, let it pass for true, and be sure not to shew any Suspicion of it. Let him keep up his Reputation with you as high as is possible; for when once he finds he has lost that, you have lost a great and your best hold upon him. Therefore let him not think he has the Character of a Liar with you, as long as you can avoid it without flattering him in it. Thus some Slips in Truth may be over-look'd. But after he has once been corrected for a Lye, you must be sure never after to pardon it in him, whenever you find, and take notice to him, that he is guilty of it: For it being a Fault which he has been forbid, and may, unless he be willful, avoid, the repeating of it is perfect Perversion, and must have the Censure and due to that Offence.

§ 133. This is what I have thought concerning the general Method of Educating a young Gentleman; which, though I am apt to suppose may have some Influence on the whole Course of his Education, yet I am far from imagining
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ginning it contains all those Particulars which his growing Years or peculiar Excess, Temper may require. But this being premised in general, we shall, in the next place, descend to a more particular Consideration of the several Parts of his Education.

§ 134. That which every Gentleman (that takes any Care of his Education) desires for his Son, besides the Estate he leaves him, is contain'd (I suppose) in these Four Things, Virtue, Wisdom, Breeding, and Learning. I will not trouble my self whether these Names do not some of them sometimes stand for the same thing, or really include one another. It serves my Turn here to follow the popular Use of these Words; which, I presume, is clear enough to make me be understood, and I hope there will be no Difficulty to comprehend my Meaning.

§ 135. I place Virtue as the first and most necessary of those Endowments, that belong to a Man or a Gentleman; as absolutely requisite to make him valued and beloved by others, acceptable or tolerable to himself. Without that, I think, he will be happy neither in this, nor the other World.

§ 136. As the Foundation of this, there ought very early to be imprinted God on his Mind a true Notion of God, as of the independent Supreme Being, Author and Maker of all Things, from whom we receive all our Good, who loves us, and gives us all Things. And consequent to this, infill into him a Love and Reverence of this Supreme Being. This is enough to begin with, without going to explain this matter any farther; for fear, lest by talking too early to him of Spirits, and being uneakashion forward to make him understand the incomprehensible Nature of that Infinite Being, his Head be either filled with fable, or perplexed with unintelligible Notions of him. Let him only be told upon occasion, that God made and governs all things, hears and sees every thing, and does all manner of Good to those that love and obey him. You will find that being told of such a God, other Thoughts will be apt to rise up fast enough in his Mind about him; which, as you observe them to have any Mistakes, you must set right. And I think it would be better, if Men generally refted in such an Idea of God, without being too Curious in their Nations about a Being, which all must acknowledge Incomprehensible: whereby many, who have not Strength and Clearness of Thoughts, to diftinguish between what they can and what they cannot know, run themselves into Superstition or Atheism, making God like themselves, or (because they cannot comprehend any thing else) none at all. And I am apt to think, the keeping Children constantly Morning and Evening to Acts of Devotion to God, as to their Maker, Preferver and Benefactor, in some plain and short Form of Prayer, suitable to their Age and Capacity, will be of much more Use to them in Religion, Knowledge and Virtue, than to distract their Thoughts with curious Enquiries into his inferable Essence and Being.

§ 137. Having by gentle Degrees, as you find him capable of it, settled Spirits, such an Idea of God in his Mind, and taught him to pray to him, and praise him as the Author of his Being, and of all the Good he does or can enjoy; forbear any Discourse of other Spirits, till the mention of them coming in his way, upon occasion hereafter to be set down, and his Reading the Scripture-History, put him upon that Enquiry.

§ 138. But even then, and always whilst he is young, be sure to preserve the tender Mind from all Impressions and Notions of Spirits and Goblins, or any fearful Apprehensions in the dark. This he will be in danger of from the Indiscipline of Servants, whose usual Method is to awe Children, and keep them in Subjection, by telling them of RAW HEAD and BLOODY BONES, and such other Names, as carry with them the Idea's of some thing terrible and hurtful, which they have reason to be afraid of, when alone, especially in the Dark. This must be carefully prevented: For though by this foolish way, they may keep them from little Faults, yet the Remedy is much worse than the Disease; and there are stamped upon their Imagination's, Ideas that follow them with Torment and Affrightment. Such Big-Headed Thoughts, once got into the tender Minds of Children, and being set on with a strong Impression, from the Dread that accompanies such Apprehensions, sink deep,

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Children and fasten themselves so as not easily; if ever, to be got out again; and whilst they are there, frequently haunt them with strange Visions, making their Heads turn at once, and afraid of their Shadows and Darkness all the Lives after. I have had those complain to me, when Men, who had been thus used when young, that though their Reason corrected the wrong Ideas they had taken in, and they were satisfied, that there was no cause to fear invisible Beings more in the Dark than in the Light, yet that these notions were apt still upon any occasion to start up first in their prepossession, and not to be removed without some Pains. And to let you see, how lafting frightful Images are, that take place in the Mind early, I shall here tell you a pretty remarkable, but true Story. There was a Young Man in a Town, a Man of a disturb'd Brain, whom the Boys used to tieze, when he came in their way: This Fellow one Day seeing in the Street one of those Lads that used to vex him, step'd into a Butcher's Shop he was near; and there feizing on a naked Sword, made after the Boy; who seeing him coming so armed, betook himself to his Feet, and ran for his Life; and by good luck, had Strength and Heels enough to reach his Father's House, before the Madman could get up to him. The Door was only latch'd; and when he had the Latch in his Hand, he turn'd about his Head to see how near his Purfuer was, who was at the entrance of the Porch with his Sword up, ready to strike, and he had just time to get in and clap to the Door to avoid the Blow, which though his Body escaped, his Mind did not. This frightening Idea made so deep an Impeachment there, that it lasted many Years, if not all his Life after. For, telling this Story when he was a Man, 'he said, That after that time till then, he never went in at that Door (that he could remember) at any time, without looking back, whatever Business he had in his Head, or how little ever, before he came thither, he thought of this Madman.

If Children were let alone, they would be no more afraid in the Dark, than in broad Sun-shine: They would in their turns as much welcome the one for Sleep, as the other to Play in. There should be no distinction made to them, by any Discourse, of more danger, or terrible Things in the one than the other: But if the folly of any one about them should do them this Harm, and make them think, there is any difference between being in the dark and winking, you must get it out of their Minds as soon as you can; and let them know, that God, who made all things good for them, made the Night that they might sleep the better and the quieter, and that they being under His Protection, there is nothing in the dark to hurt them. What is to be known most of God and good Spirits, is to be defer'd till the time we shall hereafter mention: and of Evil Spirits, 'twill be well if you can keep him from wrong Fancies about them, till he is ripe for that fort of Knowledge.

\[ Truth \]

§. 139. Having laid the Foundations of Vertue in a true Notion of a God, such as the Creed wisely teaches, as far as his Age is capable, and by accustoming him to pray to him; the next thing to be taken care of, is to keep him exactly to Speaking of Truth, and by all the ways imaginable inclining him to be good nature'd. Let him know that Twenty Faults are sooner to be forgiven, than the Training of Truth, to cover any one by an Excuse. And to teach him betimes to Love, and be good nature'd to others, is to lay early the true Foundation of an honest Man: All Injustice generally springing from too great Love of our selves, and too little of others.

This is all I shall say of this Matter in general, and is enough for laying the first Foundations of Vertue in a Child; as he grows up, the Tendency of his natural Inclination must be observed; which, as it inclines him, more than is convenient, on one or other side, from the right Path of Vertue, ought to have proper Remedies applied. For few of Adam's Children are so happy, as not to be born with some Byas in their natural Temper, which it is the Business of Education either to take off, or counterbalance: But to enter into Particulars of this, would be beyond the Design of this short Treatise of Education. I intend not a Discourse of all the Vertues and Vices, and
and how each Virtue is to be attained, and every particular Vice by its peculiar Remedies cured. Though I have mention’d some of the most ordinary Faults, and the ways to be used in correcting them.

§ 140. Wisdom I take, in the popular acceptation, for a Man’s managing his Business ably, and with fore-sight, in this World. This is the product of a good natural Temper, Application of Mind and Experience together, and so above the reach of Children. The greatest Thing that in them can be done towards it, is to hinder them, as much as may be, from being Cunning; which, being the Ape of Wisdom, is the most difficult to get from it that can be: And, as an Ape, for the likeness it has to a Man, wanting what really should make him so, is by so much the uglier; Cunning is only the want of Understanding; which, because it cannot compass its ends by direct ways, would do it by a Trick, and Circumvention; and the Mischief of it is, a cunning Trick helps but once, but hinders ever after. No cover was ever made either so big, or so fine as to hide its self. No Body was ever so cunning as to conceal their being so: And when they are once discovered, every Body is thine, every Body distrustful of crafty Men; and all the World forwardly join to oppose and defeat them: Whilst the open, fair, wise Man has every Body to make way for him, and goes directly to his Business. To accustom a Child to have true Notions of things, and not to be satisfied till he has them; To raise his Mind to great and worthy Thoughts; and to keep him at a distance from Falshood; and Cunning which has always a broad mixture of Falshood in it; is the fittest preparation of a Child for Wisdom. The rest, which is to be learnt from Time, Experience, and Observation, and an Acquaintance with Men, their Tempers, and Designs, is not to be expected in the ignorance and inadvertency of Childhood, or the unconsiderate heat and unwariness of Youth: All that can be done towards it, during this unripe Age, is as I have said, to accustom them to Truth and Sincerity; to a submission to Reason; and as much as may be, to Reflection on their own Actions.

§ 141. The next good Quality belonging to a Gentleman, is good Breeding. There are Two Sorts of ill Breeding: The one a sharpish Bafthfulness: And the other a misbecoming Negligence and Disrespect in our Carriage; both which are avoided by duly observing this one Rule, Not to think meanly of our selves, and not to think meanly of others.

§ 142. The first part of this Rule must not be understood in opposition to Humility, but to Assurance. We ought not to think so well of our selves, as to stand upon our own Value; and assume to our selves a Preference before others, because of any Advantage we may imagine we have over them; but modestly to take what is offered, when it is our due. But yet we ought to think so well of our selves, as to perform those Actions which are incumbent on us, without diffemoposity; or disorder; in whose presence ever we are; keeping that respect and distance, which is due to every one’s Rank and Quality. There is often in People, especially Children, a clownish Shamefacedness, before Strangers, or those above them: They are confounded in their Thoughts, Words, and Looks; and so lose themselves, in that confusion, as not to be able to do any thing, or at least not to do with that freedom and gracefulness, which pleases, and makes them acceptable. The only cure for this, as for any other Misdemeanor, is by use to introduce the contrary Habit. But since we cannot accustom our selves to converse with Strangers, and Persons of Quality, without being in their Company; nothing can cure this part of ill-Breeding, but Change and Variety of Company, and that of Persons above us.

§ 143. As the before-mention’d consists in too great a concern how to behave our selves towards others; so the other part of ill-Breeding, lies in the appearance of too little care of pleasing, or showing respect to those we have to do with. To avoid this, these two things are requisite: First, a disposition of the Mind not to offend others; and, Secondly, the most acceptable and agreeable way of expressing that Disposition. From the one, Men are called Civil; from the other, Well-fashion’d. The latter of these is that decency and gracefulness of Looks, Voice, Words, Motions, Gestures, and of all the whole
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Breeding, whole outward Demeanour, which takes in Company, and makes those with whom we may converse, easy and well pleased. This is, as it were, the language whereby that internal Civility of the Mind is expressed; which as other Languages are, being very much governed by the Fashion and Custom of every Country, must, in the Rules and Practice of it, be learnt chiefly from Observation, and the Carriage of those who are allowed to be exactly well-bred. The other part, which lies deeper than the Out-side, is that general Good-will and Regard for all People, which makes any one have a care not to shew, in his Carriage, any contempt, disrespect, or neglect of them; but to express, according to the Fashion and way of that Country, a respect and value for them, according to their Rank and Condition. It is a disposition of the Mind that shews itself in the carriage, whereby a Man avoids making any one uneasy in Conversation.

I shall take notice of four qualities that are most directly opposite to this first, and most taking of all the Social Vertues. And from some one of these four it is that Incivility commonly has its Rise. I shall set them down, that Children may be prevent'd or recover'd from their ill influence.

Roughness. 1. The First is, a Natural Roughness, which makes a Man uncomplaisant to others, so that he has no deference for their inclinations, tempers, or conditions. 'Tis the sure badge of a Clown not to mind what pleaseth or displeaseth those he is with; and yet one may often find a Man in fashionable Clothes, give an unbounded swing to his own humour, and suffer it to jutle or over-run any one that stands in its way, with a perfect indifference how they take it. This is a Brutality that every one sees and abhors, and no body can be easy with. And therefore this finds no place in any one who would be thought to have the least tincture of Good-breeding. For the very end and business of Good-breeding, is to supple the natural sitiuness, and so soften Mens Tempers that they may bend to a compliance, and accommodate themselves to those they have to do with.

Contempt. 2. Contempt or want of due Respect, discovered either in looks, words, or gesture: This from whomsoever it comes, brings always uneasiness with it. For no body can contentedly bear being slighted.

Confinoiness. 3. Confoundingness, and finding fault with others, has a direct opposition to Civility. Men, whatever they are, or are not guilty of, would not have their own faults display'd, and set in open view and broad day-light, before their own or other Peoples Eyes. Blemishes affixed to any one always carry Shame with them: And the discovery, or even bare imputation of any defect, is not borne without some uneasiness. Rallery is the most refined way of exposing the faults of others. But because it is usually done with wit and good Language, and gives entertainment to the Company, People are led into a mistake, that where it keeps within fair bounds, there is no incivility in it. And so the plenantry of this sort of Conversation often introduces it amongst People of the better Rank; and such Talkers are favourably heard, and generally applauded by the laughter of the By-standers on their side. But they ought to consider, that the entertainment of the rest of the Company is at the Cost of that one, who is set out in their burlesque colours, who therefore is not without uneasiness, unless the subject for which he is railed, be really in it felt matter of Commendation. For then the pleasant images and representations which make the Rallery, carrying praise as well as sport with them, the railed Peron also finds his account, and takes part in the diversion. But because the right management of so nice and tickle a business, wherein a little slip may spoil all, is not every Body's talent, I think those who would secure themselves from provoking others, especially all young People, should carefully abstain from Rallery, which by a small mistake, or any wrong turn, may leave upon the Mind of those who are made uneasy by it, the lasting memory of having been piquently, though wittily taunted for some thing confusable in them.

Contradiction. Besides Rallery, Contradiction is a sort of Confoundingness wherein ill breeding often shews itself. Complaisance does not require that we should always admit all the reasonings or relations that the company is entertain'd with, no, nor silently to let pass all that is vented in our hearing. The opposing
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the Opinions, and rectifying the Mistakes of others, is what Truth and Charity sometimes require of us, and Civility does not oppose, if it be done with due Caution and Care of Circumstances. But there are some People that one may observe, polished, as it were, with the Spirit of Contradiction, that steadily, and without regard to Right or Wrong, oppose some one, or perhaps, every one of the Company whatever they say. This is so visible and outrageous a way of Contending, that no body can avoid thinking himself injured by it. All Opposition to what another Man has said is so apt to be suspected of Controversy, and is so seldom received without some sort of Humiliation, that it ought to be made in the gentlest manner, and softest Words can be found, and such as with the whole Department may express no forwardness to contradict. All Marks of Respect and Good-will ought to accompany it, that whilst we gain the Argument, we may not lose the Esteem of those that hear us.

4. Capriciousness is another fault opposite to Civility, not only because it often produces misbecoming and provoking Expressions, and Carriage; but because it is a tacit Accusation and Reproach of some Incivility taken notice of in those whom we are angry with. Such a Suspicion or Intimation cannot be born by any one without uneasiness. Besides, one angry Body discomposes the whole Company, and the Harmony ceases upon any such jarring.

The Happines that all Men so steadily pursue, consisting in Pleasure, it is easy to see why the Civil are more acceptable than the useful. The Ability, Sincerity, and good Intention, of a Man of weight and worth, or a real Friend, seldom atones for the Uneasiness that is produced by his grave and solid Representations. Power and Riches, nay, Virtue itself, are valued only as conducing to our Happines. And therefore he recommends himself ill to another as aiming at his Happines, who, in the service he does him, makes him unease in the manner of doing them. He that knows how to make those he converses with easy, without debasing himself to low and servile flattery, has found the true Art of living in the World, and being both welcome and valued every where. Civility therefore is what, in the first place, should with great care, be made habitual to Children and Young People.

§ 144. There is another Fault in good Manners, and that is, Excess of Breeding, and an obblinate persifling to force upon another what is not his due, and what he cannot take without Folly or Shame. This seems rather a Design to expose than oblige: Or, at least, looks like a Contest for Maltrey, and, at best, is but troublesome, and so can be no part of Good-Breeding, which has no other use or end, but to make People easy and satisfied in their Conversation with us. This is a Fault few young People are apt to fall into; but yet, if they are ever guilty of it, or are suspected to encline that way, they should be told of it, and warned of this Mistaken Civility. The thing they should endeavour and aim at in Conversation, should be to shew Respect, Esteem, and Good-will, by paying to every one that common Ceremony and Regard which is in civility due to them. To do this, without a fulmination of Flattery, Difculitns, or Meaner, is a great Skill, which good Sene, Reason, and good Company can only teach; but is of so much use in Civil Life, that it is well worth the studying.

§ 145. Though the managing our selves well in this part of our Behaviour, has the Name of Good-Breeding, as if peculiarly the effect of Education; yet, as I have said, young Children should not be much perplexed about it; I mean about putting off their Hats and making Legs modify. Teach them Humility, and to be good-natur’d, if you can, and this sort of Manners will not be wanting; Civility being, in truth, nothing but a Care not to shew any Slighting, or Contempt, of any one in Conversation. What are the most allowed and esteem’d ways of expressing this, we have above observed. It is as peculiar and different, in several Countries of the World, as their Languages; and therefore, if it be rightly considered, Rules and Discourses, made to Children about it, are as useless and impertinent, as it would be now and then to give a Rule or Two of the Spanish Tongue, to one that converses only with English men. Be as bitter as you please with Discourses of Civility to your Son, such as is his Company, such will be his Manners.

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Breeding. A Ploughman of your Neighbourhood, that has never been out of his Parish, read what Lectures you please to him, will be as soon in his Language as his Carriage, a Courtier; that is, in neither will be more polite than those he useth to converse with: And therefore of this no other Care can be taken, till he be of an Age to have a Tutour put to him, who must not fail to be a well-bred Man. And, in good earnest, if I were to speak my Mind freely, so Children do nothing out of Obliviousness, Pride, and Ill-nature, 'tis no great matter how they put off their Hats, or make Legs. If you can teach them to love and respect other People, they will, as their Age requires it, find ways to express it acceptably to every one, according to the Fashions they have been used to: And as to their Motions and Carriage of their Bodies, a Dancing Master, as has been said, when it is fit, will teach them what is most becoming. In the mean time, when they are young, People expect not that Children should be ever mindful of these Ceremonies: Carelessness is allow'd to that Age, and becomes them as well as Complements do grown People: Or, at least, if some very nice People will think it a Fault, I am sure it is a Fault that should be over-look'd, and left to Time, a Tutour, and Conversation to cure. And therefore, I think it not worth your while to have your Son (as I often see Children are) molested or chid about it: But where there is Pride or Ill-nature appearing in his Carriage, there he must be perplex'd or shamed out of it.

Though, Children, when little, should not be much perplex'd with Rules and Ceremonious Parts of Breeding; yet there is a sort of Unmanliness very apt to grow up with young People, if not early refrain'd, and that is a Forwardness to interrupt others that are speaking, and to stop them with some Contradiction. Whether the Custom of Disputing, and the Reputation of Parts and Learning usually given to it, as it were the only Standard and Evidence of Knowledge, make Young Men so forward to watch Occasions to correct others in their Discourse; and not to slip any Opportunity of shewing their Talents; So it is, That I have found Scholars most blam'd in this Point. There cannot be a greater Rudeness, than to interrupt another in the Current of his Discourse; for if there be not improper Folly in answering a Man before we know what he will say, yet it is a plain Declaration, that we are weary to hear him talk any longer: And, have a Difference of what he says, which we judging not fit to entertain the Company, desire them to give audience to us, who have something to produce worth their Attention. This is a very great Disrespect, and cannot but be offensive: And yet, this is what almost all Interruption constantly carries with it. To which, if there be added, as is usual, a correcting of any Mistake, or a Contradiction of what has been said, 'tis a Mark of yet greater Pride and Self-conceitfulness, when we thus intrude our selves for Teachers, and take upon us, either to set another right in his Story, or shew the Mistakes of his Judgment.

I do not say this, That I think there should be no Difference of Opinions in Conversation, nor Opposition in Men's Discourses: This would be to take away the greatest Advantage of Society, and the Improvements are to be made by ingenious Company; where the Light is to be got from the Opposite Arguings of Men of Parts, shewing the different Sides of Things, and their various Aspects, and Probabilities, would be quite lost, if every one were obliged to assent to, and say after the first Speaker. 'Tis not the owning one's Different from another, that I speak against, but the manner of doing it. Young Men should be taught not to be forward to interrupt their Opinions, unless asked, or when others have done and are silent; and then only by way of Enquiry, not Instruction. The positive asserting, and the Magisterial Air should be avoided; and when a general Pause of the whole Company affords an Opportunity, they may modestly put in their Question as Learners.

This becoming Decency will not cloud their Parts, nor weaken the Strength of their Reason; but bespeak the more favourable Attention, and give what they say the greater Advantage. An ill Argument, or ordinary Observation thus introduced, with some civil Preface of Deference and Respect
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spect to the Opinions of others, will procure them more Credit, and Esteem, than the sharpest Wit, or profoundest Science, with a rough, insolent, or noisy Management, which always shocks the Hearers, leaves an ill Opinion of the Man, though he get the better of it in the Argument.

This therefore should be carefully watched in young People, stop’d in the Beginning, and the contrary Habit introduced in all their Conversation. And the rather, because forwardness to talk, frequent Intermittens in arguing, and loud wrangling, are too often observable amongst grown People, even of Rank amongst us. The Indians, whom we call Barbarous, observe much more Decency and Civility in their Discourses and Conversation, giving one another a fair silent Hearing, till they have quite done; and then answering them calmly, and without Noise or Passion. And if it be not so in this civilized Part of the World, we must impute it to a Neglect in Education, which has not yet reform’d this ancient Piece of Barbarity amongst us. Was it not, think you, an entertaining Spectacle, to see two Ladies of Quality accidentally seated on the opposite sides of a Room, set round with Company, fall into a Dispute, and grow so eager in it, that in the Heat of Dispute, their Controversie, edging by degrees their Chairs forwards, they were in a little time got up close to one another in the middle of the Room; where they for a good while managed the Dispute as fiercely as two Game-Cocks in the Pit, without minding or taking any Notice of the Circle, which could not all the while forbear smiling? This I was told by a Person of Quality, who was present at the Combat, and did not omit to reflect upon the Indecencies, that warmth in Dispute often runs People into; which since Custom makes too frequent, Education should take the more Care of. There is no Body but condemns this in others, though they overlook it in themselves: And many, who are sensible of it in themselves, and resolve against it, cannot yet get rid of an ill Custom, which Neglect in their Education has suffered to settle into an Habit.

§. 146: What has been above-said concerning Company, would perhaps, if it were well reflected on, give us a larger Prospect, and let us see how much farther its Influence reaches. ’Tis not the Modes of Civility alone, that are imprinted by Conversation: The Tincture of Company sinks deeper than the out-side; and possibly, if a true Effimae were made of the Morality, and Religions of the World, we should find, that the far greater part of Mankind received even those Opinions and Ceremonies, they would die for, rather from the Fashions of their Countries, and the constant Practice of those about them, than from any Conviction of their Reasons. I mention this only to let you see of what Moment, I think, Company is to your Son, in all the parts of his Life, and therefore how much that one part is to be weighed, and provided for; it being of greater force to work upon him, than all you can do besides.

§. 147: You will wonder, perhaps, that I put Learning last, especially if I tell you I think it the least part. This may seem strange in the Mouth of a Bookish Man; and this making us usually the chief, if not only body and soul about Children; this being almost that alone, which is thought on, when People talk of Education, makes it the greater Paradox. When I consider, what a do is made about a little Latin and Greek, how many Years are spent in it, and what a noise and busines makes it to no purpose, I can hardly forbear thinking, that the Parents of Children still live in fear of the School-master’s Rod, which they look on as the only Instrument of Education; as a Language or two to be its whole Business. How else is it possible that a Child should be chain’d to the Oar, Seven, Eight, or Ten of the best Years of his Life, to get a Language or two, which I think, might be had at a great deal cheaper rate of Pains and Time, and be learnt almost in playing?

Forgive me therefore, If I say, I cannot with Patience think, that a young Gentleman should be put into the Herd, and be driven with a Whip and Scourge, as if he were to run the Gantlet through the several Clauses, ad capienda ingenii cultum. What then, say you, would you not have him Write and Read? Shall he be more Ignorant than the Clerk of our Parish, who takes Hopkins and Sternebold for the best Poets in the World, whom yet he makes worfe, than they are, by his ill Reading? Not so, not so fast, I be-
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Learning, feech you. Reading, and Writing, and Learning, I allow to be necessary, but yet not the chief Buisness. I imagine you would think him a very foolish Fellow, that should not value a Vertuous, or a Wife Man, infinitely before a great Scholar. Not but that I think Learning a great help to both in well disposed Minds; but yet it must be confess’d also, that in others not so disposed, it helps them only to be the more foolish, or worse Men. I say this, that when you consider of the Breeding of your Son, and are looking out for a School-Master, or a Tutour, you would not have (as is usual) Latin and Logick only in your Thoughts. Learning must be had, but in the second place, as subservient only to greater Qualities. Seek out some-body, that may know how discreetly to frame his Manners: Place him in Hands, where you may, as much as possible secure his Innocence, cherish and nurse up the Good, and gently correct and weed out any Bad Inclinations, and settle him in good Habits. This is the main Point, and this being provided for, Learning may be had in to the Bargain, and that, as I think, at a very easy rate, by Methods that may be thought on.

Reading. § 148. When he can talk, 'tis time he should begin to learn to read. But as to this, give me leave here to inculeate what is very apt to be forgotten, viz. That a great Care is to be taken, that it be never made as a Buisness to him, nor he look on it as a Task. We naturally, as I said, even from our Cradles, love Liberty, and have therefore an Aversion to many Things, for no other Reason but because they are injoy’d us. I have always had a Fancy, that Learning might be made a Play and Recreation to Children; and that they might be brought to desire to be taught, if it were propos’d to them as a thing of Honour, Credit, Delight and Recreation, or as a Reward for doing something else; and if they were never chid or corrected for the neglect of it. That which confirms me in this Opinion, is, that amongst the Portugese, 'tis so much a Fashion, and Emulation, amongst their Children, to learn to Read, and Write, that they cannot hinder them from it: They will learn it one from another, and are as intent on it, as if it were forbidden them. I remember that being at a Friend's Houfe, whose younger Son, a Child in Coats, was not easily brought to his Book (being taught to read at home by his Mother) I advised to try another way, than requiring it of him as his Duty; we therefore, in a Difficoure on purpose amongst our selves, in his hearing, but without taking any notice of him, declared, That it was the Privilege and Advantage of Heirs and Elder Brothers, to be Scholars; that this made them fine Gentlemen, and beloved by every body: And that for younger Brothers, 'twas a Favour to admit them to Breeding; to be taught to Read and Write, was more than came to their share; they might be ignorant Bumpkins and Clowns, if they pleased. This so wrought upon the Child, that afterwards he desir’d to be taught; would come himself to his Mother to learn, and would not let his Maid be quiet till she come him his Leffon. I doubt not but some way like this might be taken with other Children; and, when their Tempers are found, some thoughts be infillicted into them, that might set them upon desiring of Learning themselves, and make them seek it, as another sort of Play or Recreation. But then, as I said before, it must never be imposed as a Task, nor made a trouble to them. There may be Dice and Play-things, with the Letters on them, to teach Children the Alphabet by playing; and twenty other ways may be found, suitable to their particular Tempers, to make this kind of Learning a Sport to them.

§ 149. Thus Children may be inculeated into a Knowledge of the Letters; be taught to read, without perceiving it to be any thing but a Sport, and play themselves into that which others are whip’d for. Children should not have any thing like Work, or serious, laid on them; neither their Minds, nor Bodies will bear it. It injures their Healths; and their being forced and tied down to their Books in an Age at enmity with all such restraint, has, I doubt not, been the reason, why a great many have hated Books and Learning all their Lives after: 'Tis like a Surfeit, that leaves an Aversion behind not to be removed.

§ 150.
§ 150. I have therefore thought, that if Play-things were fitted to this purpose, as they are usually to none, Contrivances might be made to teach Children to read, whilst they thought they were only Playing. For Example, What if an Ivory-Ball were made like that of the Royal-Oak Lottery, with Thirty two sides, or one rather of Twenty four, or Twenty five sides; and upon several of those sides pasted on an A, upon several others B, on others C, and on others D? I would have you begin with but these four Letters, or perhaps only two at first; and when he is perfect in them, then add another; and so on, till each side having one Letter, there be on it the whole Alphabet. This I would have others play with before him, it being as good a sort of Play to lay a Stake that shall first throw an A or B, as who upon Dice shall throw Six or Seven. This being a Play amongst you, tempt him not to it, lest you make it Buffle; for I would not have him understand 'tis any thing but a Play of Older People, and I doubt not but he will take to it of himself. And that he may have the more Reason to think it is a Play, that he is sometimes in favour admitted to; when the Play is done, the Ball should be laid up safe out of his Reach, that so it may not, by his having it in his keeping at any time, grow stale to him.

§ 151. To keep up his Eagerness to it, let him think it a Game belonging to those above him: And when, by this means, he knows the Letters, by changing them into Syllables, he may learn to read, without knowing how he did so, and never have any Chiding or Trouble about it, nor fall out with Books, because of the hard Usage and Vexation they have caus'd him. Children, if you observe them, take abundance of Pains to learn several Games, which, if they should be enjoin'd them, they would abhor as a Task, and Buffle. I know a Person of great Quality (more yet to be honoured for his Learning and Vertue, than for his Rank and high Place) who by putting on the Six Vowels (for in our Language Y is one) on the Six Sides of a Die, and the remaining Eighteen Consonants on the Sides of Three other Dice; has made this a Play for his Children, that he shall win, who, at one Call, throws most Words on these Four Dice; whereby his eldest Son, yet in Coats, has play'd himself into Spelling, with great Eagerness, and without once having been chid for it, or forced to it.

§ 152. I have seen little Girls exercise whole Hours together, and take abundance of Pains to be expert at Dibblones, as they call it: Whilst I have been looking on, I have thought it wanted only some good Contrivance to make them employ all that Industry about something that might be more useful to them; and methinks 'tis only the Fault and Negligence of elder People, that it is not so. Children are much less apt to be idle than Men; and Men are to be blamed if some Part of that bulle Humour be not turn'd to useful Things; which might be made usefully as delightful to them as tho' they are employ'd in, if Men would be but half so forward to lead the Way, as these little Apes would be to follow. I imagine some wife Portuguese heretofore began this Fashion amongst the Children of her Country, where I have been told, as I said, it is impossible to hinder the Children from learning to read and write: And in some Parts of France they teach one another to Sing and Dance from the Cradle.

§ 153. The Letters pasted upon the Sides of the Dice, or Polygon, were best to be of the Size of those of the Folio Bible to begin with, and none of them Capital Letters; when once he can read what is printed in such Letters, he will not long be ignorant of the great ones: And in the Beginning he should not be perplex'd with Variety. With this Die also, you might have a Play just like the Royal-Oak, which would be another Variety; and play for Cherries, or Apples, &c.

§ 154. Besides these, Twenty other Plays might be invented, depending on Letters, which tho' who like this way, may easily contrive, and get made to this use, if they will. But the Four Dice above-mention'd I think so ease and useful, that it will be hard to find any better, and there will be scarce need of any other.

§ 155. Thus much for learning to read, which let him never be driven to, nor child for; cheat him into it if you can, but make it not a Buffle for
of education.

Reading. 'Tis better it be a Year later before he can read, than that he should this Way get an Aversion to Learning. If you have any Contests with him, let it be in Matters of Moment, of Truth, and good Nature; but lay no Task on him about ABC. Use your Skill to make his Will supple andpliant to Reason: Teach him to love Credit and Commendation; to abhor being thought ill or meanly of, especially by You and his Mother, and then the rest will come all eaily. But, I think, if you will do that, you must not thackle and tie him up with Rules about indifferent Matters, nor rebuke him for every little Fault, or perhaps some, that to others would seem great ones: But of this I have said enough already.

§. 156. When by these gentle Ways he begins to be able to read, some eafe plesant Book suited to his Capacity, should be put into his Hands, wherein the Entertainment that he finds might draw him on, and reward his Pains in reading, and yet not such as should fill his Head with perfectly useles Trumpery, or lay the Principles of Vice and Folly. To this Purpose, I think, Æsop's Fables the best, which being Stories apt to delight and entertain a Child, may yet afford useful Reflections to a grown Man; and if his Memory retain them all his Life after, he will not repent to find them there, amongst his many Thoughts and serious Busineses. If his Æsop has Pictures in it, it will entertain him much the better, and encourage him to read, when it carries the Increase of Knowledge with it: For such visible Objects Children hear talked of in vain, and without any Satisfacion, whilst they have no Idea's of them; those Idea's being not to be had from Sounds, but from the Things themselves, or their Pictures. And therefore, I think, as soon as he begins to spell, as many Pictures of Animals should be got him as can be found, with the Printed Names to them, which at the same Time will invite him to read, and afford him Matter of Enquiry and Knowledge. Reynard the Fox is another Book, I think, may be made use of to the same Purpose. And if those about him will talk to him often about the Stories he has read, and hear him tell them, it will, besides other Advantages, add Encouragement and Delight to his Reading, when he finds there is some Ufe and Pleasure in it. These Baits seem wholly neglected in the ordinary Method; and 'tis usually long before Learners find any Ufe or Pleasure in Reading which may tempt them to it, and so take Books only for fashionable Amusements, or impertinent Troubles, good for nothing.

§. 157. The Lord's Prayer, the Creeds, and Ten Commandments: 'tis necessary he should learn perfectly by heart; but, I think, not by reading them himself in his Primmer, but by some-body's repeating them to him, even before he can read. But learning by heart, and learning to read, should not, I think, be mixed, and so one made to clog the other. But his learning to read, should be made as little Trouble or Busineses to him as might be. What other Books there are in English of the Kind of those above-mentioned, fit to engage the Liking of Children, and tempt them to read, I do not know: But am apt to think, that Children, being generally delivered over to the Method of Schools, where the Fear of the Rod is to inforce, and not any Pleasure of the Employment to invite, them to learn, this sort of useful Books, amongst the Number of silly ones that are of all Sorts, have yet had the Fate to be neglected; and nothing that I know has been consideration of this Kind out of the ordinary Road of the Horn-book, Primmer, Psalter, Testament, and Bible.

§. 158. As for the Bible, which Children are usually employ'd in to exercise and improve their Talent in reading, I think, the promiscuous reading of it, though by Chapters as they lie in Order, is so far from being of any Advantage to Children, either for the perfecting their Reading, or principling their Religion, that perhaps a worse could not be found. For what Pleasure or Encouragement can it be to a Child to exercise himself in reading those Parts of a Book where he understands nothing? And how little are the Law of Moses, the Song of Solomon, the Prophecies in the Old, and the Epistles and Apocalypse in the New Testament, suited to a Child's Capacity? And though the History of the Evangelists, and the Acts, have something easier; yet, taken all together, it is very disproportional to the Understanding of Chil-
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Childhood. I grant, that the Principles of Religion are to be drawn from thence, and in the Words of the Scripture; yet none should be proposed to a Child, but such as are suited to a Child's Capacity and Notions. But this is far from this to read through the whole Bible, and that for reading's sake. And what an odd jumble of Thoughts must a Child have in his Head, if he have any at all, such as he should have concerning Religion, who in his tender Age reads all the Parts of the Bible indiscriminately as the Word of God, without any other Distinction. I am apt to think, that this, in some Men, has been the very Reason why they never had clear and distinct Thoughts of it all their Life-time.

§ 159. And now I am by chance fallen on this Subject, give me leave to say, that there are some Parts of the Scripture which may be proper to be put into the Hands of a Child to engage him to read; such as are the Story of Joseph and his Brethren, of David and Goliath, of David and Jonathan, &c. and others, that he should be made to read for his Instruction, as that, What you would have others do unto you, do you the same unto them; and such other easy and plain moral Rules, which being firmly chos'd, might often be made use of, both for Reading and Instruction together; and so often read till they are thoroughly fixed in the Memory; and then afterwards, as he grows ripe for them, may in their Turn, on fit Occasions, be inculcated as the standing and sacred Rules of his Life and Actions. But the reading of the whole Scripture indiscriminately, is what I think, very inconvenient for Children, till, after having been made acquainted with the plainest fundamental Parts of it, they have got some kind of general View of what they ought principally to believe and practice, which yet, I think, they ought to receive in the very Words of the Scripture, and not in such, as Men prepossess'd by Systems and Analogies, are apt in this Cafe, to make use of and force upon them.

Dr. Wortington, to avoid this, has made a Catechism, which has all its Answers in the precise Words of the Scripture, a Thing of good Example, and such a sound Form of Words as no Christian can except against, as not fit for his Child to learn. Of this, as soon as he can say the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments by Heart, it may be fit for him to learn a Question every Day, or every Week, as his Understanding is able to receive, and his Memory to retain them. And when he has this Catechism perfectly by Heart, so as readily and roundly to answer to any Question in the whole Book, it may be convenient to lodge in his Mind the remaining Moral Rules scattered up and down in the Bible, as the best Exercise of his Memory, and that which may be always a Rule to him, ready at hand, in the whole Conduct of his Life.

§ 160. When he can read English well, it will be reasonable to enter him in Writing. And here the first Thing should be taught him, is to hold his Pen right; and this he should be perfect in, before he should be suffer'd to put it to Paper: For not only Children, but any body else, that would do anything well, should never be put upon too much of it at once, or be set to perfect themselves in two Parts of an Action at the same time, if they can possibly be separated. I think the Italian way of holding the Pen between the Thumb and the Fore-finger alone, may be best; but in this you should consult some good Writing-Master, or any other Person who writes well, and quick. When he has learnt to hold his Pen right, in the next Place he should learn how to lay his Paper, and place his Arm and Body to it. These Practices, being got over, the way to teach him to write without much Trouble, is to get a Plate graved with the Characters of such a Hand as you like best: But you must remember to have them a pretty deep bigger than he should ordinarily write; for, every one naturally comes by degrees to write a less Hand than he at first was taught, but never a bigger. Such a Plate being graved, let several Sheets of good writing-Paper be printed off with red Ink, which he has nothing to do but to go over with a good Pen full'd with black Ink, which will quickly bring his Hand to the Formation of those Characters, being at first showed where to begin, and how to form every Letter. And when he can do that well, he must then exercise on fair Paper; and so may easily be brought to write the Hand you desire.

§ 161.
§ 161. When he can write well and quick, I think it may be convenient, not only to continue the Exercise of his Hand in Writing; but also to improve the use of it farther in Drawing. A thing very useful to a Gentleman in several Occasions; but especially if he travel, as that which helps a Man often to express, in a few Lines well put together, what a whole Sheet of Paper in Writing would not be able to represent and make intelligible. How many Buildings may a Man see, how many Machines and Habits meet with, the Idea’s whereof would be easily retain’d and communicated by a little Skill in Drawing; which being committed to Words are in Danger to be lost, or, at best, but ill retained in the most exact Descriptions? I do not mean that I would have your Son a perfect Painter; to be that to any tolerable Degree, will require more Time than a young Gentleman can spare from his other Improvements of greater Moment. But so much Insight into Perspective and Skill in Drawing, as will enable him to represent tolerably on Paper any thing he sees, except Faces, may, I think, be got in a little time, especially if he have a Genius to it; but where that is wanting, unless it be in the things absolutely necessary, it is better to let him pass them by quietly, than to vex him about them to no purpose: And therefore in this, as in all other things not absolutely necessary, the Rule holds, Nihil invita Minus.

§ 1. Short-hand, an Art, as I have been told, known only in England, may perhaps be thought worth the Learning, both for Dispatch in what Men write for their own Memory, and Concealment of what they would not have lie open to every Eye. For he that has once learn’d any Sort of Character, may easily vary it to his own private Use or Fancy, and with more Contraction suited to the Business he would employ it in. Mr. waist, the best contriv’d of any I have seen, may, as I think, by one who knows and considers Grammar well, be made much easier and shorter. But for the learning this compendious way of Writing, there will be no need hastily to look out a Manner; it will be early enough when any convenient Opportunity offers it self, at any time after his Hand is well set free and quick Writing. For Boys have but little use of Short-hand, and should by no means practice it till they can write perfectly well, and have thoroughly fix’d the Habit of doing so.

§ 162. As soon as he can speak English, ’tis time for him to learn some other Language: This no Body doubts of, when French is propos’d. And the Reason is, because People are accustomed to the right Way of teaching that Language, which is by talking it into Children in constant Conversations, and not by Grammatical Rules. The Latin Tongue would easily be taught the same Way, if his Tutor, being constantly with him, would talk nothing else to him, and make him answer in the same Language. But because French is a living Language, and to be used more in speaking, that should be first learn’d, that the yet pliant Organs of Speech might be accommodated to a due Formation of those Sounds, and he get the Habit of pronouncing French well, which is the harder to be done the longer it is delay’d.

§ 163. When he can speak and read French well, which in this Method is usually in a Year or Two, he should proceed to Latin, which is a wonder Parents, when they have had the Experiment in French, should not think ought to be learn’d the same Way, by Talking and Reading. Only Care is to be taken, whilst he is learning these foreign Languages, by speaking and reading nothing else with his Tutor, that he do not forget to read English, which may be preferred by his Mother, or some Body else, hearing him read some chosen Parts of the Scripture, or other English Books, every Day.

§ 164. Latin I look upon as absolutely necessary to a Gentleman; and indeed Cullum, which prevails over every thing, has made it so much a Part of Education, that even those Children are whip’d to it, and made spend many Hours of their precious time uneasily in Latin, who, after they are once gone from School, are never to have more to do with it as long as they live. Can there be any thing more ridiculous, than that a Father should
should waftle his own Money, and his Son’s time, in setting him to learn the Roman Language, when at the same time he designs him for a Trade, wherein he having no Use of Latin, fails not to forget that little which he brought from School, and which ’tis Ten to One he abhors for the ill Usage it procure’d him? Could it be believ’d, unless we had every-where amongst us Examples of it, that a Child should be forced to learn the Rudiments of a Language which he is never to use in the Coufe of Life that he is designed to, and neglect all the while the writing a good Hand, and casting Account, which are of great Advantage in all Conditions of Life, and to moll Trades indispensably necessary? But though these Qualifications, requisite to Trade and Commerce, and the Business of the World, are seldom or never to be had at Grammar-Schools; yet thither, not only Gentlemen fend their younger Sons, intended for Trades, but even Tradesmen and Farmers fail not to fend their Children, though they have neither Intention nor Ability to make them Scholars. If you ask them why they do this, they think it as strange a Quelion, as if you should ask them, why they go to Church. Customs serves for Reason, and has, to those who take it for Reason, so concommunicated this Method, that it is almost Religiouſly observed by them, and they fick to it, as if their Children had feare a Orthodox Education, unless they learn’d Lily’s Grammar.

§. 165. But how necessary forever Latin be to some, and is thought to be to others, to whom it is of no manner of Ufe or Service; yet the ordinary way of Learning it in a Grammar-School is that, which having had thoughts about, I cannot be forward to encourage. The Reafons against it are fo evi- dent, and cogent, that they have prevailed with some intelligent Perfons, to quit the ordinary Road, not without Success, though the Method made ufe of was not exactly that which I imagine the eafieft, and in fhort is this: To trouble the Child with no Grammar at all, but to have Latin, as English has been, without the Perplexity of Rules, talked into him; for if you will con- sider it, Latin is no more unknown to a Child, when he comes into the World, than English: And yet he learns English without Mafter, Rule, or Grammar; and fo might he Latin too, as Tully did, if he had fome Body always to talk to him in this Language. And when we fo often fea a French Woman teach an English Girl to fpake and read French perfectly in a Year or Two, without any Rule of Grammar, or any thing else but pratling to her; I cannot but wonder, how Gentlemen have been over-ften this way for their Sons, and thought them more dull or incapable than their Daughters.

§. 166. If therefore a Man could be got, who, himself fpaking good Latin, would always be about your Son, talk constantly to him, and affuer him to fpake or read nothing else, this would be the true and genuine way, and that which I would propofe, not only as the eafieft and beft, wherein a Child might without Pains or Chiding get a Language, which others are wont to be whip’d for at School fix or feven Years together; but also as that, where- in at the fame time he might have his Mind and Manners formed, and he be inftucted to boot in feveral Sciences, such as are a good Part of Geography, Astronomy, Chronology, Anatomy, besides some Parts of History, and all other Parts of Knowledge of Things, that fall under the Senfes, and require little more than Memory. For there, if we would take the true way, our Knowl- edge should begin, and in those Things be laid the Foundation; and not in the abftracft Notions of Logick and Metaphysics, which are firter to amufe, than inform the Understanding, in its first setting out towards Knowledge. When Young Men have had their Heads employ’d a while in those abftracft Speculations without finding the Success and Improvement, or that Ufe of them which they expected, they are apt to have mean Thoughts, either of Learning, or themselves; they are tempted to quit their Studies, and throw away their Books, as containing nothing but hard Words, and empty Sounds; or else to conclude, that if there be any real Knowledge in them, they themselves have not Understandings capable of it. That this is fo, perhaps I could affure you upon my own Experience. Amongst other Things to be learnt by a young Gentleman in this Method, whilst others of his Age are wholly taken up with Latin and Languages, I may also fet down Geometry for Vol. III.
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one, having known a young Gentleman, bred something after this way, able to demonstrate several Propositions in Euclid, before he was Thirteen.

§. 167. But if such a Man cannot be got, who speaks good Latin, and being able to instruct your Son in all these Parts of Knowledge, will undertake it by this Method; the next best is to have him taught as near this way as may be, which is by taking some easy and plesant Book, such as Alphor’s Fables, and writing the English Translation (made as literal as it can be) in one Line, and the Latin Words which answer each of them, just over it in another. Thefe let him read every Day over and over again, till he perfectly understands the Latin; and then go on to another Fable, till he be also perfect in that, not omitting what he is already perfect in, but sometimes reviewing that, to keep it in his Memory. And when he comes to Write, let thebe be let him for Copies, which with the Exercise of his Hand, will also advance him in Latin. This being a more imperfect way than by talking Latin unto him; the Formation of the Verbs first, and afterwards the Declensions of the Nouns and Pronouns perfectly learn’d by Heart, may facilitate his Acquaintance with the Genius and Manner of the Latin Tongue, which varies the Signification of Verbs, and Nouns, not as the Modern Languages do by Particles prefix’d, but by changing the last Syllables. More than this of Grammar I think he need not have, till he can read himself Sanscrits Minerva with Scipion and Periocius’s Notes.

In teaching of Children this too, I think, is to be observ’d, that in most Cafes, where they stick, they are not to be farther puzzled, by putting them upon finding it out themselves; as by asking such Questions as thefe, (viz.) Which is the Nominative Case, in the Sentence they are to construe; or demanding, what _auro_ signifiies, to lead them to the Knowledge, what _abulere_ signifies, &c. when they cannot readily tell. This waifes time only in disturbing them: For whilfe they are learning, and apply themselves with Attention, they are to be kept in good Humour, and every thing made easie to them, and as pleasent as possible. Therefore, where ever they are at a stand, and are willing to go forwars, help them presently over the Difficulty, without any Rebuke or Chiding, remembering that where hurter ways are taken, they are the Effect only of Pride and Peevishnes in the Teacher, who expects Children shound instantly be Masters of as much as he knows: Whereas he should rather consider, that his Bulfines is to settle in them Habits, not angrily to inculcate Rules, which serve for little in the Conduct of our Lives; at leaff are of no Ufe to Children, who forget them as soon as given. In Sciences where their Reason is to be Exercized, I will not deny, but this Method may sometimes be varied, and Difficulties propos’d on purpose to excite Industry, and accustom the Mind to impoy its own Strength and Sagacity in Reasoning. But yet, I guess, this is not to be done to Children whilfe very young; nor at their Entrance upon any sort of Knowledge: Then every thing of itelf is difficult, and the great Ufe and Skill of a Teacher is to make all as easie as he can. But particularly in learning of Languages there is leaff Occasion for pofing of Children. For Languages, being to be learnt by Roast, Custom, and Memory, are then spoken in greatest Perfection, when all Rules of Grammar are utterly forgotten. I grant the Grammar of a Language is sometimes very carefully to be studied; but it is only to be studied by a grown Man, when he applies himself to the Understanding of any Language critically, which is seldom the Bulfines of any but profes’d Scholars. This I think will be agreed to, that if a Gentleman be to study any Language, it ought to be that of his own Country, that he may understand the Language, which he has constant ufe of, with the utmost Accuracy.

There is yet a farther Reason, why Masters and Teachers should raise no Difficulties to their Scholars; but on the contrary should smooth their way, and readily help them forwars, where they find them flop. Children’s Minds are narrow and weak, and usually susceptible but of one Thought at once. Whatever is in a Child’s Head fills it for the time, especially if set on with any Passion. It should therefore be the Skill and Art of the Teacher, to clear their Heads of all other Thoughts, whilfe they are learning of any thing, the
the better to make room for what he would inflit into them, that it may be receiv'd with Attention and Application, without which it leaves no Impression. The Natural Temper of Children disposes their Minds to wander. Novelty alone takes them; whatever that presents, they are presently eager to have a taste of, and are as soon satiated with it. They quickly grow weary of the same thing, and so have almost their whole Delight in Change and Variety. It is a Contradiction to the Natural State of Childhood for them to fix their fleeting Thoughts. Whether this be owing to the Temper of their Brains, or the Quickness or Ineffability of their Animal Spirits, over which the Mind has not yet got a full Command; this is visible, that it is a Pain to Children to keep their Thoughts steady to any thing. A lifting continued Attention is one of the hardest Tasks can be imposed on Them; And therefore, he that requires their Application, should endeavour to make what he propofes as grateful and agreeable as possible: At leaft, he ought to take care not to join any displeasing or frightful Idea with it. If they come not to their Books with some kind of liking and relish, 'tis no wonder their Thoughts should be perpetually shifting from what disgusts them; and seek better Entertainment in more pleasing Objects, after which they will unavoidably be gadding.

'Tis, I know, the usual Method of Tutours, to endeavour to procure Attention in their Scholars, and to fix their Minds to the Bufiness in Hand, by Rebukes and Corrections, if they find them ever so little wandering. But such Treatment is sure to produce the quite contrary effect. Passionate Words or Blows from the Tutour fill the Child's Mind with Torour and Affrightment, which immediately takes it wholly up, and leaves no room for other Impressions. I believe there is no body, that reads this, but may recollect, what Disorder Haftly or Impetuous Words from his Parents or Teachers have caus'd in his Thoughts, how for the time it has turn'd his Brains, so that he scarce knew what was said by or to him: He presently lost the sight of what he was upon, his Mind was fill'd with Disorder and Confusion, and in that state was no longer capable of Attention to any thing else.

'Tis true, Parents and Governours ought to settle and establish their Authority, by an Awe over the Minds of thofe under their Tuition; and to rule them by that: But when they have got an Ascendant over them, they should use it with great Moderation, and not make themselves such Scarecrows, that their Scholars should always tremble in their sight. Such an Authority may make their Government easie to themselves, but of very little use to their Pupils. 'Tis impossible Children should learn any thing whilst their thoughts are poffeied and disturb'd with any Paffion, especially Fear, which makes the strongest Impression on their yet tender and weak Spirits. Keep the Mind in an easie calm Temper, when you would have it receive your Instructions, or any increafe of Knowledge. 'Tis as impossible to draw fair and regular Characters on a trembling Mind as on a shacking Paper.

The great Skill of a Teacher is to get and keep the Attention of his Scholar; whilst he has that, he is sure to advance as fast as the Learner's Abilities will carry him: And without that, all his buffle and pother will be to little or no purpofe. To attain this, he should make the Child comprehend (as much as may be) the Usefulness of what he teaches him, and let him fee, by what he has learnt, that he can do something which he could not do before; something, which gives him some Power and real Advantage above others, who are ignorant of it. To this he should add Sweetness in all his Instructions; and by a certain Tenderness in his whole Carriage, make the Child sensible that he loves him and defigns nothing but his good, the only way to beget Love in the Child, which will make him hearten to his Labours, and relish what he teaches him.

Nothing but Obstinacy should meet with any imperiousnecfs or rough usage. All other Faults should be corrected with a gentle Hand, and kind encouraging words will work better and more effectually upon a willing Mind, and even prevent a good deal of that Perversion, which rough and imperious usage often produces in well disposed and generous Minds. 'Tis true, Obstinacy
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Obstinacy and wilful Neglects must be master’d, even though it cost blows to do it: But I am apt to think Perverseness in the Pupils is often the effect of Forwardness in the Tuteur; and that most Children would seldom have deserved Blows, if needles and misapplied Roughness had not taught them Ill-Nature, and given them an Aversion for their Teacher, and all that comes from him.

Inadvertency, Forgetfulness, Unsteadiness, and Wandering of Thought, are the natural Faults of Childhood: And therefore, where they are not observ’d to be wilful, are to be mention’d softly, and gain’d upon by time. If every slip of this kind produces Anger and Rating, the occasions of Rebuke and Corrections will return so often, that the Tuteur will be a constant torment and uneasiness to his Pupils. Which one thing is enough to hinder their profiting by his Leasons, and to defeat all his Methods of Instructiuns.

Let the Awe he has got upon their Minds be so tempered with the constant Marks of Tenderness and good Will, that Affection may spur them to their Duty, and make them find a Pleasure in complying with his Dictates. This will bring them with Satisfaction to their Tuteur; make them hearken to him, as to one who is their Friend, that cherishes them, and takes pains for their Good: This will keep their Thoughts eafe and free whilst they are with him, the only temper wherein the Mind is capable of receiving new Informations, and of admitting into it self those Impressions, which, if not taken and retain’d, all that they and their Teacher do together is lost labour; there is much Uneasiness and little Learning.

§ 168. When, by this way of interlining Latin and English one with another, he has got a moderate Knowledge of the Latin Tongue, he may then be advance’d a little farther to the reading of some other eafe Latin Book, such as Jujinus or Eurypides, and to make the reading and understanding of it the less tedious and difficult to him, let him help himself, if he please, with the English Translation. Nor let the Objection, that he will then know it only by rote, fright any one. This when well considered, is not of any moment against, but plainly for this way of learning a Language. For Languages are only to be learn’d by rote; and a Man who does not speak English or Latin perfectly by rote, so that having thought of the thing he would speak of, his Tongue of course without thought of Rule or Grammar, falls into the proper Expression and Idiom of that Language, does not speak it well, nor is Master of it. And I would fain have any one name to me that Tongue, that any one can learn, or speak as he should do, by the Rules of Grammar. Languages were made not by Rules or Art, but by Accident, and the common use of the People. And he that will speak them well, has no other Rule but that; nor any thing to truft to but his Memory, and the habit of speaking after the Fashion learn’d from those that are allow’d to speak properly, which in other Words is only to speak by rote.

It will possibly be asked here, Is Grammar then of no use? And have those who have taken so much pains in reducing several Languages to Rules and Observations; who have writ so much about Declensions and Conjugations, about Comords and Syntaxes, lost their labour, and been learn’d to no purpose? I say not so, Grammar has its place too. But this I think I may say, There is more Stric a great deal made with it than there needs, and those are tormented about it to whom it does not at all belong: I mean Children, at the Age wherein they are usually perplex’d with it in Grammar-Schools.

There is nothing more evident, than that Languages learn’d by roat serve well enough for the common Affairs of Life and ordinary Commerce. Nay, Perfons of Quality of the Softer Sex, and such of them, as have spent their Time in Well-bred Company, shew us, that this plain Natural way, without the least Study or Knowledge of Grammar, can carry them to a great Degree of Elegance and Politeness in their Language: And there are Ladies, who, without knowing what Tenses and Participles, Adverbs and Prepositions are, speak as properly and as correctly (they might take it for an ill Complement, if I said as any Country School-Master) as most Gentlemen who have been bred up in the ordinary Methods of Grammar-Schools. Grammar there-
fore we see may be spared in some Cakes. The question then will be, To Grammar. whom should it be taught, and when? To this I answer:

1. Men learn Languages for the ordinary intercourse of Society and Communication of thoughts in common Life, without any farther design in their use of them. And for this purpose, the Original way of Learning a Language by Conversation, not only serves well enough, but is to prefer'd as the most Expeditious, Proper, and Natural. Therefore, to this use of Language one may answer, That Grammar is not necessary. This so many of my Readers must be forced to allow, as underland what I here say, and who, conversing with others, understand them without having ever been taught the Grammar of the English Tongue. Which I suppose is the Cate of incomparably the greatest part of English Men; of whom I have never yet known any one who learn'd his Mother-Tongue by Rules.

2. Others there are, the greatest part of whose Business in this World, is to be done with their Tongues, and with their Pens; and to thole it is convenient, if not necessary, that they should speak properly and correctly, whereby they may let their Thoughts into other Men's Minds the more easily, and with the greater Impression. Upon this Account it is, that any sort of speaking, so as will make him be understood, is not thought enough for a Gentleman. He ought to study Grammar amongst the other Helps of speaking well, but it must be the Grammar of his own Tongue, of the Language he uses, that he may understand his own Country Speech nicely, and speak it properly without shocking the Ears of thole it is addressed to with Solecisms and offensive Irregularities. And to this purpose Grammar is necessary. But it is the Grammar only of their own proper Tongues, and to thole only who would take Pains in cultivating their Language, and in perfecting their Stiles. Whether all Gentlemen should not do this, I leave to be considered, since the Want of Propriety and Grammatical Exactness, is thought very misbecoming one of that Rank, and usually draws on one guilty of such Faults, the Censure of having had a lower Breeding and worse Company than suits with his Quality. If this be so (as I suppose it is) it will be Matter of Wonder why young Gentlemen are forced to learn the Grammars of foreign and dead Languages, and are never once told of the Grammar of their own Tongues: They do not so much as know there is any such Thing, much less is it made their Business to be instructed in it. Nor is their own Language ever propozed to them as worthy their Care and Cultivating, though they have daily Use of it, and are not seldom in the future Course of their Lives judg'd of by their handomre or awkward way of expressing themselves in it. Whereas the Languages, whose Grammars they have been so much employed in, are such as probably they shall scarce ever speak or write; or if upon Occasion this should happen, they shall be excused for the Mistakes and Faults they make in it. Would not a Chinag, who took notice of this way of Breeding, be apt to imagine that all our young Gentlemen were design'd to be Teachers and Professors of the dead Languages of foreign Countries, and not to be Men of Business in their own?

3. There is a third sort of Men, who apply themselves to two or three foreign, dead, (and which amongst us are called the) learned Languages; make them their Study, and pique themselves upon their Skill in them. No doubt those who propozed to themselves the learning of any Language with this View, and would be critically exact in it, ought carefully to study the Grammar of it. I would not be mistaken here, as if this were to undervalue Greek and Latin: I grant there are Languages of great Use and Excellency, and a Man can have no Place amongst the Learned in this Part of the World, who is a Stranger to them. But the Knowledge a Gentleman would ordinarly draw for his Use out of the Roman and Greek Writers, I think he may attain without studying the Grammars of those Tongues, and, by bare reading, may come to understand them sufficiently for all his Purposes. How much farther he shall at any time be concerned to look into the Grammar and critical Niceties of either of these Tongues, he himself will be able to determine, when he comes to propoz a himsel the Study
Grammar. Study of any Thing that shall require it. Which brings me to the other Part of the Enquiry, viz.

When Grammar should be Taught?

To which, upon the premised Grounds, the Answcr is obvious, viz.

That if Grammar ought to be taught at any time, it must be to one that can speak the Language already, how else can he be taught the Grammar of it? This at least is evident from the Practice of the Wise and Learned Nations amongst the Antients. They made it a Part of Education to cultivate their own, not foreign Tongues. The Greeks counted all other Nations Barbarous, and had a Contempt for their Languages. And though the Greek-Learning grew in Credit amongst the Romans towards the End of their Common-wealth, yet it was the Roman Tongue that was made the Study of their Youth: Their own Language they were to make use of, and therefore it was their own Language they were instructed and exercised in.

But more particularly to determine the proper Season for Grammar: I do not see how it can reasonably be made any one’s Study, but as an Introduction to Rhetorick; when it is thought Time to put any one upon the Care of polishing his Tongue, and of speaking better than the Illiterate, then is the Time for him to be instructed in the Rules of Grammar, and not before. For Grammar being to teach Men not to speak, but to speak correctly, and according to the exact Rules of the Tongue, which is one Part of Elegancy, there is little use of the one to him that has no need of the other; where Rhetorick is not necessary, Grammar may be spared. I know not why any one should waste his Time, and beat his Head about the Latin Grammar, who does not intend to be a Critic, or make Speeches, and write Dispatches in it. When any one finds in himself a Necessity or Disposition to study any foreign Language to the Bottom, and to be nicely exact in the Knowledge of it, it will be time enough to take a Grammatical Survey of it. If his Ufe of it be only to understand some Books writ in it, without a critical Knowledge of the Tongue it self, Reading alone, as I have said, will attain this End, without charging the Mind with the multiplied Rules and Intricacies of Grammar.

§ 169. For the Exercise of his Writing, let him sometimes translate Latin into English: But the learning of Latin being nothing but the learning of Words, a very unpleasant Business both to Young and Old, join as much other real Knowledge with it as you can, beginning still with that which lies most obvious to the Senses; such as is the Knowledge of Minerals, Plants, and Animals; and particularly Timber and Fruit-Trees, their Parts, and Ways of Propagation, wherein a great deal may be taught a Child, which will not be useful to the Man. But more especially Geography, Astronomy, and Anatomy. But whatever you are teaching him, have a Care that you do not clog him with too much at once; or make any Thing his Business, but downright Virtue, or reprove him for any Thing but Vice, or some apparent Tendency to it.

§ 170. But if, after all, his Fate be to go to School to get the Latin Tongue, 'twill be in vain to talk to you concerning the Method I think best to be observed in Schools; you must submit to that you find there, not expect to have it changed for your Son; but yet by all Means obtain, if you can, that he be not employ'd in making Latin Themes and Declensions, and leaf of all Verses of any kind. You may insist on it, if it will do any Good, that you have no Design to make him either a Latin Orator, or Poet, but barely would have him understand perfectly a Latin Author; and that you obviate, those who teach any of the modern Languages, and that with Success, never amuse their Scholars to make Speeches or Verses either in French or Italian, their Businesses being Language barely, and not Invention.

Themes. § 171. But to tell you a little more fully why I would not have him exercise'd in making of Themes and Verses. As to Themes, they have, I confess, the Pretence of something useful, which is to teach People to speak handsomely and well on any Subject; which, if it could be attained this Way, I own, would be a great Advantage, there being nothing more becoming a Gentleman,
Gentleman, not more useful in all the Occurrences of Life, than to be able, on any Occasion, to speak well, and to the Purpose. But this I say, that the making of Themes, as is usual in Schools, helps not one jot toward it: For do but consider what 'tis, in making a Theme, that a young Lad is employ'd about; 'tis to make a Speech on some Latin Saying; as, Omnium victor amor, or Non liceat in Bello his pecunia, &c. And here the poor Lad, who wants Knowledge of those Things he is to speak of, which is to be had only from Time and Observation, must set his Invention on the Rack to say something where he knows nothing; which is a sort of Egyptian Tyranny, to bid them make Bricks, who have not yet any of the Materials. And therefore it is usual, in such Cafes, for the poor Children to go to those of higher Forms with this Petition, Pray give me a little Souse; which, whether it be more reasonable or more ridiculous, is not easy to determine. Before a Man can be in any Capacity to speak on any Subject, 'tis necessary he be acquainted with it; or else 'tis as foolish to set him to discourse of it, as to set a blind Man to talk of Colours, or a deaf Man of Music. And would you not think him a little crack'd, who would require another to make an Argument on a Moor-Point, who understands nothing of our Laws? And what, I pray, do School-Boys understand concerning those Matters, which are used to be proposed to them in their Themes, as Subjects to discourse on, to what and exercise their Fancies?

§. 172. In the next Place consider the Language that their Themes are made in: 'Tis Latin, a Language foreign in their Country, and long since dead every-where: A Language which your Son, 'tis a thousand to one, shall never have an Occasion once to make a Speech in as long as he lives, after he comes to be a Man; and a Language wherein the Manner of expressing one's self is so far different from our's, that to be perfect in that, would very little improve the Purity and Facility of his English Style. Besides that, there is now so little Room, or Use, for such Speeches in our own Language, in any Part of our English Busines, that I can see no Pretence for this sort of Exercise in our Schools, unleas it can be supposed, that the making of such Latin Speeches should be the Way to teach Men to speak well in English extempore. The Way to that I should think rather to be this: That there should be propos'd to young Gentlemen rational and useful Questions, suited to their Age and Capacities, and on Subjects not wholly unknown to them, nor out of their Way: Such as these, when they are ripe for Exercises of this Nature, they should extempore, or after a little Meditation upon the Spot, speak to, without penning of any thing: For I ask, if we will examine the Effects of this Way of Learning to speak well, who speak best in any Busines, when Occasion calls them to it upon any Debate, either those who have accustomed themselves to compose and write down before-hand what they would say; or those, who, thinking only of the Matter, to understand that as well as they can, use themselves only to speak extempore? And he that shall judge by this will be little apt to think, That the accustomed him to studied Speeches, and yet Compositions, is the Way to fit a young Gentleman for Busines.

§. 173. But perhaps we shall be told, 'Tis to improve and perfect them in the Latin Tongue. 'Tis true, that is their proper Busines at School; but the making of Themes is not the Way to it: That perplexes their Brains about Invention of Things to be said, not about the Signification of Words to be learnt; and when they are making a Theme, 'tis Thoughts they search and sweat for, and not Language. But the Learning and Mastery of a Tongue being uneafe and unpleasant enough in it itself, should not be cumbr'd with any other Difficulties, as is done in this way of proceeding. In fine, If Boys Invention be to be quick'en'd by such Exercise, let them make Themes in English, where they have Facility, and a Command of Words, and will better see what kind of Thoughts they have, when put into their own Language: And if the Latin Tongue be to be learned, let it be done the easiest Way, without toiling and disgustng the Mind by so unease an Employment as that of making Speeches join'd to it.

§. 174. If these may be any Reasons against Children's making Latin Perfect. Themes at School, I have much more to say, and of more Weight, against their
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Verse, their making Verse; Verfe of any fort: For if he has no Genius to Poetry, 'tis the most unreasonable Thing in the World to torment a Child, and waft his Time about that which can never succeed; and if he have a Poeticke Vein, 'tis to me the strangelft thing in the World that the Father should defire or suffer it to be cherifhed or improved. Methinks the Parents shou'd labour to have it stifled and suppressed as much as may be; and I know not what Reason a Father can have to with his Son a Poet, who does not defire to have him bid Defiance to all other Callings and Bufinefs; Which is not yet the World of the Cafe; for if he proves a fuccefsful Rhymer, and gets once the Reputation of a Wit, I defire it may be confidered, what Company and Places he is like to spend his Time in, nay, and Eftate too: For it is very feldom seen, that any one discovers Mines of Gold or Silver in Paraffus. 'Tis a pleafant Air, but a barren Soil; and there are very few Infances of thofe who have added to their Patrimony by any thing they have reaped from thence. Poetry and Gaming, which ufually go together, are alike in this too, That they feldom bring any Advantage but to thofe who have nothing elle to live on. Men of Eftates almoft continually go away Lofers; and 'tis well if they ecape at a cheaper Rate than their whole Eftates, or the greateft Part of them. If therefore you would not have your Son the Fiddle to every jovial Company, without whom the Sparks could not relifh their Wine, nor know how to pafs an Afternoon idly; if you would not have him waft his Time and Eftate to divert others, and condemn the dirty Acres left him by his Anceftors; I do not think you will much care he should be a Poet, or that his School-maftcr fhould enter him in verifying. But yet, if any one will think Poetry a defirable Quality in his Son, and that the Study of it would raife his Fancy and Parts, he must needs yet confefs, that, to that end, reading the excellent Greek and Roman Poets is of more Ufe than making bad Verses of his own, in a Language that is not his own. And he whole Defign it is to excel in English Poetry, would not, I guefs, think the Way to it were to make his firft Eflays in Latin Verses.

§ 175. Another Thing very ordinary in the vulgar Method of Grammar-Schools there is, of which I fee no ufe at all, unlefs it be to baulk young Lads in the Way to learning Languages, which, in my Opinion, fhould be made as fefte and pleafant as may be; and that which was painful in it, as much as poiffible quite removed. That which I mean, and here complain of, is, their being forced to learn by heart great Parfels of the Authors which are taught them; wherein I can difcover no Advantage at all, efpecially to the Bufinefs they are upon. Languages are to be learned only by Reading and Talking, and not by Scraps of Authors got by heart; which, when a Man's Head is bufhed with, he has got the fift Furniture of a Pedant, and 'tis the ready way to make him one; than which there is nothing lefs becoming a Gentleman. For what can be more ridiculous, than to mix the rich and handfome Thoughts and Sayings of others with a deal of poor Stuff of his own; which is thereby the more expofed, and has no other Grace in it, nor will otherwife recommend the Speaker, than a thread-bare Bufet Coat would, that was fet off with large Patches of Scarlet and glittering Brocade? Indeed, where a Paffage comes in the Way whose Matter is worth Remembrance, and the Expression of it very clofe and excellent (as there are Many fuch in the ancient Authors) it may not be amifs to lodge it in the Minds of young Scholars, and with fuch admirable Strokes of thofe Great Masters sometimes excife the Memories of School-Boys: But their Learning of their Leffons by heart, as they happen to fall out in their Books without Choice or Difinction, I know not what it serves for, but to mispend their Time and Pains, and give them a Difguft and Averfion to their Books, wherein they find nothing but ufelefs Trouble.

§ 176. I hear 'tis faid, That Children fhould be employ'd in getting Things by heart to exercife and improve their Memories. I could with this were tied with as much Authority of Reafon as it is with Forwardnes of Assurance, and that this Practice were eflablifhed upon good Observation, more than old Cuftom: For it is evident that Strength of Memory is owing to an happy Conftituion, and not to any habitual Improvement got by Exercife,
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et al. 'Tis true, what the Mind is intent upon, and, for fear of letting it slip, often imprints aforeth on it self by frequent Reflection, that it is apt to retain, but still according to its own natural Strength of Retention. An Imprint made on Bees-wax or Lead, will not last so long as on Brass or Steel. Indeed, if it be renew'd often, it may last the longer; but every new reflecting on it is a new Imprint, and 'tis from thence one is to reckon, if one would know how long the Mind retains it. But the learning Pages of Latin by heart, no more fits the Memory for Retention of any thing else, than the graving of one Sentence in Lead, makes it the more capable of retaining firmly any other Characters. If such a sort of Exercise of the Memory were able to give it Strength, and improve our Parts, Players of all other People must needs have the best Memories, and be the best Company. But whether the Scraps they have got into their Heads this way, make them remember other things the better; and whether their Parts be improved proportionally to the Pains they have taken in getting by heart others Sayings, Experience will shew. Memory is so necessary to all Parts and Conditions of Life, and so little is to be done without it, that we are not to fear it should grow dull, and useles for want of Exercise, if Exercise would make it grow stronger. But I fear this Faculty of the Mind is not capable of much Help and Amendment in general by any Exercise or Endeavour of our's, at least not by that used upon this Pretence in Grammar-Schools. And if Xenex was able to call every common Soldier by his Name, in his Army that consist'd of no less than an Hundred thousand Men, I think it may be guessed, he got not this wonderful Ability by Learning his Leissons by heart when he was a Boy. This Method of exercising and improving the Memory by toilsome Repetitions without Book of what they read, is, I think, little used in the Education of Princes, which, if it had that Advantage is talked of, should be as little neglected in them as in the meanest School-boys: Princes having as much need of good Memories as any Men living, and have generally an equal Share in this Faculty with other Men; though it has never been taken care of this way. What the Mind is intent upon, and careful of, that it remembers best, and for the Reason above-mentioned: To which, if Method and Order be join'd, all is done, I think, that can be, for the Help of a weak Memory; and he that will take any other way to do it, especially that of charging it with a Train of other People's Words, which he that learns cares not for, will, I guess, scarce find the Profit answer half the Time and Pains employ'd in it.

I do not mean hereby, that there should be no Exercise given to Children's Memories. I think their Memories should be employ'd, but not in learning by Roat whole Pages out of Books, which, the Leisson being once said, and that Task over, are deliver'd up again to Oblivion, and neglected for ever. This mends neither the Memory nor the Mind. What they should learn by heart out of Authors, I have above-mentioned: And such Wise and Useful Sentences being once given in charge to their Memories, they should never be suffer'd to forget again, but be often call'd to account for them; where-by, besides the Ufe those Sayings may be to them in their future Life, as so many good Rules and Observations, they will be taught to reflect often, and bethink themselves what they have to remember, which is the only way to make the Memory quick and useful. The Custom of frequent Reflection will keep their Minds from running a-drift, and call their Thoughts home from useles unattended Roving: And therefore, I think, it may do well, to give them something every Day to remember; but something still, that is in it self worth the remembering, and what you would never have out of Mind, whenever you call, or they themselves search for it. This will oblige them often to turn their Thoughts inwards, than which you cannot with them a better intellectual Habit.

§ 177. But under whose Care ever a Child is put to be taught, during the tender and flexible Years of his Life, this is certain, it should be one who thinks Latin and Language the least part of Education; one, who knowing how much Virtue and a well-temper'd Soul is to be prefered to any fort of Learning or Language, makes this chief Business to form the Mind of his Scholars, and give that a right disposition: which, if once got, though
all the rest should be neglected, would, in due time, produce all the rest; and which if it be not got, and settled, so as to keep out ill and vicious Habits, Languages and Sciences, and all the other Accomplishments of Education, will be to no purpose, but to make the worse or more dangerous Man. And indeed whatever first is made about getting of Latin, as the great and difficult Business, his Mother may teach it him herself, if the will but spend two or three Hours in a Day with him, and make him read the Evangelists in Latin to her: For the need but buy a Latin Testament, and having got somebody to mark the last Syllable but one where it is long, in words above two Syllables (which is enough to regulate her Pronunciation and Accenting the Words) read daily in the Gospels, and then let her avoid Understanding them in Latin if she can. And when she understands the Evangelists in Latin, let her, in the same manner, read Æsop's Fables, and so proceed on to Eustropius, Justin, and other such Books. I do not mention this, as an Imagination of what a Fancie may do, but as of a thing I have known done, and the Latin Tongue with ease got this way.

But to return to what I was saying: He that takes on him the charge of bringing up young Men, especially young Gentlemen, should have something more in him than Latin, more than even a Knowledge in the Liberal Sciences: He should be a Perfom of eminent Virtue and Prudence, and with good Sense, have good Humour, and the Skill to carry himself with gravity, ease, and kindness, in a constant Conversation with his Pupils. But of this I have spoken at large in another place.

§. 178. At the same time that he is learning French and Latin, a Child, as has been said, may also be enter'd in Arithmetic, Geography, Chronology, History, and Geometry too. For if these be taught him in French or Latin, when he begins once to understand either of these Tongues, he will get a Knowledge in these Sciences, and the Language to boot.

Geography. Geography, I think, should be begun with: For the learning of the Figure of the Globe, the Situation and Boundaries of the Four Parts of the World, and that of particular Kingdoms and Countries, being only an exercise of the Eyes and Memory, a Child with pleasure will learn and retain them: And this is so certain, that I now live in the House with a Child, whom his Mother has so well instructed this way in Geography, that he knew the Limits of the Four Parts of the World, could readily point, being asked, to any Country upon the Globe, or any County in the Map of England; knew all the great Rivers, Promontories, Straits, and Bays in the World, and could find the Longitude and Latitude of any Place, before he was six Years old. These things, that he will thus learn by sight, and have by rote in his Memory, are not all, I confess, that he is to learn upon the Globes. But yet it is a good step and preparation to it, and will make the remainder much easier, when his Judgment is grown ripe enough for it: Besides that, it gets so much time now; and by the pleasure of knowing things, lends him on insensibly to the gaining of Languages.

§. 179. When he has the natural Parts of the Globe well fix'd in his Memory, it may then be time to begin Arithmetic. By the natural Parts of the Globe, I mean several Positions of the Parts of the Earth, and Sea, under different Names and Distinctions of Countries, not coming yet to those Artificial and Imaginary Lines, which have been invented, and are only suppos'd for the better improvement of that Science.

§. 180. Arithmetic is the easiest, and consequently the first sort of abstract Reasoning, which the Mind commonly bears, or accustomed itself to: And is of so general use in all parts of Life and Business, that scarce any thing is to be done without it. This is certain, a Man cannot have too much of it, nor too perfectly: He should therefore begin to be exercised in counting, as soon, and as far, as he is capable of it; and do something in it every Day, till he is Master of the Art of Numbers. When he understands Addition and Subtraction, he may then be advanced farther in Geography, and after he is acquainted with the Poles, Zones, Parallel Circles, and Meridians, be taught Longitude and Latitude, and by them be made to understand the use of Maps, and by the Numbers placed on their Sides, to know the respective Situation of Countries, and how to find them out on the Terre-
Of Education. Which when he can readily do, he may then be enter'd in the Celestial; and there going over all the Circles again, with a more particular Observation of the Ecliptick, or Zodiack, to fix them all very clearly and distinctly in his Mind, he may be taught the Figure and Position of the several Constellations, which may be shew'd him first upon the Globe, and then in the Heavens.

When that is done, and he knows pretty well the Constellations of this our Hemisphere, it may be time to give him some Notions of this our Planetary World, and to that purpose it may not be amiss to make him a Draught of the Copernican System, and therein explain to him the Situation of the Planets, their respective Distances from the Sun, the Centre of their Revolutions. This will prepare him to understand the Motion and Theory of the Planets, the most easeful and natural Way. For since Astronomers no longer doubt of the Motion of the Planets about the Sun, it is fit he should proceed upon that Hypothesis which is not only the simplest and least perplexed for a Learner, but also the likeliest to be true in itself. But in this as in all other parts of Instruction, great Care must be taken with Children, to begin with that which is plain and simple, and to teach them as little as can be at once, and settle that well in their Heads, before you proceed to the next, or any thing new in that Science. Give them first one simple Idea, and see that they take it right, and perfectly comprehend it before you go any farther, and then add some other simple Idea, which lies next in your way to what you aim at, and so proceeding by gentle and insensible Steps, Children without Confusion and Amazement will have their Understandings opened, and their Thoughts extended farther than could have been expected. And when any one has learn'd any thing himself, there is no such way to fix it in his Memory, and to encourage him to go on, as to set him to teach it others.

§ 181. When he has once got such an Acquaintance with the Globes, as is above-mentioned, he may be fit to be tried a little in Geometry; wherein I think the Six first Books of Euclid enough for him to be taught. For I am in some doubt, whether more to a Man of Business be necessary or useful. At least if he have a Genius and Inclination to it, being enter'd so far by his Tutor, he will be able to go on of himself without a Teacher.

The Globes therefore must be studied, that diligently, and I think may be begun betimes, if the Tutor will but be careful to distinguish, what the Child is capable of knowing, and what not; for which this may be a Rule, that perhaps will go a pretty way (viz.) That Children may be taught any thing that falls under their Senes, especially their Sight, as far as their Memories only are exercised: And thus a Child very young may learn, which is the Equator, which the Meridian, &c. which Europe, and which England upon the Globes, as soon almost as he knows the Rooms of the House he lives in, if Care be taken not to teach him too much at once, nor to set him upon a new Part, till that, which he is upon, be perfectly learn'd and fix'd in his Memory.

§ 182. With Geography Chronology ought to go hand in hand. I mean Chronology the general part of it, so that he may have in his Mind a view of the whole current of time, and the several considerable Epochs that are made use of in History. Without these two, History, which is the great Muses of Prudence and Civil Knowledge; and ought to be the proper Study of a Gentleman, or Man of Business in the World; without Geography and Chronology, I say, History will be very ill retained, and very little useful; but be only a Jumble of Matters of Fact, confusedly heaped together without Order or Instruction. Tis by these two, that the Actions of Mankind are ranked into their proper Places of Times and Countries, under which Circumstances, they are not only much easier kept in the Memory, but in that natural Order, are only capable to afford those Observations, which make a Man the better and the abler for reading them.

§ 183. When I speak of Chronology as a Science he should be perfect in, I do not mean the little Controversies that are in it. There are endless, and
most of them of so little Importance to a Gentleman, as not to deserve to be inquired into, were they capable of an easy Decision. And therefore all that learned Noise and Duff of the Chronologist is wholly to be avoided. The most useful Book I have seen in that part of Learning, is a small Treatise of Strachin, which is printed in Twelves, under the Title of Brevisiarium Chronologicum, out of which may be selected all that is necessary to be taught a young Gentleman concerning Chronology; for all that is in that Treatise a Learner need not be cumbered with. He has in him the most remarkable or usual Epochs reduced all to that of the Julian Period, which is the easiest and plainest, and surest Method that can be made use of in Chronology. To this Treatise of Strachin, Helvius's Tables may be added, as a Book to be turned to on all Occasions.

History. § 184. As nothing teaches, so nothing delights more than History. The first of these recommends it to the Study of Grown Men, the latter makes me think it the fittest for a young Lad, who, as soon as he is instructed in Chronology, and acquainted with the several Epochs in use in this part of the World, and can reduce them to the Julian Period, should then have some Latin History put into his Hand. The choice should be directed by the Easiness of the Stile; for when ever he begins, Chronology will keep it from Confusion; and the Pleasingness of the Subject inviting him to read, the Language will insensibly be got, without that terrible vexation and uneasiness, which Children suffer, where they are put into Books beyond their Capacity, such as are the Roman Orators and Poets, only to learn the Roman Language. When he has by reading mastered the easier, such perhaps as Justinus, Eutropius, Quintus Curtius, &c., the next Degree to these, will give him no great Trouble: And thus by a gradual Progress from the plainest and easiest Historians, he may at last come to read the most difficult and sublime of the Latin Authors, such as are Tully, Virgil, and Horace.

Ethicks. § 185. The Knowledge of Virtue, all along from the beginning, in all the Inclinations he is capable of, being taught him, more by Practice than Rules; and the Love of Reputation instead of satisfying his Appetite, being made habitual in him; I know not whether he should read any other Discourses of Morality, but what he finds in the Bible; or have any System of Ethicks put into his Hand, till he can read Tully's Offices, not as a School-Boy to learn Latin, but as one that would be informed in the Principles and Precepts of Virtue, for the Conduct of his Life.

Civil Law. § 186. When he has pretty well digested Tully's Offices, and added to it Puffendorf de Officio Domino & Civis, it may be feasible to set him upon Gratius de Jure Belli & Pacis, or which perhaps is the better of the two, Puffendorf de Jure naturali & Gentium; wherein he will be instructed in the natural Rights of Men, and the Original and Foundations of Society, and the Duties flowing from thence. This general Part of Civil Law and History, are Studies which a Gentleman should not barely touch at, but constantly dwell upon, and never have done with. A Virtuous and well behaved young Man, that is well versed in the general Part of the Civil Law (which concerns not the Chicanes of private Cafes, but the Affairs and Inter-course of civilized Nations in general, grounded upon Principles of Reason) understands Latin well, and can write a good Hand, one may turn loofe into the World, with great assurance that he will find Employment and Esteem everywhere.

Law. § 187. It would be strange to suppose an English Gentleman should be ignorant of the Law of his Country. This, whatever Station he is in, is so requisite, that from a Justice of the Peace, to a Minister of State, I know no Place he can well fill without it. I do not mean the Chicanes or wrangling and captious part of the Law: a Gentleman, whose Business it is to seek the true Measures of Right and Wrong, and not the Arts how to avoid doing the one, and secure himself in doing the other, ought to be as far from such a Study of the Law, as he is concerned diligently to apply himself to that wherein he may be serviceable to his Country. And to that purpose, I think the right way for a Gentleman to study our Law, which he does not desirous for his Calling, is to take a View of our English Constitution and Government,
writers, who out of them have given an account of this Government. And having got a true Idea of that, then to read our History, and with it joy in every King's Reign the Law then made. This will give an insight into the reason of our Statutes, and shew the true ground upon which they came to be made, and what weight they ought to have.

§. 188. Rhetorick and Logick being the Arts, that in the ordinary method usually follow immediately after Grammar, it may perhaps be wonder’d that I have said so little of them. The Reason is, because of the little Advantage young People receive by them: For I have seldom or never observed any one to get the Skill of reasoning well or speaking handsomely, by studying those Rules which pretend to teach it: And therefore I would have a young Gentleman take a View of them in the shortest Syllables could be found, without dwelling long on the Contemplation and Study of those Formalities. Right Reasoning is founded on something else than the Predicaments and Predicables, and does not consist in talking in Mode and Figure it self. But 'tis besides my present Business to enlarge upon this Speculation. To come therefore to what we have in hand; If you would have your Son reason well, let him read Chillingworth; and if you would have him speak well, let him be conversant in Tully, to give him the true Idea of Eloquence; and let him read those Things that are well writ in English, to perfect his Style in the Purity of our Language.

§. 189. If the Use and End of right Reasoning, be to have right Notions and a right Judgment of Things; to distinguish betwixt Truth and Falsity, Right and Wrong, and to act accordingly; be sure not to let your Son be bred up in the Art and Formality of disputing, either practising it himself, or admiring it in others; unless instead of an able Man, you desire to have him an insignificant Wrangler, Opiniater in Discourse, and priding himself in contradicting others; or, which is worse, questioning every Thing, and thinking there is no such Thing as Truth to be sought, but only Victory in disputing. There cannot be any Thing so diffiguous, so misbecoming a Gentleman, or any one who pretends to be a rational Creature, as not to yield to plain Reason, and the Conviction of clear Arguments. Is there any Thing more inconsistent with civil Conversation and the end of all Debate, than not to take an Answer, though never so full and satisfactory; but still to go on with the Dispute as long as equivocal Sounds can furnish [a Medius terminus] a Term to wrangle with on the one Side, or a Distinction on the other? Whether pertinent or impertinent, Sense or NonSense, agreeing with, or contrary to what he had said before, it matters not. For this in short is the Way and Perfection of Logical Disputes, That the Opponent never takes any Answer, nor the Respondent ever yields to any Argument. This neither of them must do, whatever becomes of Truth or Knowledge, unless he will pass for a poor baffled Wretch, and lie under the Disgrace of not being able to maintain whatever he has once affirmed, which is the great Aim and Glory in disputing. Truth is to be found and supported by a mature and due Confirmation of Things themselves, and not by artificial Terms and Ways of arguing: These lead not Men so much into the Discovery of Truth, as into a captious and fallacious Use of doubtful Words, which is the most uleful and most offensive Way of talking, and such as least suits a Gentleman or a Lover of Truth of any Thing in the World.

There can scarce be a greater Defect in a Gentleman, than not to express himself well either in Writing or Speaking. But yet, I think, I may ask my Reader, Whether he doth not know a great many who live upon their Easates, and so, with the Name, should have the Qualities, of Gentlemen, who cannot so much as tell a Story as they should, much less speak clearly and perswasively in any Business? This, I think, not to be so much their Fault, as the Fault of their Education; for I must, without Partiality, do my Country-men this Right, That where they apply themselves, I see none of their Neighbours out-go them. They have been taught Rhetorick, but yet never taught how to express themselves handsomely with their Tongues or Pens in the Language they are always to use; as if the Names of the Figures, that embelli
of education.

embellish'd the Discourses of those who understood the Art of Speaking, were the very Art and Skill of speaking well. This, as all other Things of Practice, is to be learnt not by a few or a great many Rules given, but by Exercise and Application according to good Rules, or rather Patterns, till Habits are got, and a Facility of doing it well.

Agreeable hereunto, perhaps it might not be amiss, to make Children, as soon as they are capable of it, often to tell a Story of any Thing they know; and to correct at first the most remarkable Fault they are guilty of in their Way of putting it together. When that Fault is cured, then to give them the next, and so on, till one after another, all, at least the grosser ones, are mend'd. When they can tell Tales pretty well, then it may be time to make them write them. The Fables of Aesop, the only Book almost that I know fit for Children, may afford them Matter for this Exercise of writing English, as well as for reading and translating to enter them in the Latin Tongue. When they are got past the Faults of Grammar, and can join in a continued coherent Discourse the several Parts of a Story, without bald and unhandsome Forms of Transition (as is usual) often repeated, he that desires to perfect them yet farther in this, which is the first Step to speaking well, and needs no Invention, may have recourse to Tully, and by putting in Practice those Rules which that master of Eloquence gives in his First Book De Inventione, § 20, make them know wherein the Skill and Graces of an handsome Narrative, according to the several Subjects and Designs of it, lie. Of each of which Rules fit Examples may be found out, and therein they may be shewn how others have practis'd them. The ancient Classic Authors afford plenty of such Examples, which they should be made not only to translate, but have set before them as Patterns for their daily imitation.

When they understand how to write English with due Connection, Propriety and Order, and are pretty well Masters of a tolerable narrative Style, they may be advanced to writing of Letters; wherein they should not be put upon any Strains of Wit or Compliment, but taught to express their own plain easy Sense, without any Incoherence, Confusion or Roughness. And when they are perfect in this, they may, to raise their Thoughts, have set before them the Example of Vortices for the Entertainment of their Friends at a distance, with Letters of Compliment, Mirth, Rallery or Diversion; and Tully's Epistles, as the best Pattern, whether for Business or Conversation. The writing of Letters has so much to do in all the Occurrences of Humane Life, that no Gentleman can avoid shewing himself in this kind of writing. Occasions will daily force him to make this use of his Pen, which, besides the Consequences, that, in his Affairs, his well or ill managing of it often draws after it, always lays him open to a severer Examination of his Breeding, Sense, and Abilities, than oral Discourses; whose transient Faults dying for the most Part with the Sound that gives them Life, and so not subject to a strict Review, more easily escape Observation and Censure.

Had the Methods of Education been directed to their right End, one would have thought this so necessary a Part could not have been neglected, whilst Themes and Verses in Latin, of no use at all, were so constantly every where prefixed, to the ranking of Childrens Inventions beyond their Strength, and hindering their chearful Progrees in learning the Tongues by unnatural Difficulties. But Cullom has so ordain'd it, and who dares disfobe? And would not be very unreasonable to require of a learn'd Country School-Master (who has all the Tropes and Figures in Farquhary's Rhetoric at his Fingers ends) to teach his Scholar to express himself handsomely in English, when it appears to be so little his Business or Thought, that the Boy's Mother (depris'd, 'tis like, as illiterate for not having read a System of Logic and Rhetoric) out-does him in it?

To write and speak correctly, gives a Grace, and gains a favourable Attention to what one has to say: And since 'tis English that an English Gentleman will have constant ufe of, that is the Language he should chiefly cultivate, and wherein most Care should be taken to polish and perfect his Style. To speak or write better Latin than English may make a Man be talk'd of, but he would find it more to his Purpose to express himself well in his own Tongue,
Tongue that he uses every Moment, than to have the vain Commendation of English, others for a very insignificant Quality. This I find universally neglected, and no care taken anywhere to improve young Men in their own Language, that they may thoroughly understand and be Masters of it. If any one among us have a Facility or Purity more than ordinary in his Mother-Tongue, it is owing to Chance, or his Genius, or any thing, rather than to his Education or any Care of his Teacher. To mind what English his Pupil speaks or writes, is below the Dignity of one bred up amongst Greek and Latin, though he have but little of them himself. These are the learned Languages fit only for learned Men to meddle with and teach; English is the Language of illiterate Vulgar: Though yet we see the Polity of some of our Neighbours hath not thought it beneath the publick Care, to promote and reward the Improvement of their own Language. Polishing and enriching their Tongue, is no small Business amongst them; it hath Colleges and Stipends appointed it, and there is raised amongst them a great Ambition and Emulation of writing correctly: And we see what they are come to by it, and how far they have spread one of the worst Languages possibly in this Part of the World, if we look upon it as it was in some few Reigns backwards, whatever it be now. The Great Men amongst the Romans were daily exercising themselves in their own Language; and we find yet upon Record, the Names of Ora-tours, who taught some of their Emperors Latin, though it were their Mother-Tongue.

"Tis plain the Greeks were yet more nice in theirs: All other Speech was barbarous to them but their own, and no foreign Language appears to have been studied or valued amongst that learned and acute People; tho' it be past doubt that they borrowed their Learning and Philosophy from abroad.

I am not here speaking against Greek and Latin; I think they ought to be studied, and the Latin at least understood well by every Gentleman. But whatever foreign Languages a young Man meddles with (and the more he knows the better) that which he should critically study, and labour to get a Facility, Clearness and Elegancy to express himself in, should be his own, and to this Purpofe he should daily be exercis'd in it.

§ 190. Natural Philosophy, as a speculative Science, I imagine we have Natural none, and perhaps I may think I have Reason to say we never shall be able to make a Science of it. The Works of Nature are contriv'd by a Wisdom, and operate by Ways too far surpassing our Faculties to discover, or Capacities to conceive, for us ever to be able to reduce them into a Science. Natural Philosophy being the Knowledge of the Principles, Properties and Operations of Things as they are in themselves, I imagine there are Two Parts of it, one comprehending Spirits, with their Nature and Qualities; and the other Bodies. The first of these is usually refer'd to Metaphysics: But under what Title severer the Consideration of Spirits comes, I think it ought to go before the Study of Matter and Body, not as a Science that can be methodiz'd into a System, and treat'd of upon Principles of Knowledge; but as an Enlargement of our Minds towards a truer and fuller Comprehension of the intellectual World, to which we are led both by Reason and Revelation. And since the clearest and largest Discoveries we have of other Spirits, besides God and our own Souls, is imparted to us from Heaven by Revelation, I think the Information, that at least young People should have of them, should be taken from that Revelation. To this Purpofe, I conclude, it would be well, if there were made a good History of the Bible for young People to read; wherein every Thing that is fit to be put into it were laid down in its due Order of Time, and several Things omitted which are suited only to riper Age, that Confusion which is usually produced by promiscuous reading of the Scripture, as it lies now bound up in our Bibles, would be avoided. And also this other Good obtained, that by reading of it constantly there would be in-filled into the Minds of Children a Notion and Belief of Spirits, they having so much to do in all the Transactions of this History, which will be a good Preparation to the Study of Bodies. For without the Notion and Allowance of Spirits, our Philosophy will be lame and defective in one main Part of it, when
when it leaves out the Contemplation of the most excellent and powerful Part of the Creation.

§ 191. Of this History of the Bible I think too it would be well, if there were a short and plain Epitome made, containing the chief and most material Heads for Children to be conversant in as soon as they can read. This, though it will lead them early into some Notion of Spirits, yet is not contrary to what I said above, That I would not have Children troubled, whilst young, with Notions of Spirits, whereby my Meaning was, That I think it inconvenient that their yet tender Minds should receive early Impressions of Goblins, Spectres, and Apparitions, wherewith their Maids, and those about them, are apt to fright them into a Compliance with their Orders, which often proves a great Inconvenience to them all their Lives after, by subjecting their Minds to Frights, fearful Apprehensions, Weakness, and Superstitions; which, when coming abroad into the World and Conversation, they grow weary and ashamed of, it not seldom happens, that to make, as they think, a through Cure, and ease themselves of a Load which has fastened heavy on them, they throw away the Thoughts of all Spirits together, and so run into the other but worse Extremes.

§ 192. The Reason why I would have this prefixed to the Study of Bodies, and the Doctrine of the Scriptures well imbibed, before young Men are enter’d in Natural Philosophy, is, because Matter, being a Thing that all our Sons are constantly conversant with, it is so apt to posses the Mind, and exclude all other Beings, but Matter, that Prejudice, grounded on such Principles, often leaves no Room for the Admittance of Spirits, or the allowing any such Things as immaterial Beings in verum natura; when yet it is evident, that by mere Matter and Motion, none of the great Phenomenons of Nature can be resolved, to instance but in that common one of Gravity, which I think impossible to be explained by any natural Operation of Matter, or any other Law of Motion, but the positive Will of a superior Being ordering it. And therefore since the Deluge cannot be well explained, without admitting something out of the ordinary Course of Nature, I propose it to be considered, whether God’s altering the Centre of Gravity in the Earth for a Time (a Thing as intelligible as Gravity it self, which perhaps a little Variation of Causes unknown to us would produce) will not more easily account for Noah’s Flood, than any Hypothesis yet made use of to solve it. I hear the great Objection to this is, that it would produce but a partial Deluge. But the Alteration of the Centre of Gravity once allow’d, ’tis no hard Matter to conceive, that the Divine Power might make the Centre of Gravity, place’d at a due Distance from the Centre of the Earth, move round it in a convenient Space of Time, whereby the Flood would become universal, and, as I think, answer all the Phenomenons of the Deluge as deliver’d by Moses, at an easier Rate than those many hard Suppositions that are made use of to explain it. But this is not a Place for that Argument, which is here only mentioned by the by, to shew the Necessity of having recourse to something beyond bare Matter and its Motion in the Explication of Nature; to which the Notions of Spirits and their Power, as deliver’d in the Bible, where so much is attributed to their Operation, may be a fit Preparative, referring to a fitter Opportunity a fuller Explication of this Hypothesis, and the Application of it to all the Parts of the Deluge, and any Difficulties can be suppos’d in the History of the Flood, as recorded in the Scripture.

§ 193. But to return to the Study of Natural Philosophy; Though the World be full of Systems of it, yet I cannot say, I know any one which can be taught a young Man as a Science, wherein he may be sure to find Truth and Certainty, which is what all Sciences give an Expectation of. I do not hence conclude, that none of them are to be read; it is necessary for a Gentleman, in this learned Age, to look into some of them to fit himself for Conversation: But whether that of Des Cartes be put into his Hands, as that which is most in fashion, or it be thought fit to give him a short View of that and several other also; I think the Systems of Natural Philosophy, that have obtained in this Part of the World, are to be read more to know the Hypotheses, and to understand the Terms and Ways of talking of the several Sects, than
than with hopes to gain thereby a comprehensive, scientific and satisfactory Knowledge of the Works of Nature: Only this may be said, that the modern Corpuscularian talk, in most Things, more intelligibly than the Peripatetics, who pollished the Schools immediately before them. He that would look farther back, and acquaint himself with the several Opinions of the Ancients, may consult Dr. Dudworth’s Intellectual System, wherein that very learned Author hath with much Accuracy and Judgment collected and explained the Opinions of the Greek Philosophers, that what Principles they built on, and what were the chief Hypotheses that divided them, is better to be seen in him, than any where else that I know. But I would not deter any one from the study of Nature, because all the Knowledge we have, or possibly can have of it, cannot be brought into a Science. There are very many things in it, that are convenient and necessary to be known to a Gentleman: And a great many other, that will abundantly reward the Pains of the Curious with Delight and Advantage. But these, I think, are rather to be found amongst such Writers, as have employed themselves in making rational Experiments and Observations, than in starting barely speculative Systems. Such Writings therefore, as many of Mr. Boyle’s are, with others that have written of Husbandry, Planting, Gardening, and the like, may be fit for a Gentleman, when he has a little acquainted himself with some of the Systems of the Natural Philosophy in fashion.

§ 194. Though the Systems of Physics, that I have met with, afford little encouragement to look for Certainty or Science in any Treatise, which shall pretend to give us a Body of Natural Philosophy from the first Principles of Bodies in general; yet the incomparable Mr. Newton has shown, how far Mathematicks, applied to some Parts of Nature, may, upon Principles that Matter of Fact justifies, carry us in the knowledge of some, as I may so call them, particular Provinces of the Incomprehensible Universe. And if others could give so good and clear an account of other parts of Nature, as he has of this our Planetary World, and the most considerable Phenomena observable in it, in his admirable Book Philosophia naturalis Principia Mathematica, we might in time hope to be furnished with more true and certain Knowledge in several Parts of this stupendous Machine, than hitherto we could have expected. And though there are very few that have Mathematicks enough to understand his Demonstrations; yet the most accurate Mathematicians, who have examined them, allowing them to be such, his Book will deserve to be read, and give no small light and pleasure to those, who willing to understand the Motions, Properties, and Operations of the great MASSES of Matter in this our Solar System, will but carefully mind his Conclusions, which may be depended on as Propositions well proved.

§ 195. This is, in short, what I have thought concerning a young Gentleman’s Studies; wherein it will possibly be wondered, that I should omit Greek, since amongst the Grecians is to be found the Original as it were, and Foundation of all that Learning which we have in this part of the World. I grant it so; and will add, That no Man can pass for a Scholar, that is ignorant of the Greek Tongue. But I am not here considering of the Education of a profess’d Scholar, but of a Gentleman, to whom Latin and French, as the World now goes, is by every one acknowledged to be necessary. When he comes to be a Man, if he has a mind to carry his Studies farther, and look into the Greek Learning, he will then easily get that Tongue himself: And if he has not that Inclination, his learning of it under a Tutor will be but lost Labour, and much of his Time and Pains spent in that, which will be neglected and thrown away, as soon as he is at Liberty. For how many are there of an hundred, even amongst Scholars themselves, who retain the Greek they carried from School: or ever improve it to a familiar reading, and perfect understanding of Greek Authors?

To conclude this Part, which concerns a Young Gentleman’s Studies; his Tutor should remember, that his business is not so much to teach him all that is knowable, as to raise in him a Love and Esteem of Knowledge; and to put him in the right way of knowing and improving himself, when he has a mind to it.
The Thoughts of a Judicious Author on the subject of Languages, I shall here give the Reader, as near as I can, in his own way of expressing them. He says, ‘One can scarce burden Children too much with the Knowledge of Languages. They are useful to Men of all Conditions, and they equally open them the Enterance, either to the most profound, or the more easy and entertaining parts of Learning. If this irksome Study be put off to a little more advanced Age, Young men either have not resolution enough to apply it out of Choice; or readiness to carry it on. And if any one has the Gift of Perseverance, it is not without the inconvenience of spending that time upon Languages, which is defin'd to other Uses: And he confines to the study of Words that Age of his Life that is above it, and requires Things; at least, it is the losing the best and beautifulest season of one's Life. This large foundation of Languages cannot be well laid, but when every thing makes an ease and deep Imprisonment on the Mind; when the Memory is fresh, ready, and tenacious; when the Head and Heart are as yet free from Cares, Passions, and Desires; and those on whom the Child depends have Authority enough to keep him close to a long continued Application. I am persuaded that the small number of truly learned, and the multitude of superficial Pretenders, is owing to the neglect of this.

I think every body will agree with this observing Gentleman, that Languages are the proper study of our first Years. But 'tis to be considered by the Parents and Tutors, what Tongues 'tis fit the Child should learn. For it must be confessed, that it is fruitless pains, and loss of time to learn a Language which, in the course of Life that he is designed to, he is never like to make use of, or which one may guess by his Temper he will wholly neglect and lose again, as soon as an approach to Manhood, setting him free from a Governor, shall put him into the Hands of his own Inclination, which is not likely to allot any of his time to the cultivating the learned Tongues; or dispose him to mind any other Language, but what daily use or some particular necessity shall force upon him.

But yet for the sake of those who are designed to be Scholars, I will add, what the same Author subjoins to make good his foregoing Remark. It will defer to be considered by all who desire to be truly learned, and therefore may be a fit Rule for Tutors to inculcate, and leave with their Pupils to guide their future Studies.

'The Study, says he, of the Original Text can never be sufficiently recommended. 'Tis the shortest, surest, and most agreeable way to all sorts of Learning. Draw from the Spring-Head, and take not things at second-hand. Let the Writings of the great Masters be never laid aside, dwell upon them, settle them in your Mind, and cite them upon occasion; make it your Business thoroughly to understand them in their full Extent, and all their Circumstances: Acquaint your self fully with the Principles of Original Authors; bring them to a Consistency, and then do you your self make your Deductions. In this state were the first Commentators, and do not you rest till you bring your self to the same. Content not your self with those borrowedLights, nor guide your self by their Views, but where your own fails you, and leaves you in the Dark. Their Explications are not your's, and will give you the slip. On the contrary, your own Observations are the Product of your own Mind, where they will abide, and be ready at hand upon all Occasions in Converse, Controversy, and Dispute. Lose not the Pleasure it is to see that you were not flop'd in your reading, but by Difficulties that are invincible; where the Commentators and Scholiasts themselves are at a stand, and have nothing to say. Those copious Expositors of other Places, who, with a vain and pompous Overflow of Learning, pour'd out on Passages plain and easy in themselves, are very free of their Words and Pains where there is no need. Convince your self fully by this ordering your Studies, that 'tis nothing but Men's laziness which hath encouraged Pedantry to cram, rather than enrich Libraries, and to bury good Authors under heaps of Notes and Commentaries, and you will perceive that Sloth herein hath acted against it self and
and its own Interest, by multiplying Reading, and Enquiries, and encreas-Greek.

This, tho' it may seem to concern none but direct Scholars, is of so great Moment for the right ordering of their Education and Studies, that I hope I shall not be blamed for inferring of it here, especially if it be considered, that it may be of use to Gentlemen too, when at any time they have a mind to go deeper than the Surface, and get to themselves a solid, satisfactory, and masterly insight in any part of Learning.

Order and Constancy are said to make the great difference between one Man and another: This I am sure, nothing so much clears a Learner's Way, helps him so much on in it, and makes him go so easie and so far in any Enquiry, as a good Method. His Governor should take Pains to make him sensible of this, accustom him to Order, and teach him Method in all the Applications of his Thoughts; shew him wherein it lies, and the Advantages of it; acquaint him with the severall sorts of it, either from General to Particulars, or from Particulars to what is more General; exercise him in both of them; and make him fee, in what Cases each different Method is most proper, and to what Ends it will serve.

In History the Order of Time should govern; in Philosophical Enquiries, that of Nature, which in all Progression is to go from the place one is then in, to that which joins and lies next to it; and so it is in the Mind, from the Knowledge it stands poiffed of already, to that which lies next, and is coherent to it, and so on to what it aims at, by the simplest and most uncompounded parts it can divide the Matter into. To this purpose, it will be of great use to his Pupil to accustom him to distinguish well, that is, to have distinct Notions, where-ever the Mind can find any real difference, but as carefully to avoid Distinctions in Terms, where he has not distinct and different clear Ideas.

§ 196. Besides what is to be had from Study and Books, there are other Accomplishments necessary for a Gentleman, to be got by exercise, and to which time is to be allowed, and for which Masters must be had.

Dancing being that which gives graceful Motions all the Life, and above all things Manliness, and a becoming Confidence to young Children, I think it cannot be learnt too early, after they are once of an Age and Strength capable of it. But you must be sure to have a good Master, that knows, and can teach, what is graceful and becoming, and what gives a Freedom and Easiness to all the Motions of the Body. One that teaches not this, is worse than none at all, Natural Unfashionableness being much better than apish, affected Postures; and I think it much more passable to put off the Hat, and make a Leg, like an honest Country Gentleman, than like an illfashion'd Dancing-Master. For, as for the jiggling part, and the Figures of Dances, I count that little or nothing, farther than as it tends to perfect graceful Carriage.

§ 197. Music is thought to have some affinity with Dancing, and a good Master, upon some Instruments, is by many People mightily valued. But it wastes so much of a young Man's time, to gain but a moderate Skill in it; and engages often in such odd Company, that many think it much better spared: And I have, amongst Men of Parts and Business, so seldom heard any one commended, or esteemed for having an Excellency in Music, that amongst all those things, that ever came into the Lift of Accomplishments, I think I may give it the last place. Our short Lives will not serve us for the Attainment of all things; nor can our Minds be always intent on something to be learnt. The weakens of our Constitutions, both of Mind and Body, requires that we should be often unbeat: And he that will make a good use of any part of his Life, must allow a large Portion of it to Recreation. At last this must not be denied to young People, unless, whilst you with too much haste make them old, you have the displeasure to fet them in their Graves, or a second Childhood, sooner than you could wish. And therefore, I think, that the Time and Pains allotted to serious Improvements, should be employ'd about things of most Use and Consequence, and that too in the Methods the most easy and short that could be at any rate obtained: And per-
Of Education.

Magick, haps, as I have above said, it would be none of the least Secrets of Education, to make the Exercises in the Body and the Mind, the Recreation one to another. I doubt not but that something might be done in it, by a prudent Man that would well consider the Temper and Inclination of his Pupil. For he that is wearied either with Study or Dancing, does not desire presently to go to sleep; but to do something else which may divert and delight him. But this must be always remember’d, that nothing can come into the account of Recreation, that is not done with Delight.

§ 198. Fencing, and Riding the Great-Horse, are look’d upon as so necessary Parts of Breeding, that it would be thought a great Omnipol to neglect them: The latter of the two being for the most part to be learnt only in great Towns, is one of the best Exercises for Health which is to be had in those Places of Ease and Luxury: And, upon that account, makes a fit part of a young Gentleman’s Employment during his abode there. And as far as it conveys to give a Man a firm and graceful Seat on Horse-back, and to make him able to teach his Horse to stop and turn quick, and to rest on his Hanches, is of use to a Gentleman both in Peace and War. But whether it be of moment enough to be made a Business of, and defend to take up more of his time than should barely for his Health be employed at due intervals in some such vigorous Exercise, I shall leave to the Discretion of Parents and Tutors, who will do well to remember, in all the Parts of Education, that most Time and Application is to be bestowed on that which is like to be of greatest Consequence, and frequentest Use, in the ordinary course and occurrences of that Life the young Man is designed for.

Fencing.

§ 199. As for Fencing, it seems to me a good Exercise for Health, but dangerous to the Life. The Confidence of their Skill being apt to engage in Quarrels thence that think they have learned to use their Swords. This Premumption makes them often more touchy than needs, on Point of Honour, and flight or no Provocations. Young Men in their warm Blood are forward to think, they have in vain learned to Fence, if they never shew their Skill and Courage in a Duel: And they seem to have Reason. But how many sad Tragedies that Reason has been the Occasion of, the Tears of many a Mother can witness. A Man that cannot Fence will be more careful to keep out of Bullies and Gamesters Company, and will not be half so apt to stand upon Puntilio’s, nor to give Affronts, or fiercely justify them when given, which is that which usually makes the Quarrel. And when a Man is in the Field, a moderate Skill in Fencing rather exposes him to the Sword of his Enemy, than secures him from it. And certainly a Man of Courage who cannot Fence at all, and therefore will put all upon one Thrust, and not stand parrying, has the odds against a moderate Fencer, especially if he has Skill in Wrestling. And therefore, if any Provision be to be made against such Accidents, and a Man be to prepare his Son for Duels, I had much rather mine should be a good Wrestler, than an ordinary Fencer, which is the most a Gentleman can attain to in it, unless he will be constantly in the Fencing-School, and every day exercising. But since Fencing and Riding the Great-Horse, are so generally looked upon as necessary Qualifications in the breeding of a Gentleman, it will be hard wholly to deny any one of that Rank these Marks of Distinction. I shall leave it therefore to the Father, to consider, how far the Temper of his Son, and the Station he is like to be in, will allow or encourage him to comply with Fashions, which, having very little to do with civil Life, were yet formerly unknown to the most Warlike Nations; and seem to have added little of Force or Courage to those, who have received them, unless we will think Martial Skill or Prowes, have been improved by Duelling, with which Fencing came into, and with which, I presume, it will go out of the World.

§ 200. These are my present Thoughts concerning Learning and Accomplishments. The great Business of all is Virtue and Wisdom.

Nullum nomen absit si sit Prudentia.

Teach him to get a Mastery over his Inclinations, and submit his Appetite to Reason. This being obtained, and by constant practice settled into Habit, the
Of Education.

The hardest part of the Task is over. To bring a young Man to this, I know nothing which so much contributes, as the love of Præcie and Commendation, which should therefore be instilled into him by all Arts imaginable. Make his Mind as sensible of Credit and Shame as may be: And when you have done that, you have put a Principle into him, which will influence his Actions, when you are not by, to which the fear of a little smart of a Rod is not comparable, and which will be the proper Stock, whereon afterwards to graft the true Principles of Morality and Religion.

§ 201. I have one thing more to add, which as soon as I mention, I shall run the Danger of being suspected to have forgot what I am about, and what I have above written concerning Education, all tending towards a Gentleman’s Calling, with which a Trade seems wholly to be incongruous. And yet, I cannot forbear to say, I would have him learn a Trade, a Manual Trade; nay two or three, but one more particularly.

§ 202. The bumble Inclination of Children, being always to be directed to some thing that may be useful to them, the Advantages propound’d from what they are for about, may be consider’d of two Kinds; 1. Where the Skill it self, that is got by exerçise, is worth the having. Thus Skill not only in Languages, and learned Sciences, but in Painting, Turning, Gardening, Tempering, and Working in Iron, and all other useful Arts, is worth the having. 2. Where the Exerçise it self, without any Consideration, is necessary or useful for Health. Knowledge in some things is so necessary to be got by Children whilst they are young, that some part of their time is to be allotted to their improvement in them, though those Employments contribute nothing at all to their health: Such are Reading, and Writing, and all other sedentary Studies, for the cultivating of the Mind, which unavoidably take up a great part of Gentlemens time, quite from their Cradles. Other Manual Arts, which are both got and exercis’d by Labour, do many of them, by that Exerçise, not only increase our Dexterity and Skill, but contribute to our Health too, especially such as employ us in the open Air. In these, then, Health and Improvement may be join’d together, and of these should some fit ones be chosen, to be made the Recreations of one, whose chief Buisness is with Books and Study. In this Choice, the Age and Inclination of the Person is to be consider’d, and Constraint always to be avoided in bringing him to it. For Command and Force may often create, but can never cure an Aversion: And whatever any one is brought to by Compulsion, he will leave as soon as he can, and be little profited, and less recreat’d by, whilst he is at it.

§ 203. That which of all others would please me best, would be a Painter. were there not an Argument or two against it, not saie to be answer’d. First, ill Painting is one of the worst things in the World; and to attain a tolerable Degree of Skill in it, requires too much of a Man’s Time. If he has a natural Inclination to it, it will endanger the neglect of all other more useful Studies, to give way to that; and if he have no Inclination to it, all the Time, Pains, and Money shall be employ’d in it, will be thrown away to no purpose. Another Reason why I am not for Painting in a Gentleman, is, Because it is a sedentary Recreation, which more employs the Mind than the Body. A Gentleman’s more ferious Employment I look on to be Study; and when that demands Relaxation and Refreshment, it should be in some Exercise of the Body, which unbinds the Thought, and confirms the Health and Strength. For these two Reasons I am not for Painting.

§ 204. In the next place, for a Country Gentleman, I should propose one, or rather both these; viz. Gardening or Husbandry in general, and working in Wood, as a Carpenter, Joiner, or Turner, these being fit and healthy Recreations for a Man of Study, or Buisness. For since the Mind endures not to be constantly employ’d in the same Thing, or Way: and sedentary or studious Men, should have some Exercise, that at the same time might divert their Minds, and employ their Bodies; I know none that could do it better for a Country Gentleman than these two, the one of them affording him Exercise, when the Weather or Season keep him from the other. Besides, that by being skill’d in the one of them, he will be able to govern and teach his
his Gardener; by the other, contrive and make a great many Things both of delight and use: Though these I propose not as the chief end of his Labour, but as Temptations to it; Diversion from his other more serious Thoughts and Employments, by useful and healthy manual Exercise, being what I chiefly aim at in it.

§ 205. The Great Men among the Ancients, understood very well how to reconcile manual Labour with Affairs of State, and thought it no lessening to their Dignity, to make the one the Recreation to the other. That indeed which seems most generally to have imploy’d and diverted their spare Hours, was Agriculture. *Gidion amongst the Jews was taken from Thraffing, as well as *Cincinnatus amongst the Romans from the Plough, to Command the Armies of their Countries against their Enemies; and ’tis plain their dexterous handling of the Playl or the Plough, and being good Workmen with these Tools, did not hinder their Skill in Arms, nor make them losable in the Arts of War or Government. They were great Captains and State-men as well as Husbandmen. *Catō Major, who had with great Reputation born all the high Offices of the Commonwealth, has left us an Evidenc under his own Hand, how much he was versed in Country Affairs; and as I remember, Curius thought *Gardening so little beneath the Dignity and Grandeur of a Throne, that he shew’d *Xenophoyn a large Field of Fruic-Trees all of his own Planting. The Records of Antiquity, both amongst *Jews and Gentiles, are full of Instances of this kind, if it were necessary to recommend useful recreations by Examples.

§ 206. Nor let it be thought that I mistake, when I call those or the like Exercizes of Manual Arts, Diversions or recreations: For Recreation is not being Idle (as every one may observe) but eaving the wearied part by change of busines: And he that thinks Diversions may not lie in hard and painful Labour, forgets the early riling, hard riding, heat, cold and hunger of Huntmen, which is yet known to be the constant Recreation of Men of the greatest Condition. *Diving, planting, Inoculating, or any the like profitable Employments, would be no less a Diversions than any of the idle Sports in fashion, if Men could but be brought to delight in them, which Cusfom and Skill in a Trade will quickly bring any one to do. And I doubt not, but there are to be found those, who being frequently calld to Cards, or any other Play, by these they could not refuse, have been more tired with these recreations, than with any the most serious Employment of Life, though the Play has been such as they have naturally had no averseion to, and with which they could willingly sometimes divert themselves.

§ 207. Play, wherein Persons of Condition, especially Ladies, waste so much of their time, is a plain instance to me, that Men cannot be perfectly Idle; they must be doing something. For how else could they sit so many Hours toiling at that, which generally gives more Vexation than Delight to People, whilst they are actually engag’d in it? ’Tis certain, Gaming leaves no Satisfaction behind it to those who reflect when it is over, and it no way profits either Body or Mind: As to their Estates, if it strike so deep as to concern them, it is a trade then; and not a recreation, wherein few, that have anything else to live on, thrive; and at best, a thriving Gamer has but a poor Trade on’t, who fills his Pockets at the price of his Reputation.

Recreation belongs not to People who are Strangers to Business, and are not wasted and wearied with the Employment of their Calling. The Skill should be, so to order their time of Recreation, that it may relax and refresh the part that has been exercised, and is tired, and yet do something, which, besides the present Delight and Ease, may produce what will afterwards be profitable. It has been nothing but the Vanity and Pride of Greatnes and Riches, that has brought unprofitable and dangerous Passimes (as they are call’d) into fashion, and persuaded People into a belief, that the learning or putting their Hands to any thing that was useful, could not be a Diversions fit for a Gentleman. This has been that, which has given Cards, Dice and Drinking, so much Credit in the World: And a great many throw away their spare Hours in them, through the prevalency of Custom, and want of some better Employment to fill up the Vacancy of Leisuer, more than from any real de
light is to be found in them. They cannot bear the dead weight of unimpeachable time lying upon their hands, nor the uneasiness it is to do nothing at all; and having never learnt any laudable manual Art wherewith to divert themselves, they have recourse to those foolish, or ill ways in use, to help off their Time, which a rational Man, till corrupted by Custom, could find very little pleasure in.

§ 208. I say not this, that I would never have a young Gentleman accommodate himself to the innocent Diversions in fashion, amongst those of his Age and Condition. I am so far from having him avertere and remorse to that degree, that I would persuade him to more than ordinary Complaisance for all the Gaities and Diversions of those he converses with, and be active or tidy in nothing they should desire of him, that might become a Gentleman, and an honest Man. Though as to Cards and Dice, I think the safest and best way, is never to learn any Play upon them, and so to be incapacitated for those dangerous Temptations and incroaching Walters of useful Time. But allowance being made for idle and jovial Conversation, and all fashionable Becoming Recreations; I say, a young Man will have time enough, from his serious and main Business, to learn almost any Trade. 'Tis want of application, and not of leisure, that Men are not skilful in more Arts than one; and an Hour in a Day, constantly employ'd in such a way of Diversions, will carry a Man in a short time a great deal farther than he can imagine. Which, if it were of no other use, but to drive the common, vicious, useless, and dangerous Palzines out of fashion; and to shew there was no need of them, would deserve to be encouraged. If Men from their Youth were weaned from that sauntering Humour, wherein some out of Custom let a good part of their Lives run uselessly away, without either Business or Recreation, they would find time enough to acquire Dexterity and Skill in hundreds of Things; which though remote from their proper Callings, would not at all interfere with them. And therefore, I think, for this, as well as other Reasons before-mentioned; a lazy, little, bad Humour, that idly dreams away the Days, is of all others the least to be indulged, or permitted in young People. It is the proper State of one Sick, and out of order in his Health, and is tolerable in no Body else, of what Age or Condition forever.

§ 209. To the Arts above-mention'd, may be added Perfuming, Varnishing, Graving, and several sorts of working in Iron, Brass, and Silver. And if, as it happens to most young Gentlemen, that a considerable part of his Time be spent in a great Town, he may learn to cut, polish, and set Precious Stones, or employ himself in grinding and polishing Optical Glasses. Amongst the great variety there is of ingenious Manual Arts, 'twill be impossible that no one should be found to please and delight him, unless he be either idle or despicable, which is not to be supposed in a right way of Education. And since he cannot be always employ'd in Study, Reading, and Conversation, there will be many an Hour, besides what his Exercises will take up, which, if not spent this way, will be spent worse. For, I conclude, a young Man will seldom desire to fit perfectly still and idle; or if he does, 'tis a fault that ought to be mended.

§ 210. But if his mistaken Parents, frightened with the disgraceful Names of Mechanick and Trade, shall have an aversion to any thing of this kind in their Children; yet there is one thing relating to Trade, which when they consider, they will think absolutely necessary for their Sons to learn.

Merchants' Accompts, though a Science not likely to help a Gentleman to get an Estate, yet possibly there is not any thing of more use and efficacy to make him prefer the Estate he has. 'Tis seldom obvi'd, that he who keeps an Account of his Income and Expences, and thereby has constantly under view the course of his domestic Affairs, lets them run to ruin: And I doubt not but many a Man gets behind-hand before he is aware, or runs further on, when he is once in, for want of this Care, or the Skill to do it. I would therefore advise all Gentlemen to learn perfectly Merchants' Accompts; and not to think it is a Skill that belongs not to them, because it has received its Name from, and has been chiefly practiced by Men of Traffick.
§ 211. When my young Master has once got the Skill of keeping Accounts (which is a Business of Reason more than Arithmetic) perhaps it will not be amiss, that his Father from thenceforth require him to do it in all his Concernments. Not that I would have him set down every Pint of Wine or Play, that costs him Money; the general Name of Expenses will serve for such things well enough: Nor would I have his Father look so narrowly into these Accounts, as to take occasion from thence to criticize on his Expenses. He must remember that he himself was once a young Man, and not forget the Thoughts he had then, nor the Right his Son has to have the same, and to have allowance made for them. If therefore I would have the young Gentleman oblig’d to keep an Account, it is not at all to have that way a check upon his Expenses (for what the Father allows him, he ought to let him be fully Master of) but only, that he might be brought early into the Custom of doing it, and that it might be made familiar and habitual to him betimes, which will be so useful and necessary to be constantly practiced thro’ the whole Course of his Life. A Noble Venetian, whose Son wallowed in the Plenty of his Father’s Riches, finding his Son’s Expenses grow very high and extravagant, ordered his Cafheer to let him have for the future no more Money than he should count when he received it. This one would think no great restraint to a young Gentleman’s Expenses, who could freely have as much Money as he would tell. But yet this, to one who was used to nothing but the pursuit of his Pleasures, proved a very great trouble, which at last ended in this sober and advantageous Reflection. If it be so much Pains to me barely to count the Money I would spend: What Labour and Pains did it cost my Ancestors, not only to count, but get it? This rational Thought, suggested by this little Pains imposed upon him, wrought so effectually upon his Mind, that it made him take up, and from that time forwards prove a good Husband. This at least every body must allow, that nothing is likelier to keep a Man within compass, than the having constantly before his Eyes the state of his Affairs in a regular course of Account.

§ 212. The last part usually in Education, is Travel, which is commonly thought to finish the Work, and compleat the Gentleman. I confess Travel into Foreign Countries has great Advantages, but the time usually chosen to send young Men abroad, is, I think, of all other, that which renders them least capable of reaping those Advantages. Those which are propos’d, as to the main of them, may be reduced to these Two; first, Language; secondly, an Improvement in Wisdom and Prudence, by seeing Men, and conversing with People of Tempers, Customs, and Ways of living, different from one another, and especially from those of his Parish and Neighbourhood.

But from Sixteen to One and twenty, which is the ordinary time of Travel, Men are of all their Lives the least fitted to these Improvements. The first Season to get Foreign Languages, and form the Tongue to their true Accents, I should think, should be from Seven to Fourteen, or Sixteen; and then too a Tour with them is useful and necessary, who may, with those Languages, teach them other things. But to put them out of their Parents’ view at a great distance, under a Governor, when they think themselves too much Men to be govern’d by others, and yet have not Prudence and Experience enough to govern themselves: What is it, but to expose them to all the greatest Dangers of their whole Life, when they have the least Fence and Guard against them? Till that boyling boisterous part of Life comes in, it may be hoped, the Tour may have some Authority: Neither the stubbornness of Age, nor the Temptation or Examples of others can take him from his Tour’s Conduct till Fifteen or Sixteen: But then, when he begins to confort himself with Men, and thinks himself one; when he comes to relish, and pride himself in manly Vices, and thinks it a shame to be any longer under the Controll and Conduct of another: What can be hoped from even the most careful and discreet Governor, when neither he has Power to compel, nor his Pupil a Disposition to be persuaded; but on the contrary, has the advice of warm Blood, and prevailing Fasion, to hearken to the Temptations of his Companions, just as Wife as himself, rather than to the Persuasions of his Tour, who is now looked on as the Enemy to his Freedom?
dom? And when is a Man so like to mischief, as when at the same time he is both raw and unruly? This is the Season of all his Life, that most requires the Eye and Authority of his Parents, and Friends to govern it. The flexibility of the former part of a Man's Age, not yet grown up to be headstrong, makes it more governable and safe; and in the after-part, Reason and Fore-sight begin a little to take place, and mind a Man of his Safety and Improvement. The time therefore I should think the fittest for a young Gentleman to be sent abroad, would be, either when he is younger, under a Tutor; whom he might be the better for; or when he is some Years older, without a Governor; when he is of Age to govern himself, and make Observations of what he finds in other Countries worthy his Notice, and that might be of use to him after his Return: And when too, being thoroughly acquainted with the Laws and Fashions, the natural and moral Advantages and Defects of his own Country, he has something to exchange with those abroad, from whose Conversation he hoped to reap any Knowledge.

§. 214. The ordering of Travel otherwise, is that, I imagine, which makes so many young Gentlemen come back so little improved by it. And if they do bring Home with them any Knowledge of the Places and People they have seen, it is often an admiration of the world and vainest Practices they meet with abroad; retaining a Relish and Memory of those Things wherein their Liberty took its first swing, rather than of what should make them better and wiser after their Return. And indeed, how can it be otherwise, going abroad at the Age they do, under the Care of another, who is to provide their Necessaries, and make their Observations for them? Thus, under the Shelter and Pretence of a Governor, thinking themselves excused from standing upon their own Legs, or being accountable for their own Conduct, they very seldom trouble themselves with Enquiries, or making useful Observations of their own. Their Thoughts run after Play and Pleasure, wherein they take it as a lessening to be controll'd: But seldom trouble themselves to examine the Designs, observe the Address, and consider the Arts, Tempers, and Inclinations of Men they meet with; that so they may know how to comport themselves towards them. Here, he that Travels with them, is to screen them; get them out when they have run themselves into the Briars; and in all their Misadventures be answerable for them.

§. 215. I confess, the Knowledge of Men is so great a Skill, that it is not to be expected a young Man should pretently be perfect in it. But yet his going abroad is to little purpose, if Travel does not sometimes open his Eyes, make him cautious and warry, and accustom him to look beyond the Outside, and, under the offensive Guard of a civil and obliging Carriage, keep himself free and safe in his Conversation with Strangers, and all sorts of People, without forfeiting their good Opinion. He that is sent out to travel at the Age, and with the Thoughts of a Man designing to improve himself, may get into the Conversation and Acquaintance of Persons of Condition where he comes; which though a thing of most advantage to a Gentleman that Travels; yet I ask amongst our young Men that go abroad under Tutors, what one is there of an hundred, that ever visits any Person of Quality? Much less makes an Acquaintance with such, from whose Conversation he may learn what is good Breeding in that Country, and what is worth Observation in it, though from such Persons it is, one may learn more in a Day, than in a Years rambling from one Inn to another. Nor indeed is it to be wonder'd: For Men of Worth and Parts will not easily admit the Familiarity of Boys, who yet need the Care of a Tutor: Though a young Gentleman and Stranger, appearing like a Man, and shewing a Desire to inform himself in the Customs, Manners, Laws, and Government of the Country he is in, will find welcome affability and entertainment amongst the best and most knowing Persons every where, who will be ready to receive, encourage, and countenance any ingenuous and inquisitive Foreigner.

§. 216. This, how true ever it be, will not, I fear, alter the Custum, which has call the time of Travel upon the worst Part of a Man's Life; but for Reasons not taken from their Improvement. The young Lad must not be ventur'd abroad at Eight or Ten, for fear of what may happen to the tender Child, though
though he then runs ten times less risque than at Sixteen or Eighteen. Nor
must he stay at Home till that dangerous heady Age be over; because he
must be back again by One and twenty, to marry, and propagate. The
Father cannot stay any longer for the Portion, nor the Mother for a new Set
of Babies to play with: And so my young Master, whatever comes on',
must have a Wife look'd out for him by that time he is of Age; though it
would be no prejudice to his Strength, his Parts, or his Issue, if it were repri-
sed for some time, and he had leave to get, in Years and Knowledge, the
start of all his Children, who are often found to tread too near upon the
Heels of their Fathers, to the no great Satisfaction either of Son or Father.
But the young Gentleman being got within view of Matrimony, 'tis time to
leave him to his Mistris.

§ 217. Though I am now come to a Conclusion of what obvious Remarks
have suggested to me concerning Education, I would not have it thought,
that I look on it as a just Treatise on this Subject. There are a thousand
other things that may need consideration; especially if one should take in
the various Tempers, different Inclinations, and particular Defaults, that
are to be found in Children; and prescribe proper Remedies. The variety
is so great, that it would require a Volume; nor would that reach it. Each
Man's Mind has some peculiarity, as well as his Face, that distinguishes him
from all others; and there are possibly scarce two Children, who can be
conducted by exactly the same Method. Besides that, I think a Prince, a No-
blesman, and an ordinary Gentleman's Son, should have different ways of
Breeding. But having had here only some general Views, in reference to
the main End and Aims in Education, and those design'd for a Gentleman's Son,
whom, being then very little, I consider'd only as white Paper, or Wax, to be
moulded and fashioned as one pleases; I have touch'd little more than those
Heads, which I judg'd necessary for the Breeding of a young Gentleman of
his Condition in general; and have now published these my occasional
Thoughts with this Hope, That though this be far from being a compleat
Treatise on this Subject, or such, as that every one may find what will just
fit his Child in it; yet it may give some small light to tho'fe, whose Concern
for their dear little Ones makes them so irregularly bold, that they dare ven-
ture to consult their own Reason in the Education of their Children, rather
than wholly to rely upon Old Custom.
A PARAPHRASE AND NOTES ON THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL TO THE GALATIANS, ROMANS, CORINTHIANS, AND PHILIPPIANS. AN ESSAY FOR THE UNDERSTANDING OF ST. PAUL'S LETTERS.
AN ESSAY
For the understanding of
St. PAUL'S Epistles,
By consulting St. PAUL himself.

THE PREFACE.

O go about to explain any of St. Paul's Epistles, after so great
a Train of Expositors and Commentators, might seem an
Attempt of Vanity, censurable for its Needleiness, did not
the daily and approv'd Examples of Pious and Learned Men
justify it. This may be some Excuse for me to the Publick,
if ever these following Papers should chance to come abroad: But to my
self, for whose Use this Work was undertaken, I need make no Apology.
Though I had been conversant in these Epistles, as well as in other Parts
of Sacred Scripture, yet I found that I understood them not; I mean the
doctrinal and discursive parts of them: Though the practical Directions,
which are usually drop'd in the latter Part of each Epistle, appear'd to
me very plain, intelligible, and instructive.
I did not, when I reflected on it, very much wonder that this part of Sa-
cred Scripture had Difficulties in it, many Causes of Obscurity did read-
dily occur to me. The Nature of Epistolary Writings in general, dispo-
ses the Writer to pass by the mentioning of many Things, as well known
to
to him to whom his Letter is address'd, which are necessary to be laid open to a Stranger, to make him comprehend what is said: And it not seldom falls out, that a well Penn'd Letter, which is very easy and intelligible to the Receiver, is very obscure to a Stranger, who hardly knows what to make of it. The Matters that St. Paul writ about, were certainly things well known to those he writ to, and which they had some peculiar Concern in, which made them easily apprehend his Meaning, and see the Tendency and Force of his Discourse. But we having now at this Distance no Information of the Occasion of his writing, little or no Knowledge of the Temper and Circumstances those he writ to were in, but what is to be gather'd out of the Epistles themselves; it is not strange that many things in them lie conceal'd to us, which no doubt they who were concern'd in the Letter, understood at first Sight. Add to this, that in many Places 'tis manifest he answers Letters sent, and Questions proposed to him, which if we had, would much better clear those Passages that relate to them, than all the learned Notes of Criticks and Commentators, who in after-times fill us with their Conjectures, for very often, as to the Matter in hand, they are nothing else.

The Language wherein these Epistles are writ, are another 5 and that no small Occasion of their Obscurity to us now: The Words are Greek, a Language dead many Ages since: A Language of a very witty volatile People, Seekers after Novelty, and abounding with Variety of Notions and Sects, to which they applied the Terms of their common Tongue with great Liberty and Variety: And yet this makes but one small part of the Difficulty in the Language of these Epistles; there is a Peculiarity in it, that much more obscures and perplexes the Meaning of these Writings, than what can be occasion'd by the Looseness and Variety of the Greek Tongue. The Terms are Greek, but the Idiom or Turn of the Phrases may be truly said to be Hebrew or Syriack. The Cuffion and Familiarity of which Tongues do sometimes so far influence the Expressions in these Epistles, that one may obverse the Force of the Hebrew Conjugations, particularly that of Hiphil given to Greek Verbs, in a way unknown to the Greeks themselves. Nor is this all; the Subject treated of in these Epistles is so wholly new, and the Doctrines contained in them so perfectly remote from the Notions that Mankind were acquainted with, that most of the important Terms in it have quite another Signification from what they have in other Discourses: So that putting all together, we may truly say, that the New Testament is a Book written in a Language peculiar to it self.

To these Causes of Obscurity, common to St. Paul with most of the other Pennmen of the several Books of the New Testament, we may add those that are peculiarly his, and owing to his Stile and Temper. He was, as 'tis visible, a Man of quick Thought, and warm Temper, mighty well vers'd in the Writings of the Old Testament, and full of the Doctrine of the New: All this put together, suggested Matter to him in abundance on those Subjects which came in his way: So that one may consider him when he was writing, as befit with a Crowd of Thoughts, all striving for Utterance. In this Pottage of Mind it was almost impossible for him to keep that slow Pace, and observe minutely that Order and Method of ranging all he said, from which results an easie and obvious Perspicuity. To this Plenty and Vehemence of his may be imputed those many large Parenthebes, which a careful Reader may observe in his Epistles. Upon this account also it is, that he often breaks off in the Middle of an Argument, to let in some new Thought suggested by his own
own Words; which having purfued and explained as far as conducted to his present Purpofe, he refumes again the Thread of his Discourse, and goes on with it, without taking any notice that he returns again to what he had been before faying, though sometimes it be fo far off, that it may well have flipt out of his Mind, and requires a very attentive Reader to observe, and fo bring the disjointed Members together, as to make up the Connection, and fee how the fatter’d Parts of the Discourse hang togeth¬ er in a coherent well-agreeing Sense, that makes it all of a Piece.

Besides the disturbance in perufing St. Paul’s Epifles, from the Plenty and Vivacity of his Thoughts, which may obf cure his Method, and often hide his Sense from an un wary, or over-haftly Reader, the frequent changing of the Perfonage he fpeaks in, renders the Sense very uncertain, and is apt to mislead one that has not fome Clue to guide him; fometimes by the Pronoun I, he means himfelf; fometimes any Christian; fometimes a Jew, and fometimes any Man, &c. If speaking of himfelf in the firft Perfon Singular, he has fo various meanings; his ufe of the firft Perfon Plural is with a far greater Latitude, fometimes designing himfelf alone, fometimes thefe with himfelf whom he makes Partners to the Epifles; fometimes with himfelf comprehending the other Apoftles, or Preachers of the Gospel, or Christians: Nay, fometimes he in that way speaks of the Converted Jewes, other times of the Converted Gentiles, and fometimes of others, in a more or lefs extended Sense, every one of which varies the meaning of the Place, and makes it to be differently understood. I have forbore to trouble the Reader with Examples of them here. If his own Observation hath not already furnifh’d him with them, the following Paraphrife and Notes I fuppofe will fatisfie him in the Point.

In the current alfo of his Discourse, he fometimes drops in the Obje fions of others, and his Anfwers to them, without any Change in the Scheme of his Language, that might give Notice of any other speaking besides himfelf. This requires great Attention to observe, and yet if it be neglected or overlook’d, will make the Reader very much er rone, and mifunderfand his Meaning, and render the Sense very perplex’d.

There are intrinfc difficulties arifing from the Text itfelf, whereof there might be a great many other named, as the uncertainty, fometimes, who are the Perfons he fpeaks to, or the Opinions or Practices which he has in his Eye, fometimes in alluding to them, fometimes in his Exhortations and Reproofes. But thofe above-mention’d being the chief, it may suffice to have own’d our Eyes a little upon them, which, well examin’d, may contribute towards our Discovery of the reft.

To thofe we may subjoin two external Caufes that have made no fmall increafe of the Native and Original Difficulties that keep us from an eafe and affi f’d Discovery of St. Paul’s Sense, in many parts of his Epifles; and thofe are:

Firstly, The dividing of them into Chapters and Verfes, as we have done, whereby they are fo chop’d and min’d, and, as they are now Printed, stand fo broken and divid’d, that not only the Common People take the Verfes ufually for distinct Aphorifms, but even Men of more advance’d Knowledge in reading them, lofe very much of the Strength and force of the Coherence, and the Light that depends on it. Our Minds are fo weak and narrow, that they have need of all the Helps and Affi fances can be procur’d, to lay before them undisturbedly, the Thread and Coherence of any Discourse; by which alone they are truly improve’d and led into the Genuine Sense of the Author. When the Eye is constantly disturb’d with
loose Sentences, that by their standing and separation, appear as so many distinct Fragments; the Mind will have much ado to take in, and carry on in its Memory an uniform Discourse or dependent Reasonings; especially having from the Cradle been used to wrong Impressions concerning them, and constantly accustomed to hear them quoted as distinct Sentences, without any limitation or explication of their precise Meaning from the Place they stand in, and the Relation they bear to what goes before, or follows. These Divisions also have given occasion to the reading those Epistles by parcels and in scraps, which has farther confirm’d the Evil arising from such partitions. And I doubt not but every one will confess it to be a very unlikely way to come to the Understanding of any other Letters, to read them Piece-meal, a Bit to day, and another Scrap tomorrow, and so on by broken Intervals; Especially if the Pause and Cessation should be made as the Chapters the Apostle’s Epistles are divided into, do end sometimes in the middle of a Discourse, and sometimes in the middle of a Sentence. It cannot therefore but be wondered, that that should be permitted to be done to Holy Writ, which would visibly disturb the Sense, and hinder the Understanding of any other Book whatsoever. If Tully’s Epistles were so printed, and so used, I ask whether they would not be much harder to be understood, less easy and less pleasant to be read by much, than now they are?

How plain soever this Abuse is, and what Prejudice soever it does to the Understanding of the Sacred Scripture, yet if a Bible was printed as it should be, and as the several Parts of it were writ, in continued Discourses where the Argument is continued, I doubt not but the several Parties would complain of it, as an Innovation, and a dangerous Change in the publishing those holy Books. And indeed those who are for maintaining their Opinions, and the Systems of Parties by Sound of Words, with a Neglect of the true Sense of Scripture, would have reason to make and foment the Outcry. They would most of them be immediately disarm’d of their great Magazine of Artillery wherewith they defend themselves, and fall upon others, if the Holy Scriptures were but laid before the Eyes of Christians in its due Connection and Consistency, it would not then be so easy to snatch out a few Words, as if they were separate from the rest, to serve a Purpose, to which they do not at all belong, and with which they have nothing to do. But as the Matter now stands, he that has a mind to it, may at a cheap rate be a notable Champion for the Truth, that is, for the Doctrines of the Sect that Chance or Interest has cast him into. He need but be furnished with Verses of Sacred Scripture, containing Words and Expressions that are but flexible (as all general obscure and doubtful ones are) and his System, that has appropriated them to the Orthodoxy of his Church, makes them immediately strong and irrefragable Arguments for his Opinion. This is the Benefit of loose Sentences, and Scripture crumbled into Verses, which quickly turn into independent Aphorisms. But if the Quotation in the Verse produc’d, were consider’d as a part of a continued coherent Discourse, and so its Sense were limited by the Tenour of the Context, most of these forward and warm Disputants would be quite strip’d of those which they doubt not now to call Spiritual Weapons, and they would have often nothing to say that would not shew their Weaknesses, and manifestly fly in their Faces. I crave leave to set down a Saying of the Learned and Judicious Mr. Selden, “In interpreting the Scripture, says he, many do as if a Man should see one have Ten Pounds, which he reckon’d by 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, meaning Four was but four Units, and five five Units, &c. and that he had “ in
in all but Ten Pounds: The other that sees him, takes not the Fig-
ures together, as he doth, but picks here and there; and thereupon
reports that he had five Pounds in one Bag, and six Pounds in another
Bag, and nine Pounds in another Bag, &c. when as in truth he has
but ten Pounds in all. So we pick out a Text here and there, to make
it serve our turn; whereas if we take it altogether, and consider what
went before, and what followed after, we should find it meant no such
thing. I have heard sober Christians very much admire why ordinary
illiterate People, who were Professors, that they'd a Concern for Reli-
gion, seem'd much more converfant in St. Paul's Epistles, than in the
plainer, and as it seem'd to them much more intelligible Parts of the New
Testament; They confess'd that tho' they read St. Paul's Epistles with
their best Attention, yet they generally found them too hard to be ma-
ster'd, and they labour'd in vain so far to reach the Apostle's Meaning
all along in the Train of what he said, as to read them with that Satis-
faction that arises from a feeling that we understand and fully com-pre-
hend the Force and Reasoning of an Author; and therefore they
could not imagine what those saw in them, whose Eyes they thought not
much better than their own. But the Cave was plain, These sober in-
quissitive Readers had a mind to see nothing in St. Paul's Epistles but just
what he meant; whereas those others of a quicker and gayer Sight could
see in them what they pleased. Nothing is more acceptable to Fanatics
than plicant Terms and Expressions that are not obfolute, in such it can
find its account with Delight, and with them be illuminated, Orthodox,
insensible at pleasure, and in its own way. But where the Sense of
the Author goes visibly in its own Train, and the Words, receiving a deter-
mind Sense from their Companions and Adjacents, will not content to
give Countenance and Colour to what is agreed to be right, and must be
supported at any rate, there Men of established Orthodoxy do not so
well find their Satisfaction. And perhaps if it were well examin'd, it
would be no very extravagant Paradox to say, that there are fewer than
bring their Opinions to the Sacred Scripture to be tried by that insensible
Rule, than bring the Sacred Scripture to their Opinions, to bend it to
them, to make it as they can a Cover and Guard of them. And to this
Purpoze its being divided into Verses, and brought as much as may be
into loose and general Aphorisms, makes it most useful and serviceable.
And in this lies the other great Cause of Obscurity and Perplexedness,
which has been cast upon St. Paul's Epistles from without.

St. Paul's Epistles, as they stand translated in our English Bibles, are
now by long and constant Use become a part of the English Language,
and common Phraseology, especially in Matters of Religion: This every
one uses familiarly, and thinks he understands; but it must be observed,
that if he has a distinct meaning when he uses those Words and Phrases,
and knows himself what he intends by them, it is always according to
the Sense of his own System, and the Articles or Interpretations of the
Society he is engaged in. So that all this Knowledge and Understanding
which he has in the Use of those Passages of Sacred Scripture, reaches
no farther than this, that he knows (and that is very well) what he him-
self says, but thereby knows nothing at all what St. Paul said in them.
The Apostle writ not by that Man's System, and so his Meaning cannot
be known by it. This being the ordinary way of understanding the
Epistles, and every Sect being perfectly Orthodox in its own Judgment:
What a great and invincible Darknefs must this cast upon St. Paul's Mean-
ing to all thofe of that way, in all thofe Places where his Thoughts and

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Sense run counter to what any Party has espoused for Orthodox, as it must unavoidably to all but one of the different Systems, in all those Passages that any way relate to the Points in Controversie between them?

This is a Mischiefe which, however frequent and almost natural, reaches so far, that it would justly make all those who depend upon them, wholly diffident of Commentators, and let them see how little Help was to be expected from them, in relying on them for the true Sense of the Sacred Scripture, did they not take care to help to cozen themselves, by choosing to use and pin their Faith on such Expositors as explain the Sacred Scripture in favour of those Opinions that they before-hand have voted Orthodox, and bring to the Sacred Scripture not for Trial, but Confirmation. No Body can think that any Text of St. Paul's Epistles has two contrary Meanings, and yet so it must have to two different Men, who taking two Commentators of different Sects for their respective Guides into the Sense of any one of the Epistles, shall build upon their respective Expositions. We need go no further for a Proof of it, than the Notes of the two Celebrated Commentators on the New Testament, Dr. Hammond, and Beza, both Men of Parts and Learning, and both thought by their Followers Men mighty in the Sacred Scriptures. So that here we see the hopes of great Benefit and Light from Expositors and Commentators, is in a great part abated, and those who have most need of their Help, can receive but little from them, and can have very little Assurance of reaching the Apostle's Sense by what they find in them, whilst Matters remain in the same State they are in at present. For those, who find they need Help, and would borrow Light from Expositors, either consult only those who have the good luck to be thought sound and Orthodox, avoiding those of different Sentiments from themselves in the great and approved Points of their Systems, as dangerous and not fit to be meddled with; or else with Indifference look into the Notes of all Commentators promiscuously. The first of these take Pains only to confirm themselves in the Opinions and Tenets they have already, which whether it be the way to get the true Meaning of what St. Paul deliver'd, is easy to determine. The others with much more Fairness to themselves, tho' with reaping little more Advantage (unless they have something else to guide them into the Apostle's Meaning than the Comments themselves) seek Help on all hands, and refuse not to be taught by any one, who offers to enlighten them in any of the dark Passages. But here tho' they avoid the Mischiefe which the others fall into, of being confin'd in their Sense, and seeing nothing but that in St. Paul's Writings, be it right or wrong; yet they run into as great on the other side, and instead of being confin'd in the meaning that they thought they saw in the Text, are distracted with an hundred, suggested by those they advis'd with; and so instead of that one Sense of the Scripture, which they carried with them to their Commentators, return from them with none at all.

This indeed seems to make the Case desperate: For if the Comments and Expositions of pious and learned Men cannot be depended on, whether shall we go for Help? To which I answer, I would not be mistaken, as if I thought the Labours of the Learned in this Case wholly lost, and fruitless. There is great Use and Benefit to be made of them, when we have once got a Rule to know which of their Expositions, in the great Variety there is of them, explains the Words and Phrases according to the Apostle's Meaning. Till then 'tis evident, from what is above said, they
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they serve for the most part to no other Use, but either to make us find our own Sense, and not his in St. Paul's Words; or else to find in them no settled Sense at all.

Here it will be ask'd, How shall we come by this Rule you mention? Where is that Touchstone to be had, that will shew us whether this Meaning we our selves put, or take as put by others upon St. Paul's Words in his Epistles, be truly his Meaning or no? I will not say the way which I propose, and have in the following Paraphrase follow'd, will make us infallible in our Interpretations of the Apostle's Text: But this I will own, that till I took this way, St. Paul's Epistles to me, in the ordinary way of reading and studying them, were very obscure Parts of Scripture, that left me almost every where at a loss; and I was at great Uncertainty in which of the contrary Senses, that were to be found in his Commentators, he was to be taken. Whether what I have done has made it any clearer and more visible now, I must leave others to judge. This I beg leave to say for my self, that if some very sober judicious Christians, no Strangers to the Sacred Scriptures, may learn to see in the Church of England, had not professed, that by the Perusal of these following Papers they understood the Epistles better much than they did before, and had not with repeated Instances press'd me to publish them, I should not have consented they should have gone beyond my own private Use, for which they were at first designed, and where they made me not repent my Pains.

If any one be so far pleas'd with my Endeavours, as to think it worth while to be informed what was the Clue I guided my self by through all the dark Passages of these Epistles, I shall minutely tell him the Steps by which I was brought into this way, that he may judge whether I proceeded rationally, upon right Grounds or no, if so be any thing in fo mean an Example as mine may be worth his notice.

After I had found by long Experience, that the reading of the Text and Comments in the ordinary way, proved not so successful as I wish'd to the end propos'd, I began to suspect that in reading a Chapter as was usual, and thereupon sometimes consulting Expositors upon some hard Places of it, which at that time most affected me; as relating to Points then under Consideration in my own Mind, or in Debate amongst others, was not a right Method to get into the true Sense of these Epistles. I saw plainly, after I began once to reflect on it, that if any one now should write me a Letter, as long as St. Paul's to the Romans, concerning such a Matter as that is, in a Stile as Foreign, and Expressions as dubious as his seem to be, if I should divide it into fifteen or sixteen Chapters, and read of them one to day, and another to morrow, &c. it was ten to one I should never come to a full and clear Comprehension of it. The way to understand the Mind of him, that writ it, every one would agree, was to read the whole Letter through from one end to the other, all at once, to see what was the main Subject and Tendency of it; or if it had several Views and Purposes in it, not dependent one of another, nor in a Subordination to one chief Aim and End, to discover what those different Matters were, and where the Author concluded one, and began another; and if there were any Necessity of dividing the Epistles into Parts, to make the Boundaries of them.

In Prosecution of this Thought, I concluded it necessary, for the understanding of any one of St. Paul's Epistles, to read it all through at one Sitting, and to observe as well as I could, the Drift and Design of his writing it. If the first reading gave me some Light, the second gave Vol. III.
me more; and so I perused on, reading constantly the whole Epistle over at once, till I came to have a good general View of the Apostle's main Purpose in writing the Epistle, the chief Branches of his Discourse wherein he prosecuted it, the Arguments he used, and the Disposition of the whole.

This, I confess, is not to be obtain'd by one or two hafty Readings; it must be repeated again and again, with a close Attention to the Tenour of the Discourse, and a perfect Neglect of the Divisions into Chapters and Verses. On the contrary, the safest way is to suppose, that the Epistle has but one Busines, and one Aim, till by a frequent Perusal of it, you are forced to see there are distinct independent Matters in it, which will forwardly enough flew themselves.

It requires so much more Pains, Judgment and Application, to find the Coherence of obscure and abstruse Writings, and makes them so much the more unfit to serve Prejudice and Pre-occupation when found; that it is not to be wonder'd that St. Paul's Epistles have with many puffed rather for disjointed, loose pious Discourses, full of Warmth and Zeal, and overflows of Light, rather than for calm, strong, coherent Reasonings, that carried a Thread of Argument and Consistency all through them.

But this muttering of lazy or ill disposed Readers, hinder'd me not from perusing in the Course I had begun; I continued to read the same Epistle over and over, and over again, till I came to discover, as appear'd to me, what was the Drift and Aim of it, and by what Steps and Arguments St. Paul prosecuted his Purpose. I remember'd that St. Paul was miraculously call'd to the Ministry of the Gospel, and declar'd to be a chosen Vessel, that he had the whole Doctrine of the Gospel from God by immediate Revelation, and was appointed to be the Apostle of the Gentiles, for the propagating of it in the Heathen World. This was enough to persuade me, that he was not a Man of loose and flatter'd Parts, incapable to argue, and unfit to convince those he had to deal with. God knows how to choose fit Instruments for the Busines he employs them in. A large Stock of Jewish Learning he had taken in at the Feet of Gamaliel, and for his Information in Christian Knowledge, and the Mysteries and Depths of the Dispensation of Grace by Jesus Christ, God himself had condescended to be his Instruer and Teacher. The Light of the Gospel he had received from the Fountain and Father of Light himself, who, I concluded, had not furnished him in this extraordinary manner, if all this plentiful Stock of Learning and Illumination had been in danger to have been lost, or proved useless, in a jumbled and confused Head; nor have laid up such a Store of admirable and useful Knowledge in a Man, who, for want of Method and Order, clearness of Conception, or pertinency in Discourse, could not draw it out into Use with the greatest Advantages of Force and Coherence. That he knew how to prosecute this Purpose with Strength of Argument and close Reasoning, without incoherent Sallies, or the intermixing of things foreign to his Busines, was evident to me from several Speeches of his recorded in the Acts: And it was hard to think that a Man, that could talk with so much Consistency and Clearness of Conviction, should not be able to write without Confusion, inextricable Obscurity, and perpetual Rambling. The Force, Order and Perfiduity of those Discourses could not be denied to be very visible. How then came it that the like was thought much wanting in his Epistles? and of this there appear'd to me...
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this plain Reason: The Particularities of the History in which these Speeches are inserted, shew St. Paul's end in speaking, which being seen, calls a Light on the whole, and shews the Pertinency of all that he says. But his Epistles not being to circumstantiate; there being no concurring History that plainly declares the Disposition St. Paul was in, what the Actions, Expectations, or Demands of those to whom he writ, required him to speak to, we are no where told. All this, and a great deal more, necessary to guide us into the true meaning of the Epistles, is to be had only from the Epistles themselves, and to be gather’d from thence with stubborn Attention, and more than common Application.

This being the only safe Guide (under the Spirit of God that dictated these Sacred Writings) that can be rely’d on, I hope I may be excused, if I venture to say, that the utmost ought to be done to observe and trace our St. Paul’s Reasonings; to follow the Thread of his Discourse in each of his Epistles; to shew how it goes on still directed with the same View, and pertinently drawing the several Incidents towards the same Point. To understand him right, his Inferences should be strictly observ’d; and it should be carefully examined from what they are drawn, and what they tend to. He is certainly a coherent, argumentative, pertinent Writer, and Care I think should be taken in expounding of him, to shew that he is so. But though I say he has weighty Aims in his Epistles, which he steadily keeps in his Eye, and drives at in all that he says; yet I do not say that he puts his Discourses into an artificial Method, or leads his Reader into a Distinction of his Arguments, or gives them notice of new Matter, by Rhetorical or study’d Transitions. He has no Ornaments borrow’d from the Greek Eloquence; no Notions of their Philosophy mix’d with his Doctrine to let it off. The iniiting Words of Man’s Wisdom, whereby he means all the studied Rules of the Grecian Schools, which made them such Masters in the Art of Speaking, he, as he says himself, 1 Cor. 2.4. wholly neglected. The Reason whereof he gives in the next Verse, and in other places. But the Politeness of Language, Delicacy of Stile, Fine-ness of Expression, laboured Periods, artificial Transitions, and a very methodical ranging of the Parts with such other Imbellishments as make a Discourse enter the Mind smoothly, and strike the Phanfie at first hearing, have little or no place in his Stile, yet Coherence of Discourse, and a direct Tendency of all the Parts of it, to the Argument in hand, are most eminently to be found in him. This I take to be his Character, and doubt not but he will be found to be so upon diligent Examination. And in this if it be so, we have a Clue, if we will take the Pain to find it, that will conduct us with Surety through those seemingly dark Places, and imagined Intricacies in which Christians have wander’d so far one from another, as to find quite contrary Sentences.

Whether a superficial Reading, accompanied with the common Opinion of his invincible Obscurity, has kept off some from seeking in him the Coherence of a Discourse tending with close, strong Reasoning to a Point; Or a seemingly more honourable Opinion of one that had been wrap’d up into the Third Heaven, as if from a Man so warm’d and illuminated as he had been, nothing could be expected but Flashes of Light, and Raptures of Zeal, hinder’d others to look for a Train of Reasoning, proceeding on regular, and cogent Argumentation from a Man rais’d above the ordinary pitch of Humanity to a higher and brighter way of Illumination; Or else whether others were loth to beat their Heads about the Tenor and Coherence in St. Paul’s Discourses, which if found out, possibly might fet him
at a manifest and irreconcilable Difference with their Systems, 'tis certain that whatever hath been the cause, this way of getting the true Sense of St. Paul's Epistles, seems not to have been much made use of, or at least so thoroughly pursued, as I am apt to think it deserves.

For, granting that he was full of 't with the Knowledge of the things he treated of: For he had Light from Heaven, it was God himself furnished him, and he could not want: Allowing also that he had Ability to make use of the Knowledge had been given him, for the end for which it was given him, viz. the Information, Conviction, and Conversion of others; and accordingly that he knew how to direct his Discourse to the Point in hand, we cannot widely mistake the Parts of his Discourse imply'd about it, when we have any where found out the Point he drives at: Where-ever we have got a view of his Design, and the Aim he proposed to himself in Writing, we may be sure that such or such an Interpretation does not give us his genuine Sense, it being nothing at all to his present purpose. Nay among various Meanings given a Text, it fails not to direct us to the best, and very often to assure us of the true. For it is no Presumption, when one fees a Man arguing for this or that Proposition, if he be a sober Man, Master of Reason or common Sense, and takes any care of what he says, to pronounce with Confidence in several Cases, that he could not talk thus or thus.

I do not yet to magnifie this Method of studying St. Paul's Epistles, as well as other Parts of Sacred Scripture, as to think it will perfectly clear every hard Place, and leave no Doubt unsolved. I know Expressions now out of use, Opinions of those times not heard of in our days, Allusions to Customs loft to us, and various Circumstances and Particularities of the Parties, which we cannot come at, &c. must needs continue several Passages in the dark now to us at this distance, which shine with full Light to those they were directed to. But for all that, the studying of St. Paul's Epistles in the way I have proposed, will, I humbly conceive, carry us a great length in the right understanding of them, and make us rejoice in the Light we receive from those most useful Parts of Divine Revelation, by furnishing us with visible Grounds that we are not mistaken, whilst the Confinity of the Discourse, and the Pertinency of it to the Design he is upon, vouches it worthy of our great Apostle. At least I hope it may be my Excuse for having endeavoured to make St. Paul an Interpreter to me of his own Epistles.

To this may be added another Help, which St. Paul himself affords us towards the attaining the true meaning contained in his Epistles. He that reads him with the Attention I propose, will easily observe, that as he was full of the Doctrine of the Gospel; so it lay all clear and in order open to his view. When he gave his Thoughts Utterance upon any Point, the Matter flow'd like a Torrent, but 'tis plain, 'twas a Matter he was perfectly Master of: He fully possess'd the entire Revelation he had received from God, had thoroughly digested it; all the Parts were formed together in his Mind into one well contrived harmonious Body. So that he was no way at an uncertainty, nor ever in the least at a loss concerning any Branch of it. One may fee his Thoughts were all of a piece in all his Epistles, his Notions were at all times uniform, and constantly the same, tho' his Expressions very various. In them he seems to take great Liberty. This at least is certain, that no one seems less tied up to a Form of Words. If then having by the Method before propos'd, got into the Sense of the several Epistles, we will but compare what he says, in the Places where he treats of the same Subject, we can hardly be mistaken in his
his Sense, nor doubt what it was, that he believed and taught concerning those Points of the Christian Religion. I know it is not unusual to find a Multitude of Texts heaped up for the maintaining of an espoused Proposition, but in a Sense often so remote from their true Meaning, that one can hardly avoid thinking that those who so used them, either fought not or valued not the Sense, and were satisfied with the Sound where they could but get that to favour them. But a verbal Concordance leads not always to Texts of the same meaning; trifling too much thereto, will furnish us but with flight Proofs in many Cases, and any one may observe how apt that is to jumble together Passages of Scripture not relating to the same Matter, and thereby to disturb and unsettle the true meaning of Holy Scripture. I have therefore said we should compare together Places of Scripture treating of the same Point. Thus indeed one part of the Sacred Text could not fail to give light unto another. And since the Providence of God hath so ordered it, that St. Paul has written a great Number of Epistles, which tho' upon different Occasions, and to several Purposes, yet are all confined within the Bufines of his Apostleship, and so contain nothing but Points of Christian Instruction, amongst which he seldom fails to drop in, and often to enlarge on the great and distinguishing Doctrines of our holy Religion; which, if quitting our own Infallibility in that Analogy of Faith which we have made to our selves, or have implicitly adopted from some other, we would carefully lay together, and diligently compare and study; I am apt to think would give us St. Paul's System in a clear and indisputable Sense, which every one must acknowledge to be a better Standard to interpret his Meaning by, in any obscure and doubtful Parts of his Epistles, if any such should still remain, than the System, Confession, or Articles of any Church or Society of Christians yet known, which however pretended to be founded on Scripture, are visibly the Contrivances of Men (fallible both in their Opinions and Interpretations) and, as is visible in most of them, made with partial Views, and adapted to what the Occasions of that time, and the present Circumstances they were then in, were thought to require for the Support or Justification of themselves. Their Philosophy also has its part in mis-leading Men from the true Sense of the Sacred Scripture. He that shall attentively read the Christian Writers after the Age of the Apostles, will easily find how much the Philosophy they were tinctured with, influenced them in their Understanding of the Books of the Old and New Testament. In the Ages wherein Platonicism prevailed, the Converts to Christianity of that School, on all occasions, interpreted Holy Writ according to the Notions they had imbib'd from that Philosophy. Aristotle's Doctrine had the same effect in its turn, and when it degenerated into the Peripateticism of the Schools, that too brought its Notions and Distinctions into Divinity, and affixed them to the Terms of the Sacred Scripture. And we may see still how at this day every one's Philosophy regulates every one's Interpretation of the Word of God. Those who are poish'd with the Doctrine of Aerial and Ethereal Vehicles, have thence borrowed an Interpretation of the four first Verfes of 2 Cor. 5, without having any Ground to think that St. Paul had the least notion of any such Vehicles. 'Tis plain that the teaching of Men Philosophy, was no part of the Design of Divine Revelation; but that the Expressions of Scripture are commonly suited in those Matters to the Vulgar Apprehensions and Conceptions of the Place and People where they were delivered. And as to the Doctrine therein directly taught by the Apostles, that tends wholly to the setting up the Kingdom of Jesus Christ in this World, and the Salvation of Mens Souls, and in this 'tis plain their Expressions were conformed to the Ideas and Notions which they had received from Revelation, or were
were consequent from it. We shall therefore in vain go about to interpret their Words by the Notions of our Philosophy, and the Doctrines of Men delivered in our Schools. This is to explain the Apologies meaning by what they never thought of, when they were writing, which is not the way to find their Sense in what they deliver'd, but our own, and to take up from their Writings not what they left there for us, but what we bring along with us in our selves. He that would understand St. Paul right, must understand his Terms in the Sense he ues them, and not as they are appropriated by each Man's particular Philosophy, to Conceptions that never enter'd the Mind of the Apologist. For Example, he that shall bring the Philosophy now taught and receiv'd to the explaining of *Spirit, Soul, and Body*, mentioned in *T Plat. 5*, 23. will, I fear, hardly reach St. Paul's Sense, or repreff the whole the Notions St. Paul then had in his Mind. That is what we should aim at in reading him, or any other Author, and 'till we from his Words paint his very Ideas and Thoughts in our Minds, we do not understand him.

In the Divisions I have made, I have endeavou'rd the best I could to govern my self by the Diversity of Matter. But in a Writer like St. Paul, it is not so easy always to find precisely where one Subject ends, and another begins. He is full of the Matter he treats and writes with Warmth, which usually neglects Method, and those Partitions and Pauses which Men educated in the Schools of Rhetoricians usually observe. Those Arts of Writing St. Paul, as well out of Design as Temper, wholly laid by: The Subject he had in hand, and the Grounds upon which it stood firm, and by which he inforced it, was what alone he minded, and without solemnly winding up one Argument, and intimating any way that he began another, let his Thoughts, which were fully formed of the Matter, run in one continued Train, wherein the Parts of his Discourse were wove one into another. So that it is seldom that the Scheme of his Discourse makes any Gap; and therefore without breaking in upon the Connection of his Language, 'tis hardly possible to separate his Discourse, and give a distinct View of his several Arguments in distinct Sections.

I am far from pretending Infallibility in the Sense I have anywhere given in my Paraphrase or Notes; That would be to erect my self into an Apostle, a Prefumption of the highest Nature in any one that cannot confirm what he says by Miracles. I have for my own Information sought the true Meaning as far as my poor Abilities would reach. And I have unbaftedly embraced what upon a fair Enquiry appear'd so to me. This I thought my Duty and Interest in a Matter of so great Concernment to me. If I must believe for my self, it is unavoidable that I must understand for my self, For if I blindly and with an Implicit Faith take the Pope's Interpretation of the Sacred Scripture, without examining whether it be Christ's Meaning; 'tis the Pope I believe in, and not in Christ; 'tis his Authority I rest upon; 'tis what he says I embrace: For what 'tis Christ says, I neither know nor concern my self. 'Tis the same thing when I set up any other Man in Christ's place, and make him the Authentique Interpreter of Sacred Scripture to my self. He may possibly understand the Sacred Scripture as right as any Man, but I shall do well to examine my self, whether that which I do not know, nay (which in the way I take) I can never know, can justify me in making my self his Disciple, instead of Jesus's Christ's, who of Right is alone and ought to be my only Lord and Master: And it will be no less Sacrilege in me to substitute to my self any other in his room, to be a Prophet, to me, than to be my King or Priest.

The same Reasons that put me upon doing what I have in these Papers done, will exempt me from all Suggestion of imposing my Interpretation on others. The Reasons that led me into the Meaning which prevail'd on my Mind, are set down with it; as far as they carry Light and Conviction to any other Man's Understanding, so far I hope my Labour may be of some Use to him; beyond the Evidence it carries with it, I advize him not to follow mine, nor any Man's Interpretation. We are all Men liable to Errors, and infected with them; but have this sure way to preserve our selves every one from danger by them, if laying aside Sloth, Carelessness, Prejudice, Party, and a Reverence of Men, we betak our selves in earnest to the Study of the way to Salvation, in those holy Writings wherein God has reveal'd it from Heaven, and propos'd it to the World, seeking our Religion where we are sure it is in Truth to be found, comparing spiritual things with spiritual things.
A PARAPHRASE AND NOTES ON THE EPISTLE of St. PAUL TO THE GALATIANS.

The Publisher to the Reader.

There is nothing certainly of greater Concernment to the Peace of the Church in general, nor to the Direction and Edification of all Christians in particular, than a right Understanding of the Holy Scripture. This Consideration has set so many learned and pious Men amongst us of late Years upon Expositions, Paraphrases and Notes on the Sacred Writings, that the Author of these hopes the Fashion may excuse him for endeavouring to add his Mite, believing, that after all that has been done by those great Labourers in the Harvest, there may be some Gleanings left, whereof he presumes he has an Influence, Ch. III. ver. 20. and some other Places in this Epistle to the Galatians, which he looks upon not to be the hardest of St. Paul's. If he has given a Light to any obscure Passage, he shall think his Pains well employ'd: If there be nothing else worth notice in him, accept of his good Intention.
A PARAPHRASE AND NOTES ON THE EPISTLE OF ST. PAUL TO THE GALATIANS.
THE

EPISTLE of St. PAUL

TO THE

GALATIANS.

SYNOPSIS.

The Subject and Design of this Epistle of St. Paul is much the same with that of his Epistle to the Romans, but treated in somewhat a different Manner. The Business of it is to dehort and hinder the Galatians from bringing themselves under the Bondage of the Mosaical Law.

St. Paul himself had planted the Churches of Galatia, and therefore referring (as he does, Ch. I. 8, 9) to what he had before taught them, does not in this Epistle lay down at large to them the Doctrine of the Gospel, as he does in that to the Romans, who having been converted to the Christian Faith by others, he did not know how far they were infrusted in all those Particulars, which, on the Occasion whereon he writ to them, it might be necessary for them to understand: And therefore, writing to the Romans, he sets before them a large and comprehensive View of the chief Heads of the Christian Religion.

He also deals more roundly with his Disciples the Galatians, than, we may observe, he does with the Romans, to whom he, being a Stranger, writes not in so familiar a Style, nor in his Reproofs and Exhortations uses so much the Tone of a Master, as he does to the Galatians.

St. Paul had converted the Galatians to the Faith, and erected several Churches among them in the Year of our Lord 51; between which, and the Year 57, wherein this Epistle was writ, the Diforders following were got into those Churches.

For, Some Zealots for the Jewish Constitution had very near persuaded them out of their Christian Liberty, and made them willing to Submit to Circumcision, and all the ritual Observances of the Jewish Church, as necessary under the Gospel: Ch. I. 7. III. 3. IV. 9, 10, 21. V. 1, 2, 6, 9, 10.

Secondly, Their Difensions and Disputes in this Matter had raised great Animosities amongst them, to the Disturbance of their Peace, and the feuing them at strife one with another: Ch. V. 6. 13—15.

The reforming them in these two Points seems to be the main Business of this Epistle, wherein he endeavours to establish them in a Resolution to stand firm.
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firm in the Freedom of the Gospel, which exempts them from the Bondage of the Mosaical Law: And labours to reduce them to a sincere Love and Affection one to another; which he concludes with an Exhortation to Liberality, and general Beneficence, especially to their Teachers; Cb. VI. 6, 10. These being the Matters he had in his Mind to write to them about, he seems here as if he had done. But, upon the mentioning, v. 11. what a long Letter he had writ to them with his own Hand, the former Argument concerning Circumcision, which filled and warmed his Mind, broke out again into what we find, v. 12—17. of the 8th Chapter.

SECT. I.

Chap. I.

CHAP. I. 1—5.

Introduction.

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The general View of this Epistle plainly shews St. Paul's chief Design in it to be, to keep the Galatians from hearkening to those Judaizing Seducers, who had almost persuaded them to be circumcised. Thee Perverters of the Gospel of Christ, as St. Paul himself calls them, v. 7. had, as may be gather'd from v. 8. and 10. and from Cb. 5. 11. and other Passages of this Epistle, made the Galatians believe that St. Paul himself was for Circumcision. Till St. Paul himself had set them right in this Matter, and convinced them of the Falsity of this Aversion, it was vain for him by other Arguments to attempt the Re-establishing the Galatians in the Christian Liberty. And that Truth which he had preach'd to them. The removing therefore of this Calumny was his first Endeavour: And to that Purpose this Introduction, different from what we find in any other of his Epistles, is marvellously well adapted. He declares here at the Entrance, very expressly and emphatically, that he was not sent by Men on their Errands; nay, that Christ in sending him did not so much as convey his Apostolick Power to him by the Ministery, or Intervention of any Man; but that his Commission and Instructions were all entirely from God, and Christ himself, by immediate Revelation. This of it self was an Argument sufficient to induce them to believe, 1. That what he taught them when he first preach'd the Gospel to them, was the Truth, and that they ought to stick firm to that. 2. That he changed not his Doctrine, wherever might be reported of him. He was Christ's chosen Officer, and had no Dependence on Men's Opinions, nor Regard to their Authority, or Favour, in what he preach'd; and therefore it was not likely he should preach one thing at one time, and another thing at another.

Thus this Preface is very proper in this Place to introduce what he is going to say concerning himself, and adds Force to his Discourse, and the Account he gives of himself in the next Section.

PARAPHRASE.

1. PAUL (an Apostle, not of Men) to serve their Ends, or carry on their Designs, nor receiving his Call, or Commission by the Intervention of any man, but by Jesus Christ.

NOTES.

1 (a) Ous. de ἀναπόστασιν, not of Men, i.e. not sent by Men at their Pleasure, or by their Authority; not instructed by Men what to say or do, as we see Timothy and Titus were, when sent by St. Paul; And Judas and Silas sent by the Church of Jerusalem.
and God the Father who raised him from the dead.

2 And all the brethren which are with me unto the Churches of Galatia: Grace be to you, and Peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ:

3 Who gave himself for our sins that he might deliver us from this present evil world, according to the will of God and our Father. To whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

Man (b) to whom he might be thought to owe any Respect or Deference upon that Account; but immediately from Jesus Christ, and from God the Father, who raised him up from the Dead) and all the Brethren that are with me, unto the Churches (c) of Galatia: Favour be to you, and Peace (d) from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave himself for our Sins, that he might take us out of this present evil World, (e) according to the Will and good Pleasure of God and our Father, to whom be Glory for ever and ever. Amen.

NOTES.

(b) 'Ous', ὃς, who, by Man, i. e. His Choice and Separation to his Ministry and Apostleship, was to wholly an Άρτος of God and Christ, that there was no Intervention of any thing done by any Man in the Case, as there was in the Election of Matthias. All this we may see explain'd at large, v. 10—13, and v. 15, 17, and Ch. II. 6—9.

2 (c) Churches of Galatia. This was an evident Seal of his Apostleship to the Gentiles: Since in no bigger a Country than Galatia, a small Province of the lesser Asia, he had, in no long Stay among them, planted several distinct Churches.

3 (d) Peace. The willing of Peace, in the Scripture-Language, is the wishing of all manner of Good.

4 (e) Οποτ' οὖν οὖν μεν θέλεις, ἔτι μὴ θελεῖς τό αὐτόν τοῦ παρο&omicron; αὐτόν. That he might take us out of this present evil World, or Age, to the Greek Words signify. Whereby it cannot be thought that St. Paul meant, that Christians were to be immediately removed into the other World. Therefore 'τελμα 'τελμα must signify something else than 'παρο&omicron; αὐτόν, in the ordinary Import of those Words in English. 'Allo δέ ε&omicron; τοι, 1 Cor. 2, 6, 8, and in other Places plainly signifies the ιτα&omicron; of Nation under the Mosaic Constitution; and it suites very well with the Apostle's Design in this Epistle, that it should do so here. God has in this World but one Kingdom, and one People. The Nation of the Jews were the Kingdom and People of God, whilst the Law stood. And this Kingdom of God under the Mosaic Constitution was called ο&omicron; η&omicron; θε&omicron; αὐτός, this Α&omicron; η&omicron; Α&omicron; τός, or as it is commonly translated, the world, to which 'α&omicron; 'ανταρμα&tomicron; is, the present World, or Age, here answers. But the Kingdom of God, which was to be under the Messiah, wherein the Oeconomy and Constitution of the ιτα&omicron; Church, and the Nation it self, that in Opposition to Christ adhered to it, was to be laid aside, is in the New Testament called 'α&omicron; η&omicron; θ&omicron; α&omicron; ανταρμα&tomicron; of, the world, or Age to come; so that Christ's taking them out of the present World, may, without any Violence to the Words, be understood to signify his setting them free from the Mosaic Constitution. This is suitable to the Design of this Epistle, and what St. Paul has declared in many other Places. See Col. II. 14—17, and 20. which agrees to this Place, and Rom. VII. 4, 6. The Law is said to be contrary to us, Col. II. 14, and to work Wrath, Rom. IV. 15, and St. Paul speaks very dimi&omicron; nishingly of the ritual Parts of it in many Places: But yet if all this may not be thought sufficient to justify the applying of the 'ε&omicron; τα&omicron; of, Ε&omicron; τιν, to it, that Scruple will be removed, if we take 'ε&omicron; τα&omicron; αὖ, the present World, here, for the ιτα&omicron; Constitution and Nation together, in which Sense it may very well be called 'ε&omicron; τιν, the Apostle, not of his wonted Tenderness to his Nation, forbears to name them openly, and uses a doubtful Expression, which might comprehend the Heathen World also, tho' he chiefly pointed at the Jews.

SECT. II.

CHAP. I. 6—II. 21.

CONTENTS.

We have observed, that St. Paul's first Endeavour in this Epistle was to satisfy the Galatians, that the Report spread of him that he preach'd Circumcision, was false. Till this Obstruction, that lay in his Way, was removed, it was to no Purpose for him to go about to diffuse them from Circumcision, though that be what he principally aims at in this Epistle. To shew them, that he promoted not Circumcision, he calls their hearkening to those who persuaded them to be circumcised, their being removed from him; and
Chap. I. and thore that so persuaded them, Perverters of the Gospel of Christ, v. 6, 7. He farther affirms them, that the Gospel which he preached every where was that, and that only, which he had received by immediate Revelation from Christ, and no Contrivance of Man, nor did he vary it to please Men: That would not confit with his being a Servant of Christ, v. 10. And he expresst such a firm Adherence to what he had received from Christ, and had preached to them, that he pronounces an Anathema upon himself, v. 8, 9. or any other Man or Angel, that should preach anything else to them. To make out this to have been all along his Conduct, he gives an Account of himself for many Years backwards, even from the Time before his Conversion. Wherein he shews, that from a zealous persecuting Jew, he was made a Christian, and an Apostle, by immediate Revelation; and that, having no Communication with the Apostles, or with the Churches of Judea, or any Man for some Years, he had nothing to preach, but what he had received by immediate Revelation. Nay, when fourteen Years after he went up to Jerusalem, it was by Revelation; and when he there communicated the Gospel, which he preach'd among the Gentiles, Peter, James, and John approv'd of it, without adding any thing, but admitted him as their Fellow-Apostle. So that in all this he was guided by nothing but Divine Revelation, which he inflexibly stuck to so far, that he openly oppossed St. Peter, for his Judaizing at Antioch. All which Account of himself tends clearly to shew, that St. Paul made not the least Step towards complying with the Jews in Favour of the Law, nor did, out of regard to Man, deviate from the Doctrine he had received by Revelation from God.

All the Parts of this Section, and the Narrative contain'd in it, manifestly concenter in this, as will more fully appear, as we go through them, and take a closer View of them, which will shew us that the Whole is so skillfully managed, and the Parts so gently slid into, that it is a strong, but not seemingly labour'd Juffification of himself, from the Imputation of Preaching up Circumcision.

PARAPHRASE.

6. I Cannot but wonder that you are so soon (f) removed from me, (g) who called you into the Covenant of Grace which is in Christ unto another Sort of Gospel; which is not owing to any thing else (h) but only this, that ye are troubled by a certain Sort of Men, who would overturn the Gospel of Christ, by making Circumcision, and the keeping of the Law

7. I Marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ, unto another Gospel; Which is not another; but there be some that trouble you, and would pervert the Gospel of

NOTES.

6 (f) St. John. The first Place we find Galatia mentioned, is Acts XVI. 6. And therefore St. Paul may be supposed to have planted these Churches there, in his Journey mentioned, Acts XVI. which was Anno Domini 41. He visited them again, after he had been at Jerusalem, Acts XVIII. 21—23. Anno Domini 44. From thence he returned to Ephesus, and spied there about Two Years, during which Time this Epistle was writ; so that counting from his last Visit, this Letter was writ to them within two or Three Years from the Time he was last with them, and had left them confirmed in the Doctrine he had taught them, and therefore he might with Reason wonder at their forfaking him so soon, and that Gospel he had converted them to.

(g) From him that called you. These Words plainly point out himself. But then one might wonder how St. Paul came to use them; since it would have founded better to have said, Removed from the Gospel I preach'd to you, unto another Gospel, than removed from me that preach'd to you, unto another Gospel. But if it be remember'd that St. Paul's Design here is to vindicate himself from the Aipersion cast on him, That he preach'd Circumcision, nothing could be more fit than this way of expressing himself.

7 (b) 'O ex eu a\no. I take to signify, which is not any thing else. The Words themselves, the Context, and the Business of the Apostle is upon here, do all concur to give this: Words the Senec I have taken them in, For. 1. If he had refer'd to ex a\no, it would have been more natural to keep the Word a\no, and not to have chang'd it into a\no. 2. It can scarce be supposed by any one who reads what St. Paul says in the following Words of this Verse, and the two adjoin'd; and allo Ch. III. 4. and ver. 2. 4. and 7. That St. Paul should tell them, that what he would keep from them is not another Gospel. 3. It is fit to be to St. Paul's Design here to tell them, that to their being removed to another Gospel body else had contributed, but it was wholly owing to those Judaizing Seducers.
TEXT.

8. Christ. But though we, or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you, than that which we have preach'd unto you, yea, let him be accursed. As we said before, so say I now again, if any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed.

9. For do I now persuade men or God? Or do I seek to please men? For if I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ.

10. But I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preach'd of me, is not after man. For I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Chrift. For ye have heard of my conversation in time past, in the Jews religion, how that beyond measure I persecuted the Church of God, and wasted it: And profited in the Jews religion, above many of mine own nation, being more exceedingly zealous of the traditions of my Fathers.

PARAPHRASE.

8. Necessary (?) under the Gospel. But if even I myself, or an Angel from Heaven should preach any thing to you for Gospel, different from the Gospel I have preach'd unto you, let him be Accursed. I say it again to you, if any one, under Pretence of the Gospel, preach any other thing to you than what ye have received from me, let him be Accursed. (k) For can it be doubted of me, after having done and suffer'd so much for the Gospel of Chrift, whether I do now (l) at this time of day, make my Court to Men, or seek the Favour (m) of God? If I had hitherto made it my Business to please Men, I should not have been the Servant of Chrift, nor taken up the Profession of the Gospel. But I certify you, brethren, that the Gospel which has been every where (n) preach'd by me, is not such as is pleasant to humane Interest, or can be accommodated to the pleasing of Men. (For I neither received it from Man, nor was I taught it by any one as his Scholar) but it is the pure and unmixed immediate Revelation of Jefus Chrift to me. To satisfy you of this, my Behaviour, whilst I was of the Jewish Religion, is so well known, that I need not tell you, how excessive violent I was in persecuting the Church of God, and defray'd it all I could; and that being carry'd on by an extraordinary Zeal for the Traditions of my Forefathers, I out-strip'd many Students of my


10. (l) Accursed. Though we may look upon the Repetition of the Anathema here to be for the adding of Force to what he says, yet we may observe, that by joining himself with an Angel in the foregoing Ver. he does as good as tell them, that he is not guilty of what deserves it, by skillfully intimating to the Galatians, that they might as well suspect an Angel might preach to them a Gospel different from his, i.e. a false Gospel, as that he himself should: And then in this Ver. lays the Anathema wholly and solely upon the Judaizing Scribes,

12. (m) "Arri. Vev, and Vev, Yet, cannot be understood without a Reference to something in St. Paul's own Life; what that was, which he had particularly then in his Mind, we may see by the Account he gives of himself, in what immediately follows, (v. e.) That before his Conversion he was employed by Men in their Deiug, and made it his Business to please them, as may be seen, Acts IX. 1, 2. But when God called him, he received his Commission and Instructions from him alone, and set immediately about it, without consulting any Man whatsoever, preaching that, and that only, which he had received from Chrift. So that it would be senseless folly in him, and no less than the forsaking his Master Jesus Chrift, if he should now, as was reported of him, mix any thing of Mens with the pure Doctrine of the Gospel, which he had received immediately by Revelation from Jesus Chrift, to please the Jews, after he had so long preach'd only that; and had, to avoid all Appearance or Pretence to the contrary, so carefully thind all Communication with the Churches of Judea; and had not, till a good while after, and that very sparingly, conformed with any, and those but a few of the Apostles themselves, some of whom he openly reproved for their Judaizing. Thus the Narrative subjoined to this Ver. explains the now and yet in it, and all tend to the same Purpose.

14. (n) Thal. translat'd persuaded, is sometimes used for making Application to any one to obtain his good Will or Friendship; and hence, Acts 12. 25. Thal. Biafus is translat'd, having made Biafus their Friend; The Senes is here the same which 1 Thess. 2. 4. he expresses in their Words, ἀφιέρωσεν ἀφιέρωσεν ἀφιέρωσεν εἰς τὸν Θεόν, not as pleasing Men, but God.

own
own Age and Nation, in Judaism. But when it pleased God (who separated me from my Mother’s Womb, and by his especial Favour called me to be a Christian, and a Preacher of the Gospel) To reveal his Son to me, that I might preach him among the Gentiles, I thereupon applied not my self to any Man (for Advice what to do: (r) Neither went I up to Jerusalem, to those who were Apollines before me, to see whether they approved my Doctrine, or to have farther Instructions from them: But I went immediately (i) unto Arabia, and from thence returned again to Damascus. Then after three Years (t) I went up to Jerusalem, to see Peter, and abide with him fifteen Days. But other of the Apollines saw I none but James, the Brother of our Lord. These Things that I write to you, I call God to Witness, are all true; there is no Fallacy in them. Afterwards I came into the Regions of Syria, and Cilicia. But with the Churches of Christ (u) in Judea I had had no Communication, they had not so much as seen my Face, (w) only they had heard that I, who formerly percutted the Churches of Christ, did now preach the Gospel, which I once endeavour’d to suppress and extirpate. And they glorified God upon my Account.

But when it pleased God, who separated me from my mother’s womb, and called me by his grace, To reveal his Son to me, that I might preach him among the Heathens; immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood: Neither went I up to Jerusalem, to them which were Apollines before me, but I went into Arabia, and returned again unto Damascus. Then after three Years I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abide with him fifteen Days. But other of the Apollines saw I none but James the Lord’s brother. Now the things which I write unto you, behold, before God, I lie not. Afterwards I came into the Regions of Syria and Cilicia: And was unknown by face unto the Churches of Judea, which were in Christ. But they had heard only, That he which percutted us in times past, now preacheth the faith which once he destroyed. And they glorified God in me.

NOTES.
15 (o) Separated. This may be understood by Jer. I. 5.
(p) Called. The History of this Call, see Acts IX. 1, &c.
16 (q) Flesh and Blood, is used for Man, see Eph. VI. 12.
(r) For Advice: This, and what he lays in the following Verse, is to evidence to the Galatians, the full Assurance he had of the Truth and Perfection of the Gospel, which he had received from Christ by immediate Revelation; and how little he was disposed to have any Regard to the pleasing of Men in Preaching it, that he did not so much as communicate or advise with any of the Apollines about it, to see whether they approved of it.
17 (s) Ednas, immediately, though placed just before τ ταὸν δὲ καὶ νῷον, I inferred not, yet it is plain by the Senate and Design of St. Paul, here, that it principally relates to, I went into Arabia; his Return into Arabia, particularly upon his Conversion, before he had consulted with any body, being made use of, to shew that the Gospel he had received by immediate Revelation from Jesus Christ, was compleat, and sufficiently instructed and enabled him to be a Preacher and an Apostle to the Gentiles, without borrowing any thing from any Man, in order thereunto; no not with any of the Apollines, no one of whom he saw till three Years after.
18 (t) Three Years, i. e. from his Conversion.
22 (w) In Christ, i. e. Believing in Christ, see Rom. 16. 7.
25 (x) This which he so particularly takes notice of, does nothing to the proving that he was a true Apostle, but serves very well to shew, that in what he preached, he had no Communication with those of his own Nation, nor took any Care to please the Jews.

CHAP.
Then fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem, with Barnabas, and took Titus with me also. And I went up by revelation, and communicated unto them that gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, but privately to them which were of reputation, lest by any means I should run, or had run in vain. But neither Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised: and that because of false

NOTES.

9 (α) I communicated. The Conference he had in private with the Chief of the Church of Jerusalem, concerning the Gospel which he preach'd among the Gentiles, seems not to have been barely concerning the Doctrine of their being free from the Law of Moses: That had been openly and bodily disputed at Antioch, and was known to be the Business they came about to Jerusalem; but it is probable it was to explain to them the whole Doctrine he had received by Revelation, by the Fulness and Perfection whereof (for it is said, ver. 6. that in that Conference they added nothing to it) and by the Miracles he had done in Confirmation of it (for ver. 3.) they might see and own what he preach'd to be the Truth, and him to be one of themselves, both by Commission and Doctrine, as indeed they did; αυτοί, them, signifies those at Jerusalem: κατά τίνας ἢ τίνις ἡμών, are exequiall, and show the particular Manner and Persons, import nemo privatis eminenterivs. 'Twas enough to his Purpose to be owned by those of greatest Authority, and so we see he was by James, Peter and John, ver. 9., and therefore it was fixed and boll to give an Account of the Gospel he preach'd in private to them, and not publicly to the whole Church.

(9) Running, St. Paul uses for taking Pains in the Gospel. See Col. 2. 16. A Metaphor, I suppose, taken from the Olympic Games, to express his utmost Endeavours to prevail in the propagating the Gospel.

(2) In vain: He seems here to give two Reasons why at last, after 14. Years, he communicated to the Chief of the Apostles at Jerusalem, the Gospel that he preach'd to the Gentiles, when as he flew to the Galatians he had formerly declined all Communication with the convert Jews. 1. He seems to Intimate, That he did it by Revelation. 2. He gives another Reason, ver. 11. That if he had not communicated, as he did, with the leading Men there, and satisfied them of his Doctrine and Mifion, his Opposers might unsettle the Churches he had, or should plant, by urging, that the Apostles knew not what it was that he preach'd, nor had ever owned it for the Gospel, or him for an Apostle. Of the Readiness of the Judaizing Seducers to take any such Advantage against him, he had lately an Example in the Church of Corinth.

3 (α) kai διαμάκτη is rightly translated, was not compelled, a plain Evidence to the Galatians, that the circumcision of the convert Gentiles, was no Part of the Gospel which he laid before these Men of Note, as what he preach'd to the Gentiles. For if it had, Titus must have been circumcised; for no Part of his Gospel was blamed, or alter'd by them, ver. 6. Of what other Use his mentioning this of Titus here can be, but to shew to the Galatians, that what he preach'd contained nothing of circumcision the convert Gentiles, it is hard to find. If it were to shew that the other Apostles, and Church at Jerusalem, dispensed with Circumcision, and other Ritual Observances of the Mosaic Law, that was needless; for that was sufficiently declared by their Decree, Acts 15. which was made and communicated to the Churches before this Epistle was writ, as may be seen, Acts 15. 4. much less was this of Titus of any Force, to prove that St. Paul was a true Apostle, if that were what he was here labouring to justify. But considering his Aim here to be the clearing himself from a Report that he preached up Circumcision, there could be nothing more to his Purpose, than this Indictment of Titus, whom, uncircumcised as he was, he took with him to Jerusalem; uncircumcised he kept with him there, and uncircumcised he took back with him when he returned. This was a strong and pertinent Injustice to prejudice the Galatians, that the Report of his preaching Circumcision was a mere Alperation.

4 (21), Neither, in the 3d Verse, according to Propriety of Speech, ought to have a Nor to answer it, which is the αὐτός, αυτά, here; which, if so taken, answers the Propriety of the Greek, and very much clears the Sense; σὺς Ἰησοῦν ἐγνώκατε, εἰ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ἦς τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἦν συντρίβας, Neither was Titus compelled, nor did we yield to them a Moment.
way of Subjection (e) to the Law, to those false Brethren, who by an unwary Admixture, were flyly crept in to spy out our Liberty from the Law, which we have under the Gospel: that they might bring us into Bondage (d) to the Law. But I stood my Ground against it, that the Truth (c) of the Gospel might remain (f) among you. But as for those (g) who were really Men (b) of Eminency and Value, what they were heretofore, it matters not at all to me: God accepts not the Person of any Man, but communciates the Gospel to whom he pleases, (i) as he has done brethren...
Galatians.

Text.

maketh no matter to me: God accepteth no man's person) for they were 
7 me. But contrariwise, when 
they saw that the Gospel of the uncircumcision was 
8 committed unto me, as the 
Gospel of the circumcision 
was unto Peter. (For he 
9 that wrought effectually in 
Peter to the apostleship of 
the circumcision, the same 
was mighty in me towards 
the Gentiles.) And when 
James, Cephas, and John, who 
10 seemed to be pillars, perceived 
the grace that was given unto me, they 
gave to me and Barnabas 
the right hands of fellow-
ship; that we should go 
unto the heathen, and they 
unto the circumcision. On-
ly they would that we 
should remember the poor; 
the fame which I also was 
forward to do. But when 
Peter was come to An-
done to me by Revelation, without their Help; for in 
their Conference with me, they added nothing to me, 
they taught me nothing new, nor that Christ had 
taught me before, nor had they any thing to obiect 
against what I preached to the Gentiles. But on the 
contrary, (b) James, Peter, and John, who were 
of Reputation, and justly esteem'd to be Pillars, percei-
ving that the Gospel which was to be preach'd to the 
Gentiles, was committed to me; as that which was to 
be preach'd to the Jews, was committed to Peter. (For 
he that had wrought powerfully (l) in Peter, to his 
executing the Office of an Apostle to the Jews, had al-
so wrought powerfully in me in my Application and 
Apostleship, to the Gentiles.) And knowing (m) the 
Favour that was bestow'd on me, gave me and Bar-
 nabas the right Hand (a) of Fellowship, that we should 
preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, and they to the 
Children of Israel. All that they proposed was, 
that we should remember to make Collections 
among the Gentiles, for the poor Christians of 
Judea, which was a Thing that of my self I was 
forward to do. But when Peter came to Antioch, I

Notes.

the Apostles, had nothing to add to it, or except against it. This was proper to perfuse the 
Galatians, that he no more where in his Preaching receded from that Doctrine of Freedom from 
the Law, which he had preach'd to them, and was satisfied it was the Truth, even before 
he had conferred with these Apostles. The bare supposing of it in the Beginning of the 
Verfe, takes away the Necessity of any such Addition. Examples of the like Elegies we 
have, Mat. 27. 9. where we read και ἐσήκων ἐμνα τήν θυσίαν; and John 16. 17. ἐν τῷ 
μαθήματι, and so here taking και τῶν κοσμίων to be for και τῶν δικαιών, all 
the Difficulty is removed; and St. Paul having in the foregoing Verfe ended the Narrative of 
his Department towards the sale Brethren, he here begins an Account of what pas'd between 
him and the Chief of the Apostles.

7 (l) Peter, James, and John, who, its manifest by ver. 9, are the Persons here spoken of, 
for all of the All the Apostles to have been molt in Eileem and Favour with their Master, during 
their Conversation with them on Earth. See Mark 5. 37. & 9. 2. & 14. 33. "But yet that, 
says St. Paul, is of no Moment now to me. The Gospel which I preach, and which God, 
who is no Replefter of Persons, has been pleased to commit to me by immediate Reve-
lation, is not the left true, nor is there any Reason for me to recede from it in a Tittle; for 
these Men of the firft Rank could find nothing to add, alter or gainay in it." This is suit-
able to St. Paul's Design here, to let the Galatians see that as he in his Carriage had never 
favour'd Circumcision, so neither had he any Reason, by preaching Circumcision, to forlack 
the Doctrine of Liberty from the Law, which he had preach'd to them as a Part of that Gos-
pel which he had received by Revelation.

8 (l) ἔρμον εἰς, working in, may be understood here to signify, both the Operation of the 
Spirit upon the Mind of St. Peter and St. Paul, in sending them, the one to the Jews, the 
other to the Gentiles; and also the Holy Ghost bellowed on them, whereby they were enabled 
to do Miracles for the Confirmation of their Doctrine. In neither of which St. Paul, as he 
shews, was inferior, and so had as authenticene a Seal of his Mission and Doctrine.

9 (m) οἴδαι, and, copulates γνωρίζειν, in this Verfe, with ὁδείγησαι, seeing, ver. 7, and 
marks both of them to agree with the Nominative Case to the Verb ἔρμον εἰς, which is no 
other but James, Cephas, and John, and so justifies my transferring those Names to v. 7, for 
the more easy Conformation and Understanding of the Text, though St. Paul defers the naming of 
them, till he is as it were against his Will forced to it before the End of his Discours.

(a) The giving the right Hand was a Symbol amongst the Jews, as well as other Nations, of 
Accord, and admitting Men into Fellowship.
openly opposed (ο) him to his Face. For indeed he was to be blamed. For he conversed there familiarly with the Gentiles, and ate with them till some Jews came thither from James; then he withdrew and separated from the Gentiles, for Fear of those who were of the Circumcision: And the rest of the Jews joined also with him in this Hypocrisy, insomuch that Barnabas himself was carried away with the Stream, and dissembléd as they did. But when I saw they conformed not their Conduct to the Truth (p) of the Gospel, I said unto Peter before them all: If thou being a Jew takenst the Liberty sometimes to live after the Manner of the Gentiles, not keeping to those Rules which the Jews observe, why doest thou constrain the Gentiles to conform themselves to the Rites, and Manner of Living of the Jews? We who are by (γ) Nature Jews, born under the Instructıon and Guidance of the Law, God's peculiar People, and not of the unclean and profligate Race of the Gentiles, abandoned to Sin and Death, Knowing that a Man cannot be justified by the Deeds of the Law, but solely by Faith in Jesus Christ, even we have put our selves upon believing on him, and embraced the Profession of the Gospel for the Attainment of Justification by Faith,

tioth, I withheld him to the face, because he was to be blamed. For before I that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles: but when they were come, he withdrew, and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision. And the other Jews dissembled likewise with him; inso much that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation. But I, when I saw that they walked not uprightness, according to the truth of the gospel, I said unto Peter before them all. If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews? We who are Jews by Nature, and not Gentiles, Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Jesus Christ; that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law; for by the works of the law shall no flesh be just.

NOTES.

12 (ο) I opposed him. From this Opposition to St. Peter, which they suppose to be before the Council at Jerusalem, some would have it, that this Epistle to the Galatians was writ before that Council; as if what was done before the Council could not be mentioned in a Letter writ after the Council. They also contend, that this Journey mentioned here by St. Paul, was not that wherein he and Barnabas went up to that Council to Jerusalem; but that mentioned, Acts 11. 19. but this with as little Ground as the former. The strongest Reason they bring, is, that if this Journey had been to the Council, and this Letter after that Council, St. Paul would not certainly have omitted to have mentioned to the Galatians, that Deed. To which I answer, 1. The mention of it was superfluous, for they had it already, see Acts 16. 4. 2d. The mention of it was impertinent to the Design of St. Paul's Narrative here. For it is plain that his Aim in what he relates here of himself, and his own Actions, is to shew, that having received the Gospel from Christ by Immediate Revelation, he had all along preached that, and nothing but that every where; so that he could not be supposed to have preached Circumcision, or by his Carriage to have shewn any Subjection to the Law. All the whole Narrative following being to make good what he says, Ch. 1. 11. That the Gospel which he preached was not accommodated to the humouring of Men; nor did he seek to please the Jews, (who were the Men here meant) in what he taught. Taking this to be his Aim, we shall find the whole Account he gives of himself, from that 11. 10. of Ch. 1. to the End of this 2d. to be very clear and easy, and very proper to invalidate the Report of his preaching Circumcision.

13 (p) &quot;Αληθευς ἑν γαςδις, The Truth of the Gospel is put here for that Freedom from the Law of Moses, which was a Part of the true Doctrine of the Gospel. For it was in nothing else but their undue and timorous observing some of the Mosaic Rites, that St. Paul here blames St. Peter, and the other Judaizing Converts at Antioch. In this sense he uses the Word &quot;Αληθευς, all along through this Epistle, as Ch. 11. 5, 14, &c. 3. 1. &c. 5. 7. inferring on it, that this Doctrine of Freedom from the Law, was the true Gospel.

14 (γ) Ἰδού Ἰακώβι, Jews by Nature. What the Jews thought of themselves in Contradistinction to the Gentiles, see Rom. 2. 17, 23.
But if we seek to be justified by Christ, we ourselves also are found sinners, is therefore Christ the minister of sin? God forbid. For if I build again the things which I destroyed, I make my self a transgressor. For through the law, I might live unto God, I am crucified with Christ: Nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave in Christ, and not by the Works of the Law:

For he whose faith is shown through his works, shall not be justified. But if we seek to be justified by Christ, even we ourselves also are found sinners, (for such are all those who are under the Law, which admits of no Remission nor Justification) is Christ therefore the Minister of Sin? Is the Dispensation by him a Dispensation of Sin, and not of Righteousness? Did he come into the World, that those who believe in him should still remain Sinners, i.e. under the Gilt of their Sin, without the Benefit of Justification? By no means. And yet certain it is, if I (i) who quitted the Law, to put my self under the Gospel, put my self again under the Law, I make my self a Transgressor, I re-assume again the Gilt of all my Transgressions: Which by the Terms of that Covenant of Works, I cannot be justified from.

For by the Tenour of the Law it self, I by Faith in Christ am discharged (a) from the Law, that I might be appropriated (w) to God, and live acceptably to him in his Kingdom which he has now set up under his Son. I a Member of Christ's Body am crucified (x) with him, but tho' I am thereby dead to the Law, I nevertheless live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me, i.e. the Life which I now live in the Flesh, is upon no other Principle, nor under any other Law, but that of Faith in the

NOTES.

17 (a) Sinners. Those who are under the Law, having once transgressed, remain always Sinners unalterably so in the Eye of the Law; which excludes all from Justification. The Apostle in this place argues thus: "We Sinners, who are by Birth God's holy People, and not as the profane Gentiles, abandon'd to all manner of Pollution and Uncleanliness, not being in the Dispensation of Righteousness by the Deeds of the Law, have believ'd in Christ, that we might be justified by Faith in him. But if even we who have betaken our selves to Christ for Justification, are our selves found to be unjustly believ'd Sinners, liable still to Wrath, as also under the Law, to which we subjected our selves; what Deliverance have we from Sin by Christ? None at all: We are as much concluded under Sin and Gilt, as if we did not believe in him. So that by joining him and the Law together for Justification, we flout our selves out from Justification, which cannot be had under the Law, and make Christ the Minister of Sin, and not of Justification, which God forbid.

18 (t) Whether this be a Part of what St. Paul said to St. Peter, or whether it be adressed to the Galatians, St. Paul, by speaking in his own Name plainly declares, that if he sets up the Law again, he must necessarily be an Offender; whereby he strongly intimates to the Galatians, that he was no Promoter of Circumcision, especially when what he says, Ch. 5. 2-4, is added to it.


20 (a) Crucified with Christ; see this explain'd,Rom. 7. 4. and 6. 2—84.
Son of God, (y) who loved me, and gave himself for me. And in so doing I avoid frustrating the Grace of God; I accept of the Grace (z) and Forgiveness of God, as it is offered through Faith in Christ in the Gospel: But if I subject myself to the Law, as still in Force under the Gospel, I do in effect frustrate Grace. For if Righteousness be to be had by the Law, then Christ died to no purpose, there was no need of it. (a)

NOTES.
(y) i. e. The whole Management of my self is conformable to the Doctrine of the Gospel of justification in Christ alone, and not by the Deeds of the Law. This, and the former Verse seems to be spoken in Opposition to St. Peter's owing a Subjection to the Law of Moses, by his Walking, mentioned, iv. 14.
(z) Grace of God; see Ch. 1. 6, 7, to which this seems here opposed.
(a) In vain; Read this explain'd in St. Paul's own Words, Ch. 5. 3—5.

SECTION III.

CHAP. III. 1—5.

CONTENTS.

By the Account St. Paul has given of himself in the foregoing Section, the Galatians being furnish'd with Evidence sufficient to clear him in their Minds, from the Report of his preaching Circumcision, he comes now, the Way being thus open'd, directly to oppose their being circumcised, and subjecting themselves to the Law. The first Argument he uses, is, That they received the Holy Ghost, and the Gifts of Miracles, by the Gospel, and not by the Law.

PARAPHRASE.

1. Ye foolish Galatians, who hath cast a网 before your Eyes, that you should not keep to the Truth (b) of the Gospel, you to whom the Sufferings and Death of Christ (c) upon the Cross, hath been by me so lively represented, as if it had been actually done in your Sight? This one thing I desire to know of you, Did you receive the miraculous Gifts of the Spirit, by the Works of the Law, or by the Gospel?

TEXT.

O Foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, that you should not obey the truth, before whole Eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently for forth crucified among you? This only would I learn of you, Received ye the Spirit by the Works of the

NOTES.
(b) Obey the Truth, i. e. Stand fast in the Liberty of the Gospel, Truth being used in this Epistle, as we have already noted, Ch. 2. 14. for the Doctrine of being free from the Law, which St. Paul had delivered to them. The Reason whereof he gives, Ch. 5. 2—5.
(c) St. Paul mentions nothing to them here but Christ Crucified, as knowing that when formerly he had preach'd Christ crucified to them, he had shewn them, that by Christ's Death on the Cross, Believers were set free from the Law, and the Covenant, of Works was removed, to make way for that of Grace. This we may find him inculcating to his other Gentle Converts. See Eph. 2. 15, 16. Col. 2. 14, 20. And accordingly he tells the Galatians, Ch. 5. 1, 2, 4, that if by Circumcision they put themselves under the Law, they were fallen from Grace, and Christ should profit them nothing at all: Things which they are supposed to understand at his writing to them.
preach'd to you? Have you so little Understanding, that having begun in the Reception of the Spiritual Doctrine of the Gospel, you hope to be advanced to higher Degrees of Perfection, and to be compleated by the Law? (d) Have you suffered so many Things in vain, if at least you will render it in vain, by falling off from the Profession of the pure and uncorrupted Doctrine of the Gospel, and apostatising to Judaism? The Gifts of the Holy Ghost that have been conferred upon you, have they not been conferred on you as Christians, professing Faith in Jesus Christ, and not as Observers of the Law? And hath not he (e) who hath convey'd these Gifts to you, and done Miracles amongst you, done it as a Preacher and Professor of the Gospel, the Jews who stick in the Law of Moses, being not able by Virtue of that to do any such thing?

NOTES.
3 (d) It is a way of speaking very familiar to St. Paul, in opposing the Law and the Gospel, to call the Law Flesh and the Gospel Spirit. The Reason whereof is very plain to any one conversant in his Epistles.
4 (e) He The Person meant here by he that ministrath, and Chap. 4. 6, by he that called, is plainly St. Paul himself, though, out of Modesty, he declines naming himself.

S E C T. IV.

C H A P. III. 6—18.

C O N T E N T S.

His next Argument against Circumcision and Subjection to the Law, is, that the Children of Abraham, entitled to the Inheritance and Blessing promised to Abraham and his Seed, are so by Faith, and not by being under the Law, which brings a Curse upon those who are under it.

T E X T.

But to proceed. As Abraham believed in God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness, so know ye, that those who are of Faith, i.e. who rely upon God, and his Promises of Grace, and not upon their own Performances, they are the Children of Abraham, who shall inherit, and this is plain in the Scripture. For it being in the Purpose of God to justify the Gentiles by Faith, he gave Abraham a Fore-knowledge of the Gospel in these Words: (f) In thee all the Nations of the Earth shall be blessed. So that they who are of (g) Faith are blessed

N O T E S.
8 (f) Gen. 12. 3.
9, 10 (g) Of Faith, and of the Works of the Law; spoken of two Race of Men, the one as the genuine Purity of Abraham, Heirs of the Promise, the other not.
with Abraham, who believed: But as many as are of the Works of the Law are under the (k) Curse: For it is written (i) Cursed is every one who remaineth not in all things which are written in the Book of the Law to do them. But that no Man is justified by the Law in the Sight of God, is evident, for the (j) just shall live by Faith; (k) But the Law says not so, the Law gives not Life to those who believe: (l) But the Rule of the Law is, He that doth them, shall live in them. (m) Christ hath redeemed us from the Curse of the Law, being made a Curfe for us. For it is written, (n) Cursed is every one that hangeth on a Tree. That the Blessing (o) promised to Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ; that we who are Christians might, believing, receive the Spirit that was promised. (p) Brethren, this is a known and allow’d Rule in humane Affairs, that a Promise or Compact, tho’ it be barely a Man’s Covenant, yet if it be once ratified, so it must stand, no Body can render it void, or make any Alteration in it. Now to Abraham and his Seed were the Promises made. God doth not say, and to Seeds, (q) as if he spoke of more Seeds than one, that were entitled to the Promise upon different Accounts; but only of one Sort of Men, who upon one Sole Account were that Seed of Abraham which was alone meant and concern’d in the Promise; so that unto thy Seed, (r) designd Christ, and his Mythical Body, (i) i.e. Those that become Members of him by Faith.

NOTES.

(b) Blessed, and under the Curse. Here again there is another Division, (viz.) into the Blessed, and those under the Curse, whereby is meant such as are in a State of Life, or Acceptance with God; and such as are expos’d to his Wrath, and to Death, see Deut. 30. 19.


(j) Hab. 2. 4.


(m) Lev. 8. 15.

(n) Deut. 21. 22.


(p) Promising. St. Paul’s Argument to convince the Galatians, that they ought not to be circumcized, or submit to the Law, from their having received the Spirit from him, upon their having received the Gospel which he preached to them, v. 2. and 5. stands thus. The Blessing promised to Abraham, and to his Seed, was wholly upon the Account of Faith, v. 7. There were not different Seeds who should inherit the Promise; the one by the Works of the Law, and the other by Faith. For there was but one Seed, which was Christ, v. 16. and those who should claim in and under him by Faith. Among those there was no Dispillation of Jew and Gentile. They, and they only, who believed, were all one and the same true Seed of Abraham; and Heirs according to the Promise, v. 28. 29. And therefore the Promise made to the People of God, of giving them the Spirit under the Gospel, was perform’d only to those who believed in Christ: A clear Evidence that it was not by putting themselves under the Law, but by Faith in Jesus Christ, that they were the People of God, and Heirs of the Promise.

(q) And to Seeds; By Seeds, Paul here visibly means the (i) and (r) visible, Those of the Works of the Law, spoken of above, v. 9, 10. As two distinct Seeds, or Descendants claiming from Abraham.

(r) And to thy Seed; see Gen. 12. 7. repeated again in the following Chapters.

(i) Mythical Body; see v. 27.
TEXT.

47 Christ. And this, I say; that the covenant that was confirmed before of God in Christ, the law which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot dianful, that it should make the promise of none effect.

Paraphrase.

this therefore I say, that the Law which was not till 430 Years after, cannot dianful the Covenant that was long before made and ratified to Christ by God, so as to set aside the Promise. For if the Right to the Inheritance be from the Works of the Law, it is plain that it is not founded in the Promise to Abraham, as certainly it is. For the Inheritance was a Donation and free Gift of God, settled on Abraham and his Seed by Promise.

Sect. V.

Глава III. 19—25.

Contents.

In Answere to this Objection, To what then serveth the Law? He shews that the Law was not contrary to the Promise; But since all Men were guilty of Transgression, v. 22, the Law was added to shew the Israelites, the Fruit and inevitable Consequence of their Sin, and thereby the Necessity of basking themselves to Christ; But as soon as Men have received Christ, they have attained the End of the Law, and so are no longer under it. This is a farther Argument against Circumcision.

Text.

18 For if the Inheritance be of the law, it is no more of promise : but God gave it to Abraham by promise.

19 Wherefore then serveth the law? It was added because of TRANSGRESSION, till the seed should come, to whom the promise was made ; and it was ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator. Now a mediator is not a mediator of one; but God is one.

Paraphrase.

If the Blessing and Inheritance be settled on Abraham and Believers, as a free Gift by Promise, and was not to be obtained by the Deeds of the Law, to what Purpofe then was the Law? It was added, because the Israelites, the Poffeity of Abraham, were Transgressors (t) as well as other Men, to shew them their Sins, and the Punishment and Death they incurred by them, till Christ should come, who was the Seed into whom both Jews and Gentiles, ingrained by believing, become the People of God, and Children of Abraham, that Seed to which the Promise was made. And the Law was ordained by Angels in the Hand of a Mediator (w) whereby it is manifest, that the Law could not dianful the Promise; because a Mediator is a Mediator between two Parties concerned, but God is but one (w) of those concerned in the Promise.

Notes.

18 (t) That this is the meaning of, because of Transgression, the following Part of this Section shews, wherein St. Paul argues to this Purpose: The Jews were Sinners as well as other Men, v. 22. The Law denouncing Death to all Sinners, could fave none, v. 21, but was thereby useful to bring Men to Christ, that they might be justified by Faith, v. 24. See ch. 2.15, 16.

(w) Mediator. See Deut. 33. 5. 6. Lev. 26. 46. Where it is said, the Law was made between God and the Children of Israel, by the Hand of Moises.

20 (w) But God is one: To understand this Verse, we must carry in our Minds what St. Paul is here doing, and that from v. 17. is manifest, that he is proving that the Law could not dianful the Promise ; and he does it upon this known Rule, that a Covenant or Promise once ratified, cannot be altered or dianful'd by any other, but by both the Parties concerned. Now, says he, God is but one of the Parties concern'd in the Promise; the Gentiles and Israelites together made up the other, v. 14. But Moises at the giving of the Law was a Mediator only between the Israelites and God, and therefore could not tranfert any thing to the dianfuling the Promise which
21. If then the promised Inheritance come not to the Seed of Abraham by the Law, is the Law opposite, by the Curse it denounces against Transgressors, to the Promises that God made of the Blessing to Abraham? No by no means. For if there had been a Law given, which could have put us in a State of Life, (x) certainly Righteousness should have been by Law. (y)

22. But we find the quite contrary by the Scripture, which makes no Distinction betwixt Jew and Gentile in this Respect, but has shut up together all Mankind, (z) Jews and Gentiles under Sin (a) and Guilt, that the Blessing which was promised to that which is Abraham's true and intended Seed by Faith (b) in Christ, might be given to those who believe. But before Christ and the Doctrine of Justification by Faith (c) in him came, we Jews were shut up as a Company of Prisoners together, under the Custody and inflexible Rigor of the Law, unto the Coming of the Messiah, when the Doctrine of Justification by Faith (d) in him should be revealed. So that the Law by its Severity served as a School-master to bring us to Christ, that we might be justified by Faith. But Christ being come, and with him the Doctrine of Justification by Faith, we are set free from this School-master, there is no longer any Need of him.

NOTES.

which was between God, and the Israelites and Gentiles together, because God was but one of the Parties to that Covenant; the other, which was the Gentiles as well as Israelites, Mose appeared or transacted not for. And so what was done at Mount Sinai, by the Mediation of Moses, could not affect a Covenant made between Parties, whereof one only was there. How necessary it was for St. Paul to add this, we shall see, if we consider, that without it, his Argument of 430 Years Distance would have been deficient and hardly conclusive. For if both the Parties concerned in the Promise had transacted by Mose the Mediator, (as they might if none but the Nation of the Israelites had been concerned in the Promise made by God to Abraham) they might by mutual Consent have altered or set aside the former Promise, as well four hundred Years, as four Days after. That which hinder'd it was, that at Moses' Mediation at Mount Sinai, God, who was but one of the Parties to the Promise, was present: But the other Party, Abraham's Seed, consisting of Israelites and Gentiles together, was not there; Moses transacted for the Nation of the Israelites alone: The other Nations were not concerned in the Covenant made at Mount Sinai, as they were in the Promise made to Abraham and his Seed; which therefore could not be dissuaded without their Consent. For that both the Promise, both to Abraham and his Seed, and the Covenant with Israel at Mount Sinai, was National, is in it self evident.

(x) Zoonomos. Put into a State of Life. The Greek Word signifies to make alive. St. Paul considers all Men here, as in a mortal State, and to be put out of that mortal State into a State of Life, he calls being made alive. This he says the Law could not do, because it could not confer Righteousness.

(y) is sion, by Law, i.e. by Works or Obedience to that Law, which tended towards Righteousness, as well as the Promise, but was not able to reach or confer it. See Rom. 8. 3. i.e. Frail Men were not able to attain Righteousness by any exact Conformity of their Actions to the Law of Righteousness.

22. (a) Under Sin, i.e. rank them all together, as one guilty Race of Sinners: See this proved, Rom. 3. 9, 11, 18, 23. To the same Purpose of putting both Jews and Gentiles into one State, St. Paul uses unanimous sliding, hath shut them up all together, Rom. 11. 22.


(c) By Faith, see v. 14.

23. (d) Justification by Faith, see v. 24.
GALATIANS.

SECT. VI.

CHAP. III. 26—29.

CONTENTS.

A farther Argument to dissuade them from Circumcision, he tells the Galatians, that by Faith in Christ, all, whether Jews or Gentiles, are made the Children of God, and so they stood in no need of Circumcision.

TEXT.

26. For ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ.
27. Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.
28. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ.
29. Jesus. And if ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise.

PARAPHRASE.

26. For ye are (e) all the Children of God by Faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on (f) Christ. There is no Distinction of Jew or Gentile, of Bond or Free, of Male or Female. For ye are all one Body, making up one Person in Christ Jesus. And if ye are all one in Christ Jesus, (g) ye are the true ones, Seed of Abraham, and Heirs according to the Promise.

NOTES.

26 (e) All, i.e. Both Jews and Gentiles.
27 (f) Put on Christ. This, which at first Sight may seem a very bold Metaphor, if we consider what St. Paul has said, ver. 15, and 26, is admirably adapted to express his Thoughts in few Words, and has a great Grace in it. He says, ver. 16. that the Seed to which the Promise was made, was but one, and that one was Christ. And v. 26. he declares, that by Faith in Christ they all became the Sons of God. To lead them into an easy Conception how this is done, he here tells them, that by taking on them the Profession of the Gospel, they have as it were put on Christ; so that to God, now looking on them, there appears nothing but Christ. They are, as it were, covered all over with him, as a Man is with the Clothes he hath put on. And hence he says in the next Verse, that they are all one in Christ Jesus, as if they were but that one Person.
29. (g) The Clermont Copy reads et si sicut de levi in Hebraeum [loqu, And if ye are one in Christ Jesus, more suitable, as it seems, to the Apostle's Argument. For v. 28. he says, they are all one in Christ Jesus; from whence the Inference in the following Words of the Clermont Copy is natural: And if ye be one in Christ Jesus, then are ye Abraham's Seed, and Heirs according to Promise.

SECT. VII.

CHAP. IV. 1—11.

CONTENTS.

In the first Part of this Section he farther shews, that the Law was not against the Promise, in that the Child is not disinherited by being under Tutors. But the chief Design of this Section is to shew, that tho' both Jews and Gentiles were intended to be the Children of God, and Heirs of the Promise by Faith in Christ, yet they both of them were left in Bondage, the Jews to the Law, v. 3. and the Gentiles to false Gods, ver. 8. till Christ in due time came to redeem them both; and therefore it was Folly in the Galatians, being redeem'd from one Bondage, to go backwards, and put themselves again in a State of Bondage, tho' under a new Master.
Now I say that the Heir, as long as he is a Child, differeth nothing from a Bondman, (b)  
tho' he be Lord of all, but is under Tutors and Guardians, until the Time prefixed by his Father. So we (i) Jews, will if we were Children, were in Bondage under the Law. (k) But when the Time appointed for the Coming of the Messiah was accomplished, God sent forth his Son made of a Woman, and subjected to the Law; that he might redeem those who were under the Law, and set them free from it, that we who believe might be put out of the State of Bondmen into that of Sons. Into which State of Sons, it is evident that you Galatians, who were heretofore Gentiles, are put; for as much as God hath sent forth his Spirit (l) into your Hearts, which enables you to cry Abba, Father; for that thou art no longer a Bondman, but a Son: And if a Son, then an Heir (m) of God, or of the Promise of God through Christ. But then, i.e. before ye were made the Sons of God, by Faith in Christ, now under the Gospel, ye not knowing God, were in Bondage to those who were in Truth no Gods. But now that ye know God, ye rather, that ye are known (n) and taken into Favour by him, how can it be that you who have been put out of a State of Bondage into the Freedom of Sons,

NOTES.

1 (b) Bondman; see 1 Tim. vi. 1. and unless it be so translated, v. 7. 8. Bondage, v. 3. 7. will scarce be understood by an English Reader, but St. Paul's Sense will be lost to one, who by Servant understands not one in a State of Bondage.  
2 (i) We. 'Tis plain, St. Paul speaks here in the Name of the Jews or Jewish Church, which, though God's peculiar People, yet was to pass its Nonage (to St. Paul calls it) under the Restraint and Tutorage of the Law, and not to receive the Possession of the promised Inheritance till Christ came.  
3 (k) The Law, he calls here κακίαν ἐν λαχαιρίαν, Elements, or Rudiments of the World. Because the Observances and Discipline of the Law, which had Restrain'd and Bondage enough in it, led them not beyond the Things of this World, into the Possession or Taste of their spiritual and heavenly Inheritance.  
4 (l) The same Argument of proving their Sonship from their having the Spirit, St. Paul uses to the Romans, Rom. 8. 16. And he that will read 2 Cor. 4. 17 — 5. 6. and Eph. 1. — 14. will find, that the Spirit is look'd on as the Seal and Assurance of the Inheritance of Life to those who have received the Adoption of Sons, as St. Paul speaks here, v. 5. The Force of the Argument seems to lie in this, that as he that has the Spirit of a Man in him, has an Evidence that he is the Son of a Man, so he that hath the Spirit of God, has thereby an Assurance that he is the Son of God. Conformable hereunto the Opinion of the Jews was, that the Spirit of God was given to none but themselves, they alone being the People or Children of God, for God calls the People of Israel his Sons, Exod. 4. 22, 23. And hence we see, that when, to the Atonishment of the Jews, the Spirit was given to the Gentiles, the Jews no longer doubted that the Inheritance of eternal Life was also conferred on the Gentiles. Compare Acts 10. 44-48, with Acts 11. 15—18.  
5 (m) St. Paul from the Galatians having received the Spirit (as appears Ch. 3. 2.) argues, that they are the Sons of God without the Law, and consequently Heirs of the Promise without the Law; for, says he, ver. 1. — 6. the Jews themselves were fain to be redeem'd from the Bondage of the Law by Jesus Christ, that as Sons they might attain to the Inheritance. But you, Galatians, says he, have by the Spirit that is given you by the MinistrY of the Gospel, an Evidence that God is your Father; and being Sons, are free from the Bondage of the Law, and Heirs without it. The same Sort of Reasoning St. Paul uses to the Romans, Ch. 8. 14—17.  
6 (n) Known. It has been before observed, how apt St. Paul is to repeat his Words, though something varied in their Signification. We have here another Instance of it, having said, Ye have known God, he subjunct, or rather are known of him, in the Hebrew Latitude of the Word ידוע, in which Language it sometimes signifies knowing with Choice and Approbation. See Amos 3. 2. 1 Cor. 8. 3. should
Galatians

Text.

You have known God, or rather are known of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereby ye once again be in bondage? Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain.

Paraphrase.

should go backwards, and be willing to put yourselves under the (a) weak and beggarly Elements (b) of the World, into a State of Bondage again? Ye observe Days and Months, and Times, and Years, in Compliance with the Mosaic Institution. I begin to be afraid of you, and to be in Doubt, whether all the Pains I have taken about you, to set you at Liberty in the Freedom of the Gospel, will not prove lost Labour.

Notes.

(a) The Law is here called weak, because it was not able to deliver a Man from Bondage and Death, into the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God, Rom. 8. 1—3. And it is called beggarly, because it kept Men in the poor Estate of Pupils, from the full Possession and Enjoyment of the Inheritance, v. 1—3.

(b) The Apostle makes it matter of Abomination, how they who had been in Bondage to false Gods, having been once set free, could endure the Thoughts of parting with their Liberty, and of returning into any sort of Bondage again, even under the mean and beggarly Rudiments of the Mosaic Institution, which was not able to make them Sons, and instail them in the Inheritance. For St. Paul, v. 7, expressly opposes Bondage to Sonship; so that all who are not in the State of Sons, are in the State of Bondage. Still, again, cannot here refer to any of Elements, which the Galatians had never been under hitherto, but to Bondage, which he tells them, v. 8, they had been in to false Gods.

Section VIII.

Chapter IV. 12—20.

Contents.

He presses them with the Remembrance of the great Kindness they had for him when he was amongst them, and affirms them that they have no reason to be alienated from him, though that be it which the Judaizing Seducers aim at.

Text.

Brethren, I beseech you, be as I am; for I am as ye are; ye have not injured me at all. Ye know how through infirmity of the flesh, I preached the gospel unto you at the first. And my temptation which was in my flesh ye despised not, nor rejected; but received me as an Angel of God, even as Christ Jesus.

Where is then the Blessedness ye spoke of? for I

Paraphrase.

I beseech you, Brethren, let you and I be as if we were all one. Think your selves to be very me; as I in my own Mind put no Difference at all between you and myself; you have done me no manner of Injury: On the contrary, ye know, that through Infirmity of the Flesh, I heretofore preach'd the Gospel to you, and yet ye despised me not for the Trial I underwent in the Flesh, (q) you treated me not with Contempt and Scorn: But you received me as an Angel of God, yea as Jesus Christ himself. What Benedictions (r) did you then pour out upon me? For I bear you witness.

Notes.

(q) What this Weeknes and Trial in the Flesh was, since it has not pleased the Apostle to mention it, is impossible for us to know: But may be remarked here, as an Instance once for all, of the unavoidable Obscurity of some Passages in Epitaphial Writings, without any Fault in the Author. For some things, necessary to the Understanding of what is writ, are usually of course, and fully omitted, because already known to him the Letter is writ to, and it would be sometimes ungraceful, oftentimes superfluous, particularly to mention them.

(r) The Context makes this Sense of the Words so necessary and visible, that 'tis to be wonder'd how any one could overlook it.
had it been practicable, you would have pulled out your very Eyes, and given them me. But is it so that I am become your Enemy(s) in continuing to tell you the Truth? They who would make you of that Mind, shew a Warmth of Affection to you; but it is not well: For their Business is to exclude me, that they may get into your Affection. It is good to be well and warmly affected towards a good Man (r) at all times, and not barely when I am present with you.

19. My little Children, for whom I have again the Pains of a Woman in Child-birth till Christ be formed in you, (w) i. e. till the true Doctrine of Christiannity be settled in your Minds. But I would willingly be this very Moment with you, and change (w) my Discourse as I should find Occasion. For I am at a Stand about you, and know not what to think of you.

**NOTES.**

16 (r) Your Enemy. See Ch. 1. 6.

18 (r) That by καδις here he means a Person and himself, the Scope of the Context evinces. In the six preceding Veres he speaks only of himself, and the Change of their Affection to him since he left them. There is no other thing mentioned, as peculiarly deferring their Affection, to which the Rule given in this Verse could refer. He had said, ver. 17, οὖν δὲ ἐφημερί, they affect you 3 and the καδις τοιούτου, that you might affect them; this is only of Persons, and therefore καδις τοιούτου ἐν καδις, which immediately follows, may be understood of a Person, else the following Part of the Verse, tho' joint'd by the Copulative καθώς, and, will make but a disjointed Sentence with the preceding. But there can be nothing plainer, nor more coherent than this, which seems to be St. Paul's Sense here. You were very affectionate to me when I was with you. You are since estranged from me; it is the Artificer of the Seducers that have cooled you to me. But if I am the good Man you took me to be, you will do well to continue the Warmth of your Affection to me, when I am absent, and not to be well affected towards me, only when I am present among you. Though this be his Meaning, yet the Way he has taken to express it, is much more elegant, modest and graceful. Let any one read the Original and see whether it be not so.

19 (w) If this Verse be taken for an entire Sentence by itself, it will be a Parenthesis, and that not the most necessary or congruous that is to be found in St. Paul's Epistles. Or 3 But must be left out, as we see it is in our Translation. But it would be my little Children, be joined on by Apposition to καθώς, rau, the last Word of the foregoing Verse, and so the two Veres 18, and 19, be read as one Sentence, the 20 w. with 3, But, in it, follows very Naturally. But as we now read it in our English Bible 3, But, is forced to be left out, and the 20th w. stands alone by itself, without any Connection with what goes before, or follows.

30 (m) Ἀναλογίαν γυνήν, to change the Voice, seems to signify the speaking higher or lower; changing the Tone of the Voice suitably to the Matter one delivers, u. g. whether it be Advice, or Commendation, or Reproof, &c. For each of these have their different Voices. St. Paul wishes himself with them, that he might accommodate himself to their present Condition and Circumstances, which he confesses himself to be ignorant of, and in doubt about.

**SECT. IX.**

**CHAP. IV. 21.—V. 1.**

**CONTENTS.**

He exhorts them to stand fast in the Liberty with which Christ hath made them free, shewing those who are so zealous for the Law, that if they mind what they read in the Law, they will there find, that the Children of the Promise, or of the New Jerusalem, were to be free; but the Children after the Flesh, of the Earthly Jerusalem, were to be in Bondage, and to be cast out, and not to have the Inheritance.
Tell me, ye that would so fain be under the Law, do you not acquaint your selves with what is in the Law, either by reading (α) it, or having it read in your Affemblies? For it is there written, (γ) Abraham had two Sons, one by a Bond-maid, the other by a Free-woman; but he that was of the Bond-woman was born according to the Flesh, in the ordinary Course of Nature; but he that was of the Free-woman Abraham had by Virtue of the Promise, after he and his Wife were past the Hopes of another Child. These things have an Allegorical Meaning: For the two Women are the two Coveneants, the one of them delivered from Mount Sinai, and is represented by Agar, who produces her Ishmael into Bondage. (For Agar is Mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth to Jerusalem which now is, and is in Bondage with her Children. But the Heavenly Jerusalem which is above, is free, which is the Mother of us all, both Jews and Gentiles, who believe. For it was of her that it is written, (ξ) Rejoice thou barren that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that travailest not; for the desolate hath many more children than thou which was hath an Husband. Now we brethren, as Isaac was, are the Children of Promise. But as then Isaac and Rebekah lived in the ordinary Course of Nature, (α) perfected Isaac, who was born by an extraordinary Power from Heaven, working miraculously; so is it now. But what faith the Scripture, (β) Call out the Bondwoman and her Son, for the Son of the Bond-woman shall not share the Inheritance with the Son of the Free-woman. So then, Brethren, we who believe in Christ, are not the Children of the Bond-woman, but of the Free. (ε) Stand fast therefore in the Liberty wherewith Christ Ver. 1 hath made you free, and do not put on again a Yoke of Bondage, by putting your selves under the Law.
I T is evident from Verse 11. that the better to prevail with the Galatians to be circumcised, it had been reported that St. Paul himself preach’d up Circumcision. St. Paul, without taking express Notice of this Calumny, Ch. 1. 6. & 2. 21. gives an Account of his past Life in a large Train of Particulars, which all concur to make such a Character of him, as renders it very incredible, that he should ever declare for the Circumcision of the Gentiles Converts, or for their Submission to the Law. Having thus prepared the Minds of the Galatians, to give him a fair Hearing, as a fair Man, he goes on to argue against their subjecting themselves to the Law. And having establish’d their Freedom from the Law by many strong Arguments, he comes here at last openly to take Notice of the Report had been raised of him, that he preach’d Circumcision, and directly confutes it.

1. By positively denouncing to them himself, very solemnly, that they who suffer’d themselves to be circumcised, put themselves into a perfect legal State, out of the Covenant of Grace, and could receive no Benefit by Jesus Christ, ver. 2—4.

2. By ascribing them, that he and those that followed him, expected justification only by Faith, v. 5—6.

3. By telling them, that he had put them in the right Way, and that this new Perfusion came not from him that converted them to Christianity, ver. 7—8.

4. By intimating to them, that they should agree to pass Judgment on him that troubled them with this Doctrine, v. 9—10.

5. By his being perfecuted, for opposing the Circumcision of the Christians. For this was the great Offence which fluck with the Jews, even after their Conversion, v. 11.

6. By wishing those cut off that trouble them with this Doctrine, v. 12. This will, I doubt not, by whoever weighs it, be found a very skilful Management of the argumentative Part of this Epistle, which ends here. For though he begins with sapping the Foundation on which the Judaizing Seducers seem’d to have laid their main Streps, (vii.) the Report of his preaching Circumcision; yet he reserves the direct and open Confutation of it to the End, and so leaves it with them, that it may have the more forcible and lasting Impression on their Minds.

PARAPHRASE.

Take Notice that I Paul (d) who am fallly reported to preach up Circumcision in other Places, say unto you, that if you are circumcised, Christ shall be of no Advantage to you. For I repeat here again what I have always preach’d, and solemnly testifie to every one who yields to be circumcised, in Compliance with those who say that now under the Gospel he cannot be saved without it, (e) that he is under an Obligation

TEXT.

Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall prove nothing to you. For I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to the whole law

NOTES.

2 (d) 'll, iyi to, ðyk ðoqo, Behold, I Paul, I the same Paul, who am reported to preach Circumcision, v. 2. (e) 'll, iyi to, ðyk ðoqo, Behold, I Paul, I the same Paul, who am reported to preach Circumcision, v. 3. (e) ðyk ðoqo, My Testimony is true. This was the Ground upon which the Jews and Judaizing Christians urged Circumcision. See Acts 15. 1.
Christ is become of no effect unto you, whatsoever you are justified by the law; ye are fallen from grace. For we through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by faith. For in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love. Ye did run well, who did hinder you, that ye should not obey the truth? This persuasion cometh not of him that calleth you. A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump. I have confidence in you through the Lord, that you will be none other wise minded: but he that troubleth you, shall bear his judgment, who troubleth you. And I, brethren, if I yet preach circumcision, why do I yet suffer persecution? then is the offence of the cross to the whole Law, and bound to observe and perform every tittle of it. Christ is of no use to you, who seek justification by the Law: Whosoever do I do, be ye what you will, ye are fallen from the Covenant of Grace. But I (f) and those who with me are true Christians, we who follow the Truth of the Gospel (g) and the Doctrine of the Spirit of God, have no other Hope of justification but by Faith in Christ. For in the State of the Gospel under Jesus the Messiah, is neither Circumcision nor Uncircumcision that is of any Moment; All that is available is Faith alone, working by Love. (b) When you first entered into the Professed of the Gospel, you were in a good way, and went on well: Who has put a Stop to you, and hindered you, that you keep no longer to the Truth of the Christian Doctrine? This Persuasion, that it is necessary for you to be circumcised, cometh not from him (i) by whose preaching you were called to the Professed of the Gospel. Remember that a little Leaven leaveneth the whole Lump; the Influence of one Man (k) entertain'd among you, may mislead you all: I have confidence in you, that by the Help of the Lord, you will be all of this same mind (l) with me; and consequently he that troubles you shall fall under the Censure he deserves for it, (m) whoever he be. But as for me, Brethren, if I at last am become a Preacher of Circumcision, why am I yet persecuted? (n) If it be so that the Gentile Converts are to be circumcised,

NOTES.

(f) We. 'Tis evident from the Context, that St. Paul here means himself. But it is a more graceful way of speaking than I, though he be vindicating himself alone from the Imposture of setting up Circumcision. (g) Spirit. The Law and the Gospel opposed under the Titles of Flesh and Spirit, we may see, Ch. 3. 5. of this Epistle. The same Opposition it stands in here to the foremost Verse, points out the same Signification. (b) Which worketh by Love. This is added to express the Animosity which were amongst them, probably raised by this Question about Circumcision. See v. 15—15. (i) This Expression of him that called, or calleth you, he used before, Ch. 1. 6. and in both Places means himself, and here declares, that this Scripture (whether taken for Persuasion, or for Subjection, as it may be in St. Paul's Style, considering add.see.c, in the End of the foregoing Verse) came not from him, for he called them to Liberty from the Law, and not Subjection to it; See v. 15. They were going on well in the Liberty of the Gospel, who flipp'd you if, you may be sure, had no hand in it; i. e. you, known, call'd you to Liberty, and not to Subjection to the Law; and therefore you can by no means suppose that I should preach of Circumcision. Thus St. Paul argues here.

(n) Persecution. The Persecution St. Paul was still under, was a Convincing Argument, that he was not for Circumcision, and Subjection to the Law, for it was from the Jews, upon that Account, that at this Time rose all the Persecution which the Christians suffered, as may be traced through all the History of the Acts. Nor are there wanting clear Footsteps of it in several Places of this Epistle, besides this here, as Ch. 3. 4. and 6. 12.
and so subjected to the Law, the great Offence of the Gospel (a) in relying solely on a crucified Saviour for Salvation, is removed. But I am of another Mind, and with that they may be cut off who trouble you about this Matter, and they shall be cut off. For, Brethren, ye have been called by me unto Liberty.

NOTES.
(a) Offence of the Cross, see ch. 6. 12-14.

SECT. XI.

CHAP. V. 13—26.

CONTENTS.

From the mention of Liberty which he tells them they are called to under the Gospel, he takes a Rife to caution them in the use of it, and so exhorts them to a Spiritual or true Christian Life, shewing the Difference and Contrariety between that and a Carnal Life, or a Life after the Flesh.

PARAPHRASE.

Though the Gospel to which ye are called, be a State of Liberty from the Bondage of the Law, yet pray take great care you do not mistake that Liberty, nor think it affords you an Opportunity, in the Abuse of it, to satisfy the Lust of the Flesh, but serve (p) one another in Love. For the whole Law concerning our Duty to others, is fulfill’d in observing this one Precept, (q) Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy Self. But if you bite and tear one another, take heed that you be not destroy’d and consumed by one another. This I say to you, conduct your selves by the Light that is in your Minds, (r) and do not give your selves up to the Lusts of the Flesh, to obey them in what they put upon you. For the Inclinations and Desires of the Flesh are contrary to those of the Spirit: And the Dictates and Inclinations of the Spirit, are contrary to those of the Flesh; so that under these contrary Impulses you do not do the things that you purpose to do.

NOTES.
(p) Serve, has a greater Force in the Greek, than our English word serve does in the common Acceptation of it expresseth. For it signifies the Opposite to Βασίλεια, Freedom. And so the Apostle elegantly informs them, that though by the Gospel they are called to a State of Liberty from the Law; yet they were still as much bound and subjected to their Brethren in all the Offices and Duties of Love and Good-will, as if in that respect they were their Vassals and Bondmen.
(q) That which he here, and in the next Verse, calls Spirit, he calls, Rom. 7. 22, the inward Man; v. 23. the law of the Mind; v. 25. the Mind.
Galatians

Text: But if ye be led by the Spirit, ye are not under the law. Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these; Adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like: I speak after the common speech, for they that do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.

Paraphrase: your selves. (r.) But if you give your selves up to the Conduit of the Gospel (r) by Faith in Christ, ye are not under the Law. (u.) Now the Works of the Flesh, as is manifest, are these, Adultery, Fornication, Uncleanliness, Lasciviousness, Idolatry, Witchcraft, (w) Enmities, Quarrels, Emulations, Animosities, Strife, Seditions, Sects, Envyings, Murders, Drunkenness, Revellings, (s) and such like, concerning which I forewarn you now, as heretofore I have done, that they who do such things shall not inherit the Kingdom of God. But on the other side, the Fruit of the Spirit is Love, Joy, Peace, Long-suffering, Gentleness, Goodness, Faith, Meekness, Temperance: Against thee and the like there is no

Notes:

17 (1) Do not: So it is in the Greek, and our’s is the only Translation that I know, which renders it cannot.

16, 17. There can be nothing plainer, than that the State St. Paul describes here in these two Verses, he points out more at large, Rom. 7, 17, &c. Speaking there in the Person of a Jew. This is evident, that St. Paul upposes two Principles in every Man, which draw him different Ways, the one he calls Flesh, the other Spirit. These, though there be no other Appellations given them, are the most common and usual Names given them in the New Testament: By Flesh is meant an active vicious, and irregular Appetites, Inclinations and Habitudes, whereby a Man is turn’d from his Obedience to that eternal Law of Right, the Obseruance whereof God always requires and is pleased with. This is very properly called Flesh, this bodily State being the Source from which all our Deviations from the strict Rule of Righteousness, do for the most part take their Rise, or else do ultimately terminate in: On the other side, Spirit is the Part of a Man which is endowed with Light from God, to know and see what is Righteous, Just and Good, and which being consulted and hearken’d to, is always ready to direct and prompt us to that which is good. The Flesh then, in the Gospel-Language, is that Principle which inclines and carries Men to III: the Spirit that Principle which disposes what is Right, and inclines to Good. But because, by prevailing Custom and contrary Habits, this Principle was very much weaken’d, and almost extinct in the Gentiles, see Eph. 4. 17—21. He exhorts them to be renewed in the Spirit of their Minds, v. 23. and to put off the old Man, i. e. Fleshily corrupt Habits, and to put on the New Man, which he tells them, v. 24. is created in Righteousness and truth Holiness. This is also called renouncing of the Mind, Rom. 12. 2. Renouncing of the inward Man, 2 Cor. 4. 16. Which is done by the Affiliation of the Spirit of God, Eph. 5. 16.

18 (1) The Reason of this Affection we may find, Rom. 8. 14. v. 14. Because, they who are led by the Spirit of God, are the Sons of God, and so Heirs, and free without the Law, as he argues here, Ch. 3. and 4.

(a) This is plainly the Sense of the Apostle, who teaches all along in the former Part of this Epistle, and also that to the Romans, that those that put themselves under the Gospel, are not under the Law: The Question then is, remains only, about the Phrase, led by the Spirit. And as far as that, it is easy to observe how Natural it is for St. Paul, having in the foregoing Verses more than once mentioned the Spirit, to continue the same Word, though somewhat varied in the Sense. In St. Paul’s Phralogy, as the Irregularities of Appetite, and the Diversities of Right Reason, are opposed under the Titles of Flesh and Spirit, as we have seen: So the Covenant of Works, and the Covenant of Grace, Law, and Gospel, are opposed under the Titles of Flesh and Spirit, 2 Cor. 3. 6. 8. he calls the Gospel Spirit, and Rom. 7. 5. In the Flesh, signifies the legal State. But we need go no farther than Ch. 3. 2. of this very Epistle, to see the Law and the Gospel opposed by St. Paul under the Titles of Flesh and Spirit. The Reason of thus using the Word Spirit, is very apparent in the Doctrine of the New Testament, which teaches, that those who receive Christ by Faith, with him receive his Spirit, and its Affiliation against the Flesh; See Rom. 8. 9. — 11. Accordingly, for the attaining of Salvation, St. Paul joins together Belief of the Truth, and Sanctification of the Spirit, 1 Thes. 2. 13. And so Spirit here may be taken for the Spirit of their Minds, but renewed and strengthened by the Spirit of God; See Eph. 3. 16. v. 16. 4. 23.

20 (w) Separates signifies Witchcraft, or Dejection.

21 (a) K. ψανσαι, Revellings, were amongst the Greeks, disorderly spending of the Night in Feasings, with a licentious indulging to Wine, good Cheer, Misch, Dancing, &c.
GALATIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

24. Law. Now they who belong (γ) to Christ, and are his Members, have (ς) crucified the Flesh, with the Affections and Lusts thereof. If our Life then (our Flesh having been crucified) be as we profess by the Spirit, whereby we are alive from that State of Sin we were dead in before, let us regulate our Lives and Actions by the Light and Dictates of the Spirit. Let us not be led by an itch of vain Glory to provoke one another, or to envy one another. (a)

25. No law. And they that (γ) are Christ's, have crucified the Flesh, with the Affections and Lusts. If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit. Let us not be devious of vain-glory, provoking one another, envying one another.

NOTES.

24 (γ) Those who are of Christ, are the same with those who are led by the Spirit. v. 18. and are opposed to those who live after the Flesh, Rom. 8. 13. Where it is said, conformably to what we find here, they live through the Spirit mortifie the Deeds of the Body.

25 (γ) Crucified the Flesh. That Principle in us, from whence spring vicious Inclinations and Actions, is, as we have observed, above called, sometimes the Flesh, sometimes the Old Man. The subduing and mortifying of this evil Principle, so that the Force and Power wherewith it used to rule in us, is extinguished: the Apostle, by a very engaging Accommodation to the Death of our Saviour, calls, Crucifying the Old Man, Rom. 6. 6. Crucifying the Flesh, here, Putting off the Body of the Sins of the Flesh, Col. 2. 11. Putting off the Old Man, Eph. 4. 20. Col. 3. 8. 9. It is also called, Mortifying the Members which are on Earth, Col. 3. 5. Mortifying the Deeds of the Body, Rom. 8. 13.

26 (γ) Whether the vain Glory and envying here were about their spiritual Gifts, a Fault which the Corinthians were guilty of, as we may see at large, 1 Cor. 12. 13. 14. or upon any other Occasion, and so contained in v. 15. of this Chapter, I shall not curiously examine: Either way, the Sense of the Words will be much the same, and accordingly this Verse must end the 5th or begin the 6th Chapter.

SECT. XII.

CHAP. VI. 1—5.

CONTENTS.

Here exhorts the Stronger to Gentleness and Meekness towards the Weak.

PARAPHRASE.

1. Barethlen, if a Man by Frailty or Surprize, fall into a Fault, do you who are eminent in the Church for Knowledge, Practice, and Gifts, (b) raise him up again, and set him right, with Gentleness and Meekness, considering that you yourselves are not out of the Reach of Temptations. Bear with one another’s Infirmities, and help to support each other under your Burdens, (c) and so fulfill the Law of Christ. (d) For if any one be conceived of himself,

TEXT.

Barethlen, if a Man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are Spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thy self, lest thou also be tempted. Bear ye one another’s burdens, and so fulfill the law of Christ. For if a man think himself to be something, when he

NOTES.

1 (b) Injuetual, Spiritual, in 1 Cor. 3. 1. and 12. 1. taken together, has this Sense.
2 (c) See a parallel Exhortation, 1 Thess. 5. 14. which will give Light to this, as also Rom. 15. 1.
3 (d) See John 15. 34. 35. and 14. 2. There were some among them very zealous for the Observation of the Law of Moses: St. Paul here puts them in mind of a Law, which they were under, and were oblig’d to observe, viz. the Law of Christ. And he shews them how to do
Galatians

Text

is nothing, he deceitfully
4 himself. But let every
man prove his own work
and then shall he have re-
joicing in himself alone,
5 and not in another. For
every man shall bear his
own burden.

Paraphrase

as if he were something, a Man of Weight, fit to
prescribe to others, when indeed he is not, he de-
ceiveth himself. But let him take care that what he
himself doth be right, and such as will bear the Teft,
and then he will have matter of glorying (e) in him-
self, and not in another. For every one shall be ac-
countable only for his own Actions.

Notes

do it, (uir.) by helping to bear one another's Burdens, and not increasing their Burdens by the
Obserances of the Levitical Law. Though the Gospel contain the Law of the Kingdom of
Christ, yet I do not remember that St. Paul any where calls it the Law of Christ, but in this
Place, where he mentions it in Opposition to those who thought a Law so necessary, that they
would retain that of Mofes under the Gospel.

4 (e) Καθαρίζων, I think should have been translated here, Glorifying; Καθαρίζων is, v. 19. The
Apostle in both Places meaning the fame Thing, (uir.) Glorifying in another, in having brought
him to Circumcision, and other ritual Obserances of the Mofical Law. For thus St. Paul seems
to me to discoursie in this Section. "Brethren, there be some among you that would bring
either under the ritual Obserances of the Mofical Law, a Yoke which was too heavy for us,
and our Fathers to bear. They would do much better to sale the Burdens of the Weak; this
is suitable to the Law of Christ, which they are under, and is the Law which they ought
strictly to obey. If they think, because of their spiritual Gifts, that they have Power to pre-
scribe in such Matters, I tell them, that they have not, but do deceive themselves. Let
them rather take care of their own particular Actions, that they be right, and such as they
ought to be. This will give them matter of Glorifying in themselves, and not vainly in
others, as they do when they prevail with them to be Circumcised. For every Man shall be
answerable for his own Actions." Let the Reader judge whether this does not seem to be
St. Paul's View here, and suit with his way of Writing?

(Ονὴν Καθαρίζων, is a Phrase whereby St. Paul signifies to have matter of Glorifying, and to that
Sence it is rendered, Rom. 4. 2.

Sect. XIII.

Chap. VI. 1—10.

Contents.

St. Paul having laid some Restraint upon the Authority and Forwardness
of the Teachers, and leading Men amongst them, who were, as it seems,
more ready to impose on the Galatians, what they should not, than to help
them forward in the Practice of Gospel-Obedience; he here takes care of
them in respect of their Maintenance, and exhorts the Galatians to Liberality
towards them; and in general, towards all Men, especially Christians.

Text.

Let him that is taught in
the word, communicate
unto him that teacheth, in
7 all good things. Be not
deceived, God is not mock-
ed; for whatsoever a man
foweth, that shall be alo
8 reap. For he that foweth

Paraphrase.

LET him that is taught the Doctrine of the Go-
spell, freely communicate the good things of this
World, to him that teaches him. Be not deceived,
God will not be mocked. For as a Man soweth, (f)
so also shall he reap. He that lays out the Stock of
good things he has, only for the Satisfaction of his

Notes.

1 (f) Someth. A Metaphor used by St. Paul for Men's laying out their Worldly Goods. See
2 Cor. 9. 6 a Gr.
own bodily Necessities, Conveniencies or Pleasures, shall at the Harvest find the Fruit and Product of such Husbandry to be Corruption and perishing. (g) But he that lays out this worldly Substance according to the Rules dictated by the Spirit of God in the Gospel, shall of the Spirit reap Life Everlasting. In doing thus what is good and right, let us not wax weary, for in due Season, when the Time of Harvest comes, we shall reap, if we continue on to do good, and flag not. Therefore as we have Opportunities, let us do Good unto all Men, especially to those who profess Faith in Jesus Christ, i.e. the Christian Religion.

NOTES.

8 (g) Rom. 8. 13, and 2. 12.

SEC. XIV.

CHAP. VI. 11—18.

CONTENTS.

ONE may see what lay upon St. Paul's Mind, in writing to the Galatians, by what he inculcates to them here, even after he had finished his Letter. The like we have in the last Chapter to the Romans. He here winds up all with Admonitions to the Galatians, of a different End and Aim they had to get the Galatians circumcised, from what he had in preaching the Gospel.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

Ye see how large a letter I have written unto you with mine own hand. (b) They who are willing to carry it to fairly in the ritual Part of the Law, and to make Obedience of their Compliance therein, constrain you to be circumcised, only to avoid Persecution, for owning their Dependence for Salvation solely on a crucified Messiah, (i) and not on the Observance of the Law. For even they themselves who are circumcised do not keep the Law. But they will have you to be circumcised, that this Mark in your flesh may abound them matter of Gloriing, and of recommending themselves to the good Opinion of the Jews. (k)

But as for me, whatever may be said of me, (l) God forbid that I should glory in any thing, but in having to his flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption: but he that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap Life everlasting. And let us not be weary in well-doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not. As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith,

NOTES.

11 (b) St. Paul mentions the Writing with his own Hand, as an Argument of his great Concern for them in the Case. For it was not usual for him to write his Epistles with his own Hand, but to dictate them to others who wrote them from his Mouth. See Rom. 16. 22.

12 (i) In the Flesh, i.e. in the ritual Observances of the Law, which, Heb. 9. 10, are called, 111c111v, 111c1111, 111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c111c11
GALATIAN S.

TEXT.

Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, 15 and I unto the world. For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, 16 but a new creature. And as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God. 17 From henceforth let no man trouble me, for I bear in my body the marks 18 of the Lord Jesus. Brethren, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit, Amen. 9 Unto the Galatians, written from Rome.

PARAPHRASE.

Jews Christ, who was crucified, for my sole Lord and Master, whom I am to obey and depend on, which I so entirely do, without regard to any thing else, that I am wholly dead to the World, and the World dead to me, and it has no more Influence on me than if it were not. For as to the obtaining a Share in the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the Privileges and Advantages of it, neither Circumcision nor Uncircumcision, such outward Differences in the Flesh, avail any thing, but the New Creation, wherein by a thorough Change, a Man is disposed to Righteousness and true Holiness in good Works. (m) And on all those who walk by this Rule, viz. that it is the New Creation alone, and not Circumcision, that availeth under the Gospel, Peace and Mercy shall be on them, they being that Israel which are truly the People of God. (m) From henceforth, let no Man give me trouble by Questions, or Doubt, whether I preach Circumcision or no. 'Tis true, I am circumcised. But yet the Marks I now bear in my Body, are the Marks of Jesus Christ, that I am his. The Marks of the Stripes which I have received from the Jews, and which I still bear in my Body for preaching Jesus Christ, are an Evidence that I am not for Circumcision. Brethren, The Favour of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your Spirit. Amen.

NOTES.

15 (m) See Eph. 2. 10. and 4. 24.
16 (m) St. Paul having in the foregoing Verse asserted, that it is the New Creation alone that puts Men into the Kingdom of Christ, and into the Possession of the Privileges thereof, this Verse may be understood also as Assertory, rather than as a Prayer, unless there were a Verb that expressed it; especially considering that he writes this Epistle to encourage them to refuse Circumcision. To which End the affurging them, that those who do so shall have Peace and Mercy from God, is of more Force than to tell them, that he prays that they may have Peace and Mercy from God. And for the same reason I understand the Israel of God, to be the same with those who walk by the Rule, though join'd with them by the Copulative Kai, And; no very unusual way of speaking.
A PARAPHRASE AND NOTES ON THE First Epistle of St. PAUL TO THE CORINTHIANS.

SYNOPSIS.

Aint Paul's first coming to Corinth was Anno Christi 52, where he first applied himself to the Synagogue, Acts 18. 4. But finding them obstinate in their Opposition to the Gospel, he turn'd to the Gentiles, ver. 6. out of whom this Church at Corinth seems chiefly to be gathered, as appears, Acts 18. & 1 Cor. 12. 2.

His Stay here was about two Years, as appears from Acts 18. 11, 18. compared: In which time it may be concluded he made many Converts, for he was not idle there, nor did he use to stay long in a Place where he was not encouraged by the Success of his Ministry. Besides what his so long Abode in this one City, and his indefatigable Labour everywhere where might induce one to presume of the Number of Converts he made in that City; the Scripture itself, Acts 18. 10, gives sufficient Evidence of a numerous Church gathered there.

Corinth itself was a rich Merchant-Town, the Inhabitants Greeks, a People of quick Parts, and inquisitive, 1 Cor. 1. 22. but naturally vain and conceited of themselves.

These things consider'd may help us in some measure the better to understand St. Paul's Epistles to this Church, which seems to be in greater Disorder than any other of the Churches which he writ to.

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ICORINTHIANS.

This Epistle was writ to the Corinthians, Anno Christi 57. between two and three Years after St. Paul had left them. In this Intervall there was got in amongst them a new Instructour, a Jew by Nation, who had raised a Faction against St. Paul. With this Party, whereof he was the Leader, this false Apostle had gain'd great Authority, so that they admired, and gloried in him, with an apparent Distract and Diminishing of St. Paul.

Why I suppose the Opposition to be made to St. Paul in this Church by one Party under one Leader, I shall give the Reasons that make it probable to me, as they come In my Way, going through these two Epistles, which I shall leave to the Reader to judge, without positively determining on either Side: And therefore shall, as it happens, speak of these Opposers of St. Paul sometimes in the singular, and sometimes in the plural Number.

This at least is evident, that the main Design of St. Paul in this Epistle, is to support his own Authority, Dignity, and Credit, with that part of the Church which stuck to him; to vindicate himself from the Aversions and Calumnies of the opposite Party; to leffen the Credit of the chief and leading Men in it, by intimating their Miscarriages, and shewing their no Cause of glorying, or being gloried in; that so withdrawing their Party from the Admiration and Esteem of those their Leaders, he might break the Faction; and putting an End to the Division, might re-unite them with the uncorrupt ed part of the Church, that they might all unanimously submit to the Authority of his Divine Mission, and with one Accord receive and keep the Doctrine and Directions he had deliver'd to them.

This is the whole Subject from Ch. 1. 10. to the End of Ch. 6. In the remaining part of this Epistle he answers some Questions they had propos'd to him; and resolves some Doubts not without a Mixture, on all Occasions, of Reflections on his Opposers, and of other things that might tend to the breaking of their Faction.

SECTION I.

CHAP. I. V. 1—9.

INTRODUCTION.

1. PAUL an Apostle of Jesus Christ, called to be so by the Will of God (a) and Softbenes (b) our Brother in the Christian Faith, to the Church of God which is at Corinth, to them that are separated from the rest of the World by Faith in Christ Jesus, (c) called to be Saints, with all that are every where called

TEXT.

PAUL called to be an Apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God and Softbenes our brother. Unto the church of God which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be Saints, with all that in-e-

NOTES.

1 (a) St. Paul in most of his Epistles mentions his being called to be an Apostle by the Will of God, which way of speaking being peculiar to him, we may suppose him therein to intimate his extraordinary and miraculous Call, Acts 9. and his receiving the Gospel by immediate Revelation, Gal. 1. 11, 12. For he doubted not of the Will and Providence of God governing all things.

(b) Acts 13. 17.

(c) Hebrews. In Acts 16. 16. Sanctified in Christ Jesus, does not signify here, whose Lives are pure and holy, for there were many amongst those he wrote to, who were quite otherwise; but sanctified signifies separate from the common State of Mankind, to be the People of God, and to serve him. The Heathen World had revolted from the true God, to the Service of Idols and false Gods, Rom. 1. 18—25. The Jews being separated from this corrupted Mab, to be the peculiar People of God, were called Holy, Exod. 15. 5, 6. Num. 15. 40. They being cast off, the Professors of Christianitie were separated to be the People of God, and so became holy, 1 Pet. 1. 9, 10.
by the Name of Jesus Christ (d) their Lord (e) and ours; Favour and Peace be unto you from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.

I thank God always on your Behalf, for the Favour of God which is beftow’d on you through Jesus Christ; so that by him you are enriched with all Knowledge and Uterance, and all extraordinary Gifts, as at first by those miraculous Gifts the Gospel of Christ was confirmed among you; So that in no Spiritual Gift are of you short or deficient, (f) waiting for the Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall also confirm you unto the End, that in the Day of the Lord Jesus Christ there may be no Charge against you. For God who has called you unto the Fellowship of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, may be relied on for what is to be done on his Side.

NOTES.

(d) Εὐαγγελισμένος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, that are called Christians; these Greek Words being a Periphrasis for Christians, as is plain from the Design of this Verse. But he that is not satisfied with that, may see more Proofs of it in Dr. Hammond upon the Place.

(f) What the Apostle means by Lord, when he attributes it to Christ; Vid. 8. 6.

7 (f) Vid. 2 Cor. 12. 12, 13.

SECT. II.

CHAP. I. 10—VI. 20.

CONTENTS.

There were great Disorder in the Church of Corinth, caused chiefly by a Faction raised there against St. Paul: The Partisans of the Faction mightily cried up and gloried in their Leaders, who did all they could to disparage St. Paul, and lessen him in the Esteem of the Corinthians. St. Paul makes it his Business in this Section to take off the Corinthians from siding with and glorying in this pretended Apostle, whose Followers and Scholars they professed themselves to be, and to reduce them into one Body as the Scholars of Christ united in a Belief of the Gospel, which he had preached to them, and in an Obedience to it, without any such Distinction of Masters or Leaders, from whom they denominated themselves. He also here and there intermixes a Justification of himself against the Aperions which were cast upon him by his Opposers. How much St. Paul was set against his Leaders, may be seen, 2 Cor. 11. 12—15.

The Arguments used by St. Paul to break the opposite Faction, and put an End to all Divisions amongst them being various, we shall take notice of them under their several Heads, as they come in the Order of his Discourse.
ICORINTHIANS.

SECT. II. N. I.

CHAP. I. 10—16.

CONTENTS.

Saint Paul's first Argument is, That in Christianity they all had but one Master, viz. Christ; and therefore were not to fall into Parties denominated from distinct Teachers, as they did in their Schools of Philosophy.

PARAPHRASE.

10. Now I beseech you, Brethren, by the Name (g) of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye hold the same Doctrine, and that there be no Divisions among you; but that ye be framed together into one entire Body, with one Mind, and one Affection. For I understand my Brethren, (b) by some of the House of Chloe, that there are Quarrels and Divisions amongst you: So that ye are all fallen into Parties, ranking your selves under different Leaders or Masters, one saying, I am of Paul, another, I of Apollo, I of Cephas, I of Christ.

11. Is Christ, who is our only Head and Master, divided? Was Paul crucified for you? Or were you baptized into (i) the Name of Paul? I thank God that I baptized none of you but Crispus and Gaius; lest any one should say I had baptized into my own Name. I baptized also the Household of Stephanas: Farther I know not whether I baptized any other.

TEXT.

Now I beseech you, brethren, by the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you, but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment.

For it hath been declared unto me of you, my brethren, by them which are of the house of Chloe, that there are contentions among you. Now this I say, that every one of you faith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollo, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ. Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you? Or were ye baptized in the name of Paul? I thank God that I baptized none of you, but Crispus and Gaius: Let any say that I had baptized in mine own name. And I baptized also the household of Stephanas: besides, I know not whether I baptized any other.

NOTES.

10 (g) Of whom the whole Family in Heaven and Earth, is and ought to be named. If any one has thought St. Paul a loose Writer, it is only because he was a loose Reader. He that takes notice of St. Paul's Design, shall find that there is not a Word scarce, or Expression that he makes use of, but with Relation and Tendency to his present main Purpose: As here, intending to abolish the Names of Leaders they distinguished themselves by, he beseeches them by the Name of Christ, a Form that I do not remember he elsewhere uses.

11 (b) Brethren, a Name of Union and Friendship used here twice together by St. Paul in the Entrance of his Persuasion to them, to put an End to their Divisions.

13 (i) 'The properly signifies into, in the French translate it here: The Phrase sauf a le baptiser into any one's Name, or into any one, is solemnly by that Ceremony to enter himself a Disciple of him into whose Name he is baptized, with Profession to receive his Doctrine and Rules, and submit to his Authority: a very good Argument here why they should be called by no one's Name but Christ's.
The next Argument of St. Paul to stop their Followers from glorying in these false Apostles, is, that neither any Advantage of Extraction nor Skill in the Learning of the Jews, nor in the Philosophy and Eloquence of the Greeks, was that for which God chose Men to be Preachers of the Gospel. Those whom he made choice of for overturning the Mighty and the Learned, were mean plain illiterate Men.

**TEXT.**

17. For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel: not with wisdom of words, left the cross of Christ should be made of none effect. For the preaching of the cross is to them that perish, foolishness; but unto us which are saved, it is the power of God. For it is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent.

18. Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?

19. For after that, in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe.

20. For the Jews require a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom:

**PARAPHRASE.**

17. For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel: not with learned and eloquent Harangues, left the Virtue and Efficacy of Christ's Sufferings and Death should be overlook'd and neglected, if the Stresses of our Persuasion should be laid on the Learning and Quaintness of our Preaching. For the plain inflicting on the Death of a crucified Saviour is by those, who perish, received as a foolish contemptible thing; though to us, who are saved, it be the Power of God, conformable to what is prophesied by Isaiah: I will destroy the Wisdom of the Wife, and I will bring to nothing the Understanding of the Prudent.

18. Where is the Philosopher skill'd in the Wisdom of the Greeks? Where the Scribe (I) studied in the Learning of the Jews? Where the Professor of humane Arts and Sciences? Hath not God render'd all the Learning and Wisdom of this World foolish and useless for the Discovery of the Truths of the Gospel? For since the World by their natural Parts and Improvements in what with them pass'd for Wisdom, acknowledge'd not the one only true God, tho' he had manifestly himself to them in the wise Conivance and admirable Frame of the visible Works of the Creation; it pleas'd God by the plain, and (as the World eftsoons it) foolish Doctrine of the Gospel, to save those who receive and believe it. Since (I) both the Jews de-

**NOTES.**

20. (I) Scribe was the Title of a learned Man among the Jews; One verified in their Law and Rites, which was the Study of their Doctors and Rabbies. It is likely the false Apostle so much concern'd in these two Epistles to the Corinthians, who was a Jew, pretended to something of this kind, and magnified himself thereupon, otherwise it is not probable that Saint Paul should name to the Corinthians, a Sort of Men not much known or valued among the Greeks. This therefore may be supposed to be said to take off their glorying in their false Apotheosis.

22. (I) Jews is, since both. These Words used here by St. Paul are not certainly idle and insignificant, and therefore I see not how they can be omitted in the Translation. 'Eire is a Word of Reasoning, and if minded, will lead us into one of St. Paul's Reasonings here, which the Neglect of this Word makes the Reader overlook. St. Paul in ver. 21. argues thus in general. "Since the World by their natural Parts and Improvements did not attain to a right and saving Knowledge of God, God by the preaching of the Gospel, which forms Foolishness to them, was pleased to communicate that Knowledge to those who believed.

In the three following Verses he repeats the same Reasoning a little more expressly applied to the People he had here in his View, viz. Jews and Greeks; and his Sense seems to be this; "Since the Jews, to make any Doctrine go down with them, require extraordinary Signs of"
mand extraordinary Signs and Miracles; and the Greeks seek Wisdom; but I have nothing else to preach to them but Christ crucified, a Doctrine offensive to the Hopes and Expectations of the Jews; and foolish to the acute Men of Learning, the Greeks; but yet it is to thefe, both Jews and Greeks (when they are converted) Christ the Power of God, and Christ the Wisdom of God: Because that which seems Foolishness in those who came from God, surpasses the Wisdom of Man; and that which seems Weakened in those first by God, surpasses the Power of Men. For reflect upon youelves, Brethren, and you may observe, that there are not many of the wife and learned Men, not many Men of Power or of Birth among you that are called. But God hath chosen the foolish Men in the Account of the World, to confound the Wife; and God hath chosen the weak Men of the World to confound the Mighty: The mean Men of the World, and contemptible, has God chosen, and thofe that are of no Account, and are nothing (m) to displace those that are: That so there might be no Room or Pretence for any one to glory in his Prefence: Natural humane Abilities, Parts or Wisdom, could never have reach'd this Way to Happines: 'Tis to his Wisdom alone that ye owe the Contrivance of it: To his revealing of it that ye owe the Knowledge of it, and 'tis from him alone that you are in Christ Jesus, whom God has made to us Christiaus Wisdom, and Righteousness and San- dification, and Redemption, which is all the Digni- ty and Pre-eminencc, all that is of any value, amongst us Christian; That, as it is written, He that glorifieth should glory only in the Lord.

But we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling block, and unto the Greeks foolishness; But unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God. Because the foolishness of God is wiser than men; and the weakness of God is stronger than men. For ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called. But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world, to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world, to confound the things which are mighty; And base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are: That no flesh should glory in his presence. But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption: That is according as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.

NOTES.

150 I CORINTHIANS.

23. "mand extraordinary Signs and Miracles; and the Greeks seek Wisdom; but I have nothing else to preach to them but Christ crucified, a Doctrine offensive to the Hopes and Expectations of the Jews; and foolish to the acute Men of Learning, the Greeks; but yet it is to thefe, both Jews and Greeks (when they are converted) Christ the Power of God, and Christ the Wisdom of God: Because that which seems Foolishness in those who came from God, surpasses the Wisdom of Man; and that which seems Weakened in those first by God, surpasses the Power of Men. For reflect upon youelves, Brethren, and you may observe, that there are not many of the wife and learned Men, not many Men of Power or of Birth among you that are called. But God hath chosen the foolish Men in the Account of the World, to confound the Wife; and God hath chosen the weak Men of the World to confound the Mighty: The mean Men of the World, and contemptible, has God chosen, and thofe that are of no Account, and are nothing (m) to displace those that are: That so there might be no Room or Pretence for any one to glory in his Prefence: Natural humane Abilities, Parts or Wisdom, could never have reach'd this Way to Happines: 'Tis to his Wisdom alone that ye owe the Contrivance of it: To his revealing of it that ye owe the Knowledge of it, and 'tis from him alone that you are in Christ Jesus, whom God has made to us Christiaus Wisdom, and Righteousness and San- dification, and Redemption, which is all the Digni- ty and Pre-eminencc, all that is of any value, amongst us Christian; That, as it is written, He that glorifieth should glory only in the Lord.

24. But we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling block, and unto the Greeks foolishness; But unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God. Because the foolishness of God is wiser than men; and the weakness of God is stronger than men. For ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called. But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world, to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world, to confound the things which are mighty; And base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are: That no flesh should glory in his presence. But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption: That is according as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.
And I, brethren, when I came to you, came not with excellency of speech, or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God. For I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified. And I was with you in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling.

And my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit, and of power.
Power of God accompanying it with miraculous Operations, that your Faith might have its Foundation not in the Wisdom and Endowments of Men, but in the Power of God. (r)

Notes.

Preachers of the Gospel in the publishing and propagating of it. The latter of these St. Paul here calls Power, the former in this Chapter he terms Spirit; so ver. 12, 14. Things of the Spirit of God, and spiritual things, are things which are revealed by the Spirit of God, and not discoverable by our natural Faculties.

(r) Their Faith being built wholly on Divine Revelation and Miracles, whereby all humane Abilities were thrust out, there could be no reason for any of them to boast themselves of their Teachers, or value themselves upon their being the Followers of this or that Preacher, which St. Paul hereby obviates.

Section II. N. 3.

Chapter II. 6—16.

Contents.

The next Argument the Apostle uses to shew them, that they had no reason to glory in their Teachers, is, that the Knowledge of the Gospel was not attainable by our natural Parts, however they were improved by Arts and Philosophy, but was wholly owing to Revelation.

Paraphrase.

Howbeit that which we preach is Wisdom, and known to be so among those who are thoroughly instructed in the Christian Religion, and take it upon its true Principles: (s) but not the Wisdom of this World, (t) nor of the Princes (u) or great Men of this World

Notes.

6 (s) Perceived here is the same with Spiritual, ver. 15. one that is so perfectly well apprized of the Divine Nature and Original of the Christian Religion, that he fees and acknowledges it to be all a pure Revelation from God; and not in the least the Product of humane Discovery, Parts, or Learning; and so deriving it wholly from what God hath taught by his Spirit in the Sacred Scriptures, allows not the least part of it to be ascribed to the Skill or Abilities of Men, as Authors of it, but received as a Doctrine coming from God alone. And thus perceived is opposed to carnal, Ch. 2. 1, 3. i.e. such Babes in Christianness, such weak and mistaken Christsians, that they thought the Gospel was to be managed as humane Arts and Sciences amongst Men of the World, and those were better instructed, and were more in the right, who followed this Master or Teacher rather than another, and so glorying in being the Scholars, one of Paul, and another of Apelles, fell into Divisions and Parties about it, and vaunted one over another: Whereas in the School of Christ all was to be built upon the Authority of God alone, and the Revelation of his Spirit in the Sacred Scriptures.

6 (t) Wisdom of this World, i.e. the Knowledge, Arts and Sciences attainable by Man's natural Parts and Faculties; such as Man's Wit could find out, cultivate and improve; or of the Princes of this World, i.e. such Doctrines, Arts and Sciences, as the Princes of the World approved, encouraged, and endeavour to propagate.

6 (u) Tho' by Aristotle οὐ κοινωνία, may here be understood the Princes or Great Men of this World, in the ordinary Sense of these Words, yet be that well considers ver. 28. of the foregoing Chapter, and ver. 8. of this Chapter may find reason to think, that the Apostle here principally designs the Rulers and Great Men of the Jewish Nation. If it be objected, that there is little Ground to think that St. Paul by the Wisdom he denoms, should mean that of his own Nation, which the Greeks of Corinth (who he was writing to) had little Acquaintance with.
with; and had very little Esteem for; I reply, that to understand this right, and the Pertinency of it, we must remember, that the great Design of St. Paul in writing to the Corinthians, was to take them off from the Respect and Esteem that many of them had for a false Apostle that was got in among them, and had there raised a Faction against St. Paul. This pretended Apostle, 'tis plain from 2 Cor. 11. 32, was a Feats, and as it seems, 2 Cor. 5. 16. 17. valued himself upon that Account, and proudly boasted himself to be a Man of Note, either by Birth or Alliancse, or Place, or Learning, among that People, who counted themselves the holy and illuminated People of God, and therefore to have a Right to sway among these New Heathen Converts.

To obviate this Claim of his to any Authority, St. Paul here tells the Corinthians, that the Wisdom and Learning of the Jewish Nation lead them not into the Knowledge of the Wisdom of God, i.e. the Gospel reveal'd in the Old Testament, evident in this, that it was their Rulers and Rabbits, who finely adhering to the Notions and Prejudices of their Nation, had cried, 'Jesus the Lord of Glory, and were now themselves, with their State and Religion, upon the point to be swept away and abolished. 'Tis to the same purpose that 2 Cor. 16. 19-20, he tells the Corinthians, that he knows no Man after the flesh, i.e. that he acknowledged no Dignity of Birth or Defect, or outward National Privileges. The old things of the Jewish Constitution are past and gone; whoever is in Christ, and entered into his Kingdom, is in a new Creation, wherein all things are new, all things are from God; no Right, no Claim or Preference derived to any one from any former Institution, but every one's Dignity consists solely in this, that God had recorded him to himself, not imputing his former Trepasses to him.

6 (w) And it is, which we translate the World, seems to me to denote commonly, if not constantly, in the New Testament, that State which during the Mosaical Constitution, Men, either Jews or Gentiles, were in, as contra-distinguish'd to the Evangelical State or Constitution, which is commonly called ἐνοχὸς, or ἐνδοχοῦς, The World to come.

6 (x) To all salvation. Who are brought to nought, i.e. who are vanishing. It the Wisdom of the World, and if the Princes of the World, be to be understood of the Wisdom and Learning of the World in general, as contra-distinguish'd to the Doctrine of the Gospel, then the Words are added, to show what folly it is for them to glory as they do in their Teachers, when all that worldly Wisdom and Learning, and the Great Men, the Supporters of it, would quickly be gone, whereas all true and lasting Glory came only from Jesus Christ, the Lord of Glory. But if these Words are to be understood of the Jews, as seems most consonant both to the main Design of the Epistle, and to St. Paul's Expositions here; then his telling them that the Princes of the Jewish Nation, are brought to nought, is to take them off from glorying in their Judaising false Apostle, since the Authority of the Rulers of that Nation, in Matters of Religion, was now at an end, and they with all their Pretences, and their very Constitution it fell, were upon the point of being abolished and swept away, for having rejected and crucify'd the Lord of Glory.

7 (z) Wisdom of God is used here for the Doctrine of the Gospel coming immediately from God by the Revelation of his Spirit, and in this Chapter is set in Opposition to all Knowledge, Discoveries and Improvements whatsoever attainable by humane Industry, Parts, and Studies, all which he calls Wisdom of the World, and Man's Wisdom. Thus distinguishing the Knowledge of the Gospel which was derived wholly from Revelation, and could be had in no other ways, from all other Knowledge whatsoever.

7 (a) What the Spirit of God had revealed of the Gospel, during the times of the Law, was to little understood by the Jews, in whose Sacred Writings it was contained, that it might well be called the Wisdom of God in a Mystery, i.e. declared in obscure Prophecies and mysterious Expressions and Types. Though this be undoubtedly so, as appears by what the Jews both thought and did when Jesus the Messiah, exactly answering what was foretold of him, came amongst them, yet by the Wisdom of God in mystery wherein it was hid, though purposed by God before the setting of the Jewish Economy, St. Paul seems more particularly to mean, what the Gentiles, and consequently the Corinthians, were more peculiarly concerned in, (ver.) God's purpose of calling the Gentiles to be his People under the Messiah, which tho' revealed in the Old Testament, yet was not in the least understood till the times of the Gospel, and the preaching of St. Paul the Apostle of the Gentiles, which therefore he so frequently calls a Mystery, the reading and comparing Rom. 16. 24, 25. Eph. 3. 2-9, Col. 6. 19, 20. Col. 1. 23, 7. 4. 7. 8. 9. 10. Rom. 11. 33. 

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purpose
unto our glory. Which none of the princes of this world knew: for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory. But as it is written, "Eye hath not seen, nor Ear heard, nor have the things that God hath prepared for them that love him, entered into the Heart or Thoughts of Man. But these things which are not discoverable by Man's natural Faculties and Powers, God hath revealed to us by his Spirit, which searcheth out all things, even the deep Counsels of God, which are beyond the Reach of our Abilities to discover. For as no Man knoweth what is in the Mind of another Man, but only the Spirit of the Man himself that is in him; so much less doth any Man know or can discover the Thoughts and Counsels of God, but only the Spirit of God. But we (d) have received not the Spirit of the World, (c) but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know what things are in the purpose of God, out of his free Bounty to bestow upon us, which things we

N O T E S.

7 (b) ἔνας τῶν αἰώνων signifies properly before the Ages, and I think it may be doubted whether these Words, before the World, do exactly render the Sense of the Place; that is, or αἰώνων, should not be translated the World, as in many places they are, I shall give one convicing Instance among many that might be brought, seq. Eph. 3. 9, compared with Col. 1. 26. The words in Colossians are τό αἰώνιο τοῦ παλατίνου και τοῦ αἰώνιου, thus rendered in the English Translation, which hath been hidden from Ages, but in Eph. 3. 9, a Parallel Place, the same words, τὸ αἰώνιο τοῦ παλατίνου καὶ τοῦ αἰωνίου, are translated, The Mystery which from the beginning of the World hath been hid. Whereas it is plain from Col. 1. 26, and τοῦ αἰώνιου, does not signify the Epoch or Commencement of the Concealment, but those from whom it was concealed. In (a), the Apostle in the Verse immediately preceding, and that following this which we have before us, speaks of the Jews; and therefore σιγὸν τῶν αἰώνων, here may be well understood to mean, Before the Ages of the Jews; and so αἰώνιον, from the Ages of the Jews, in the other two mentioned Texts. Why αἰώνιον in these and other places, as Luke 1. 70 & Acts 2. 8, 11, and elsewhere, should be appropriated to the Ages of the Jews, may be owing to their counting by Ages or Jubilees, Vid. Dr. Burghogge in his Judicious Treatise, Christianitv a revealed Mystery, c. p. 17.

7 (c) St. Paul opposes here the true Glory of a Christian, to the glorying which was amongst the Corinthians, in the Eloquence, Learning, or any other Quality of their fashious Leaders; for St. Paul in all his Expositions has an Eye on his main Purpose; as if he should have said, "Why do you make Divisions by glorifying as you do, in your differing Teachers; the Glory that God has ordain'd us Christian Teachers and Professors to, is to be Expounders, Preachers, and Believers of those revealed Truths and Purposes of God, which though contained in the Sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament, were not understood in former Ages. This is all the Glory that belongs to us the Disciples of Christ, who is the Lord of all Power and Glory, and herein has given us what far excels all that either Jews or Gentiles had any Expectation of from what they gloried in: Vid. ver. 9." Thus St. Paul takes away all Matter of glorying from the false Apostle, and his judicious Followers among the Corinthians. The Excellency of the Gospel Ministration for all, 2 Cor. 3. 6-11.

12 (d) "We the true Apollines, or rather I, for he speaks in the plural Number to avoid Omission, as it might be interpreted; yet he is here justifying himself, and showing the reason of the great Dispensation that he has to further his false Apostle. And that he speaks of himself, is plain from the next Verse, where he faith, We speak not in the Words which Man's Wisdom teacheth, the same which he says of himself, Chap. 1. ver. 17. I was sent to preach not with Wisdom of Words. And Chap. 11. ver. 1. I came to you not with Excellency of Speech, or of Wisdom."

12 (e) As he puts Princes of the World, ver. 6, 8, for the Rulers of the Jews, so here he puts Spirit of the World, for the Notions of the Jews, that worldly Spirit wherewith they interpreted the Old Testament, and the Prophecies of the Messiah and his Kingdom; which Spirit, in Contra-diffusion to the Spirit of God, which the Roman Converts had received, he calls the Spirit of Bondage, Rom. 8. 14.
not only know, but declare also; not in the Language and Learning taught by humane Eloquence and Philosophy, but in the Language and Expressions which the Holy Ghost teacheth in the Revelations contained in the Holy Scriptures, comparing one part of Revelation (f) with another. (g) But a Man who hath no other Help but his own natural Faculties, how much soever improved by humane Arts and Sciences, cannot receive the Truths of the Gospel, which are made known by another Principle only, viz. the Spirit of God revealing them, and therefore seem foolish and absurd to such a Man; nor can he by the bare Use of his natural Faculties, and the Principles of humane Reason, ever come to the Knowledge of them: Because it is by the Studying of Divine Revelation alone that we can attain the Knowledge of them: But he that lays his Foundation in Divine Revelation, can judge what is, and what is not the Doctrine of the Gospel and of Salvation; he can judge who is, and who is not a good Minister and Preacher of the Word of God: But others who are bare Animal (g) Men, that go not beyond the Discoveries made by the natural Faculties of humane Understanding, without the Help and Study of Revelation, cannot judge of such an one, whether he preacheth right and well, or not. For who, by the bare use of his natural Parts, can come to know the Mind of the Lord in the Design of the Gospel, so as to be able to instruct him (h) [the spiritual Man] in it? But I, who renouncing all humane Learning and Knowledge in the Cafe, take all that I preach from Divine Revelation alone, I am sure that therein I have the Mind of Christ; And therefore there is no Reason why any of you should prefer other Teachers to me, glory in them who oppose and vilifie me; and count it an Honour to go for their Scholars, and be of their Party.

NOTES.

(f) 'Tis plain the spiritual things he here speaks of, are the unsearchable Counsels of God, revealed by the Spirit of God, which therefore he calls spiritual things.

(g) πνευματικός, the animal Man, and πνευματικός, the spiritual Man, are opposed by St. Paul in ver. 14, 15, the one signifying a Man that has no higher Principles to build on than those of natural Reason, the other a Man that founds his Faith and Religion on Divine Revelation. This is what appears to be meant by natural, or rather animal Man and Spiritual, as they stand opposed in their two Verses.

(h) 'Achis, him, refers here to spiritual Man in the former Verse, and not to Lord in this. For St. Paul is dwelling here, not that a natural Man and a mere Philosopher cannot instruct Christ, this no body pretending to be a Christian could own; but that a Man by his bare natural Parts, not knowing the Mind of the Lord, could not instruct, could not judge, could not correct a Preacher of the Gospel who built upon Revelation, as he did, and therefore 'twas sure he had the Mind of Christ.
To take away their gloating on this Account St. Paul tells them, that they were carnal, and not capable of those more advanced Truths, or any thing beyond the first Principles of Christianity which he had taught them; and tho' another had come and watered what he had planted, yet neither Planter, nor Waterer, could allume to himself any Glory from thence, because it was God alone that gave the Increase. But whatever new Doctrines they might pretend to receive from their magnified new Apostle, yet no Man could lay any other Foundation in a Christian Church, but what he St. Paul had laid, viz. that Jesus is the Christ; and therefore there was no reason to glory in their Teachers; because upon this Foundation they possibly might build false or unfound Doctrines, for which they should receive no Thanks from God, tho' continuing in the Faith, they might be saved. Some of the particular Hay and Stubble which this Leader brought into the Church at Corinth, he seems particularly to point at, Ch. 3. 16, 17. viz. their defiling the Church, by retaining, and as it may be supposed, patronizing the Fornicator, who should have been turned out, Ch. 5. 7—13. He further adds, that these ex-tolled Heads of their Party were at best but Men; and none of the Church ought to glory in Men: For even Paul, and Apollos, and Peter, and all the other Preachers of the Gospel, were for the Use and Benefit, and Glory of the Church, as the Church was for the Glory of Christ.

Moreover he shews them, that they ought not to be puffed up upon the Account of these their new Teachers, to the undervaluing of him, tho' it should be true, that they had learned more from them than from himself, for these Reasons:

1. Because all the Preachers of the Gospel are but Stewards of the Mysteries of God; and whether they have been faithful in their Stewardship, can not be now known, and therefore they ought not to be some of them magnified and extolled, and others depressed and blamed by their Hearers here, till Christ their Lord came, and then he, knowing how they have behaved themselves in their Miniftry, will give them their due Praises. Besides, these Stewards have nothing but what they have received, and therefore no Glory belongs to them for it.

2. Because if these Leaders were (as was pretended) Apollos, Glory, and Honour, and outward Affluence here, was not their Portion, the Apollos being destined to Want, Contemn, and Persecution.

3. They ought not to be honoured, followed and gloried in as Apostles, because they had not the Power of Miracles, which he intended shortly to come and shew they had not.

**Paraphrase.**

**TEXT.**

**Notes.**

(i) Vid. Ch. 1. 22. & 2. 13.

(ii) Here spiritual, is opposed to carnal, as Ch. 2. 14. it is to seems Natural, or rather Animal; so that here we have three Sorts of Men. 1. Carnal, i.e. such as are swayed by fleshly Passions and Interests; 2. Animal, such as seek Wield, or a way to Happiness only by the Strength and Guidance of their own natural Parts, without any supernatural Light coming from the Spirit of God, i.e. by Reason without Revelation, by Philosophy without Scripture. 3. Spiritual, i.e. such as seek their Direction to Happiness not in the Dictates of natural Reason and Philosophy, but in the Revelations of the Spirit of God in the Holy Scriptures.

God;
God; But as to Carnal, (l) even as to Babes who yet retain'd a great many childish and wrong Notions about it: This hinder'd me that I could not go so far as I defined in the Mysteries of the Christian Religion, but was fain to content myself with instructing you in the first Principles (m) and more obvious and eafe Doctrines of it. I could not apply myself to you, as to spiritual Men, (n) that could compare spiritual things with spiritual, one part of Scripture with an other, and thereby understand the Truths reveal'd by the Spirit of God, discerning true from false Doctrines, good and useful from evil (o) and vain Opinions. A further Discovery of the Truths and Mysteries of Chriftianity, depending wholly on Revelation, you were not able to bear then, nor are you yet able to bear; Because you are carnal, full of Envyings and Strife, and Foctions, upon the Account of your Knowledge, and the Orthodoxie of your particular Parties. (p) For whith you say one, I am of Paul; and another, I am of Apollos, (q) are ye not carnal and manage yourselves in the Conduct both of your Minds and Actions, according to barely humane Principles, and do not as spiritual Men acknowledge all that Information, and all those Gifts wherewith the Ministers of Jesus Christ are furnish'd for the Propagation of the Gospel, to come wholly from the Spirit of

NOTES.

(l) Here osquid quid animal, is opposed to ἡμεῖς natural or animal, in the same Sense that ἐναντίον spiritual, is opposed to ἡμεῖς spiritual, Ch. 2. 14. as appears by the Explanation which St. Paul himself gives here to ἐναντίον natural; For he makes the carnal to be all one with Babes in Christ, v. 1. i. e. such as had not their Understandings yet fully opened to the true Grounds of the Christian Religion, but retain'd a great many childish Thoughts about it, as appear'd by their Divisions; one for the Doctrine of his Master Paul, another for that of his Master Apollos, which if they had been spiritual, i.e. had looked upon the Doctrines of the Gospel to have come solely from the Spirit of God, and to have been only from Revelation, they could not have done. For then all humane Mixtures of any thing derive'd either from Paul or Apollos, or any other Man, had been wholly excluded. But they in these Divisions professed to hold their Religion, one from one Man, and another from another; and were thereupon divided into Parties. This he tells them was to be carnal, and ἐναντίον, to be led by Principles purely humane, i.e. to found their Religion upon Men's natural Parts and Discoveries, whereas the Gospel was wholly built upon Divine Revelation, and nothing else, and from thence alone those who were ἐναντίον took it.

(m) That this is the Meaning of the Apostle's Metaphor of Milk and Babes, may be seen Heb. 5. 12—14.

(n) Vid. ch. 2. 13.

(o) Vid. Heb. 5. 14.

(p) οὐκ ἀποκαίρων, speaking according to man, signifies speaking according to the Principles of natural Reason, in Contra-distinction to Revelation, Vid. 1 Cor. 5. 8. Gal. 1. 11. and to walking according to Man, much here be understood.

(q) From this 4th Verse compared with ch. 6. 6. it may be no improbable Consequence that the Division in this Church was only into two opposite Parties, wherein the one adhered to St. Paul, the other stood up for their Head, a fable Apollos, who opposed St. Paul. For the Apollos whom St. Paul mentions here was one (as he tells us, ver. 6.) who came to and water'd what he had planted, i.e. when St. Paul had planted a Church at Corinth, this Apollos got into it, and pretended to instruct them farther, and beard in his Church, and contended amongst them, which St. Paul takes notice of again, 2 Cor. 10. 4, 5. 6. Now the Apollos that he here speaks of, he himself tells us, ch. 4. 6. was another Man under that borrowed Name. This true St. Paul, in his Epistles to the Corinthians, generally speaks of thefe his Opposers in the plural Number (l) but it is to be remember'd, that he speaks to of himself too, which as it was the left invasious way in regard of himself; so it was the furer way towards his Opposers, that he seems to intimate plainly, that it was one Leader that was set up against him.
PARAPHRASE.

5. God? What then are any of the Preachers of the Gospel, that you should glory in them, and divide into Parties under their Names? Who, for Example, is Paul, or who is Apollos? What are they else but bare Ministers, by whose Ministry according to those several Abilities and Gifts which God has bestowed upon each of them, ye have received the Gospel? They are only Servants implo'd to bring unto you a Religion deriv'd entirely from Divine Revelation, where-in humane Abilities, or Wisdom had nothing to do. The Preachers of it are only Instruments by whom this Doctrine is conveyed to you, which whether you look on it in its Original, it is not a thing of humane Invention or Discovery; or whether you look upon the Gifts of the Teachers who instrut you in it, all is entirely from God alone, and affords you not the least Ground to attribute any thing to your Teachers. For Example, I planted it amongst you, and Apollos water'd it, but nothing can from thence be ascribed to either of us; there is no Reason for your calling your selves some of Paul, and others of Apollos. For neither the Planter nor the Waterer have any Power to make it take Root and grow in your Hearts; they are as nothing in that respect, the Growth and Success is owing to God alone. The Planter and the Waterer on this Account are all one, neither of them to be magnified or preferred before the other; they are but Instruments concurring to the same End, and therefore ought not to be differenti'd, and set in Opposition one to another, or cried up as more deserving one than another. We the Preachers of the Gospel are but Labourers employ'd by God about that which is his Work and from him shall receive Reward hereafter, every one according to his own Labour, and not from Men here, who are liable to make a wrong Estimate of the Labours of their Teachers, preferring those who do not labour together with God, who do not carry on the Design or Work of God in the Gospel, or perhaps do not carry it on equally with others who are undervalued by them.

6. I have planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase.

7. So then, neither he that planteth anything, nor he that watereth: but God that giveth the increase.

8. Now he that planteth, and he that watereth, are one: and every man shall receive his own reward, according to his own labour.

9. For we are labourers together with God: ye are God's husbandry, ye are God's building.

10. According to the grace of God which is given unto me, as a wise master-builder I have laid the foundation, and another buildeth thereon. But let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon.

11. For other Foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.

TEXT.

Who then is Paul, and who is Apollos, but Ministers by whom ye believed, even as the Lord gave to every man?

NOTES.

11 (r) Ch. 4, 15. In this he reflects on the false Apollos, 2 Cor. 10, 15, 16.
Now if any Man build upon this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble. Every man's work shall be made manifest; for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire: and the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is. If a man's work abide which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved; yet so, as by fire.

Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?

If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy: for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are.

Let no man deceive himself: for if any man among you seemeth to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise.

For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God: for it is written, He taketh the wise in their own craftiness.

And again, The Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wise, that they are vain.

Therefore let no man glory in men: for all things are yours:

Whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the of the Gospel but he: For tis possible a Man may build upon that true Foundation Wood, Hay, and Stubble, things that will not bear the Test when the Trial by Fire at the last Day (z) shall come; at that Day every Man's Work shall be tried and discover'd of what Sort it is, if what he hath taught be found and good, and will stand the Trial, as Silver and Gold, and precious Stones abide in the Fire, he shall be rewarded for his Labour in the Gospel: But if he hath introduced false or unfound Doctrines into Christianity, he shall be like a Man whose Building being of Wood, Hay, and Stubble, is consumed by the Fire, all his Pains in Building is lost, and his Works defray'd and gone, tho he himself should escape and be saved. I told you, that ye are God's Buildings, (r) more than that, ye are the Temple of God, in which his Spirit dwelleth: If any Man by corrupt Doctrine or Discipline defileth (a) the Temple of God, he shall not be saved with Losi as by Fire, but him will God defray, for the Temple of God is holy, which Temple ye are. Let no Man deceive himself by his Success in carrying his Point: (w) If any one seemeth to himself or others, (a) in worldly Wisdom, so as to pride himself in his Parts and Dexterity, in compassing his Ends, let him renounce all his natural and acquired Parts, all his Knowledge and Ability, that he may become truly wise in embracing and owning no other Knowledge but the Simplicity of the Gospel. For all other Wildoms, all the Wildom of the World is Foolishness with God. For it is written, He taketh the Wife in their own Craftiness. And, again, the Lord knoweth the Thoughts of the Wise, that they are vain. Therefore let none of you glory in any of your Teachers, for they are but Men. For all your Teachers, whether Paul, or Apollos, or Peter, even the Apostles themselves, nay all the World, and even the World to come, all things are your's, for your fake and use; as you are Christ's, Subjects of his Kingdom for his Glory; and Christ and his Kingdom for the

NOTES.

12 (t) When the Day of Trial and Remuneration shall be; see Ch. 4. 5, where he speaks of the same thing.
15 (t) Vide ver. 9.
17 (a) It is not incongruous to think, that by any Man here St. Paul designs one particular Man, viz. the false Apostle, who 'tis probable by the Strength of his Party supporting and retaining the Fornicator mentioned Ch. 5, in the Church, had defiled it, which may be the Reason why St. Paul so often mentions Fornication in this Epistle, and that in some Places with particular Emphasis, as Ch. 6. 9. & 6. 13—15. most of the Disorders in this Church we may look on as owing to this false Apostle, which is the Reason why St. Paul lets himself fo much against him in both these Epistles, and makes almost the whole Business of them to draw the Corinthian off from this Leader, judging, as'tis like, that this Church could not be reformed as long as that Peron was in Credit, and had a Party among them.
18 (w) What it was wherein the Corinthians of the Peron mentioned had appeared, it was not necessary for St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, who knew the Matter of Fact, to particularize to us, therefore it is left to guess, and possibly we shall not be much out, if we take it to be the keeping the Fornicator from Cenference, so much insisted on by St. Paul, Ch. 5.
19 (a) That by (w) here the Apostle means a cunning Man in Business, it plain from his Quotation in the next Verse, where the Wife spoked of are the Crafty.
Glory of God. Therefore if all your Teachers, and so many other greater things are for you, and for your sakes, you have no reason to make it a glory to you, that you belong to this or that particular Teacher amongst you; your true glory is, that you are Christ's, and Christ and all his are God's, and not that you are this or that Man's Scholar or Follower.

As for me, I pretend not to set up a School amongst you, and as a Master to have my Scholars denominate from me; no, let no Man have higher Thoughts of me than as a Minister of Christ employ'd as his Steward to dispense the Truths and Doctrines of the Gospel, which are the Mysteries which God wrapped up in Types and obscure Predictions, where they have lain hid till by us his Apostles he now reveals them.

Now that which is principally required and regarded in a Steward, is, that he be faithful in dispensing what is committed to his Charge. But as for me, I value it not, if I am cenured by some of you, or by any Man, as not being a faithful Steward; Nay, as to this, I pass no Judgment on my self. For tho' I can truly say that I know nothing by my self, yet am I not hereby justified to you: But the Lord, whose Steward I am, at the last Day will pronounce Sentence on my Behaviour in my Stewardship, and then you will know what to think of me. Then judge not either me or others before the time, until the Lord come, who will bring to light the dark and secret Counsels of Men's Hearts, in preaching the Gospel: and then shall every one have that Praife, that Esteem set upon him by God himself, which he truly deserves. But Praife ought not to be given them before the time by their Hearers, who are ignorant, fallible Men. On this Occasion I have named Apostles and myself, (7) as the magnified and opprest Heads of distinct Factions amongst you; not that we are so, but out of respect to you, that I might offend no body by naming them; and that you might learn by us, of whom I have written, (6) that we are but Planters, Waterers, and Stewards, not to think of the Ministers of the Gospel above what I have written to you of them, that you be not puffed up each Party in the vain Glory of their one exalted Leader, to the crying down and Contempt of any other who is well esteemed by others.

For what makes one to differ from another? or what Gifts of the Spirit, what Knowledge of the Gospel has any Leader amongst you which he received not as intrusted to him of God, and not acquired by his own Abilities? And if he received it as a Steward, why does he glory in that which is not his own? However you are mightily satisfied with your present State, you now are full, you now are rich, and world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come; all are yours:

And ye are Christ's; 23 and Christ is God's.

Moreover it is required in stewards, that a man be found faithful.

But with me it is very small thing that I should be judged of you, or of man's judgment: yea, I judge not mine own self.

For I know nothing by my self, yet am I not hereby justified: but he that judgeth me is the Lord.

Therefore judge not, but until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts; and then shall every man have praise of God.

And these things, brevity, then, I have in a figure transferred to my self, and to Apostles for your sakes; that ye might learn in us, not to think of men above that which is written, that no one of you be puffed up for one against another.

For who maketh thee to differ from another? and what hast thou that thou received not? or what didst thou not receive? now if thou didst not receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it?

Now ye are full, ye are rich, ye have reigned as kings without us:

Notes.

(6) Vid. ch. 3, 4.
(7) Vid. ch. 3, 6, 9; ch. 4, 1.
and I would to God ye did reign, that we also might reign with you.

9. For I think that God hath set forth us the apostles last, as it were appointed to death. For we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men.

10. We are fools for Christ's sake, but ye are wise in Christ: we are weak, but ye are strong: ye are honourable, but we are despised.

11. Even unto this present hour we both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place;

12. And labour working with our own hands: being reviled, we bless: being persecuted, we suffer it:

13. Being defamed, we interest: we are made as the filth of the world, and are the off-savour of all things unto this day.

14. I write not these things to shame you, but as my beloved sons I warn you.

15. For though you have ten thousand instructors in Christ, yet have ye not many fathers: for in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the gospel.

16. Wherefore I beseech you, be ye followers of me.

17. For this cause have I sent unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved son, and faithful in the Lord, who shall bring you into remembrance of my ways which be in Christ, as I

abound in every thing you desire; you have not need of me, but have reigned like Princes without me; and I will truly you did reign, that I might come and share in the Protection and Prosperity you enjoy now you are in your Kingdom. For I being made an Apostle last of all, it seems to me as if I were brought last (a) upon the Stage, to be in my Sufferings and Death a spectacle to the World, and to Angels, and to Men. I am a Fool for Christ's Sake, but you manage your Christian Concerns with Wisdom. I am weak and in a suffering Condition (b); you are strong and flourishing; you are honourable, but I am despised, even to this present Hour I both hunger and thirst, and want Clothes, and am buffeted, wandering without House or Home, and maintain myself with the Labour of my Hands. Being reviled, I bless; Being persecuted, I suffer patiently; Being defamed, I interest. I am made as the Filth of the World, and the Off-savour of all things unto this Day. I write not these things to shame you. But as a Father to warn you my Children, that ye be not the devoted zealous Partisans and followers of such whole Carriage is not like this; under whom, however you may flatter your selves, in truth, you do not reign; but on the contrary, ye are dominion'd over, and fleeced by them (c). I warn you, I say, as your Father; For how many Teachers forever you may have, you can have but one Father; It was I that begot you in Christ, I. e. I converted you to Christianness; Wherefore I beseech you be ye Followers of me (d). To this purpose I have sent my beloved Son Timothy to you, who may be relied upon; he shall put you in mind, and inform you, how I behave my self every where

NOTES.

9. (a) The Apostle seems here to allude to the Custom of bringing those last upon the Theatre, who were to be destroy'd by wild Beasts.

10. (b) So he uses the word Weakness often, in his Epistles to the Corinthians, applied to himself; 2 Cor. 12. 10.

11. (c) Vid. 2 Cor. 11. 20. St. Paul here, from v. 8, to 17, by giving an Account of his own Carriage, gently rebukes them for following Men of a different Character, and exhorts them to be followers of himself;

15. (d) This he professes again, ch. 11. 14, and 'tis not likely he would have proposed himself over and over again to them, to be followed by them, had the Question and Correft amongst them been no whole Name they should have borne, his or their own Teachers. His proposing himself therefore thus to be followed, must be understood in direct Opposition to the false Apostle, who miffled them, and was not to be suffered to have any Credit or Followers amongst them.
18. in the Ministry of the Gospel (c). Some indeed are puffed up, and make their Boastings as if I would not come to you. But I intend, God willing, to come shortly, and then will make Trial, not of the Rhetorick or Talking of those Boasters, but of what miraculous Power of the Holy Ghost is in them. For the Doctrine and Prevalency of the Gospel, the Propagation and Support of Christ’s Kingdom, by the Conversion and Establishment of Believers, does not consist in talking, nor in the Fluency of a glib Tongue, and a fine Discourse, but in the miraculous Operations of the Holy Ghost.

19. teach every where in every church.

20. Now some are puffed up as though I would not come to you. But I will come to you shortly, if the Lord will, and will know, not the speech of them which are puffed up, but the power.

For the Kingdom of God is not in word, but in power.

NOTES.

17 (c) This he does to shew that what he taught them, and pressed them to, was not in a pique against his Opposers, but to convince them, that all he did at Corinth was the very same, and no other than what he did every where as a faithful Steward and Minister of the Gospel.

SECTION II. N. 5.

CHAPTER IV. 21.—VI. 20.

CONTENTS.

No other Means which St. Paul makes use of to bring off the Corinthians from their false Apostle, and to stop the Veneration of him, and their glorying in him, is by representing to them the Fault and Disorder which was committed in that Church, by not judging and expelling the Fornicator, which Neglect, as may be guessed, was owing to that Faction.

1. Because it is natural for a Faction to support and protect an Offender that is of their side.

2. From the great Fear St. Paul was in, whether they would obey him in cenfuring the Offender, as appears by the Second Epistle, which he could not fear but from the opposite Faction. They who had preferred their Respect to him, being sure to follow his Orders.

3. From what he says, Ch. 4. 16. After he had told them, ver. 6. of that Chapter, that they should not be puffed up for any other against him, for so the whole Scope of his Discourse here imports, he befeeches them to be his Followers, i.e. leaving their other Guides to follow him in punishing the Offender. For that we may conclude from his immediately insinuating on it so earnestly, he had in his View, when he befeeches them to be Followers of him, and consequently that they might join with him, and take him for their Leader, Ch. 5. 3. 4. he makes himself by his Spirit, as his Proxie, the President of their Assembly, to be convened for the punishing that Criminal.

4. It may further be suspected, from what St. Paul says, Ch. 6. 1. that the opposite Party, to stop the Church-Censure, pretended that this was a matter to be judged by the Civil Magistrate: nay, possibly from what is said, ver. 6. of that Chapter, it may be gathered, that they had got it brought before the Heathen Judge; or at least from v. 12. that they pleaded, that what he had done was lawful, and might be justified before the Magistrate. For the Judging spoken of, Ch. 6. must be understood to relate to the same matter.
matter it does, ch. 5. it being a Continuation of the same Discourse and Argument: As is easy to be observed by any one who will read it without regarding the Divisions into Chapters and Verses, whereby ordinary People (not to say others) are often disturbed in reading the Holy Scripture, and hindered from observing the true Sense and Coherence of it. The whole 6th Chapter is spent in prosecuting the Business of the Fornicator begun in the 5th. That this is so, is evident from the latter End, as well as Beginning of the 6th Chapter. And therefore what St. Paul says of lawful, ch. 6. 12. may without any Violence be supposed to be said, in answer to some, who might have alleged, in Favour of the Fornicator, that what he had done was lawful, and might be justified by the Laws of the Country, which he was under; why else should St. Paul subjoin so many Arguments (wherewith he concludes this 6th Chapter, and this Subject) to prove the Fornication in question to be by the Law of the Gospel a great Sin, and consequently fit for a Christian Church to censure in one of its Members, however it might pass for lawful in the Efeecm, and by the Laws of Gentiles?

There is one Objection which at first sight seems to be a strong Argument against this Supposition, that the Fornication here spoken of was held lawful by the Gentiles of Corinth, and that possibly this very Cafe had been brought before the Magistrate there, and not condemned. The Objection seems to lie in these Words; ch. 5. 1. There is Fornication heard of amongst you, and such Fornication as is not heard of amongst the Gentiles, that one should have his Father's Wife. But yet I conceive the Words, duly considered, have nothing in them contrary to my Supposition.

To clear this, I take Liberty to say, it cannot be thought that this Man had his Father's Wife whist by the Laws of the Place she actually was his Father's Wife; for then it had been incest and Adultery, and so the Apostle would have called it, which was a Crime in Greece; nor could it be tolerated in any Civil Society, that one Man should have the use of a Woman, whilst the was another Man's Wife, i.e. another Man's Right and Possession.

The Cafe therefore here seems to be this; The Woman had parted from her Husband; which it is plain, from ch. 7. 10, 11, 13. at Corinth Women could do. For if by the Law of that Country a Woman could not divorce herself from her Husband, the Apostle had there in vain bid her not leave her Husband.

But however known and allow'd a Practice it might be amongst the Corinthians, for a Woman to part from her Husband, yet this was the first time it was ever known that her Husband's own Son should marry her. This is that which the Apostle takes notice of in these Words, Such a Fornication as is not named amongst the Gentiles. Such a Fornication this was, so little known in practice amongst them, that it was not so much as heard, named, or spoken of by any of them. But whether they held it unlawful that a Woman, so separated, should marry her Husband's Son, when she was looked upon to be at Liberty from her former Husband, and free to marry whom she pleased, that the Apostle says not. This indeed he declares, that by the Law of Christ a Woman's leaving her Husband, and marrying another, is unlawful, ch. 7. 11. and this Woman's marrying her Husband's Son, he declares, ch. 5. 1. (the place before us) to be Fornication, a peculiar sort of Fornication, whatever the Corinthians or their Law might determine in the Cafe; And therefore a Christian Church might and ought to have censured it within themselves, it being an Offence against the Rule of the Gospel; which is the Law of their Society: And they might and should have expelled this Fornicator out of their Society, for not submitting to the Laws of it; Notwithstanding that the Civil Laws of the Country, and the Judgment of the Heathen Magistrate might acquit him. Suitably hereunto it is very remarkable, that the Arguments that St. Paul uses, in the Close of this Discourse, ch. 6. 13—20. to prove Fornication unlawful, are all drawn solely from the Christian Institution, v. 9. That our Bodies are made for the Lord, v. 13. That our Bodies are Members of Christ, v. 15. That our Bodies are the Temples of the Holy Ghost, v. 19. That we are not our own, but bought with a Price, v. 20. all which Arguments concern Christians only; and
ICORINTHIANS.

An. Ch. 57. there is not in all this Discourse against Fornication, one word to declare it to be unlawful by the Law of Nature to Mankind in general. That was altogether needless, and besides the Apostle's purpose here, where he was teaching and exhorting Christians what they were to do as Christians, within their own Society, by the Law of Christ; which was to be their Rule, and was sufficient to oblige them, whatever other Laws the rest of Mankind observed, or were under. Thofe he professes, ch. 5. 12, 13. not to meddle with, nor to judge: For having no Authority amongst them, he leaves them to the Judgment of God, under whose Government they are.

Thefe Considerations afford Ground to conjecture, that the Faction which opposed St. Paul, had hinder'd the Church of Corinth from cenfuring the Fornicator, and that St. Paul shewing them their Misconduct herein, aims thereby to leffen the Credit of their Leader, by whose Influence they were drawn into it. For as soon as they had unanimously shewn their Obedience to St. Paul in this Matter, we fee his Severity cease, and he is all Softnes and Gentlenes to the Offender; 2 Cor. 11. 5-8. And he tells them in express Words, v. 9. that his end in writing to them of it, was to try their Obedience: To which let me add, that this Supposition, though it had not all the Evidence for it which it has, yet being suited to St. Paul's principal Design in this Epistle, and helping us the better to understand these two Chapters, may deserve to be mentioned.

PARAPHRASE.

21. Purposed to come unto you: But what would you have me do? Shall I come to you with a Rod to chastife you? Or with Kindnes, and a peaceable Disposition of Mind? (f) In short, it is commonly reported, that there is Fornication (g) among you, and such Fornication as is not known (b) ordinarily among the Heathen, that one should have his Father's Wife, and yet ye remain puffed up, though it would better have become you to have been dejected for this scandalous Fact amongst you, and in a mournful Sense of it, to have removed the Offender out of the Church. For I truly, though absent in Body, yet as present in Spirit, have thus already judged, as if I were personally with him, that committed this Fact: When in the Name of the Lord Jesus ye are assembled, and my Spirit, i.e. my Vote, as if I were present, making one by the Spirit of the Lord Jesus

TEXT.

What will ye? shall I come unto you with a rod, or in love, and in the spirit of meekness?

It is reported commonly that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not so much as named amongst the Gentiles, that one should have his father's wife.

And ye are puffed up, and have not rather mourned, that he that hath done this deed, might be taken away from among you.

For I verily as absent in Body, but present in Spirit, have judged already, as though I were present, concerning him that hath so done this deed.

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when

NOTES.

21 (f) He that shall carefully read 2 Cor. 1. 10-11. shall easily perceive that this last Verse here of this 4th Chapter is an Introduction to the severer Act of Discipline which St. Paul was going to exercise amongst them, tho' absent, as if he had been present. And therefore this Verse ought not to have been separated from the following Chapter, as if it belonged not to that Discourse.

1 (g) Vid. ch. 4. 8. 10. The Writers of the New Testament seem to use the Greek word έρωμα, which we translate Fornication, in the same Sense that the Hebrews used הָּרֵע, which we also translate Fornication, tho' it be certain both these words, in Sacred Scripture, have a larger Sense than the word Fornication has in our Language; for הָּרֵע, amongst the Hebrews, signifies, Turpitudinem, or Rem turpem, Uncleanliness, or any flagitious scandalous Crime, but more especially the Uncleanliness of unlawful Copulation and Idolatry; and not precisely Fornication in our Sense of the Word, i.e. the unlawful Mixture of an unmarried Couple.

(b) Not known. That the marrying of a Son-in-law and a Mother-in-law, was not prohibited by the Laws of the Roman Empire, may be seen in Tully; but yet it was looked on as a scandalous and infamous, that it never had any Censure from Practice. His Words in his Oration pro Cluentio, §. 4. are so agreeable to the present Case, that it may not be amiss to let them
ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ.

5. To deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruc-
tion of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the
day of the Lord Jesus.

6. Your glorifying is not good; I know ye not that
all the leaven leavenceth the whole lump?

7. Purge out therefore the old leaven, that ye may be
a new lump, as ye are unleavened. For even Christ
our Passover is sacrificed for us.

8. Therefore let us keep the feast, not with old lea-
ven, neither with the lea-

ven of malice and wicked-
ness; but with the unles-
vened bread of sincerity and

9. I wrote unto you in an epistle, not to company
with fornicators.

10. Yet not altogether with the fornicators of this
world, or with the covet-
ous, or extortioners, or

11. But now I have written unto you, not to keep
company, if any man that

12. For what have I to do
to judge them also that
are without? do not ye

13. But them that are with-
out, God judgeth. There-

14. Dare any of you, hav-
ing a matter against an-
other, go to law before the

Chrift, deliver the Offender up to Satan, that being
put thus into the Hands and Power of the Devil, his
Body may be afflicted and brought down, that his
Soul may be saved when the Lord Jesus comes to judge
the World. Your glorying (i) as you do in a Lea-
der, who drew you into this scandale of Indulgence
(k) in this Cafe, is a fault in you, ye that are know-

know ye not that a little Leaven leavenceth the
whole lump? Therefore laying by that Defe-

ence and Veneration ye had for those Leaders you
gloried in, turn out from among you that Fornica-
tors, that the Church may receive no taint from him,
that you may be a pure new Lump or Society, free
from such a dangerous Mixture, which may corrupt
you. For Christ our Passover is slain for us, therefore
let us in commemoration of his Death, and our Deli-

erance by him, be a holy People to him. (m) I wrote
to you before that you should not keep Company with
Fornicators. You are not to understand by it, as if I
meant, that you are to avoid all unconverted Heathens,
that are Fornicators, or Covetous, or Rapacious, or
Idolaters: For then you must go out of the World.
But that which I now write unto you, is, that you
should not keep company, no nor eat with a Christi-

an by Profession, who is lascivious, covetous, idola-
trous, a Railer, Drunkard, or Rapacious. For what
have I to do to judge those who are out of the Church?
Have ye not a Power to judge those who are Members
of your Church? But as for those who are out of
the Church, leave them to God, to judge them be-

ings to him: Therefore do ye what is your Part;
remove that wicked one the Fornicator out of the
Church. Dare any of you, having a Controversie
with another, bring it before an Heathen Judge to be

NOTES.

them down : Nubit genua fercus, nullis austriliis, nullis australibus. O felius incredible & prater
bens unam in omni vta iamnummum !

6 (i) Glorying is all along in the beginning of this Epistle spoken of the Preference they
gave to their new Leader, in Opposition to St. Paul.

(i) If their Leader had not been guilty of this Misarrage, it had been out of St. Paul's way
here to have reproved them for their glorifying in him. But St. Paul is a croug Writer, and uses
not to mention things where they are impertinent to his Subject.

(i) What Reason he had to lay this, 1 Thess. 2 Cor. 12. 21 — Grec totus in agris nullus Stable
caulis & perrigine porri.

7 & 8. (m) In these two Verbes he alludes to the Jews cleansing their Hosts at the Feast of the
Passover, from all Leaven, the Symbol of Corruption and Wickedness.

tried
I CORINTHIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

tried, and not let it be decided by Christians? (n)

2. Know ye not that Christians shall judge the World? and if the World shall be judged by you, are ye unworthy to judge ordinary small Matters? Know ye not that we Christians have Power over evil Spirits? How much more over the little things relating to this animal Life? If then ye have at any time Controversies amongst you concerning things pertaining to this Life, let the Parties contending choose Arbitrators in the Church, i.e. out of Church-Members. Is there not among you, I speak it to your Shame, who hath so much upon your Wisdom, one (g) wife Man, whom ye can think able enough to refer your Controversies to? But one Christian goeth to Law with another, and that before the Unbelievers, in the Heaten Courts of Justice: Nay, verily it is a Failure and Defect in you, that you so far confest Matters of Right one with another, as to bring them to Trial or Judgment: Why do ye not rather suffer Loss and Wrong? But it is plain by the Man's having his Father's Wife, that ye are guilty of doing Wrong (g) one to another, and stick not to do Injustice even to your Christian Brethren. Know ye not that the Trangressors of the Law of Christ shall not inherit the Kingdom of God? Deceive not your selves, neither Fornicators, nor Idolaters, nor Adulterers, nor Etfeminate, nor Aburers of themselves with Mankind, unjust, and not before the Saints?

3. Do ye not know that the Saints shall judge the World? and if the World shall be judged by you, are ye unworthy to judge the smallest Matters? Know ye not that we Christians have Power over evil Spirits? How much more over the little things relating to this animal Life? If then ye have at any time Controversies amongst you concerning things pertaining to this Life, let the Parties contending choose Arbitrators in the Church, i.e. out of Church-Members. Is there not among you, I speak it to your Shame, who hath so much upon your Wisdom, one (g) wife Man, whom ye can think able enough to refer your Controversies to? But one Christian goeth to Law with another, and that before the Unbelievers, in the Heaten Courts of Justice: Nay, verily it is a Failure and Defect in you, that you so far confest Matters of Right one with another, as to bring them to Trial or Judgment: Why do ye not rather suffer Loss and Wrong? But it is plain by the Man's having his Father's Wife, that ye are guilty of doing Wrong (g) one to another, and stick not to do Injustice even to your Christian Brethren. Know ye not that the Trangressors of the Law of Christ shall not inherit the Kingdom of God? Deceive not your selves, neither Fornicators, nor Idolaters, nor Adulterers, nor Etfeminate, nor Aburers of themselves with Mankind, unjust, and not before the Saints?

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5. (g) in the Church, i.e. out of Church-Members. Is there not among you, I speak it to your Shame, who hath so much upon your Wisdom, one (g) wife Man, whom ye can think able enough to refer your Controversies to? But one Christian goeth to Law with another, and that before the Unbelievers, in the Heaten Courts of Justice: Nay, verily it is a Failure and Defect in you, that you so far confest Matters of Right one with another, as to bring them to Trial or Judgment: Why do ye not rather suffer Loss and Wrong? But it is plain by the Man's having his Father's Wife, that ye are guilty of doing Wrong (g) one to another, and stick not to do Injustice even to your Christian Brethren. Know ye not that the Trangressors of the Law of Christ shall not inherit the Kingdom of God? Deceive not your selves, neither Fornicators, nor Idolaters, nor Adulterers, nor Etfeminate, nor Aburers of themselves with Mankind, unjust, and not before the Saints?

6. If then ye have judgment of things pertaining to this Life, let the Parties contending choose Arbitrators in the Church, i.e. out of Church-Members. Is there not among you, I speak it to your Shame, who hath so much upon your Wisdom, one (g) wife Man, whom ye can think able enough to refer your Controversies to? But one Christian goeth to Law with another, and that before the Unbelievers, in the Heaten Courts of Justice: Nay, verily it is a Failure and Defect in you, that you so far confest Matters of Right one with another, as to bring them to Trial or Judgment: Why do ye not rather suffer Loss and Wrong? But it is plain by the Man's having his Father's Wife, that ye are guilty of doing Wrong (g) one to another, and stick not to do Injustice even to your Christian Brethren. Know ye not that the Trangressors of the Law of Christ shall not inherit the Kingdom of God? Deceive not your selves, neither Fornicators, nor Idolaters, nor Adulterers, nor Etfeminate, nor Aburers of themselves with Mankind, unjust, and not before the Saints?

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8. If then ye have judgment of things pertaining to this Life, let the Parties contending choose Arbitrators in the Church, i.e. out of Church-Members. Is there not among you, I speak it to your Shame, who hath so much upon your Wisdom, one (g) wife Man, whom ye can think able enough to refer your Controversies to? But one Christian goeth to Law with another, and that before the Unbelievers, in the Heaten Courts of Justice: Nay, verily it is a Failure and Defect in you, that you so far confest Matters of Right one with another, as to bring them to Trial or Judgment: Why do ye not rather suffer Loss and Wrong? But it is plain by the Man's having his Father's Wife, that ye are guilty of doing Wrong (g) one to another, and stick not to do Injustice even to your Christian Brethren. Know ye not that the Trangressors of the Law of Christ shall not inherit the Kingdom of God? Deceive not your selves, neither Fornicators, nor Idolaters, nor Adulterers, nor Etfeminate, nor Aburers of themselves with Mankind, unjust, and not before the Saints?

9. If then ye have judgment of things pertaining to this Life, let the Parties contending choose Arbitrators in the Church, i.e. out of Church-Members. Is there not among you, I speak it to your Shame, who hath so much upon your Wisdom, one (g) wife Man, whom ye can think able enough to refer your Controversies to? But one Christian goeth to Law with another, and that before the Unbelievers, in the Heaten Courts of Justice: Nay, verily it is a Failure and Defect in you, that you so far confest Matters of Right one with another, as to bring them to Trial or Judgment: Why do ye not rather suffer Loss and Wrong? But it is plain by the Man's having his Father's Wife, that ye are guilty of doing Wrong (g) one to another, and stick not to do Injustice even to your Christian Brethren. Know ye not that the Trangressors of the Law of Christ shall not inherit the Kingdom of God? Deceive not your selves, neither Fornicators, nor Idolaters, nor Adulterers, nor Etfeminate, nor Aburers of themselves with Mankind, unjust, and not before the Saints?

NOTES.

1. (n) "Agesi Saints, is not for Christians; a anyone Unjust, for Heathens.

2. (g) "Ecbetpepaa, Judges non Authenticus. Among the Jews there was confessa triumvirsis authenticus, who had Authority, and could hear and determine Causes ex officio; there was another confessa triumvirsis, which were chosen by the Parties, these, tho' they were not Authenticus, yet could judge and determine the Causes referred to them; these were those whom St. Paul calls here, Ecbetpepaa, Judges non Authenticus, i.e. Referees chosen by the Parties. See de dieu: That St. Paul does not mean by Ecbetpepaa, those who are lesto effectuated, as our English Translation reads it, is plain from the next Verse.

3. (g) "Ecbetpepaa, wife Man. If St. Paul uses this Word in the Sense of the Synagogue, it signifies one ordained, or a rabbi, and so capacitiated to be a Judge; for such were called wife Men. If in the Sense of the Greek School, then it signifies a Man of Learning, Study and Parts; If it be taken in the latter Sense, it may seem to be with some Reflection on their pretending to Wisdom.

4. (g) The Wrong here spoken of, was the Fornicator's taking and keeping his Father's Wife, the words of St. Paul, 2 Cor. 7. 12. influencing this very Wrong, are a sufficient Evidence. And it is not wholly improbable there had been some Hearing of this Matter before a Heathen Judge, or at least talked of, which if suppos'd, will give a great Light to this whole Passage, and several other in these Chapters. For thus vividly runs St. Paul's Argument, ch. 5. 12, 13, ch. 6. 1, 2, 3, &c, coherent and easy to be understood, if it flood together as it should, and were not chopp'd in pieces by a Division into two Chapters. Ye have a Power to judge those who are of your Church, therefore put away from amongst you that Fornicator: You do ill to let it come before a Heathen Magistrate. Are you, who are to judge the World and Angels, not worthy to judge such a Matter as this?"
Nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God.

And such were some of you: but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.

All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not meet for every man.

Meats for the belly, and the belly for meats: but God shall destroy both it and them. Now the body is not for fornication, nor Thieves, nor Covetous, nor Drunkards, nor Revilers, nor Extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God. And such were some of you; but your saul sins were washed away and forgiven you, upon your receiving of the Gospel by Baptism: But ye are sanctified (r), i. e. ye are Members of Christ's Church, which consists of Saints, and have made some Advances in the Reformation of your Lives (s) by the Doctrine of Christ, confirmed to you by the extraordinary Operations of the Holy Ghost. But (t) supposing Fornication were in it self as lawful-as eating promiscuously all Sorts of Meat that are made for the Belly, on purpose to be eaten; yet I would not so far indulge either Cuffton or my Appetite, as to bring my Body thereby into any disadvantageous State of Subjection: As in Eating and Drinking, though Meat be made purposely for the Belly, and the Belly for Meat; yet because it may not be expedient (a) for me, I will not in so evidently a lawful thing as that, go to the utmost Bounds of my Liberty,
though there be no Danger that I should thereby bring any lasting Damage upon my Belly, since God will speedily put an end both to Belly and Food. But the Cafe of the Body, in reference to Women, is far different from that of the Belly in reference to Meats. For the Body is not made to be joynd to a Woman (w), much less to be joynd to an Harlot in Fornication, as the Belly is made for Meat, and then to be put an end to when that Ufe ceases. But the Body is for a much nobler Purpofe, and shall subfift when the Belly and Food fhall be destroyd. The Body is for our Lord Chrift, to be a Member of him, as our Lord Chrift has taken a Body (a), that he might partake of our Nature, and be our Head; So that as God has already raised him up, and given him all Power, fo he will raise us up likewise who are his Members, to (y) the partaking in the Nature of his glorious Body, and the Power he is vested with in it. Know ye not, ye who are fo knowing, that our Bodies are the Members of Chrift? Will ye then take the Members of Chrift, and make them the Members of an Harlot? What! know ye not that he who is joynd to an Harlot is one Body with her? For two, faith God, fhall be united into one Fiefh: But he who is join’d to the Lord, is one with him, by that one Spirit that unites the Members to the Head, which is a nearer and ftricter Union, whereby what Indignity is done to the one equally affects the other. Flee Fornication: All other Sins that a Man commits deflate only the Soul, but are in that refpeét as if they were done out of the Body, the Body is not debated, suffers no Loss of its Dignity by them: But he who committeth Fornication, feneth againft the end for which his Body was made, degrading his Body from the Dignity and Honour it was designed to, making that the

but for the Lord; and the Lord for the body.

And God hath both rai-14 sed up the Lord, and will also raise up us by his own power.

Know ye not, that your 15 bodies are the members of Chrift? Shall I then take the members of Chrift, and make them the members of an harlot? God forbid.

What, know ye not 16 that he which is joined to an harlot, is one body 17 for two (faith he) shall be one fieleh. But he that is joined unto the Lord, is one spiri-18

Flee Fornication. Every 18 fin that a man doeth, is without the body: but he that committeth Fornication, feneth against his own body.

NOTES.

13 (n) Woman. I have put in this to make the Apostle’s Senfe understand the easier. For he arguing here as he does, upon the Supposition that Fornication is in itself lawful, Fornication in these words must mean the supposed lawful Enjoyment of a Woman, otherwife it will not an-19 swer the foregoing Inference of the Belly and Eating.

(x) And the Lord for the Body, see Heb. 2. 5—18. 14 (f) And the Eunuch in this place, fondy incline one to take 43 here to dignifie as it does, 2 Pet. 1. 3. to and not by. St Paul is here making out to the Christian Converts, that they have a Power to judge. He tells them, that they shall judge the World, v. 5. And that they shall judge Angels, much more then things of this Life, v. 3. And for their not judging he blames them, and tells them, if 45 a lefiening 10 them, not to exercise this Power, v. 7. And for it he gives a Reason in this Verse, v. 9. That Chrift is raised up into the Power of God, and fo shall they be. Unles it be taken in this Senfe, this Verse seems to stand alone here. For what Connection has the mention of the Resurrection in the ordinary Senfe of this Verse, with what the Apostle is saying here, but raising us up with Bodies to be Members of his glorious Body, and to partake in his Power in judging the World? This adds a great Honour and Dignity to our Bodies, and is a Reason why we should not debate them into the Members of an Harlot. These Words also give a Reason of his saying, he would not be brought under the Power of any thing, v. 13. (vir.) 46 Shall I, whose Body is a Member of Chrift, and shall be raised to the Power he has now in Heaven, suffer my Body to be a Member, and under the Power of an Harlot, that I will 48 never do, let Fornication in it self be ever so lawful? If this be not the Meaning of St Paul here, I desire to know to what purpose it is that he so expressly declares that the Belly and Meat shall be destroyed, and does so manifetly put an Opposition between the Body and the Belly? ver. 13.
CORINTHIANS.

TEXT.

What know ye not that your body is the temple of the holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own?

20. For ye are bought with a price: therefore glorifie God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God's.

PARAPHRASE.

Member of an Harlot which was made to be a Member of Christ. What, know ye not (1) that your Body is the Temple of the Holy Ghost that is in you, which Body you have from God, and so it is not your own to bestow on Harlots? Besides ye are bought with a Price, viz. the precious Blood of Christ, and therefore are not at your own Disposal: But are bound to glorify God with both Body and Soul. For both Body and Soul are from him, and are God's.

NOTES.

19 (1) This Question, Know ye not? is repeated six times in this one Chapter, which may seem to carry with it a just Reproach to the Corinthians, who had got a new and better Instructer than himself, in whom they so much gloried, and may not unifitly be thought to sit on his Irony, ch. 4. 10. where he tells them they are wife.

SECT. III.

CHAP. VII. 1—40.

CONTENTS.

The chief Business of the foregoing Chapters we have seen to be the lessening the false Apostle's Credit, and the extinguishing that Faction. What follows is in Answer to some Questions they had propos'd to St. Paul. This Section contains conjugal Matters, wherein he dissuades from Marriage those who have the Gift of Continence. But Marriage being appointed as a Remedy against Fornication, those who cannot forbear should marry, and render to each other due Benevolence. Next he teaches that Converts ought not to forfake their unconverted Mates, insomuch as Christianity changes nothing in Men's civil Estate, but leaves them under the same Obligations they were tied by before. And last of all, he gives Directions about marrying, or not marrying their Daughters.

TEXT.

Now concerning the things whereof ye wrote unto me: it is good for a man not to touch a woman.

2. Nevertheless, to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband.

3. Let the husband render unto the wife due benevolence; and likewise also the wife unto the husband.

PARAPHRASE.

Concerning those things that ye have writ to me about, I answer, it is most convenient not to have to do with a Woman: But because every one cannot forbear, therefore they that cannot contain, should, both Men and Women, each have their own peculiar Husband and Wife to avoid Fornication. And those that are married, for the same Reason are to regulate themselves by the Disposition and Exigency of their respective Mates; and therefore let the Husband render to the Wife that Benevolence (a) which is her due, and so likewise the Wife to the

NOTES.

3 (a) Benevolence, Benevolence, signifies here that Compliance and Compliance which every married Couple ought to have for each other, when either of them shew an Inclination to Conjugal Enjoyments.
Husband, & vice versâ. For the Wife has not Power or Dominion over her own Body, to refuse the Husband when he defies: But this Power and Right to her Body is in the Husband. And on the other side, the Husband has not the Power and Dominion over his own Body, to refuse his Wife when she swears an Inclination; but this Power and Right to his Body, when she has Occasion, is in the Wife (o).

Do not in this matter be wanting one to another, unless it be by mutual Consent for a short time, that you may wholly attend to Acts of Devotion, when ye fasting upon some solemn Occasion; and when this time of solemn Devotion is over, return to your former Freedom and Conjugal Society, lest the Devil taking Advantage of your Inability to contain, should tempts you to a Violation of your Marriage-Bed.

As to marrying in general, I wish that you were all unmarr'y'd, as I am; but this I say to you by way of Advice, not of Command. Every one has from God his own proper Gift, some one way, and some another, whereby he must govern himself. To the unmarried and Widows, I say it is my Opinion, that it is best for them to remain unmarried, as I am. But if they have not the Gift of Contency, let them marry, for the Inconveniencies of Marriage are to be preferred to Flames of Lust. But to the married, I say not by way of Counsel from my self, but of Command from the Lord, that a Woman should not leave her Husband: But if she has separated her self from him, let her return and be reconciled to him again, or at least let her remain unmarried. And let not the Husband put away his Wife. But as to others, 'tis my Advice, not a Commandment from the Lord, That if a Christian Man hath an Heathen Wife that is content to live with him, let him not break Company with her, and dissolve the Marriage: And if a Christian Woman hath an Heathen Husband that is content to live with her, let her not break Company with him (o), and dissolve the Marriage. You need have no Scruple concerning this Matter, For the Heathen Husband or Wife, in respect of Conjugal Duty, can be no more refused, than if they were Christian. For

The wife hath not power over her own body, but the husband; and like- wise also the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife.

Defraud you not one another, except it be with consent for a time, that ye may give your selves to fasting and prayer; and come together again, that Satan tempt you not for your incontinency.

But I speak this by per. 6 million, and not of Commandment.

For I would that all you men were even as I my self; but every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that.

I say therefore to the 8 unmarried and widows, It is good for them if they abide even as I. But if they cannot continue, let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn.

And unto the married I command, yet not, but the Lord, Let not the wife depart from her husband.

But and if she depart, let her remain unmarr'ed, or be reconciled to her husband: and let not the husband put away his wife.

But to the rest speak I, not the Lord, If any brother hath a wife that believeth not, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away.

And the woman which hath an husband that believeth not, and if he be pleased to dwell with her, let her not leave him.

For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband: else were

Notes.

4 (o) The Woman (who in all other Rights is inferior) has here the same Power given her over the Man's Body, that the Man has over her's. The Reason whereof is plain: Because if she had not her Man, when she had need of him, as well as the Man his Woman, when he had need of her, Marriage would be no Remedy against Fornication.

12 & 13. (o') Agára, the Greek Word, in the Original signifying put away, being directed here in these two Verses both to the Man and the Woman, seems to intimate the same Power and the same Act of Dissolving in both; and therefore ought in both places to be translated alike.
your children unclean: but now are they holy.

15. But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart. A brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases: but God hath called us to peace.

16. For what knowest thou, O wife, whether thou shalt save thy husband? or what knowest thou, O man, whether thou shalt save thy wife?

17. But as God hath distributed to every man, as the Lord hath called every one, so let him walk: and to ordain him in all churches.

18. Is any man called being circumcised? let him not become uncircumcised: or any called in uncircumcision, let him not become circumcised.

19. Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God.

20. Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called.

In this case the unbelieving Husband is sanctified (d) or made a Christian, as to his Issue in his Wife, and the Wife sanctified in her Husband. If it were not so, the Children of such Parents would be unclean (d), i.e. in the State of Heathens, but now are they holy (d), i.e. born Members of the Christian Church. But if the unbelieving Party will separate, let them separate. A Christian Man or Woman is not inflamed in such a Cafe, only it is to be remember'd, that it is incumbent on us whom God in the Gospel has call'd to be Christians, to live peaceably with all Men, as much as in us lieth, and therefore the Christian Husband or Wife is not to make a Breach in the Family, by leaving the unbelieving Party, who is content to stay. For what knowest thou, O Woman, but thou mayst be the Means of converting, and so saving thy unbelieving Husband, if thou continuest peaceably as a loving Wife with him? Or what knowest thou, O Man, but after the same manner thou mayst save thy Wife? On this Occasion let me give you this general Rule, whatever Condition God has allotted to any of you, let him continue and go on consciently in the same (e) State wherein he was call'd, not looking on himself as free from it by his Conversion to Christianity. And this is no more than what I order in all the Churches. For example, was any one converted to Christianity being circumcised, let him not become uncircumcised: Was any one called being uncircumcised, let him not be circumcised. Circumcision or Uncircumcision are nothing in the Sight of God, but that which he has a regard to, is an obedience to his Commands. Christianity gives not any one any new Privilege to change the State, or put off (f) the Obligations of Civil Life, which he was in before.

NOTES.

14. (d) ὁ δὲ ἀβαπόστατος, ἄρα ἁγιός, & ἀνέκάθαρτος ἄνελεμος, are used here by the Apostle in the Jewish Sense. The Jews called all that were Jews, holy; and all others they called unclean. Thus, poteos genita extra familiae, was a Child begot by Parents whilst they were yet Heathens; genita intra familiae, was a Child begot by Parents after they were Professers. This way of speaking St. Paul transfers from the Jewish into the Christian Church, calling all that are of the Christian Church Saints, or holy, by which Reason all that were out of it were unclean. See Note, Ch. i. 2.

17. (e) οὖς signifies here not the Manner of his Calling, but the State and Condition of Life he was in when call'd; and therefore we must signify the same too, as the next Verse shows.

20. (f) Μεταβάλλει, Let him abide. 'Tis plain from what immediately follows, that this is not an absolute Command; but only signifies that a Man should not think himself discharge'd by the Privilege of his Christian State, and the Franchises of the Kingdom of Christ, which he was enter'd into, from any Ties or Obligations he was in as a Member of the Civil Society. And therefore for the settling a true Notion thereof in the Mind of the Reader, it has been thought convenient to give that which is the Apostle's Sense to ver. 17, 20, & 24. of this Chapter; in words somewhat different from the Apostle's. The thinking themselves free by Christianity from the Ties of Civil Society and Government, was a Paffa, it seems, that those Christians were very apt to run into. For St. Paul, for their preventing their Thoughts of any Change of any thing of their Civil State upon their embracing Christianity, thinks it necessary to warn them against it three times in the Compas of seven Verses, and that in the Form of a direct Command not to change their Condition or State of Life. Whereby he intends that they should not change upon a Premisepht that Christianity gave them a new or peculiar Liberty so to do. For, notwithstanding the Apostle's positively bidding them remain in the

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1 Corinthians.

Paraphrase.

1. Art thou called, being a slave, think thyself not the less a Christian for being a slave, but yet prefer Freedom to Slavery, if thou canst obtain it.

2. For he that is converted to Christianness, being a bondman, is Christ’s Freed-man (g). And he that is converted being a Free-man is Christ’s Bond-man, under his Command and Dominion. Ye are bought with a Price (b), and fo belong to Christ; be not, or if you can avoid it, Slaves to any body. In whatsoever State a Man is call’d, in the fame he is to remain, notwithstanding any Privileges of the Gospel, which gives him no Dispensation or Exemption from any Obligation he was in before to the Laws of his Country. Now concerning Virgins (i) I have no express Command from Christ to give you; but I tell you my Opinion, as one whom the Lord has been graciously pleased to make credible (b), and so you may trust and rely on in this Matter. I tell you therefore that I judge a single Life to be convenient, because of the present Straights of the Church; and that it is best for a Man to be unmarried. Art thou in the Bonds of Wedlock? Seek not to be loosed: Art thou loosed from a Wife? Seek not a Wife. But if thou marriest thou sinnest not: Or if a Virgin marry, she sins not: But those that are married shall have worldly Troubles: But I spare you, by not representing to you, how little Enjoyment Christians are like to have from a married Life in the present State of things, and so I leave you to the Liberty of marrying. But give me leave to tell you, that the time for enjoying Husbands and Wives is but short (l). But be that as it will, this is certain, that those who have Wives, should be as if they had them not, and not let their Hearts upon them: And they that weep as if they wept not; and they that rejoice, as if they rejoiced not; and they that buy, as if they possessed not: All these things are not the less a Christian for being a Slave, but yet prefer Freedom to Slavery, if thou canst obtain it.

Text.

21. Wert thou called being a Slave, think thyself not the less a Christian for being a Slave, but yet prefer Freedom to Slavery, if thou canst obtain it.

22. For he that is converted to Christianness, being a bondman, is Christ’s Freed-man (g). And he that is converted being a Free-man is Christ’s Bond-man, under his Command and Dominion. Ye are bought with a Price (b), and so belong to Christ; be not, or if you can avoid it, Slaves to any body. In whatsoever State a Man is call’d, in the same he is to remain, notwithstanding any Privileges of the Gospel, which gives him no Dispensation or Exemption from any Obligation he was in before to the Laws of his Country. Now concerning Virgins (i) I have no express Command from Christ to give you; but I tell you my Opinion, as one whom the Lord has been graciously pleased to make credible (b), and so you may trust and rely on in this Matter. I tell you therefore that I judge a single Life to be convenient, because of the present Straights of the Church; and that it is best for a Man to be unmarried. Art thou in the Bonds of Wedlock? Seek not to be loosed: Art thou loosed from a Wife? Seek not a Wife. But if thou marriest thou sinnest not: Or if a Virgin marry, she sins not: But those that are married shall have worldly Troubles: But I spare you, by not representing to you, how little Enjoyment Christians are like to have from a married Life in the present State of things, and so I leave you to the Liberty of marrying. But give me leave to tell you, that the time for enjoying Husbands and Wives is but short (l). But be that as it will, this is certain, that those who have Wives, should be as if they had them not, and not let their Hearts upon them: And they that weep as if they wept not; and they that rejoice, as if they rejoiced not; and they that buy, as if they possessed not: All these things

Notes.

21 (g) ‘AvYnA4e@, in Latin Libertas, signifies not simply a Free-man, but one who having been a Slave, has had his Freedom given him by his Master.

22 (b) Slaves were bought and sold in the Market, as Cattle are, and so by the Price paid, there was a Propriety acquired in them. This therefore here is a Reason for what he advised, ver. 21, that they should not be Slaves to Men, because Christ had paid a Price for them, and they belonged to him. The Slavery he speaks of is Civil Slavery, which he makes use of here to convince the Corinthians, that the Civil Ties of Marriage were not dissolved by a man’s becoming a Christian; hence Slavery itself was not; and in general, the next Verse he tells them, that nothing in any Man’s Civil Estate or Rights, is alter’d by his becoming a Christian.

25 (i) By Virgins is plain St. Paul here means those of both Sexes, who are in a celibate State. This probably he had formerly diffused them from Marriage in the present State of the Church. This it seems they were uneasy under, ver. 28 & 29, and therefore sent some Questions to St. Paul about it, and particularly, What then should Men do with their Daughters? Upon which Occasion, ver. 25–37, he gives Directions to the Unmarried about their marrying or not marrying, and in the Close, ver. 38, answers to the Parents about marrying their Daughters; and then, ver. 39 & 40, he speaks of Widows.

29 (l) Said possibly out of a prophetic Foretaste of the approaching Persecution under Nero.
ICORINTHIAN S.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

and they that buy, at tho' they be careless not.

31. And they that use this world, as not abusing it for the fashion of this world passeth away.

32. But I would have you without carefulness. He that is unmarried, careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord.

33. But he that is married, careth for the things that are of the world, how he may please his wife.

34. There is difference also between a wife and a virgin: the unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy, both in body and in spirit: but the that is married, careth for the things of the world, how she may please her husband.

35. And this I speak for your own profit: not that I may call a farce upon you, but for that which is comely, and that you may attend upon the Lord without distraction.

36. But if any man think that he behaveth himself uncomely toward his virgin, if she pass the flower of her age, and need to require, let him do what he will, he finneth not to let them marry.

37. Nevertheless, he that standeth steadfast in his heart, having no necessity, but hath power over should be done with resignation and a Christian Indifference. And those who use this world, should use it without an Over-relish of it, without giving themselves up to the Enjoyment of it. For the Scene of things is always changing in this World, and nothing can be relied on in it. All the Reason why I dissuade you from Marriage, is, that I would have you free from anxious Care: He that is unmarried, has time and liberty to mind things of Religion, how he may please the Lord: But he that is married is taken up with the Cares of the World, how he may please his Wife. The like Difference there is between a married Woman and a Maid: She that is unmarried, has Opportunity to mind the things of Religion, that she may be holy in Mind and Body; but the married Woman is taken up with the Cares of the World, how to please her Husband. This I say to you for your particular Advantage, not to lay any Constraint upon you (e), but to put you in a way wherein you may most suitably, and as best becomes Christianity, apply your selves to the Study and Duties of the Gospel, without Distraction. But if any one thinks that he carries not himself as becomes him to his Virgin, if he lets her pass the Flower of her Age unmarried, and need to require, let him do as he thinks fit, he finneth not if he marry her. But whores ever is settled in a firm Resolution of Mind, and finds himself under no Necessity of marrying, and is Master of his own Will, or is at his own Disposal, and has so determined in his Thoughts, that he will keep his Virginity, (p) he chooseth the better

NOTES.

31. (m) ἀνεκπιθύμητος does not here signify abusing, in our English Sense of the word, but intensely using.

35. (e) ἐνδυναμείται, which we translate a Share, signifies a Lord, which possibly the Apostle might, according to the Language of the Hebrew School, use here for binding, and then his Discourse runs thus. Though I have declared it my Opinion, that it is best for a Virgin to remain unmarried, yet I bind it not, i.e. I do not declare it to be unlawful to marry.

37. (p) ἐνεπιθύμίας seems used here for the Virgin State, and not the Person of a Virgin; whether there be Examples of the like use of it, I know not, and therefore I propose it as my Conjecture upon these Grounds. 1. Because the Resolution of the Mind here spoken of, must be in the Person to be marry'd, and not in the Father that has the Power over the Person concerned: For how will the Firmness of Mind of the Father hinder Formation in the Child, who has not that Firmness? 2. The Necessity of Marriage can only be judged of by the Persons themselves. A Father cannot feel the Child's Flames which make the Need of Marriage. The Persons themselves do only know whether they burn, or have the Gift of Continence. 3. Ephesians yπόθης ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὑποκάρος, hath the Power over his own WILL, must either signify, can govern his own Desires, be Master of his own WILL. But this cannot be meant here, because it is insufficiently expressed before by ἐνεπιθύμίας, steadfast in Heart; and afterwards too by ἡ ἐνεπιθύμίας, decreed in Heart; or must signify, hath the Disposal of himself, i.e. is free from the Father's Power of dispossing their Children in Marriage. For I think the words should be translated, hath a Power concerning his own WILL, i.e. concerning what he willth. For it by it St. Paul means a Power over his own WILL, one might think he would have expressed that Thought.
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PARAPHRASE.

38. ter (q) side. So then he that marrieth doth well, but he that marrieth (r) not doth better. It is unlawful for a Woman to leave her Husband as long as he lives; but when he is dead, she is at liberty to marry or not marry, as she pleases, and to whom she pleases; which Virgins cannot do being under the Diisposal of their Parents; only the maid must take care to marry as a Christian fearing God. But in my Opinion, she is happier if she remain a Widow; and permit me to say, that whatever any among you may think or say of me, I have the Spirit of God, so that I may be relied on in this my Advice, that I do not mislead you.

39. his own will, and hath so decreed in his heart, that he will keep his virgin, doth well.

40. So then, he that giveth her in marriage, doth well; but he that giveth her not in marriage doth better.

The wife is bound by the law as long as her husband liveth: but if her husband be dead, she is at liberty to be married to whom she will; only in the Lord.

But she is happier if she abide, after my judgment, and I think also that I have the Spirit of God.

NOTES.

Thought as he does, ch. 9. 12. & Rom. 9. 21. without ζητεῖν, or by the Preposition ζητεῖν, as it is, Luke 9. 1. 4. Because, if keep his Virgin, had here signified keep his Children from marrying, the Expression had been more natural to have used the word νομίζειν, which signifies both Sexes, than ζητεῖν, which belongs only to the Female. If therefore ζητεῖν be taken abstraitly for Virginity, the precedent Verse must be understood thus: But if any one think it a shame to pass the Flower of his Age unmarried, and he finds it necessary to marry, let him do as he pleases, he is not μᾶλλον. Let such marry. I confess it is hard to bring these two Verses to the same Sense, and both of them to the Design of the Apostle here, without taking the Words in one or both of them very figuratively. St. Paul here seems to obviate an Objection that might be made against his Diffusion from Marriage, viz. that it might be an Indecency one should be guilty of, if one should live unmarried past one's prime, and afterwards be forced to marry. To which he answers, That no body should abdite upon the account of being a Christian, but those who are of steady Resolutions, are at their own Disposal, and have fully determin'd it in their own Minds.

(q) Kasthe here, as in ver. 11. & 26. signifies not simply good, but preferable.

38 (r) ἠθέτηται being taken in the Sense before-mentioned, it is necessary in this Verse to follow the Copies which read ἠθέτηται marrying, for ἠθέτηται, giving in Marriage.

SECTION IV.

CHAPTER VIII. 1—13.

CONTENTS.

THIS Section is concerning the Eating things offered to Idols, wherein one may guess by St. Paul's Answer, that they had writ to him, that they knew their Christian Liberty herein, that they knew that an Idol was nothing, and therefore that they did well to shew their Knowledge of the Nullity of the Heathen Gods, and their Disregard of them, by eating profaniously, and without Scruple, things offered to them. Upon which, the Design of the Apostle here seems to be, to take down their Opinion of their Knowledge, by shewing them, that notwithstanding all the Knowledge they presumed on, and were puffed up with, yet the eating of those Sacrifices did not recommend them to God: Vide, ver. 8. and that they might sin in their Want of Charity by offending their weak Brother. This seems plainly from ver. 1—3. & 11. 12. to be the Design of the Apostle's Answer here, and not to resolve the Cause of eating things offered to Idols in its full Latitude. For then he would have prosecuted it more at large here, and not have deferred the
ICORINTHIANS.

the Doing of it to Chap. 10. where under another Head he treats of it more particularly.

TEXT.

NOW as touching things offered unto idols, we know that we all have knowledge, knowledge puffeth up, but Charity edifieth.

And if any man think that he knoweth any thing, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know.

But if any man love God, the same is known of him.

As concerning therefore the eating of those things that are offered in sacrifice unto idols, we know that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is none other God but one.

For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, (as there be gods many, and lords many)

But to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him.

Howbeit there is not in every man that knowledge: for some with a conscience of the idol unto this hour, eat it as a thing offered unto an idol; and their conscience being weak, is defiled.

PARAPHRASE.

AS for things offered up unto Idols, it must not be questioned but that every one of you, who stand so much upon your Knowledge, know that the imaginary Gods, to whom the Gentiles sacrifice, are not in reality Gods, but mere Fictions; but with this pray remember, that such a Knowledge, or Opinion of their Knowledge, swells Men with Pride and Vanity. But Charity is it that improves and advances Men in Christianiety (1). But if any one be conceited of his own Knowledge, as if Christianiety were a Science for Speculation and Dispute, he knows nothing yet of Christianiety as he ought to know it. But if any one love God, and consequently his Neighbour for God's sake, such an one is made to know (1), or has got true Knowledge from God himself. To the Queftion then of eating things offered to Idols, I know as well as you, that an Idol, i.e. that the fictitious Gods, whose Images are in the Heathen Temples, are no real Beings in the World; and there is in Truth no other but one God. For tho' there be many imaginary nominal Gods, both in Heaven and Earth (a), as are indeed all their many Gods, and many Lords, which are meere titular; yet to us Christians, there is but one God, the Father and Author of all things, to whom alone we address all our Worship and Service, and but one Lord, viz. Jesus Christ, by whom all things come from God to us, and by whom we have Access to the Father. For notwithstanding all the great Pretences to Knowledge that are amongst you, every one doth not know that the Gods of the Heathens are but Imaginations of the Phanace, were nothing. Some, to this day, conscious to themselves that they think tho' Idols to be real Deities, eat things sacrificed to them, as sacrificed to real Deities, whereby doing that which they in their Consciences, not yet sufficiently enlight'en'd, think to be un-

NOTES.

1 (1) To continue the Thread of the Apostle's Discourse, the 7th Verse must be read as joins on to the 6th, and all between looked on as a Parenthesis.

3 (1) Καταθάλησαι, is made to know, or is taught. The Apostle, tho' writing in Greek, yet often uses the Greek Verbs according to the Hebrew Conjugations. So 1 Th 1. 12. διδάσκομεν, which according to the Greek Propriety, signifies, I shall be known, is used for I shall be made to know; and so Gal. 4. 9. 2Co 4. 6. Science is put to signify being taught.

5 (a) In Heaven and Earth. The Heathen had supreme Sovereign Gods, whom they suppo-
sed eternal, remaining always in the Heavens, there were called Sol Gods: They had besides another Order of Inferior Gods: Gods upon Earth, who by the Will and Direction of the heavenly Gods governed territoreal things, and were the Mediators between the Supreme Heavenly Gods and Men, without whom there could be no Communication between them. These were called in Scripture, Baalim, i.e. Lords; and by the Greeks Δαιμόνια. To this the Apostle adds here, saying, though there be in the Opinion of the Heathens, Gods many, i.e. many Celestial Gods in Heaven: And Lords many, i.e. many Baals or Lords Agents, and Princes over earthly things; yet to us Christians there is but one Sovereign God the Father, of whom are all things, and to whom as we supreme we are to direct all our Services: And but one Lord-Agent Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, that come from the Father to us, and through whom alone we find Access unto him. Mede Diff. on 2 Pet. 2. 1.

lawful,
lawful, are guilty of Sin. Food, of what kind forever makes not God regard us (w). For neither if in Knowledge and full Persuasion, that an Idol is nothing, we eat things offered to Idols, do we thereby add any thing to Christianitv: Or if not being so well informed, we are scrupulous and forbear, are we the worse Christians, or are lefSen by it (x). But this you knowing Men ought to take Special Care of: That the Power of Freedom you have to eat, be not made such an ufe of as to become a Stumbling-block to weaker Christians who are not convinced of that Liberty. For if such an one shall fee thee, who hath this Knowledge of thy Liberty, feafling in an Idol-Temple, shall not his weak Confequence, not thoroughly instructed in the matter of Idols, be drawn in by thy Example to eat what is offered to Idols, tho' he in his Confequence doubts of its Lawfulness? And thus thy weak Brother, for whom Christ died, is deftoy'd by thy Knowledge, wherewith thou justifiest thy eating. But when you fin thus again aft your Brethren, and wound their weak Confequences, you fin against Christ. Wherefore if Meat make my Brother offend, I will never more eat flesh, to avoid making my Brother offend.

NOTES.

8 (w) It may be, sets us not before God, i. e. to be taken Notice of by him.
9 (x) It cannot be supposed that St. Paul, in answer to a Letter of the Corinthians, should tell them, that if they ate things offered to Idols, they were not the better; or if they ate not, were not the worse, unless they had expressed some Opinion of Good in Eating.

SECT. V.

CHAP. IX. 1—27.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul had preached the Gospel at Corinth about two Years, in all which time he had taken nothing of them, 2 Cor. xi. 7—9. This by some of the oppofite Faction, and particularly as we may fuppofe by their Leader, was made ufe of to call in queftion his Apoftleship, 2 Cor. xi. 5, 6. For why, if he were an Apoftle, fhould he not ufe the Power of an Apoftle, to demand Maintenance where he preached? In this Section ST. Paul vindicates his Apoftleship: And in answer to thefe Enquirers, gives the Reafon why, tho’ he had a Right to Maintenance, yet he preached gratis to the Corinthians. My Answer, says he, to thefe Inquirers, is, that tho' as being an Apoftle, I know that I have a Right to Maintenance, as well as Peter, or any other of the Apoftles, who all have a Right, as is evident from Reafon and from Scripture; yet I never have, nor fhall make ufe of my Privilege amongft you, for fear that if it cost you any thing, that should hinder the Effect of my Preaching: I would neglect nothing that might promote the Gospel. For I do not content my felv with doing barely what is my Duty, for by my extraordinary Call and Commission, it is now incumbent on me to preach the Gospel;
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Gospel; But I endeavour to excel in my Ministry, and not to execute my Commission overtly, and just enough to serve the turn. For if those who in the Agonifick Games aiming at Victory to obtain only a corruptible Crown, deny themselves in eating and drinking, and other Pleasures, how much more does the eternal Crown of Glory deserve that we should do our utmost to obtain it? To be as careful in not indulging our Bodies, in denying our Pleasures, in doing every thing we could in order to get it, as if there were but one that should have it? Wonder not therefore if I, having this in view, neglect my Body, and those outward Conveniences that I, as an Apostle, sent to preach the Gospel, might claim, and make use of: Wonder not that I prefer the propagating of the Gospel, and making of Converts, to all Care and Regard of my self. This seems the Design of the Apostle, and will give light to the following Discourse, which we shall now take in the Order St. Paul writ it.

TEXT.

AM I not an apostle? am I not free? have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord? are you not my work in the Lord? If I be not an apostle unto others, yet doubtest I am to you? for the seal of mine apostleship are ye in the Lord. Mine answer to them that do examine me, is this: Have we not power to eat and to drink? Have we not power to lead about a sister a wife as well as other apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas? Or is it only and Barnabas, have we not power to forbear working? Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? Say I these things as a man? or faith not the law the same also? For it is written in the law of Moses, Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn. Dost God take care for oxen?

PARAPHRASE.

AM I not an Apostle? And am I not at liberty (a) as much as any other of the Apostles, to make use of the Privilege due to that Office? Have I not had the Favour to see Jesus Christ our Lord after an extraordinary manner? And are not you yourselves, whom I have converted, an Evidence of the Success of my Employment in the Gospel? If others should question my being an Apostle, you at least cannot doubt of it: Your Conversion to Christiannity, is, as it were, a Seal for to it, to make good the Truth of my Apostleship. This then is my Answer to those who set up an Inquisition upon me: Have not I a right to Meat and Drink where I preach? Have not I and Barnabas a Power to take along with us in our Travelling, to propagate the Gospel, a Christian Woman (b) to provide our Conveniences, and be serviceable to us, as well as Peter, and the Brethren of the Lord, and the rest of the Apostles? Or is it only and Barnabas who are excluded from the Privilege of being maintained without Working? Who goes to the War any where, and serves as a Soldier at his own Charges? Who planteth a Vineyard, and eateth not of the Fruit thereof? Who feedeth a Flock, and eateth not of the Milk? This is allowed to be Reafon, that those who are so impolicy’d, should be maintaine’d by their Employments; and likewise a Preacher of the Gospel. But I say not this barely upon the Principles of humane Reafon, Revelation teaches the same thing in the Law of Moses: Where it is said, Thou shalt not muzzle the Mouth of the Ox that treadeth out the Corn. Dost God take care to provide so particularly for Oxen by a Law? No certainly, it is said particularly for our Sake, and not for Oxen, that he who fows may in hope of enjoying the Fruits of his Labour at Harvefit, and may then thref out and eat the Corn he hoped for.

NOTES.

1 (a) It was a Law amongst the Jews, not to receive Alms from the Gentiles.
5 (b) There were not in those Parts, as among us, Inns, where Travellers might have their Conveniences; and Strangers could not be accommodated with Necessaries, unless they had some body with them to take that care, and provide for them, They who would make it their Business to preach, and neglect this, must needs suffer great Hardships.

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11
11. If we have sowed to you spiritual things, in preaching the Gospel to you, is it unreasonal that we should expect a little Meat and Drink from you, a little Share of your carnal Things? If any partake of this Power over you (c), why not we much rather? But I made no use of it, but hear with any thing that I may avoid all Hindrance to the Progess of the Gospel. Do ye not know that they who in the Temple serve about holy things, live upo these holy things? And they who wait at the Altar, are Partakers with the Altar? So has the Lord ordained, that they who preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel. But though as an Apostle and Preacher of the Gospel, I have, as you see, a Right to Maintenance, yet I have not taken it; Neither have I written this to demand it. For I had rather perish for Want, than be deprived of what I glory in, viz. preaching the Gospel freely. For if I preach the Gospel, I do barely my Duty, but have nothing to glory in, for I am under an Obligation and Command to preach (d); And wo be to me, if I preach not the Gospel; which if I do willingly, I shall have a Reward; If unwillingly, the Dispensation is nevertheles intruded to me, and ye ought to hear me as an Apostle. How therefore do I make it turn to account to my self? Even thus; If I preach the Gospel of Christ of free Cost, so that I exact not the Maintenance I have a Right to by the Gospel. For being under no Obligation to any Man, I yet subject myself to every one, to the end that I may make the more Converts to Christ. To the Jews and those under the Law of Moses, I became as a Jew, and one under that Law, that I might gain the hope; and that he that threateneth in hope, should be Partaker of his hope. If we have sown to you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things? If others be Partakers of this power over you, are not we rather. Nevertheless, we have not used this power; but suffer all things, lest we should hinder the gospel of Christ. Do ye not know that they which minish about holy things, live of the things of the Temple? And they which wait at the Altar, are Partakers with the Altar? Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the gospel, should live of the gospel. But I have used none of these things. Neither have I written these things that it should be so done unto me; for it were better for me to die, than that any man should make my glorying void. For though I preach the gospel, I have nothing to glory of; for necessity is laid upon me; yea, wo is unto me, if I preach not the gospel. For if I do this thing willingly, I have a reward: but if against my will, a Dispensation of the gospel is committed unto me.

What is my reward then? verily that when I preach the gospel, I may make the gospel of Christ without charge, that I abuse not my power in the gospel. For though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all, that I might gain the more. And unto the Jews, I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to

NOTES.

12 (c) For *de iesus*, I should encline to read, *de d'olac*, if there be, as Vellius says, any MSS. to authorize it: and then the words will run thus: If any partake of your Subsistence. This better suits the foregoing Words, and needs not the Addition of the word *thi*, to be inserted in the Translation, which with Difficulty enough makes it refer to a Power which he was not here speaking of, but stands eight Veris off: Besides in these Words St. Paul seems to glance at what they suffered from the false Apostle, who did not only pretend to Power of Maintenance; but did actually devour them: Vid. 2 Cor. 11, 20.

16 (d) Vid. Acts 22. 15—21.
them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law; 21 To them that are without law, as without law, (being not without law to God, but under the law to Christ,) that I might gain them that are without law.

22 To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak: I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some.

23 And this I do for the gospel's sake, that I might be partaker thereof with you.

24 Know ye not that they which run in a race, run all, but one receiveth the prize? so run that ye may obtain.

25 And every man that striveth for the mastery, is temperate in all things: now, they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible.

26 I therefore so run, not as uncertainly: so fight I, not as one that beateth the air:

27 But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection: lest that by any means when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway.

21. Jews, and those under the Law: To those without the Law of Moses I applied myself as one not under that Law (not indeed as if I were under no Law to God, but as obeying and following the Law of Christ) that I might gain those who were without the Law. To the weak I became as weak, that I might gain the weak. I became all things to all men, that I might leave no lawful thing untried, whereby I might save People of all sorts. And this I do for the Gospel's sake, that I may shine in the Benefits of the Gospel. Know ye not that they who run a Race, run not lazily, but with their utmost Force: they all endeavour to be first, because there is but one that gets the Prize? It is not enough for you to run, but so to run, that ye may obtain; which they cannot do, who run only because they are bid, do not run with all their Might. They who propone to themselves the getting the Garland in your Games, readily submit themselves to severer Rules of Exercise and Abstinence; and yet their is but a fading transitory Crown, that which we propose to our selves is everlasting, and therefore deserves that we should endure greater Hardships for it; I therefore so run, as not to leave it to Uncertainty. I do what I do, not as one who fences for Exercise or Ointment, but I really and in earnest keep under my Body, and entirely inflame it to the Service of the Gospel, without allowing any thing to the Exigences of this animal Life, which may be the least Hindrance to the Propagation of the Gospel, lest that I, who preach to bring others into the Kingdom of Heaven, should be disapproved of, and rejected my self.

SECT. VI. N. 1.

CHAP. X. 1—22.

CONTENTS.

It seems by what he here says, as if the Corinthians had told St. Paul, that the Temptations and Constraints they were under, of going to their Heathen Neighbours Feasts upon their Sacrifices, were so many and so great, that there was no avoiding it: And therefore they thought they might go to them without any Offence to God, or Danger to themselves; since they were the People of God, purged from Sin by Baptism, and fenced against it by partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper. To which St. Paul answers, that notwithstanding their Baptism, and partaking of that Spiritual Meat and Drink, yet they, as well as the Jews of old, did, might sin and draw on themselves Destruction from the Hand of God; That eating of things that were known and owned to be offered to Idols, was partaking in Vol. III.
I CORINTHIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

1. I would not have you ignorant, Brethren, that all our Fathers, the whole Congregation of the Children of Israel, at their coming out of Egypt, were all to a Man under the Cloud, and all passed through the Sea; And were all by this Baptism (e) in the Cloud; And passing through the Water, initiated into the Mosaic Institution and Government, by these two Miracles of the Cloud and the Sea. And they all ate the same Meat, which had a typical and spiritual Signification. And they all drank the same spiritual typical Drink, which came out of the Rock, and followed them, which Rock typified Christ: All which were typical Representations of Christ, as well as the Bread and Wine which we eat and drink in the Lord’s Supper, are typical Representations of him. But yet tho’ every one of the Children of Israel that came out of Egypt were thus solemnly separated from the rest of the profane idolatrous World, and were made God’s peculiar People, sanctified and holy, every one of them to himself, and Members of his Church: Nay, tho’ they did all (f) partake of the same Meat, and the same Drink which did typically represent Christ, yet they were not thereby privileged from Sin, but great Numbers of them provoked God, and were destroy’d in the Wilderness, for their Disobedience. Now these things were set as Patterns to us, that we, warned by these Examples, should not set our Minds a-longing as they did after Meats (g) that would be safer let alone: Neither be ye Idolaters, as were some of them; as it is written, The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play (h). Neither let us commit Fornication, as some of them committed, and fell in one day Three and twenty thousand. Neither let us provoke Christ, as some of them provoked, and were destroy’d by Serpents. Neither murmur ye, as some of them murmured, and were destroy’d of the

Notes.

2 (e) The Apostle calls it Baptism, which is the initiating Ceremony into both the Jewish and Christian Church: And the Cloud and Sea both being nothing but Water, are well suited to that typical Representation; and that the Children of Israel were washed with Rain from the Cloud, may be collected from Psal. 68. 9.

5 (f) It may be observed here, that St. Paul speaking of the Israelites, uses the word ἀπειράτους, in five times in the four foregoing Verses, besides that he carefully says, τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ θεοῦ, the same Meat, and τοῦ νεροῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, the same Drink, which we cannot suppose to come by Chance, but emphatically to signify to the Corinthians, who probably presumed too much upon their Baptism, and eating the Lord’s Supper, as if that were enough to keep them right in the Sight of God; that the Israelites all to a Man ate the very same spiritual Food, and all to a Man drank the very same spiritual Drink; yet they were not all to a Man prefer’d, but many of them, for all that, sinned and fell under the avenging Hand of God in the Wilderness.

6 (g) αἰσχρά, evil things: The Fault of the Israelites which this place refers to, seems to be their longings for Flesh, Num. xi, which cost many of them their Lives; And that which he warns the Corinthians of here, is, their great Propension to the Pagans’ Sacrifice-Feasts.

7 (h) ἄρρητη, i.e. Dance; Feasting and Dancing usually accompanied the Heathen Sacrifices.

Destroyer
I CORINTHIANS.

TEXT.

11. Now all these things happened unto them for examples; and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come.

12. Wherefore let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.

13. There hath no temptation taken you, but such as is common to man: but God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able; but will with the temptation also make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it.

14. Wherefore, my dearly beloved, flee from idolatry.

15. I speak as to wise men: judge ye what I say.

16. The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?

17. For we are many; as though of one bread, and one body: for we are all partsakers of that one bread.

18. Behold therefore after the flesh: are not they which eat of the sacrifices partakers of the altar?

19. What say I then? that the idol is any thing, or that which is offered in sacrifice to a Defroster. Now all these things happened to the Jews for Examples, and are written for our Admonition, upon whom the Ends of the Ages are come. Wherefore, taught by these Examples, let him that thinks himself safe by being in the Church, and partaking of the Christian Sacraments, take heed lest he fall into Sin, and so Destruction from God overtake him. Hitherto the Temptations you have met with have been but slight and ordinary. If you should come to be pressed harder, God, who is faithful, and never forsooks those who forsoak not him, will not suffer you to be tempted above your Strength, but will either enable you to bear the Persecution, or open you a way out of it. Therefore my Beloved, take care to keep off from Idolatry, and be not drawn to any Approaches near it by any Temptation or Persecution whatsoever. You are satisfied that you want not Knowledge (m). And therefore as to knowing Men I appeal to you, and make you Judges of what I am going to say in the Church. They who drink of the Cup of Blessing (a) which we bless in the Lord's Supper, do they not thereby partake of the Benefits purchased by Christ's Blood shed for them upon the Cross, which they here symbolically drink? And they who eat of the Bread broken (o) there, do they not partake in the Sacrifice of the Body of Christ, and profees to be Members of him? For by eating of that Bread we, though many in Number, are all united, and make but one Body, as many Grains of Corn are united into one Loaf. See how it is among the Jews, who are outwardly, according to the Flesh, by Circumcision the People of God. Among them they who eat of the Sacrifice, are Partakers of God's Table the Altar, have Fellowship with him, and share in the Benefit of the Sacrifice, as if it were offered for them. Do not mistake me, as if I hereby said, that the Idols of the Gentiles are Gods in reality; or that the things

NOTES.

10. (i) Qoamphros, Defroster, was an Angel that had the Power to destroy, mentioned 1 Esd. 5 27. Vid. 11 29.

11. (k) It is to be observed, that all these Instances, mentioned by the Apostle, of Destruction, which came upon the Hebrews, who were in Covenant with God, and Partakers in those typical Sacrarnents above mentioned, were occasion'd by their luxurious Appetites about Meat and Drink, by Fornication, and by Idolatry, Sin which the Corinthians were inclined to, and which he here warns them against.

(i) So I think this was the angel, should be render'd, and not contrary to Grammar, the End of the World; because it is certain that Cain and Abel offer'd, or offer'd, cannot signify every where, as we render it, the End of the World; which denotes but one certain period of Time, for the World can have but one End, whereas those words signify in different Places, different Periods of Time, as will be manifest to any one who will compare thse Texts where they occur, e.g. Mat. 13 19, 40, and 24 3 28 20, 1 Cor. 10 11, 2 Esd. 9 26. It may be worth while therefore to consider whether this hath not ordinarily a more natural Signification in the New Testament, by standing for a considerable length of time, falling under some one remarkable Dispenation.

15. (m) Vid. ch. 8 1.

16. (n) Cup of Blessing, was a Name given by the Jews to a Cup of Wine, which they solemnly drank in the Passover, with Thanksgiving.

(o) This was also taken from the Custom of the Jews in the Passover, to break a Cake of Unleavened Bread.
offered to them change their Nature, and are any thing really different from what they were before, so as to affect us in our use of them (p): No, but this I say, that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to Devils, and not to God; and I would not that you should have Fellowship, and be in League with Devils, as they who by eating of the things offered to them, enter into Covenant, Alliance and Friendship with them. You cannot eat and drink with God as Friends at his Table in the Eucharist, and entertain Familiarity and Friendship with Devils, by eating with them, and partaking of the Sacrifices offered to them (q): You cannot be Christians and Idolaters too: Nor if you should endeavour to join these inconsistent Rites, will it avail you any thing. For your partaking in the Sacraments of the Christian Church, will no more exempt you from the Danger of God, and Punishment due to your Idolatry, than the eating of the spiritual Food, and drinking of the spiritual Rock, kept the baptized Israelites, who offended God by their Idolatry, or other Sins, from being destroy'd in the Wilderness. Dare you, then, being espoused to Christ, provoke the Lord to Jealousy by Idolatry, which is spiritual Whoredom? Are you stronger than he, and able to resist him when he lets loose his Fury against you?

NOTES.

10 (p) This is evident from what he says, v. 25, 27. that things offered to Idols may be eaten as well as any other Meat, so it be without partaking in the Sacrifice, and without Scandal.

21 (q) 'Tis plain by what the Apostle says, that the thing he speaks against here, is, their affilling at the Heathen Sacrifices, or at least at the Feasts in their Temples, upon the Sacrifice, which was a federal Right.

S E C T. VI. N. 2.

C H A P. X. 23—XI. 1.

C O N T E N T S.

We have here another of his Arguments against things offered to Idols, wherein he shews the Danger might be in it, from the Scandal it might give: supposing it a thing lawful in itself. He had formerly treated of this Subject, ch. 8. so far as to let them see, that there was no Good nor Virtue in eating things offered to Idols, notwithstanding they knew that Idols were nothing, and they might think that their free eating without Scruple, shew'd that they knew their Freedom in the Gospel, that they knew that Idols were in reality nothing, and therefore they slighted and disregarded them and their Worship as nothing; but that there might be evil in eating, by the Offence it might give to weak Christians, who had not that Knowledge; He here takes up the Argument of Scandal again, and extends it to Jews and Gentiles; Vid. ver. 32. and shews, that it is not enough to justify them in any Action, that the thing they do is in itself lawful, unless they seek in it the Glory of God, and the Good of others.

Farther,
Further, supposing it lawful to eat things offered to Idols, yet all things that are lawful are not expedient. Things that in themselves are lawful for me, may not tend to the Edification of others, and so may be fit to be forborn. No one must seek barely his own private particular Interest alone, but let every one seek the Good of others also. Eat whatever is sold in the Shambles, without any Enquiry or Scruple, whether it had been offered to any Idol or no: For the Earth and all therein are the good Creatures of the true God, given by him to Men for their Use. If an Heathen invite you to an Entertainment, and you go, eat whatever is set before you, without making any Question or Scruple about it, whether it had been offered in Sacrifice, or no. But if any one say to you, this was offered in Sacrifice to an Idol, eat it not for his sake that mentioned it, and for Conscience sake (1). Conscience, I say, not thine own (for thou knowest thy Liberty, and that an Idol is nothing) but the Conscience of the other. For why should I use my Liberty, so that another Man should in Conscience think I offended? And if I with Thanksgiving partake of what is lawful for me to eat, why do I order the Matter so, that I am ill spoken of for that which I bless God for? Whether therefore ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, let your Care and Aim be the Glory of God. Give no Offence to the Jews, by giving them Occasion to think that Christians are permitted to worship Heathen Idols; Nor to the Gentiles, by giving them occasion to think that you allow their Idolatry, by partaking of their Sacrifices; Nor to weak Members of the Church of God, by drawing them by your Example to eat of things offered to Idols, of the Lawfulness whereof they are not fully satisfied. As I my self do, who abridge my self of many Conveniences of Life, to comply with the different Judgments of Men, and gain the good Opinion of others, that I may be instrumental to the Salvation of as many as is possible. Imitate herein my Example, as I do that of our Lord Christ, who neglected himself for the Salvation of others (2).

NOTES.

23 (1) The Repetition of these words, The Earth is the Lord’s and the Fulness thereof, does so manifestly disturb the Senec, that the Syriac, Arabick, Vulgar and French Translations have omitted them, and are justified in it by the Alexandrian, and some other Greek Copies.

1 (1) Rom. 15: 3. This Verse seems to belong to the preceding, wherein he had proposed himself as an Example, and therefore this Verse should not be cut off from the former Chapter. In what St. Paul says in this and the preceding Verse, taken together, we may suppose he makes some Reflection on the false Apollon, whom many of the Corinthians followed as their Leader. At least it is for St. Paul’s Justification, that he proposes himself to be followed no farther than as he fought the Good of others, and not his own, and had Christ for his Pattern. Vid. Ch. 4: 16.
I Corinthians

SECT. VII.

CHAP. XI. 2—16.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul commends them for observing the Orders he had left with them; and ues Arguments to justifie the Rule he had given them, that Women should not pray or prophesie in their Assemblies uncovered, which it seems there was some Contention about, and they had writ to him to be resolved in it.

PARAPHRASE.

1. I Command you, Brethren, for remembering all my Orders, and for retaining those Rules I delivered to you when I was with you. But, for your better understanding what concerns Women (r) in your Assemblies, you are to take notice, that Christ is the Head to

NOTES.

3. (r) This about Women seeming as difficult a Passage as molt in St. Paul's Epistles, I crave leave to premise some few Considerations which I hope may conduce to the clearing of it.

1. (r) It is to be observed, that it was the Custom for Women who appeared in publick, to be veiled, ver. 12—14. Therefore it could be no Question at all, whether they ought to be veiled when they assisted at the Prayers and Prayings in the Publick Assemblies; or if that were the thing intended by the Apostle, it had been much easier, shorter, and plainer for him to have said, that Women should be covered in the Assemblies.

2. (r) It is plain that this covering the Head in Women, is restrained to some particular Actions which they performed in the Assembly, expresed by the words, Praying and Prophesying, ver. 4, and 5, which, whatever they signify, must have the same Meaning, when apply'd to the Women, in the 1st Verse, that they have when apply'd to the Men in the 4th Verse.

It will possibly be objected, If Women were to be veiled in the Assemblies, let those Actions be what they will, the Women joyning in them were still to be veiled.

And for this would be plainly so, if their Interpretation were to be followed, who are of Opinion, that by Praying and Prophesying here, was meant to be present in the Assembly, and joyning with the Congregation in the Prayers that were made, or Hymns that were sung, or in hearing the Reading and Exposition of the Holy Scriptures there. But against this, that the hearing of Preaching or Prophesying was never called Preaching or Prophesying, is so unanswerable an Objection, that I think there can be no Reply to it.

The Case in short seems to be this: The Men prayed and prophesied in the Assemblies, and did it with their Heads uncovered: The Women also sometimes prayed and prophesied too in the Assemblies, when they did, they thought, during the performing that Action, they were excused from being veiled, and might be bare-headed, or at least open-faced, as well as the Men. This was that which the Apostle refers them in, and directs, that they to pray'd or prophesied, they were still to remain veiled.

(3.) The next thing to be considered, is, what it here to be understood by Praying and Prophesying. And that seems to me to be the performing of some particular publick Act in the Assembly by some one Person, which was for that time peculiar to that Person, and whilst it lasted, the rest of the Assembly generally asiled. For it cannot be supposed, that when the Apostle says, a Man praying or prophesying, that he means an Action perform'd in common by the whole Congregation; or if he did, what Pretence could there be to furnish the Woman to be unveiled more during the Performance of such an Action, than at any other time? A Woman must be veiled in the Assembly, what Pretence then or Claim could it give her to be unveiled, that the joyned with the rest of the Assembly, in the Prayer that some one Person made? Such a Praying as this could give no more Ground for her being unveiled, than her being in the Assembly could be thought a Reason for her being unveiled. The same may be said of Prophesying, when understood to signify a Woman's joining with the Congregation in singing the Praises of God. But if the Woman prayed as the Mouth of the Assembly, or then it was like she might have the Privilege to be unveiled.

Praying and Prophesying, as hath been shown, signifying here the doing some peculiar Action in the Assembly, whilst the rest of the Congregation only asiled, let us in the next place examine what that Action was. As to Prophesying, the Apostle tells us, ch. 4. 3, & 12. that it was speaking in the Assembly. The same is evident as to Praying, that the Apostle means by it praying publicly with an audible Voice in the Congregations, Vid. ch. 14. 14—15.
ICORINTHIANS. 185

TEXT. PARAPHRASE.

every man is Christ's; and the head of the woman, is to which every Man is subjected, and the Man is the Head to which every Woman is subjected; and that the

NOTES.

(4.) It is to be observ'd, that whether any one pray'd or prophesied, they did it alone, the rest remaining silent, ch. 14. 27—33. So that even in these extraordinary Prayers which any one sung to God by the immediate Motion and Impulse of the Holy Ghost, which was one of the Actions called Prophecying, they sung alone. And indeed how could it be otherwise? For who could join with the Person so prophesying in things dictated to him alone by the Holy Ghost, which the others could not know, till the Person prophesying uttered them?

(5.) Prophecying, as St. Paul tells, ch. 14. 3, was speaking unto others to Edification, Exhortation and Comfort: But every speaking to others to any of these Ends, was not Prophecying, but only then when such Speaking was a spiritual Gift performed by the immediate and extraordinary Motion of the Holy Ghost, Vid. ch. 14. 1, 12, 24, 30. For example, singing Psalms to God was called Prophecying; but we see when Saul prophesied, the Spirit of God fell upon him, and he was turned into another Man, 1 Sam. 10. 6. Nor do I think any Place in the New Testament can be produced wherein in prophecying is ascribed the reading of the Scripture, or any other Action performed without a supernatural Impulse and Affiliation of the Spirit of God. This we are sure, that Prophecying which St. Paul here speaks of, is one of the extraordinary Gifts given by the Spirit of God, Vid. ch. 12. 10. Now that the Spirit of God, and the Gift of Prophecy should be poured out upon Women as well as Men, in the time of the Gospel, is plain from Acts 21. 17., and then where could be a fitter place for them to utter their Prophecies in than the Assemblies? It is not unlike what one of the most learned and sagacious of our Interpreters of Scripture, Mr. Mede, says in his Galatians and Acts, that the Scripture opens the way to the Sealed Women's Prophecy. But if this be so, they were not to prophesy, but to speak as the Holy Ghost directeth, 1 Cor. 14. 26. So that even in these extraordinary Prayers which they sung to God, they did not have the Spirit of God poured out upon them, nor intercede for the People of God, or discover any Truth immediately revealed to her, might think it convenient for her better uttering of it to be uncovered, or at least to be no more restrained in her Liberty of speaking herself, than the Female Priests of the Hebrews were when they delivered their Oracles: But yet even in these Actions the Apostle forbids the Women to unveil themselves, St. Paul's forbidding Women to speak in the Assemblies, will probably seem a strong Argument against this: But when well consider'd, will perhaps prove none. There be two places wherein the Apostle forbids Women to speak in the Church, 1 Cor. 14. 24, 25 & 1 Tim. 2. 11, 12. He that shall attentively read and compare these together, may observe that the Scripture enjoyned the Women, is for a Mark of their Subjection to the Male Sex: And therefore what in the one is permitted by keeping Silence, and not speaking, but being under Obedience, in the other is call'd, being in Silence, with all Subjection, not teaching or usurping Authority over the Women. The Women in the Churches were not to assume the Personage of Doctors, or speak there as Teachers; this carried with it the Appearance of Superiority, and was forbidden. Nay, they were not so much as to ask Questions there, or to enter into any sort of Conference. This shows a kind of Equality, and was also forbidden: But yet tho' they were not to speak in the Church in their own Names, or as if they were railed by the Franchises of Christianity, to such an Equality with the Men, that where Knowledge or Preeminence of their own Abilities embolden'd them to it, they might take upon them to be Teachers and Instructors of the Congregation, or might at least enter into Questionings and Debates there. This would have had too great an Air of standing upon even Ground with the Men, and would not have well comport ed with the Subordination of the Sex. But yet this Subordination which God, for Ordin's sake, had instituted in the World, hinder'd not, but that by the supernatural Gifts of the Spirit he might make use of the weaker Sex, to any extraordinary Function when ever he thought fit, as well as he did in the Men. But yet when they thus either pray'd or prophesied by the Motion and Impulse of the Holy Ghost, Care was taken that whilst they were obeying God, who was pleas'd by his Spirit to set them a speaking, the Subjection of their Sex should not be forgotten, but owned and preferred by their being covered. The Christian Religion was not to give Offence by any Appearance or Subjection that it took away the Subordination of the Sexes, and set the Women at Liberty from their natural Subjection to the Man. And therefore we see that in both their Cases, the Aim was to maintain and secure the confessed Superiority and Dominion of the Man, and not permit it to be invaded so much as in appearance. Hence the Arguments in the one Case for Covering, and in the other for Silence, are all drawn from the natural Superiority of the Man, and the Subjection of the Woman. In the one, the Woman, without an extraordinary Call, was to keep silent; in the other, the Woman was to speak by an extraordinary Call and Command: In the other, where she was to speak by an extraordinary Call and Command.
the Head or Superior to Christ himself, is God.
Every Man that prayeth or prophesieth, i.e. by the Gift of the Spirit of God, speaketh in the Church for the edifying, exhorting and comforting of the Congregation, having his Head covered, dishonoureth Christ his Head, by appearing in a Garb not becoming the Authority and Dominion which God thro' Christ has given him over all the things of this World, the covering of the Head being a Mark of Subjection:

But on the contrary, a Woman praying or prophesying in the Church with her Head uncovered, dishonoureth the Man, who is her Head, by appearing in a Garb that dishonors her Subjection to him. For to appear bare-headed in publick, is all one as to have her Hair cut off, which is the Garb and Dres of the other Sex, and not of a Woman. If therefore it be unsuitable to the Female Sex, to have their Hair shorn or shaven off, let her for the fame Reason be covered. A Man indeed ought not to be veiled, because he is the Image and Representative of God in his Dominion over the rest of the World, which is one part of the Glory of God: But the Woman who was made out of the Man, made for him, and in Submission to him, is Matter of Glory to the Man. But the Man not being made out of the Woman, nor for her, but the Woman made out of, and for the Man, she ought for this Reason to have a Veil on her Head, in token of her Subjection, because of the Angels (ο). Nevertheless the Sexes have not a Being one without the other, neither the Man without the Woman, or the Woman without the Man, the Lord so ordering it. For as the first Woman was made out of the Man, so the Race of Men ever since is continued and propagated by the Female Sex: But they and all other things had their Being and Original from God. Be you your selves Judges, whether it be decent for a Woman to make a Prayer to God in the Church uncovered? Does not even Nature, that has made and would have the Disinction of Sexes preserved, teach you, that if a Man wear his long Hair, and dress'd up after the Manner of Women, it is misbecoming and dishonourable to him? But to a Woman, if she be curious about her Hair, in having it long, and dressing herself with it, it is a Grace and Commandation, since her Hair is given her for a Coveting.

But if any shew himself to be a Lover of Contention (κ) we the Apostles have no such Custom, nor any of the Churches of God.


text:

the man; and the head of Christ, is God.
Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonour-
eth his head.

But every woman that prayeth, or prophesieth without her head uncovered, dishonoureth her head: for that is even all one as if she were shaven.

For if the woman be not covered, let her also be shorn: but if it be a shame for a woman to be shorn or shaven, let her be covered.

For a man indeed ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God: but the woman is the glory of the man.

For the man is not of the woman: but the woman of the man.

Neither was the man created for the woman: but the woman for the man.

For this cause ought the woman to have power on her head, because of the angels.

Nevertheless, neither is the man without the woman, neither the woman without the man in the Lord.

For as the woman is of the man, even so is the man also by the woman: but all things of God.

Judge in your selves: is it comely that a woman pray unto God uncovered? Doth not even nature teach you, that it is a shame unto him? But if a woman have long hair, is it a glory to her, for her hair is given her for a covering.

But if any man seem to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the churches of God.

Notes:

ition from God, he was yet to continue in the Profession of her Subjection in keeping herself covered. Here by the way it is to be observed, that there was extraordinary praying to God by the Impulse of the Spirit, as well as speaking unto Men for their Edification. Excitation and Comfort: Vid. ch. 14, 15. Rom. 8, 26. Jude 20. These things being premised, let us follow the Thread of St. Paul's Discourse.

(a) What the meaning of these Words is, I confess I do not understand.

(b) Why may not this any one be understood of the late Apostle here glanced at?
I CORINTHIANS.

SECT. VIII.

CHAP. XI. 17—34.

CONTENTS.

ONE may observe from several Passages in this Epistle, that several Judicial Customs were crept into the Corinthian Church. This Church being of St. Paul's own planting, who spent two Years at Corinth in forming it; it is evident these Abuses had their Rise from some other Teacher, who came to them after his leaving them, which was about five Years before his writing this Epistle. These Diforders therefore may with Reafon be ascribed to the Head of the Faction that opposed St. Paul, who, as has been remarked, was a Jew, and probably Judaized. And that's like was the Foundation of the great Opposition between him and St. Paul, and the Reafon why St. Paul labours so earnestly to destroy his Credit amongst the Corinthians; this for Men being very busy, very troublesome, and very dangerous to the Gospel, as may be seen in other of St. Paul's Epiftles, particularly that to the Galatians.

The celebrating the Passover amongst the Jews, was plainly the eating of a Meat diftinguished from other ordinary Meals by several peculiar Ceremonies. Two of these Ceremonies were eating of Bread solemnly broken, and drinking a Cup of Wine called the Cup of Bleffing. These two our Saviour transfter'd into the Christian Church, to be used in their Assemblies for a Commemoration of his Death and Sufferings. In celebrating this Institution of our Saviour, the Judaizing Corinthians followed the Jewish Custom of eating their Passover: They ate the Lord's Supper as a part of their Meal, bringing their Provisions into the Assembly, where they are divided into diftant Companies, some Feasting to Exced, whilst others, ill provided, were in Want. This eating thus in the publick Assembly, and mixing the Lord's Supper with their ordinary Meal, as a part of it, with other Diforders and Indecencies accompanying it, is the Matter of this Section. These Innovations he tells them here he as much blames, as in the Beginning of this Chapter, he commends them for keeping to his Directions in some other things.

TEXT.

NOW in this that I declare unto you, I praise you not, that ye come together not for the better, but for the worse. 18. For first of all, when ye come together in the church, I hear that there be divisions among you; and I partly believe it. 19. For there must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved, may be made manifest among you. 20. When ye come together therefore into one place, this is not to eat the Lord's supper. 21. For in eating every one taketh before other, his own supper: and one is hungry, and another is drunken.

PARAPHRASE.

THO' what I said to you concerning Women's Behaviour in the Church was not without Commendation of you, yet this that I am now going to speak to you of, is without praising you, because you do order your Meetings in your Assemblies, that they are not to your Advantage but Harm. For first I hear, that when you come together in the Church, you fall into Parties, and I partly believe it; because there must be Divisions and Factions amongst you, that these who stand firm upon Trial may be made manifest among you. You come together it's true in one place, and there you eat, but: yet this makes it not to be the eating of the Lord's Supper. For in eating you eat not together, but every one takes his own Supper.
PARAPHRASE.

one before another (x). Have ye not Houses to eat and drink in at home for satisfying your Hunger and Thirst? Or have ye a Contempt for the Church of God, and take a Pleasure to put those out of Countenance, who have not wherewithal to feast there as you do? What is it I said to you, that I praiy you (y) for retaining what I delivered to you? In this

Occasion indeed I praiy you not for it. For what I received concerning this Institution from the Lord himself, that I delivered unto you when I was with you; and it was this, viz. That the Lord Jesus, in the Night wherein he was betray'd, took Bread, and having given Thanks brake it, and said, Take, eat, this is my Body which is broken for you, this do in Remembrance of me. So likewise he took the Cup also when he had supped, saying, This Cup is the New Testament in my Blood, this do ye as often as ye do it in Remembrance of Me. So that the eating of this Bread, and the drinking of this Cup of the Lord's Supper, is not to satisfy Hunger and Thirst, but to shew forth the Lord's Death till he comes. Inmuch that he who eats this Bread, and drinks this Cup of the Lord in an unworthy manner (z), not suitable to that End, shall be guilty of a Milyle of the

NOTES.

21 (x) To understand this we must observe,
(1.) That they had sometimes Meetings on purpose only for eating the Lord's Supper, ver. 33.
(2.) That to those Meetings they brought their own Supper, ver. 21.
(3.) That the every one's Supper were brought into the common Assembly, yet it was not to eat in common, but every one to his own Supper apart, as soon as he and his Supper were there ready for one another, without laying for the rest of the Company, or communicating with them in eating, ver. 21, 22.

In this St. Paul blames three things especially;

18. That they ate their common Food in the Assembly, which was to be eaten at home in their Houset, verse 22, 34.

24. That they are in the common Meeting-place, yet they ate separately every one his own Supper apart. So that the Plenty and Excess of some, blamed the Want and Penury of others, ver. 22. Hereby also the Divisions amongst them were kept up, ver. 18. They being so many separated and divided Societies, not as one united Body of Christians commemorating their common Head, as they should have been in celebrating the Lord's Supper, ch. 10. 16, 17.

25. That they mixed the Lord's Supper with their own, eating it as a part of their ordinary Meal, where they made not that Discrimination between it and their common Food, as they should have done, ver. 29.

26 (y) He here plainly refers to what he said to them, ver. 2, where he praiyed them for remembering him in all things, and for retaining, αὐτὸν ἐπιλειποῖον ἀναμνήσεως, what he had delivered to them. This Commendation he here retreads, for in this matter of Eating the Lord's Supper, they did not retain ἀναμνήσεως, ver. 23, what he had delivered to them, which therefore in the immediately following words he repeats to them again.

27 (z) ἀναμνήσεως, unworthily. Our Saviour in the Instituition of the Lord's Supper tells the Apostles, that the Bread and the Cup were Sacramentally his Body and Blood, and that they were to be eaten and drunk in remembrance of him, which St. Paul interprets it, ver. 26. He was to shew for the Death he came. Whoever therefore ate and drank them, to as not solemnly to shew forth his Death, followed not Christ's Instituition, but used them unworthily, i.e. not to the end to which they were instituted. This makes St. Paul tell them, ver. 20, that their coming together to eat it as they did, ver. the Sacramental Bread and Wine profanously with their other Food, as a part of their Meal, and that they in the same place, yet not altogether at one time, and in one Company, was not the eating of the Lord's Supper.
Body and Blood of the Lord (a). By this Institution therefore of Christ, let a Man examine himself (b), and according to that (c) let him eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup. For he who eats and drinks after an unworthy manner, without a due respect had to the Lord’s Body in a discriminating (d) and purely Sacramental Use of the Bread and Wine that represent

NOTES.

(a) "Judge thyself," shall be liable to the Punishment due to one who makes a wrong use of the Sacramental Body and Blood of Christ in the Lord’s Supper. What that Punishment was, Vtd. ver. 30.

(b) St. Paul, as we have observ’d, tells the Corinthians, ver. 20. That to eat it after the manner they did, was not to eat the Lord’s Supper. He tells them all this, ver. 29. That to eat it without a due and direct imitating regard had to the Lord’s Body (for so he calls the Sacramental Bread and Wine, as our Saviour did in the Institution) by separating the Bread and Wine from the common use of Eating and Drinking for Hunger and Thirst, was to eat unworthily. To remedy their Disorders herein, he sets before them Christ’s own Institution of this Sacrament; that in it they might see the Manner and End of its Institution, and by that every one might examine his own Conduct herein, whether it were conformable to that Institution, and suited to that End. In the Account he gives of Christ’s Institution, we may observe that he particularly remarks to them, that this Eating and Drinking was no part of common Eating and Drinking for Hunger and Thirst; but was instituted in a very solemn manner, after they had, and for another end, viz. to represent Christ’s Body and Blood, and to be eaten and drunk in remembrance of him: or as St. Paul expounds it, to shew forth his Death. Another thing which they might observe in the Institution was, that this was done by all who were present united together in one Company at the same time. All which put together, shews us what the Examination here proposed is. For the Deign of the Apostle here being to reform what he found fault with in their celebrating the Lord’s Supper, ’tis by that alone we must understand the Directions he gives them about it, if we will suppose he talked pertinently to this captious and touchy People, whom he was very desirous to reduce from the Irregularities they were run into in this Matter, as well as several others. And if the Account of Christ’s Institution be not for their examining their Carriage by it, and adjusting it to it, what purpose is it here? The Examination therefore proposed was no other but an Examination of their manner of eating the Lord’s Supper by Christ’s Institution, to see how their Behaviour herein was conducted with the Institution, and the end for which it was instituted. Which further appears to be for by the Punishment annexed to their Misdemeanors herein, which was Infirmities, Sickness and temporal Death, with which God troubled them, that they might not be condemned with the unbelieving World, ver. 30, 31. For if the Unworthiness here spoke of were either Unbelief, or any of those Sins which are usually made the Matter of Examination, ‘tis to be premised the Apostle would not wholly have passed them over in Silence: This at least is certain, that the Punishment of these Sins is infinitely greater than that which God here inflicts on unworthy Receivers, whether they who are guilty of them received the Sacrament or no.

(c) "Judge thyself," These words as to the Letter, are rightly translated and so. But that Translation, I imagine leaves generally a wrong Sense of the Place in the Mind of an English Reader. For in ordinary speaking, these Words, Let a Man examine, and let him eat, are understood to import the same with these: Let a Man examine, and then let him eat; as if they signified no more, but that Examination should precede, and Eating follow, which I take to be quite different from the Meaning of the Apostle here, whose Sense the whole Design of the Context flames to be this: I here set before you the Institution of Christ, by that let a Man examine by Carriages, ", and according to that let him eat: Let him conform the manner of his eating to that.

(d) St. Paul, not discriminating, not putting a Difference between the Sacramental Bread and Wine (which St. Paul, with our Saviour, calls Christ’s Body) and other Bread and Wine in the solemn and separate use of them. The Corinthians, as has been remark’d, are the Lord’s Supper in, and with their own ordinary Supper, whereby it came not to be sufficiently distinguished (as became a religious and Christian Observation so solemnly instituted) from common Eating and Drinking. But the Institution, not from their Jew’s Supper, and the Bread broken, and the Cup of Blessing ized in that; nor did it in this way of eating it in separate Companies, as it were in private Families, flew forth the Lord’s Death, as it was designed to do by the Concourse and Communion of the whole Assembly of Christians, jointly united in the partaking of Bread and Wine in a way peculiar to them, with reference solely to Jesus Christ. This was that, as appears by this place, which St. Paul, as we have already explained, calls eating unworthily.
it, draws "Punishment (e) on himself by so doing. And hence it is that many among you are weak and sick, and a good Number are gone to their Graves.

31. But if we would discriminate (f) our selves, i. e. by our discriminating use of the Lord's Supper, we should not be judged, i. e. (g) punished by God. But being punished by the Lord, we are corrected (h), that we may not be condemned hereafter with the unbelieving World. Wherefore, my Brethren, when you have a Meeting for celebrating the Lord's Supper, stay for one another, that you may eat it all together, as Partakers all in common of the Lord's Table, without Division or Distinction. But if any one be hungry, let him eat at home to satisfy his Hunger, that so the Disorder in these Meetings may not draw on you the Punishment above-mentioned: What else remains to be rectified in this matter, I will set in order when I come.

NOTES.

(e) Damnation, by which our Translation renders καιμα, is vulgarly taken for eternal Damnation in the other World, whereas καιμα here signifies Punishment of another nature, as appears by ver. 30, 32.

(f) Διαφθορα does no where, that I know, signify to judge, as it is here translated, but always signifies to distinguish or discriminate, and in this place has the same Signification, and means the same thing that it does, ver. 29. He is little verified in St. Paul's Writings, who has not observ'd how apt he is to repeat the same word he had used before to the same purpose, tho' in a different, and sometimes a pretty hard Conjunction: as here he applies Διαφθορα, to the Persons discriminating, as in the 29th Verse, to the thing to be discriminated, tho' in both places it be put to denote the same Action.

(g) 'Εξουσιας here signifies the same that καιμα does, ver. 29.

32 (h) Πανουμενα properly signifies to be corrected, as Scholars are by their Master for their good.

SECT. IX.

CHAP. XII. I— XIV. 40.

CONTENTS.

The Corinthians seem to have enquired of St. Paul, what Order of Precedency and Preference Men were to have in their Assemblies, in regard of their Spiritual Gifts. Nay, if we may guess by his Answer, the Question they feem more particularly to have propos'd, was, whether those who had the Gift of Tongues, ought not to take place, and speak first, and be first heard in their Meetings. Concerning this there seems to have been some Strife, Maligning and Disorder amongst them, as may be collected from Ch. 12. 21 —— 25. & 13. 4. 5. & 14. 40.

To this St. Paul answers in these three Chapters as followeth.

1. That they had all been Heathen Idolaters, and so being Deniers of Christ, were in that State none of them Spiritual: But that now being Christians, and owning Jesus to be the Lord (which could not be done without the Spirit of God) they were all νυμφωδες, Spiritual; and so there was no reason for one to undervalue another, as if they were not Spiritual as well as himself, Ch. 12. 1 —— 3.

2. That
2. That the there be diversity of Gifts, yet they are all by the same Spirit, from the same Lord, and the same God working them all in every one, according to his good Pleasure. So that in this respect also there is no Difference or Precedency; no occasion for any one's being puffed up, or affecting Priority, upon account of his Gifts, Ch. 12. 4—11.

3. That the Diversity of Gifts is for the Use and Benefit of the Church, which is Christ's Body, wherein the Members (as in the natural Body) of meaner Functions are as much Parts, and as necessary in their Use to the good of the whole, and therefore to be honoured as much as any other. The Union they have as Members in the same Body, makes them all equally share in one another's Good and Evil, gives them a mutual Esteem and Concern one for another, and leaves no room for Contests or Divisions amongst them, about their Gifts, or the Honour and Place due to them upon that account, Ch. 13. 12—41.

4. That the Gifts have their Excellency and Use, and those who have them may be zealous in the Use of them; yet the true and sure way for a Man to get an Excellency and Preference above others, is the enlarging himself in Charity, and excelling in that, without which a Christian, with all his Spiritual Gifts, is nothing.

5. In the comparison of Spiritual Gifts, he gives those the Precedency which edify most, and in particular prefers Prophesying to Tongues, Ch. 14. 1—40.

SECT. IX. N. 1.

CHAP. XII. 1—3.

TEXT.

A S to spiritual Men, or Men afflicted and acted by the Spirit (i), I shall inform you, for I would not have you be ignorant. You your selves know that you were Heathens engag'd in the Worship of Stocks and Stones, dumb senseless Idols, by those who were then your Leaders. Whereupon let me tell you, that no one who opposes Jesus Christ, or his Religion, has the Spirit of God (k). And whoever is brought to own Jesus to be the Messiah, the Lord (l), does it by the Holy Ghost. And therefore upon account of having the Spirit, you can none of you lay any Claim to Superiority; or have any Pretence to flight any of your Brethren, as not having the Spirit of God as well as you. For all that own our Lord Jesus Christ,

NOTES.

1. (i) πνευματικος Spiritual. We are warranted by a like use of the word in several places of St. Paul's Epistles, as ch. 2. 16. & 14. 37. of this Epistle; & Gal. 6. 1. to take it here in the Maikuline Gender, standing for Persons and not Gifts. And the Context obliges us to understand it so. For if we will have it stand for Gifts, and not Persons, the Sense and Coherence of these three first Verses will be very hard to be made out. Besides there is Evidence enough in several Parts of it, that the Subject of St. Paul's Discourse here is spiritual, Persons endowed with Spiritual Gifts, contending for Precedency in consideration of their Gifts. See verses, &c. of this Chapter; and to what purpose else, says he, ch. 14. 4. Greater is he that propheseth than he that speaketh with Tongues?

2. (k) This is spoken against the Jews, who pretended to the Holy Ghost, and yet spoke against Jesus Christ, and denied that the Holy Ghost was ever given to the Gentiles: Vid. Acts 10. 45. whether their Judaizing false Apostles were at all zealous at this, may be considered.

3. (l) Lord. What is meant by Lord, see Note, ch. 8. 6.
and believe in him, do it by the Spirit of God, i.e. can do it upon no other ground, but revelation coming from the Spirit of God.

**S E C T. IX. N. 2.**

**C H A P. XII. 4—11.**

**C O N T E N T S.**

Another Consideration which St. Paul offers against any Contention for Superiority, or Pretence to Precedency, upon account of any Spiritual Gift, is, that these distinct Gifts are all of one and the same Spirit, by the same Lord, wrought in every one by God alone, and all for the Profit of the Church.

**P A R A P H R A S E.**

4. Be not mistaken by the Diversity of Gifts; for tho' there be Diversity of Gifts amongst Christians, yet there is no Diversity of Spirits, they all come from one and the same Spirit: Tho' there be Diversities of Offices in the Church, yet all the Officers (m) have but one Lord. And tho' there be various Influxes whereby Christians are enabled to do extraordinary things (n), yet it is the same God that works (o) all these extraordinary Gifts in every one that has them. But the way or Gift wherein every one, who has the Spirit, is to shew it, is given him not for his private Advantage or Honour (p), but for the Good and Advantages of the Church. For instance, to one is given by the Spirit the word of Wisdom (q), or the Revelation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in the full Latitude of it. Such as was given to the Apostles; to another by the same Spirit the Knowledge (r) of the true Sense and true Meaning of the holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, for the explaining and confirmation of the Gospel: To another by the same

**T E X T.**

Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit.

And there are diversities of administrations, but the same Lord.

And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all.

But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal.

For to one is given by the Spirit, the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit;

To another faith by the same Spirit; to another the gifts of healing by the same Spirit, etc.

**N O T E S.**

5 (m) These different Offices are reckoned up, ver. 28, &c.
6 (n) What these inspiitata were, see ver. 8—11.
7 (o) They were very properly called inspiitata—insinuations, because they were above all humane Power: Men of themselves could do nothing of them at all, but it was God, as the Apostle tells us here, who in these extraordinary Gifts of the Holy Ghost, did all that was done, it was the Effect of his immediate Operation, as St. Paul assures us in that parallel place, Phil. 11. 12. In which Chapter, ver. 3. & 14, we find that the Philippian Church had a little in need of the same Advice which St. Paul so at large professes here upon the Corinthians.
8 (p) 1 Pet. 2. 4—5.
9 (q) The Doctrine of the Gospel is more than once in the beginning of this Epistle called the Wisdom of God.

(r) Wisdom is used by St. Paul for such a Knowledge of the Law and the Prophet, etc.
SECT. IX. N. 3.

CHAP. XII. 12—31.

CONTENTS.

FROM the necessarily different Functions in the Body, and the strict Union, nevertheless, of the Members adapted to those different Functions, in a mutual Sympathy and Concern one for another, St. Paul here farther shews, that there ought not to be any Strife or Division amongst them about Precedency and Preference upon account of their distinct Gifts.

TEXT.

12. For as the Body being but one, hath many Members, and all the Members of that one Body, being many, are one Body: so is Christ.

13. For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one Body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have

PARAPHRASE.

For as the Body being but one, hath many Members, and all the Members of the Body, though many, yet make but one Body; so is Christ in respect of his mystical Body the Church. For by one Spirit we are all baptized into one Church, and are thereby made one Body, without any Pre-eminence
to the Jew (a) above the Gentile, to the Free above the Bond-man: And the Blood of Christ which we all partake of in the Lord's Supper, makes us all have one Life, one Spirit, as the same Blood diffused through the whole Body communicates the same Life and Spirit to all the Members.

14. For the Body is not one sole Member, but consists of many Members, all vitally united in one common Sympathy and Usefulness. If any one have not that Function or Dignity in the Church which he defies, he must not therefore declare that he is not of the Church, he does not thereby cease to be a Member of the Church. There is as much need of several and distinct Gifts and Functions in the Church, as there is of different Senses and Members in the Body, and the meanest and least honourable would be missed if it were wanting, and the whole Body would suffer by it: Accordingly, God hath fitted several Persons, as it were so many distinct Members, to several Offices and Functions in the Church, by proper and peculiar Gifts and Abilities, which he has bestowed on them according to his good Pleasure. But if all were but one Member, what would become of the Body? There would be no such thing as a humane Body; no more could the Church be edified and framed into a growing living Society, if the Gifts of the Spirit were all reduced to one. But now by the various Gifts of the Spirit bestowed on its several Members, it is as a well organized Body, wherein the most eminent Member cannot despise the meanest.

21. The Eye cannot see to the Hand, I have no need of thee; nor the Head to the Feet, I have no need of you. It is so far from being so, that the Parts of the Body that seem in themselves weak, are nevertheless of absolute necessity. And those Parts which are thought least honourable, we take care always to cover with the more Respect; and our least graceful Parts have thereby a more studious and adventitious Comeliness. For our comely Parts have no need of any borrowed Helps or Ornaments. But God hath contrived the Symmetry of the Body, that he hath added Honour to those Parts that might seem naturally to want it; that there might be no Division, no Schism in the Body, but that the Members should all have the same Care and Concern one for another, been all made to drink in to one Spirit.

22. For the Body is not one member, but many. If the foot shall say, Be 15 cause I am not the hand, I am not of the body: is it therefore not of the body? And if the ear shall say, Be 16 Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body: is it therefore not of the body? If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling?

23. But now hath God set the members, every one of them in the body, as it hath pleased him, And if they were all one member, where were the body?

24. But now are they many members, yet but one body.

25. And the eye cannot see unto the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again, the head to the feet, I have no need of you. Nay, much more those 22 members of the body, which seem to be more feeble are necessary.

26. And those members of the body, which we think to be less honourable, up on thee we bestow more abundant honour, and our uncomely parts have more abundant comeliness.

27. For our comely parts have no need: but God hath tempered the body together, having given more abundant honour to that part which lacked.

28. That there should be no 25 schism in the body; but that the members should have the same care one for another.

29. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all

NOTES.

(a) The naming of the Jews here with Gentiles, and setting both on the same Level when converted to Christianity, may probably be done here by St. Paul, with reference to the false Apostle, who was a Jew, and seems to have claimed some Pre-eminence as due to him upon that account. Whereas among the Members of Christ, which all make but one Body, there is no Superiority or other Distinction, but as by the several Gifts bestowed on them by God, they contribute more or less to the Edification of the Church.
the members rejoice with it.

27. Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular.

28. And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues.

29. Are all apostles? are all prophets? are all teachers? are all workers of miracles?

30. Have all gifts of healing? do all speak with tongues? do all interpret?

31. But covet earnestly the best gifts: And yet shew I unto you a more excellent way.

and all equally partake and share in the Harm or Honour that is done to any one of them in particular. Now in like manner you are, by your particular Gifts, each of you in his peculiar Station and Aptitude, Members of the Body of Christ, which is the Church, wherein God hath set first some Apostles, secondly Prophets, thirdly Teachers, next Workers of Miracles, then those who have the Gift of Healing, Helpers (w), Governours (s), and such as are able to speak diversity of Tongues. Are all Apostles? Are all Prophets? Are all Teachers? Are all Workers of Miracles? Have all the Gift of Healing? Do all speak diversity of Tongues? Are all Interpreters of Tongues?

But ye contest one with another, whose particular Gift is best, and most preferable (?); but I will shew you a more excellent way, viz. Mutual Good-will, Affection and Charity.

NOTES.

28 (w) Helpers, Helps, Dr. Lightfoot takes to be those who accompany'd the Apostles, were sent up and down by them in the Service of the Gospel, and baptized those that were converted by them.

(c) Keprothes, to be the same with differing of Spirits, ver. 10.

31 (? That this is the Apostle's Meaning here, is plain, in that there was an Emulation amongst them, and a Strife for Precedency, on account of the several Gifts they had (as we have already observed from several Passages in this Section) which made them in their Assemblies desire to be heard first. This was the Faule the Apostle was here correcting, and 'tis not like he should exhort them all promiscuously to seek the principal and most eminent Gifts at the End of a Discourse, wherein he had been demonstrating to them by the Example of the humane Body, that there ought to be diversity of Gifts and Functions in the Church, but that there ought to be no Schism, Emulation, or Contest amongst them, upon the account of the Exercise of those Gifts. That they were all useful in their places, and no Member was at all to be the less honoured or valued for the Gift he had, though it were not one of the first Rank. And in this Sense the word πρῶτος is taken in the next Chapter, ver. 4, where St. Paul, pursuing the same Argument, exhorts them to mutual Charity, good Will and Affection, which he assures them is preferable to any Gifts whatsoever. Besides, to what purpose should he exhort them to covet earnestly the best Gifts, when the obtaining of this or that Gift did not at all lie in their Deëres or Endeavours, the Apostle having just before told them, ver. 11, that the Spirit divides those Gifts to every Man severally as he will, and those he write to had their Allotment already? He might as reasonably, according to his own Doctrine, in this very Chapter, bid the Foot covet to be the Hand, or the Ear to be the Eye. Let it be remember'd therefore to redress this, that St. Paul lays, ver. 17, of this Chapter: If the whole Body were the Eye, where were the Hearing? Or St. Paul does not use to cross his own Design, nor contradict his own Reasoning.

Sect. IX. N. 4.

C H A P. XIII. 1—13.

C O N T E N T S.

St. Paul having told the Corinthians in the last Words of the precedent Chapter, that he would shew them a more excellent way than the emulous producing of their Gifts in the Assembly, he in this Chapter tells them, that this
1. If I speak all the Languages of Men and Angels, (2), and yet have not Charity to make use of them entirely for the Good and Benefit of others, I am no better than a sounding Brass or noisy Cymbal, (4), which fills the Ears of others without any Advantage to its self by the Sound it makes: And if I have the Gift of Prophecy, and fee in the Law and the Prophets all the Mysteries (b) contained in them, and comprehend all the Knowledge they teach; And if I have Faith to the highest degree, and power of Miracles, so as to be able to remove Mountains (c), and have not Charity, I am nothing; I am of no value: And if I bestow all I have in relief of the Poor, and give my self to be burnt, and have not Charity, it profits me nothing. Charity is long-suffering; is gentle and Benign, without Emulation, Infolence, or being puffed up, is not ambitious, nor at all self-interested, is not sharp upon others Failings, or inclined to ill Intentions: Charity rejoices with others when they do well, and when any thing is amiss, is troubled, and covers their Failings: Charity believes well, hopes well of every one, and patiently bears with every thing (d): Charity will never cease as a thing out of use, but the Gifts of Prophecy and Tongues, and the Knowledge whereby Men look into, and explain the Meaning of the Scriptures, the time will be when they will be laid aside, as no longer of any use, for the Knowledge we have now in this State, and the Explication we give of Scripture is short, partial and defective. But when hereafter we shall be got into the State of Accomplishment and Perfection, wherein we are to remain in the other World, there will no longer be any need of these imperfect ways of Information, whereby we arrive at but a partial Knowledge here. Thus when I was in the imperfect State of Childhood, I talk'd, I understood, I reasoned after

NOTES.

1. (2) Tongue of Angels are mention'd here according to the Conception of the Jews.

2. (4) A Cymbal consisted of two large hollowed Plates of Brass, with broad Brims, which were struck one against another, to fill up the Symphony in great Consorts of Musick; they made a great deep Sound, but had scarce any Variety of musical Notes.

3. (b) Any Predictions relating to our Saviour, or his Doctrine, or the times of the Gospel, contained in the Old Testament, in Types, or figurative and obscure Expressions, not understood before his coming, and being revealed to the World, St. Paul calls Mystery, as may be seen all through his Writings. So that Mystery and Knowledge are Terms here used by St. Paul to signify Truths concerning Christ to come, contained in the Old Testament; and Prophecy, the understanding of the Types and Prophecies containing those Truths, so as to be able to explain them to others.

4. (d) May we not suppose that in this Description of Charity, St. Paul intimates, and truly reprobates their contrary Carriages, in their Emulation and Contests about the Dignity and Preference of their spiritual Gifts?
flood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things.

For now we see through a glass darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known.

And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity.

the imperfect manner of a Child: but when I came to the State and Perfection of Manhood, I laid aside those childish ways. Now we see but by Reflection the dim, and as it were enigmatical Representation of things: but then we shall see things directly, and as they are in themselves, as a Man sees another when they are Face to Face. Now I have but a superficial partial Knowledge of things, but then I shall have an intuitive comprehensive Knowledge of them, as I my self am known, and lie open to the View of superior Seraphick Beings, not by the obscure and imperfect way of Deductions and Reaoning. But then even in that State, Faith, Hope, and Charity will remain; But the greatest of the three is Charity.

S E C T. IX. N. 5.

C H A P. XIV. 1—40.

C O N T E N T S.

S T. Paul in this Chapter concludes his Answer to the Corinthians, concerning spiritual Men and their Gifts; and having told them that those were most preferable that tended most to Edification, and particularly shown that Prophecy was to be preferred to Tongues, he gives them Directions for the decent, orderly and profitable Exercise of their Gifts in their Assemblies.

T E X T.

P A R A P H R A S E.

F ollow after charity, and desire spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may prophesie.

L E T your Endeavours, let your Pursuit therefore be after Charity, not that you should neglect the use of your spiritual Gifts (c), especially the Gift of Prophecy: For he that speaks in an un-

N O T E S.

1. (c) Ζαυτιν τα τευματα. That ζαυτιν does not signify to costs or degree, nor can be understood to be so used by St. Paul in this Section; I have already shown, ch. 12. 31. That it has here the Sense that I have given it, is plain from the same Direction concerning spiritual Gifts, repeated ver. 20. In these words, ζαυτιν τα προφητευαντα τα εν δικαιου τας ενυπαθεις μα ανυστηνει, the Meaning in both places being evidently this: That they should not neglect the Use of their Spiritual Gifts, especially they should in the right place cultivate and exercise the Gift of Prophecying, but yet should not wholly lay aside the speaking with Variety of Tongues in their Assemblies. It will perhaps be wonder'd why St. Paul should imply the word ζαυτιν in so unusual a Sense, but that will easily be accounted for, if what I have remark'd, Ch. 14. 14. concerning St. Paul's Custom of repeating words, be remember'd. But besides, what is familiar in St. Paul's way of Writing, we may find a particular Reason for his repeating the word ζαυτιν here, that in a somewhat unusual Signification. He having by way of Reproof told them, that they did ζαυτιν τα ενυπαθειν τα αυτως, had an Emulation, or made a Stire about whole Gifts were belit, and were therefore to take place in their Assemblies: To prevent their thinking that ζαυτιν might have too harsh a Meaning, (for he is in all this Epistle very tender of offending them, and therefore sweetens all his Reproofs as much as possible) he here takes it up again, and uses it more than once in a way that approves and advices that they should ζαυτιν, whereby yet he means no more but that they should not neglect their spiritual Gifts: He would have them use them in their Assemblies, but yet in such Method and Order as he directs.
2. known Tongue (f), speaks to God alone, but not to men, for no body understands him; the things he utters by the Spirit in an unknown Tongue, are Mysteries, things not understood by those who hear them. But he that prophesieth (g), speaks to Men who are exhorted and comforted thereby, and helped forwards in Religion and Piety. He that speaks in an unknown Tongue (h) edifies himself alone, but he that prophesieth, edifieth the Church. I wish that ye had all the Gift of Tongues, but rather that ye all prophesied, for greater is he that prophesieth, than he that speaks with Tongues, unless he interprets what he delivers in an unknown Tongue, that the Church may be edified by it. For example, if I should apply my self to you in a Tongue you knew not, what Good should I do you, unless I interpreted to you what I said, that you might understand the Revelation, or Knowledge, or Prophecie, or Doctrine (i) contained in it? Even

3 (f) He who attentively reads this Section about spiritual Men and their Gifts, may find reason to imagine that it was those who had the Gift of Tongues, who caused the Disorder in the Church at Corinth, by their Forwardness to speak, and Drivelling to be heard first, and so taking up too much of the time in their Assemblies, in speaking in unknown Tongues. For the remedy this Disorder, and better regulating of this Matter among other things, they had recourse to St. Paul: He will not easily avoid thinking so, who considers, 1 Thessalonian, that the first Gift which St. Paul compares with Charity, Ch. 13. and extremely undervalues, in comparison of that Divine Virtue, is the Gift of Tongues. As if that were the Gift they most affected to shew, and most valued themselves upon; as indeed it was in his self, most fitted for Oillation in their Assemblies of any other, if any one were inclined that way: And that the Coritilians in their present State were not exempt from Emulation, Vanity and Oillation, is very evident.

4 (g) That the first Gift which St. Paul compares with Charity, Ch. 13. and extremely undervalues, in comparison of that Divine Virtue, is the Gift of Tongues. As if that were the Gift they most affected to shew, and most valued themselves upon; as indeed it was in his self, most fitted for Oillation in their Assemblies of any other, if any one were inclined that way: And that the Coritilians in their present State were not exempt from Emulation, Vanity and Oillation, is very evident.

5 (h) That the first Gift which St. Paul compares with Charity, Ch. 13. and extremely undervalues, in comparison of that Divine Virtue, is the Gift of Tongues. As if that were the Gift they most affected to shew, and most valued themselves upon; as indeed it was in his self, most fitted for Oillation in their Assemblies of any other, if any one were inclined that way: And that the Coritilians in their present State were not exempt from Emulation, Vanity and Oillation, is very evident.

6 (i) This is not to be doubted but these four different Terms used here by the Apostle, had each his distinct Signification in his Mind and Intention: Whether what may be collected from these Epistles, may sufficiently warrant us to understand them in the following Signification, I leave to the Judgment of others. 1 Thessalonian, Revelation, something revealed by God immediately to the Prophet; 31. Prophece, 1 Thessalonian, Knowledge. The understanding the Mystical and Evangelical Sense of Passages in the Old Testament, relating to our Saviour and the Gospel. 31. Prophece, an inspired Hymn, 31. of the Prophecy, Doctrine. Any Truth of the Gospel concerning Faith or Manners. But whether this or any other precise meaning of these Words can be certainly made out now, it is plain that great necessity to be over-curious; it being enough for the understanding the Sense and Argument of the Apostle here, to know that these Terms stand for some intelligible Difficulties tending to the Edification of the Church, though of what kind each of them was in particular we certainly know not.

Notes.

For he that speaketh in an unknown tongue, speaketh not unto men, but unto God: for no man understandeth him; howbeit in the spirit he speaketh mysteries.

But he that prophesieth speaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort.

He that speaketh in an unknown tongue, edifieth himself: but he that prophesieth, edifieth the church.

I would that ye all spake with tongues, but rather that ye prophesied: for greater is he that prophesieth, than he that speaketh with tongues, except he interpret that the church may receive edifying.

Now, brethren, if one among you speak with tongues, let him pray that he may interpret.
I CORINTHIANS.

TEXT.

by prophesying, or by doctrine?

7 And even things without life giving sound, whether pipe or harp, except they give a distinction in the sound, how shall it be known what is piped or harped?

8 For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?

9 So likewise ye, except ye utter by the tongue words easy to be understood, how shall they that are without know what ye say? For ye shall speak into the air.

10 There are, it may be, so many kinds of voices in the world, and none of them is without signification.

11 Therefore if I know not the meaning of the voice, I will be unto him that speaketh, a barbarian; and he that speaketh shall be a barbarian unto me.

12 Even so ye, forasmuch as ye are zealous of spiritual gifts, seek that ye may excel to the edifying of the church.

13 Wherefore let him that speaketh in an unknown tongue pray that he may interpret.

14 If for I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful.

15 What is it then? I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also: I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also.

NOTES.

14 (1) This is evident from ver. 4, where it is said, He that speaketh with a tongue, edifieth himself.

15 (1) I will not pretend to justify this Interpretation of σύνολον, by the exact Rules of the Greek Idiom; but the Sense of the place will, I think, bear me out in it. And, as there is occasion often to remark, he must be little versed in the Writing of St. Paul, who does not observe, that when he has used a Term, he is apt to repeat it again in the same Discourse in a way peculiar to himself, and somewhat varied from its ordinary Signification. So, having here in the foregoing Verse used σύνολον for the Sentiment of his own Mind, which was unprofitable to others when he prayeth in a Tongue unknown to them, and opposed it to ἑαυτός, which he used there for his own Mind, accompanying his own Words, intelligible to himself, when by the Impulse of the Spirit he prayeth in a Foreign Tongue; he here in this Verse continues to use praying ἑαυτός, and σύνολον, in the same Opposition, the one for praying in a strange Tongue, which alone his own Mind understood and accompanied: The other for praying so as that the Meaning of his Mind in those Words he uttereth was made known to others so that they were also benefited. This use of ἑαυτός is farther confirmed in the next Verse, and what he means by σύνολον here, he expresseth by σύνολον, ver. 19, and there explains the meaning of it.

16 (a) For so he orders in the use of an unknown Tongue, ver. 27.
Spirit in an unknown Tongue, but I will take care
that the Meaning of what I sing shall be understood
by the Afflattiins. And thus ye should all do in all
like Cafes. For if thou by the Impulse of the Spirit
givest Thanks to God in an unknown Tongue, which
all understand not, how shall the Hearer who in this
respect is unlearned, and being ignorant in that
Tongue, knows not what thou sayest, how shall he
say Amen? How shall he join in the Thanks which
he understands not? Thou indeed givest Thanks well;
But the other is not at all edified by it. I thank God
I speak with Tongues more than you all, but I had ra-
ther speak in the Church five Words that are un-
derstood, that I might instruct others also, than in an
unknown Tongue ten thousand that others understand
not. My Brethren, be not in Understanding Chil-
dren, who are apt to be taken with the Novelty or
Strangeness of things: In Temper and Disposition be
as Children void of Malice (6), but in Matters of Un-
derstanding be ye perfect Men, and use your Under-
standings (5). Be not so zealous for the Use of un-
known Tongues in the Church, they are not so pro-
per there: It is written in the Law (6), With Men of
other Tongues and other Lips will I speak unto this
People: And yet for all that will they not hear me,
faith the Lord. So that you fee the speaking of
strange Tongues miraculously is not for those who
are already converted, but for a Sign to those who are
Unbelievers: But Prophesie is for Believers, and not
for Unbelievers; and therefore fitter for your Assem-
blies. If therefore when the Church is all come to-
gether you should all speak in unknown Tongues, and
Men Unlearned or Unbelievers should come in, would
they not say that you are mad? But if ye all prophesie,
and an Unbeliever or ignorant Man come in, the
Difficulties he hears from you reaching his Consci-
ence, and the secret Thoughts of his Heart, he is
convinced, and wrought upon, and so falling down
worships God, and declares that God is certainly

16. Elste when thou shalt 16
bles with the spirit, how
shall he that occupieth the
room of the unlearned,
say Amen at the giving of
thanks, seeing he under-
standeth not what thou
sayest? For thou verily givest 17
thanks well, but the other
is not edified.
17. I thank my God, 18
18. I speak with tongues more
then you all:
19. Yet in the church I had 19
rather speak five words
with my understanding,
that by my voice I might
 teach others also, than
ten thousand words in an
unknown tongue.

20. Brethren, be not chil-
dren in understanding:
howbeit, in malice be ye
children, but in under-
standing be men.
21. In the law it is writ-
ten, With men of other
tongues, and other lips
will I speak unto this peo-
ple: And yet for all that
will they not hear me,
faith the Lord.
22. Wherefore tongues are 22
for a sign, not to them
that believe, but to them
that believe not: But pro-
phesying, forbiddeth not
for them that believe not,
but for them which believe.
23. If therefore the whole 23
church be come together
into one place, and all
speak with tongues, and
there come in those that
are unlearned, or unbe-
lievers, will they not say
that ye are mad?
24. But if all prophesie, and
there come in one that
believeth not, or one un-
learned, he is convinced
of all, he is judged of all:
And thus are the secrets 25
of his heart made mani-
fest; and so falling down
on his face he will worship

NOTES.

20 (6) By yeacle, Malice, I think is here to be understood all sorts of ill temper of Mind,
contrary to the Gentleness and Innocence of Childhood, and in particular their Emulation and
Strife about the Exercise of their Gifts in their Assemblies.
21 (6) The Books of Sacred Scripture deliver d to the Jews by divine Revelation under the
Law, before the time of the Gospel, which we now call the Old Testament, are in the Writings
of the New Testament called sometimes, the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms; as Luke 24. 44.
sometimes the Law and the Prophets, as Acts 24. 14. And sometimes they are all comprehended
under this one Name, the Law, as here, for the Passage cited is in Isaiah.
God, and report that God is in you of a truth.

26 How is it then, brethren? When ye come together, every one of you hath a psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation. Let all things be done to edifying.

27 If any man speak in an unknown tongue, let it be by two, or at the most by three, and that by course; and let one interpret.

28 But if there be no interpreter, let him keep silence in the church; and let him speak to himself, and to God.

29 Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge.

30 If any thing be revealed to another that setteth by, let the first hold his peace.

31 For ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted.

32 And the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets.

33 For God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all churches of the saints.

34 Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also the law.

amongst you. What then is to be done, Brethren? When ye come together, every one is ready (r), one with a Psalm, another with a Doctrine, another with a strange Tongue, another with a Revelation, another with Interpretation. Let all things be done to Edification, even though (s) any one speak in an unknown Tongue, which is a Gift that seems least intended for Edification (t); but let two or three at most, at any one Meeting, speak in an unknown Tongue, and that separately one after another, and let there be but one Interpreter (u). But if there be no present that can interpret, let not any one use his Gift of Tongues in the Congregation, but let him silently within himself speak to himself, and to God. Of those who have the Gift of Prophecy, let but two or three speak at the same meeting, and let the others examine and discuss it. But if during their Debate, the meaning of it be revealed to one that sits by, let him that was discoursing of it before give off. For ye may all prophesy one after another, that all may in their Turns be Heares, and receive Exhortation and Instruction. For the Gifts of the Holy Ghost are not like the Possession of the Heathen Priests, who are not Masters of the Spirit that possesseth them, But Christians, however filled with the Holy Ghost, are Masters of their own Actions, can speak or hold their Peace as they see Occasion, and are not hitherto away by any Compulsion. It is therefore no reason for you to speak more than one at once, or to interrupt one another, because you find your selves inspired and moved by the Spirit of God. For God is not the Author of Confusion and Disorder, but of Quietness and Peace. And this is what is observed in all the Churches of God. As to your Women, let them keep Silence in your Assemblies, for it is not permitted them to discourse there, or pretend to teach, that

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26 (r) This plain by this whole Discourse of the Apostle's, that there were Contentions and Emulations amongst them for Precedency of their Gifts, and therefore I think LESS EXEGETICAL, may be render'd every one is ready, as impatient to be first heard. If there were no such Disorder amongst them, there would have been no need for the Regulations given in the end of this Verse, and the 7 Verses following, especially vers. 31, 32. where he tells them, they all may prophesy one by one, and that the Motions of the Spirit were not to be overruled, as not to leave a Man Master of himself. He must not think himself under a necessity of speaking, as soon as he found any Impulse of the Spirit upon his Mind.

27 (s) St. Paul has said in this Chapter as much as conveniently could be said to restrain their speaking in unknown Tongues in their Assemblies, which seems to be that wherein the Vanity and Orientation of the Corinthians was most forward to thrive it fell. It is not, says he, a Gift intended for the Edification of Believers; however since you will be exercising it in your Meetings, let it always be so ordered, that it may be for Edification; and I have render'd, aloud. So I think it is sometimes used, but so where, as if I remember, simply for if, as in our Translation; nor will the Sense here bear whether, which is the common Signification of if. And therefore I take the Apostle's Sense to be this: You must do nothing but to Edification, that you speak in an unknown Tongue, even an unknown Tongue must be made use of in your Assemblies only to Edification.

(t) Vid. vers. 3, & c.

(u) The Rule of the Synagogue was; In the Law let one read and one interpret: In the Prophets let one read and two interpret. In Either ten may read, and ten interpret. 'Tis not improbable that some such Disorder had been introduced into the Church of Corinth by their Judaizing false Apostle, which St. Paul would here put an end to.

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does
35. does no way suit their State of Subjection appointed them in the Law. But if they have a mind to have anything explained to them that passeth in the Church, let them for their Information ask their Husbands at home, for it is a shame for Women to discourse and debate with Men publickly in the Congregation (w). What, do you pretend to give Laws to the Church of God, or to a Right to do what you please amongst yourselves, as if the Gospel began at Corinth, and influing from you, was communicated to the rest of the World, or as if it were communicated to you alone of all the World? If any Man amongst you think that he hath the Gift of Prophecies, and would pass for a Man knowing in the revealed Will of God (r), let him acknowledge that these Rules which I have here given, are the Commandments of the Lord. But if any Man (t) be ignorant that they are so, I have no more to say to him: I leave him to his Ignorance.

39. To conclude, Brethren, let Prophecies have the Preference in the Exercise of it (u): But yet forbid not the speaking unknown Tongues. But whether a Man prophesieth or speakest with Tongues, what is the spiritual Gift he exerciseth in your Assemblies, let it be done without any Indecorum or Disordered.

40. And if they will learn any thing, let them ask their Husbands at home: for it is a shame for Women to speak in the church.

What? came the word 36 of God out from you? or came it unto you only?

NOTES.

34. 35. (n) Why I apply this Prohibition of speaking only to reasoning and purely voluntary Discourse, but suppose a Liberty left Women to speak, where they had an immediate Impulse and Revelation from the Spirit of God, *Vid. ch. ii. 3.* In the Synagogue it was usual for any Man that had a mind to demand of the Teacher a further Explication of what he had said: but this was not permitted to the Women.

37 (k) *Prophesiacus,* a *spiritual Man,* in the Sense of St. Paul, is one who finds his Knowledge in what is revealed by the Spirit of God, and not in the bare Discoveries of his natural Reason and Parts; *Vid. ch. ii. 15.*

38 (q) By the *any Man* mention'd in this, and the foregoing Verse, St. Paul seems to intimate the false Apostle, who pretended to give Laws among them, and, as we have observed, may well be supposed to be the Author of these Disorders, whom therefore St. Paul refutes on, and pretends in these three Verses.

39 (t) *Z vita,* in this whole Discourse of St. Paul, taken to refer to the Exercise, and not to the obtaining the Gifts to which it is joynd, will direct us right in understanding St. Paul, and make his Meaning very safe and intelligible.

S E C T. X.

C H A P. XV. 1—58.

C O N T E N T S.

After St. Paul (who had taught them another Doctrine) had left Corinth, some among them denied the Resurrection of the Dead. This he confutes by Christ's Resurrection, which the number of Witneces yet remaining, that had seen him, put past Question, besides the constant inculcation of it by all the Apostles everywhere. From the Resurrection of Christ thus established, he infers the Resurrection of the Dead: shows the Order they shall rise in, and what sort of Bodies they shall have.
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Moreover, brethren, I declare unto you the gospel which I preached unto you, which also I have received, and wherein ye stand; 2 By which also ye are saved, if ye keep in memory what I preached unto you, unless ye have believed in vain. 3 For I delivered unto you first of all, that which also I received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures: 4 And that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the scriptures: 5 And that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve. 6 After that, he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep. 7 After that, he was seen of James; then of all the apostles. 8 And last of all he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time. 9 For I am the least of the apostles, that am not meet to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God. 10 But by the grace of God, I am what I am: and his grace which was bestowed upon me, was not in vain; but I laboured more abundantly than they all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me. 11 Therefore whether it were I or they, so we preach, and so ye believe. 12 Now if Christ be preached that he rose from the dead; 13 I M

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8 (a) An abortive Birth that comes before its Time, which is the Name St. Paul gives himself here, is usually sudden and at unawares, and is also weak and feeble, scarce deserving to be called or counted a Man. The former Part agrees to St. Paul's being made a Christian and an Apostle, thou' it be in regard of the latter that in the following Verse St. Paul calls himself abortive.
10 (b) St. Paul drops in this Commendation of himself to keep up his Credit in the Church of Corinth, where there was a Faction labouring to discredit him.
12 (c) This may well be understood of the Head of the contrary Faction, and some of his Scholars. It, Because St. Paul introduces this Contention by ascertaining his Million, which these his Opposers would bring in Question. And, Because he is so careful to let the Corinthians see he maintains not the Doctrine of the Resurrection, in Opposition to their new Leaders; it being true the Doctrine he had preached to them at their first Conversion, before any such false Apostles appeared among them, and misled them about the Resurrection. Their false Apostle was a Jew, in all Appearance Judaised, may he not also be suspected of Sedition? For his plain he with all his Might opposed St. Paul, which must be from some main Difference in Opinion at the Bottom. For there are no Footsteps of any personal Provocation.
that there is no Resurrection of the Dead? And if there be no Resurrection of the Dead, then even Christ himself is not risen: And if Christ be not risen, our Preaching is idle Talk, and your believing it is to no purpose: And we who pretend to be Witnesses for God and his Truth, shall be found Liars, bearing Witnesses against God and his Truth, affirming that he raised Christ, whom in Truth he did not raise, if it be so that the Dead are not raised. For if the Dead shall not be raised, neither is Christ raised. And if Christ be not risen, your Faith is to no purpose, your Sins are not forgiven, but you are still liable to the Punishment due to them. And they also who died in the Belief of the Gospel are perished and lost. If the Advantages we expect from Christ are confined to this Life, and we have no Hope of any Benefic from him in another Life hereafter, we Christians are the most miserable of all Men. But in truth Christ is actually risen from the Dead, and become the first Fruits (d) of those who were dead. For since by Man came Death, by Man came also the Resurrection of the Dead, or Restoration to Life. For as the Death that all Men suffer is owing to Adam; so the Life that all shall be restored to again, is procured them by Christ. But they shall return to Life again, not all at once, but in their proper Order, Christ the first Fruits is already risen: Next after him shall rise those who are his People, his Church, and this shall be his second Coming. After that shall be the Day of Judgment, which shall bring to a Conclusion, and finish the whole Dispensation to the Race and Posterity of Adam in this World: When Christ shall have delivered up the Kingdom to God the Father, which he shall not do till he hath destroy'd all Empire, Power and Authority that shall be in the World besides. For he must reign till he has totally subdued and brought all his Enemies into Submission to his Kingdom. The last Enemy that shall be destroyed, is Death. For God hath subjected all Things to Christ: but when it is said all Things are subjected, it is plain that he is to be excepted who did subject all Things to him. But

death, how fay some among you, that there is no resurrection of the dead?

But if there be no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen. And if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain.

Yes, and we are found false witnesses of God; because we have testified of God, that he raised up Christ: whom he raised not up, if so be that the dead rise not.

For if the dead rise not, then is not Christ raised: And if Christ be not raised, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins.

Then they also which are fallen asleep in Christ, are perished.

If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable.

But now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first fruits of them that slept.

For since by man came Death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead.

For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.

But every man in his own order: Christ the first fruits, afterward they that are Christ's, at his coming.

Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power.

For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet.

The last Enemy that shall be destroyed, is Death.

For he hath put all things under his feet. But when he saith all things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted which did put all things under him.

NOTES.

20 (d) The first Fruits were a small Part which was first taken and offered to God, and sanctified the whole Mais which was to follow.
And when all things shall be subduced unto him, then shall the Son also be subduced unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.  

Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? why are they then baptized for the dead?  

And why stand we in jeopardy every hour?  

I protest by your rejoicing which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord, I die daily.  

If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not? let us eat and drink, for to morrow we die.  

Be not deceived: Evil communications corrupt good manners.  

Awake to righteousness, and to the sin of our knowledge of God: I speak this to your shame.  

But some man will say, How are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come?  

Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die.  

And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body which shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other grain.

when all things shall be actually reduced under subjection to him, then even the Son himself, i.e. Christ and his whole Kingdom, he and all his Subjects and Members, shall be subjected to him that gave him this Kingdom and universal Domination, that God may immediately govern and influence all. Else (e) what shall they do who are baptized for the Dead? (f) And why do we venture our Lives continually? As to myself, I am exposed, vilified, treated so that I die daily; and for this I call to witness your glorying against me, in which I really glory, as coming on me for our Lord Jesus Christ's Sake: And particularly to what Purpose did I suffer myself to be exposed to wild Beasts at Ephesus, if the Dead rise not? If there be no Resurrection, 'tis wiser a great deal to preserve our selves as long as we can in a free Enjoyment of all the Pleasures of this Life, for when Death comes, as it shortly will, there is an End of us for ever. Take heed that you be not misled by such Discourses, for evil Communication is apt to corrupt even good Minds. Awake from such Dreams, as 'tis fit you should, and give not your selves up sinful to the Enjoyments of this Life. For there are some (g) aetical People among you: This I say to make you ashamed. But possibly it will be asked; How comes it to pass that dead Men are raised, and with what kind of Bodies do they come? (h) Shall they have at the Resurrection such Bodies as they have now? Thou Fool, does not daily Experience teach thee, that the Seed which thou sowest, corrupts and dies, before it springs up and lives again. That which thou sowest is the bare Grain of Wheat or Barley, or the like, but the Body which it has when it rises up, is different from the Seed that is sown.

NOTES.

29 (e) Else here relates to ver. 20, where it is said, Christ is risen: St. Paul, having in that Verse mentioned Christ being the first Fruits from the Dead, takes Occasion from thence now that he is upon that Resurrection, to inform the Corinthians of several Particulars relating to the Resurrection, which might enlighten them about it, and could not be known but by Revelation. Having made this Exposition in the eight preceding Verses, he here in the 29th re-affirms the Thread of his Discourse, and goes on with his Arguments for believing the Resurrection.

(f) What this baptisming for the dead was, I confess I know not: But it seems by the following Verse to be something wherein they exposed themselves to the Danger of Death.

34 (g) May not this probably be said to make them ashamed of their Leader, whom they were so forward to glory in? For 'tis not unlikely that their questioning and denying the Resurrection came from their new Apostle, who raised such Opposition against St. Paul.

35 (h) If we will allow St. Paul to know what he says, it is plain from what he answers, that he understands the Words to contain two Questions. (i) How comes it to pass that dead Men are raised to Life again, would it not be better they should live on? Why do they die to live again? 2dly. With what Bodies shall they return to Life? To both these he distinctly answers, viz. Those who are raised to an heavenly State, shall have other Bodies: And more that it is fit that Men should die, Death being no improper Way to the attaining other Bodies. This he shews there is so plain and common an Instance of in the Sowing of all Seeds, that he thinks it a foolish thing to make a Difficulty of it; and then proceeds to declare, That as they shall have other, so they shall have better Bodies than they had before, viz. Spiritual and incorruptible.
For it is not 'the Seed that rifes up again, but a quite Different Body, such as God has thought fit to give it, viz. a Plant of a particular Shape and Size, which God has appointed to each Sort of Seed. And so likewise it is in Animals, there are different Kinds of Fleth, (i) for the Fleth of Men is of one Kind; the Fleth of Cattle is of another Kind; that of Fish is different from them both; and the Fleth of Birds is of a peculiar Sort different from them all. To look yet farther into the Difference of Bodies, there be both heavenly and earthly Bodies, but the Beauty and Excellency of the heavenly Bodies is of one Kind, and that of earthly Bodies of another. The Sun, Moon and Stars have each of them their particular Beauty and Brightness, and one Star differs from another in Glory. And so shall the Resurrection of the Dead (κ) be: That which is sown in this World

But God giveth it an 39 body as it hath pleased him, and to every feed his own body. All fleth is not the same 39 fleth: but there is one kind of fleth of men, another fleth of healts, another of fishes, and another of birds.

There are also celestial 40 bodies, and bodies terrestrial: but the glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial is another.

There is one glory of 41 the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars: for one star differeth from another star in glory.

So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption:

NOTES.

39 (i) The Scope of the Place makes it evident, that by Fleth St Paul here means Bodies, viz. that God has given to the several Sorts of Animals Bodies in Shape, Texture and Organization very different one from another, as he hath thought good, and so he can give to Men as the Resurrection Bodies of very different Constitutions and Qualities from those they had before.

42 (κ) The Resurrection of the Dead here spoken of, is not the Resurrection of all Mankind in common, but only the Resurrection of the Just. This will be evident to any one who observes that St. Paul, having, ver. 22, declared that all Men shall be made alive again, tells the Corinthians, ver. 29, That it shall not be all at once, but at several Distances of Time. First of all Christ rose, afterwards next in order to him the Saints should all be raised, which Resurrection of the Just is that which he treats of, and gives an Account of to the End of this Discourse and Chapter, and so never comes to the Resurrection of the Wicked, which was to be the third and last in order: So that from the 23rd Verse to the End of this Chapter, all that he lays of the Resurrection, is a Description only of the Resurrection of the Just, tho' he calls it here by the general Name of the Resurrection of the Dead. That this is so, there is too much Evidence, that there is scarce a Verse from the 41st to the End, that does not prove it.

1st. What in this Resurrection is raised, St. Paul assures us, ver. 43, is raised in Glory, but the Wicked are not raised in Glory.

2dly. He says me (speaking in the Name of all that shall be then raised) shall bear the Image of the heavenly Adam, ver. 49, which cannot belong to the Wicked. He shall all be shang'd, that by putting on Incorruptibility and Immortality, Death may be swallowed up of Victory, which God gives us through our Lord Jesus Christ, ver. 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, which cannot likewise belong to the Damned. And therefore me and as must be understood to be spoken in the Name of the Dead that are Christ's, who are to be raised by themselves before the rest of Mankind.

3dly. He says, ver. 52. That when the Dead are raised, they who are alive shall be chang'd in the Twinkling of an Eye. Now that these dead are only the dead in Christ which shall rise first, and shall be caught up in the Clouds to meet the Lord in the Air, it plain from 1 Thess 4, 16, 17.

4thly. He teaches, ver. 54. That by this Corruptible's putting on Incorruption, is brought to pass the Saying, that Death is swallowed up of Victory. But I think no body will say, that the Wicked have Victory over Death; yet that according to the Apostle here belongs to all those whose corruptible Bodies have put on Incorruption, which therefore must be the only one that rife the second in order. From whence it is clear that their Resurrection alone is that which is here mentioned and described.

5thly. A farther Proof whereof is ver. 56, 57. that in their Sins being taken away, the Sting, whereby Death kills, is taken away. And hence St. Paul says, God has given us the Victory, which is the same as or who should bear the Image of the heavenly Adam, ver. 49. And the same me who should all be changed, ver. 51, 52. All which Places can therefore belong to none but to those who are Christ's, who shall be raised by themselves the second in order before the rest of the Dead.

(κ) and
NOTEs.

'Tis very remarkable what St. Paul says in this 5th Verse, We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed in the twinkling of an Eye. The reason he gives for it, ver. 53, is, because this corruptible thing must put on Incorruption, and this mortal thing must put on Immortality. How? Why by putting off Flesh and Blood, by an instantaneous Change, because, as he tells us, ver. 50. Flesh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God; and therefore, to fit Believers for that Kingdom, those who are alive at Christ's Coming, shall be changed in the twinkling of an Eye, and those that are in their Graves shall be changed likewise at the same time. All, as their being raised, and to all the whole Collection of Saints, all the Members of Christ's Body, shall be put into a State of Incorruptibility, ver. 52. In a new sort of Bodies. Taking the Resurrection here spoken of, to be the Resurrection of all the Dead pros- micuously; St. Paul's Reasoning in this place can hardly be understood. But, upon a Supposition that he here describes the Resurrection of the Just only, that Resurrection which, as he says, ver. 23. is to be the next after Christ's, and separate from the rest, there is nothing can be more plain, natural and easy, than St. Paul's Reasoning, and it stands thus. Men alive are Flesh and Blood, the Dead in the Graves are but the Remains of corrupted Flesh and Blood; but Flesh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God, neither Corruption inherits Incorruption, i. e. Immortality; therefore to make all those who are Christ's capable to enter into his eternal Kingdom of Life, as well those of them who are alive, as those of them who are raised from the Dead, shall in the twinkling of an Eye be all changed, and their Corruptible shall put on Incorruption, and their Mortal shall put on Immortality; And thus God gives them the Victory over Death through their Lord Jesus Christ. This is in short St. Paul's arguing here, and the Account he gives of the Resurrection of the Blessed. But how the Wicked, who are afterwards to be restored to Life, were to be raised, and what was to become of them, he here says nothing, as not being to his present purpose, which was to assure the Corinthians, by the Resurrection of Christ, of a happy Resurrection to Believers, and thereby to encourage them to continue steadfast in the Faith which had such a Reward. That this was his Design, may be seen by the beginning of his Discourse; ver. 12—21. and by the Conclusion, ver. 58. in their Words; Wherefore, my beloved Brethren, be ye steadfast, unmovable, always abundantly in the Work of the Lord; so much as ye know that your Labour is not in vain in the Lord. Which Words shew that what he had been speaking of in the immediately preceding Verses, viz. their being changed, and their putting on Incorruption and Immortality, and their having thereby the Victory through Jesus Christ, was what belonged solely to the Saints, as a Reward to those who remained steadfast, and abounded in the Work of the Lord. The like Use, of the like, though shorter Discourse of the Resurrection, wherein he describes only that of the Blessed, he makes to the Thessalonians, 1 Thess. 4. 13—18. which he concludes thus; Wherefore comfort one another with these Words. Nor is it in this place alone that St. Paul calls the Resurrection of the Just by the general Name of the Resurrection of the Dead. He does the same, Phil. 3. 11, where he speaks of his Sufferings, and of his Endeavours, if by any means he might attain unto the Resurrection of the Dead; whereby he cannot mean the Resurrection of the Dead in general, which since he has declared in this very Chapter, ver. 22. all Men, both good and bad, shall as certainly partake of, as that they shall die, there needs no Endeavours to attain to it. Our Saviour likewise speaks of the Resurrection of the Just in the same general Terms of the Resurrection, Matt. 22. 30. And the Resurrection from the Dead, Luke 20. 35. by which is meant only the Resurrection of the Just, as is plain from the Context.

43 (1) The time that Man is in this World affixed to this Earth, is, his being born, and not when being dead he is put in the Grave, as is evident from St. Paul's own Words. For dead things are not born, nor are dead, and being alive, and alive. But dead, and not alive. Besides, he that will attentively consider what follows, will find Reason from St. Paul's arguing to understand him so.
be spiritual. There are both animal (m) and spiritual (n) Bodies. And so it is written, The first Man Adam was made a living Soul, i.e. made of an animal Constitution, endowed with an animal Life; the second Adam was made of a spiritual Constitution, with a Power to give Life to others. Howbeit the spiritual was not first, but the animal, and afterwards the spiritual. The first Man was of the Earth, made up of Dust or earthy Particles: the second Man is the Lord from Heaven. Those who have no higher an Extraction than barely from the earthy Man, they, like him, have barely an animal Life and Constitution. But those who are regenerate, and born of the heavenly Seed, are as he that is heavenly, spiritual, and immaterial: As and as in the animal, corruptible, mortal State we were born in, we have been like him that was earthy; so also shall we, who at the Resurrection partake of a spiritual Life from Christ, be made like him the Lord from Heaven, heavenly, i.e. live as the Spirits in Heaven do, without the need of Food or Nourishment to support it, and without Infirmities, Decay and Death, injoying a fixed, stable, unfeeling Life. This I say to you, Brethren, to satisfy those that ask what Bodies the Dead shall come, that we shall not at the Resurrection have such Bodies as we have now: For Flesh and Blood cannot enter into the Kingdom which the Saints shall inherit in Heaven: Nor are such fleeting corruptible things, as our present Bodies are, fitted to that State of Immortal Corruption. To which let me add what has not been hitherto discovered, viz. That we shall not all die, but we shall all be changed in a Moment, in the twinkling of an Eye, at the Sounding of the last Trumpet, for the Trumpet shall sound, and the Dead shall rise; and as many of us Believers as are

And so it is written, The first Man Adam was made a living soul, the last Adam was made a quickening spirit.

Howbeit, that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual.

The first man is of the earth, earthy: the second man is the Lord from heaven.

As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy; and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly.

And as we have borne the image of the earthly, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly.

Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption.

Behold, I shew you a mystery; we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed,

In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump (for the trumpet shall sound) and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed.

NOTES.

44 (m) Sæuis ëgeoxrin, which in our Bible is translated natural Bodies, should, I think, more suitably to the Propriety of the Greek, and more conformably to the Apostle's Meaning, be translated animal Body: For that which St. Paul is doing here, is to shew, that as we have animal Bodies now (which we derived from Adam) endowed with an animal Life, which unless supported with a constant Supply of Food and Air, will fail and perish, and at last, do what we can, will dissolve and come to an end; so at the Resurrection we shall have from Christ the second Adam's spiritual Bodies, which shall have an essential and natural inseparable Life in them, which shall continue and subsist perpetually of its self, without the help of Meat and Drink, or Air, or any such foreign Support; without Decay, or any Tendency to a Dissolution; of which our Saviour speaking, Luke 20. 35, says, They shall be accounted worthy to obtain that World, and the Resurrection from the Dead, cannot die any more, for they are equal to the Angels, i.e. of an Angelical Nature and Constitution.

(n) Vid. Phil. 3. 21.
then alive, shall be changed. For this corruptible Frame and Constitution (a) of ours, must put on Incorruption, and from mortal become immortal. And when we are got into that State of Incorruptibility and Immortality, then shall be fulfilled what was foretold in these words, Death is swallowed up in Victory (p), i.e. Death is perfectly subdued and exterminated by a complete Victory over it, so that there shall be no Death any more. Where, O Death, is now that Power whereby thou deprivest Men of Life? What is become of the Dominion of the Grave, whereby they were detained Prisoners there (g)? That which gives Death the Power over Men is Sin, and 'tis the Law by which Sin has this Power. But Thanks be to God who gives us Deliverance and Victory over Death, the Punishment of Sin by the Law, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who has delivered us from the Rigour of the Law. Wherefore my beloved Brethren, continue steadfast and unmoveable in the Christian Faith, always abounding in your Obedience to the Precepts of Christ, and in those Duties which are required of us by our Lord and Saviour, knowing that your Labour will not be loft, whatsoever you shall do or suffer for him, will be abundantly rewarded by eternal Life.

NOTES.

33 (a) ἡγεῖται corruptible, and ὁ θάνατος mortal, have not here θάνατος Body, for their Substantive, as some imagine, but are put in the Neuter Gender absolute, and stand to represent ὑπὸν ὕδατον, as appears by the immediately preceding Verse, and also ver. 12. ἡμῶν ὄντως ἐς ἑαυτὸν δικαιοσύνην, etc. So is the Resurrection of the Dead, it is from in Corruption, i.e. mortal corruptible Men are sown, being corruptible and weak. Nor can it be thought strange or strained, that I interpret ἡγεῖται and θάνατος as Adjectives of the Neuter Gender, to signify Persons, in which this very Discourse the Apostle ues the Adjectives in the Neuter Gender, to signify the Persons of Adam and Christ, in such a way as it is impossible to understand them otherwise. The words no farther off than ver. 46. are these: ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἐκδόθη σώμα, κ. τ. θανάτου οἷος, etc. The like way of speaking we have, Mat. 1. 20. and Luke 1. 35. in both which, the Person of our Saviour is expressed by Adjectives of the Neuter Gender. To any of all which places I do not think any one will add the Substantive τῶν θανάτων, Body, to make out the Senate. That then which is meant here being this, That this mortal Man shall put on Immortality, and this corruptible Man Incorruptibility, any one will easily find another Nominative Cafe to αὐτῷ, etc. and not θάνατος Body, when he considers the Senate of the place, wherein the Apostle's purport is to speak of ἡμῶν mortal Men, being dead and raised again to Life, and made immortal. Those with whom Grammarical Conjunction, and the Nominative Cafe weighs so much, may be pleased to read this Passsage in Virgil:

Linguerant ducies animas, aut agra trarebant
Corpora, Aeneid. 1. 3. ver 140.

where by finding the Nominative Cafe to the two Verbs in it, he may come to discover that Permanency, as contra-distiguished to both Body and Soul, may be the Nominative Cafe to Verbs.

54 (p) Nixes Victory, often signifies End and Destruction. See Vixius de LXX Interpret. cap. 24.

55 (g) This has something the Air of a Song of Triumph, which St. Paul breaks out into upon a View of the Saints Victory over Death, in a State wherein Death is never to have place any more.
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SECT. XI.

CHAP. XVI. 1—4.

CONTENTS.

He gives Directions concerning their Contribution to the poor Christians at Jerusalem.

PARAPHRASE.

1. As to the collection for the Converts to Christianity who are at Jerusalem, I would have you do as I have directed the Churches of Galatia.

2. Let every one of you, according as he thrives in his calling, lay aside some part of his gain by itself, which the first day of the week let him put into the common treasury (τὴν ἀνατροπὴν) of the Church, that there may be no need of any gathering when I come. And when I come, those whom you shall approve of (ὁδούσα) will I send with letters to Jerusalem, to carry thither your benevolence. Which if it deserves that I also should go, they shall go along with me.

NOTE 8.

2 (τὴν ἀνατροπὴν) seems used here in the sense I have given it. For 'tis certain that the Apostle directs that they should every Lord's Day bring to the congregation what their charity had laid aside the foregoing week, as their gain came in, that there it might be put into some publick box appointed for that purpose, or officer's hands. For if they only laid it aside at home, there would nevertheless be need of a collection when he came.

3 (ὁδούσα) shows that this pointing that makes ἰδίως belong to τὸν ἄνθρωπον, and not to Ἰερουσαλήμ, the Apostle's Senec justification. He telling them here, that laying their collection ready when he came, he would write by those whom it should think fit to send it by, or go himself with them, if their present were worthy of it. There needed no approbation of their messengers to him by their letters, when he was present. And if the Corinthians by their letters approved of them to the Saints at Jerusalem, how could St. Paul say he would send them?

S E C T . X I I .

CHAP. XVI. 5—12.

CONTENTS.

He gives them an account of his own, Timothy's and Apollo's Intention of coming to them.

5. Will come unto you when I have been in Macedonia, for I intend to take that in my way: And now I will come unto you, when I shall pass through Macedonia: (for I do pass perhaps through Macedonia)
And it may be that I will abide, yea, and winter with you, that ye may bring me on my journey, whither soever I go.

For I will not yet see you now by the way, but I trust to tarry a while with you, if the Lord permit.

But I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost.

For a great door and effectual is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries.

Now if Timotheus come, see that he may be with you, without fear: for he worketh the work of the Lord, as I also do.

Let no man therefore despise him: but conduct him forth in peace, that he may come unto me: for I look for him with the brethren.

As touching our brother Apollos, I greatly desire him to come unto you with the brethren: but his will was not at all to come at this time; but he will come when he shall have convenient time.

Perhaps I shall make some stay, nay winter with you, that you may bring me going on my way whithersoever I go. For I do not intend just to call in upon you, as I pass by, but I hope to spend some time with you, if the Lord permit. But I shall stay at Ephesus till Pentecost, i.e. Whitensides. For now I have a very fair and promising opportunity given me of propagating the Gospel, though there be many opposers. If Timothy come to you, pray take care that he be easy, and without fear amongst you, for he promotes the Work of the Lord in preaching the Gospel, even as I do. Let no body therefore despise him, but treat him kindly, and bring him going, that he may come unto me, for I expect him with the Brethren. As to Brother (i) Apollos, I have earnestly endeavoured to prevail with him to come to you with the Brethren, (u) but he has no mind to it at all at present. He will come however when there shall be a fit occasion.

Notes.

12 (i) There be few perhaps who need to be told it, yet it may be convenient here, once for all, to remark, that in the Apostle's time Brother was the ordinary Compellation that Christians used to one another.

(u) The Brethren here mentioned, seem to be Stephanas and those others who with him came with a Message or Letter to St. Paul from the Church of Corinth, by whom he returned this Epistle in answer.

Section XIII.

Chapter XVI. 13—24.

Contents.

The Conclusion, wherein St. Paul, according to his Custom, leaves with some, which he thinks most necessary, Exhortations, and sends particular Greetings.

Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong.

Let all your things be done with charity.

I beseech you, brethren, (ye know the house of Stephanas, that it is the

Be upon your Guard, stand firm in the Faith, Behave your selves like Men with Courage and Resolution: And whatever is done amongst you, either in your publick Assemblies, or elsewhere, let it all be done with Affection and good Will one to another (u). You know the House of Stephanas, that

Notes.

13 (m) His main Design being to put an end to the Faction and Division which the false Apostle had made amongst them, 'tis no wonder that we find Unity and Charity so much and so often pressed in this and the second Epistle.

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threw were the first Converts of Achaia, and have all along made it their Business to minifter to the Saints; 16. To such I beseech you to submit your Selves: Let such as with us labour to promote the Gospel be your Leaders. I am glad that Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achates came to me; because they have supplied what was deficient on your Side: For by the Account they have given me of you, they have quieted my Mind and yours too (x). Therefore have a Regard to such Men as these. The Churches of Asia falute you, and do Aquila and Priscilla, with much Christian Affection; with the Church that is in their Houfe. 19. All the Brethren here falute you: falute one another with an holy Kiss. That which followeth is the Salutation of me Paul with my own Hand. If any one be an Enemy to the Lord Jesus Chrift and his Gospel, let him be accursed, or devoted to Destruction. The Lord come to execute Vengeance on him (y). The Favour of the Lord Jesus Chrift be with you. My Love be with you all in Chrifl Jesus. Amen.

NOTES.

18 (x) Ver. By removing those Suspicion and Fears that were on both Sides.
22 (y) This being a different Sentence from any of those writ with St. Paul’s own Hands in any of his other Epiftles, may it not with Probability be understood to mean the fälle Apoftle, to whom St. Paul imputes all the Disorders in this Church, and of whom he speaks, not much less severely, 2 Cor. 11. 18—19 ?
A PARAPHRASE AND NOTES ON THE Second Epistle of St. PAUL TO THE CORINTHIANS.

SYNOPSIS.

SAINT PAUL having writ his first Epistle to the Corinthians, to try, as he says himself, Chap. 2. 9. what Power he had still with that Church, wherein there was a great Faction against him, which he was attempting to break, was in pain till he found what Success it had; Ch. 2. 12, 13, & 7. 5. But when he had by Titus received an Account of their Repentance, upon his former Letter; of their Submission to his Orders; and of their good Disposition of Mind towards him, he takes Courage, speaks of himself more freely, and justifies himself more boldly, as may be seen, Ch. 1. 12, & 2. 14, & 6. 10, & 10. 1, & 13. 10. And as to his Opposers, he deals more roundly and sharply with them, than he had done in his former Epistle, as appears from Ch. 2. 17. & 4. 2 — 5. & 5. 12. & 6. 11 — 16. & 11. 11. & 12. 15.

The Observation of these Particulars may possibly be of Use to give us some Light, for the better Understanding of this second Epistle, especially if we add, that the main Business of this, as of his former Epistle, is to take off
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off the People from the new Leader they had got, who was St. Paul's Oppo-
per; and wholly to put an end to the Faction and Disorder which that
false Apostle had caused in the Church of Corinth. He also in this Epistle
flirs them up again to a liberal Contribution to the poor Saints at Jeru-
salem.

This Epistle was writ in the same Year, not long after the former.

SECTION I.

CHAP. I. 1, 2.

INTRODUCTION.

1. PAUL an Apostle of Jesus Christ, by the Will
of God, and Timothy our Brother (a), to the
Church of God which is in Corinith, with all the
Christians that are in all Achaia (b); Favour and
Peace be to you from God our Father, and from the
Lord Jesus Christ.

NOTES.

1 (a) Brother, i.e. either in the common Faith; and so, as we have already remarked, he
frequently calls all the Converted, as Rom. 1. 13, and in other places; or Brother in the Work
of the Ministry, vide Rom. 16. 21. 1 Cor. 13. 10. To which we may add, that St. Paul
may be supposed to have given Timothy the Title of Brother here for Dignity's sake, to give
him a Reputation above his Age amongst the Corinthians, to whom he had before sent him,
with some kind of Authority to redress their Disorders. Timothy was but a young Man, when
St. Paul writ his first Epistle to him, as appears, 1 Tim. 4. 12. Which Epistle, by the Content
of all, was writ to Timothy after he had been at Corinth; And in the Opinion of some very
learned Men, not less than eight Years after; and therefore his calling him Brother here, and
joining him with himself in writing this Epistle, may be to let the Corinthians see, that though
he were so young who had been sent to them; yet it was one whom St. Paul thought fit to
treat very much as an Equal.

(b) Achaia, the Country wherein Corinth stood.

SECTION II. N. 1.

CHAP. I. 3—VII. 16.

CONTENTS.

THIS first part of this Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, is
spent in justifying himself against several Imputations from the oppo-
site Faction. And setting himself right in the Opinion of the Corinthians.
The Particulars whereof we shall take notice of in the following Numbers.

SECT.
II CORINTHIANS.

Sect. II. N. 1.


Contents.

He begins with justifying his former Letter to them, which had afflicted them, vid. ch. 7. 7, 8. by telling them, that he thanks God for his Deliverance out of his Afflictions, because it enables him to comfort them by the Example both of his Affliction and Deliverance, acknowledging the Obligation he had to them and others for their Prayers and Thanks for his Deliverance, which he presumes they could not but put up for him, since his Conscience bears him witness (which was his Comfort) that in his Carriage to all Men, and to them more especially, he had been direct and sincere, without any self or carnal Interest, and that what he wrote to them had no other Design but what lay open, and they read in his Words, and did also acknowledge, and he doubted not but they should always acknowledge, part of them acknowledging also, that he was the Man they gloried in, as they shall be his Glory in the Day of the Lord. From what St. Paul says in this Section (which if read with Attention will appear to be writ with a Turn of great Inflammation) it may be gathered, that the opposite Faction endeavour'd to evade the Force of the former Epistle, by suggesting, that, whatever he might pretend, St. Paul was a cunning, artificial, self-interested Man, and had some hidden Design in it, which Accusation appears in other parts also of this Epistle; as, Ch. 4. 2, 3.

Text.

Blessed be God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort; Who comforteth us in all our tribulation, that we may be able to comfort them which are in any trouble, by the comfort wherewith we ourselves are comforted of God.

For as the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our consolation also aboundeth by Christ.

And whether we be afflicted, it is for your consolation and salvation, which is effectual in the enduring of the same sufferings which we also suffer: or whether we be comforted, it is for your consolation and salvation.

Paraphrase.

Blessed be the God (e) and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Mercies, and God of all Comfort, who comforteth me in all my Tribulations, that I may be able to comfort them (d), who are in any Trouble, by the Comfort which I receive from him. Because as I have suffered abundantly for Christ, so through Christ I have been abundantly comforted; and both these for your Advantage. For my Affliction is for your Consolation and Relief (e), which is effected by a patient Enduring these Sufferings, whereby you see an Example in me. And again, when I am comforted, it is for your Consolation and Relief, who may expect the like from the same compasounate God and Father.

Notes.

3 (e) That this is the right Translation of the Greek here, see Eph. 1. 3. & 1 Pet. 1. 3. where the same words are so translated; and that it agrees with St. Paul's Sense, see Eph. 17.
4 (d) He means here the Corinthians, who were troubled for their Miscarriage towards him; vid. Ch. 7. 7.
6 (e) Saviour, Relief, rather than Salvation; which is understood of Deliverance from Death and Hell, but here it signifies only Deliverance from their present Sorrow.
Upon which Ground I have firm Hopes, as concerning you, being assured, that as you have had your Share of Sufferings, so ye shall likewise have of Confolation. For I would not have you ignorant, Brethren, of the Load of the Afflictions in Asia, that were beyond Measure heavy upon me, and beyond my Strength; so that I could see no way of escaping with Life. But I had the Sentence of Death in my self, that I might not trust in my self, but in God, who can restore to Life even those who are actually dead, who delivered me from so eminent a Danger of Death, who doth deliver, and in whom I trust he will yet deliver me: You also joining the Affirmance of your Prayers for me; so that Thanks may be returned by many for the Deliverance procured me by the Prayers of many Persons. For I cannot doubt of the Prayers and Concern of you and many others for me, since my glory is this, viz. the Testimony of my own Conscience, that in Plainness of Heart, and Sincerity before God, not in fleshly Wisdom (f), but by the Favour of God directing me (g), I have behaved myself towards all Men, but more particularly towards you. For I have no Design, no Meaning in what I write to you, but what lies open, and is legible in what you read: and you yourselves cannot but acknowledge it to be so; and I hope you shall always acknowledge it to the end; as part of you have already acknowledge'd that I am your Glory (h), as you will be mine at the Day of Judgment, when being my Scholars and Converts, ye shall be faved.

And our hope of you is fixed, knowing that as you are partners of the sufferings, so shall ye be also of the consolation. For we would not, brethren, have you ignorant of our trouble which came to us in Asia, that we were pressed out of measure, above strength, in that we despaired even of Life: But we had the sentence of death in our selves, that we should not trust in our selves, but in God which raiseth the dead.

Who delivered us from so great a death, and doth deliver; in whom we trust that he will yet deliver us: You also helping together by prayer for us, that for the gift bestowed upon us by the means of many persons, thanks may be given by many on our behalf. For our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world, and more abundantly to your-wards.

For we write none other things unto you, than what you read or acknowledge, and I trust you shall acknowledge even to the end.

As also you have known in part, that we are your rejoicing, even as ye also are ours in the day of the Lord Jesus.

NOTES.

12 (f) What Fleshly Wisdom is, may be seen Ch. 4. 2, 3. 
(g) This αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας, But in the Favour of God, is the same with ἀνάλογα ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας, The Favour of God that is with me, i.e. by God's favourable Affirmance.
14 (h) That I am your Glory, whereby he signifies that Part of them which flock to him own'd him as their Teacher; in which sense, Glorying is much used in these Epistles to the Corinthians, upon the Occasion of the several Partisans boasting, some that they were of Paul, and others of Apollos.
II CORINTHIANS.

SECT. II. N. 2.

CHAP. I. 15—II. 17.

CONTENTS.

The next thing St. Paul justifies, is, his not coming to them. St. Paul had promised to call on the Corinthians in his way to Macedonia, but failed. This his Opposers would have to be from Levity in him, or a Mind that regulated it self wholly by carnal Interest; vid. ver. 17. To which he answers, that God himself having confirmed him amongst them, by the Union and Earnest of his Spirit in the Ministry of the Gospel of his Son, whom he Paul had preached to them steadily the same, without any the least Variation, or Unfaying any thing he had at any time delivered, they could have no Ground to suspect him to be an unsafe uncertain Man, that would play fast and loose with them, and could not be depended on in what he said to them. This is what he says, ch. 1. 15—22.

In the next place he, with a very solemn Affeversation, professes that it was to spare them that he came not to them. This he explains, ch. 1. 23. and 2. 11.

He gives another Reason, ch. 2. 12, 13. why he went on to Macedonia, without coming to Corinth, as he had purposed, and that was the Uncertainty he was in by the not coming of Titus, what Temper they were in at Corinth. Having mentioned his Journey to Macedonia, he takes notice of those who received or rejected it: professing again his Sincerity and Disinterestedness, not without a severe Reflection on their falso Apostle. All which we find in the following Verses, viz. ch. 2. 14—17. and is all very suitable, and pursuant to his Design in this Epistle, which was to esestablish his Authority and Credit amongst the Corinthians.

TEXT. PARAPHRASE

Having this Persuasion (viz.) of your Love and Esteem of me, I purposed to come unto you e'er this, that you might have a second benefit: 15

And in this confidence I was minded to come unto you before, that you might have a second benefit: 15

And to pass by you into Macedonia, and to come again out of Macedonia unto you, and of you to be brought on my way towards Judea. 16

When I therefore was thus minded, did I use lightness? or the things that I purposed, do I purpose according to the flesh, that with me there should be yea, yea, and nay, nay? 17

But as God is true, our word toward you was not yea and nay. 18

NOTES.

15 (i) By the word xiaos, which our Bibles translate Benefit or Grace, 'tis plain the Apostle means his being present among them a second time, without giving them any Griev or Displeasure. He had been with them before, almost two Years together with Satisfaction and Kindness. He intended them another Visit, but it was, he says, that they might have the like Gratification, i.e. the like Satisfaction in his Company a second time, which is the same he says, 2 Ch. 2. 1.
certain, deceitful, or variable. For Jesus Christ the Son of God, who was preached among you by me, and Silvanus, and Timothy, was not, sometimes one thing, and sometimes another, but has been flown to be uniformly one and the same in the Counsel or Revelation of God, (for all the Promises of God do all consent and stand firm in him) to the Glory of God by my Preaching. Now it is God who establishes me with you for the Preaching of the Gospel, who has anointed (κ), And also sealed (δ) me, and given me the Earnest (μ) of his Spirit in my Heart.

Moreover I call God to witness, and may I die if it is not so, that it was to spare you that I came not yet to Corinth: Not that I pretend to such a Dominion over your Faith, as to require you to believe what I have taught you without coming to you, when I am expected there to maintain and make it good; for 'tis by that Faith you stand: But I forbore to come as one concerned to preverve and help forwards your Joy, which I am tender of, and therefore declined coming to you, whilst I thought you in an Estate that would require Severity from me, that would trouble you (ν).

I purposed in my self, 'tis true, to come to you again, but I resolved too, it should be without bringing Sorrow with me (σ); For if I grieve you, who is there, when I am with you, to comfort me, but those very Persons whom I have discomposed with Grief? And

**NOTES.**

21 (κε) Anointed, i.e. set apart to be an Apostle by an extraordinary Call. Priests and Prophets were set apart by Anointing as well as Kings.
22 (δ) Sealed, i.e. by the miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghost; which are an Evidence of the Truths he brings from God, as a Seal is of a Letter.
(m) Earnest of Eternal Life; for of that the Spirit is mentioned as a Pledge in more places than one, vid. 2 Cor. 5, 5. Eph. 1, 13, 14. All these are Arguments to satisfy the Corinthians, that St. Paul was not, nor could be a flattering Man, that minded not what he said, but as it served his turn.

The Reasoning of St. Paul, ver. 18—22, whereby he would convince the Corinthians, that he is not a fickle unsteady Man, that says and unfares as may suit his Honour and Integrity being a little obscure, by reason of the shortness of his Stile here, which has left many things to be supplied by the Reader, to connect the Parts of the Argumentation, and make the Deduction clear; I hope I shall be pardon'd if I endeavour to let it in its clear Light, for the sake of ordinary Readers.

God hath set me apart to the Ministry of the Gospel by an extraordinary Call; has attested my Mission by the miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghost, and given me the Earnest of eternal Life in my Heart by his Spirit, and hath confirmed me amongst you in preaching the Gospel, which is all uniform and of a piece as I have preached it to you, without tripping in the least; And there, to the Glory of God, have shown that all the Promises concur, and are unalterably certain in Christ. I therefore having never falter'd in anything I have said to you, and having all these Attestations of being under the special Direction and Guidance of God himself, who is unalterably true, cannot be supplanted of dealing doubly with you in any thing relating to my Ministry.
24 (κ) It is plain St. Paul's Doctrine had been opp'd by some of them at Corinth, vid. 1 Cor. 15, 12. His Apothegm question'd, 1 Cor. 9, 1, 2. 2 Cor. 13, 3. He himself triumphed over, as if he durst not come, 1 Cor. 4, 18. they saying his Letters were weighty and powerful, but his bodily Presence weak, and his Speech contemptible; 2 Cor. 10, 10. This being the Stain on his Reputation was then in at Corinth, and he having promised to come to them, 1 Cor. 16, 9. he could not but think it necessary to excuse his failing them, by Reasons that should be both convincing and kind; such as are contained in this Verse in the Senec given of it.
1 (τ) That is this the Meaning of this Verse, and not that he would not come to them in Sorrow a second time, is past Doubt, since he had never been with them in Sorrow a first time.

Vid. 2 Cor. 1, 15.
And I wrote this same unto you, that I might not come with sorrow from whom I ought to rejoice, having confidence in you all, that my joy is the joy of you all.

But of much affliction and anguish of heart, I wrote unto you with many tears; not that you should be grieved, but that ye might know the love which I have more abundantly unto you.

But if any have caused grief, he hath not grieved me, but in part: that I may not overcharge you all.

Sufficient to such a man is this punishment which was inflicted of many, so that contrariwise ye ought rather to forgive him, and comfort him, lest perhaps such a one should be swallowed up, with overmuch sorrow.

Wherefore I beseech you, that ye would confirm your love towards him.

For to this end also did I write, that I might know the proof of you, whether ye be obedient in all things.

To whom ye forgive anything, I forgive also; for if I forgive anything, to whom I forgive it, for your sakes forgive I it, in the person of Christ;

Leit Satan should get an advantage of us: for we are not ignorant of his devices.

NOTES.

(1) Καὶ γέγραψα καὶ γράφω, And I write to you this very thing. That γέγραψα, I write, relates here to the first Epistle to the Corinthians, is evident, because it is so used in the very next verse, and again in a little lower, ver. 5. What therefor is it in his first Epistle which he here calls γέγραψα, this very thing, which he had writ to them? I answer, the Punishment of the Fornicator. This is plain by what follows here to ver. 11. especially if it be compared with 1 Cor. 4. 21. & 5. 8. For there he writes to them to punish that Perizon whom if he, St. Paul, had come himself before it was done, he must have come, as he calls it, with a Rod, and have himself chastified: But now that he knows that the Corinthians had punished him in Compliance to his Letter; and he had had this Trial of their Obedience, he is so far from continuing the Severity, that he writes to them to forgive him, and take him again into their Affection.

(2) St. Paul being satisfied with the Corinthians for their ready Compliance with his Orders, in his former Letter, to punish the Fornicator, intercedes to have him released; and to that end lefthis fault, and declares, however he might have caused Grief to the Corinthians, yet he had caused none to him.

(3) On the contrary, here, has nothing to refer to but ëllêxegâ, ever-charge, in the 5th Verse, which makes that to belong to the Fornicator, as I have explained it.

(4) 'Οπως, like one, meaning the Fornicator. It is observable how tenderly St. Paul deals with the Fornicator in this Epistle; for though he treats of the Fornicator from the 5th to the 10th Verse inclusively, yet he never mentions him under that or any other dist.
II CORINTHIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

12. Furthermore, being arrived at Troas, because Titus, whom I expected from Corinth with News of you, was not come, I was very uneasie (x) there, insomuch that I made not use of the Opportunity which was put into my Hands by the Lord, of preaching the Gospel of Christ, for which I came thither. I hastily left aforesaid place, and departed thence to Macedonia. But on the way, I had no rest in my spirit, because I had not received the News of Titus my brother; but taking my leave of them, I went from thence into Macedonia.

13. Now thanks be unto God, which always causeth us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the favour of his knowledge by us in every place.

14. For we are unto God a sweet savour of Christ, in them that are saved, and in them that perish.

15. To the one we are the favour of death unto death; and to the other the favour of life unto life: and who is sufficient for these things?

16. For we are not as many, which corrupt the word of God; but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God speak we in Christ.

TEXT.

Furthermore, when I came to Troas to preach Christ's gospel, and a door was opened unto me of the Lord,

I had no rest in my spirit, because I had not received the News of Titus my brother; but taking my leave of them, I went from thence into Macedonia.

Now thanks be unto God, which always causeth us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the favour of his knowledge by us in every place.

For we are unto God a sweet savour of Christ, in them that are saved, and in them that perish.

To the one we are the favour of death unto death; and to the other the favour of life unto life: and who is sufficient for these things?

For we are not as many, which corrupt the word of God; but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God speak we in Christ.

NOTES.

obliging Title, but in the soft and inoffensive Terms of any one, or such an one. And that possibly may be the reason why he says μη 'χειραπ' Indefinitely, without naming the Person it relates to.

12 (x) How uneasie he was, and upon what account, see Ch. 7. 7—16. It was not barely for Titus's Absence, but for want of the News he brought with him; Ch. 7. 7.

13 (u) Who makes me triumph every where, i.e. in the Success of my preaching in my Journey to Macedonia, and also in my Victory at the same time at Corinth over the false Apostles, my Opposers, that had railed a Faction against me amongst you. This, I think is St. Paul's meaning, and the reason of his using the word Triumph, which implies Contest and Victory, though he places that word in, as modestly to cover it.

15 (v) Vid. ch. 3. 5, 6.

16 (x) This, I think, may be understood of the false Apostle.

SECT. II. N. 3.

CHAP. III. 1—VII. 16.

CONTENTS.

His speaking well of himself, (as he did sometimes in his first Epistle, and with much more Freedom in this, which, as it seems, had been objected to him amongst the Corinthians) his Plainness of Speech, and his Sincerity in preaching the Gospel, are the things which he chiefly justifies in this Section many ways. We shall observe his Arguments as they come in the Order of St. Paul's Discourse, in which are mingled, with great Insinuation,
II CORINTHIANS.

Do we begin again to commend our selves? or need we, as some others, epistles of commendation to you, or letters of commendation from you?

Ye are our epistle written in our hearts, known and read of all men:

Forasmuch as ye are manifestly declared to be the epistle of Christ written by us, not minished by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in tables of the heart.

And such faith have we through Christ to Godward.

Not that we are sufficient of our selves to think anything as of our selves: but our sufficiency is of God.

Who also hath made us able ministers of the new testament.

TEXT.

Do I begin again to commend myself (γ), or need I, as some (α), commendatory Letters to, or from you? You are my commendatory Epistle written in my Heart, known and read by all Men. I need no other commendatory Letter, but that you, being manifested to be the commendatory Epistle of Christ written on my Behalf, not with Ink, but with the Spirit of the Living God, not on Tables of Stone (τάπεινά), but of the Heart, whereas I was the Amanuensis, i. e. your Conversation was the Effect of my Ministry.

And this so great Confidence have I through Christ in God. Not as if I were sufficient of my self to reckon (ταλαιπώρητος) upon anything as of my self, but my Sufficiency, my Ability to perform anything, is wholly from God: Who hath furnished and enabled me to be a Minister of the New Testament, not of the Letter (γράμμα), but of the Spirit; for the Letter killeth (κλίνει), but the

NOTES.

1. (γ) This is a plain Indication that he had been blamed amongst them for commending himself.
2. (α) Seems to intimate, that their false Apostle had got himself recommended to them by Letters, and so had introduced himself into that Church.
3. (γ) The Sense of St. Paul in this yd Verse is plainly this, That he needed no Letters of Commendation to them, but that by their Conversion, and the Gospel written not with Ink, but with the Spirit of God in the Tables of their Hearts, and not in Tables of Stone by his Ministry, was as clear an Evidence and Testimony to them of his Mission from Christ, as the Law wrote in Tables of Stone was an Evidence of Moses' Mission; so that he, St. Paul, needed no other Recommendation: This is what is to be understood by this Verse, unless we will make the Tables of Stone to have no Signification here. But to say as he does, that the Corinthian being written upon in their Hearts, not with Ink, but with the Spirit of God, by the Hand of St. Paul, was Christ's commendatory Letter of him, being a pretty bold Expression, liable to the Exception of the captious part of the Corinthians: He, to obviate all Imputation of Vanity or vain-Glory, herein immediately subjoins what follows in the next Verse.
4. (ταλαιπώρητος) As if he had said, But mistake me not as if I boasted of my self: This so great Boasting that I use, is only my Confidence in God through Christ: For it was God that made me Minister of the Gospel, that bestowed on me the Ability for it; and whatever I perform in it, is wholly for him.
5. (γράμμα) A mild Term for Boasting, for St. Paul uses it, Col. 1. 7- compared with ver. 8, where also ἀποφημίζω, ver. 7. is used as here, for counting upon one's self; St. Paul also uses παραφημίζω for thou boastest, Rom. 2. 19, which will appear, if compared with ver. 17. or if αποφημίζω shall rather be thought to signify here, to discover by Reasoning, then the Apostle's Sense will run thus: 'Not as if I were sufficient of my self, by the Strength of my own natural Parts, to attain the Knowledge of the Gospel-truths that I preach, but my Ability herein is all from God.' But in whatever Sense αποφημίζω is here taken, his certain 1. which is translated anything, must be limited to the Subject in hand, viz. the Gospel that he preach'd to them.
6. (κλίνει) The Letter, κλίνη, not of the Letter, but of the Spirit. By expressing himself as he does here, St. Paul may be understood to intimate that the New Testament or Covenant, was also, the, that obiously, held forth in the Law: For he says he was constituted a Minister, καθαριστὴς, of the Spirit, or spiritual meaning of the Law, which was Christ, (as he tells us himself, ver. 17.) and gives Life whilst the Letter killeth. But both Letter and Spirit must be understood of the same thing, viz. the Letter of the Law, and the Spirit of the Law. And in Fact we find St. Paul truly a Minister of the Spirit of the Law, especially in his Epistle to the Corinthians, where he shows what a spiritual Sense ran through the Mosaic Institution and Writing.
7. The Letter killeth, i. e. pronouncing Death, without any way of Remission, on all Transgressors, leaves them under an irrevocable Sentence of Death. But the Spirit, i. e. Christ, ver. 17. who is a quickening Spirit, 1 Cor. 15. 45. giveth Life.
7. Spirit gives Life. But if the Ministry of the Law written in Stone, which condemns to Death, were so glorious to Moses, that his Face shone so that the Children of Israel could not stedfastly behold the Brightness of it, which was but temporary, and was quickly to vanish (f). How can it be otherwise, but that the Ministry of the Spirit, which giveth Life, should confer more Glory and Lustre on the Ministers of the Gospel? For if the Ministration of Condemnation were Glory, the Ministry of Justification (g) in the Gospel doth certainly much more exceed in Glory.

8. Though even the Glory that Moses' Ministration had, was no Glory, in comparison of the far more excelling Glory of the Gospel-Ministry (b). Farther, if that which is temporary, and to be done away, were delivered with Glory, how much rather is that which remains without being done away to appear in Glory (i)? Wherefore having such Hope, (k) we use great Freedom and Plainness of Speech: And not as Moses, who put a Veil over his Face, do we veil the Light, teftament, not of the Letter, but of the spirit: for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.

But if the ministration of death written and engraven in stones, was glorious, so that the children of Israel could not steadfastly behold the face of Moses, for the glory of his countenance, which glory was to be done away; how shall not the ministration of the spirit be rather glorious?

For if the ministration of condemnation be glory, much more doth the ministration of Righteousness exceed in glory.

For even that which is was made glorious, had no glory in this respect, by reason of the glory that excelleth.

For if that which is done away was glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious.

Seeing then that we have such hope, we use great plainness of speech.

NOTES.

7 (f) Καλαπασωμίαν, done away, is applied here to the shining of Moses' Face, and to the Law, ver. 11, & 13. In all which places it is used in the Present Tense, and has the Signification of an Adjective, standing for temporary, or of a Duration, whose end was determined, and is opposed to νησίμιαν, that which remaineth, i.e. that which is lasting, and hath no predetermined end set to it, as ver. 11. where the Gospel-Diaphoresis is called νησίμια, that which remaineth: This may help us to understand ἢν ἢνε νησίμια, the Glory done away, of this Verse; And so plainly signifies a continued lasting Glory of the Ministers of the Gospel; which, as he tells us there, confined in their bodies changed into the image and clear Representation of the Lord himself; as the Glory of Moses confined in the transitory Brightness of his Face, which was a faint Reflection of the Glory of God appearing to him in the Mount.

9 (g) πανακάλαπασωμός, the Ministry of Righteousness; so to the Ministry of the Gospel is called, because by the Gospel a way is provided for the Justification of those who have transgressed: But the Law has nothing but rigid condemnation for all Transgressors, and therefore is called here the Ministration of Condemnation.

10 (h) Though the showing that the Ministry of the Gospel is more glorious than that of the Law, be what St. Paul is upon here, thereby to justify himself, if he has assumed some Authority and Commendation to himself, in his Ministry and Apostleship; yet in his thus industriously placing the Ministry of the Gospel in Honour above that of Moses, may he not possibly have an Eye to the judging false Apostle of the Corinthians, to let them see what little regard was to be had to that Ministration, in comparison of the Ministry of the Gospel?

(i) Here St. Paul mentions another Pre-eminency and Superiority of Gospel in the Gospel over the Law, viz. That the Law was to cease and to be abolished, but the Gospel to remain and never be abolished.

12 (i) Such Hope: That St. Paul by these words means the so honourable Employment of an Apostle and Minister of the Gospel, or the Glory belonging to his Ministry in the Gospel, it evident by the whole foregoing Comparison which he has made, which is all along between Χαλασμα, the Ministry of the Law and of the Gospel, and not between the Law and the Gospel themselves. The calling of it Hope instead of Glory here, where he speaks of his having of it, is the Language of Modesty, which more particularly suited his present Purpose. For the Conclusion, which in this Verse he draws from what went before, plainly shews the Apostle’s Design in this Discourse, to be the Justifying his speaking freely of himself and others; his Argument amounting to this much.

Having therefore so honourable an Employment, as is the Ministry of the Gospel, which far exceeds the Ministry of the Law in Glory, though even that gave to great a Lustre to Moses’ Face, that the Children of Israel could not with fixed Eyes look upon him; I, as becomes one of such Hopes, in such a Past as lets me above all mean Considerations and Compliances, use great Freedom and Plainness of Speech in all things that concern my Ministry.
And not as Moses, which put a veil over his face, that the children of Israel could not look to the end of that which is abolished.

But their minds were blinded: for until this day remains the same veil untaken away, in the reading of the old testament, which veil is done away in Christ.

But even unto this day, when Moses is read, the veil is upon their heart. Nevertheless, when it shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away.

Now the Lord is that Spirit; and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.

But we all with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, that the Obscurity of what we deliver, should hinder (l) the Children of Israel from seeing in the Law, which was to be done away, Christ who was the end (m) of the Law: But their not seeing it, is from the Blindness of their own Minds; For unto this Day the same Veil remains upon their Understandings in reading of the Old Testament, which Veil is done away in Christ, i.e. Christ, now he is come, so exactly answers all the Types, Prefigurations, and Predictions of him in the Old Testament, that presently, upon turning our Eyes upon him, he visibly appears to be the Person designed, and all the Obscurity of those Passages concerning him, which before were not understood, is taken away, and ceases. Nevertheless, even until now, when the Writings of Moses are read, the Veil (n) remains upon their Hearts, they see not the spiritual and evangelical Truths contain'd in them. But when their Heart shall turn to the Lord, and laying by Prejudice and Aversion, shall be willing to receive the Truth, the Veil shall be taken away, and they shall plainly see him to be the Person spoken of and intended (o). But the Lord is the Spirit (p) whereof we are Ministers; and they who have this Spirit, they have liberty (q), so that they speak openly and freely: But we, all the faithful Ministers of the

NOTES.

(l) U. Moæ to μὴ δεικνύω. &c. That the Children of Israel could not steadfastly look, &c. St. Paul is here justifying himself, and other Ministers of the Gospel, the Plainness and Openness of their Preaching, which he had affur'd in the immediately preceding Verse. These Words therefore here, must of necessity be understood not of Moses, but of the Ministers of the Gospel, viz. That it was not the Obscurity of their preaching, for any thing veiled in their way of propounding the Gospel, which was the Cause why the Children of Israel did not understand the Law to the Bottom, and see Chrift, and the end of it, in the Writings of Moses. What St. Paul lays in the next Verse, But their Minds were blinded: for until this Day remains the same Veil untaken away, plainly determines the Words we are upon to the Sense I have taken them in: For what Sense is this? Moses put a Veil over his Face, so that the Children of Israel could not see the end of the Law; but their Minds were blinded: for the Veil remains upon them until this Day. But this is very good Sense, and to St. Paul's Purpoze, viz. "We the Ministers of the Gospel speak plainly and openly, and put no Veil upon our selves, as Moses did, whereby to hinder the Jews from seeing Christ in the Law: But that which hinders them, is a Blindness on their Minds, which has been always on them, and remains to this Day." This seems to be an obviating an Objection which some among the Corinthians might make to his boasting of so much Plainness and Clearness in his preaching, viz. If you preach the Gospel, and Christ contained in the Law, with such a shining Clearness and Evidence, how comes it that the Jews are not converted to it? His Reply is, "Their Unbelief comes not from any Obscurity in our Preaching, but from a Blindness which rests upon their Minds to this Day; which shall be taken away when they turn to the Lord." (m) Vid. Rom. 10. 4-4.

(o) St. Paul possibly alludes here to the Custom of the Jews, which continues still in the Synagogue, that when the Law is read they put a Veil over their Faces.

(q) There is Liberty; because the Spirit is given only to Sons, or those that are free. See Rom. 8. 15. Gal. 4. 6. 7.
New Testament, not veiled (r), but with open Countenances, as Mirrors reflecting the Glory of the Lord, are changed into his very Image, by a continued Succession of Glory, as it were streaming upon us from the Lord, who is the Spirit who gives us this Clearness and Freedom. Seeing therefore I am intrusted with such a Ministry as this, according as I have received great Mercy, being extraordinarily and miraculously called when I was a Persecutor, I do not fail (r) nor flag, I do not behave myself unworthy in it, nor misbecoming the Honour and Dignity of such an Employment: But having renounced all unworthy and indirect Designs, which will not bear the Light, free from Craft, and from playing any deceitful Tricks in my preaching the Word of God, I recommend my self to every one’s Conscience, only by making changes into the same Image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord.

Therefore seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy we faint not:

But have renounced the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully, but by manifestation of the truth, commending our selves to every man’s conscience in the fight of God.

NOTES.

18 (r) St. Paul justifies his Freedom and Plainness of Speech, by his being made by God himself a Minister of the Gospel, which is a more glorious Ministry—than that of Mose, in promulgating the Law. This he does from ver. 6. to ver. 12. inclusively. From thence to the end of the Chapter, he justifies his Liberty of speaking, in that he, as a Minister of the Gospel, being illuminated with greater and brighter Rays of Light than Mose, was to speak (as he did) with more Freedom and Clearness, than Mose had done. This being the Scope of St. Paul in this place, is visibly, that all from these words, Who put a Veil upon his Face, ver. 13. to the beginning of ver. 18. is a Parenthesis; which being laid aside, the Comparison between the Ministers of the Gospel and Mose stands clear; “Mose with a Veil covered the Brightness and Glory of God, which shone in his Countenance, but we the Ministers of the Gospel with open Countenances, endo poy 7a, reflecting as Mirrors the Glory of the Lord. So the Word 7a poy y /q/ may signify here, and not beholding as in a Mirror, because the Comparison is between the Ministers of the Gospel and Mose, and not between the Ministers of the Gospel and the Children of Israel; Now the Aktion of beholding was the Aktion of the Children of Israel, but of shining or reflecting the Glory received in the Mount, was the Aktion of Mose, and therefore it must be something answereth that in the Ministers of the Gospel wherein the Comparison is made, as is farther manifest in another part of the Comparison between the veiled Face of Mose, ver. 13. and the open Face of the Ministers of the Gospel in this Vers. The Face of Mose was veiled, that the bright shining or Glory of God remaining on it, or reflected from it, might not be seen, and the Faces of the Ministers of the Gospel are open, that the bright shining of the Gospel, or the Glory of Christ, may be seen. Thus the Brightness of the Comparion stands fair, and has an easy Sense, which is hard to be made out, if y /q/ be translated beholding as in a Glass.

To eXe 6706 muIsXopadv, We are changed into that very Image, i.e. the Reflection of the Glory of Christ from us is so very bright and clear, that we are changed into his very Image, whereas the Light that shone in Mose’s Countenance, was but a faint Reflection of the Glory which he saw when God shew’d him his back:—Parts 1 Exod. 34. 29.

A6 CeXe ceXe, f o m G o d t o G o d, i. e. with a continued Indlux and Renewing of Glory, in opposition to the fhining of Mose’s Face, which decay’d and disappear’d in a little while: Ver. 7.

TeXe 699 6706, as from the Lord the Spirit, i.e. as if this Irradiation of Light and Glory came immediately from the Source of it, the Lord himself, who is the Spirit wherein we are the Ministers, ver. 6. which giveth Life and Liberty, v. 17. man’s concern.

This Liberty he here speaks of, ver. 17. is qwy 7a, Liberty of Speech, mentioned ver. 12. the Subject of St. Paul’s Discourse here; as is farther manifest from what immediately follows in the first Verses of the next Chapter, wherein an attentive Reader may find a very clear Comment on this 18th Vers we are upon, which is there explain’d in the Senfe we have given of it.

(1) **One instance, we faint not,** is the same with respect to 6706 6706 6706, we use great Plainness of Speech, ver. 12. of the foregoing Chapter, and signifies in both places the clear, plain, direct, disinterested Preaching of the Gospel, which is what he means in that figurative way of speaking in the former Chapter, especially the last Verses of it, and which he more plainly expresses in the five or six first Verses of this. The whole Bencil of the first part of this Epistle being, as we have already observed, to justify to the Corinthians hisBehaviour in his Ministry, and to convince them that in his preaching the Gospel he hath been plain, clear, open and candid, without any hidden Design, or the least Mixture of any concealed Secular Interest.
But if our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost:
4. In whom of the god of this world hath blinded the eyes of the mind of them which believe not, left the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine in them.
5. For we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and our hope is in Jesus Christ.
6. For God who commandeth the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ.
7. But we have this treasure in earthy vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of man.
8. We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; perplexed, but not in despair.
9. Persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed.
10. Always bearing about in the body, the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our body.
11. For we which live, are always delivered unto death.

Notes:
3 (2) "Αὐθανάστησα τοῦ κοσμοῦ τῆς ἀλήθειας, have renounced the hidden things of Drossiness, and ἡ παραγωγὴ τῆς ἀλήθειας, by manifestation of the Truth. These Expressions explain, αὐθανάστησαι τοῦ κοσμοῦ, with open Face, ch. 3. 9.
4. (a) The god of this World, i.e. the Devil, so called, because the Men of the World worshipped and obey'd him as their God.
(b) Βλάφανεν αὐτὸν, blinded their Minds, answer's εὐαφανεία, their Minds were blinded, ch. 3. 14. And the second and third Verse of this explains the 13th and 14th Ver's of the preceding Chapter.
5. (a) Δύναμις, Glory, here, as in the former Chapter, is put for Shining and Brightness, so that ἀκούει κοιτή, τὰς κοιτάς, their Brightness or Clearness of the Doctrine wherein Christ is manifested in the Gospel.
6. (b) This is a Continuation still of the Allegory of Mist, and the Shining of his Face, so much intimated in the foregoing Chapter. For the Explication whereof, give me leave to add here one Word more to what I have said upon it already. Mist, by approaching to God in the Mount, had a Communication of Glory or Light from him, which irradiated from his Face when he descended from the Mount. Mist put a Veil over his Face, to hide this Light or Glory; for both these Names St. Paul uses in this and the foregoing Chapter for the same thing. But the Glory or Light of the Knowledge of God more fully and clearly communicated by Jesus Christ, is said here to shine in his Face, and in that respect it is that Christ in the foregoing Verse is called by St. Paul, the Image of God; and the Apostles are said in the last Verse of the precedent Chapter, to be transformed into the same Image from Glory to Glory, i.e. by their large and clear Communications and to represent as Mirrors the Glory of the Lord, and to be as it were the Images of Christ, as Christ is (as we are told here, ver. 4.) the Image of God.
by my Preaching and Sufferings in this mortal Flesh of mine. So that the preaching of the Gospel procures Sufferings and Danger of Death to me, but to you it procures Life, i.e. the Energy of the Spirit of Christ whereby he lives in and gives Life to those who believe in him. Nevertheless though Suffering and Death accompany the preaching the Gospel, yet having the same Spirit of Faith that David had, when he said, I believe, therefore have I spoken, I also believing therefore speak, knowing that he who raised up the Lord Jesus shall raise me up also by Jesus, and present me with you to God. For I do and suffer all things for your sakes, that the exuberant Favour of God may abound by the Thanksgiving of a greater Number to the Glory of God, i.e. I endeavour by my Sufferings and Preaching to make as many Converts as I can, so the more partaking of the Mercy and Favour of God, of which there is a plentiful and inexhaustible Store, the more may give Thanks unto him, it being more for the Glory of God, that a greater Number should give thanks and pray to him: For which reason I faint not, (a) I flag not, but tho' my bodily Strength decay, yet the Vigour of my Mind is daily renewed: For the more my Sufferings are here in propagating the Gospel, which at worst are but transient and light, the more will they procure me an exceedingly far greater Addition of that Glory (a) in Heaven which is solid and eternal: I having no regard to the visible things of this World, but to the invisible things of the other; for the things that are seen are temporal, but those that are not seen eternal. For I know, that if this my Body, which is but as a Tent for my sojourning here upon Earth for a short time, were dissolved, I shall have another of a divine Original, which shall not, like Buildings made with Men's Hands, be subject to decay, but shall be eternal in the Heavens. For in this Tabernacle (b) I groan earntly, desiring without putting off this mortal earthly Body by Death, to have that celestial Body superinduced: If so be, the coming (c) of Christ shall overtake me in this for Jesus sake, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our mortal flesh. 

So then death worketh in us, but life in you.

We having the same Spirit of faith, according as it is written, I believed, and therefore have I spoken: we also believe, and therefore speak.

Knowing that he which raised up the Lord Jesus, shall raise up us also by Jesus, and shall present us with you.

For all things are for your sakes, that the abundant grace might, through the thanksgiving of many, redound to the glory of God. For which cause we faint not, but though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day.

For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory:

While we look not at things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal.

For we know that if this earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.

For in this we groan earntly, desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven;

If so be, that being clothed, we shall not be found naked.
For we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened; not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life. Now he that hath wrought us for the self-same thing, is God, who also hath given us the earnest of the Spirit. Therefore we are always confident, knowing that whilst we are at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord. (For we walk by faith, not by sight.) We are confident, I say, and willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord. Wherefore we labour, that whether present or absent we may be accepted of him. For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, life before I put off this Body. For we that are in the Body groan under the pressures and inconveniences that attend us in it, which yet we are not therefore willing to put off, but had rather, without dying have it changed (d) into a celestial immortal Body, that so this mortal State may be put an end to, by an immediate Entrance into an immortal Life. Now it is God who prepares and fits us for this immortal State, who also gives us the Spirit as a pledge (e) of it. Wherefore being always undaunted (f), and knowing that whilst I dwell or sojourn in this Body I am absent from my proper home, which is with the Lord (for I regulate my Conduct, not by the Enjoyment of the visible things of this World, but by my Hope and Expectation of the invisible things of the World to come) I with boldness preach the Gospel, preferring in my Choice the quitting this Habitation to get home to the Lord. Wherefore I make this my only Aim, whether slaying (g) here in this Body, or departing out of it, so to acquire my self, as to be acceptable to him (h). For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive according to what he has done in life before I put off this Body.

NOTES.

4. (d) The same that he had told them in the first Epistle, ch. 15. 51. should happen to those who should be alive at Christ's coming. This I must own is no very easy Passage, whether we understand by 

5. (e) The Spirit is mentioned in more places than one, as the pledge and earnest of immortality; more particularly, Eph. 1. 13, 14. which compared with Rom. 8. 23. shews that the inheritance whereof the Spirit is the earnest, is the same which the Apostle speaks of here, viz. the possession of immortal bodies.

7. (f) We are confident, signifying in these two Verses the same that 

8. (g) Versi ἐξεστασεως, ἐξ ἐνέργειας, whether slaying in the Body, or going out of it, i.e. Whether I am to stay longer here, or suddenly to depart. This sentence the foregoing Verse leads us to, and what he says in this Verse, that he endeavours (whether in-slaying, or ex-slaughtering) to be well pleasing to the Lord, i.e. to do what is well pleasing to him, shows, that neither of these words can signify here his being with Christ in Heaven. For when he is there, the time of endeavoring to approve himself is over.

9. (h) St. Paul from ch. 4. 12. to this place, has, to convince them of his uprightness in his Ministry, been shewing that the hope and sure expectation he had of eternal life, kept him steady and resolute in an open sincere preaching of the Gospel, without any tricks or deceitful Artifice. In which his Argument stands thus: "Knowing that God who railed up Christ, will raise me up again, without any measure or consideration of what it may draw upward on me, preach the Gospel faithfully, making this account, that the unremittent afflictions which for it I may suffer here, which are but light in comparison of the eternal things of another life, will exceedingly increase my happiness in the other world, where I long to be, and therefore death, which brings me home to Christ, is no terror to me, all my care is, that whether I am to stay longer in this Body, or quickly to leave it, living or dying I may approve my self to Christ in my Ministry." In the next two Verses he has another Argument to urge the same Thoughts of him, and that is, the punishment he shall receive at the Day of judgment, if he should neglect to preach the Gospel faithfully, and not endeavour sincerely and earnestly to make Converts to Christ.

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the Body, whether it be good or bad. Knowing therefore this terrible Judgment of the Lord, I preach the Gospel, persuading Men to be Christians. And with what Integrity I discharge that Duty, is manifest to God, and I trust you also are convinced of it in your Confessions. And this I say, not that I commend (i) my self again: But that I may give you an occasion not to be ashamed of me, but to glory on my behalf, having wherewithal to reply to those who make a shew of glorying in outward Appearance, without doing so inwardly in their Hearts (k). For if (l) I am besides my self (m), in speaking as I do of my self, it is between God and me, he must judge, Men are not concerned in it, nor hurt by it: Or if I do it soberly, and upon good ground. If what I profess of my self be in Reality true, it is for your sake and advantage. For 'tis the Love of Christ constraineth me, judging as I do, that if Christ died for all, then all were dead: And that if he died for all, his Intention was, that they who by him have attain'd to a State of Life, should not any longer live to themselves alone, seeking only their own private advantage, but should employ their Lives in promoting the Gospel and Kingdom of Christ, who for them died and rofe again: So that from henceforth I have no Regard to any one, according to the Fleth (n), i.e. for being circumcised or a Jew. For if I my self have gloried in this, that Christ himself was circumcised as I am, and was of my Blood and Nation, I do of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.

Knowing therefore that terror of the Lord, we persuade men: but we are made manifest unto God, and I trust also are made manifest in your confessions. For we commend not our selves again unto you, but give you occasion to glory on our behalf, that you may have somewhats to answer them which glory in appearance, and not in heart.

For whether we be, or are not, or whether we beobre, it is for your case. For the love of Christ constraineth us, because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead:

And that he died for all, that they which live, should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them, and rofe again.

Wherefore henceforth we know we no man after the flesh; yea, though we have known Christ after the Fleth, yet now henceforth know we him no more.

NOTES.

12 (i) From this place, and several others in this Epistle, it cannot be doubted but that his speaking well of himself, had been objected to him as a Fault. And in this lay his great Difficulty, how to deal with this People. If he answer'd nothing to what was talk'd of him, his Silence might be interpreted Guilt and Confusion: If he defended himself, he was accused of Vanity, Self-satisfaction, and Folly. Hence it is that he utes so many Reasons to shew, that his whole Carriage was upon Principles far above all worldly Considerations: and tells them here, once for all, that the account he gives of himself is only to furnish them who are his Friends, and stick to him, with Matter to justify themselves in their Esteem of him, and to reply to the contrary Faction.

(ii) This may be understood of the Leaders of the opposite Faction, who, as his manifist from ch. 10. 7, 11, and 11. 13, 22, 23, pretended to something that they gloried in, though St. Paul affirms they were satisfied in Conscience that they had no solid Ground of glorying.

13 (i) St. Paul from the 13th Verse of this Chapter, to ch. 6. 12, gives another Reason for his disinterested Carriage in preaching the Gospel, and that is his Love to Christ, who by his Death having given him Life who was dead, he concludes, that in Gratitude he ought not to live to himself any more. He therefore being as in a new Creation, had now no longer any regard to the Things or Persons of this World, but being made by God a Minister of the Gospel, he minded only the faithful Discharge of his Duty in that Ambassadors, and persuant thereto took care that his Behaviour should be such as he describes, ch. 6. 3 — 10.

(m) Besides my self. I.e. in speaking well of my self in my own justification. He that observes what St. Paul lays, ch. 11. 1, and 16. — 21. ch. 12. 6, and 11. will scarce doubt but that the speaking of himself, as he did, was by his Enemies called glorying, and imputed to him as Folly and Madness.

16 (n) This may be supposed to be said with Reflection on their Jewish tale Apollo, who gloried in his Circumcision, and perhaps that he had seen Christ in the Fleth, or was in some way related to him.
Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passe away, behold, all things are become new.

And all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation;

To wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto him, not imputing their trespasses unto them; and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation.

Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God.

For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.

We then as workers together with him, beseech you also, that ye receive not the grace of God in vain.

(For he saith, I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of salvation have I succoured thee: behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation)

Giving no offence in any thing, that the ministry be not blamed;

But in all things approving our selves as the ministers of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in difficulties,

now no more any longer. So that if any one be in Christ, it is as if he were in a new Creation (a), wherein all former mundane Relations, Considerations and Interests (p) are ceased, and at an end, all things in that State are new to him, and he owes his very Being in it, and the Advantages he therein enjoys, not in the least measure to his Birth, Extravagance, or any legal Observances or Privileges, but wholly and solely to God alone; reconciling the World to himself by Jesus Christ, and not imputing their trespasses to them. And therefore I whom God hath reconciled to himself, and to whom he hath given the Ministry, and committed the Word of his Reconciliation, as an Armifador for Christ, as though God did by me beseech you, I pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God. For God hath made him subject to Sufferings and Death, the Punishment and Consequence of Sin, as if he had been a Sinner, though he were guilty of no Sin; that we in and by him might be made righteous by a Righteousness imputed to us by God. I therefore working together with him, beseech you alway, that you receive not the favour of God in the Gospel preached to you in vain (q). (For he faith, I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of Salvation have I succoured thee: Behold now is the accepted time; behold now is the day of Salvation) giving no Offence to any one in any thing, that the Ministry be not blamed: But in every thing approving my self as becomes the Minister of God, by much Patience in Afflictions.

NOTES.

17 (a) Gal. 5. 14. may give some light to this place. To make this 16th and 17th Veres coherency to the rest of St. Paul's Discourse here, they must be understood in reference to the false Apostle, against whom St. Paul is here justifying himself, and makes it his main Business in this as well as his former Epistle, to shew what that false Apostle gloried in, was no just Cause of baiting, Partant to this Design of sinking the Authority and Credit of that false Apostle, St. Paul in thefe and the following Veres dexterously intimates these two things: I. That the Ministry of Reconciliation being committed to him, they should not forsake him, to humour to: and follow that Pretender. 2. That they being in Christ, and the new Creation, should, as he does, not know any Man in the flesh, nor esteem or glory in that false Apostle, because he might perhaps pretend to have seen our Saviour in the flesh, or have heard him, or the like. (b) Ps. 119. 144. old things, perhaps may here mean the Jewish Oeconomy, for the false Apostle was a Jew, and as such assumed to himself some Authority probably by Right of Blood and Privilege of his Nation, vid. 2 Cor. 11. 21, 22. But that St. Paul here tells them, now under the Gospel is all antiquated and quite out of doors.

18 (p) Receive the Grace of God in vain, the time with believing in vain, 1 Cor. 14. 2. i.e. recasting the Doctrine of the Gospel for true, and professing Christianity, without perceiving in it, or performing what the Gospel requires.
PARAPHRASE.

5. fictions, in Necessities, in Streights, in Stripes, in Imprisonments, in being tossed up and down, in Labours, in Watchings, in Fastings; By a Life under-filed; by Knowledge; by Long-sufferings; by the Gifts of the Holy Ghost; by Love unfeigned; by preaching of the Gospel of Truth sincerely; by the Power of God afflicting my Ministration; by Uprightness of Mind, wherewith I am armed at all points, both to do and to suffer; by Honour and Diligence; by good and bad Report, as a Deceiver (r), and yet faithful; as an obscure unknown Man, but yet known and owned; as one often in danger of Death, and yet behold I live; as chastened, but yet not killed; as sorrowful, but yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things. O ye Corinthians, my Mouth is opened to you, my Heart is enlarged (c) to you, my Affection, my Tenderness, my Compliance for you, is not fierce and narrow. 'Tis your own Narrowness makes you uneasie. Let me speak to you as a Father to his Children; in return do you likewise enlarge your Affections and Deference to me. Be ye not associated with Unbelievers, have nothing to do with them in their Vices or Worship (c), for what Fellowship hath Righteousness with Unrighteousness? What Communion hath Light with Darkness? What Concord hath Christ with Belial (w)? Or what Part hath a Believer with an Unbeliever? What Agreement hath the Temple of God with Idols? For ye are the Temple of the living God, as God hath said, I will dwell in them, among them will I walk, and I will be their God, and they shall be my People.

TEXT.

In stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in fastings, By purity, by knowledge, by long-suffering, by kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned, By the word of truth, By the power of God, by the armour of righteousness, on the right hand and on the left, By honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report: as deceivers, and yet true; As unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold we live; as chastened, and not killed; As sorrowful, yet alway rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things.

O ye Corinthians, our mouth is open unto you, our heart is enlarged. Ye are not entangled in wickedness, but ye are entertained in your own bowels. Now for a recompence in the same, (I speak as unto my children) be ye also enlarged. Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? For ye are the temple of the living God; as God hath said, I will dwell in them; and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.

NOTES.

8 (r) Deceiver, a Title 'tis like he had received from some of the opposite Faction at Corinth, Vid. ch. 12. 16.
11 (c) Another Argument St. Paul makes use of to justifie and excuse his Plainness of Speech to the Corinthians, is, the great Affection he has for them, which he here breaks out into an Expression of, in a very patheticall manner. This, with an Exhortation to separate from Idolaters and Unbelievers, is what he insists on from this place to ch. 7. 16.
14 (c) Vid. ch. 7. 1.
15 (w) Belial is a general Name for all the false Gods worshipped by the Idolatrous Gentiles.
Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you. 

And will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty. Having therefore these promises (dearly beloved) let us cleanse our selves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God. 

Receive us: we have wronged no man, we have corrupted no man, we have defrauded no man. 

I have not this to condemn you: for I have said before, that you are in our hearts to die and live with you. 

Great is my boldness of speech towards you, great is my glorying of you: I am filled with comfort, I am exceeding joyful in all our tribulation. 

For when we were come into Macedonia, our flesh had no rest, but we were troubled on every side: without were fightings, within were fears. 

Nevertheless, God that comforteth those that are cast down, comforted us by the coming of Titus: 

And not by his coming only, but by the confirmation wherein he was comforted in you, when he told us your earnest desire, your mourning, your foreseen mind toward me: so that I rejoiced the more. 

For though I made you sorry with a letter, I do not repent, though I did repent: for I perceive that the same epistle made you sorry, though it were but for a season. 

Now I rejoice, not that ye were made sorry, but that ye were sorrowed to repentance: for ye were made sorry after a godly manner, that ye might receive damage by us in nothing.

NOTES.

2 This seems to intimate the contrary Behaviour of their false Apostle. 

3 (a) 1 Cor. 4. 3. 2 Cor. 10. 2. and 11. 20, 21. and 13. 3. 

5 (a) 1 Cor. 11. 3.
For godly sorrow worketh Repentance to Salvation not to be repented of: But sorrow rising from worldly Interests, worketh Death. In the present cafe mark it, (z) that godly Sorrow which you had, what Carefulness it wrought in you, to conform your selves to my Orders, ver. 15. yea, what clearing of your selves from your former Miscarriages; yea what Indignation against those who led you into them; yea, what Fear to offend me (a); yea, what vehement Desire of satisfying me; yea, what Zeal for me; yea, what Revenge against your selves for having been so misled. You have shewn your selves to be yet right *, and be as you shou'd be in every thing, by this Carriage of yours †. If therefore I wrote unto you concerning the Fornicator, it was not for his sake that had done, nor has that had suffered, the Wrong, but principally that my Care and Concern for you might be made known to you, as in the Presence of God. Therefore I was comforted in your Comfort: But much more exceedingly rejoiced I in the Joy of Titus, because his Mind was set at Ease by the good Disposition he found you all in towards me (‡). So that I am not ashamed of having boasted of you to him. For all that I have said to you is Truth, so I said to Titus in your

**NOTES.**

11 (z) St. Paul writing to those who knew the Temper they were in, and what were the Objects of the several Passions which were railed in them, both both here and in the 7th Verse forbear to mention by and to what they were moved out of Modesty and Rejoicing to them. This is necessary for the Information of ordinary Readers, to be supplied as can be best collected from the main Design of the Apostle in these two Epistles, and from several Passages giving us Light in it.

(a) Vid. Ver. 15. * Clear. This word answers very well αἰσχρός in the Greek; but then to be clear in English, is generally understood to signify not to have been guilty which could not be the Sent of the Apostles, he having charged the Corinthians to warily in his first Epistle. His Meaning must therefore be, that they had now resolved on a contrary Course, and were so far clear, i.e. were set right, and in good Disposition again, as he describes it in the former part of this Verse. † And therefore I think εἰς αὐτὸν δὲ ἥξεσθαι, may be he render'd in fault, i.e. by your Sorrow, your Fear, your Indignation, your Zeal, &c. I think it cannot well be translated in this matter, understanding thereby the Punishment of the Fornicator. For that was not the matter St. Paul had been speaking of, but the Corinthians siding with the sable Apostle against him, was the Subject of the preceding part of this, and of the three or four foregoing Chapters, wherein he justifies himself against their Slanders, and invalidates the Pretences of the adverse Party. This is that which lay chiefly upon his Heart, and which he labours Mights and Main both in this and the former Epistle to refute, as the Foundation of all the Dissensions amongst them. And consequently is the matter wherein he rejoices to find them All set right. Indeed in the immediately following Verse, he mentions his having writ to them concerning the Fornicator, but it is only as an Argument of his Kindness and Concern for them: But that what was the great Cause of his Rejoicing, what it was that gave him the great Satisfaction, was the breaking the Factions, and the re-uniting them All to himselves, which he expresses in the word οὕτως emphatically used, ver. 13, 15, and from thence he concludes that, ver. 16. I rejoice therefore that I have confidence in you in all things. His Mind was now at rest, the Partisans of his Opposer the sable Apostle having forlorned that Leader whom they had so much gloried in, and being all now come over to St. Paul, he doubted not but all would go well, and so leaves off the Subject he had been upon in the seven foregoing Chapters, viz. the Judication of himself, with here and there Reflections on that sable Apostle.

13 (b) Vid. Ver. 15. **Commenda-**
II CORINTHIANS

TEXT.

And his inward affection is more abundant toward you, whilost he remembereth the obedience of you all, how with fear and trembling you received him. I rejoice therefore that I have confidence in you in all things.

Commendation he has found to be true, whereby his Affection to you is abundantly increas'd, he carrying in his Mind the universal Obedience of you all unanimously to me, and the manner of your receiving him with Fear and Trembling. I rejoice therefore that I have Confidence in you in all things.

SECT. III.

CHAP. VIII. 1—IX. 15.

CONTENTS

The Apostle having implo'y'd the Seven foregoing Chapters in his own justifiction, in the close whereof he expresses the great Satisfaction he had in their being all united again in their Affection and Obedience to him, he in the two next Chapters exhorts them especially by the Example of the Churches of Macedonia, to a liberal Contribution to the poor Christians in Judea.

TEXT.

Moreover, brethren, we do you to wit of the grace of God bestowed on the churches of Macedonia;

2. How that in a great trial of affliction, the abundance of their joy, and their deep poverty abounded unto the riches of their liberality;

3. For to their power (I fear record yea, and beyond their power, they were willing of themselves.

4. Praying with much intreaty, that we would receive the gift, and take upon us the fellowship of the ministrings to the saints,

5. And this they did, not as we hoped, but first gave their own selves to the Lord, and unto us by the will of God.

PARAPHRASE.

Moreover, brethren, I make known to you the Gift, which the grace of God is given in the Churches of Macedonia, viz. that amidst the afflictions they have been much tried with, they have with exceeding cheerfulnes and Joy made their very low estate of poverty yield a rich contribution of liberality, being forward of themselves (as I must bear them witness) to the utmost of their power; nay, and beyond their power, earnestly intertreating me to receive their contribution, and be a partner with others in the charge of conveying and distributing it to the saints. And in this they out-did my expectation, who could not have for so large a collection from them. But they gave themselves first to the Lord, and to me, to dispose of what they had according as the good pleasure of God should direct.

NOTES.

1 (c) Xαρίον, which is translated Grace, is here used by St. Paul for Gift or Liberality, and is so used, ver. 4, 6, 7, 9, 19, and 1 Cor. 16. 3. It is called also χαρίαν, the gift of God, because God is the Author and Provider of it, moving their hearts to it. Besides Διάκονοι is not to be supply'd on, but given in or by.

2 (d) How ill-disposed and rough to the Christians the Macedonians were, may be seen, Acts 16, and 17.
Infomuch that we de
d Titus, that as he had
to, so he would also
the same
Therefore as ye abound
in every thing, in faith, in
utterance, and knowledge,
and in all diligence, and
your love to us; see that
ye abound in this
I speak not by com-
mandment, but by occasion
of the forwardness of oth-
ers, and to prove the
sincerity of your love.
For ye know the grace
of our Lord Jesus Christ,
that though he was rich,
yet for our sakes he be-
came poor, that ye through
his poverty might be rich.
And herein I give my ad-
vice: for this is expedi-
tent for you who have be-
known, not only to do,
but also to be forward a
year ago.
Now therefore perform the
doing of it, that as there was a readiness to
will, so there may be a
performance also out of
that which you have.
For if there be frill a
willing mind, it is accept-
ed according to that a
man hath, not according
to that he hath not.
For I mean not that oth-
men may be eased
and you burdened:
But by an equality, that
now at this time your
abundance may be a supply for
their want, that their
abundance also may be a
supply for your want, that
there may be equality.

NOTES.
8 (f) To tes xpiamos e'p'wos xei\nuon, shewing the World a Proof of the genuine Temper of your Love. Thus I think it should be render'd. St. Paul, who is so careful all along in this Epistle, to shew his Eicem and good Opinion of the Corinthians, taking all Occasions to speak and persuade well of them, whereof we have an eminent Example in their Words, To abound in your Love to us, in the immediately preceding Verse, he could not in this place so far forget his Design of treating them very tenderly, now they were newly return'd to him, as
to tell them, that he sent Titus for the promoting their Contribution to make a Trial of the Sincerity of their Love, this had been but an ill Expression of that Confidence, which, ch. 7. 16. he tells them, he has in them in all things. Taking therefore, as without Violence to the Words one may, xera\nuos for drawing out a Proof, and xei\nuos for genuine, the words very well express St. Paul's obliging Way of flattering the Corinthians to a liberal Contribution, as I have under-
stood them. For St. Paul's Diligence to them briefly stands thus: "The great Libe-
ality of the poor Macedonians, made me send Titus to you, to carry on the Collection of your "Charity which he had begun, that you who excel in all other Virtues, might be eminent "also in this. But this I urge, not as a Command from God, but as an Occasion of others "Liberality, lay before you an Opportunity of giving the World a Proof of the genuine Temper "of your Charity, which, like that of your other Virtues, loves not to come behind that "of others.
9 (f) T" P\', the Grace, rather the Munificence, the Signification wherein St. Paul uses xei\nuos, over and over again in this Chapter, and is translated Gifts, Ver. 4.
As it is written, He that had gathered much, had nothing over, and he that had gathered little, had no lack. But thanks be to God, who put into the Heart of Titus the same Concern for you, who not only yielded to my Exhortation; (g) But being more than ordinary concerned for you, of his own accord went unto you, with whom I have sent the Brother (b), who has Parted through all the Churches for his Labour in the Gospel, (and not that only, but who was also chosen of the Churches to accompany me in the carrying this Collection, which Service I undertook for the Glory of our Lord, and for your Encouragement to a liberal Contribution to prevent any Aperfusion might be cast on me by any one on occasion of my medling with the Management of so great a Sum, and to take care, by having such Men join'd with me in the same TrufT, that my Integrity and Credit should be preferred not only in the Sight of the Lord, but also in the Sight of Men. With them I have sent our Brother, of whom I have had frequent Experience in Fundry Affairs, to be a forward active Man; but now much more earnestly intent by reason of the strong Persuasion he has of your contributing liberally. Now whether I speak of Titus, he is my Partner, and one who with me promotes your Interest; or the two other Brethren sent with him, they are the Messengers of the Churches of Macedonia, by whom their Collection is sent, and are promoters of the Glory of Christ. Give therefore to them, and by them to those Churches a Demonstration of your Love, and a Justification of my boasted of you. For as touching the Relief of the poor Christians in Jerusalem, it is needful for me to write to you. For I know the Forwardness of your Minds, which I boasted of on your own account, which was not continued.  

NOTES.

17 (g) Wd. ver. 6.
19 (b) This Brother must take to be St. Luke, who was with, and had been a long while, St. Paul's Companion in his Travels.
behalf to the Macedonians, that (i) Achaia was ready a Year ago, and your Zeal in this Matter hath been a Spur to many others. Yet I have sent these Brethren, that my boating of you may not appear to be vain and groundless in this Part: But that you may, as I said, have your Collection ready, lest it perishance the Macedonians should come with me, and find it not ready, I (not to say you) should be ashamed in this Matter whereof I have boated. I thought it therefore necessary to put the Brethren upon going before unto you, to prepare things by a timely Notice before-hand, that your Contribution may be ready, as a free Benevolence of yours, and not as a niggardly Gift extorted from you. This, I say, He who soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly; and he who soweth plentifully shall also reap plentifully. So give as you find your selves disposed every one in his own heart, not grudgingly, as if it were wrung from you; for God loves a cheerful Giver. For God is able to make every charitable Gift (k) of yours redound to your Advantage, that you having in everything always a Fullness of Plenty, ye may abound in every good Work (as it is written, He that scattereth, he hath given to the Poor, and his Liberality (l) remaineth for ever. Now he that supplies Seed to the Sower, and Bread for Food; supply and multiply your Stock of Seed (m), and encrease the Fruit of your Liberality) enrich'd in everything to all Beneficence, which, by me is instrument For the Performance of this Service doth not only bring Supply to the Wants of the Saints; but reacheth farther, ready a year ago; and your zeal hath provoked very many. Yet have I sent the brethren, lest our boating of you should be in vain in this behalfe; that, as I said, ye may be ready:

Left haply if they of Macedonia come with me, and find you unprepared, we (that we say not, you) should be ashamed in this fame confident boating. Therefore I thought it necessary to exhort the brethren, that they would go before unto you, and make up before-hand your bounty, whereof ye had notice before, that the fame might be ready as a matter of bounty, and not as of corceousness. But this I say, He which soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly: and he which soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully. Every Man according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give; not grudgingly, or of necessity: for God loveth a cheerful giver. And God is able to make 8 all grace abound towards you, that ye always having all sufficiency in all things, may abound to every good work:

(As it is written, He hath dispersed abroad; he hath given to the poor; his righteousness remaineth for ever. Now he that ministreth to Seed to the Sower, both minitlere bread for your food, and multiply your Seed down, and increase the fruits of your righteousness;) Being enriched in every thing to all bountifulness, which saileth through us to thanksgiving to God. For the administrations of this service, not only supplieth the want of the

NOTES.

2 (i) Achaia, i.e. the Church of Corinth, which was made up of the Inhabitants of that Town, and of the circumjacent Parts of Achaia. Vid. ch. 1. 11.
8 (k) Xodos, Grace, rather Charitable Gifts or Liberality, as it signifies in the former Chapters, and as the Context determines the Sense here.
9, 10 (l) Δικαιοσύνη Righteousness, rather Liberality; for so Ἰσοτροφία in Scripture-Language often signifies. And so Matt. 6. 1. for Ἰσοτροφία, Alms, some Copies have Ἰσοτροφία, Liberality. And so Joseph. Matt. 1. 19. is called Εὐαγγέλιον, Gist, benigne.
10 (m) Ἑκοτογύνα Seed from, rather your Seed and Seed-gifts, i.e. Increase your Plenty to be laid out in charitable Uses.
II CORINTHIANS.

TEXT.

Saints, but is abundant also by many thanksgivings unto God.
13 (While the experiment of this ministration, they glorify God for your professed subscription to the Gospel of Christ, and for your liberality in communicating to them, and to all men), and to the procuring their Prayers for you, they having a great Inclination towards you, because of that gracious Gift of God bestowed on them by your Liberality. Thanks be to God for this his unspeakable Gift.

SECT. IV.

CHAP. X. 1—XIII. 10.

CONTENTS.

St. Paul having finished his Exhortation to Liberality in their Collection for the Christians at Jerusalem, he now resumes his former Argument, and prosecutes the main Purpose of this Epistle, which was totally to reduce and put an end to the adverse Faction, (which seems not yet to be entirely extinct) by bringing the Corinthians wholly off from the false Apostle they had adhered to: And to re-establish himself and his Authority in the Minds of all the Members of that Church. And this he does by the Steps contained in the following Numbers.

SECT. IV. N. I.

CHAP. X. 1—6.

CONTENTS.

He declares the extraordinary Power he hath in Preaching the Gospel, and to punish his Opposers amongst them.

TEXT.

Now I Paul my self beseech you, by the meekness and gentleness of Christ, who in presence base among you, but being absent am bold toward you.

PARAPHRASE.

NOW I the same Paul who am (as 'tis said amongst you) base and mean when present with you, but bold towards you when absent.

NOTES.

[a] Vid. ver. 10.
beeshee you by the Meeknes & Gentlemess (a) of Christ; I beeshee you, I say, that I may not, when present among you, be bold after that manner. I have resolv'd to be bold towards some, who account that in my Conduet and Minisitry I regulate my self wholly by carnall Considerations. For though I live in the Fleth, yet I do not carry on the Work of the Gospel (which is a Warfare) according to the Fleth. (For the Weapons of my Warfare are not fleshly (g), but such as God hath made mitey to the pulling down of strong Holdis, i. e. what ever is made use of in opposition,) Beating down humane Reasonings, and all the towring and most elevated Superstructures raised thereon, by the Wit of Men against the Knowledge of God, as held forth in the Gospel, captivating all their Notions, and bringing them into Subjection to Christ: and having by me in a readiness Power wherewithal to punishe and chastifie all Disobedience; when you, who have been milled by your falsfe Apostle, withdrawing your selves from him, shall return to a perfect Obedience (g).

NOTES.

(a) St. Paul thinking it fit to forbear all Severity tll he had by fair Means reduced as many of the contrary Party as he could, to a full Submission to his Authority, (vid. ver. 6) begins here his Discourse by conjuring them by the Meeknes and Gentlemess of Christ, as an Example that might excuse his Delay of exemplary Punishment on the Ringleaders and chief Offenders, without giving them Reason to think it was for Want of Power.

4 (b) What the Iesu angere, the carnall Weapons, and those other oppos'd to them, which he calls Jouard of piety, mighty through God, are, may be seen if we read and compare 1 Cor. 1. 23, 24. and 2. 1, 2, 4, 5, 12, 13; 2 Cor. 4. 2, 6.

6 (g) Tho' whom he speaks to here, are the Corinthian Converts to whom this Epistle is written. Some of these had been drawn into a Faction against St. Paul; these he had been, and was endeavouring to bring back to that Obedience and Submission which the rest had continued in to him as an Apostle of Jesus Christ. The Corinthians of these two sorts are those he means, when he says to them, ch. 2. 3. and ch. 7. 13, 15. For all, i. e. all ye Christians of Corinth and Achaia. For he that had raised the Faction amongst them, and given so much Trouble to St. Paul, was a Stranger and a Jew. Vid. ch. 11. 22. crept in amongst them, after St. Paul had gather'd and establish'd that Church, 1 Cor. 3. 6, 10. 2 Cor. 10. 14, 16. Of whom St. Paul seems to have no Hopes, ch. 11. 13—15, and therefore he every where threatens, 1 Cor. 1. 19. and here particularly, ver. 6, and 11. to make an Example of him and his Adherents, (if any were to obstinate to tickle to him) when he had brought back again all the Corinthians that he could hope to prevail on.

SECT. IV. N. 2.

CHAP. X. 7—18.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul examines the false Apostle's Pretensions, and compares his own with his Performances.
Do ye look on things after the outward appearance? If any man trust to himself, that he is Christ's, let him of himself think this again, that as he is Christ's, even so are we Christ's. For though I should boast somewhat more of our authority, (which the Lord hath given us for edification, and not for your destruction,) I should not be ashamed:

That I may not seem as if I would terrify you by letters.

For his letters (say they) are weighty and powerful, but his bodily presence is weak, and his speech contemptible.

Let such an one think this, that such as we are in word by letters, when we are absent, such will we be also in deed when we are present.

For we dare not make our selves of the number, or compare our selves with some that commend themselves: but they measuring themselves by themselves, and comparing themselves amongst themselves, are not wise.

But we will not boast of things without our measure, but according to the measure of the rule which God hath distributed to us, a measure to reach even unto you.

Do ye judge of Men by the outward appearance of things? Is it by such measures you take an Estimate of me and my Adveraries? If he has Confidence in himself that he is Christ's, i.e. assumes to himself the Authority of one imployd and commissioned by Christ (r); let him on the other side count thus with himself, that as he is Christ's, so I also am Christ's. Nay, if I should boastingly say something more (r) of the Authority and Power which the Lord has given me for your Edification, and not for your Destruction, * I should not be put to Shame (r). But that I may not seem to terrify you by Letters, as is objected to me by some, who say, that my Letters are weighty and powerful, but my bodily Presence weak, and my Discourse contemptible. Let him that says to reckon upon this, that such as I am in Word by Letters when I am absent, such shall I also be in Deed when present. For I dare not be so bold, as to rank or compare my self with some who vaunt themselves: But they measuring themselves within themselves (s), and comparing themselves with themselves, do not understand (w). But for my part I will not boast of my self in what has not been measured out, or allotted to me (x), i.e. I will not go out of my own Province to seek Matter of Commendation, but proceeding orderly in the Province which God hath measured out, and allotted to me, I have reach'd even unto you, i.e. I preach'd the Gospel in every Country as I

NOTES.

7 (r) Vid. ch. xi. 33.
8 (i) More, vid. ch. xi. 23. * Another Reason intimated by the Apostle for his forbearing Severity to them.

(r) I should not be put to Shame, i.e. the Truth would justify me in it.

12 (a) This is spoken ironically: is in vaunt, amongst themselves, rather within themselves. For in all likelihood, the Faction and Opposition against St. Paul was made by one Person, as we before observed. For though he speaks here in the plural Number, which is the fatter and decenter way in such cases; yet we see in the foregoing Verse he speaks directly and expressly as of one Person; and therefore is in vaunt may, most conformatly to the Apostle's Meaning here, be understood to signify within themselves, i.e. with what they find in themselves. The whole Place shewing, that this Person made an Estimate of himself only by what he found in himself; and therefore preferred himself to St. Paul, without considering what St. Paul was, or had done.

(m) Do not understand, that they ought not to intrude themselves into a Church planted by another Man, and there vaunt themselves, and let themselves above him that planted it, which is the Meaning of the four next Verses.

13 (x) "Afflicts, here and in ver. 15. doth not signify immense, or immoderate, but something that hath not been measured out and allotted to him, something that is not committed to him, nor within his Province.

went,
II CORINTHIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

14. went, till I came as far as you. For I do not extend my self farther than I should, as if I had skip’d over other Countries in my way, without proceeding gradually to you; no, for I have reach’d even unto you in Preaching of the Gospel in all Countries as I pass’d along (γ); Not extending my Boasting (ε) beyond my own Bounds into Provinces not allotted to me, nor vaunting my self of any thing I have done in another’s Labour, (α) i.e. in a Church planted by another Man’s Pains: But having Hope that your Faith increasing, my Province will be enlarged by you yet farther; So that I may preach the Gospel to the yet unconverted Countries beyond you, and not take Glory to my self from another Man’s Province, where all things are made ready to my Hand (α). But he that will glory, let him glory or seek Pride from that which is committed to him by the Lord, or in that which is acceptable to the Lord. For not he who commends himself does thereby give a Proof of his Authority or Mifion; but he whom the Lord com- mends by the Gifts of the Holy Ghost (β).

NOTES.

14 (γ) This seems to charge the false pretended Apollo, who had caused all this Disturbance in the Church of Corinth, that, without being appointed to it, without preaching the Gospel in his way thither, as became an Apostle, he had crept into the Church of Corinth.

15 (ε) Boasting, i.e. intermeddling, or assuming to my self Authority to meddle, or Honour for meddling.

15, 16 (α) Here St. Paul visibly taxes the false Apollo for coming into a Church converted and gathered by another, and there pretending to be some body, and to rule all. This is another thing that makes it probable, that the Opposition made to St. Paul was but by one Man that had made himself the Head of an opposite Faction. For it is plain it was a Stranger who came thither after St. Paul had planted this Church, who pretending to be more an Apollo than St. Paul, with greater Illumination, and more Power, set up against him to govern that Church, and withdraw the Corinthians from following St. Paul’s Rules and Doctrine. Now this can never be supposed to be a Combination of Men who came to Corinth with that Deign, nor that they were different Men that came thither separately, each setting up for himself, for then they would have fallen out one with another, as well as with St. Paul: And in both Cases St. Paul must have spoken of them in a different way from what he does now. The same Character and Carriage is given to them all throughout both these Epistles: and 1 Cor. 3. 10. he plainly speaks of one Man, that setting up thus to be a Preacher of the Gospel amongst those that were already Christians, was look’d upon by St. Paul to be a Fault, we may see, Rom. 15. 20.

18 (β) 'Tis of these Weapons of his Warfare that St. Paul speaks in this Chapter; and 'tis by them that he intends to try which is the true Apollo when he comes to them.

SECT. IV. N. 3.

CHAP. XI. 1—6.

CONTENTS.

He shews that their pretended Apollo bringing to them no other Saviour or Gospel; nor conferring greater Power of Miracles than he [St. Paul] had done, was not to be preferr’d before him.
Would you could bear me a little in my folly (c), and indeed do bear with me. For I am jealous over you with a Jealousie that is for God: For I have fitted and prepared you for one alone to be your Husband, viz., that I might deliver you up a pure Virgin to Christ. But I fear lest some way or other, as the Serpent beguil'd Eve by his Cunning; so your Minds should be debauch'd from that Singleness which is due to Christ (d). For if this Intruder who has been a Leader amongst you, can preach to you another Saviour, whom I have not preach'd; or if you receive from him other or greater Gifts of the Spirit, than those you received from me; or another Gospel than what you accepted from me, you might well bear with him, and allow his Preten'sions of being a new and greater Apostle. For as to the Apostles of Christ, I suppose I am not a whit behind the chiefest of them. For though I am but a mean Speaker; yet I am not without Knowledge, but in every thing have been made manifest unto you, i.e. to be an Apostle.

NOTES.
1. (c) Folly, so he modestly calls his Speaking in his own Defence.
2. (d) "Arouerle το χριστιανος ή τις Καθειλ Καθειλ The Simplicity that is in, rather towards Christ, answers to that of Xenos, as one Husband Christ, in the immediately foregoing Verse. For is one, is not put there for nothing, but makes the Meaning plainly this: I have formed and fitted you for one Person alone, one Husband who is Christ: I am concerned, and in Care, that you may not be drawn aside from that Submission, that Obedience, that Temper of Mind that is due singly to him, for I hope to put you into his Hands possessed with pure Virgin Thoughts, wholly fixed on him, not divided, nor roving after any other, that he may take you to Wife, and marry you to himself for ever. "Tis plain their Perverter, who opposed St. Paul, was a Jew, as we have seen. Twas from the Jews, from whom, of all professing Chrlistianity, St. Paul had most Trouble and Opposition. For they, having their Hearts set upon their old Religion, endeavoured to mix Judaism and Chritianity together. We may suppose the Case here to be much the same with that which he more fully expres'd in the Epistle to the Galatians, particularly Gal. 1. 6—12 and ch. 4. 9—11, and 16. 21. and ch. 5. 1—13. The Meaning of this place here seems to be this: I have taught you the Gospel alone, in its pure and unmix'd Simplicity, by which only you can be united to Christ: But I fear lest this your new Apostle should draw you from it, and that your Minds should not stick to that singly, but should be corrupted as a Mixture of Judaism. " After the like manner St. Paul expresses Christians being delivered from the Law, and their Freedom from the ritual Observances of the Jews, by being married to Christ, Rom. 7. 4, which place may give some Light to this.
II CORINTHIANS.

SECT. IV. N. 4.

CHAP. XI. 7—15.

CONTENTS.

He justifies himself to them, in his having taken nothing of them. There had been great Talk about this, and Objections raised against St. Paul thereupon; Vide, 1 Cor. 9. 1—3. As if by this he had discover'd himself not to be an Apostle: To which he there answers, and here touch-eth it again, and answers an other Objection which it seems was made, viz.: that he refused to receive Maintenance from them out of Unkindness to them.

PARAPHRASE.

7: Have I committed an Offence (e) in abasing my self to work with my hands, neglecting my Right of Maintenance due to me as an Apostle, that you might be exalted in Christianty, because I preach'd the Gospel of God to you gratis? I robb'd other Churches, taking Wages of them to do you Service: And being with you and in Want, I was chargeable to not a Man of you. For the Brethren who came from Macedonia, supplied me with what I needed: And in all things I have kept my self from being burden-some to you, and so will I continue to do. The Truth and Sincerity I owe to Christ is in what I say to you, viz.: This Boasting of mine shall not in the Regions of Achaia be stopp'd in me. Why so? Is it because I love you not? For that God can be my Witness, he know-eth. But what I do and shall do (f) is, that I may cut off all Occasion from those who, if I took any thing of you, would be glad of that Occasion to boast, that in it they had me for a Pattern, and did nothing but what even I my self had done. For these are falso (g) Apollies, deceitful Labourers in the Gospel,

TEXT.

Have I committed an offence in abasing myself that you might be exalted, because I have preached to you the gospel of God freely? I robbed other Churches, taking wages of them to do you service. And when I was present with you and wanted, I was chargeable to no man: for which was lacking to me, the brethren which came from Macedonia supplied; and in all things I have kept my self from being burden-some unto you, and so will I keep my self. As the truth of Christ is in me, no man shall stop me of this boasting in the regions of Achaia. Wherefore? because I love you not? God knoweth. But what I do, that I will do, that I may cut off occasion from them which desire occasion, that wherein they glory, they may be found even as we. For such are falso apostles, deceitful workers.

NOTES.

7 (e) The adverse Party made it an Argument against St. Paul, as an Evidence that he was no Apostle, since he took not from the Corinthians Maintenance, 1 Cor. 9. 1—3. Another Objection raised against him from hence, was: That he would receive nothing from them, because he loved them not. 2 Cor. 11. 11. This he answers here, by giving another Reason for his so doing. A third Allegation was, That it was only a crafty Trick in him to catch them, 2 Cor. 12. 16, which he answers there.

12 (f) review, that I shall do, rather and will do; so the Words stand in the Greek, and do not refer to v. 10. as a Profession of his Resolution to take nothing of them; but to v. 11. to which it is joyn'd; showing that his refusing any Reward from them, was not out of Unkindness, but for another Reason.

13 (g) They had questioned St. Paul's Apolliehip, 1 Cor. 9. because of his not taking Maintenace of the Corinthians. He here directly declares them to be no true Apollies, having
having put on the counterfeit Shape and Outside of Apostles of Christ: And no marvel, for Satan himself is sometimes transformed into an Angel of Light. Therefore it is not strange, if so be his Ministers are disguised so as to appear Ministers of the Gospel; whose End shall be according to their Works.

SECT. IV. N. 5.

CHAP. XI. 16—33.

CONTENTS.

He goes on in his Justification, reflecting upon the Carriage of the false Apostle towards the Corinthians, v. 16—21. He compares himself with the false Apostle in what he boasts of, as being an Hebrew, v. 21, 22. or Minister of Christ, v. 23. and here St. Paul enlarges upon his Labours and Sufferings.

TEXT.

16 I Say again, Let no man think me a fool; if otherwise, yet as a fool receive me, that I may boaste my self a little.
17 That which I speak, I speak it not after the Lord, but as it were foolishly in this confidence of boasting.
18 Seeing that many glory after the flesh, I will glory also.
19 For ye suffer fools gladly; tolerating ye your selves are wise.
20 For ye suffer if a man bring you into bondage, if a man devoure you, if a man take of you, if a man exalte himself, if a man smite you on the face.

PARAPHRASE.

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NOTES.

16 (b) Vid. ver. 18.
17 (i) Vid. ch. 12. 11.
19 (k) After the Flesh. What this glorying after the Flesh was in particular here, vid. ver. 22. (v.7.) being a Jew by descent.
20 (l) Spoken ironically for their bearing with the Insolence and Covetousness of their false Apostle.
(m) The Bondage here meant, was, Subjection to the Will of their false Apostle, as appears by the following Particulars of this Verse, and not Subjection to the Jewish Rites. For if that had been, St. Paul was so zealous against it, that he would have spoke more plainly and warmly, as we see in his Epistle to the Galatians, and not have touched it that only by the bye slightly in a doubtful Expression. Besides, it is plain no such thing was yet attempted openly, only St. Paul was afraid of it; vid. ver. 3.
21. treat you contumeliously. I speak according to the
Reproach has been cast upon me, as if I were weak,
i.e. destitute of what might support me in Dignity
and Authority equal to this false Apostle, as if I had
not as fair Pretences to Power and Profit amongst you
as he. Is he an Hebrew (n), i.e. by Language an
Hebrew? So am I: Is he an Israelite, truly of the
Jewish Nation, and bred up in that Religion? So am I:
Is he of the Seed of Abraham really descended from
him? And not a Profylete of a foreign Extraction? So
am I: Is he a Minister of Jesus Christ? (I speak in
my foolish way of boasting) I am more so: In toil-
some Labours I surfeath him: In Stripes I am exceed-
ingly beyond him (o); In Prifons I have been oftner;
and in the very Jaws of Death more than once: Of
the Jews I have five times received forty Stripes fave
one: Thrice was I whip'd with Rods; Once was I
fioned; Thrice shipwrecked: I have pass'd a Night
and a Day in the Sea; In Journeyings often: In Pe-
ris by Water; In Perils by Robbers; In Perils by my
own Country-men; In Perils from the Heathen;
In Perils in the City; In Perils in the Country; In
Perils at Sea; In Perils amongst false Brethren;
In Toil and Trouble, and sleepless Nights often; In
Hungry and Thirst; In Faintings often; In Cold and
Nakedness. Besides these Troubles from without, the
Disturbance that comes daily upon me from my Con-
cern for all the Churches. Who is a weak Christian
in danger through Fraiity or Ignorance to be misled,
whose Weakness I do not feel and suffer-in, as if it
were my own? Who is actually misled, for whom my
Zeal and Concern does not make me uneafe, as if I
had a Fire in me? If I must be compelled (p) to glory
(q), I will glory of those things which are of my weak

I speak as concerning reproach, as though we
had been weak: because, wherein ever any is bold
(I speak foolishly) I am bold also.

Are they Hebrews? So am I: are they Israelites
so am I: are they the Seed of Abraham? So am I:
Are they ministers of Christ? (I speak as a fool)
I am more: in labours more abundant, in stripes
above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths
oft.

Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes
five one.

Thrice was I beaten with rods, once I was fioned,
thrice I suffer'd shipwreck; night and a day I have
been in the deep:

In journeying often, in peril of waters, in perils
of robbers, in peril of mine own country men,
in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils
in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among
false brethren;

In weariness and pain, full oft in watchings, in
hunger and thirst, in faintings often, in cold and
nakedness.

Besides these things that are without, that cometh upon me daily,
the care of all the churches.

Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is offend-
ed, and I burn not?
If I must needs glory, I will glory of the things
which concern mine in-

N O T E S .

22 (n) Is he an Hebrew? Having in the foregoing Verse spoke in the Singular Number, I
have been fain to continue on the same Number here, though different from that in the Text,
to avoid an Inconsistency in the Paraphrase, which could not but shock the Reader. But this
would be understood to do, without imposing my Opinion on any body, or pretending to change
the Text: But as an Expositor, to tell my Reader that I think, that though St. Paul says that
he means but one, as often, when he says we, he means only himself, the Reason whereof I
have given elsewhere.

23 (o) In νπαξιώσας, in Stripes above measure, rather in Stripes exceeding. For
these Words, as the other Particulars of this Verse, ought to be taken comparatively with Re-
verence to the false Apostle, with whom St. Paul is comparing himself and the Ministry of the
Gospel. Unless this be understood so, there will seem to be a disagreeable Torsionology in the
following Verses; which, taking these Words in a comparative Sense, are Proofs of his sayings.
In Stripes I am exceeding beyond him, for of the Jews five times, &c.

30 (p) Compelled, Vid. ib. 12. 11.

(a) By Καραδιανος, which is translated sometimes to glory, and sometimes to boast; the
Apostle all along, where he applies it to himself, means nothing but the mentioning some commend-
able Action of his without Vanity or Ostentation, but barely upon necessity on the present
Occasion.
II CORINTHIANS.

TEXT.

21. The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is blessed for evermore, knoweth that I lie not.

22. In Damascus the governor under Aretas the king kept the city of the Damascenes with a garrison, desirous to apprehend me.

23. And through a window in a basket was I let down by the wall, and escaped his hands.

PARAPHRASE.

and suffering side. The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed for ever, knoweth that I lie not. In Damascus, the Governor under Aretas the King, who kept the Town with a Garrison, being desirous to apprehend me; I was through a Window let down in a Basket, and escaped his Hands.


CHAP. XII. 1—II.

CONTENTS.

He makes good his Apostleship by the extraordinary Visions and Revelations which he had received.

TEXT.

1. It is not expedient for me doubtless to glory; I will come to viisons and revelations of the Lord.

2. I knew a man in Christ, above fourteen years ago (whether in the body I cannot tell; or whether out of the body, I cannot tell; God knoweth.) such an one caught up to the third heaven.

3. And I knew such a man (whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell; God knoweth.)

4. How that he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspreakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter.

5. Of such an one will I glory: yet of my self I will not glory, but in my infirmities.

6. For though I would desire to glory, I shall not be a fool, for I will say the truth: but now I forbear

PARAPHRASE.

If I must be forced to glory (r) for your sakes, for me it is not expedient, I will come to Visions and Revelations of the Lord. I knew a Man by (r) the Power of Christ, above fourteen Years ago, caught up into the third Heaven, whether the entire Man, Body and all, or out of the Body in an Exstasy, I know not; God knows. And I knew such an one (r), whether in the Body or out of the Body I know not, God knows, that he was caught up into Paradise, and there heard what is not in the power of Man to utter: Of such an one I will glory: But my self will I not mention with any Boasting, unless in things that carry the Marks of Weakness, and shew my Sufferings. But if I should have a mind to glory in other things, I might do it without being a Fool, for I would speak nothing but what is true, having Matter in abundance; (r) But I forbear, lest any one should think of me beyond what he sees me, or hears

NOTES.

1. (r) "If I must glory," is the reading of some Copiers, and is justified by ver. 50. of the foregoing Chapter, by the vulgar Translation, and by the Syriac, much to the same Purpose, and fitting better with the Context, renders the Sense clearer.

2. 3 (r) Madly speaking of himself in a third Person.

6 (r) Vide ver. 7.
II CORINTHIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

7. commonly reported of me. And that I might not be exalted above measure, by reason of the Abundance of Revelations that I had, there was given me a Thorn in the Flesh (w), the Messenger of Satan to buffet me, that I might not be over-much elevated. Concerning this thing I besought the Lord thrice that it might depart from me; And he said, My Favour is sufficient for thee; for my Power exerts itself, and its Sufficiency is seen the more perfectly, the weaker thou thy self art. I therefore most willingly choose to glory, rather in things that shew my Weakness, than in my abundance of glorious Revelations, that the Power of Christ may the more visibly be seen to dwell in me: Wherefore I have Satisfaction in Weaknesses, in Reproofs, in Necessities, in Persecutions, in Diftresses, for Christ's sake. For when I looked upon in my outward State, appear weak, then by the Power of Christ which dwelleth in me, I am found to be strong. I am become foolish in glorying thus: But it is you who have forced me to it. For I ought to have been commended by you, since in nothing came I behind the chiefest of the Apostles, though in myself I am nothing.

9. And let I should be 7 exalted above measure through the abundance of the revelations, was given to me a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me, lest I should be exalted above measure.

For this thing I besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me.

And he said unto me, My Grace is sufficient for thee: for my strength is made perfect in weakness. Most gladly therefore will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me.

Therefore I take pleasure sure in infirmities, in reproaches, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses for Christ's sake: for when I am weak, then am I strong.

11. I am become a fool in glorying, ye have compelled me: for I ought to have been commended of you: for in nothing am I behind the very chiefest amongst, though I be nothing.

NOTES.

7 (w) Thorn in the Flesh, what this was in particular, St. Paul having thought fit to conceal it, is not easy for those who come after to discover, nor is it much material.

Sect. IV. N. 7.

Chap. XII. 12, 13.

CONTENTS.

He continues to justify himself to be an Apostle by the Miracles he did, and the supernatural Gifts he bestowed amongst the Corinthians.

PARAPHRASE.

12. Ruly the Signs whereby an Apostle might be known, were wrought among you by me, in all Patience (w) and Submission under the Difficulties I there met with, in miraculous, wonderful and mighty deeds.

NOTES.

12 (w) This may well be understood to reflect on the Haughtiness and Plenty wherein the false Apostle lived amongst them.
II CORINTHIANS.

TEXT.

13. For what is it wherein ye were inferior to other churches, except it be that my self was not burdenome to you? Forgive me this wrong.

mighty Works perform'd by me. For what is there which you were any way shorten'd in, and had not equally with other Churches (a), except it be that I my self was not burdenome to you? Forgive me this Injury.

NOTES.

13 (a) Vid. 1 Cor. 1. 4—7.

SECT. IV. N. 8.

CHAP. XII. 14—21.

CONTENTS.

He further justifies himself to the Corinthians, by his past Disinterestedness, and his continued kind Intentions to them.

TEXT.

14. Behold, the third time I am ready to come unto you; and I will not be burdensome to you: for I seek not what is yours, but you; for the children ought not to lay up for the parents, but the parents for the children.

And I will very gladly spend and be spent for you, though the more abundantly I love you, the less I be beloved.

But be it so, I did not burden you; nevertheless being crafty, I caught you with guile.

Did I make a gain of you by any of them whom I sent unto you?

Did I as Titus, and with him I sent a brother: did Titus make a gain of you? walked we not in the same spirit? walked we not in the same steps?

Again, think you that we excite our selves unto you? we speak before God

PARAPHRASE.

14. Behold this is the third time I am ready to come unto you, but I will not be burdensome to you; for I seek not what is yours, but you; for 'tis not expected, nor usual, that Children should lay up for their Parents, but Parents (b) for their Children. I will gladly lay out whatever is in my Possession or Power; nay, even wear out and hazard my self for your Souls (a), though it should so fall out, that the more I love you, the less I should be beloved by you (a). Be it so, as some fugget, that I was not burdensome to you, but it was in truth out of Cuning, with a Design to catch you with that Trick, drawing from you by others what I refused in Person. In answer to which, I ask, Did I by any of those I sent unto you make a Gain of you? I desired Titus to go to you, and with him I sent a Brother: Did Titus make a gain of you? Did not they behave themselves with the same Temper that I did amongst you? Did we not walk in the same steps? i.e. neither they nor I received any thing from you. Again, (b) do not, upon my mentioning my sending of Titus to you, think that I apologize for my not coming my self; I speak as in the Presence of God, and as a Christian, there

NOTES.

14 (b) Vid. 1 Cor. 4. 14, 15.

15 (a) Vid. 2 Tim. 2. 10.

15 (b) Vid. Eph. 6. 12, 13.

19 (a) He had before given the Reason, ch. 1. 23; of his not coming to them, with the like Alliteration that he uses here. If we trace the Thread of St. Paul's Discourse here, we may observe, that having concluded the justification of himself and his Apostleship by his past Actions,
In Christ; but we do all things, dearly beloved, for your edifying.

For I fear, lest when I come I shall not find you such as I would, and that ye should be found unto you such as ye would not: lest there be debates, envyings, wrathes, strifes, backbodings, whisperings, swellings, tumults:

And lest when I come again, my God will humble me among you, and that I shall bewail many which have sinned already, and have not repented of the uncleanliness, fornication, and lasciviousness which they have committed.

NOTES.

ver. 13, he had it in his Thoughts to tell them how he would deal with the false Apostle and his Adherents when he came, as he was ready now to do. And therefore solemnly begins, ver. 14, with behold, and tells them now the third time he was ready to come to them, to which joining (what was much upon his Mind) that he would not be burdensome to them when he came, this suggested to his Thoughts an Objection, (ver. 15,) that this personal Shyne in him was but Cunning, for that he designed to draw Gain from them by other Hands. From which he cleared himself by the Insecurity of Titus, and the Brother whom he had sent together to them, who were as far from receiving anything from them as he himself. Titus and his other Meffinger being thus mentioned, he thought it necessary to obviate another Sufpicion that might be raised in the Minds of some of them, as if he mentioned the sending of those two as an Apology for his not coming himself; this he disclaims utterly; and to prevent any Thoughts of that kind, solemnly protests to them that in all his Carriage to them he had done nothing but for their Edification, nor had any other Aim in any of his Actions but purely that; and that he forbore coming merely out of Respect and good Will to them. So that all, from Behold this third time I am ready to come to you, ver. 14, to This third Time I am coming to you, Ch. 13. 1. must be look’d on as an incident Discourse that fell in occasionally, though tending to the same Purpose with the rest; a Way of Writing very usual with our Apostle, and with other Writers, who abound in Quickness and Variety of Thoughts as he did. Such Men are often, by new Matter railing in their way, put by from what they were going and had begun to say; which therefore they are fain to take up again, and continue at a Distance; which St. Paul does here after the Interposition of Eight Verses. Other Instances of the like kind may be found in other places of St. Paul’s Writings.

SECT. IV. N. 9.

CHAP. XIII. 1—10.

CONTENTS.

Here-assumes what he was going to say, Ch. 12. 14, and tells them how he intends to deal with them when he comes to them, and assures them, that however they question it, he shall be able, by Miracles, to give Proof of his Authority and Commission from Christ.

PARAPHRASE.

This is the third time I am coming to you; and when I come I shall not spare you, having proceeded according to our Saviour’s Rule, and endeavour’d by fair Means first to reclaim you, before
I come to the last extremity. And of this my former Epistle, wherein I applied my felt to you, and this wherein I now, as if I were present with you, foretel thole who have formerly finned, and all the reft, to whom, being now absent, I write, that when I come I will not pare you. I fay, these two Letters are my Witnefles according to our Saviour’s Rule, which fays, In the Mouth of two or three Witnefles every Word fhall be eftablihind (c). Since you de- mand a Proof of my Miffion, and of what I deliver, that it is dictated by Chrift fpeaking in me, who muft be acknowledged not to be weak to youward, but has given sufficient Marks of his Power amongst you. For though his Crucifixion and Death were with appearance (d) of Weakness; yet he liveth with the Manifefiation (d) of the Power of God appearing in my punishing you. You examine me whether I can by any miraculous Operation give a Proof that Chrift is in me. Pray examine your felves whether you be in the Faith; make a Trial upon your felves, whether you your felves are not fomewhat deftitute of Proofs (e); or are you fo little acquainted with your felves,

2. (c) In the Mouth of two or three Witnefles fhall every word be eftablihind. These words fhould be quoted from the Law of our Saviour, Mat. 18.16; and not from the Law of Mojes in Deuter- nomy, not only because the words are the fame with thofe in St. Matthew, but from the likenefes of the Cafes. In Deuteronomy the Rule given concerns only Judicial Trials: In St. Matthew it is a Rule given for the Management of Peruition used for the reclaiming an Offender, by fair Means, before coming to the utmost Extremity, which is the cafe of St. Paul here: In Deuteronomy the Judge was to hear the Witnefles, Deut. 17.5. and 19.14. In St. Matthew the Party was to hear the Witnefles, Mat. 18.17, which was also the cafe of St. Paul here; the Witnefles which he means that he made ufe of to perufe them being his two Epifles. That by Witnefles he means his two Epifles, is plain from his Way of expressing himfelf here, where he carefully lets down his telling them twice, (e/f.) before in his former Epifle, cb. 4.19, and now a fecd time in this fepart Epifle; and alfo by their words ως ἀπεικόνισεν, ως ἔστην, If I were present with you a fecd time. By our Saviour’s Rule the offended Perfon was to go twice to the Offender; and therefore St. Paul fays, as if I were with you a fecd time, counting his Letters as two personal Applications to them, as our Saviour directed should be done before coming to rougher Means. Some take the Witnefles to be the three Messengers by whom his firft Epifle is fuppofed to be fent. But this would not be according to the Method prefcribed by our Saviour in the place from which St. Paul takes the words he ufe; for there were no Witnefles to be made ufe of in the firft Application; neither, if thofe had been the Witnefles meant, would there have been any need for St. Paul fo carefully and efcpect to have fet down ως ἀπεικόνισεν, ως ἔστην, as if present a fecd time, words which in that cafe would be superfluous. Beijde, thofe three Men are no where mentioned to have been fent by him to perufe them, nor the Corinthians requir- ed to hear them, or reproved for not having done it: And lafly, they could not be better Wit- nefles of St. Paul’s Endeavours twice to gain the Corinthians by fair Means, before he proceeded to Severity, than the Epifles themfelves.

4 (d) Εἰ δὲ ἀπεικόνισεν, through Weakness, in ἐνέργεία θεία, by the Power of God, I have rendered with the Appearance of Weakness, and with the Manifefiation of the Power of God, which I think the Sende of the place, and the Stile of the Apostle will justify. St. Paul sometimes ufe the Greek Prepositions in a larger Sende than that Tongue ordinarily allows. Further it is evident, that ἐνέργειας to θείαs, has not a casul signification, and therefore in the Antithesis in ἐνέργειας θεία, it cannot be taken casulay. And it is usual for St. Paul in fuch cases to continue the fame Word, though it happens sometimes feemingly to carry the Sende another way. In fhort, the Meaning of the place is this: Though Chrift in his Crucifixion appeared weak and deprecia- ble; yet he now lives to fhow the Power of God in the Miracles and mighty Works which he does: So I, though I by my Sufferings and Infirmities appear weak and contemptible; yet shall I live to fhew the Power of God in punishing you miraculously.

5. 6. 7. (e) Αἴτως, translated here Reprobates, is plain, in these three Verfes, has no fuch Signification,
6. as not to know whether Christ be in you? But if you
7. do not now your selves whether you can give Proofs
8. or no; yet I hope you shall know that I am not unable
to give Proofs (e) of Christ in me. But I pray to God
that you may do no Evil, w羞ing not for an Oppor-
tunity to shew my Proofs (e): but that you doing
what is right, I may be as if I had no Proofs (e), no
supernatural Power; For though I have the Power of
punishing supernaturally, I cannot shew this Power
upon any of you, unles it be that you are Offenders,
and your Punishment be for the Advantage of the
Gospel. I am therefore glad when I am weak, and
9. can inflict no Punishment upon you, and you are so
strong, i.e. clear of Faults, that ye cannot be touched.
For all the Power I have, is only for promoting the
Truth of the Gospel; whoever are faithful and obe-
dient to that, I can do nothing to, I cannot make
Examples of them, by all the extraordinary Power I
have, if I would. Nay, this also I wish, even your
Perfection. These things therefore I write to you,
being absent, that when I come I may not use Seve-
10. rity, according to the Power which the Lord hath
given me for Edification, not for Destruction.

NOTES.
Signification, Reprobation being very remote from the Argument the Apostle is here upon: But
the word αἱρετείας is here used for one that cannot give Proof of Christ being in him; one that
is delitute of a supernatural Power; for thus hands St. Paul's Discourse, ver. 3. καὶ ἐν ἡμὶν ζητητάν
εἰς, ver. 6. γινομένῳ αὐτὰ ἀδιάκριτον. Since you seek a Proof, you shall know that I am
not delitute of a Proof.

SECT. V.

CHAP. XIII. 11—13.

CONCLUSION.

PARAPHRASE.

11. Finally, Brethren, farewell. Bring your selves
into one well united, firm, unjarring Society
(f). Be of good comfort; be of one mind; live in
peace, and the God of Love and Peace shall be with
you: Salute one another with a holy Kis: All the
Saints salute you. The Grace of our Lord Jesus
Christ, and the Love of God, and the Communion
of the Holy Ghost be with you all. Amen.

12.
13.
14.

NOTES:

21 (f) The same that he exhorts them to in the Beginning of the first Epistle, ch. i. ver. 10.
A PARAPHRASE AND NOTES ON THE Epistle of St. PAUL TO THE ROMANS.

SYNOPSIS.

BEFORE we take into Consideration the Epistle to the Romans from Corinth, Ann. Era vol. 17. Neros 3.

Becalms Birth, Life, Death, Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, were all Events that came to pass within the Confinis of Judea: And that the ancient Writings of the Jewish Nation, allow'd by the Christians to be of Divine Original, were appealed to as witnessing the Truth of his Mission and Doctrine, whereby it was manifest that the Jews were the Depositaries of the Proofs of the Christian Religion. This could not chuse but give the Jews, who were owned to be the People of God, even in the days of our Saviour, a great Authority among the Convert Gentiles, who knew nothing of the Messias they were to believe in, but what they derived from that Nation, out of which he and his Doctrine sprang. Nor did the Jews fail to make use of this Advantage several ways, to the Disturbance of the Gentiles that embraced Christianity.
The Jews, even those of them that received the Gospel, were for the most part so devoted to the Law of Moses and their ancient Rites, that they could by no means bring themselves to think that they were to be laid aside. They were every where stiff and zealous for them, and contended that they were necessary to be observed even by Christians, by all that pretended to be the People of God, and hoped to be accepted by him. This gave no small Trouble to the newly converted Gentiles, and was a great Prejudice to the Gospel, and therefore we find it complain’d of in more Places than one; Vid. Acts 15. 1, 2 Cor. 11. 3, Gal. 2. 4, and 5. 1, 10, 12, Phil. 3. 2, Col. 2. 4, 8, 16, Tit. 1, 10, 11, 14, &c. This Remark may serve to give Light not only to this Epistle to the Romans, but to several other of St. Paul’s Epistles written to the Churches of converted Gentiles.

As to this Epistle to the Romans, the Apostle’s principal Aim in it seems to be to persuade them to a steady Perseverance in the Profession of Christiannity, by convincing them that God is the God of the Gentiles as well as the Jews; and that now under the Gospel there is no difference between Jew and Gentile. This he does several ways.

1. By shewing that though the Gentiles were very sinful, yet the Jews, who had the Law, kept it not, and so could not upon account of their having the Law (which being broken, aggravated their Faults, and made them as far from righteous as the Gentiles themselves) have a Title to exclude the Gentiles from being the People of God under the Gospel.

2. That Abraham was the Father of all that believe as well Uncircumcised, as Circumcised; so that those that walk in the Steps of the Faith of Abraham, though uncircumcised, are the Seed to which the Promise is made, and shall receive the Blessing.

3. That it was the Purpose of God from the Beginning, to take the Gentiles to be his People under the Manna, in the place of the Jews, who had been so till that time, but were then nationally rejected, because they nationally rejected the Manna, whom he sent to them to be their King and Deliverer, but was received by but a very small Number of them, which Remnant was receiv’d into the Kingdom of Christ, and so continued to be his People with the converted Gentiles, who all together made now the Church and People of God.

4. That the Jewish Nation had no Reason to complain of any Unrighteousness in God, or Hardship from him in their being cast off for their Unbelief, since they had been warned of it, and they might find it threaten’d in their ancient Prophets. Beside the raising or depressing of any Nation is the Prerogative of God’s Sovereignty, Prefervation in the Land that God has given them being not the Right of any one Race of Men above another. And God might, when he thought fit, reject the Nation of the Jews by the same Sovereignty, whereby he at first chose the Posterity of Jacob to be his People, pacing by other Nations, even such as descended from Abraham and Isaac: But yet he tells them, that at last they shall be restored again.

Besides the Assurance he labours to give the Romans, that they are by Faith in Jesus Christ the People of God, without Circumcision or other Observances of the Jews, whatever they may say, which is the main Drift of this Epistle, it is farther remarkable, that this Epistle being writ to a Church of Gentiles in the Metropolis of the Roman Empire, but not planted by St. Paul himself, he as Apostle of the Gentiles, out of Care that they should rightly understand the Gospel, has woven into his Discourse the chief Doctrines of it, and given them a comprehensive View of God’s dealing with Mankind, from first to last, in Reference to eternal Life. The principal Heads whereof are these.

That by Adam’s Transgression Sin entered into the World, and Death by Sin, and so Death reign’d over all Men from Adam to Moses.

That by Moses God gave the Children of Israel (who were his People; i.e. owned him for their God, and kept themselves free from the Idolatry and Revolt of the Heathen World) a Law, which if they obey’d, they should have Life thereby, i.e. attain to Immortal Life, which had been lost by Adam’s Transgression.
That though this Law which was righteous, just and good, were ordained to Life, yet not being able to give Strength to perform what it could not but require, it failed by reason of the Weakness of humane Nature to help Men to Life. So that though the Israelites had Statutes, which if a Man did he should live in them; yet they all transgressed, and attain'd not to Righteousness and Life by the Deeds of the Law. That therefore there was no Way to Life left to those under the Law; but by the Righteousness of Faith in Jesus Christ, by which Faith alone they were the Seed of Abraham, to whom the Blessing was promis'd. This was the State of the Israelites.

As to the Gentile World; he tells them,

That though God made himself known to them by legible Characters of his Being and Power visible in the Works of the Creation; yet they glorified him not, nor were thankful to him: they did not own nor worship the one only true invisible God, the Creator of all things, but revolted from him, to Gods set up by themselves in their own vain Imaginations, and worshiped Stocks and Stones, the corruptible Images of corruptible Things.

That they having thus cast off their Allegiance to him their proper Lord, and revolted to other Gods, God therefore cast them off, and gave them up to vile Affections, and to the Conduet of their own darkened Hearts, which led them unto all sorts of Vices.

That both Jews and Gentiles being thus all under Sin, and coming short of the Glory of God: God, by sending his Son Jesus Christ, shews himself to be the God both of Jews and Gentiles, since he justifieth the Circumcision by Faith, and the Uncircumcision through Faith, so that all that believe are freely justifieth by his Grace.

That though Justification unto Eternal Life be only by Grace, through Faith in Jesus Christ; yet we are to the utmost of our Power sincerely to endeavour after Righteousness, and from our Hearts obey the Precepts of the Gospel, whereby we become the Servants of God, for his Servants we are whom we obey, whether of Sin unto Death, or of Obedience unto Righteousness.

These are but some of the more general and comprehensive Heads of the Christian Doctrine, to be found in this Epistle. The Design of a Synopsis will not permit me to descend more minutely to Particulars. But this let me say, that he that would have an enlarged View of true Christianity, will do well to study this Epistle.

Several Exhortations, suited to the State that the Christians of Rome were then in, make up the latter Part of the Epistle.

This Epistle was writ from Corinth the Year of our Lord, according to the common Account, 57, the third Year of Nero, a little after the Second Epistle to the Corinthians.
INTRODUCTION, with his Profession of a Desire to see them.

PARAPHRASE.

1. Paul a Servant of Jesus Christ, called (a) to be an Apostle, separated (b) to the Preaching of the Gospel of God (which he had heretofore promised by his Prophets in the Holy Scriptures) concerning his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who according to the Flesh, i.e. as to the Body which he took in the Womb of the blessed Virgin his Mother, was of the Posterity and Lineage of David (c), according to the Spirit of Holiness (d), i.e. as to that more pure and Spiritual Part, which in him over-rulled all, and kept even his frail Flesh holy and spotless from the least Taint of Sin (e), and was of another Extraction with most mighty Power (f) declared (g) to be the Son of God by his Resurrection from the Dead, by whom I have received Favour, and the Office of an Apostle, for the bringing of the Gentiles every where to the Obedience of Faith, which I preach in his Name; of which Number, i.e. Gentiles that I am sent to preach to, are ye who are already called, (h) and become Christiasts, to all the Beloved of God (i), and called to be Saints, who are in Rome, Favour and Peace be to you from God our Father. In the first place I thank my God through Jesus Christ for you all, that your Faith is spoken of throughout the whole

NOTES.

(a) Called. The Manner of his being called, see Acts 11. 1—22.
(b) Separated, vid. Acts 13. 2.
(c) Of David, and so would have been registr'd of the House and Lineage of David, as both his Mother and reputed Father were, if there had been another Tax in his days. Vid. Luke 11. 4. Mat. 13. 55.
(d) According to the Spirit of Holiness, is here maniflally oppost to, according to the Flesh, in the foregoing Verse, and so must mean that more pure and Spiritual Part in him, which by divine Extraction he had immediately from God; unless this be so understood, the Antithesis is lost.
(e) See Paraphrase, Chap. 8. 2.
(f) To Joannas, with Power; He that will read in the Original what St. Paul says, Ephs. 1. 19-20, of the Power which God exerted in raising Christ from the Dead, will hardly avoid thinking that he there sees St. Paul labouring for Words to express the Greatness of it.
(g) Declared does not exactly answer the Word in the Original, nor is it perhaps easy to find a Word in English that perfectly answers δεικνύω. in the Sense the Apostle uses it here, δεικνύω signifies properly to bound, terminate, or circumfer, by which Termination the Figure of things sensible is made, and they are known to be of this or that Race, and are distingwished from others. Thus St. Paul takes Christ's Resurrection from the Dead, and his Entering into Immortality, to be the most eminent and characteristic Mark, whereby Christ is certainly known, and as it were determined to be the Son of God.
(h) To take the Thread of St. Paul's Words here right, all from the Word Lord in the middle of ver. 3, to the beginning of this 7th, must be read as a Parenthesis.
(i) Called to be Gentiles, as to be Saints, elected of God; are but different Expressions for Professors of Christianity.
World. For God is my Witness, whom I serve with the whole Bent of my Mind in preaching the Gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I constantly make mention of you in my Prayers, requesting (if it be God’s Will, that I may now at length, if possible, have a good Opportunity) to come unto you. For I long to see you, that I may communicate to you some spiritual Gift (k) for your Establishment (l) in the Faith, that is (m), that when I am among you, I may be comforted together with you, both with your Faith and my own. This I think fit you should know, Brethren, that I often purposed to come unto you, that I may have some Fruit of my Ministry among you also, even as among other Gentiles. I owe what Service I can do to the Gentiles of all kinds, whether Greeks or Barbarians, to both the more knowing and civilized, and the uncultivated and ignorant, so that, as much as in me lies, I am ready to preach the Gospel to you also who are at Rome.

NOTES.

11 (l) Spiritual Gifts. If any one desire to know more particularly the spiritual Gifts, he may read 1 Cor. 12.

12 (m) That is, St. Paul in the former Verle had said that he desired to come amongst them to establish them; in their words, That is, he explains, or as it were recalls what he had said, that he might not seem to think them not sufficiently instructed or established in the Faith, and therefore turns the End of his coming to them, to their mutual rejoicing in one another’s Faith, when he and they came to see and know one another.
ST. Paul in this Section shews, that the Jews exclude themselves from being the People of God under the Gospel, by the same Reason that they would have the Gentiles excluded.

It cannot be sufficiently admired how skilfully, to avoid offending those of his own Nation, St. Paul here enters into an Argument to uppleating to the Jews as this of persuading them, that the Gentiles had as good a Title to be taken in to be the People of God under the Messiah, as they themselves, which is the main Design of this Epistle.

In this latter part of the first Chapter, he gives a Description of the Gentile World in very black Colours, but very adroitly interweaves such an Apology for them, in respect of the Jews, as was sufficient to beat that assuming Nation out of all their Pretences to a Right to continue to be alone the People of God, with an Exclusion of the Gentiles. This may be seen, if one carefully attends to the Particulars that he mentions relating to the Jews and Gentiles, and observes how what he says of the Jews in the second Chapter, answers to what he had charged on the Gentiles in the first. For there is a secret Comparison of them one with another runs through these two Chapters, which as soon as it comes to be minded, gives such a Light and Lustre to St. Paul’s Discourse, that one cannot but admire the skilful Turn of it; and look on it as the most soft, the most beautiful, and most pleasing Argumentation that one shall any where meet with altogether: Since it leaves the Jews nothing to say for themselves, why they should have the Privilege continued to them under the Gospel, of being alone the People of God. All the things they flout upon, and boasted in, giving them no Preference in this respect to the Gentiles; nor any Ground to judge them to be incapable or unworthy to be their Fellow-Subjects in the Kingdom of the Messiah. This is what he says, speaking of them Nationally. But as to every one’s personal Concerns in a future State, he assures them, both Jews and Gentiles, that the Unrighteousness of both Nations, whether admitted or not into the visible Communion of the People of God, are liable to Condemnation. Those who have sinned without Law, shall perish without Law; and those who have sinned in the Law, shall be judged, i.e. condemned by the Law.

Perhaps some Readers will not think it superfluous, if I give a short Draught of St. Paul’s Management of himself here, for allaying the Sowreness of the Jews against the Gentiles, and their Offence at the Gospel for allowing any of them place among the People of God under the Messiah.

After he had declared that the Gospel is the Power of God unto Salvation to those who believe; to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile, and that the Way of this Salvation is revealed to be by the Righteousness of God, which is by Faith: he tells them, that the Wrath of God is also now revealed against all Atheism, Polytheism, Idolatry and Vice whatsoever of Men, holding the Truth in Unrighteousness, because they might come to the Knowledge of the true God, by the visible Works of the Creation; so that the Gentiles were without Excuse for turning from the true God to Idolatry, and the Worship of false Gods, whereby their Hearts were darkened; so that they were without God in the World. Wherefore God gave them up to vile Affections, and all manner of Vices, in which State, though by the Light of Nature they know what was right, yet understanding not that such things were worthy of Death, they not only do themselves, but abstaining from Censure, live fairly, and in Fellowship with those that do them. Whereupon he tells the Jews, that they are more inexcusable than the Heathen,
Then in that they judge, abhor, and have in Aversion the Gentiles for what they themselves do with greater Provocation. Their Censure and Judgment in the Case is unjust and wrong: But the Judgment of God is always right and just, which will certainly overtake those who judge others for the same things they do themselves; and do not consider that God's Forgiveness to them ought to bring them to Repentance. For God will render to every one according to his Deeds; to those that in Meekness and Patience continue in well-doing, everlasting Life; but to those who are censorious, proud and contentious, and will not obey the Gospel, Condemnation and Wrath at the day of Judgment, whether they be Jews or Gentiles: For God puts no Difference between them. Thou that art a Jew boastest that God is thy God; that he has enlightened thee by the Law, that he himself gave thee from Heaven, and hath by that immediate Revelation taught thee what things are excellent and tend to Life, and what are evil and have Death annexed to them. If therefore thou transgressed, dost thou more displease God and provoke him, than a poor Heathen that knows not God, nor that the things he doth, deserve Death, which is their Reward? Shall not he, if by the Light of Nature he do what is conformable to the revealed Law of God, judge thee who hast received that Law from God by Revelation, and breakest it? Shall not this rather than Circumcision make him an Israelite? For he is not a Jew, i.e., one of God's People, who is one outwardly by Circumcision of the Flesh, but he that is one inwardly by the Circumcision of the Heart.

Text

16 For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto Salvation, to every one that believeth, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek.

17 For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith: as it is written, The just shall live by faith.

Paraphrase

16 For I am not ashamed to preach the Gospel of Christ, even at Rome it self, that Mistress of the World: For whatever it may be thought of there (n) by that vain and haughty People, it is that wherein God exerts himself, and shews his Power (o) for the Salvation of those who believe, of the Jews in the first (p) place, and also of the Gentiles. For therein is the Righteousness (q) which is of the Free Grace of God through Jesus Christ revealed to be wholly

Notes

16 (n) Vid. ver. 22. and 1 Cor. 1, 21.
17 (o) Vid. Eph. 1, 19.
17 (p) First, The Jews had the first Offers of the Gospel, and were always consider'd as those who were first regarded in it. Vid. Luke 24, 47. Mat. 10, 6. and 15, 24. Acts 13, 46.
17 (q) A righteousness (r), The Righteousness of God, called in, because it is a Righteousness of his Conveniance, and his Belowing. It is God that justifieth, Ch. 3, 21.</p>

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by Faith (r) as it is written, The just shall live by Faith. And is no more than need that the Gospel, wherein the Righteousness of God by Faith in Jesus Christ is revealed, should be preached to you Gentiles, since the Wrath of God is now revealed (s) from Heaven by Jesus Christ, against all Ungodliness (t) and Unrighteousness of Men (w) who live not up to the Light that God has given them (w). Because God in a clear Manifestation of himself amongst them, has laid before them ever since the Creation of the World, his Divine Nature and eternal Power; so that what is to be known of his invisible Being might be clearly discover'd and understood from the visible Beauty, Order, and Operations observable in the Constitution and Parts of the Universe, by all those that would call their Regards, and apply their Minds (x) that way: Insomuch that they are utterly without Excuse: For that when the Deity was so plainly discover'd to them, yet they glorified him not as was fit to the Excellency of

For the wrath of God (z) revealed from heaven against all Ungodliness, and unrighteousness of Men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness. Because that which may be known of God, is manifest in them; for God hath shewed it unto them. For the invisible things of God are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse: Because that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened.

NOTES.

(r) From Faith to Faith. The Design of St. Paul here being to show, that neither Jews nor Gentiles could by Works attain to Righteousness, i.e. such a perfect and complete Conscience whereby they could be justifi'd, which he calls their own Righteousnesses, ch. 10. 3. He here tells them, that in the Gospel the Righteousness of God, i.e. the Righteousness of which he is the Author, and which he accepts in the way of his own Appointment, is revealed from Faith to Faith, i.e. to be all through, from one end to the other, founded in Faith. If this be not the Sense of this Phrase here, it will be hard to make the following words, as it is written, The just shall live by Faith, cohere: But thus they have an easy and natural Connexion, (for, whether they be justifi'd either before, without, or under the Law of Moses, or under the Gospel, are justifi'd, not by Works, but by Faith alone. Vid. Gal. 3. 11. which clears this Interpretation. The same Figure of speaking St. Paul uses in other places to the same purpose; ch. 6. 19. Servants to Iniquity unto Iniquity, i.e. wholly to Iniquity. 2 Cor. 3. 19. From Glory to Glory, i.e. wholly glorious. 

(s) New revealed. Vid. Acts 17. 30, 31. God now commandeth all Men every where to repent, because he hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the World in Righteousness by the Man whom he hath ordained. These Words of St. Paul to the Athenians give light to this here to the Romans. A Life again after Death, and a Day of Judgment wherein Men should be all brought to receive Sentence according to what they had done, and be punisht for their Misdeeds, was what was before unknown, and was brought to light by the Revelation of the Gospel from Heaven, 2 Tim. 1. 10. Matt. 16. 41. Luke 12. 27, and Rom. 2. 5. he calls the day of Judgment the Day of Wrath, consonant to his saying here, the Wrath of God is revealed. 

(t) Ungodlines, Unrighteousness, seems to comprehend the Atheism, Polytheism and Idolatry of the Heathen World, as also men, Unrighteousness, their other Misdemeanors and vicious Lives, according to which they are differently threaten'd by St. Paul in the following Verses. The same Appropriation of these Words I think may be observed in other Parts of this Epistle. Unrighteousness, Vid. of Men, i.e. of all Men, or as in the 17th of Acts before cited, all Men everywhere, i.e. all Men of all Nations: Before it was only to the Children of Israel that Obedience and Transgression were declared and proscribed as Terms of Life and Death.

(u) Held the Truth in Unrighteousness, i.e. Who are not wholly without the Truth, but yet do not follow what they have of it, but live contrary to that Truth they do know, or neglect to know what they might. This is evident from the next Words, and for the same Reason of God's Wrath given, ch. 2. 8. in these Words, Who do not obey the Truth, but they Unrighteousness.

(x) St. Paul says, in the next verse. If they are minded they are seen: The invisible things of God lie within the Reach and Discovery of Men's Reason and Understandings, but yet they must exercise their Faculties, and employ their Minds about them.
his Divine Nature: nor did they with due Thankfulness acknowledge him as the Author of their Being, and the Giver of all the Good they enjoyed: but following the vain Phanties of their own vain (γ) Minds, for up to themselves fictitious no Gods, and their foolish Understandings were darkened: Assuming to themselves the Opinion and Name (ε) of being wise, they became Fools; and quitting the incomprehensible Majesty and Glory of the Eternal Incorruptible Deity, let up to themselves the Images of corruptible Men, Birds, Beasts, and Insects, as fit Objects of their Adoration and Worship. Wherefore they having forsaken God, he also left them to the Lusts of their own Hearts, and that Uncleanliness their darkened Hearts led them into, to dishonour their Bodies among themselves: Who so much debased themselves, as to change the true God who made them, for a Lie (α) of their own making, worshipping and serving the Creature, and things even of a lower Rank than themselves, more than the Creator, who is God over all, blessed for evermore, Amen. For this Cause God gave them up unto vile affections: For even their Women did change the natural use into that which is against nature: And likewise also the Men, leaving the natural use of the Woman, burned in their lust one toward another, men with men working that which is unseemly, and receiving in themselves that recompence of their error which was meet. And even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient:

NOTES.

21 (γ) Εὐθυμον. It is the expression τινος διαφανομεν ευθυμον, became vain in their Imaginations or Reasonings. What it is to become vain in the Scripture-Language, one may see in their words, and they followed Vanity, and became vain, and went after the Heathen. (Heb 11, 16) It is said that the Heathen generally thought themselves wise in the Religions they embraced: Yet the Apostle here having all along in this and the following Chapter used Greeks for Gentiles, he may be thought to have an Eye to the Greeks, among whom the Men of Study and Enquiry had affirmed to themselves the Name of wise men.

22 (α) The false and fictitious Gods of the Heathen are very fitly called in the Scripture, Lies. (Rom 2, 4. Jer 17, 19, 20.)

23 (β) Error, to Idolatry is called, 2 Pet 2, 18. As they against the Light of Nature debased and dishonoured God by their Idolatry, it was a Just and fit Reprovement they received in being left to debate and dishonour themselves by unnatural Lusts.

24 (γ) And, This Copulative joins this Verse to the 24th, so that the Apostle will be better understood, if all between he look’d on as a Parenthesis, this being a Continuation of what his Discourse.

25 (δ) Our Englishmen, did not like, rather did not try or search, for the Greek word signifies to search and find out by searching: So St Paul often uses it, 2 Th 2, 18. and 2. 2, compared, and 14. 22. Eph 5, 10.
have him with a due Acknowledgment (e) of him, God gave them up to an unsearching and unjustidious (f) Mind, to do things incongruous, and not meet (g) to be done; Being filled with all manner of Inquiry, Fornication, Wickedness, Covetousness, Malignity, full of Envy, Contention, Deceit, Maliciousness, even to Murder, Backbiter, Haters of God, In- futers of Men, Proud, Boasters, Inventors of new Arts of Debauchery, disobedient to Parents, Without Understanding, Covenant-breakers, without natural Affection, implacable, unmerciful: Who though they acknowledge the Rule of Right (b) preferred them by God, and discovr'd by the Light of Nature, did not yet understand (i) that those who did such things were worthy of Death, do (k) not only do them themselves, but live well together without any Mark of Diffe'rent or Censure with them that do them. 

NOTES.

(e) 'ε εν ευδοκίαν, with Acknowledgment. That the Gentiles were not wholly without the Knowledge of God in the World, St. Paul tells us in this very Chapter, but they did not acknowledge him as they ought, ver. 21. They had God 'δέσποινα, δη, but 'εκ ιδουπαρασ εγείραται ανεθεσα εις ζωήν, but did not so improve that Knowledge, as to acknowledge or honour him as they ought. This Verse seems in other Words to express the same that is said, ver. 21.

(f) 'Εν ενεπιστολήν, to a rebellious Mind, rather to an unsearching Mind, in the Sense of St. Paul, who often uses Compounds and Derivatives in the Sense wherein a little before he used the Primitive Words, though a little varying from the precise Greek Idiom: an Example whereof we have in this very word ενεπιστολήν, 2 Cor. 15, where having, ver. 3, used ἐκκλησία for a Proof of his Million by supernatural Gifts, he uses ἐκκλησίας for one that was de- stitute of such Proofs. So here he tells the Romans, that the Gentiles not exercising their Minds to search out the Truth, and form their judgments right, God left them to an unsearching, unjustidious Mind.

Non explorantur permiscunt mentes non explorantur.

(g) A Discourse like this of St. Paul here, wherein Idolatry is made the Cause of the enormous Crimes and profane Lives Men run into, may be read, Wisdom 14. 11, &c.

32 (b) 'Ιδουπαρασ εγείραται, The Judgment of God, might it not be translated, the Rightitude of God i.e. That Rule of Rightitude which God had given to Mankind in giving them Reason: As that Righteousness which God requires, for Salvation in the Gospel is called the Righteousness of God, ver. 17, Rightitude in the Transition being used in this appropriated Sense, 28 'Εκκλησίας in the Original. Vid. Note, ch. 2. 26.

(i) 'Ουκ ενεπιστολήν, Did not understand that they who commit, &c. This reading is justified by the Clemens, and another ancient Manuscript, as well as by that which the Old Latin Version follow'd, as well as Clement, Ibarre, and Documenarius, and will probably be thought the more genuine by those who can hardly suppose that St. Paul should affirm that the Gentile World did know that he who offended against any of the Directions of this natural Rule of Rightitude, taught or discoverable by the Light of Reason, was worthy of Death, especially if we remember what he says, ch. 9. 13. That Sin is not imputed when there is no positive Law: And ch. 7. 9. I was alive without the Law once: Both which places signify that Men did not know Death to be the Wages of Sin in general, but by the Declaration of a positive Law.

(i) 'Ενεπιστολήν, have Pleasure in those that do them. He that considers that the Design of the Apostle here, manifest in the immediately following Words, is to combat the Animiety of the Jews against the Gentiles, and that there could not be a more effectual way to shame them into a more modell and mild Temper, than by shewing them that the Gentiles, in all the Darkness that blindered them, and the Extravagancies they run into, were never guilty of such an Aburdity as this, to confunde and separate from others, and throw an implacable Aversion to them, for what they themselves were equally guilty of. He I say that considers this, will be easily persuaded to understand ενεπιστολήν here as I do, for a Complacency that avoided cenfuring or breaking with them who were in the same State and Course of Life with themselves, that did nothing amiss but what they themselves were equally guilty of. There can be nothing clearer than that ενεπιστολήν, have Pleasure in those that do them, in the next Verse, without which I do not see how it is possible to make out the Inference which the Apostle draws here. 

(1) Therefore
Therefore thou art unexcusable, O man, who ever thou art (m), that judg\textsc{\textbf{e}}t: for wherein thou judg\textsc{\textbf{e}}t another, thou condemnest thy self: for thou that judg\textsc{\textbf{e}}t, dost the same thing.

But we are sure that the judgment of God is according to truth, against them which commit such things.

And thinkest thou this, O man that judg\textsc{\textbf{e}}t them which do such things, and

(NOTES)

1 (l) Therefore; This is a Term of Illation, and flew the Consequence here drawn from the foregoing Words. Therefore the Jew is inexcusable in judging, because the Gentiles with all the vices that were on their Minds, were never guilty of such a folly as to judge those who were no more faulty than themselves. For the better understanding of this place, it may not perhaps be amiss to set the whole Argumentation of the Apostle here in its due Light: It stands thus; 4 The Gentiles acknowledged the Rectitude of the Law of Nature, but knew not that those who break any of its Rules, incurred Death by their Transgression: But as much in the dark as they were, they are not guilty of any such Absurdity as to condemn others, or refuse Communication with them as unworthy of their Society, who are no worse than themselves, nor do any thing but what they themselves do equally with them, but live in Compliance on equal Terms with them, without Censure or Separation, thinking as well of their Condition as of their own; Therefore if the blinded Heathen do so, thou, O Jew, art inexcusable, who having the Light of the revealed Law of God, and knowing by it, that the Breaches of the Law merit Death, dost judge others to Perdition, and shut them out from Salvation, for that which thou thy self art equally guilty of, viz. Disobedience to the Law. Thou, a poor, ignorant, conceited, fallible Man, livest in judgment upon others, and committest the same things which thou condemnest them for; But this thou mayst be sure, that the Judgment and Condemnation of God is right and firm, and will certainly be executed upon those who do such things. For thou that judg\textsc{\textbf{e}}st the Heathen to Condemnation for the same things which thou dost thy self, canst thou imagine that thou thy self shalt escape the same Judgment of God? What, whatever thou mayst think, is no Respecter of Persons: Both Jews as well as Gentiles, that are perversely contentious against others, and do not themselves obey the Gospel, shall meet with Wrath and Indignation from God: And Gentiles as well as Jews, whom the Goodness and Forbearance of God bringeth to Repentance, and an humble, submissive Acceptance of the Gospel, shall find Acceptance with God, and eternal Life in the Kingdom of the Me\textsc{\textbf{f}}ias; from which if thou art contentious to flout the Gentiles, thou manife\textsc{\textbf{s}}tly floutest out thy self.

(m) O Man, whatsoever thou art. It is plain from vers. 17, and 27. and the whole Tenor of this Chapter, that St. Paul by these words the Jews; but there are two visible Reasons why he speaks of them thus. I. He makes his Complaint against them, with a View to the outward Force, but less Offence, than if he had bluntly named the Jews, whom he is so very careful in all this Epistle to treat in the softest manner imaginable. 2dly, He uses the Term Man emphatically, in Opposition to God in the next Verse.

(n) Judg\textsc{\textbf{e}}t. There will need nothing to be said to those who read this Epistle with the least Attention, to prove that the judgment which St. Paul here speaks of, was, that Aversion which the Jews generally had to the Gentiles, so that the unconverted Jews could not bear with the Thoughts of a Me\textsc{\textbf{f}}is, that admitted the Heathen equally with them into his Kingdom; nor could the converted Jews be brought to admit them into their Communion, as the People of God were equally with themselves; so that they generally, both one and other, judged them unworthy the Favour of God, and out of Capacity to become his People any other way, but by Circumcision and an Observance of the ritual Parts of the Law, the Inexcessibleness and Absurdity whereof St. Paul thews in this Chapter.

(2) According to Truth, doth, I suppose, signify not barely a True Judgment, which will stand in Opposition to erroneous, and that will not take effect, but something more, i.e. according to the Truth of his Predictions and Threats. As if he had said, "But if God in judgment call all the Jews from being any longer his People, we know this to be according to his Truth, who in his own Time, and by his Spirit, did them of it. Ye Jews judged a Gentile not to be received into the People of God, and refuse Admittance into the Kingdom of the Me\textsc{\textbf{f}}ias, though you break the Law, as well as they, you judge as prejudiced passionate Men. But the Judgment of God again\textsc{\textbf{t}} you shall stand firm.人的 Reason why he does it covertly, may be that which I have before-mention'd, his great Care not to shock the Jews, especially here in the beginning, till he had got fast hold upon them. And hence possibly it is, that he calls obeying the Gospel, obeying the Truth, vers. 5. and uses other the like bold Expressions in this Chapter.
condemning Sentence of God? Or slightest thou the Riches of his Goodness, Forbearance and long-Suffering, not knowing nor considering that the Goodness of God ought to lead thee to Repentance? But layest up to thy self Wrath and Punishment, which thou wilt meet with at the day of Judgment, and that just Retribution which shall be awarded thee by God in proportion to thy impenitency, and the Hardness of thy Heart; who will retribute to every one according to his Works, *viz.* Eternal Life to all those who by Patience (?) and Gentleness in Well-doing seek Glory and Honour, and a State of Immortality; But to them who are contentious *and* froward, and will not obey the Truth (?), but subject themselves to Unrighteousness, Indignation and Wrath;

Tribulation and Anguish, shall be poured out upon every Soul of Man that worketh Evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile. But Glory, Honour and Peace, shall be bestowed on every Man that worketh Good, on the Jew first (†), and also on the
doth the same, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God? Or despisest thou the riches of his Goodness, and forbearance, and long-suffering, not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance?

But after thy hardnes, and impenitent heart, treasurest up unto thy self wrath against the day of wrath; and revelation of the righteous judgment of God:

Who will render to every man according to his deeds:

To them, who by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, eternal life;

But unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation, and wrath;

Tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile;

But glory, honour, and peace, to every man that

NOTES.

7 (?) Patience in this Verse is opposed to Contentious * in the next, and seems principally to regard the Jews, who had no Patience for any Consideration of the Gentiles, but with a strange Perseverance and Contention, opposed the Freedom of the Gospel in admiring the believing Gentiles to the Franchise of the Kingdom of the Messiah, upon equal Terms with themselves.

8 (?) Though by Truth, the Gospel be here meant, yet I doubt not but St. Paul used the Term Truth with an Eye to the Jews, who though some few of them received the Gospel, yet even a great part of those few join'd with the rest of their Nation in opposing this great Truth of the Gospel, that under the Messiah the Gentiles who believed were the People of God, as well as the Jews, and such as were to be received by them.

9, 10 (?) The Jew first and also the Gentile. We see by these two Verses, and ch. 1. 16, that St. Paul carefully lays it down, that there was now under the Gospel no other National Distinction between the Jews and the Gentiles, but only a Priority in the Offer of the Gospel, and in the Delight of Rewards and Punishments, according as the Jews obey'd or not. Which may farther satisfy us, that the Distinction which St. Paul insists on so much here, and all through the first part of this Epistle is National, the Comparison being between the Jews as nationally the People of God; and the Gentiles, as not the People of God before the Messiah; and that under the Messiah the Prophets of Christianity, consisting most of converted Gentiles, were the People of God, owned and acknowledged as such by him, the unbelieving Jews being rejected, and the believing Gentiles never received, but that yet personally both Jews and Gentiles, every single Person, shall be punished for his own particular Sin, as appears by the next Verse.

Gentile.
worketh good, to the Jew first, and to the Gentile.

11. For there is no respect of persons with God.

12. For as many as have sinned without law, shall perish without law; and as many as have sinned in the law, shall be judged by the law.

13. (For not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified.)

14. For when the Gentiles which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these having not the law, are a law unto themselves.

15. Which shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the mean while accusing, or elseexcusing one another.

16. In the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, according to my gospel.

17. Behold, thou art called a Jew, and resteth in the law, and maketh thy boast of God; Gentile. For with God there is no respect of persons. For all that have sinned without having the positive Law of God, which was given the Israelites, shall perish (i) without the Law; and all who have sinned being under the Law, shall be judged by the Law.

(For the bare Hearers of the Law are not thereby just or righteous in the sight of God; but the Doers of the Law, they who exactly perform all that is commanded in it shall be justified. For when the Gentiles, who have no positive Law given them by God (\(\text{a}\)), do by the Direction of the Light of Nature observe or keep to the moral Rectitude contained in the positive Law given by God to the Israelites, they being without any positive Law given them, have nevertheless a Law within themselves; and shew the Rule of the Law written in their Hearts, their Consciences also bearing witness to that Law, amongst themselves, in the reasoning of their own Minds, accusing or excusing one another.) At the Day of Judgment, when as I make known in my preaching the Gospel (\(\text{a}\)), God shall judge all the Actions of Men by Jesus Christ. Behold thou art named (\(\text{w}\)) a Jew; and thou with Satisfaction rejoinst in the Privilege of having the Law, as a Mark of

**NOTES.**

12. (i) ἀνόητος, shall perish; ἡγεμόνευς, shall be judged. Those under the Law St. Paul says shall be judged by the Law; and this is easy to conceive, because they were under a positive Law, wherein Life and Death were annexed as the Reward and Punishment of Obedience and Disobedience; but those the Gentiles who were not under that positive Law, he says barely that they shall perish. St. Paul does not use these to eminently differing Expressions for nothing; they will, I think, give some Light to ch. 5. 33. and my Interpretation of it, if they lead us no further.

14. (a) Not your own, having not the Law, or not having a Law. The Apostle by the word Law generally in this Epistle signifying a positive Law given by God, and promulgated by a Revelation from Heaven, with the Sanction of declared Rewards and Punishments annexed to it, is not improbable that in this Verse (where by the Greek Particle he so plainly points out the Law of Moses) by ὑπείκασα, without the Article, may intend Law in general, in his Sense of a Law, and to this Verse may be translated thus: For when the Gentiles who have not a Law, do by Nature the things contained in the Law; these not having a Law, are a Law to themselves. And so ver. 12. At many as have sinned, being under a Law, shall be judged by a Law. For though from Adam to Christ there was no revealed positive Law, but that given to the Israelites; yet it is certain that by Jesus Christ a positive Law from Heaven is given to all Mankind, and that those to whom this has been promulgated by the Preaching of the Gospel, are all under it, and shall be judged by it.

16. (a) According to my Gospel, i. e. as I make known in my preaching the Gospel. That is the Meaning of this Phrase, may be seen, 2 Tim. 2. 8. And of St. Paul's declaring of it in his Preaching, we have an Instance left upon Record, Acts 17. 31

19. (e) Evangelus, thou art named, emphatically said by St. Paul; For he that was such a Jew as he describes in the Name, Evangelist, he intimates on it, was also Jew only in the Name, not in Reality, for so he concludes, ver. 28, and 29. he is not in the Estate of God's Jew, who is so outwardly only,

God's.
God's peculiar Favour (x), whom thou gloriest in, as being thy God, and thou one of his People; a People who alone know and worship the true God; and thou knowest his Will, and haft the Touchstone of things excellent (y), having been educated in the Law. And takest upon thee as one who art a Guide to the Blind (z), a Light to the ignorant Gentiles who are in Darkness (z), an Instructor of the Foolish, (z), a Teacher of Babes, having an exact Draught, and a compleat System (a) of Knowledge and Truth in the Law. Thou therefore who art a Master in this Knowledge, and teacheth others, teachest thou not thy self? Thou that preachest that a Man should not steal, dost thou steal? Thou that declarest Adultery to be unlawful, dost thou commit it? Thou that abhorrest Idols, dost thou commit Sacrilege? Thou who gloriest in the Law, dost thou by breaking of the Law dishonour God? For the Name of God is blasphemed amongst the Gentiles, by reason of your Mischaparries, as it is written (b); Circumcision (c) indeed, and thy being a Jew, pro- fiseth (d), if thou keep the Law: But if thou be a Transgressor of the Law, thy Circumcision is made Uncircumcision; thou art no way better than an Heathen. If therefore an uncircumcised Gentile keep the moral Reditudes (e) of the Law, shall he not be reckond and accounted of, as if he were circumcised, and

And knowest his will, and approvest the things that are more excellent, being instructed out of the law. And art confident that thou thy self art a guide of the blind, a light of them which are in darkness, an instructor of the foolish, a teacher of Babes, which haft the form of knowledge, and of the truth in the law. Thou therefore which art teachest another, teachest thou not thy self? Thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal? Thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery? Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege? Thou that makest thy boast of the Law, through breaking the Law dishonourest thou God? For the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you, as it is written;

For circumcision verily proffiseth, if thou keep the law; but if thou be a breaker of the law, thy circumcision is made uncircumcision.

Therefore, if the un-circumcision keep the righteousnes of the Law,
shall not his uncircumcision be counted for circumcision?

and every way a Jew? And shall not a Gentile, who in his natural State of Uncircumcision fulfils the Law,

NOTES.

Imitation of St. Paul, who uses Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα here for all those Precepts of the Law which contain in them any part of the natural and eternal Rule of Ρεβιλάντα, which is made known to Men by the Light of Reason. This Rule of their Actions all Mankind, uncircumcised as well as circumcised, had, and is that which St. Paul calls Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα, ch. 1. 32. Because it came from God, and was made by him; the moral Rule to all Mankind being laid within the Discovery of their Reason, which if they kept to it, it Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα, Righteousnesst to them, or they were justified. And this Rule of Morality St. Paul says the Gentile World did acknowledge. So that Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα, ch. 1. 32. signifies that Rule of Right taken in general, and Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα ἵνα here signifies the particular Branches of it contain’d in the Law of Mafes. For no other part of the Law of Mafes could an Heathen be supposed to observe or be concerned in; And therefore those only can be the Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα ἵνα here meant. If we consider the various Sense that Translators and Expositors have given to this Term Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα, in the several places of St. Paul’s Epistles, where it occurs, we shall have occasion to think, that the Apostle used this Word with great Latitude and Variety of Significations; whereas I imagine, that if we carefully read those Passages, we shall find that he used it every where in the same Sense, i.e. for that Rule which, if compiled with, justified, or rendered perfect, the Person or thing it referr’d to. For Example:

Rom. 1. 32. Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα ἵνα, translated the Judgment of God, is that Rule of Right, which if the Heathen World had kept and perfectly obey’d, they had been righteous before God.

Rom. 2. 26. Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα ἵνα, The Righteousness of the Law, are those Precepts of the Law of Mafes, which if the Uncircumcised whom he there speaks of had kept, they had been righteous before God.

Rom. 3. 16. Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα, to justification, is to the obtaining of Righteousnesst.

Rom. 4. 18. Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα, By one Righteousnesst, is by one Act whereby he was justified or completely perfected to be what he had undertaken to be, viz. the Redeemer and Saviour of the World. For it was Ις ἔκ τὸ Ἰπποτήριον Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα, or as some Copies read it, Ἰς ἔκ τὸ ἔργον, by his Suffering, viz. Death on the Cross, that he was perfetted, Heb. 2. 9, 10, and 14, 15, and 5. 7—9. Rom. 4. 10. Phil. 2. 8, Col. 1. 21, 22. Rom. 8. 4. Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα ἵνα, The Righteousnesst of the Law. Here, as Rom. 2. 26. it is that Rule of Right contained in the Law, which if a Man exactly performed, he was righteous and perfect before God.

Heb. 9. 1. Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα νομισμάτων, Ordinances of Divine Service, are those Rules or Precepts concerning the outward Worship of God, which when conform’d to render it perfect, and such as was right and unblameable before God.

Heb. 9. 10. Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα καταβάθμων, Catholical Ordinances, are such Rules concerning ritual Performances, as when observ’d, justified the Flesh. By these Observances, according as they were perfetted, the Flesh or natural outward Man obtain’d a legal outward Holiness or Righteousnesst, there was no Exception against him, but he was freely admitted into the Congregation, and into the Sanctuary.

In the same Sense Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα is also used in the Apocalypse.

Rev. 15. 4. Τα Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα τω ἱερατεία της, The judgments are made manifest, i.e. those Terms whereupon Men were to be justified before God, were clearly and fully made known under the Gospel. Here, as Rom. 1. they are called Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα ἵνα, the Terms which God had prescrib’d to Men for their Justification. And,

Rev. 19. 8. Τα Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα τω αἰώνιον, The Righteousnesst of the Saints, i.e. The Performances whereby the Saints stand justified before God.

So that if we well observe it, Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα is the Rule of Right, as having God for its Author, it is Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα ἵνα; as contain’d in the Precepts of the Law 'tis Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα ἵνα; as it concerns the external, instituted Rites of the Levitical Worship of God, it is Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα ἵνα; as it concerns the outward Legal or Ritual Holiness of the Jews, it is Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα ἵνα; as it is in holy Men made perfect, it is Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα ἵνα.

It may not be amiss to take a little Notice afofore of St. Paul’s Use of the other Term here, Μητρώος, Law, which he commonly puts for a positive Rule given to Men, with the Sanction of a Penalty annex’d; and in particular frequently (sometimes with, sometimes without, the Particle) for the Law of Mafes, without naming what Law he means, as if there had been no other Law in the World, as indeed there was not any other in St. Paul’s Notion of a Law, from the Fall to our Saviour’s time, but only the Law given by God to the Israelites by the Hand of Mafes. Under the Gospel the Law of Mafes was abrogated: But yet the Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα ἵνα were not abrogated. The Ἰκανοσύμπαθέματα ἵνα not only stood firm, but was by the
Law, condemn (f) thee who, notwithstanding the Advantage of having the Law and Circumcision (g), art a Transgressor of the Law? For he is not a Jew who is one in outward Appearance and Conformity (b) nor is that the Circumcision which renders a Man acceptable to God, which is outwardly in the Flesh. But he is a Jew, and one of the People of God, who is one in an inward Conformity to the Law: and that is the Circumcision which avails a Man, which is of the Heart (f), according to the spiritual Sense of the Law, which is the purging our Hearts from Iniquity by Faith in Jesus Christ, and not in an external Observance of the Letter, by which a Man cannot attain Life (k): such true Israelites as these, though they are judged, condemned, and rejected by Men of the Jewish Nation, are nevertheless honoured and accepted by God.

NOTES.

the divine Authority promulgated aew by Jesus Christ, the King and Saviour of the World. For 'tis of this that he says, that he is not come to destroy the Law, but to fulfill it, i.e. to give it positively and plainly its full Latitude and Extent, and let these disciples see the views in their due Light and full Force; and accordingly we see all the Branches of it more expressly commanded, and with Penalties more rigorously inflicted on all his Subjects by our Saviour and his Apostles, than they were in the Law of Moses.

Thus we see that by the Doctrine of St. Paul and the New Testament, there is one and the same Rule of Restitution set to the Actions of all Mankind, Jews, Gentiles, and Christians; and that falling of a complete Obedience to it in every tittle, makes a Man unrighteous, the Consequence whereof is Death. For the Gentiles that have sinned without a Law, shall perish without a Law; the Jews that have sinned having a Law, shall be judged by that Law; but that both Jews and Gentiles shall be saved from Death, if they believe in Jesus Christ, and sincerely endeavour after Righteousness, though they do not attain unto it, their Faith being accounted to them for Righteousness, Rom. 3. 19—24.

27 (f) Judge thee. This he faith propounding the Design he began with, ver. 1, of shewing the Folly and Unreasonableness of the Jews in judging the Gentiles, and denying them Admittance and Fellowship with themselves in the Kingdom of the Messiah.

(g) It is plain that by Nature, and by the Letter and Circumcision, are opposed to one another, and mean the one a Man in his natural State, wholly a Stranger to the Law of God revealed by Moses, and the other a Jew observing the external Rites contained in the Letter of that Law.

28 (b) Vid. ch. 9. 6. 7. Gal. 6. 15. 16.
29 (g) St. Paul's Exposition of this, see Phil. 3. 3. Col. 2. 11.
(f) Letter, vid. ch. 7. 6. 2 Cor. 3. 6. 7. compared with 17.

SECT. III.

CHAP. III. 1—31.

CONTENTS.

In this third Chapter St. Paul goes on to shew that the National Privileges the Jews had over the Gentiles, in being the People of God, gave them no peculiar Right, or better Title to the Kingdom of the Messiah, than what the Gentiles had. Because they as well as the Gentiles all sinned, and not being able to attain Righteousness by the Deeds of the Law more than the Gentiles, Justification was to be had only by the Free Grace of God through Faith in Jesus Christ; so that upon their Believing, God, who is the God not
of the Jews alone, but also of the Gentiles, accepted the Gentiles as well as the Jews; and now admits all who profess Faith in Jesus Christ, to be equally his People. To clear his way to this, he begins with removing an Objection of the Jews ready to say; If it be so as you have told us in the foregoing Section, that it is the Circumcision of the Heart alone that avails, what Advantage have the Jews, who keep to the Circumcision of the Flesh, and the other Observances of the Law, by being the People of God? To which he answers, that the Jews had many Advantages above the Gentiles; but yet that in respect of their Acceptance with God under the Gospel, they had none at all. He declares that both Jews and Gentiles are Sinners, both equally incapable of being justified by their own Performances: That God was equally the God both of Jews and Gentiles, and out of his Free Grace justified those, and only those who believe'd, whether Jews or Gentiles.

**TEXT.**

1. What advantage then hath the Jew? or what profit is there of circumcision?

2. Much every way: chiefly, because that unto them were committed the oracles of God.

3. For what if some did not believe: shall their unbelief make the faith of God without effect?

4. God forbid: yea let God be true, but every man a liar: as it is written, That thou mightest be justified in thy sayings, and mightest overcome when thou art judged.

5. But if our unrighteousnes commend the righteousness of God, what shall we say? Is God unrighteous who taketh vengeance? (I speak as a man)

**PARAPHRASE.**

1. If it be thus that Circumcision by a Failure of Obedience to the Law becomes UNCIRCUMCISION; and that the Gentiles who keep the Righteousnes, or moral part of the Law, shall judge the Jews that transgress the Law, what Advantage have the Jews? or what Profit is there of Circumcision? I answer, Much every way (l); chiefly that God particularly present amongst them revealed his Mind and Will, and engaged himself in Promises to them, by Moses and other his Prophets, which Oracles they had, and kept amongst them, whilst the rest of Mankind had no such Communication with the Deity, had no Revelation of his Purposes of Mercy to Mankind, but were, as it were, without God in the World. For though some of the Jews who had the Promises of the Meffias, did not believe in him when he came, and so did not receive the Righteousnes which is by Faith in Jesus Christ; yet their Unbelief cannot render the Faithfulness and Truth of God of no Effect, who had promised to be a God to Abraam and his Seed after him, and blest them to all Generations (m). No, by no means. God forbid that any one should entertain such a Thought: Yea, let God be acknowledged to be true, and every Man a Liar, as it is written, That thou mightest be justified in thy Sayings, and mightest overcome when thou art judged.

But you will say farther, If it be so that our Sinsfulness commends the Righteousnes of God (n) shewn in keeping his word (m) given to our Forefathers, what shall I say, It is not Injustice in God to punish us for it, and cast us off (I must be under-

**NOTES.**

2 (l) A Lift of the Advantages the Jews had over the Gentiles he gives, ch. p. 4, 5: but here mentions only one of them, that was most proper to his present purpose.

(m) How this was made good, St. Paul explains more at large in the following Chapter, and ch. p. 6-13.

(n) That by the Righteousnes of God St. Paul here intends God's Faithfulness in keeping his Promise of saving Believers, Gentiles as well as Jews: by Righteousnes through Faith in Jesus Christ, is plain, vers. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, St. Paul's great Design here; and all through the eleven first Chapters of this Epistle being to convince the Romans, that God purposed, and in the Old Testament declared, that he would receive and save the Gentiles by Faith in the Meffias, which was the only way whereby Jews or Gentiles (they being all Sinners, and equally delitute of Righteousnes by Works) were to be saved. This was a Doctrine which the Jews could not bear, and therefore the Apostle here in the Person of a Jew, urges, and in his own Person answers their Objections against it, conforming to the Romans the Variety and Faithfulness of God, on whom they might with all Assurance depend for the Performance of whatever he said.

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good to say this in the Person of a carnal Man pleading for himself? God forbid: For if God be unrighteous, how shall he judge the World? For if the Truth and Veracity of God hath more appeared to his Glory, by reason of my Lie, I, e. my Sin, why yet am I condemned for a Sinner, and punished for it? Why rather should not this be thought a right Consequence, and a just Excess? Let us do Evil that Good may come of it, that Glory may come to God by it. This (r) some maliciously and sandlerously report us Christians to say, for which they deserve, and will from God receive Punishment as they deserve. 

9. Are we Jews then in any whit a better Condition than the Gentiles (s)? Not at all. For I have already (t) brought a Charge of Guilt and Sin both against Jews and Gentiles, and urged that there is not one of them clear, which I shall prove now against you Jews; For it is written, There is none righteous, no not one: there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. They are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable, there is none that doeth good, no not one. Their throat is an open sepulchre; with their tongues they have used deceit; the poison of Aids is under their lips; whose Mouth is full of cursing and bitterness. 

N O T E S.

6 (s) This which is an Argument in the Mouth of Abraham, Gen. 18. 25. St. Paul very aptly makes use of to drop the Mouth of the blasphemous Jew.

7 (t) For. This Particle plainly rejoyns what follows in this and the next Verse to Ference in the 6th Verfe, and throws it to be, as it is, a Continuation of the Objection begun in that Verse, why St. Paul broke it into pieces by intruding the 6th Verse in the middle of it, there is a very plain Reason. In the Objection there were two things to be corrected; 1st. The charging God with Unrighteousness, which as soon as mentioned, it was a becoming Interruption in St. Paul, to quaff immediately, and to drop the Jews Mouth with the words of Abraham. 2dly. The other thing in the Objection was a false Calumny upon the Christians, as if they preaching justification by Free Grace, said, Let us do Evil that God may come of it. To which the Apostle’s Answer was the more difflent, being subjouyn’d to that Branch separated from the other. 

8 (u) Lie. The Sense of the Place makes it plain, that St. Paul by Lie here means Sin in general, but seems to have used the word Lie, as having a more forcible and graceful Antithesis to the Truth of God, which the Objection pretends to be thereby illustrated.

8 (r) Some. ‘Tis past doubt that these were the Jews. But St. Paul always, tender towards his own Nation, forbears to name them, when he pronounces this Sentence, that their calling-off and Defection now at hand, for this Scandal and other Opposition to the Christian Religion, was just.

9 (w) Having in the foregoing Verfe justified the Truth of God, notwithstanding his calling-off the Jews, and vindicated the Doctrine of Grace against the Cavils of the Jews, which two Objections of their’s came naturally in his way, the Apostle takes up here again the Jews question proposed, ver. 1, and urges it home to the case in hand. Ti σημείωσα, being but the same with Ti σημειον in 1. 19, Have Jews then any Preference in the Kingdom of the Messias? To which he answers, No, not at all. That this is the meaning, is visible from the whole Chapter, where he lays both Jews and Gentiles in an equal State, in reference to justification.

10 Already, v. 6. 2. 3. where St. Paul under the gentler Compellation of O Man, charges the Jews to be Sinners as well as the Gentiles: and ver. 17—24, shows, that by having the Law they were no more kept from being Sinners than the Gentiles were without the Law. And this Charge against them, that they were Sinners, here proves against them from the Testimony of their own sacred Books contain’d in the Old Testament.
15. Their feet are swift to shed blood.
16. Destruction and mischief are in their ways.
17. And the way of peace have they not known.
18. There is no fear of God before their eyes.
19. Now we know that what things sover the law faith, it faith to them who are under the law; that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become guilty before God.
20. Therefore by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight: for by the law is the knowledge of sin.
21. But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets;
22. Even the righteousness of God which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all, and upon all them that believe; for there is no difference:
23. For all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God;
24. Being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ:

and righteousness. Their feet are swift to shed Blood, Destruction and mischief are in their ways, and the way of Peace have they not known. There is no fear of God before their eyes. This is all laid in the Sacred Book of our Law (a); And as is laid there, we know not laid to the Jews, who are under the Law, that the Mouth of every Jew that would justify himself might be stopped, and all the World, Jews as well as Gentiles, may be forced to acknowledge themselves guilty before God. From whence it is evident, that by his own Performances, in Obedience to a Law (w) no (x) Man can attain to an exact Conformity to the Rule of Righteousness, so as to be righteous in the sight of God. For by Law, which is the publishing the Rule with a Penalty, we are not delivered from the Power of Sin, nor can it help Men to Righteousness, (y) but by Law we come experimentally to know Sin in the Force and Power of it, since we find it prevail upon us notwithstanding the Punishment of Death is by the Law annexed to it (z). But now the Righteousness of God, that Righteousness which he intended, and will accept, and is a Righteousness not within the Rule and Rigour of Law, is now made manifest and confirmed by the Testimony of the Law and the Prophets, which bear Witness to this Truth, that Jesus is the Messiah, and that it is according to his Purpose and Promise, That the Righteousness of God by Faith in Jesus the Messiah, is extended to, and bestowed on, all who believe in him (a). (For there is no Difference between them. They have all, both Jews and Gentiles, sinned, and fall of attaining that Glory (b) which God hath appointed for the Righteous) being made righteous gratis by the Favour of God through

NOTES.

19. (u) The Law here signifies the whole Old Testament, which containing Revelations from God in the time of the Law, and being those under the Law, and Divine Authority, and a Rule as well as the Law it self, it is sometimes in the New Testament call'd the Law, and so our Savior himself uses the Term Law, John 10. 34. The meaning of St. Paul here is, That the Declarations of God, which he had cited out of the Old Testament, were spoken of the Jews, who were under the Dispensation of the Old Testament, and were, by the word of God to them, all of them pronounced Sinners.

20. (w) "Kf yap vinos I should render, by Deeds of Law, i.e. by Actions of Conformity to a Law requiring the Performance of the lexagwga he, the Right Rule of God (mentioned, ch. 1. 72.) with a Penalty annexed, no Flesh can be justified: But every one falling of an exact Conformity of his Actions, to the immutable Restitude of that eternal Rule of Right, will be found unrighteous, and so incur the Penalty of the Law. That this is the meaning of yap vinos, is evident, because the Apostle's Declaration here is concerning all Men, oua egei. But we know the Heathen World were not under the Law of Miter; And accordingly St. Paul does not say, év yap vinos, by the Deeds of the Law, but év yap vinos, by Deeds of Law. Though in the foregoing and following Verse, where he would specify the Law of Miter, he uses the Article with yap three times.

(x) No Man. St. Paul uses here the word Flesh, for Man emphatically, as that wherein the Force of Sin is seated. Vid. ch. 7. 14, 18 and 3. 14.

(y) The Law cannot help Men to Righteousness. This, which is but implied here, here he is large and express in, ch. 7. and is said expressly, ch. 8. 3. Gal. 3. 21.

(z) (a) Chap. 7. 13.


23. (b) Here the Glory that comes from God, or by his Appointment, is called the Glory of God, as the Righteousness which comes from him, or by his Appointment, is called the Righteousness of God, ch. 1. 17. and the Rule of moral Restitude which has God for its Author, or is appointed by him, it is called lexagwga hei, ch. 1. 32. That this is the Glory here meant, vid. ch. 2. 7. 10. In the same Sense the Glory of God is used, ch. 5. 2. the
the Redemption (c) which is by Jesus Christ; Whom God hath set forth to be the Propitiation or Mercy-seat (d) in his own Blood (e), for the Manifestation of his [God's] Righteousness (f), by passing over (g) their Transgressions formerly committed, which he hath bore with hitherto, fo as to withstand his Hand from Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God.

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24 (c) Redemption signifieth Deliverance, but not Deliverance from every thing, but Deliverance from that to which a Man is in Subjection or Bondage. Nor does Redemption by Jesus Christ import there was any Compensation made to God by paying what was of equal Value, in consideration whereof they were delivered; for that is inconsistent with what St. Paul expressly says here, viz. that Sinners are justified by God gratis, and of his free Bounty. What this Redemption is, St. Paul tells us, Eph. 1. 7. Col. 1. 14. even the Forgiveness of Sins. But if St. Paul had not been so express in defining what he means by Redemption, they yet would be thought to lay too much Stress upon the Criterion of a Word in the Translation, who would thereby make a Nuance in the Original, and make plain it hath not. That Redeeming in the Sacred Scripture-Language signifieth not precisely paying an Equivalent, is so clear, that nothing can be more. I shall refer my Reader to three or four places amongst a great Number; Exod. 6. 6. Deut. 7. 8. and 15. 16. and 24. 18. But if any one will from the literal Signification of the word in English, perit in it against St. Paul's Declarations, that it necessarily implies an equivalent Price paid, I desire him to consider to whom: And that if we will strictly adhere to the Metaphor, it must be to those whom the Redeemed are in Bondage, and from whom we are redeemed, viz. Sin and Satan. If he will not believe his own Sytem for this, let him believe St. Paul's Words; Tit. 2. 14. Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all Iniquity. Nor could the Price be paid to God in Strictness of Jusllce (For that is made the Argument here) unless the same Person ought by that strict Justice to have both the Thing redeemed, and the Price paid for its Redemption. For 'tis to God we are redeemed by the Death of Christ, Rev. 5. 9. Thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God by thy Blood.

25 (d) Propitiation, signifies Propitiatory, or Mercy-Seat, and not Propitiation, as Mr. M'Caule has rightly observed upon this place in his Discourse of God's House, § 1. (e) The Alexandrine Copy omits the words δικαίωσεν, by Faith; which seems conformable to the Sense of the Apostle here: He says, that God hath set forth Christ to be the Propitiation in his Blood. The Atonement under the Law, was made by Blood sprinkled on the Propitiatory or Mercy-Seat, Lev. 17. 14. Christ, says St. Paul here, is now set out and thrown to God to be the real Propitiatory or Mercy-Seat in his own Blood; see Heb. 9. 25. 26. where the Sacrifice of himself is opposed to the Blood of others. God has set him out to be so, to declare his Righteousness; the Mercy-seat being the place wherein God spake and declared his Pleasure, Exod. 25. 22. Num. 7. 1. 2. And it was there where God always appeared, Lev. 17. 2. It was the place of his Presence, and therefore he is said to dwell between the Cherubims, Psa. 80. 1. 2 Kings 19. 15. For between the Cherubims was the Mercy-Seat. In all which Repletes our Saviour, who was the Antitype, is properly called the Propitiatory.

(f) Δικαιοςεις, Righteousness, seems to be used here in the same Sense it is ver. 4. for the Righteousness of God, in keeping his word with the Nation of the Jews, notwithstanding their Provocations. And indeed, with the following words of this Verse, contains in it a further Answer to the Jews Infatuation of God's being hard to their Nation, by showing that God had been very favourable to them, in not calling them off as they had deserv'd, till according to his Promise he had sent them the Medias, and they had rejected him.

(g) διὰ τῶν αἵματος, by passing over: I do not remember any place where δια αἵματος signifies Remission or Forgiveness, but passing by, or passing over, as our Translation has it in the Margin, i.e. over looking, or as it were, not minding; in which Sense, it cannot be applied to the pass Sins of private Persons, for God neither remits nor passes them by so as not to take notice of them. But this δια αἵματος τῶν παραπτώματος αἰματογενέως, passing over pass Sins, is spoken nationally, in respect of the People of the Jews; who thought they were a very sinful Nation, as appears by the places here brought against them, and yet God passed by all that, and would not be hinder'd by their past Sinfulness, from being just in keeping his Promise, in exhibiting them Christ the Propitiatory. But though he would not be provoked by their pass Sins, so as to call them off from being his People before he had sent them the promised Medias to be their Saviour, yet after that, when at the due time he had manifested his Righteousness to them, that he might be just in the Judgement of those who believed in Jesus, he no longer bore with their sinful Obstinate; but when they rejected the Saviour (whom he had sent according to his Promise) from being their King, God rejected them being his People, and took the Gentiles into his Church, and made them his People joyfully and equally with the few believing Jews. This is plainly the Sense of the Apostle here, where he is discoursing of the Nation of the Jews, and their State in comparison with the Gentiles; noting of the State of private Persons. Let any one without Prepossession attentively read the Context, he will find it to be so.
ROMANS.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

26 To declare, I say at this time his righteousness, that he might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus.

27 Where is boasting then? It is excluded. By what law? Of works? Nay: but by the law of faith.

28 Therefore we conclude, that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.

29 Is he the God of the Jews only? Is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also.

30 Seeing it is one God which shall justify the circumcision by faith, and uncircumcision through faith.

31 Do we then make void the law through faith? Not at all, but make it the more效力.

calling off the Nation of the Jews as their past Sins deferred, for the manifesting of his Righteousness (b) at this time (i), that he might be just in keeping his Promise, and be the justifier of every one, not who is of the Jewish Nation or Extraction, but of the Faith (k) in Jesus Christ. What Reason then have you Jews to glory (l), and set your selves so much above the Gentiles in judging them as you do? None at all: Boasting is totally excluded. By what Law? By the Law of Works? No, but by the Law of Faith. I conclude therefore (m), that a Man is justified by Faith, and not by the Works of the Law (n). Is God the God of the Jews only, and not of the Gentiles also? Yea certainly of the Gentiles also. Since the time is come that God is no longer one to the Jews, and another to the Gentiles, but he is now become one and the same (o) God to them all, and will justify the Jews by Faith, and the Gentiles also through Faith, who by the Law of Mooses were herebefore shut out (p) from being the People of God. Do we then make the Law (q) insignificant or useless by our Doctrine of Faith? By no means:

NOTES.

26 (b) Αναπορουμεν αυτος, his Righteousness, is here to be understood in both Senes in which St. Paul had used it before in this Chapter, ver. 4, 5, and 22 as it is manifested by St. Paul's explaining of it himself in their Words immediately following: That he might be just, and the justifier of him who believeth in Jesus, which are the two Senes wherein the Righteousness of God is used.

(i) At this time, ver. The Fulness of Time, according to his Promise.

(k) This phrase was translated, him that is of the Faith of Jesus, as it is, ch. 4. 16. and Gal. 3. 7. rather than him which believeth in Jesus, it would better have expressed the Apostle's meaning here, which was to distinguish of εκ ευαγγελ, those who are of Faith, from εκ αθικων, or εκ νηστειων, those who are of the Circumcision, or those who are of the Law, speaking of them as of two sorts or Races of Men, of two different Extractions. To understand this place fully, let any one read ch. 4. 12—16. Gal. 3. 7—10. where he will find the Apostle's Sense more at large.

27 (l) The Glorifying here spoken of, is that of the Jews, i.e. their judging of the Gentiles, and their Contempt of them, which St. Paul had before in several places taken notice of. And here to take down their Pride and Vanity, he tells them, it is wholly excluded by the Gospel, wherein God, who is the God of the Gentiles, as well as of the Jews, justifieth by Faith alone the Jews as well as the Gentiles, since no Man could be justified by the Deeds of the Law. This seems to be said to the converted Jews, to stop their thinking that they had any Advantage over the Gentiles under the Gospel. No, says he, the Gospel which is the Law of Faith lays you equal with the Gentiles, and you have no Ground to assume any thing to your selves, or set your selves above them now under the Messiah. This, and all the rest to this purpose in this Epistle, is said to establish the converted Romans in their Title to the Favour of God, equally with the Jews, in the Gospel, and to fortify them against any Disturbance might be given them by the pretending Jews, which is the principal Design of this Epistle, as we have already observed.

28 (m) Therefore, this Inference is drawn from what he had taught, ver. 23.


30 (o) 'Εδρασεν ο γαρ. God is one. He that will see the Force of St. Paul's Reasoning here, must look to Zech. 14. 9. from whence their Words are taken, where the Prophet speaking of the time when the Lord shall be King over all the Earth, and not barely over the little People shut up in the Land of Canaan, he says, In that day there shall be one Lord, i.e. God shall not be as he is now, the God of the Jews alone, whom only he hath known of all the People of the Earth; but he shall be the God of the Gentiles also, the same merciful reconciled God to the People of all Nations. This Prophesye the Jews understood of the Times of the Messiah, and St. Paul here pretends them with it.

(p) It was impossible for remote Nations to keep the Law of Moses, a great Part of the Work required by it being local, and confided to the Temple at Jerusalem.

31 (q) Νινη, Law, is here repeated twice without the Article, and it is plain that by St. Paul does not mean precisely the Mosaical Law, but so much of it as is contained in the natural and eternal Rules. Right mentioned, ch. 1. 32. and 1. 66. and it is again by a positive Command re-enacted and continued as a Law under the Messiah, Vid. Mat. 28. 20. but
but on the contrary we establish (r) and confirm the Law. God forbid: yes, we establish the law.

NOTES.

(r) Establish: The Doctrine of justification by Faith necessarily supposeth a Rule of Righteousness, which those who are justified by Faith come short of; and also a Punishment incurred, from which they are set free by being justified: and so this Doctrine establishes a Law, and accordingly the moral part of the Law of Moses, that Jusdeuma, 72 lit, as the Apostle calls it in the place above quoted, ch. i. 32. is enforced again by our Saviour and the Apostles in the Gospel, with Penalties annexed to the Breach of it.

ST. PAUL having in the foregoing Section cut off all glorying from the Jews, upon the account of their having the Law, and shewn that that gave them no manner of Title or Pretence to be the People of God, more than the Gentiles under the Messiah; and so they had no Reason to judge or exclude the Gentiles as they did, he comes here to prove that their literal Extraction from their Father Abraham, gave them no better a Pretence of glorying, or of setting themselves upon that account above the Gentiles now in the time of the Gospel.

1. Because Abraham himself was justified by Faith, and so had not whereof to glory; for as much as he that receiveth Righteousness as a Boon, has no Reason to glory: but he that attains it by Works.

2. Because neither they who had Circumcision derived down to them, as the Pouterity of Abraham, nor they who had the Law; but they only who had Faith were the Seed of Abraham, to whom the Promise was made. And therefore the Blessing of justification was intended for the Gentiles, and bestowed on them as well as on the Jews, and upon the same Ground.

WHAT then shall we say of Abraham our Father according to the flesh (r), what has he obtained? Has not he found Matter of Glorying? Yes if he were justified by Works, he had Matter of Glorying (r), he might then have gloried over the rest of the Gentile World in having God for his God, and he

NOTES.

1 (r) Our Father according to the Fleshe, St. Paul speaks here as lineally descended from Abraham, and joyns himself herein with the rest of his Nation, of whom he calls Abraham the Father according to the Fleshe, to distinguish the Jews by Birth, from those who were Abraham’s Seed according to the Promise, viz. those who were of the Faith of Abraham, whether Jews or Gentiles, a Distinction which he intuits on all through this Chapter.

2 (r) Jusdeuma, translated here glorying, I take to signify the same with Jusdeuma, translated Boasting, ch. 2. 17. 23. in which places it is used to signify the Jews vaunting themselves upon some national Privileges above the rest of the World, as if they had thereby some peculiar Right to the Favour of God above other Men. This is the Jewish Nation, thinking themselves alone to have a Title to be the People of God, expressed in their judging the Gentiles whom they despised, and looked on as unworthy and uncapable to be received into the Kingdom of the Messiah, and admitted into Fellowship with their Nation under the Gospel. This Conceive of theirs St. Paul opposes here, and makes it his Business to shew the Falshood and Groundlessness of it all through the eleven first Chapters of this Epistle. I ask whether it would not help the English Reader the better to find and pursue the Sense of St. Paul, if the Greek Text were every where rendered by the same English Word? Whether Boasting or Glorying, I think of no great Consequence, if one of them be kept to.
For what faith the scripture? Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness.

Now to him that worketh, the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt.

But to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness.

Even as David also describeth the blessedness of the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works,

Saying, Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered.

Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin.

Comeeth this blessedness then upon the circumcision only, or upon the uncircumcision also? For we say that faith was reckoned to Abraham for righteousness.

How was it then reckoned? when he was in circumcision, or in uncircumcision? not in circumcision, but in uncircumcision.

And he received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had yet being uncircumcised; that he might be the father of all them that believe, though they be not circumcised, that righteousness might be imputed unto them also.

And the father of circumcision to them who are not of the circumcision only, but also walk in the steps of that faith of his Family being God's People, but he had no Subject of glorying before God, as it is evident from Sacred Scripture, which telleth us that Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for Righteousness.

Now there has been no need of any such Counting, any such Allowance, if he had attained Righteousness by Works of Obedience exactly conformable and coming up to the Rule of Righteousness. For what Reward a Man has made himself a Title to by his Performances, that receives as a Debt that is due, and not as a Gift of Favour. But to him that by his Works attains not Righteousness, but only believeth on God who justifieth him, being ungodly (a), to him Juxtaposition is a Favour of Grace: Because his Believing is accounted to him for Righteousness, or Perfect Obedience. Even as David speaks of the Blessedness of the Man to whom God reckoneth Righteousness without Works, saying, Blessed are they whose Iniquities are forgiven, and whose Sins are covered. Blessed is the Man to whom the Lord will not reckon (w) Sin. Is this Blessedness then upon the Circumcised only, or upon the Uncircumcised also? For we say that Faith was reckoned to Abraham for Righteousness. Wherefore was it reckoned to him? When he was in Circumcision or in Uncircumcision? Not in Circumcision, but in Uncircumcision. For he received the Sign of Circumcision, a Seal of the Righteousness of the Faith, which he had been yet uncircumcised (a), that he might be the Father of all those who believe, being uncircumcised, that Righteousness might be reckoned to them also; And the Father of the Circumcised, that Righteousness might be reckoned not to those who were barely of the Circumcision, but to such of the Circumcision as did also walk in the Steps of the Faith.

5 (a) To whom, him being ungodly. By these words St. Paul plainly points out Abraham, who was double, ungodly, i.e. a Gentile, not a Worshipper of the true God when God called him. Vid. Note, ch. 1. 18.

8 (m) The sign, reckoned. What this imputing or reckoning of Righteousness is, may be seen in ver. 8. viz. the not reckoning of Sin to any one, the not putting Sin to his account: The Apostle in these two Verses using these two Expressions as equivalent. From hence the Expression of blotting out of Iniquity, so frequently used in Sacred Scripture, may be understood, i.e. the blinding it out of the account. "Σωθησόμενος" signifies to reckon or account, and with a Dative Case, to put to any one's Account; and accordingly, ver. 3, 4, 5. it is translated reckoned or reckoned; which word for the sake of English Readers I have kept to in this, and

11 (a) See Gen. 17. 11.
of our Father Abraham, which he had being uncircumcised (γ). For the Promise (ἐ) that he should be the Pifferor of the World, was not that Abraham, and those of his Seed, who were under the Law, should by virtue of their having and owning the Law be pochelst of it; but by the Righteousness of Faith, whereby those who were without the Law factter'd all over the World, beyond the Borders of Canaan, became his Possessor, and had him for their Father (α), and inherited the Blessing of Justification by Faith. For if they only who had the Law of Moses given them were Heirs of Abraham, Faith is made void and useless (β), it receiving no Benefit of the Promise which was made to the Heirs of Abraham's Faith, and so the Promise becomes of no effect. Because the Law procures them not Justification (ε), but renders them liable to the Wrath and Punishment of God (δ), who by the Law has made known to them what is Sin, and what Punishment he has annexed to it. For there is no incurring Wrath or Punishment where there is no Law that

NOTES.

11, 12 (γ) What Righteousness reckon'd to any one, or as it is usually call'd Imputed Righteousness, is, St. Paul explains, ver. 6—8. Whom this Blessing belongs to, he enquires, ver. 9, 10, and εν, ver. 11, and 12. he declares who are the Children of Abraham, that from him inherit this Blessing, ver. 11. he speaks of the Gentiles, and there shows that Abraham, who was justified by Faith before he was circumcised (the want whereof the Jews look'd on as a distinguishing Mark of a Gentile) was the Father of all those among the Gentiles, who should believe without being circumcised. And here, ver. 12 he speaks of the Jews, and says, that Abraham was their father; but not that all should be justified who were only circumcised; but those who to their Circumcision added the Faith of Abraham, which he had before he was circumcised. That which misled those who misled the Senate of St. Paul here, seems to be their not observing that τοῖς ἐκ ἐκκλησίας, is referred to, and governed by ἐκ ἐκκλησίας, which must be supposed repeated here after πιστεύετε ἐκκλησίαν. Or else the Apostle's Senio and Argument will not stand in its full force, but the Antithesis will be lost, by preferring of which the Senate runs thus; And the Father of the Circumcision, that Righteousness might be imputed to those who, &c. Another thing very apt to mislead them, was the meaning of μισθων, to αὐτοῖς, not as if it were a μισθος τοῖς, not only those who are of the Circumcision, whereas it should be understood as it stands—joynd Ωγος, and so ἐκκλησία are both translated barely Circumcision, and the Apostle's Senate runs thus; That he might be the Father of the Gentiles that believe, though they be not circumcised, that Righteousness might be imputed to them also; And the Father of the Jews, that Righteousness might be imputed not to them who have Circumcision only, but to them who also walk in the Steps of the Faith of our Father Abraham, which he had being uncircumcised. In which way of understanding this Passage, not only the Apostle's meaning is very plain, eafe and coherent; but the Contraction of the Greek exactly corresponds to that of ver. 11, and is genuine, eafe, and natural, which any other way will be very perplexed.

13 (ε) The Promise here meant is that which he speaks of, ver. 11, whereby Abraham was made the Father of all that should believe all the World over, and for that Reason he is called ἀναπαύς ἐξ ἐως, Heir or Lord of the World. For the Believers of all Nations of the World being given to him for a Pollarity, he becomes thereby Lord and Possessor (for so Heir amongst the Hebrews signified) of the World. For 'tis plain the Apostle in this Veris purifies the Argument he was upon in the two former. And 'tis also plain that St. Paul makes Circumcision to be the Promise made to Abraham, Gal. 1, as well as of that made to him, Gen. 17, and so both thence to be but one Covenant, and that of ch. 17, to be but a Repetition and farther Explication of the former, as is evident from this Chapter, compared with Gal. 3: In both which the Apostle argues, that the Gentiles were intended to be justified as well as the Jews; and that both Jews and Gentiles, who are justified, are justified by Faith, and not by the Works of the Law.

Therefore it is of faith, that it might be by grace; to the end the promise might be sure to all the seed, not to that only which is of the law, but to that also which is of the faith of Abraham, who is the Father of us all. (As it is written, I have made thee a father of many nations) before him whom he believed, even God who quickeneth the dead, and calleth those things which be not, as though they were. Who against hope believed in hope, that he might become the father of many nations, according to that which was spoken, So shall thy seed be. And being not weak in faith, he considered not his own body now dead, when he was about an hundred years old, neither yet the deadness of Sarah's womb. He staggered not at the promise of God through unbelief, but was strong in faith, giving glory to God: And being fully persuaded, that what he had promised, he was able also to perform. And therefore it was imputed to him for righteousness of faith. Now it was not written for his sake alone, that it was imputed to him; But for us also, to whom it shall be imputed, if we believe on him that raised up Jesus our Lord from the dead,
PARAPHRASE.

the dead (l), who was deliver'd to death for our offences (k), and was raised again for our (l) justification.

NOTES.

24 (i) St. Paul seems to mention this here in particular, to shew the analogy between Abraham's faith, and that of believers under the Gospel; see ver. 17.


1 Tim. 2:6, Tit. 2:13-14.

(l) 1 Cor. 15:17. I have set down all these Texts out of St. Paul, that in them might he seen his own explanation of what he says here, viz. That our Saviour by his death atoned for our sins, and so we were innocent, and thereby freed from the punishment due to sin. But his role again to ascertain to us eternal life, the consequence of justification; for the reward of righteousness is eternal life, which inheritance we have a title to by adoption in Jesus Christ. But if he himself had not that inheritance, if he had not role into the possession of eternal life, we who hold by and under him, could not have risen from the dead, and so could never have come to be pronounced righteous, and to receive the reward of it, everlasting life. Hence St. Paul tells us, 1 Cor. 15:17, that if Christ be not raised, our faith is vain; we are yet in our sins, i.e., as to the attainment of eternal life, 'tis all one as if our sins were not forgiven. And thus his role for our justification, i.e., as to the attainment of eternal life, the consequence of justification. And this I think is confirmed by our Saviour in these words, because I live, yet I shall live also, John 14.

SECT. V.

CHAP. V.—II.

CONTENTS.

St. Paul in the foregoing chapters has examined the glorying of the Jews, and their valuing themselves so highly above the Gentiles, and shewn the vanity of their boasting in circumcision and the law, since neither they nor their father Abraham were justified, or found acceptance with God by circumcision, or the deeds of the law: And therefore they had no reason to, as they did, to profess circumcision and the law on the Gentiles, or exclude those who had them not from being the people of God, and unit in their communion in and under the Gospel. In this section he comes to shew what he has declared, by faith without circumcision or the law, had to glory in, viz. the hope of glory, ver. 2. Their sufferings for the Gospel, ver. 3. And God as their God, ver. 11. In these three it is easy to observe the thread and coherence of St. Paul's discourse here, the intermediate verses (according to that abounding with matter, and overflowing of thought he was full of) being taken up with an incidental train of considerations, to shew the reason they had to glory in tribulations.

PARAPHRASE.

1. Therefore being justified by faith, we (m) have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.

TEXT.

Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

NOTES.

1 (m) We i.e., we Gentiles that are not under the law. 'Tis in their names that St. Paul speaks in the three last verses of the foregoing chapter, and all through this section, as is evident from the mention here, therefore being justified by faith, we. It being an inference drawn from his having proved in the former chapter, that the promise was not to the Jews alone, but to the Gentiles also. And that justification was not by the law, but by faith, and consequently designed for the Gentiles as well as the Jews.
By whom we have had Admiration through Faith into that Favour in which we have stood, and glory (m) in the Hope of the Glory which God has in store for us. And not only so, but we glory in tribulation also, knowing that Tribulation worketh Patience, And Patience giveth us a Proof of our selves, which furnishes us with Hope; And our Hope maketh not ashamed, will not deceive us, because (n) the Seal of the Love of God is poured out into our Hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us *. For when we Gentiles were yet without Strength, void of all Help or Ability to deliver ourselves, Christ in the time that God had appointed and foretold, died for us, who lived without the Acknowledgment and Worship of the true God †. Scarcely is it to be found, that any one will die for a just Man, if peradventure one should dare to die for a good Man; But God recommends, and herein shews the Greatness of his Love (p) towards us, in that whilfe we Gentiles were a Maff of profligate Sinners (?), Christ died for us. Much more therefore now being justified by his Death, shall we through him be delivered

NOTES.

2 (m) Λατρείαν, glory. The same word here for the Convert Gentiles that he had used before for the Boasting of the Jews, and the same word he used where he examin'd what Abraham had found. The taking notice whereof, as we have already observed, may help to lead us into the Apostle's Sense: And plainly shows us here, that St. Paul in this Section opposes the Advantages the Gentile Converts to Christianity have by Faith, to those the Jews gloried in with so much Haughtiness and Contempt of the Gentiles.

3 (n) Because. * The Force of this Inference seems to stand thus. The Hope of eternal Happiness, which we glory in, cannot deceive us, because the Gifts of the Holy Ghost bel ow upon us, asfar as of the Love of God towards us, the Jews themselves acknowledging that the Holy Ghost is given to none but those who are God's own People.

4 (p) Another Evidence St. Paul gives them here of the Love of God towards them, and the ground they had to glory in the Hopes of eternal Salvation, is the Death of Christ for them, whilst they were yet in their Gentile Estate, which he describes by calling them * Gentile, without Strength; * Αὔγους, agedly; * ἀνασχημα, Sinners; * ἐκλέκτοι, Elect; * οίκείοι, native. Four Epithets are given to them as Gentiles, they being used by St. Paul as the proper Attributes of the Heathen World, as considered in Contra-distinction to the Jewish Nation. What St. Paul says of the Gentiles in other places, will clear this. The helpful Condition of the Gentile World in the State of Gentilism, signified here by * ἄναγκα, without Strength; * ἡμεῖς, we, he terms, Col. 2. 13, dead in Sin, a State, if any, of Weakness. And hence he says to the Romans converted to Jesus Christ: * Τιλαῖ ὑποτυχίας, unto God, of those that are alive from the dead, and your Staves as Instruments of Righteousness unto God, Col. 6. 13. How he describes discontented, Unglorious, mentioned ch. 1. 13, as the proper State of the Gentiles, we may see ver. 21. 23. That he thought the Title * ἀνασχημα, Sinners, belong'd peculiarly to the Gentiles, in Contra-distinction to the Jews, he puts it most doubt in these words, * οἵτινες ἡμεῖς εἶμι, and not Sinners of the Gentiles, Gal. 2. 15. See also ch. 6. 17—22. And as for * ἐκλέκτοι, Elect, you have the Gentiles before their Conversion to Christianity so called, Col. 1. 24. * Σωτήρ, Saviour, of the Character he there gives them, we may had compared in their four Epithets, the * ἀνασχημα, weak, ver. 1. 5. * οἴκειοι, agedly, and * ἀνασχημα, Sinners, ver. 23, and the * ἐκλέκτοι, Elect, ver. 11. 12.
NOTES.

If it were remember'd that St. Paul all along through the eleven first Chapters of this Epistle, speaks nationally of the Jews and Gentiles, as 'tis visible he does, and not personally of single Men, there would be less Difficulty and fewer Mistakes in understanding this Epistle. This one place we are upon is a sufficient Inference of it. For if by these Terms here, we shall understand him to denote all Men personally, Jews as well as Gentiles, before they are favouring ingrafted into Jesus Christ, we shall make his Difficulture here disjointed, and his Sense mightily perplex'd, if it be at all consistent.

That there were some among the Heathen as innocent in their Lives, and as far from Enmity to God as some among the Jews, cannot be question'd. Nay, that many of them were not atheists, but worshipers of the true God, if we could doubt of it, is manifest out of the Acts of the Apostles; but yet St. Paul in the Places above quoted, pronounces them all together, asathis and atheem, (for that, by these two Terms applied to the same Person, he means the same, i.e. such as did not acknowledge and worship the true God, seems plain ungods, and Sinners of the Gentiles, as nationally belonging to them in Contra-dissuasion to the People of the Jews, who were the People of God, whilst the other were the Provinces of the Kingdom of Satan: Not but that there were Sinners, heinous Sinners, among the Jews; but the Nation, considering it as one Body and Society of Men, disown'd and declared against, and opposed it to those Crimes and Impurities which the Nation of the Gentiles, ch. 1. 24. 25., as woven into the religious and politic Constitutions of the Gentiles. There they had their full Scope and Swing, had Allowance, Countenance and Protection. The Idolatrous Nations had by their Religions, Laws and Forms of Government, made themselves the open Votaries, and were the professed Subjects of Devils. So St. Paul, 1 Cor. 10. 20. 21. truly calls the Gods they worshiped and paid their Homage to, And suitably hereunto, their religious Observations, the Impurities, they were wrought with, were not among the Gentiles, which the Jews had so long and severely reproved, when they had a place in their Sacred Offices, and had the Recommendation of Religion to give them credit. The rest of the Vices in St. Paul's black List, which were not warm'd at their Altars, and fossil'd in their Temples, were yet by the Conivince of the Law cherish'd in their private Houses, and made a part of the uncondemn'd Actions of common Life, and had the Countenance of Cullum to authorize them, even in the wheel regulated and most civilized Governments of the Heathers. On the contrary, the Frame of the Jewish Commonwealth was founded on the Acknowledgment and Worship of the only true and invisible God, and their Laws required an extraordinary Purity of Life, and Strictness of Manners.

That the Gentiles were fill'd with Enemies, in a political or national Sense, is plain from Eph. 2, where they are called, Aliens from the Commonwealth of Israel, and Strangers from the Covenant, Abraham on the other side is called the Friend of God, i.e. one in Covenant with him, and his professed Subject, that owned God to the World: And so was his Polityr. the People of the Jews, whilst the rest of the World were under Revolt, and lived in open Rebellion against him, Rom. 11. 4. 8. And here in this Epistle St. Paul expressly teaches, that when the Nation of the Jews, by repeating of the Melfias, put themselves out of the Kingdom of God, and were call off from being any longer the People of God, they become Enemies, and the Gentile World were reconciled. See ch. 11. 15. 28. Hence St. Paul who was the Apostle of the Gentiles, calls his performing that Office, the Ministry of Reconciliation, 2 Cor. 5. 18. And here in this Chapter, ver. 1. The Privilege which they receive by the Accepting of the Covenant of Grace in Jesus Christ, the tells them this is, that they have Peace with God, ch. 1. 6. are no longer incorporated with his Enemies, and of the Party of the open Rebels against him in the Kingdom of Satan, being return'd to their Natural Allegiance in their owning the one true supreme God, in submitting to the Kingdom he had set up in his Son, and being received by him as his Subjects, Suitably hereunto St. James, speaking of the Conversion of the Gentiles to the Profession of the Gospel, says of it, that God did visit the Gentiles, to take out of them a People for his Name, Acts 15. 14. and ver. 19, he calls the Converts, those who from among the Gentiles are turned to God.

Besides what is to be found in other Parts of St. Paul's Epistles to justify the taking of these Words here, as apply'd nationally to the Gentiles, in Contra-dissuasion to the Children of Israel, that which St. Paul says, ver. 10, 11, makes it necessary to understand them so. We, says he, when we were Enemies were reconciled to God, and so we now glory in him, as our God. We here must unavoidably be spoken in the same Name of Gentiles, as is plain not only by the whole Tenor of this Section; but from this Passage of glorying in God, which he mentions as a Privilege now of the believing Gentiles, supposing that of the Jews, whom he had taken notice of before, ch. 2, 17. as being forward to glory in God as their peculiar Right, though with no great Advantage to themselves. But the Gentiles who were reconciled now to God by Christ's Death, and taken into Covenant with God, as many as received the Gospel, had a new and better Title to this Glorying than the Jews; those that now are reconciled, and glory in God as their God, he says were Enemies. The Jews who had the same corrupt Nature common to them with the rest of Mankind, are no where that I know called Enemies, or ungods, whilst they publicly owned him for their God, and professed to be his People. But the Heathens were deemed Enemies, for being Aliens to the Commonwealth of Israel, and Strangers from the Covenant of Promise. Those there were never but two Kingdoms in the World, that of God, and that of the Devil; these were opposite, and therefore the Subjects of the latter could not but be in the State of Enemies, and fall under that Denomination. The Revolt from God was universal, and the Nations of the Earth had given themselves up to Idolatry, when God called Abraham, and took him into Covenant with
For if when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son: much more being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life.

And not only so, but we also glory in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the atonement.

NOTES.

with himself as he did afterwards the whole Nation of the Israelites, whereby they were re-admitted into his Kingdom, came under his Protection, and were his People and Subjects, and no longer Enemies, whilst all the rest of the Nations remain'd in the State of Rebellion the professed Subjects of other Gods, who were Usurpers upon God's Right, and Enemies of this Kingdom. And indeed if the four Epithets be not taken to be spoken here of the Gentile World in this Political and truly Evangelical Sense, but in the ordinary Syntactical Notion applied to all Mankind, as belonging universally to every Man personally, whether by Profession Gentile, Jew or Christian, before he be actually regenerated by a saving Faith, and an effectual thorough Conversion; the illusive Particle Wherefore in the beginning of ver. 12. will hardly connect it and what follows to the foregoing part of this Chapter. But the eleven first Verses must be taken for a Parenthesis, and then the Therefore in the beginning of this 5th Chapter, which joins it to the 4th with a very clear Connexion, will be wholly insignificant, and after all the Sense of the 12th Verse, will but ill sodder with the end of the 4th Chapter, notwithstanding the Wherefore which is taken to bring them in as an Inference. Whereas these eleven first Verses being supposed to be spoken of the Gentiles, makes them not only of a-piece with St. Paul's Design in the foregoing and following Chapters, but the Thread of the whole Discourse goes very smooth, and the Inferences (utter'd in with Therefore in the 11th Verse, and with Therefore in the 12th Verse) are very easy, clear and natural from the immediately preceding Verses. That of the 12th Verse may be seen in what we have already said, and that of the 12th Verse in short stands thus; We Gentiles have by Christ received the Reconciliation, which we cannot doubt to be intended for us as well as for the Jews, since Sin and Death entered into the World by Adam, the common Father of us all. And as by the Disobedience of that one, Condemnation of Death came on all; so by the Obedience of one, Justification to Life came upon all.

9 (r) What St. Paul here calls Wrath, he calls the Wrath to come, 1 Thess. 1. 10, and generally in the New Testament Wrath is put for the Punishment of the Wicked at the last Day.

11 (t) 'Ou μικρός ἢ; And not only ἢ; I think no body can with the least Attention read this Section without perceiving that these Words join on this Verse to the 3d. The Apostle in the 3d Verse says, We the Gentiles who believe, glory in the hope of an eternal splendid State of Bliss. In the 3d Verse he adds, ὡς μικρός ἢ; And not only ἢ; but our Afflictions are to us Matter of Glorifying, which he proves in the seven following Verses, and then ver. 11. adds ὡς μικρός ἢ; And not only ἢ; but we glory in God also as our God, being reconciled to him in Jesus Christ. And thus he shews that the Convert Gentiles had whereby to glory as well as the Jews, and were not inferior to them, though they had not Circumcision and the Law, whereas the Jews gloried so much, but with no ground in comparison of what the Gentiles had to glory in, by Faith in Jesus Christ, now under the Gospel.

(t) 'Tis true we Gentiles could not formerly glory in God as our God, that was the Prerogative of the Jews, who alone of all the Nations owned him for their King and God, and were his People in Covenant with him. All the rest of the Kingdoms of the Earth had taken other Lords, and given themselves up to false Gods, to serve and worship them, and so were in a State of War with the true God, the God of Israel. But now we, being reconciled by Jesus Christ, whom we have received, and own for our Lord, and thereby being return'd into his Kingdom, and to our ancient Allegiance, we can truly glory in God as our God, which the Jews cannot do, who have refused to receive Jesus for their Lord, whom God hath appointed Lord over all things.
THE Apostle here goes on with his Design of shewing that the Gentiles under the Gospel have as good a Title to the Favour of God as the Jews, there being no other way for either Jew or Gentile to find Acceptance with God, but by Faith in Jesus Christ, in the foregoing Section he reckon'd up several Subjects of glorying which the Convert Gentiles had without the Law, and concludes them with this chief and principal matter of glorying, even God himself, whom, now that they were by Jesus Christ their Lord reconciled to him, they could glory in as their God.

To give them a more full and satisfactory Comprehension of this, he leads them back to the Times before the giving of the Law, and the very Being of the Jewish Nation; and lays before them in short the whole Scene of God's Oeconomy, and his Dealing with Mankind from the beginning, in reference to Life and Death.

1. He reaches them, that by Adam's Laurie all Men were brought into a State of Death, and by Christ's Death all are refor'd to Life. By Christ also as many as believe are护照ed in Eternal Life.

2. That the Law when it came laid the Insecurity fatter under Death, by enlarging the Offence which had Death annexed to it. For by the Law every Transgression that any one under the Law committed, had Death for its Punishment, notwithstanding which by Christ those under the Law who believe, receive Life.

3. That though the Gentiles who believe come not under the Rigour of the Law, yet the Covenant of Grace which they are under, requires that they should not be Servants and Vassals to Sin, to obey it in the Lufs of it, but sincerely endeavour after Righteousness, the End whereof would be Everlasting Life.

4. That the Jews also who receive the Gospel, are deliver'd from the Law, not that the Law is Sin; but because though the Law forbid the obeying of Sin as well as the Gospel; yet not enabling them to resist their sinful Lusts, but making each Compliance with any sinful Lust deadly, it settles upon them the Dominion of Sin by Death, from which they are deliver'd by the Grace of God alone, which frees them from the Condemnation of the Law for every actual Transgression, and requires no more but that they should with the whole Bent of their Mind serve the Law of God, and not their carnal Lusts. In all which Cases the Salvation of the Gentiles is wholly by Grace, without their being at all under the Law. And the Salvation of the Jews is wholly by Grace also, without any Aid or Help from the Law; From which also by Christ they are deliver'd.

Thus lies the Thread of St. Paul's Argument, wherein we may see how he pursues his Design of satisfying the Gentile Converts at Rome, that they were not required to submit to the Law of Moses: and of fortifying them against the Jews, who troubled them about it.

For the more distinct and easie Comprehension of St. Paul's discoursing on these Heads, I shall divide this Section into the Four following Numbers, taking them up as they lie in the Order of the Text.
HERE he instructs them in the State of Mankind in general, before the Law, and before the Separation that was made thereby of the Israelites from all the other Nations of the Earth. And here he shews, that Adam, transgressing the Law which forbid him the eating of the Tree of Knowledge upon pain of Death, forfeited Immortality, and becoming thereby Mortal, all his Posterity, descending from the Loins of a mortal Man, were mortal too, and all died, though none of them broke that Law but Adam himself: But by Christ they are all restored to Life again. And God justifying those who believe in Christ, they are restored to their Primitive State of Righteousness and Immortality; so that the Gentiles, being the Descendants of Adam as well as the Jews, stand as fair for all the Advantages that accrue to the Posterity of Adam by Christ, as the Jews themselves, it being all wholly and solely from Grace.

TEXT.

12 Wherefore as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned.

For until the law sin was in the world, but sin is not imputed when there is no law.

13 Wherefore give you a State of the whole Matter, from the beginning, you must know, that as by the Act of one Man Adam, the Father of us all, Sin entered into the World, and Death, which was the Punishment annexed to the Offence of eating the forbidden Fruit, enter'd by that Sin, for that all Adam's Posterity thereby became mortal. 'Tis true indeed, Sin was universally committed in the World by all Men, all the time before the positive Law of God delivered by Moses: but 'tis as true (w) that there is no certain determined Punishment affixed to Sin without a positive

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12 (w) Have sinned, I have render'd became mortal, following the Rule I think very necessary for the understanding St. Paul's Epistles (wir) the making him as much as is possible his own Interpreter; x Cor. 15. 22. cannot be denied to be parallel to this place. This and the following Verses here being, as one may say, a Comment on that Verie in the Corinthians, St. Paul treating here of the same Matter, but more at large. There he says, As in Adam all die, which Words cannot be taken literally, but thus, That in Adam all became mortal. The same he says here, but in other Words, putting, by a no very usual Metonymie, the Cause for the Effect, (wir) the Sin of eating the forbidden Fruit for the Effect of it on Adam, viz. Mortality, and in him on all his Posterity: A mortal Father infected now with Death, being able to produce no better than a mortal Race. Why St. Paul differs in his Phrase here from that which we find be ued to the Corinthians, and prefers here that which is harder and more figurative, may perhaps be easily accounted for, if we consider his Stile and usual way of Writing, wherein is shown a great liking of the Beauty and Force of Antithesis, as serving much to Illustration and Impression. In the 1st of Corinthians, he is speaking of Life retold by Jesus Christ, and to illustrate and fix that in their Minds, the Death of Mankind be serv'd: Here to the Romans he is discoursing of Righteousness restored to Men by Christ, and therefore here the term Sin is the most natural and properd to set that off. But that neither actual or imputed Sin is meant here, or vers. 19, where the same way of Expression is ued, he that has need of it may see proved in Dr. Whitsby upon the place. If there can be any need of any other Proof, when it is evidently contrary to St. Paul's Design here, which is to shew, that all Men from Adam to Moses, died solely in consequence of Adam's Transgression, see vers. 17.

13 (m) "One inonousus, is not imputed, so our Translation, but possibly not exactly to the Sense of the Apostle; "Bonous signifies to reckon, but cannot be interpreted reck to, which is the meaning of impute, without a Person affixed to whom it is impute. And so we see
positive(x) Law declaring it. Nevertheless we see that in all that space of time, which was before the positive Law of God by Moses, Men from the beginning of the World died all as well as their Father Adam, though none of them but he alone had eaten of the forbidden Fruit (y), and thereby, as he had committed that Sin, to which Sin alone the Punishment of Death was annexed by the positive Sanction of God denounced to Adam, who was the Figure and Type of Christ who was to come. But yet though he were the Type of Christ, yet the Gift or Benefit received by Christ, is not exactly conformed and confined to the Dimensions of the Damage received by Adam's Fall. For if by the Lapse of one Man the multitude (z), i.e. all Men died (z) much more did the Favour of God, and the Free Gift by the Bounty of Good-will which is in Jesus Christ, exceed to the multitude (z), i.e. to all Men. Further-

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when the word is used in that Sense, the Dative Case of the Perfom is subjunct. And therefore it is well transliterated, ἔθελεν. 18. If he owne thee any thing, i.e. loss, put it to my account, reckon or impute it to me. Besides St. Paul here tells us, the Sin here spoken of as not reckoned, was in the World, and had anual beene before the time between Adam and Moses, but the Sin which is supposed to be imputed is Adam's Sin, which he committed in Paradise and was not in the World during the time from Adam till Moses, and therefore ἔθελεν cannot here signify imputed. Sins in Sacred Scripture are called Debts, but nothing can be brought to accounts, as a Debt, till a Value be set upon it. Now Sins can in no way be taxed, or a rate set upon them, but by the positive Declaration and Sanction of the Law-maker. Mankind, without the positive Law of God, knew by the Light of Nature, that they transgressed the Rule of their Nature, Reason, which defied to them what they ought to do. But without a positive Declaration of God their Sovereign, they could not tell at what rate God tax'd their Trepasses against this Rule; till he pronounced that Life should be the Price of Sin, that could not be ascertained, and consequently Sin could not be brought to account: And therefore we see that where there was no positive Law annexing Death to Sin, Men did not look on Death as the Wages or Retribution for their Sin; they did not account that they paid their Lives as a Debt and Forfeit for their Transgression. This is the more to be considered, because St. Paul in this Epistle treats of Sin, Punishment, and Forgivenes, by way of an Account, as it were, of Debtor and Creditor. He will be farther confirmed in this Sense of these words, which will be at the pains to compare ch. 4. 15. and 5. 12, 13, 20, 21, and 2. 8, 9, 10, 11, together. St. Paul, ch. 4. 15, says, The Law worketh Wrath, i.e. carrieth Punishment with it. For where there is no Law, there is no Transgression. Whereby is not meant, that there is no Sin where there is no positive Law, (the contrary whereof he says in this Verse, viz. to be Sin was in the World all the time before the Law) but that there is no Transgression with a Penalty annexed to it without a positive Law. And hence he tells the Romans, ch. 1. 32, that they knew not that those things were defiled Death. [See Note, ch. 1. 32.] But it was by the positive Law of God only, that Men knew that Death was certainly annexed to Sin as its certain and unavoidable Punishment; and so St. Paul argues, ch. 7. 8, 9.

(x) Neyes, Law. Whether St. Paul by vayay here means Law in general, as for the most part he doth where he omits the Article, or whether he means the Law of Moses in particular, in which Sense he commonly joyns the Article to vayay, this is plain that St. Paul's Notion of a Law, was conformable to that given by Moses, and so he uses the word vayay, in English Law, for the positive Command of God, with a Sanction of a Penalty annexed to it, of which kind there never having been any one given to any People, but that by Moses to the Children of Israel, till the Revelation of the Will of God by Jesus Christ to all Mankind, which for several Reasons is always called the Gospel, in Contra-distinction to the Law of Moses. when St. Paul speaks of Law in general, it reduces it fell in Matter of Fact to the Law of Moses.

14 (x) In this Verse St. Paul proves that all Men became mortal by Adam's eating the forbidden Fruit, and by that alone, because no Man can incur a Penalty without the Sanction of a positive Law, declaring and establishing that Penalty; but Death was annexed by no positive Law to any Sin, but the eating the forbidden Fruit and therefore Men dying in before the Law of Moses, was purely in Consequence of Adam's Sin, in eating the forbidden Fruit, and the positive Sanction of Death annexed to it, an evident Proof of Man's Mortality coming from thence.

15 (x) Of πάντως, and τῶν πάντων, I suppose may be understood to stand here for the Multitude or collective Body of Mankind. For the Apostle in express words allures us, 1 Cor.
16 And not as it was by one that sinned, so is the gift: for the judgment was by one to condemnation; but the free gift is of many offences unto justification.

17 For if by one man's offence death reigned by one; much more they which receive abundance of grace, and of the gift of righteousness, shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ.

Furthermore, neither is the gift as was the Lapsie, by one Sin (a). For the Judgment or Sentence was for one (a) Offence to Condemnation: But the Gift of Favour reaches me notwithstanding many (a) Sins, to Justification of Life (b). For if by one Lapsie Death reigned by reason of one Offence, much more shall they who receiving the (c) Surpluage of Favour, and of the Gift of Righteousness, reign in Life by one, even Jesus Christ.

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15, 22. That in Adam all died, and in Christ all are made alive! And so here, ver. 18. All Men fell under the Condemnation of Death, and all Men were restored unto justification of Life, which all Men in the very next words, ver. 19. are called ξυναμένοι, the many. So that the many, in the former part of this Verse, and the many at the end of it, comprehending all Mankind, must be equal. The Comparison therefore, and the Inequality of the things compared, lies not here between the Numbers of those that died, and the Numbers of those that shall be restored to Life: But the Comparison lies between the Persons by whom this general Death, and this general Restoration to Life came, Adam the Type, and Jesus Christ the Antitype (d); and it seems to lie in this, that Adam's Lapsie came barely for the Satisfaction of his own Appetite and Desire of Good to himself, but the Restoration was from the exuberant Bounty and Good will of Christ towards Men, who at the Cost of his own painful Death, purchased Life for them. The want of taking the Comparison here right, and the placing it amidst a greater Number restored to Life by Jesus Christ, than those brought into Death by Adam's Sin, hath led some Men so far out of the way, as to allege, that Men in the Deluge died for their own Sin. This true they did so, and so did the Men of Sodom and Gomorrha, and the Philistines cut off by the Israelites, and multitudes of others: But this is true, that by their own Sins they were not made mortal: They were so before by their Father Adam's eating the forbidden Fruit, so that what they paid for their own Sins was not Immortality, which they had not, but a few Years of their own finite Lives, which having been let alone, would have every one of them, in a short time have come to an end. It cannot be denied therefore but that it is as true of them as any of the rest of Mankind before Mises, that they died solely in Adam, as St. Paul has proved in the three preceding Verses. And this as true of them, as any of the rest of Mankind in general, that they died in Adam. For this St. Paul expressly affirms all, that in Adam all died, 1 Cor. 15. 22. and in this very Chapter, ver. 18. in other words. It is then a flat Contradiction to St. Paul to say, that those whom the Flood swept away did not die in Adam.

16 (a) οἷς ἐν θάνατε τῷ ἀνθρώπω, by one Sin, in the Alexandrine Copy reads it more conformable to the Apostle's Sense. For if the Sin in this Verse be to be taken for the Sin of Adam, and not for his one Sin of eating the forbidden Fruit, there will be nothing to answer ἐν τοῖς θανάσις, many Offences here, and so the Comparison St. Paul is upon will be lost, whereas it is plain that in this Verse he shews another Disproportion in the case, wherein Adam the Type comes short of Christ the Antitype; and that is, that two was but for one only Transgression that Death came upon Men: But Christ restores Life unto all notwithstanding multitudes of Sin. These two Extrems both of the good Will of the Donor, and of the Greatest of the Gift, are both rolled up together in the following Verses, and are there plainly expressed in ἡ κακία τοῦ θανατού, and ἡ ἐντάξει τοῦ θανατού, and the Extent of the Favour in the greater Good-will and Cost of the Donor. And the Inequality of the Gift it self which exceeds, as many exceeds one; or the Deliverance from the Guilt of Sin, many Sins, does exceed the Deliverance from the Guilt of one.

(b) Ζωῆς, or Life, it is found in the Alexandrine Copy. And he that will read ver. 18. will scarce incline to the leaving of it out here.

17 (c) Surpluage, σοφοῦτον signifies. The Surpluage of Χαρᾶς, Favour, was the painful Death of Christ, whereas the Fall cost Adam no more pain but eating the Fruit. The Surpluage of Ζωῆς, the Gift or Benefit received, was justification to Life from a multitude of Sin, whereas the loss of Life came upon all Men only for one Sin; but all Men, how guilty forever of many Sins, are restored to Life.

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Chrift.
18. Christ. Therefore (d) as by one (e) Offence (vix.) Adam's eating the forbidden Fruit, all Men fell under the Condemnation of Death; so by one Act of Righteousness, vix. Christ's Obedience to Death upon the Cross (f), all Men are restored to Life (g). For as by one Man's Disobediencie many were brought into a State of Mortallity, which is the State of Sinners (b); so by the Obedience of one shall many be made righteous, i.e. be restored to Life again, as if they were not Sinners.

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18 (d) Therefore here is not used as an Illative, introducing an Inference from the immediately preceding Verces, but is the same therefore which began, ver. 12. repeated here again with part of the Inference that was there begun and left incomplete, the Continuation of it being interrupted by the Interposition of the Proofs of the first part of it. The Particle At immediately following therefore, ver. 12. is a convincing Proof of this, having there or in the following Veres nothing to answer it, and so leaves the Sense imperfect and suspense, till you come to this Verse where the same Reasoning is taken again, and the same Proofs of first Part of the Comparison repeated; and then the Apostles or latter part is added to it, and the whole Sentence made complete: Which to take right, one must read thus, ver. 12. Therefore as by one Man shall enter into the World, and Death by Sin, and so Death pass upon all Men, &c. ver. 18. I say, Therefore as by the Offence of one, Judgment came upon all the Men to Condemnation, even so by the Righteousness of one, the free Gift came upon all Men to justification of Life. A like Interruption of what he began to say, may be seen, 2 Cor. 5.14. and the same Discourse after the Interpolation of eight Veres, began again, ch. 13. 1. not to mention others that I think may be found in St. Paul's Epistles.

(e) That here, Θάνος θέλημα, ought to be render'd one Offence; and not the Offence of one, Man; and so Μετανοείτε, one All of Righteousness, and not the Righteousness of one, is reasonable to think: Because in the next Verse St. Paul compares one Man to one Man, and therefore 'tis fit to understand him here (the Con finition also favouring it) of one Fact compared with one Fact, unless we will make him here (where he seems to study Concienceness) guilty of a Tautology. But taken as I think they should be understood, one may see a Harmony, Beauty and Fulness in this Discourse, which at first Sight seem comparatively obscure and perplexed. For thus in these two Veres, 18, 19, he shews the Correspondence of Adam the Type with Christ the Antitype, as we may see, ver. 14. he designed, as he had shewn the Divercity between them, ver. 15, 16, 17.

(f) That this is the meaning of Θάνος θέλημα, is plain by the following Veres. St. Paul every one may observe to be a Lover of Antithesis. In this Verse it is Θάνος θέλημα, one pervers of All of Transgressions, and Θάνος θέλημα, one right All of Submission. In the next Verse it is οικος Δικαιοσύνης, and οικος Ορθοδοξίας, the same thing being meant in both Veres. And that this θέλημα, this Act of Obedience, whereby he procured Life to all Mankind, was his Death upon the Cross, I think no body questions, see v. 7-9. Heb. 2.10, 14. Phil. 2.8. And that θέλημα, when apply'd to Men, signifies Actions conformable to the Will of God, see Rev. 19. 8.

(g) By θελήματα ζησίμ, justification of Life, which are the words of the Text, is not meant that Righteousness by Faith which is to eternal Life. For eternal Life is no where in Sacred Scripture mentioned as the Portion of all Men, but only of the Saints. But the justification of Life here spoken of, is what all Men partake in by the Benefit of Christ's Death, by which they are justified from all that was brought upon them by Adam's Sin, i.e. they are discharged from Death, the Consequence of Adam's Transgression; and restored to Life, to stand or fall by that Plea of Righteousness, which they can make, either of their own by Works, or of the Righteousness of God by Faith.

19 (b) Sinners. Here St. Paul uses the fame Metonymie as above, ver. 12. putting Sinners for mortal, whereby the Antithesis to Righteous is the more lively.
S T. Paul, pursuing his Design in this Epistle of satisfying the Gentiles that there was no need of their submitting to the Law in order to their partaking of the Benefits of the Gospel, having in the foregoing eight Verstes taught them, that Adam's one Sin had brought Death upon them all, from which they were all restored by Christ's Death, with Addition of eternal Bliss and Glory to all those who believe in him; all which being the Effect of God's Free Grace and Favour to those who were never under the Law, excludes the Law from having any part in it, and so fully makes out the Title of the Gentiles to God's Favour through Jesus Christ, under the Gospel, without the Intervention of the Law. Here, for the farther Satisfaction of the Gentile Converts, he shews them in these two Verstes, that the Nation of the Hebrews who had the Law, were not delivered from the State of Death by it, but rather plunged deeper under it by the Law, and so flood more in need of Favour, and indeed had a greater abundance of Grace afforded them for their Recovery to Life by Jesus Christ, than the Gentiles themselves. Thus the Jews themselves not being laved by the Law, but by an Excess of Grace, this is a farther Proof of the Point St. Paul was upon, (viz.) that the Gentiles had no need of the Law for the obtaining of Life under the Gospel.

TEXT.

Moreover, the law entered, that the offence might abound; but where sin abounded,

PARAPHRASE.

THIS was the State of all (t) Mankind, before the Law they all died for the one παγκόσμιος, Λάπε πος or Offence of one Man, which was the only Irregularity that had Death annexed to it: But the Law entered, and took place over a small part of Mankind, (k), that this παγκόσμιος, Λάπε or Offence, to which Death was annexed, might abound, i.e. the multiplied Transgressions.

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20 (t) There can be nothing plainer than that St. Paul here in these two Verstes makes a Comparison between the State of the Jews, and the State of the Gentiles, as it stands described in the eight preceding Verstes, to shew wherein they differed or agreed, so far as was necessary to his present purpose of satisfying the Convert Romans, that in reference to their Intercourse in the Gospel, the Jews had no Advantage over them by the Law. With what reference to those eight Verstes St. Paul wrote these two, appears by the very Choice of his Words. He tells them, ver. 12. that Death by Sin entered into the World, and here he tells them that the Law (for Sin and Death were entered already) entered a little, a word that, set in Opposition to διὰ του, gives a distinguishing Idea of the Extent of the Law, such as really it was, little and narrow, as was the People of Israel (whom alone it reached) in respect of all the other Nations of the Earth, with whom it had nothing to do. For the Law of Moses was given to Israel alone, and not to all Mankind. The Vulgate therefore translates this word right, futurunt, it entered, but not far, i.e. the Death which followed upon the account of the Mosaic Law reigned over but a small part of Mankind, viz. the Children of Israel, who alone were under this Law, whereas by Adam's Transgression of the positive Law given in Paradise, Death palled upon all Men.

(k) 'Tis true that. Some would have this signify barely the Event, and not the Intention of the Lawgiver, and so understand by these words, that the offence might abound, the Increase of Sin, or the Aggravations of it, as a Consequence of the Law. But it is to be remembered, that St. Paul here lets forth the Difference which God intended to put, by the Law which be gave them, between the Children of Israel and the Gentile World, in respect of Life and Death, Life and Death being the Subject St. Paul was upon. And therefore to mention bare-ly accidental Consequences of the Law that made the Difference, had come short of St. Paul's Purpose. All Mankind was in an irrecoverable State of Death by Adam's Lapæ. 'Twas plainly the Intention
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Intention of God to remove the Israelites out of this State by the Law: and so he says himself, that he gave them Statutes and Judgments, which if a Man do, he shall live in them, Lev. 18. 5. And so St. Paul tells us here, ch. 7. 10. that the Law was ordained for Life. Wherein it necessarily follows, that if Life were intended them for their Obedience, Death was intended them for their Disobedience: And accordingly Moses tells them, Deut. 30. 19. that he had set before them Life and Death. Thus by the Law the Children of Israel were put into a new State: And by the Covenant God made with them, their remaining under Death, or their Recovery of Life, was to be the Consequence not of what another had done, but of what they themselves did. They were therefore put to stand or fall by their own Actions, and the Death they suffered was for their Transgressions. Every Offence they committed against the Law, did by this Covenant bind Death upon them. This is not easy to conceive that God should give them a Law, to the end Sin and Guilt should abound amongst them, but yet he might and did give them a Law that the Offence which had Death annexed should abound, i.e. that Death, which before was the declared Penalty of but one Offence, should to the Jews be made the Penalty of every Breach by the Sanction of this new Law, which was not a Hardship, but a Privilege to them. For in their former State, common to them with the rest of Mankind, Death was unavoidable to them. But by the Law they had a Trial for Life: Accordingly our Saviour to the young Man, who asked what he should do to obtain eternal Life, answers, Keep the Commandments. The Law increasing the Offence in this Sense had also another Benefit, viz. That the Jews perceiving they incurred Death by the Law, which was ordained for Life, might thereby, as by a School-master, be led to Christ, to seek Life by him. This St. Paul takes notice of, Gal. 3. 24.

(1) Προρίζω is another word, signifying St. Paul's having an eye in what he says here, to what he said in the foregoing Verses. Our Bibles translate it offiuce, it properly signifies Fall, and is used in the foregoing Verses, for that Transgression which by the positive Law of God had Death annexed to it, and in that Sense the Apostle continues to use it here also. There was but one such Sin before the Law given by Moses, viz. Adam's eating the forbidden Fruit. But the positive Law of God given to the Israelites, made all their Sins such, by annexing the Penalty of Death to each Transgression, and thus the Offence abounded, or was increased by the Law.

(m) Sin. That by Sin St. Paul means here such Failure, as by the Sanction of a positive Law had Death annexed to it, the beginning of the next Verse flows, where it is declared to be such Sin as reigned in or by Death, which all Sin doth not, all Sin is not taxed at that rate, as appears by ver. 13. see the Note. The Article joy'd here both to αὐθαίρετος and αὐθαίρετος, for it is αὐθαίρετος, and αὐθαίρετα, the Offence and the Sin, limiting the general Signification of those Words to some particular fort, seems to point out this Sense. And that this is not a mere groundless Criticism, may appear from ver. 12. and 13. where St. Paul uses αὐθαίρετα in these two different Sense, in articles, with the Distinction of the Article and no Article. But the grace might be much more abound. The whole of Mankind were in a State of Death only for one Sin of one Man. This the Apostle is express in, not only in the foregoing Verses, but elsewhere. But those who were under the Law (which made each Transgression they were guilty of mortals) were under the Condemnation of Death, not only for that one Sin of another, but also for every one of their own Sins. Now to make any one righteous to Life from many, and those his own Sins, besides that one that lay on him besides, is greater Grace, than to believe on his justification to Life only from one Sin, and that of another Man. To forgive the Penalty of many Sins, is a greater Grace than to remit the Penalty of one.
SECT. VI. N. 3.

CHAP. VI. i—23.

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S. T. Paul having in the foregoing Chapter very much magnified Free Grace, by shewing that all men, having lost their Lives by Adam's Sin, were by Grace through Christ restored to Life again; and also as many of them as believed in Christ, were re-established in Immortality by Grace; and that even the Jews, who by their own Transgressions against the Law had forfeited their Lives over and over again, were also by Grace restored to Life, Grace super-abounding where Sin abounded, he here obviates a wrong Inference, which might be apt to mislead the Convert Gentiles, viz. Therefore let us continue in Sin, that Grace may abound. The contrary whereof he shews, their very taking upon them the Profession of Christianness, required of them by the very initiating Ceremony of Baptism, wherein they were typically buried with Christ, to teach them that they, as he did, ought to die to Sin; and as he rose to live to God, they should rise to a new Life of Obedience to God, and be no more Slaves to Sin in an Obedience and Resignation of themselves to its Commands. For if their Obedience were to Sin, they were Vailals of Sin, and would certainly receive the Wages of that Matter, which was nothing but Death: But if they obeyed Righteousness, i.e. sincerely endeavoured after Righteousness, though they did not attain it, Sin should not have Dominion over them by Death, i.e. should not bring Death upon them. Because they were not under the Law, which condemned them to Death for every Transgression; but under Grace, which by Faith in Jesus Christ justified them to eternal Life from their many Transgressions. And thus he shews the Gentiles not only the necessity, but the Advantage of their not being under the Law.

TEXT.

What shall we say then? Shall we continue in Sin that Grace may abound? God forbid: How can it be that we (o), who by our imbracing Christianness have renounced our former sinful Courses, and have professed a Death to Sin, should live any longer therein?

PARAPHRASE.

What shall we say then? Shall we continue in Sin that Grace may abound? God forbid: How can it be that we (o), who by our imbracing Christianness have renounced our former sinful Courses, and have professed a Death to Sin, should live any longer therein?

NOTES.

2 (o) W, i.e. I and all Converts to Christianness. S. T. Paul in this Chapter shews it to be the Profession and Obligation of all Christians, even by their Baptism, and the typical Signification of it, to be dead to Sin, and alive to God, i.e. as he explains it, not to be any longer Vailals to Sin in obeying our Lusts, but to be Servants to God in a sincere Pardon and Endeavour of obeying him. For whether under the Law or under Grace, whoever is a Vailal to Sin, i.e. indulges himself in a Compliance with his sinful Lusts, will receive the Wages which Sin pays, i.e. Death. This he strongly represents here to the Gentile Converts of Rome (for 'tis to them he speaks in this Chapter) that they might not mistake the State they were in, by being not under the Law, but under Grace, of which, and the Freedom and Largeness of it, he had spoken so much, and so highly in the foregoing Chapter, to let them see, that to be under Grace, was not a State of Licence, but of exact Obedience in the Intention and Endeavour of every one under Grace, though in the Performance they came short of it. This strict Obedience, to the utmost reach of every one's Aim and Endeavour, he urges as necessary, because Obedience to Sin unavoidably produces Death, and he urges as reasonable for this very Reason, that they were not under the Law, but under Grace. For as much as all the Endeavours after Righteousness of those who were under the Law were lost Labour, since any one Slip forfeited Life: But the sincere Endeavours after Righteousness of those who were under Grace, were sure to succeed to the attaining the Gift of eternal Life.
in it? For this I hope you are not ignorant of, that we Chriftians, who by Baptifm were admitted into the Kingdom and Church of Chrift, were baptized into a Similitude of his Death; We did own some kind of Death by being buried under Water, which being buried with him, i.e. in Conformity to his Burial, as a Confefion of our being dead, was to signifie, that as Chrift was raised up from the Dead into a glorious Life with his Father, even fo we, being raised from our typical Death and Burial in Baptism, should lead a new fort of Life wholly different from our former in some Approaches towards that heavenly Life that Chrift is risen to. For if we have been ingrafted into him in the Similitude of his Death, we shall be also in a Conformity to the Life which he is enter’d into by his Resurrefion. Knowing this, that we are to live so, as if our Old Man, our wicked and corrupt fleshly Self (q) which we were before, were crucified with him, that the Prevalency of our carnal sinful Propenfities, which are from our Bodies, might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve Sin (r) as Vaffals to it. For he that is dead is set free from the Vaffalage (s) of Sin, as a Slave is from the Vaffalage of his Mafter. Now if we underftand by our being buried in Baptifm, that we died with Chrift, we cannot but think and believe, that we should live a Life conformable to his; knowing that Chrift, being raised from the dead, returns no more to a mortal Life, Death hath no more Domi-

NOTES.

3 (p) 21/4 in the Hellenifick Greek sometimes signifies into, and so our Tranflation renders it, 2 Pet. 1. 5. And if it be not to taken here, the Force of St. Paul’s Argument is lost, which is to shew into what State of Life we ought to be raised out of Baptifm, in Similitude and Conformity to that State of Life Chrift was raised from the Grave.

6 (q) See Gal. 5. 24. Eph. 4. 22. Col. 2. 11. 1 Pet. 4. 1.

(r) It will conduce much to the understanding of St. Paul in this, and the two following Chapters, if it be minded that thefe Phrafe, to serve Sin, to be Servants of Sin, Sin reigns in our mortal Bodies, to obey Sin in the Lutfes of our Bodies, to yield our Members Inframments of Unrighteousnefs unto Sin, or Servants of Uncleaneffe, and to Iniquity, to be free from Righteousnefs, to walk, live, or to be after the flesh, to be carnally minded, all signifie one and the fame thing, viz. the giving our Selves up to the Conduit of our carnal, Appettites, to allow any of them the Command over us, and the Conduit and Prevalency in determining us. On the contrary, that walking after the Spirit, or in newnefs of Life, the Conffation of the Old Man, the Deffrauation of the Body of Sin, the Deffrauation of the Body of Death, to be freed from Sin, to be dead to Sin, alive unto God, to yield your Selves unto the Spirit, or Inframments of Righteousnefs unto God, or Servants of Obedience unto Righteousnefs, made free from Sin, Servants of Righteousnefs, to be after the Spirit, to be Spiritually minded, to mortifine the Body of Sin, do all signifie a confident and steady Purpofe, and unceafe Endeavour to obey the Law and Will of God in every thing, these several Expressions, being used in several places, as fift serves the Occafion, and illustrates the Sence.

7 (s) The Tenor of St. Paul’s Discourse here fows this to be the Sence of this Verfe; and to be affurred that it is fo, we need go no farther than ver. 11, 12, 13. He makes it his Business in this Chapter, not to tell them what they certainly and unambly are, but to exhibit them to be what they ought and are engaged to be by becoming Chriftians, viz. that they ought to emancipate themselves from the Vaffalage of Sin, not that they were fo emancipated without any danger of Return, for then he could not have said what he does, ver. 11, 12, 13, which fuppofes it in their Power to continue in their Obedience to Sin, or return to that Vaffalage if they would.
For in that he died, he died unto Sin once: but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God.

Likewise reckon ye also your selves to be dead indeed unto Sin; but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof.

Neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin: but yield your selves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead; and your Members as instruments of Righteousness unto God.

For sin shall not have dominion over you: for ye are not under the law, but under Grace.

For in that he died, he died unto Sin, i. e. upon the account of Sin once (a) for all: But his Life now after his Resurrection, is a Life wholly appropriated to God, which Sin or Death shall never have any more to do, or come in reach of. In like manner do you also make your Reckoning, account your selves dead to Sin (w), freed from that Master; so as not to suffer your selves any more to be commanded or employed by it, as if it were still your Master; but alive to God, i. e. that it is your Business now to live wholly for his Service, and to his Glory (w), through Jesus Christ our Lord. Permit not therefore Sin to reign over you, by (x) your mortal Bodies, which you will do if you obey your carnal Lusts; Neither deliver up your Members (y) to Sin to be implo’d by Sin, as Instruments of Iniquity, but deliver up your selves unto God, as tho’ those who have got to a new Life from among the Dead (z), and choosing him for your Lord and Master, yield your Members to him, as Instruments of Righteousness. For if you do so, Sin shall not have Dominion over you (a), you shall not be as its Slaves in its Power, to be by it delivered over to Death. (b) For you are not under the Law in the Legal State,

Notes.

10 (1) See Heb. 9. 26. 1 Pet. 4. 1, 2.
11 (a) Sin is here spoken of as a Peron, a Propopasia made use of all through this and the following Chapter, which must be minded if we will understand them right. The like Exhortation upon the same ground, see 1 Pet. 4. 1, 2.
12 (m) See Gal. 2. 19. 2 Cor. 5. 15. Rom. 7. 4. The Force of St. Paul’s Argument here seems to be this: In your Baptism you are engrossed into a Likeness of Christ’s Death and Resurrection. He once died to Sin, so do you count your selves dead to Sin. He rose to Life, wherein he lives wholly to God, to make your new Life, after your Resurrection from your typical Burial in the Water, be under the Vassalage of Sin no more, but you must live entirely to the Service of God, to whom you are devoted in Obedience to his Will in all things.
13 (x) In your mortal Bodies, is in the Apostle’s Writings often signified by. And helpe in, as also in the following Chapters, ver. 18, and 24, and elsewhere, placing the Root of Sin in the Body, his Sense seems to be, Let not Sin reign over you by the Lusts of your mortal Bodies.
14 (y) Sinful Lusts, at least those to which the Gentiles were most eminently enslaved, seem so much placed in the Body and the Members, that they are called the Members, Col. 3. 5. (z) Ex nego. From among the dead. The Gentile World were dead in Sin, Eph. 2. 1, 2. Col. 2. 13. Those who were converted to the Gospel were raised to Life from among those dead.
15 (a) Sin shall not have Dominion over you, i. e. Sin shall not be your absolute Master to dispose of your Members and Faculties in its Drudgery and Service as it pleaseth, you shall not be under its Control in absolute Subjection to it, but your own Men that are alive, and as your own Diopatal, unless by your own Free Choice you intrath your selves to it, and by a voluntary Obedience give it the Command over you, and are willing to have it your Master. It must be remembered, that St. Paul here, and in the following Chapter, personates Sin as driving with Men for Maltrey to destroy them.
16 (b) For. The Force of St. Paul’s Reasoning here stands thus: You are obliged by your taking on you the Profession of the Gospel, not to be any longer Slaves and Vassals to Sin, nor to be under the Sway of your carnal Lust, but to yield your selves up to God to be his Servants in a constant and sincere Purpose and Endeavour of obeying him in all things; this if you do, Sin shall not be able to procure you Death, for you Gentiles are not under the Law which condemneth to Death for every the least Transgression, though it be but a Slip of Inconstancy; but by your Baptism are enter’d into the Covenant of Grace, and being under Grace, God will accept of your sincere Endeavours, in the place of each Obedience; and give you eternal Life through Jesus Christ; but if you by a willing Obedience to your Lusts make your selves Vassals to Sin, Sin, as the Lord and Master to whom you belong, will pay you with Death, the only Wages that Sin pays.
but you are under Grace, in the Gospel State of the 
Covenant of Grace. What then, shall we sin because we are not under the Law, but under the Covenant of 
Grace (e)? God forbid. Know ye not that to whom 
you subject yourselves (d) as Vassals, to be at his Beck, his Vassals you are whom you thus obey, whether it 
be of Sin, which Vassalage ends in Death; or of Christ in 
obeying the Gospel, to the obtaining of Righteous-
nesses and Life. But God be thanked, that you who 
were the Vassals of Sin have sincerely, and from your 
Heart, obeyed so as to receive the Form, or be call 
into the Mould of that Doctrine under whose Direc-
tion or Regulation (e) you were put, that you might con-
form your selves to it. Being therefore set free from 
the Vassalage of Sin, you became the Servants or Vassals 
of Righteousness (f). (I make use of this Metaphor 

NOTES.

14 (e) What is meant by being under Grace, is easily understood by the undoubted and 
obvious meaning of the Parallel Phrase under the Law. They, 'the requisition,' were under the 
Law, who, having by Circumcision the Ceremony of Admissance been received into the Com-
monwealth of the Jews, owned the God of the Jews for their God and King, professing Sub-
jection to the Law he gave by Moses. And in like manner, he is under Grace, who, having 
by Baptism the Ceremony of Admissance been received into the Kingdom of Christ, or the 
Society of Christians, called by a peculiar Name the Christian Church, owns Jesus of Nazareth 
to be the Messiah his King, professing Subjection to his Law delivered in the Gospel. By 
which it is plain, that being under Grace is spoken here, as being under the Law, is, in a polit-
ical and national Sense. For whoever was circumcised, and owned God for his King, and the 
Authority of his Law, ceased not to be a Jew or Member of that Society by every\n
16 (d) 'Your, obedience. That which he calls here simply οἰκονομία Obedience, he in other 
places calls οἰκονομία μιστή, Obedience of Faith, and οἰκονομία τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Obedience of Christ, mean-
ing a Reception of the Gospel of Christ.

17 (e) He τούτων συνελάβετε, unto which you were delivered; No harsh, but an elegant Expres-
sion, if we observe that St. Paul here speaks of Sin and the Gospel, as of two Masters; and that 
those he writes to were taken out of the hands of the one, and delivered over to the other, 
which they having from their Hearts obeyed, were no longer the Slaves of Sin, to whom 
they obeyed being by the Rule of the foregoing Verse truly their Master.

18 (f) ἐκαταλαμψαν ὑπὸ οἰκονομίας, To became the States of Righteousness. This will seem 
an harsh Expression, unless we remember that St. Paul, going on still with the Metaphor of 
Master and Servant, makes Sin and Righteousness here two Persons, two distinct Masters, and 
Men passing from the Dominion of the one into the Dominion of the other,
TEXT.

for as ye have yielded your members servants to uncleannesses, and to iniquity, even so now yield your members servants to righteousness, unto holiness.

20 For when ye were the servants of sin, ye were free from rightousness.

21 What fruit had ye then in those things wherein ye are now ashamed? for the end of those things is death.

22 But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your Fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life.

23 For the wages of sin is death: but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

NOTES.

19 (g) Ἀναθεμα ἢνα, I speak after the manner of Men. He had some reason to make some little kind of Apology, for a Figure of Speech which he dwells upon quite down to the end of this Chapter.

(b) Members, see ch. 7. 5. Note.

(i) To iniquity unto Iniquity, see Note, ch. 1. 17.

22 (k) The wages of Sin, does not signify here the Wages that are paid for Sinning, but the Wages that Sin pays. This is evident not only by the Opposition that is put here in this Verse between the wages of Sin and the gift of God, but that which God gives to thole, who believing in Jesus Christ, labour sincerely after Righteousness, is Life eternal. But it farther appears by the whole Tener of St. Paul’s Discourse, wherein he speaks of Sin as a Person and a Master, who hath Servants, and is served and obeyed, and to the Wages of Sin being the Wages of a Peron here, must be what it pays.

(l) The Gift of God. Sin pays Death to thole who are its obedient Vassals: But God rewards the Obedience of thole to whom he is Lord and Master by the Gift of eternal Life. Their utmost Endeavours and highest Performances can never entitle them to it of Right; and so it is to them not Wages, but a free Gift. See ch. 4. 4.

SECT. VI. N. 4.

CHAP. VII. 1—25.

CONTENTS.

St. Paul in the foregoing Chapter, addressing himself to the Convert Gentiles, shews them, that not being under the Law, they were obliged only to keep themselves free from a Vassalage of Sin, by a sincere Endeavour after Vol. III.
ROMANS.

An. Ch. 5:7—Righteousness, forasmuch as God gave eternal Life to all those who being under Grace, &c., being converted to Christianity, did fo.

In this Chapter addressing himself to those of his own Nation in the Roman Church, he tells them, that the Death of Christ having put an end to the Obligation of the Law, they were at their Liberty to quit the Observances of the Law, and were guilty of no Disloyalty in putting themselves under the Gospel. And here St. Paul shews the Deficiency of the Law, which rendered it necessary to be laid aside by the Coming and Reception of the Gospel. Not that it allowed any Sin, but on the contrary forbid even Concupiscence, which was not known to be Sin without the Law. Nor was it the Law that brought Death upon those who were under it, but Sin, that herein it might shew the extreme malignant Influence it had upon our weak fleshly Nature, in that it could prevail on us to transgress the Law (which we could not but acknowledge to be holy, just and good) though Death was the declared Penalty of every Transgression: But herein lay the Deficiency of the Law as spiritual, and opposite to Sin as it was, that it could not mather and root it out, but Sin remained and dwelt in Men as before, and by the Strength of their carnal Appetites, which were not subdued by the Law, carried them to Transgressions that they approved not. Nor did it avail them to disapprove or struggle, since though the Bent of their Minds were the other way, yet their Endeavours after Obedience deliver'd them not from that Death which their Bodies or carnal Appetites, running them into Transgressions, brought upon them. That Deliverance was to be had from Grace, by which those, who putting themselves from under the Law into the Gospel-State, were accepted, if with the Bent of their Minds, they sincerely endeavour'd to serve and obey the Law of God, though sometimes through the Frailty of their Flesh they fell into Sin.

This is a farther Demonstration to the converted Gentiles of Rome, that they are under no Obligation of submitting themselves to the Law, in order to be the People of God, or partake of the Advantages of the Gospel, since it was necessary even to the Jews themselves to quit the Terms of the Law, that they might be deliver'd from Death by the Gospel. And thus we see how steadily and skillfully he pursues his Design, and with what Evidence and Strength he fortifies the Gentile Converts against all Attempts of the Jews, who went about to bring them under the Observances of the Law of Moses.

PARAPHRASE.

I. Have let those of you who were formerly Gentiles fee that they are not under the Law, but under Grace: I now apply my self to you, my Brethren of my own Nation, who know the Law. You cannot be ignorant that the Authority of the Law reaches or concerns a Man, as long as he liveth and no longer. For a Woman who hath an Husband,

TEXT.

K Now ye not, brethren, (for I speak to them that know the law) how that the law hath dominion over a Man as long as he liveth?

For the woman which hath an husband, is bound

NOTES.

1 (m) See ch. 6. 14.

(n) That his Discourse here is addressed to those Converts of this Church, who were of the Jewish Nation, is so evident from the whole Tenor of this Chapter, that there needs no more but to read it with a little Attention to be convinced of it, especially ver. 1, 4, 6.

(c) Koptos & Synthes, hath dominion over a Man. So we render it rightly: But I imagine we understand it in too narrow a Sense, taking it to mean only that Dominion or Force which the Law has to compel or restrain us in things which we have otherwise no mind to, whereas it seems to me to be used in the Conjugation Hiphil, and to comprehend here that Right and Privilege alto of doing or enjoying, which a Man has by Virtue and Authority of the Law, which abides as soon as he is dead. To this large Sense of these words St. Paul's Expressions in the two next Verses seem suited; and understood, have a clear and easy Meaning, as may be seen in the Paraphrase.

2 (p) For. That which follows in the 2d Verse, is no Proof of what is said in the 1st Verse, either as a Reason or an Instance of it, unless it be taken in the Sense I propose, and then the whole Discourse is clear and uniform.
ROMANS.

TEXT. PARAPHRASE.

by the law to her husband, to long as he liveth; but if the husband be dead, she is loosed from the law of her husband.

3. So even if while her husband liveth, she be married to another man, she shall be called an adulteress; but if her husband be dead, she is free from that law; so that she is no adulteress, though she be married to another man.

4. Wherefore, my brethren, ye also are become dead to the law by the body of Christ; that ye should be married to another, even to him who is raised from the dead, that we should bring forth fruit unto God.

is bound by the Law (b) to her living husband; but if her husband dieth, she is loosed from the Law which made her her husband's, because the Authority of the Law, whereby he had a Right to her, ceased in respect of him as soon as he died. Wherefore she shall be called an Adulteress, if while her husband liveth she be become another Man's. But if her husband dies, the Right he had to her by the Law ceasing, she is freed from the Law, so that she is not an Adulteress, though she be become another Man's. So that even ye, my Brethren (e), by the Body of Christ (d), are become dead (c) to the Law, whereby the Dominion of the Law over you has ceased, that you should submit your selves to the Dominion of Christ in the Gospel, which you may do with as much Freedom from Blame, or the Imputati- on of Disloyalty (u), as a Woman, whose husband is dead, may without the Imputation of Adultery marry another Man. And this making your selves another's,

NOTES.

(b) A Disposition not added here by Chance, and without any Meaning, but shews plainly that the Apostle had in his Mind some Person or Persons before mentioned, who were free from the Law, and that they might be either the Woman mentioned in the two foregoing Verses, as free from the Law of her Husband, because he was dead; or else the Gentile Converts mentioned, ch. 6. 14. as free from the Law, because they were never under it. If we think 3. refers to the Woman, then St. Paul's Sense in this, Ye also are free from the Law, as well as such as Woman, and may without any Imputation submit your selves to the Gospel. If we take 3 to refer to the Gentile Converts, then his Sense is this; Ye also my Brethren are free from the Law as well as the Gentile Converts, and as much as Liberty to subject your selves to the Gospel as they. I confess my self most inclined to this latter, both because St. Paul's main Design is to shew, that both Jews and Gentiles are wholly free from the Law: and because because the sense of 3. is, To have been made dead to the Law, the Phrase here used to express that Freedom, seems to refer rather to the 4th Verse, where he says, The Law hath Dominion over a Man as long as he liveth,; implying and no longer, rather than to the two intervening Verses where he says, not the Death of the Woman, but the Death of the Husband sets the Woman free, of which more by and by.

(c) By the Body of Christ, by which, as you in his Members died with him; see Col. 2. 20, and so by a like Figure Beliebers are said to be circumcised with him, Col. 2. 11.

(d) Are become dead to the Law. There is a great deal of needle-sense Pains taken by some to reconcile this Saying of St. Paul to the two immediately preceding Verses, which they suppose do require he should have said here what he does, ver. 6. viz. that the Law was dead, that so the Persons here spoken of might rightly answer to the Wife, who now represents them. But he that will take this Passage together, will find that the first part of this 4th Verse refers to ver. 1. and the latter part of it to ver. 2. and 3. and consequently that St. Paul had spoken improperly, if he had laid what would make him say here. To clear this, let us look into St. Paul's Reasoning, which plainly stands thus; The Dominion of the Law over a Man ceaseth when he is dead, ver. 1. Then are become dead to the Law by the Body of Christ, ver. 4. And so the Dominion of the Law over you is ceased, then you are free to put your selves under the Dominion of another, which can bring on you no charge of Disloyalty to him who had before the Dominion over you, any more than a Woman can be charged with Adultery when the Dominion of her former Husband being ceased by his Death, she marries her self to another Man. For the use of what he says, ver. 2. and 3. is to illustre the Jews that the Dominion of the Law over them being ceased by their Death to the Law in Christ, they were no more guilty of Disloyalty by putting themselves wholly under the Law of Christ in the Gospel, than a Woman was guilty of Adultery, when the Dominion of her Husband ceasing, she gave her self up wholly to another Man in marriage.

(e) Disloyalty. One meaning that made the Jews so tenacious of the Law, was, that they looked upon it as a Revile from God, and a Disloyalty to him their King, if they renit't not the Law that he had given them. So that even those of them who embraced the Gos-
even Christ's, who is riven from the dead, is, that We (w) should bring forth Fruit unto God (x). For when we were after to fleshly (y) a manner under the Law, as not to comprehend the spiritual Meaning of it, that directed us to Christ the spiritual end of the Law, our sinful Luft (z) that remained in us under the Law (a), or in the State under the Law, wrought in our Members, i.e. set our Members and Faculties (b) on work in doing that whose end was Death (c). But now the Law under which we were heretofore held in Subjecti-

NOTES.

fuel, thought it necessary to observe those Parts of the Law which were not continued, and as it were re-enacted by Christ in the Gospel. Their Mislake herein is what St. Paul, by the instance of a Woman marrying a second Husband, the former being dead, endeavours to convince them of.

(11) 1 Cor. 7. 8. It may be worth our taking notice of, that St. Paul having all along from the beginning of the Chapter, and even in this very Sentence said 2, here with Neglect of Grammar on a subject of so great moment, put it into Luft, and says, that we should, &c. I suppose, to press the Argument the stronger, by thworing himself to be in the same Circumstances and Concern with them, he being a Jew as well as they he spoke to.

(12) Fruit unto God. In these words St. Paul visibly refers to ch. 6. 10, where he faith, that Christ in that he liveth he livest unto God, and therefore he mentions here his being raised from the dead, as a Reason for their bringing forth Fruit unto God, i.e. living to the Service of God, obeying his Will to the utmost of their Power, which is the same that he says, ch. 5. 11.

(13) When we were in the Flesh. The Understanding and Observance of the Law in a bare literal Sense, without looking any farther for a more spiritual Intention in it, St. Paul calls being in the Flesh. That the Law had, besides a literal and carnal Sense, a spiritual and evangelical Meaning, see 1 Cor. 7. 6, and 17, compared. Read also ver. 4. 14, 15, 16, where the Jews in the Flesh are described; and what he says of the ritual part of the Law, see 11 Cor. 9. 10, which whilst they lived in the Observance of, they were in the Flesh. That part of the Molach Law was wholly about fleshly things, Gal. 2. 14—23, was sealed in the Flesh, and proposed no other but temporal fleshly Rewards.

(1) The Greek 25·νερτυν, literally Passions of Sin, in the Scripture Greek (wherein the Genitive Case of the Substantive is often put for the Adjective) foul Passions or Luft.

(a) 1 Cor. 2. 6, which were by the Law, is a very true literal Translation of the Words, but leads the Reader quite away from the Apostle's Sense, and is liable to be supported (by Interpreters that understand it) by saying that the Law excited Men to sin by forbidding it. A strange Imputation on the Law of God, such, as if it be true, must make the Jews more mindful of the Pollutions fell down in St. Paul's Black Lift, ch. 1, than the Heathens themselves. But herein they will not find St. Paul of their Mind, who besides the visible Distinction wherewith he speaks of the Gentiles all through his Epistles, in this respect doth here, ver. 7, declare quite the contrary; see also 1 Pet. 4. 3, 4. If St. Paul's Ufe of the Preposition 25·a little backwards in this very Epistle were remember'd, this, and also a like Passage in two more in this Chapter would not have so harsh and hard a Sense put on them as they have. The version u 25·ακαταργησε, our Translation renders, ch. 4. 11, that believe though they be not circumcised, where they make 25·ακαταργησε, to signify during the State, or during their being under Uncircumcision. If they had given the same Sense to 25·νερτυν here, which plainly signifies their being in the contrary State, i.e. under the Law, and render'd it, foul Affections which they had, though they were under the Law, the Apostle's Sense here would have been easier, clearer, and conformable to the Design he was upon. This Use of the word 25·a I think we may find in other Epistles of St. Paul, 2 Cor. 3. 6, may possibly with better Sense be understood of things done during the Body, or during the bodily State, than by the Body; and so 1 Tim. 2. 15, 25·επικοινωνια, during the State of Child-bearing. Nor is this barely an Hellenistical Use of 25·a, for the Greeks themselves say 25·ακαταργησε, during the Days; and 25·ακαταργησε, during the Night. And so I think 25·a in Ephes. 2 Cor. 3. 6, should be understood to signify in the time of the Gospel, or under the Gospel-Dipensation.

(b) Members here doth not signify bare the fleshly Parts of the Body in a restrained Sense, but the animal Faculties and Powers, all in us that is employed as an Instrument in the Works of the Flesh, which are reckoned up, Gal. 5. 19—21, some of which do not require the Members of our Body, taken in a strict Sense for the outward gross Parts, but only the Faculties of our Mind for their Performance more.

(c) Καταργουμενος και Σαρτος, Bringing forth Fruit unto Death, here, is opposed to bringing forth Fruit unto God, in the end of the foregoing Verse. Death here being consider'd as a Matter whom Men serve by Sin, as God in the other place is consider'd as a Matter, who gives Life to them who serve him in performing Obedience to his Law, on
on being dead, we are set free from the Dominion of the Law, that we should perform our Obedience as under the new (d) and spiritual Covenant of the Gospel, wherein there is Remission of Sins, and not as still under the old Rigour of the Letter of the Law, which condemns every one who does not perform exact Obedience to every tittle (e). What shall we then think that the Law, because it is set aside, was unrighteous, or gave any Allowance, or contributed any thing to Sin (f)? By no means; For the Law on the contrary tied Men stricter up from Sin, forbidding Concupiscence, which they did not know to be Sin but by the Law. For I (g) had not known Concupiscence to be Sin, unless the Law had said, Thou shalt not covet. Nevertheless Sin taking Opportunity (h) during the Law (i), or whilst I was under the Commandment, wrought in me all manner of Concupiscence: For without the Law Sin is dead, (k) not able to hurt me; And there was

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6 (d) In Nemnesi of Spirit, i.e. Spirit of the Law, as appears by the Antithesis, Oldness of the Letter, i.e. Letter of the Law. He speaks in the former part of the Verse of the Law as being dead, here he speaks of it being revived again with a new Spirit. Christ by his Death abolished the Medical Law, but revived as much of it again, as was necessary to the Use of his spiritual Kingdom under the Gospel, but left all the Ceremonial and purely Typical Parts dead, Col. 2. 14—18. The Jews were held before Christ in an Obedience to the whole Letter of the Law, without minded the spiritual Meaning which pointed at Christ. This the Apostle calls here serving in the Oldness of the Letter, and this he tells them they should now leave, as being bred from it by the Death of Christ, who was the End of the Law for the attaining of Righteousness, ch. 10. 4. i.e. in the spiritual Sense of it, which 2 Cor. 3. 6. he calls Spirit, which Spirit, ver. 16. he explains to be Christ. That Chapter and this Verse here give light to one another. Serving in the Spirit then is obeying the Law, as far as it is revived, and as it is explained by our Saviour in the Gospel, for the attaining of Evangelical Righteousness.

(f) That this Sense also is comprehended in not serving in the Oldness of the Letter, isplain from what St. Paul says, 2 Cor. 3. 5. The Letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth Life. From this killing Letter of the Law, whereby it pronounced Death for every least Transgression, they were also delivered, and therefore St. Paul tells them here, ch. 3. 15, that they have not received the Spirit of Bondage again to fear, i.e. to live in perpetual Bondage and Fear under the invisible Rigour of the Law, under which it was impossible for them to expect ought but Death.

7 (a) Sin. That Sin here comprehends both these Meanings expressed in the Paraphrase, appears from this Verse, where the Stritleness of the Law against Sin is asserted, in its prohibiting of Lusts, and from ver. 12, where its Reditute is asserted.

(i) The Shift St. Paul uses in dextrously avoiding as much as possible the giving Offence to the Jews, is very visible in the word of in this place. In the beginning of this Chapter, where he mentions their Knowledge in the Law, he says To. In the 4th Verse he joins himself with them, and says Wc. But here, and to the end of this Chapter, where he represents the Power of Sin, and the Inability of the Law to subdue it wholly, he leaves them out, and speaks altogether in the first Person, tho' it be plain he means all those who were under the Law.

8 (a) St. Paul here, and all along this Chapter, speaks of Sin as a Person, endeavouring to compass his Death, and the Sense of this Verse amounts to no more but this, that in matter of Fact that Concupiscence, which is the Law declared to be Sin, remain'd and exerted itself in him, notwithstanding the Law. For if Sin from St. Paul's Prophopoxia, or making it a Person, shall be taken to be a real Agent, the carrying this Figure too far will give a very old Sense to St. Paul's Words, and contrary to his Meaning make Sin to be the Cause of it fell, and of Concupiscence, from which Ignia sin Rife.

(b) See Note, ver. 5.

(c) Dead. It is to he remember'd not only that St. Paul all along this Chapter makes Sin a Person, but speaks of that Person and himself as two incompatible Enemies, the Being and Safety of the one conditional in the Death or Inability of the other to hurt. Without calling this
was a time once (I) when I was being without the Law, was in a State of Life; but the Commandment coming, Sin got Life and Strength again, and I found my self a dead Man; And that very Law which was given me for the attaining of Life (m), was found to produce Death (n) to me. For my mortal Enemy Sin taking the Opportunity of my being under (o) the Law, flew me by the Law, which it inveigled (p) me to disobey i.e. The Fraillty and vicious Inclinations of Nature remaining in me under the Law, as they were before, able still to bring me into Transgressions, each wherein of was mortal, Sin had by my being under the Law, a sure Opportunity of bringing Death upon me. So

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this in mind, it will be very hard to understand this Chapter. For instance, in this place St. Paul has declared, ver. 7, that the Law was not abolished, because it at all favour'd or promoted Sin, for it lays Restraints upon our very Desires, which Men without the Law did not take notice to be sinful; Nevertheless Sin prevailing in its Design to destroy me, took the Opportunity of my being under the Law, to bring up Concipiscience in me; for without the Law which annexes Death to Transgression, Sin is as good as dead, is not able to have its Will on me, and bring Death upon me. Conformable hereunto St. Paul says, 1 Cor. 15. 56. The Strength of Sin is the Law, i.e. it is the Law that gives Sin the Strength and Power to kill Men. Lying aside the Figure which gives a lively Representation of the hard State of a well-minded Jew under the Law, the plain Meaning of St. Paul here is this; 'The' the 'Law lays a fiercer Restraint upon Sin than Men have without it, yet it betters not my Condition thereby, because it enables me not wholly to extirpate Sin, and subdue Concipiscence, though it hath made every Transgression a mortal Crime. So that being no more totally secured from offending under the Law, than I was before, I am under the Law exposed to certain Death. This deplorable Estate could not be more feelingly expressed than it is here, by making Sin (which still remain'd in Man under the Law) a Person who, implacably aiming at his Ruin, cunningly took the Opportunity of exciting Conciscience in those to whom the Law had made it mortal.

9 (I) There once. St. Paul declares there was a time once when he was in a State of Life. When this was, he himself tells us, viz. when he was without the Law, which could only be before the Law was given. For he speaks here in the Person of one of the Children of Israel, who never ceased to be under the Law, once it was given. This therefore must design the Time between the Covenant made with Abraham and the Law. By that Covenant Abraham was made Blessed, i.e. delivered from Death. That this is so, vid. Gal. 3. 9. 11. And under him the Israelites claim'd the Blessing, as his Pottery, comprehended in that Covenant, and as many of them as were of the Faith of their Father, faithful Abraham, were blest with him. But when the Law came, and they put themselves wholly into the Covenant of Works, wherein each Transgression of the Law became mortal, then Sin recovered Life again, and a Power to kill, and an Israelite now under the Law, found himself in a State of Death, a dead Man. Thus we see it corresponds with the Delign of the Apostile's Discourse here. In the first Ver of this Chapter, he flew the Jews that they were at Liberty from the Law, and might put themselves freely under the Terms of the Gospel. In the following part of this Chapter he flies them, that is it is necessary for them to do, since the Law was not able to deliver them from the Power Sin had to destroy them, but subjefted them to it. This part of the Chapter flying at large what he says, ch. 8. 3. and so may be looked on as an Expiration and Proof of it.

10 (m) That the Commandments of the Law were given to the Israelites, that they might have Life by them; see Lev. 18. 5. Matt. 19. 7.

(p) The Law which was just, and such as it ought to be, in having the Penalty of Death annexed to every Transgression of it, Gal. 3. 10. came to produce Death, by not being able to remove the Fraillty of humane Nature, and subdue carnal Appetites, as to keep Men entirely free from all Trepassings against it, the least whereof by the Law brought Death. See ch. 3. 5. Gal. 3. 21.

11 (o) The Sense wherein I understand this, viz, by the Law, ver. 5, is very much confirmed by 2id viz, breake, in this and ver. 8. by which Interpretation the whole Discourse is made plain, easy and consonant to the Apostile's Purpose.
12. Wherefore the law is holy; and the commandment holy and just, and good.

13. Was then that which is good made death unto me? God forbid: But sin that it might appear sin, that the commandment by the commandment might become exceeding sinful.

14. For we know that the law is spiritual; but I am carnal, sold under sin.

15. For that which I do, I allow not: for what I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I.

16. If I do that which I would not, it is no more that I do it, but sin that dwelleth in me.

17. Note then, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me.

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12. (q) "Die, so that, ver. 7. he laid down this Position, that the Law was not Sin, ver. 8, 9, 10, 11. he proves it by shewing, that the Law was very strict in forbidding of Sin, so far as to reach the very Mind and the internal Acts of Concupiscence, and that it was Sin that remaining under the Law (which annexed Death to every Transgression) brought Death on the Israelites, he here inter, that the Law was not sinful, but righteous, just, and good, just such as by the eternal Rule of Right it ought to be.

13. (r) No. In the five foregoing Verses the Apostle had proved, that the Law was not Sin. In this and the ten following Verses he proves the Law not to be made Death; but that it is given to shew the Power of Sin which remained in those under the Law, to strong, notwithstanding the Law, that it could prevail on them to Transgress the Law, notwithstanding all its Prohibition, with the Penalty of Death annexed to every Transgression. Of what use this, shewing the Power of Sin by the Law, was, we may see, Gal. 3: 24.

(i) That διαμερίσθη καὶ διατάγμα, διαμερίστη, Sin exceeding sinful, is put here to signifie the greater Power of Sin or Law, is evident from the following Discourse, which wholly tends to shew, that I a Man under the Law be right in his Mind and Purpose; yet the Law in his Members, i.e. his carnal Appetites, would carry him to the committing of Sin, though his Judgment and Endurances were averse to it. He that remembers that Sin in this Chapter is all along represtified as a Person whose whole very Nature it was to seek and endeavour his Ruin, will not find it hard to understand, that the Apostle here by Sin exceeding sinful, means Sin freely exercising its Sinful, i.e. destructive Nature with mighty Force.

14. (a) "Miturbane, spiritual, is used here to signifie the Opposition of the Law to our carnal Appetites. The Antithesis in the following Words makes it clear.

15. (m) "Ως διατάγμα, I do not know, i.e. it is not from my own Understanding or a Forecast of Mind. The following Words, which are a Reason brought to prove this lying, give it this Sense. But if a ἐνῶς is to be interpreted, I do not approve, what in the next Words is brought for a Reason, will be but a Tautology.
sinful Affections, and Sin that remains still in me, notwithstanding the Law. For I know by woful Experience, that in me (viz.) in my Flesh, (a) that part which is the Seat of carnal Appetites, there inhabits no Good. For in the Judgment and Purpose of my Mind, I am really carried into a Conformity and Obedience to the Law: but the Strength of my carnal Affections not being abated by the Law, I am not able to execute what I judge to be right, and intend to perform. For the Good that is my Purpose and Aim, that I do not: But the Evil that is contrary to my Intention, that in my Practice takes place, i.e. I purpose and aim at universal Obedience, but cannot in fact attain it. Now if I do that which is against the full Bent and Intention of me (γ) my self, it is as I said before, not I my true self who do it, but the true Author of it is my old Enemy Sin, which still remains and dwells in me, and I would fain get rid of. I find it therefore as by a Law felled in me that, when my Intentions aim at Good, Evil is ready at hand, to make my Actions wrong and faulty. For that which my inward Man is delighted with, that which with Satisfaction my Mind would make its Rule, is the Law of God. But I see in my Members (σ) another Principle of Action equivalent to a Law (α) directly waging War against that Law which my Mind would follow, leading me captive into an unwilling Subjection to the constant Inclination and Impulse of my carnal Appetite, which as steadily as if it were a Law, carries me to Sin. O miserable Man that I am, who shall deliver me (β) from this wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me

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18 (x) St. Paul considers himself, and in himself other Men, as consisting of two Parts, which he calls Flesh and Mind, see ver. 24, meaning by the one the Judgment and Purpose of his Mind, guided by the Law, or right Reason; by the other, his natural Inclination purging him to the Satisfaction of his irregular sinful Desires. Thence he also calls, the one the Law of his Members, and the other the Law of his Mind, ver. 23. and Gal. 5. 16, 17, a place parallel to the ten last Verses of this Chapter, he calls the one Flesh, and the other Spirit. These two are the Subject of his Discourse in all this part of the Chapter, explaining particularly how by the Power and Prevalency of the fleshly Inclinations, not abated by the Law, it comes to pass, which he says, ch. 8. 2. 3. that the Law being weak by reason of the Flesh, could not set a Man free from the Power and Dominion of Sin and Death.

20 (y) O θάνατος, I would not. In the Greek is very emphatical, as is obvious, and denotes the Man in that part which is chiefly to be counted himself, and therefore with the like Emphasis, ver. 25, is called δακρύω τοις, I my own self.

23 (α) He having in the foregoing Verse spoken of the Law of God as a Principle of Action, but yet such as had not a Power to rule and influence the whole Man, so as to keep him quite clear from Sin, he here speaks of natural Inclination as of a Law, also a Law in the Members, and a Law of Sin in the Members, to shew that it is a Principle of Operation in Men even under the Law, as steady and constant in its Direction and Impulse to Sin, as the Law is to Obedience, and failed not through the Fruity of the Flesh often to prevail.

24 (α) What is it that St. Paul so pathetically desires to be delivered from? The State he had been describing was that of humane Weakeness, wherein notwithstanding the Law, even those who were under it, and sincerely endeavoured to obey it, were frequently carried by their carnal Appetites into the Breach of it. The State of Fruity he knew so often in this World could not be deliver'd from. And therefore if we mind him, it is not that, but the Consequence of it, Death, or so much of it as brings Death, that he inquires after a Deliverer from. Who shall deliver me, says he, from this Body? He does not lay of Fruity, but of Death: What shall hinder that my carnal Appetites, that so often make me fall into Sin, shall not bring Death.
from the body of this
death?

I thank God, through
Jesus Christ our Lord.
So then with the mind I
say, we serve the law of
God; but with the flesh
the law of sin.

this Body of Death? The Grace of Grace (c) through
Jesus Christ our Lord. To comfort my self therefore
as that State requires for my Deliverance from Death,
I say (d) with full Purpose and sincere Endeavours
of Mind, give up my self to obey the Law of God,
though my carnal Inclinations are enslaved, and have
a constant Tendency to Sin. This is all I (c) can do,
and this is all I being under Grace, that is required of
me, and through Christ will be accepted.

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Death upon me, which is awarded me by the Law? And to this he answers, The Grace of God through
our Lord Jesus Christ. 'Tis the Favour of God alone through Jesus Christ that delivers
soul Man from Death. Those under Grace obtain Life upon sincere Intentions: and Endeavours
after Obedience, and those Endeavours a Man may attain to in this State of Fruity.
But good Intention and sincere Endeavours are of no behoof against Death to those under the
Law, which requires complent and punifeful Obedience, but gives no Ability to attain it.
And so it is Grace alone through Jesus Christ, that accepting of what a frail Man can do,
delivers from the Body of Death. And thereupon he concludes with joy. So then I am now
a Christian, not any longer under the Law, but under Grace, this is the State I am in, whereby
I shall be delivered from Death, I with my whole Body and all that I possess unto the Law of
God in sincere Endeavers after Obedience, though my carnal Appetites are enslaved to, and
have their natural Propensity towards Sin.

(c) Our Translators read 'skepel to hile, The Grace of God, which is the reading of the Clermont and other
Greek Manuscripts. Nor can it be doubted which of these two Readings should be followed by
one who considers, not only that the Apostle makes it his business to show that the Jews stood
in Need of Grace for Salvation as much as the Gentiles; but also that the Grace of God is a
direct and appointed Answer to who shall deliver me? which, if we read it I thank God, has no
Answer at all, an Ominous the like whereof I do not remember any where in St. Paul's way of
Writing. This I am sure, it renders the Passage obscure and imperfect in it fell. But much
more dishonours the Saints, if we observe the Illative Therefore, which begins the next Verse, and
introduces a Conclusion easy and natural, if the Question, who shall deliver me? has for answer,
The Grace of God. Otherwise it will be hard to find Premises from whence it can be drawn.
For thus hands the Argument plain and easy. The Law cannot deliver from the Body of
Death, i.e. from those carnal Appetites which produce Sin, and so bring Death; But the
Grace of God through Jesus Christ, which pardons Lapses where there is sincere Endeavour after
Righteousness, delivers us from this Body that it does not destroy us. From whence naturally
results this Conclusion, There is therefore now no Condemnation, &c. But what it is grounded
on in the other Reading. I confess I do not fee.

(d)-anchor, I say, i.e. 1 the Man, with all my full Resolution of Mind. 'Anchor
and 'sake, might have both of them been spared, if nothing more had been meant here than the
Nominative Case to 'sake. See Note, ver. 20.

(e) anchor, I serve, or I make my self a Vassal, i.e. I intend and devote my whole
Obedience. The terms of Life to those under Grace St. Paul tells us at large, ch. 6. see 'Gracious
in 'Gracious, and of 'sake, to become Vassals to Righteousness and to God; confinately he
says here, anchor, I say, I am, the Man, being now a Christian, and so no longer under the
Law, but under Grace, do what is required of me in that State; anchor, I become a
Vassal to the Law of God, i.e. dedicate my self to the Service of it, in sincere Endeavours
of Obedience; and anchor, I the Man, shall be delivered from Death, for he that being
under Grace makes himself a Vassal to God in a steady Purpose of sincere Obedience, shal from
his receive the Gift of eternal Life, though his carnal Appetite, which he cannot get rid of,
having its stirrings towards Sin, makes him sometimes transgress, which would be certain Death to
him if we were still under the Law. See ch. 6. 18, and 22.

And thus St. Paul having shown here in this Chapter, that the being under Grace alone,
without being under the Law, is necessary even to the Jews, as in the foregoing Chapter he had
shown it to be to the Gentiles, he hereby demonstratively confirms the Gentile Converts in
their Freedom from the Law, which is the Scope of this Epistle thus far.

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There is therefore (f) now (g) no Condemnation (b) to, i.e. no Sentence of Death shall pass upon, those who are Christians (i), if so be they obey (k) not the sinful Lusts of the Flesh, but follow with Sincerity of Heart the Dictates of the (l) Spirit

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(f) Therefore. This is an Inference drawn from the last Verse of the foregoing Chapter, where it is said that it is Grace that delivers from Death, as we have already observed.

(g) Now that under the Gospel the Law is abolished to those who entertain the Gospel.

(b) The Condemnation here spoken of refers to the Penalty of Death annexed to every Transgression by the Law, whereof he had discourse in the foregoing Chapter.

(i) In Christ Jesus, expressed ch. 6. 14. by under Grace, and Gal. 3. 27. by having put on Christ, all which Expressions plainly signify, to any one that reads and considers the Places, the professing the Religion, and owning a Subjection to the Law of Christ, contain’d in the Gospel, which is in short the Profession of Christianity.

(k) Suggestion, Walking, or who walk, does not mean that all who are in Christ Jesus do walk not after the Flesh, but after the Spirit; but all who being in Christ Jesus, omit not to walk so. This, if the Tenor of St. Paul’s Discourse here can suffer any one to doubt of, he may be satisfied is so from ver. 13. If ye live after the Flesh. The ye he there speaks to are no less than those that, ch. 1. 6, 7. he calls the Called of Jesus Christ, and the Beloved of God, Terms equivalent to being in Jesus Christ, see ch. 6. 12 — 14. Gal. 5. 15 — 17. which Places compared together, shew that by Christ we are delivered from the Dominion of Sin and Lust; so that it shall not reign over us unto Death, if we will set our selves against it, and sincerely endeavour to be free; a voluntary Slave, who inthrald himself by a willing Obedience, who can set free?

(l) Flesh and Spirit, seem here plainly to refer to Flesh, wherewith he says he Serves Sin, and Mind wherewith he serves the Law of God, in the immediately preceding words.
For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death.

For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh:

(m) in the Gospel. For the (n) Grace of God which is effectual to Life has set me free from that Law in my Members which cannot now produce Sin in me unto Death (o). For this (o), the delivering us from Sin being beyond the Power of the Law, which was too weak (p) to matter the Propenities of the Flesh, God sending his Son in Flesh, that in all things except Sin, was like unto our frail sinful Flesh (q), and sending (r) him also to be an Offering (s) for Sin, he put to Death, or extinguished or suppre
ded Sin (t) in the Flesh, i.e. sending his Son into the World with the Body wherein the Flesh could never prevail to the producing of any one Sin; to the end

That

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(m) Walking after the Spirit, is, ver. 13. explain'd by mortifying the Deced of the Body through the Spirit.

(n) That it is Grace that delivers from the Law in the Members, which is the Law of Death, is evident from ch. 7. 23—25. why it is called a Law, may be found in the An
tithesis to the Law of Sin and Death, Grace being as certain a Law to give Life to Chritians that live not above the Flesh, as the Influence of sinful Appetites is to bring Death on those who are not under Grace. In the next place, why it is called the Law of the Spirit of Life, has a Reason, in that the Gospel which contains this Doctrin of Grace, is founded on the same
Spirit that raised Chrift from the dead, and that quickens us to Newness of Life, and has for its end the confering of eternal Life.

(o) The Law of Sin and Death. Hereby is meant that which he calls the Law in his Members, ch. 7. 23, where it is called the Law of Sin; and ver. 24. it is called the Body of Death, from which Grace delivers. This is certain, that no body who considers what St. Paul has said, ver. 7, and 13. of the foregoing Chapter, can think that he can call the Law of Mofes the Law of Sin, or the Law of Death. And that the Law of Mofes is not meant, is plain from his Reasoning in the very next Words. For the Law of Mofes could not be complain'd of as being weak, nor for not delivering those under it from its effect; yet its Weakness might, and is along, ch. 7. as well as ver. 3. complain'd of, as not being able to deliver those under it from their carnal sinful Appetites, and the Prevalence of them.

(p) Weak, the Weakness, and as he there also calls it the Unprofitableness of the Law, is again taken notice of by the Apostle, Heb. 7. 18, 19. There were two Defects in the Law whereby it became unprofitable, as the Author to the Hebrews says, so as to make nothing perfect. The one was, its inflexible Rigour against which it provided no Aloy or Mitigation, it left no place for Atonement. The other was its Futility against which it provided no Futility or Mitigation, its futility against which it provided no Remedy. St. Paul's Epistles are full of, and how we are deliver'd from it by the Body of Chrift, he shows, Heb. 10. 10. The other Weakness or Defect of the Law was, that it could not inable those who were under it, to get a Mastery over their fleshly or Heavily Propeneties, so as to perform the Obedience required. The Law existed complete Obedience, but afforded Men no Help against their Pravity or Vicious Inclinations. And this reigning of Sin in their mortal Bodies, St. Paul shows here how they are deliver'd by the Spirit of Chrift inabling them, upon their sincere Endeavours after Righteousness, to keep Sin under in their mortal Bodies in Conformity to Chrift, in whose Flesh it was condemned, executed and perfectly extinct, having never had there any Life or Being, as we shall see in the following Note. The Provision that is made in the New Covenant against both these Defects of the Law, is in the Epistle to the Hebrews expressed thus: God will make a new Covenant with the House of Israel, wherein he will do these two things: He will write his Law in their Hearts, and he will be merciful to their Iniquities. See Heb. 8. 11. 12.

(q) See Heb. 4. 15.

(r) And joins here in the Likeness, &c. with to be an Offering, whereas if and be made to copulate funding and condemned, neither Grammar nor Sense would permit it: nor can it be imagined the Apostle should speak thus: God sending his Son, and condemned Sin: But God sending his own Son in the Likeness of sinful Flesh, and sending him to be an Offering for Sin, with very good Sense joyns the Manner and End of his sending.

(s) I may say, which in the Text is translated for Sin, signifies an Offering for Sin, as the Margint of our Bibles takes notice. See 2 Cor. 5. 21. Heb. 10. 5. 10. So that the plain Sense is, God sent his Son in the likeness of sinful Flesh, and sending him to be an Offering for Sin.

(t) Kains, condemned. The Propoppas, whereby Sin was considered as a Person all the foregoing Chapter, being continued on here, the condemnation of Sin here cannot mean, as some would
That under this Example of Flesh (a) wherein Sin was perfectly matter'd and excluded from any Life, the moral Rectitude of the Law might be conformed to (w) by us, who, abandoning the Lusts of the Flesh, follow the Guidance of the Spirit in the Law of our Minds, and make it our Business to live not after the Flesh, but after the Spirit. For, as for those who (x) are still under the Direction of the Flesh and its sinful Appetites, who are under Obedience to the Law in their Members, they have the Thoughts and Bent of their Minds fet upon the Things of the Flesh, to obey it in the Lusts of it: But they who are under the spiritual Law of their Minds, the Thoughts and Bent of their Hearts is to follow the Dictates of the Spirit in that Law. For (y) to have our Minds fet upon the Satisfaction of the Lusts of the Flesh, in a fleshly Obedience to them, does certainly produce and bring Death upon us, but our setting our selves seriously and sincerely to obey the Dictates and Direction of the Spirit, produces Life (e) and Peace, which are not to be had in the contrary carnal State: Because to be carnally minded (a) is direct Enmity and Opposition against God, for such a Temper of Mind, given up to the Lusts of the Flesh, is in no Subjection to the Law of God, nor indeed can be (b), it having a quite contrary Tendency.

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would have it, that Christ was condemned for Sin, or in the place of Sin, for that would be to save Sin, and leave that Perfor alive which Christ came to destroy. But the plain meaning is, that Sin itself was condemned or put to Death in his Flesh, i. e. was suffer'd to have Life nor Being in the Flesh of our Saviour: He was in all Points tempted as we are, yet without Sin, Heb. 4. 15. By the Spirit of God the Motions of the Flesh were suppressed in him, Sin was crushed in the Egg, and could never fallen in the nest upon him. This farther appears to be theSense by the following words, The Antithesis between κανάθεσις, ver. 1. and κανάθεσις, here, will also shew why that word is used here to express the Death or No-being of Sin in our Saviour, 2 Cor. 5. 2. 1 Pet. 2. 22. That St. Paul sometimes uses Condemnation for putting to Death, see ch. 5. 16, and 18.

4 (a) Το δικαίους, τινες, The Righteousness of the Law. See Note, ch. 2. 26. 5 (x) Fulfilled does not here signify a complete exact Obedience, but such an unblameable Life, by sincere Endeavours after Righteousness, as shews us to be the faithful Subjects of Christ, exempt from the Dominion of Sin, see ch. 13. 8. Gal. 6. 2. A Description of such, who thus fulfilled the Righteousness of the Law, we have Luke 1. 6. As Christ in the Flesh was wholly exempt from all Taint of Sin; so we by that Spirit which was in him shall be exempt from the Dominion of our carnal Lusts, if we make it our Choice and Endeavour to live after the Spirit, ver. 9, 10, 11. For that which we are to perform by that Spirit, is the Mortification of the Deeds of the Body, ver. 17.

5 (x) Of κανάθεσις, Those that are after the Flesh, and those that are after the Spirit, are the same with those that walk after the Flesh, and after the Spirit. A Description of these two different sorts of Christians, see Gal. 5. 16—25.

6 (y) For joyns what follows here to ver. 1. as the Reason of what is here laid down, (wip.) Deliverance from Condemnation is to such Christian Converts only who walk not after the Flesh, but after the Spirit. For, Cc.

7 (a) Προφορόω, should have been translated here to be carnally minded, as it is in the foregoing Verse, which is justified by αγωγεῖν τις προφορά, do mind the things of the Flesh, ver. 5. which signifies the employing the Bent of their Minds, or subjecting the Mind entirely to the fulfilling the Lusts of the Flesh.

(b) Here the Apostle gives the Reason why even those, that in Christ Jesus have received the Gospel, and are Christians (for to such he is here speaking) are not saved unless they cease to walk after the Flesh, because that runs directly counter to the Law of God, and can never
So then they that are in the flesh, cannot please God.

But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.

And if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin; but the Spirit is life, because of righteousness.

And if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead, dwell in you; he that raised up Christ from the dead, shall also quicken your mortal bodies, by his Spirit that dwelleth in you.

Tendency. So then (e) they that are in the flesh, i.e. under the fleshly Dispensation of the Law (d), without regarding Christ the Spirit of it, in it cannot please God. But ye are not in that State of having all your Expectation from the Law, and the Benefits that are to be obtained barely by that, but are in the Spiritual State of the Law, i.e. the (e) Gospel, which is the End of the Law, and to which the Law leads you. And so having received the Gospel, you have therewith received the Spirit of God: For as many as receive Christ, he gives Power to become the (f) Sons of God: And to thoso that are his Sons God gives his Spirit (g). And if Christ be in you by his Spirit, the Body is dead as to all Activity to Sin (h), Sin no longer reigns in it, but your sinful carnal Lusts are mortified. But the Spirit (i) of your Mind liveth, i.e. is enliven'd in order to Righteousness, or living righteously. But if the Spirit of God who had Power able to raise Jesus Christ from the dead, dwell in you, as certainly it does, he that raised Christ from the Dead, is certainly able, and will by his Spirit that dwelleth in you, enliven even (k) your

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never he brought into Conformity and Subjection to his Commands. Such a settled Con- 

tention to his Precepts cannot be satisfied by the supreme Lord and Governor of the World 
in any of his Creatures, without foregoing his Sovereignty, and giving up the eternal immu-
table Rule of Right, to the overturning the very Foundations of all Order and moral Reti-

tude in the intellectual World. This even in the Judgment of Men themselves will be always 
thought a necessary piece of Juice for the keeping out of Anarchy, Disorder and Confusion, 
that those refractory Subjects, who set up their own Inclinations for their Rule against the Law, 
which was made to restrain those very Inclinations, should feel the Severity of the Law, with- 
out which the Authority of the Law, and Law-maker, cannot be preferred.

(e) This is a Conclusion drawn from what went before. The whole Argumentation stands 
thus: They that are under the Dominion of their carnal Lusts cannot please God; therefore 
they who are under the carnal or literal Dispensation of the Law, cannot please God, because 
they have not the Spirit of God; Now 'tis the Spirit of God that enlivens Men so as to 
enable them to call off the Dominion of their Lusts. See Gal. 4: 1-6.

(d) Of the same power, They that in the Flesh. He that shall consider that this Phrase is 
applied, ch. 7, 8, to the Jews, as resting in the bare literal or carnal Sense and Observance of the 
Law, will not be averse to the understanding the same Phrase in the same Sense here, which 
I think is the only place besides in the New Testament, where it is used in a moral Sense. This I dare say, it is hard to produce any one Text, wherein it is used to signify a Man's being under the Power of his Lusts, which is the Sense wherein it is, and must be, taken here, if what I propose be rejected. Let it be also remember'd that St. Paul 
makes it the chief Buinifle of this Epistle (and he seldom forgets the Design he is upon) to per- 
form both Jew and Gentile from a Subjection to the Law, and that the Argument he is upon 
here, is the Weakness and Ineffectuality of the Law, to deliver Men from the Power of Sin, and 
then perhaps it will not be judged that the Interpretation I have given of these words is al- 
gether remote from the Apostle's Sense.

(g) See 2 Cor. 3: 16. particularly ver. 6, 13, 16.

(h) See Rom. 7: 12. Gal. 4: 7, 8.


(k) See Eph. 2: 23.

11 (b) To lead us into the true Sense of this Verse, we need only observe that St. Paul 
having in the four first Chapters of this Epistle thrown that neither Jew nor Gentile could be 
justified by the Law, and in the 5th Chapter how Sin enter'd into the World, by Adam, and 
reign'd by Death, from which came Grace and not the Law that deliver'd Men: In the 6th 
Chapter he sheweth the Convert Gentiles, that though they were not under the Law, but 
under Grace; yet they could not be saved, unless they call off the Dominion of Sin, and be 
deceived Servants of Righteousness, which was what their very Baptism taught and requi-
red of them: And in Chap. 7, he declares to the Jews the Weakness of the Law, which they so much flout upon; and shows that the Law could not deliver them from the Dominion of Sin; that Deliverance, they only by the Grace of God, three or six Jesus Christ: from whence he draws the Consequence, which begins this 8th Chapter, and goes on with it here in two Branches relating to his Discourse in the foregoing Chapter, that complete it in this. The one is to shew, that the Law of the Spirit of Life, i.e. the New Covenant in the Gospel, required that, those that are in Christ Jesus should not live any more the old flesh, but the new Spirit. The other is to shew, how and by whom, since the Law was weak and could not enable those under the Law to live, they were enabled to keep Sin from reigning over their mortal Bodies, which is the Sanctification required. And here he shews, that Christians are delivered from the Dominion of their carnal sinful Luizs by the Spirit of God that is given to them, and dwells in them, as a new quickening Principle and Power, by which they are put into the State of a Spiritual Life, wherein their Members are made capable of being made the Infrumments of Righteousness, if they please, as living Men alive now to Righteousness, so to employ them. If this be not the Sense of this Chapter to ver. 14. I desire to know how this Verse is in the 1st Verse comes in, and what Coherence there is in what is here said? Besides the Con- nection of this to the former Chapter contain'd in the Inuitive Therefore, the very Antithesis of the Expressions in one and the other, shew that St. Paul in writing this very Verse, had an eye to the foregoing Chapter. There it was, Sin that dwell'd in me, that was the active and over- ruling Principle, Here it is, the Spirit of God that dwelleth in you, that is the Principle of your Spiritual Life. There it was, He shall deliver me from this Body of Death. The Rule, God by his Spirit shall quicken your mortal Bodies, i.e. Bodies which, as the Seat and Harbour of Sinful Lusts that pollute it, are indigold and dead to the Actions of a spiritual Life, and have a na- tural Tendency to Death. In the same Sense, and upon the same account he calls the Bodies of the Gentiles their mortal Bodies, ch. 6. 12. where his Subject is, as here, Freedom from the Reign of Sin, upon which account they are there ill'd, ver. 13. Alive from the Dead. To make it yet clearer, that it is Deliverance from the Reign of Sin in our Bodies, that St. Paul speaks of here, I desire any one to read what he says, ch. 6. 1 to 14. to the Gentiles on the same Subject, and compare it with this 13 14 Verse of this Chapter; and then tell me whether they have not a mutual Correspondence, and do not give a great light to one another? If it be not too much pains, let him at least read the two next Verses, and see how they could possibly be as they are an Inference from this 13. 14. Verse, if the quickening of your mortal Bodies in it mean any thing but a quickening to Newness of Life, or to a Spiritual Life of Righteousness. This being so, I cannot but wonder to see a late learned Commentator and Paraphrast positive, that ζωονυσία των άνθρωπων, άν, άν διώκειν, quidem your mortal Bodies, does here signify, άναρα, άν διώκειν, έξουσία άναρα, your dead Bodies out of the Grave, as he contends in his Preface to his Paraphrase on the Epistles to the Corinthians. ζωονυσία, he says, imports the same with άναρα άναρα, their. His way of proving it is very re- markable, his words are, ζωονυσίας and άναρας are as to this matter [quire, the Resurrection] words of the same Import, i.e. where, in distinguishing of the Resurrection, ζωονυσίας, quidem, is used, it is of the same Import with άναρα άναρα. But what if St. Paul, which is the Question, be not here speaking of the Resurrection? Why then according to our Author's Interpreta- tion of their Words of St. Paul, here signify, God shall raise to life your living dead Bodies, which no one can think, in the 1st Edition Terms can be given to it, a very proper way of speaking; though it be very good Sense and very emphatical to say, God shall by his Spirit put into your mortal Bodies a Principle of Immortality or Spiritual Life, which is the Sense of the Apostle here, see Gal. 6. 8. And so he may find ζωονυσίας used, Gal. 3. 21. to the same purpose it is here. I next desire to know of this learned Writer, how he will bring in the Resurrection of the Dead into this place, and to shew what Coherence it has with St. Paul's Discourse here, and how he can join this Verse with the immediately preceding and following, when the words under Consideration are render'd, άναρα, άναρα, έξουσία άναρα, άν διώκειν, άναρα, your dead Bodies out of their Graves at the last day? It seems as if he himself found this would make but an awkward Sense, standing in this place with the rest of St. Paul's words here, and so never attempted it by any foot of Paraphrase, but has here given way only by the Grace of God to a Translation to help us, it can be, this Translation to a Meaning as he would put upon this Passage, which must make St. Paul, in the midst of a very serious, strong, and coherent Discourse concerning walking not after the Flesh, but after the Spirit, skip on a fuddain into the Mention of the Resurrection of the Dead; and having just mention'd it, skip back again into its former Argument. But I take the liberty to shew him, that St. Paul has no such Starts from the matter as his hand, to what gives him so much to his present Argument. I think there is not any where to be found a more pertinent close Arguer, who has
Therefore brethren, we are debtors not to the flesh, to live after the flesh.

For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die: but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live.

For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God.

For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.

The spirit it self beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God.

And if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ; if so be that we suffer the mortal Bodies, (l) that Sin shall not have the sole Power and Rule there) but your Members may be made living Instruments of Righteousness. Therefore Brethren, we are not under any Obligation to the Flesh to obey the Laws of it. For if ye live after the Flesh, that mortal part shall lead you to Death irrecoverable; but if by the Spirit, whereby Christ totally suppresseth and hindered Sin from having any Life in his Flesh, you mortify the Deeds of the Body (m) ye shall have Eternal Life. For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the Sons of God, of an immortal Race, and consequently like their Father immortal (n). For ye have not received the Spirit of Bondage (o) again, (p) to fear; but ye have received the (p) Spirit of God, (which is given to those who have received it) Adoption on are Sons) whereby we are all enabled to call God our Father. The Spirit of God himself beareth witness (q) with our Spirits, that we are the Children of God. And if Children, then Heirs of God, Joint-heirs with Christ, if so be we suffer (r) with him, that

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has his eye always on the Mark he devises at. This Men would find if they would study him as they ought, with more regard to Divine Authority than to Hypotheses of their own, or to Opinions of the Season. I do not say that he is every where clear in his Expressions to us now: But I do say he is every where a coherent pertinent Writer; and where ever in his Commentators and Interpreters any Sense is given to his words, that disjoyns its Discourse, or deviates from his Argument, and looks like a wandering Thought, it is easy to know where it is, and where the Imperfections, his or theirs that father in him. One Thing more the Text suggests concerning this matter, and that is, If by quenching your mortal Bodies, &c. be meant here the raising them into Life after Death, how can this be mentioned as a peculiar Favour to those who have the Spirit of God? For God will also raise the Bodies of the Wicked, and certainly as those of Believers. But that which is promised here, is promised to those only who have the Spirit of God: And therefore it must be something peculiar to them (vix) that God shall do enlivens their mortal Bodies by his Spirit, which is the Principle and Pledge of immortal Life, that they may be able to yield up themselves to God, as those that are alive from the dead, and their Members Servants to Righteousness unto Holiness, as he expresses himself, ib. 6. 13. and 19. If any one can yet doubt whether this be the Meaning of St. Paul here, I refer him for further Satisfaction to St. Paul himself, in Eph. 1. 4. 6. where he will find the same Notion of St. Paul expressed in the same Terms, but so, that it is impossible to understand by ζωονιον or ζωον (which are both used there as well as here) the Resurrection of the dead out of their Graves. The full Explanation of this Verse may be seen, Eph. 1. 19. and 2. 10. See also Col. 2. 12. 13. to the same purpose; and Rom. 7. 4.

(l) ζωονιον το μορφωμα, shall quicken even your mortal Bodies, seems more agreeable to the Original, than shall also quicken your mortal Bodies; for the (g) doth not copulate ζωονιον with ζωονιον, for then it must have been ζωονιον, for the place of the Copulative is between the two words that it quawns, and so must necessarily go before the latter of them.

(m) Deeds of the Body: what they are may be seen, Gal. 5. 19. 20. as we have already remarked.

(n) In that lies the Force of his Proof, that they shall live. The Sons of mortal Men are mortal, the Sons of God are like their Father, Partakers of the Divine Nature, and are immortal, see 2 Pet. 1. 4. Heb. 2. 11. — 15.

(o) What the Spirit of Bondage is, the Apostle hath plainly declared, Heb. 2. 15. See Note, ver. 21.

(p) Again, i. e. Now again under Christ, as the Jews did from Mafes under the Law.

(q) See Gal. 4. 5, 6.

(r) Abba, Father. The Apostle here expresses this filial Assurance in the same words that our Saviour applies himself to God, Mark 14. 36.

(s) See the same thing taught, 2 Cor. 4. 17. and 5. 6. Eph. 1. 11. — 14. and Gal. 4. 6.

(t) The full Sense of this you may take in St. Paul's own words, 2 Tim. 2. 11, 12.
we may also be glorified with him. For I count that the Sufferings of this transitory Life, bear no Pro-
portion to that glorious State that shall be hereafter (a) revealed, and set before the Eyes of the whole World, 
at our Admittance into it. For the whole Race of (a) 
Mankind, in an earnest Expectation of this unconce-
viable glorious (a) Immortality that shall be bestowed 
on the (y) Sons of God (For Mankind created in a better 
State, was made subject to the (z) Vanity of this calamis-
tious fleeting Life, not of its own Choice, but by the 
Guile of the Devil (a), who brought Mankind into 
this mortal State) Waiteth in hope (b), that even they 
also shall be delivered from this Subjection to Corrup-
tion (a), and shall be brought into that glorious Free-
dom from Death which is the proper Inheritance of the 
Children of God. For we know that Mankind, all (c) 
of them, groan together, and unto this day are in pain, 
as a Woman in Labour, to be delivered out of the Uneas-
iness of this mortal State. And not only they, but even 
those who have the first Fruits of the Spirit, and there-
in the Earnest (c) of Eternal Life, we our selves groan 
(f) within our selves, waiting for the Fruit of our 
Adoption, which is, that as we are by Adoption made 
Sons, and Co-heirs with Jesus Christ, so we may have 
Bodies like unto his most glorious Body, Spiritual and 
with him, that we may be also glorified together.

For I reckon, that the 18 suffering of this present 
time, are not worthy to be compared with the glo-
ry which shall be revealed in us.

For the earnest expecta. 19 tion of the creature wait-
eth for the manifestation of the Sons of God, 
For the creature was made subject to vanity, 
not willingly, but by reason of him who had subject-
ated the same in hope; 
Because the creature it fell also shall be delivered 
from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious 
liberty of the children of God. 
But not only they, but 23 our selves also, which have the first fruits of the Spirit, 
even we our selves groan within our selves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the 
redemption of our body.

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18 (a) Revealed. St. Paul speaks of this Glory here, as what needs to be revealed to give 
us a right Conception of it. It is impossible to have a clear and full Comprehension of it till 
we taste it. See how he labours for Words to express it, 2 Cor. 4. 17. Or. a place to the same 
purpose with this here.

19 (m) Revealed, in the Language of St. Paul and of the New Testament, signifies 
Mankind; especially the Gentile World, as the far greater part of the Creation. See Col. 1. 23. 
Mark 15. 16. compared with Mat. 28. 19.

(a) Immortality. That the thing here expected was immortal Life, is plain from the 
context, and from that parallel place, 2 Cor. 4. 17. and 5. 4. the Glory whereof was so great, 
that it could not be comprehended, till it was by an actual exhibiting of it revealed. When this 
Revelation is to be, St. Peter tells us, 1 Pet. 1. 11. 8.

(y) ἐπήδησις ἡ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, Revelation of the Sons, is, in the Revelation to the Sons. The Ger-
manische Celle often in the New Testament denotes the Object. So Rom. 1. 5. ἐπηδήσεις ἡ ἁμαρτία 
signifies Obedience to Faith: Ch. 3. 22. ἡ ἑρμηνεία ἐπηδήσας ἡ ἁμαρτίας, The Righteousness 
that God accepts by Faith in Christ: Ch. 4. 11. ἡ ἑρμηνεία ἡ ἁμαρτίας, Righteousness by Faith. If 
ἐπηδήσας here be render'd Revelation, as ἐπηδήσας Πας ἡμῶν in the foregoing Verse is render'd 
revealed, (and 'twill be hard to find a Reason why it should not) the Sentence in the Paraphrase 
will be very natural and easy. For the Revelation in the foregoing Verse is not of, but to the 
Sons of God. The words are ἐπηδήσεις ἡ τῆς ἁμαρτίας.

20 (a) The State of Man in this frail short Life, subject to Inconveniences, Sufferings, and 
Death, may very well be called Vanity, compared to the immeasurable Estate of eternal Life, the 
Inheritance of the Sons of God.

(a) Devil. That by the subordinated it, is meant the Devil, is probable from the History, 
Gen. 3. and from Heb. 2. 14, 15. Col. 2. 15.

21 (b) ἐπηδήσεις ἡ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, Revelation, in hope, that the not joying in hope to wait-
the by placing it in the beginning of the 21st Verse, as it stands in the Greek, but joying it to subordinated the same, by placing it at the end of the 20th Verse, has mightily obscured the 
Meaning of this Pajage, which taking all the words of God and in hope for a Paren-
thesis, is as easy and clear as any thing can be, and then the next word ἐν will have its proper 
Signification then, and not at all.

(c) Δόλῳ & ἐκ άδημος, Bondage of Corruption, I. e. the Power of Death, see ver. 15. and Heb. 2. 
15. Corruption signifies Death or Depravity, in opposition to Life everlasting. See Gal. 6. 8.

21 (d) How David groaned under the Vanity and Shortness of this Life, may be seen, 
Gal. 6. 8. which Complaint may be met with in every Man's Mouth; so that even 
those, who have not the first Fruits of the Spirit, whereby they are assured of a future happy 
Life in Glory, do also desire to be freed from a Subjection to Corruption, and have uneasiness 
Longings after Immortality.

23 (e) See 2 Cor. 4. 5. 5. Eph. 1. 13. 14.

(f) Read the parallel place, 2 Cor. 4. 17. and 5. 5.
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24. For we are saved by hope: but hope that is seen, is not hope: for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for?
25. But if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it.
26. Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we should pray for as we ought: but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered.
27. And he that searcheth the hearts, knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints, according to the will of God.
28. And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to whom also he hath called according to his purpose.
29. For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren.
30. Moreover, whom he did predestinate, them he also called: and whom he called, them he also justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified.
31. What shall we then say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us?
32. He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not make intercession for us?

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24 (g) What he says here of Hope, is to show them, that the Groaning in the Children of God before spoken of, was not the Groaning of Impatience, but such wherewith the Spirit of God makes intercession for us, better than if we expressed our selves in Words, ver. 25.
27 (b) The Spirit promised in the time of the Gospel, is called the Spirit of Supplications, Zech. 12. 10.
28 (i) Which purpose was declared to Abraham, Gen. 18. 18. And is largely insisted on by St. Paul, Eph. 1. 17-22. This and the Remainder of this Chapter, seems said to confirm the Gentile Converts in the Assurance of the Favour and Love of God to them through Christ, though they were not under the Law.
29 (k) See ch. xi. 2. Amos 3. 2. (l) See Eph. 1. 5.
30 (m) Many are called, and few are chosen, says our Saviour, Mat. 20. 16. Many, both Jews and Gentiles, were called, that did not obey the Call. And therefore, ver. 32. 'Those who are chosen, who he faith are justified, i. e. such as were called, and obeyed, and consequently were chosen.'
well as Jews, how shall he not 'with him also give us all things? Who shall be the Professor of those whom God hath chosen? Shall God who justifieth them (n) give us all things? Who shall be the Professor of those whom God hath chosen? Shall God who justifieth them (n) Jer 2:24. with him also freely give us all things? Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth: Who is he that condemneth? Is Christ that died, yea rather that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? For this is our Lot, as it is written, For thy sake we are killed all the day long, we are accounted as sheep for the Slaughter. Nay in all these things we are already more than Conquerors by the Grace and Assistance of him that loved us. For I am persuaded, that neither the Terrors of Death, nor the Allurements of Life, nor Angels, nor the Princes and Powers of this World; nor things present; nor any thing future; Nor the Height of Prosperity; nor the Depth of Misery; nor any thing else whatsoever, shall be able to separate us from the Love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

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33 (o) Reading this with an Interrogation, makes it needless to add any Words to the Text to make out the Sense, and is more conformable to the Scheme of his Argumentation here, as appears by v. 35. where the Interrogation cannot be avoided; and is as it were an Appeal to them, themselves to be Judges, whether any of those things he mentions to them (reckoning up those which had most Power to hurt them) could give them just Caufe of Apprehension, Who shall accuse you? Shall God who justifieth you? Who shall condemn you? Christ that died for you? What can be more absurd than such an Imagination?

SECT. VIII.

CHAP. IX. 1.—X. 21.

CONTENTS.

There was nothing more gratifying and offensive to the Jews, than the Thoughts of having the Gentiles join'd with them, and partake equally in the Privileges and Advantages of the Kingdom of the Messiah: And which was yet worse, to be told that those Aliens should be admitted, and they, who presumed themselves Children of that Kingdom, to be shut out. St. Paul, who had
had insisted much on this Doctrine, in all the foregoing Chapters of this Epistle, to shew that he had not done it out of any Aversion or Unkindness to his Nation and Brethren the Jews, does here express his great Affection to them, and declares an extream Concern for their Salvation. But withal he shews, that whatever Privileges they had received from God above other Nations, whatever Expectation the Promises made to their Forefathers might raise in them, they had yet no just Reason of Complaining of God's dealing with them now under the Gospel, since it was according to his Promise to Abraham, and his frequent Declarations in Sacred Scripture. Nor was it any Injustice to the Jewish Nation, if God by the same Sovereign Power wherewith he prefer'd Jacob (the younger Brother, without any Merit of his) and his Polarity to be his People, before Esau and his Polarity whom he rejected. The Earth is all his; nor have the Nations that posses it any Title of their own, but what he gives them, to the Countries they inhabit, nor to the good things they enjoy, and he may dispossess or exterminate them when he pleaseth. And as he destroy'd the Egyptian for the Glory of his Name, in the Deliverance of the Israelites; so he may according to his good Pleasure raise or deprefs, take into Favour or reject the several Nations of this World. And particularly as to the Nation of the Jews, all but a small Remnant were rejected, and the Gentiles taken in their room, to be the People and Church of God, because they were a gain-saying and disobedient People, that would not receive the Messiah whom he had promised, and in the appointed time sent to them. He, that will with moderate Attention and Indifference of Mind read this Ninth Chapter, will see that what is said of God's exercising of an absolute Power, according to the good Pleasure of his Will, relates only to Nations or Bodies Politique of Men incorporated in civil Societies, which feel the Effects of it only in the Prosperity or Calamity they meet with in this World, but extends not to their eternal State in another World, consider'd as particular Persons, wherein they stand each Man by himself upon his own Bottom, and shall so answer separately at the Day of Judgment. They may be punished here with their Fellow-Citizens, as part of a sinful Nation, and that be but temporal Chastisement for their Good, and yet be advanced to eternal Life and Bliss in the World to come.

TEXT.

I Say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost.

2 That I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart.

3 For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinmen according to the flesh.

4 Who are Israelites; to whom pertains the adoption, and the glory,

PARAPHRASE.

I As a Christian speak Truth, and my Conscience, guided and enlightened by the Holy Ghost, bears me witness, That I lie not in my Profession of great Heavines and continual Sorrow of Heart, I could even with that (a) the Destruction and Extermination, to which my Brethren the Jews are devoted by Christ, might, if it could save them from Ruine, be executed on me in the stead of those my Kinmen after the Flesh; Who are Israelites, a Nation dignified with these Privileges, which were peculiar to them; Adoption, whereby they were in a particular manner the Sons of God (p): The Glory (q) of the Divine Presence amongst them.

NOTES.

3 (a) 'Anathema, accursed. אנתמ, which the Septuagint render Ἀναθημα, signifies Persons or Things devoted to Destruction and Extermination. The Jewish Nation were an Anathema, destined to Destruction. St. Paul, to express his Affection to them, says, he could wish, to save them from it, to become an Anathema, and be destroy'd himself.

4 (p) Adoption, Exod. 4. 22. Jer. 31. 9.

(q) Glory, which was present with the Israelites, and appear'd to them in a great shining Brightness out of a Cloud. Some of the Places which mention it are these following, Exod. 33. 21. Lev. 9. 6, and 23. 24. Num. 10. 42. 2 Chron. 7. 1—3. Eph. 10. 4. and 43. 5, 6; compared with 1 Kings 1. 4, 25.
them; Covenants (r) made between them and the
great God of Heaven and Earth; The moral Law (i)
a Confinitation of Civil Government, and a Form of
Divine Worship prescribed by God himself, and all the
Promises of the Old Testament, had the Patriarchs to
whom the Promises were made for their Fore-fathers
(i); And of them as to his fleshly Extraction Christ is
come, he who is over all, God be blessed for ever,
Amen. I commiserate my Nation for not receiving
the promised Messiah now he is come, and I speak of
the great Prerogatives they had from God above other
Nations, but I say not this as if it were possible that
the Promise of God should fail of Performance, and
not have its effect (u). But it is to be observed, for a
right understanding of the Promise, that the sole De-
scendants of Jacob or Israel, do not make up the whole
Nation of Israel (w), or the People of God compro-
hended in the Promise; Nor are they who are the
Race of Abraham all Children, but only his Polterity
by Isaac, as it is said, In Isaac shall thy Seed be called.
That is, the Children of the Flesh defended out of
Abraham’s Loins, are not thereby the Children of God
(x), and to be esteemed his People, but the Children
of the Promise, as Isaac was, are alone to be accounted
his Seed. For thus runs the Word of Promise, At this
time I will come, and Sara shall have a Son. Nor was
this the only Limitation of the Seed of Abraham, to
whom the Promise belonged; but also when Rebecca had
conceived by that one of Abraham’s Issue to whom the
Promise was made, viz. our Father Isaac, and there
were Twins in her Womb, of that one Father, before
the Children were born, or had done any Good or Evil
(y), to shew that his making any Stock or Race of Men
his and the covenants, and
the giving of the law, and
the service of God, and
the promises; Whole are the fathers,x
and of whom as concerning
the flesh, Christ came, who is over all. God
blessed for ever. Amen.
Not as though the 5
word of God hath taken
none effect. For they are
not all Israel, which are
of Israel;
Neither because they,
are the seed of Abraham,
are they all children: but
in Isaac shall thy seed be
called.
That is, They which 3
are the children of the flesh,
these are not the children of God: but
the children of the promise are counted for the seed.
For this is the word of promise, At this time will
I come, and Sara shall have a Son.
And not only this, but
when Rebecca also had
conceived by one, even by
our Father Isaac,
(For the children being 11
not yet born, neither ha

NOTES.

(r) Covenants. See Gen. 17. 4. Exod. 34. 27.
(i) Naukmarsh, The giving of the Law, whether it signifies the extraordinary giving of the
Law by God himself, or the exact Confinitation of their Government in the moral and judicial
part of it (for the next word sarkh, Service of God, seems to comprehend the religious Wor-
ship) this is certain, that in either of these Sense it was the peculiar Privilege of the Jews,
and what no other Nation could pretend to.
(u) Fathers, who they were, see Exod. 3. 6, 16. Acts 7. 32.
(w) See ch. 3. 3. Word of God, i.e. Promise, see ver. 9.
(x) See ch. 4. 16. St. Paul uses this as a Reason to prove that the Promise of God failed not
to have its Effect, though the Body of the Jewish Nation rejected Jesus Christ, and were there-
fore nationally rejected by God from being any longer his People. The Reason he gives for it
is this, That the Polterity of Jacob or Israel were not those alone who were to make that
Israel, or that chosen People of God, which were intended in the Promise made to
Abraham, others besides the Descendants of Jacob were to be taken into this Israel, to constitute
the People of God under the Gospel: and therefore the calling and coming in of the Gentiles
was a fulfilling of that Promise. And then he adds in the next Verse, that neither were
all the Polterity of Abraham comprehended in that Promise, so that those who were taken in,
in the time of the Mischia, to make the Israel of God, were not taken in, because they were
the natural Descendants from Abraham, nor did the Jews claim it for all his Race. And this
he proves by the Limitation of the Promise to Abraham’s Seed by Isaac only. All this he did
to shew the Right of the Gentiles to that Promise, if they believed: Since that Promise con-
cerned not only the natural Descendants either of Abraham or Jacob, but also those who were
of the Faith of their Father Abraham, of whomsoever defended, see ch. 4. 11—17.
(y) Children of God, i.e. People of God, see ver. 26.
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St. Paul to the foregoing (which may perhaps seem full enough of themselves) the more ex-
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vng done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth.  
12. It was fai unto her, The elder shall serve the younger.  
13. As it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated.  
15. For he saith to Moses, I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion.  
16. So then it is not of him that will, nor of him that runneth, but of God that feth mercy.  
17. For the scripture saith unto Pharaoh, Even for his peculiar People, depended solely on his own Purpose and good Pleasure in choosing and calling them, and not on any Works or Deeds of theirs; he acting here in the Case of Jacob and Esau, according to the Predetermination of his own Choice, it was declared unto her, that there were two Nations (2) in her Womb, and that the Descendants of the Elder Brother should serve those of the Younger; as it is written, Jacob have I loved (a), so as to make his Pottery my chosen People, and Esau I put so much behind him (c), as to lay his Mountains and his Heritage waste (c). What shall we say then, is there any Injustice with God in choosing one People to himself before another, according to his good Pleasure? By no means. My Brethren, the Jews themselves cannot charge any such thing on what I say, since they have it from Moses himself (d), that God declared to him that he would be gracious to whom he would be gracious; and thef Mercy on whom he would shew Mercy. So then neither the Purpose of Isaac who design'd it for Esau, and will'd him to prepare himself for it; Nor the Endeavours of Esau, who ran a hunting for Venison to come and receive it, could place on him the Blessing; but the Favour of being made in his Pottery a great and prosperous Nation, the peculiar People of God preferred to that which should descend from his Brother, was bestowed on Jacob by the mere Bounty and good Pleasure of God himself. The like hath Moses left upon us a Record of God's Dealing with Pharaoh, and  

NOTES.  

prvey to obviate an Objection of the Jews, who might be ready to say, that Esau was rejected because he was wicked; as they did of Ishmael, that he was rejected because he was the Son of a Bond-woman.  
12. (a) See Gen. 25. 23. And it was only in a national Sense that it is there said, The Elder shall serve the Younger, and not personally, for in that Sense it is not true, which makes it plain, that these Words of Verse  
13. (a) Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated, are to be taken in a national Sense, for the Preference God gave to the Pottery of one of them to be his People, and poifts the promised Land before the other. What this Love of God was, see Deut. 7. 6—8.  
(b) Hated. When it is used in Sacred Scripture, as it is often comparatively, it signifies only to poll-pone in our Eftem and Kindness, for this need only give that one Example, Luke 14. 26. See Mal. 1. 2, 3.  
(c) From the 7th to this 13th Verse proves to the Jews, that though the Promise was made to Abraham and his Seed, yet it was not to all Abraham's Pottery, but God first chose Isaac: and his Issue; And then again of Isaac, (who was but one of the Sons of Abraham) when Reuca had conceived Twins by him, God of his sole good Pleasure chose Jacob the younger, and his Pottery to be his peculiar People, and to enjoy the Land of Promise.  
15. (d) See Exod. 33. 17. It is observable that the Apostle, arguing here with the Jews, to vindiicate the Justice of God in calling them off from being his People, uses three forts of Arguments, the first is the Testimony of Moses, of God's affirting this to himself by the Right of his Sovereignty, and this was enough to stop the Mouths of the Jews. The second from Reason, ver. 19—24. and the third from his Predictions of it to the Jews, and the Warning he gave them of it before hand, ver. 25—29. which we shall consider in their places.  
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them; Covenants (r) made between them and the great God of Heaven and Earth; The moral Law (s) a Constitution of Civil Government, and a Form of Divine Worship preferred by God himself, and all the Promises of the Old Testament, had the Patriarchs to whom the Promises were made for their Fore-fathers (t); And of them as to his fleshly Extraction Christs is come, he who is over all, God be blessed for ever, Amen. I commiserate my Nation for not receiving the promised Messiah now he is come, and I speak of the great Prerogatives they had from God above other Nations, but I say not this as if it were possible that the Promise of God should fail of Performance, and not have its effect (u). But it is to be observed, for a right understanding of the Promise, that the sole Descendants of Jacob or Israel, do not make up the whole Nation of Israel (w), or the People of God comprehended in the Promise; Nor are they who are the Race of Abraham all Children, but only his Pility by Isaac, as it is said, In Isaac shall thy Seed be called. That is, the Children of the Flesh defended out of Abraham’s Loins, are not thereby the Children of God (x), and to be esteemed his People, but the Children of the Promise, as Isaac was, are alone to be accounted his Seed. For thus runs the Word of Promise, At this time I will come, and Sara shall have a Son. Nor was this the only Limitation of the Seed of Abraham, to whom the Promise belonged; but also when Rebecca had conceived by that one of Abraham’s Issue to whom the Promise was made, viz. our Father Isaac, and there were Twins in her Womb, of that one Father, before the Children were born, or had done any Good or Evil (y), to shew that his making any Stock or Race of Men his and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises; Whole are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all. God blessed for ever, Amen. Not as though the word of God had taken none effect. For they are not all Israel, which are of Israel: Neither because they are the seed of Abraham, are they all children: but in Isaac shall thy Seed be called. That is, They which are the children of the flesh, there are not the children of God: but the children of the promise are accounted for the seed. For this is the word of promise, At this time will I come, and Sara shall have a son. And not only this, but also when Rebecca also had conceived by one, even by her father Isaac. (For the children being not yet born, neither ha-

**NOTES.**

(r) Covenants. See Gen. 17, 4. Exod. 34, 27.

(s) The giving of the Law, whether it signifies the extraordinary giving of the Law by God himself, or the exact Constitution of their Government in the moral and judicial part of it (for the next word signifies, Service of God, seems to comprehend the religious Worship) this is certain, that in either of their Series it was the peculiar Privilege of the Jews, and what no other Nation could pretend to.

(t) Fathers, who they were, see Exod. 3, 6, 16. Acts 7, 32.

(u) See ch. 3, 3. Word of God, i.e. Promise, see ver. 9.

(v) See ch. 4, 16. St. Paul uses this as a Reason to prove that the Promise of God failed not to have its Effect, though the Body of the Jewish Nation rejected Jesus Christ, and were therefore nationally rejected by God from being any longer his People. The Reason he gives for it is this, That the Polity of Jacob or Israel were not those alone who were to make for it is, That the Polity of Jacob or Israel were not those alone who were to make for Abraham, others besides the Descendants of Jacob were to be taken into this Israel, to constitute the People of God under the Gospel; and therefore the calling and coming in of the Gentiles was a fulfilling of that Promise. And then he adds in the next Verse, that neither were all the Polity of Abraham comprehended in that Promise, so that those who were taken in, in the time of the Messiah, to make the Israel of God, were not taken in, because they were the natural Descendants from Abraham, nor did the Jews claim it for all his Race. And this he proves by the Limitation of the Promise to Abraham’s Seed by Isaac only. All this he does to shew the Right of the Gentiles to that Promise, if they believed: Since that Promise concerned not only the natural Descendants either of Abraham or Jacob, but also those who were of the Faith of their Father Abraham, of whomsoever defended, see ch. 4, 11—17.

(x) Children of God, i.e. People of God, see ver. 26.

(y) Neither being done good nor evil. Their Words may possibly have been added by St. Paul to the foregoing (which may perhaps seem full enough of themselves) the more ex-

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The text is a paraphrase of Romans, providing a natural reading of the passage. It includes notes on the context and references to the Bible for further understanding. The notes clarify the meaning of certain terms and quotes references to specific passages within the Bible.
TEXT.

ving done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth.

12. The elder shall serve the younger.

13. As it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated. What shall we say then? Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid.

14. For he saith to Moses, I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion.

15. So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy.

16. For the scripture saith unto Pharaoh, Even for his peculiar People, depended solely on his own Purpose and good Pleasure in choosing and calling them, and not on any Works or Deferts of theirs, he acting here in the Case of Jacob and Esau, according to the Predetermination of his own Choice, it was declared unto her, that there were two Nations (e) in her Womb, and that the Defendants of the Elder Brother should serve those of the Younger, as it is written, Jacob have I loved, so as to make his Pottery my chosen People, and Esau I put so much behind him, as to lay his Mountains and his Heritage waste. What shall we say then, is there any Injustice with God in choosing one People to himself before another, according to his good Pleasure? By no means. My Brethren, the Jews themselves cannot charge any such thing on what I say, since they have it from Moses himself, that God declared to him, that he was gracious to whom he would be gracious, and shew Mercy on whom he would shew Mercy. So then neither the Purpose of Isaac, which designed it for Esau, and willed him to prepare himself for it: Nor the Enquiries of Esau, who ran a hunting for Venison to come and receive it, could place on him the Blessing; but the Favour of being made in his Pottery a great and prosperous Nation, the peculiar People of God preferred to that which should descend from his Brother, was bestowed on Jacob by the mere Bounty and good Pleasure of God himself. The like hath Moses left us upon Record of God's Dealing with Pharaoh and

NOTES.

12. (e) See Gen. 25. 23. And it was only in a national Sense that it is there said, The Elder shall serve the Younger, and not personally, for in that Sense it is not true, which makes plain, that these Words of Verse 13 (a) Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated, are to be taken in a national Sense, for the Preference God gave to the Pottery of one of them to be his People, and pollen the promised Land before the other. What this Love of God was, see Deut. 7. 6.

14. (b) Hated. When it is used in Sacred Scripture, as it is often comparatively, it signifies only to pull-pole in our Ee-heim and Kindreds, for this I need only give that one Example, Luke 14. 26. See Mal. 1. 2. 3.

15. (a) From the 7th to this 11th Verse proves to the Jews, that though the Promise was made to Abraham and his Seed, yet it was not to all Abraham's Pottery, but God first chose Isaac and his Seed: And then again of Isaac, (who was but one of the Sons of Abraham) when Rebecca had conceived Twins by him, God of his sole good Pleasure chose Jacob the younger, and his Pottery to be his peculiar People, and to enjoy the Land of Promised.

16. (a) See Exod. 33. 19. It is observable that the Apostle, arguing here with the Jews to vindicate the Justice of God in calling them off from being his People, uses three sorts of Arguments, the first is the Testimony of Moses, of God's afflicting this to himself by the Right of his Sovereignty, and this was enough to stop the Mouths of the Jews. The second from Reason, ver. 19—24. and the third from his Predictions of it to the Jews, and the Warning he gave them of it before hand, ver. 25—29. which we shall consider in their places.

15. (b) Willet and runneth, considered with the Context, plainly direct us to the Story, Gen. 27, where ver. 3—5, we read Isaac's purpose, and Esau's going a hunting, and ver. 28, 29. we find what the Blessing was.
his Subjects the People of Egypt, to whom God faith
(j.) Even for this same purpose have I raised thee up, that I might
might have my Power in thee, and that my Name might be
revered through all the Earth. (g.) Therefore that his
Name and Power may be made known and taken no-
tice of in the World, he is kind and bountiful (h) to
one Nation, and lets another go on obstinately in their
Opposition to him, that his taking them off by some
signal Calamity and Ruin brought on them by the
visible Hand of his Providence, may be seen and ac-
nov'd to be an Effect of their standing out
against him, as in the Case of Pharaoh: For this End
he is bountiful to whom he will be bountiful, and
whom he will, he permits to make such an Use of his
Forbearance towards them, as to perfect obdurate in
their Provocation of him, and draw on themselves ex-
emplary Destruction (i). To this some may be ready
to say, Why then does he find fault? For who at any
time hath been able to reft his Will? Say you so in-
deed? But who art thou, O Man, that repliest thus
to God? Shall the Nations (h) that are made great or
little, shall Kingdoms that are raised or depressed, say
to him in whose hands they are, to dispose of them as
he pleases, Why haft thou made us thus? Hath not the
Potter Power over the Clay of the same Lump, to
make this a Vessel of Honour, and that of Dif-

this same purpose have I
raised thee up, that I might
revere my Power in thee,
and that my Name might be
declared throughout all the
earth.

Therefore hath he mercy
on whom he will have mercy,
and whom he will, he hardeneth.

Thou wilt say then unto me,
Why doth he yet find fault?
For who hath refted his will?

Nay, but O man, who
art thou that repliest to
God? Shall the thing
formed say to him that
formed it, Why haft thou
made me thus?

Hath not the potter
two power over the clay,
of the same lump to make
one vessel unto honour,
and another unto dishon-
our?

NOTES.
17 (f.) Exod. 9. 16.
18 (g.) Therefore. That his Name and Power may be made known,
and taken notice of in
all the Earth, he is kind and bountiful to one Nation, and lets another go on in their Opposition
and Obliquity against him, till their taking off, by some signal Calamity and Ruin brought
on them, may be seen and acknowledged to be the Effect of their standing out against God, as
in the Case of Pharaoh.
19 (h) Exod. 34. 6. Hath Mercy. That by this word is meant being bountiful in his outward
Dispositions of Power, Greatness and Protection to one People above another, is plain from
the three preceding Verses.
20 (i) Hardness. That God's Hardening spoke of here is what we have explained it in the Par-
aphrase, is plain in the Instance of Pharaoh, given ver. 17, as may be seen in that Story; Exod.
7. 14, which is worth the reading, for the understanding of this place: see also Ver. 22.
21 (k) Here St. Paul shows that the Nations of the World, Who are by a better Right in
the hands and disposal of God, than the Clay in the Power of the Potter, may without any
Question of his Justice be made great and glorious, or he pulled down, and brought into Con-
tempt as he pleases. That he here speaks of Men nationally and not personally, in reference to
their eternal State, is evident not only from the beginning of this Chapter, where he shows
his Concern for the Nation of the Jews being call off from being God's People, and the In-
fiances he brings of Isaac, of Jacob and Ephraim of the Jews, but it appears also very clearly
in the Verses immediately following, where by the Figures of Wrath fitted for Destruction, he
nudifies means the Nation of the Jews, who were now grown ripe, and fit for the Destruction
he was bringing upon them. And by Vessels of Mercy the Christian Church, gather'd out of a
small Collection of Convert-Jews, and the rest made up of the Gentiles, who together were
from thence-forwards to be the People of God in the room of the Jewish Nation, now call off,
as appears by ver. 24. The Sense of which Verus is this; "How dared thou, O Man, to call
God to account, and question his Justice in calling off his ancient People the Jews? What
if God willing to punish that sinful People, and to do it so as to have his Power known, and
taken notice of in the doing of it? (For why might he not raise them to that purpose as
well as he did Pharaoh and his Egyptians?) What, I say, if God bore with them a long time,
even after they had deserved his Wrath, as he did with Pharaoh, that his Hand might be the
more eminently visible in their Destruction; and that also at the same time he might with
the more Glory make known his Goodness and Mercy to the Gentiles, whom according to his
purpose he was in a readiness to receive into the glorious State of being his People under
the Gospel? honour


TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

22 What if God willed to shew his wrath, and to make his power known, enduring with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction: And that he might make

23 Note. (1) Vessel unto Honour, and Vessel unto Dishonour, signifies a thing designed by the Maker to an honourable or dishonourable Use: Now why it may not design Nations as well as Persons, and Honour and Prosperity in this World as well as eternal Happiness and Glory, or Misery and Punishment in the World to come, I do not see. In common Reason this figurative Expression ought to follow the sense of the Context: And I see no peculiar Privilege it hath to weigh and turn the visible Meaning of the place to something remote from the Subject in hand. I am sure no such Authority it has from such an appropriated sense fitted in Sacred Scripture. This were enough to clear the Apostle's sense in these words, were there nothing else; but see, 15. 6, 7, from whence this Insinuation of a Potter is taken, shews them to have a temporal Solution to take to the Event of the Nations.

23 (m) Endured with much long-suffering. Immediately after the Insinuation of Pharaoh, whom God said he raised up to shew his Power in him, ver. 17. 'tis subsided, ver. 18. and whom he will be harden, plainly with Reference to the Story of Pharaoh, who is said to harden himself, and whom God is said to harden, as may be seen Exod. 7. 3, 22, 23, and 8. 17, 32, and 9. 12, 34, and 10. 1, 20, 27, and 11. 9, 10, and 14. 5. What God's part in hardening is, is contained in these words, endured with much long-suffering: God sends Mosaic to Pharaoh with Signs, Pharaoh's Magicians do the like, and so he is not prevailed with. God sends Plagues; whilst the Plague is upon him, he is mollified, and promises to let the People go: But as soon as God takes off the Plague, he returns to his Obstinacy, and refuses, and thus over and over again; God's being irritated by him to withdraw the Severity of his Hand, his gracious Compliance with Pharaoh's Desire to have the Punishment removed, was what God did in the Café, and this was all Goodness and Bounty: But Pharaoh and his People made that ill use of his Forbearance and Long-suffering, as ill to harden themselves the more for God's Mercy and Gentleness to them, till they bring on themselves exemplary Destruction from the visible Power and Hand of God employ'd in it. This Carriage of their God fore-tell'd, and so made use of their obstinate perverse Temper for his own Glory, as he himself declares, Exod. 7. 3, 5, and 8. 17, and 9. 14, 16. The Apostle, by the Insinuation of a Potter's Power over his Clay, having demonstrated, that God by his Dominion and Sovereignty, had a Right to set up or pull down what Nation he pleased; and might without any injustice take one Race into his particular Favor to be his peculiar People, or reject them as he thought fit, does in this verse apply it to the Salvation of the Jewish Nation, (ver. 28) the calling of the Jews from among the Gentiles. And how God passes over Provocation upon Provocation, and patiently endured those who by their first Refusal, nay by their former Cruelty and Oppression of the Israelites, deserved his Wrath, and were fitted for Destruction, that in a more signal Vengeance on the Egyptians, and glorious Deliverance of the Israelites, he might shew his Power, and make himself be taken notice of, will easily see the strong and easy sense of this and the following Verse.

23 (n) Keri, And that the Vulgate hath not, and there are Greek MSS. that justify that Omission, as well as the sense of the place, which is diffus'd by the Conjunction And. For with that reading it runs thus; And God that he might make known the riches of his Glory, &c. A learned Paraphrast, both against the Grammar and Sense of the place, by his own Authority adds, fonde mercy, where the Sacred Scripture is silent, and gives no such thing, by which we may make it say any thing. If a Verò were to be inferred here, 'tis evident it must some way or other answer to endured in the foregoing Verse; but such an one will not be easie to be found that will suit here. And indeed there is no need of it, for And being left out, the sense suitable to St. Paul's Argument here, runs plainly and suitably thus; What have you to complain of for God's rejecting you from being any longer his people? and giving you to be run over and subdued by the Gentiles; and his taking you out of the Nations of the East, to make fame of them mighty and flourishing, and others mean and weak, as a Potter has over his Clay, to make what sort of Vessels he pleaseth of any part of it. This you cannot deny. God might from the beginning have made you a small neglected people: But he did not. He made you the poverty of Jacob, a greater and mightie people than the poverty of his elder brother Esau, and made you his own people, Vol. III. plentifully.
make known the Riches of his Glory (e) on those whom, being Objects of his Mercy, he had before prepared to
Glory? Even us Christians, whom he hath also called, not only of the Jews, but also of the Gentiles, as he
hath declared in Osee: I will call them my people, who were not my people, and her beloved, who was not beloved. And it shall come to pass, that in the place where it was said unto them, Ye are not my People; there shall they be called, the Children of the living God. Isaiah crieth also concerning Israel: Though the number of the Children of Israel be as the sand of the Sea, yet it is but (p) a remnant that shall be saved. For the Lord finishing and contracing the account in righteousness, shall make a short or small remainder (q) in the earth. And as Isaiah said before, unless the Lord of Hosts had left us a seed (r) we had been as Sodom, and been made like unto Gomorrah, we had utterly been extinguished. What then remains to be said but this? That the Gentiles, who sought not after Righteousness, have obtained the Righteousness which is by Faith, and thereby are become the People of God; but the Children of Israel, who followed the Law, which contained the Rule of Righteousness, have not attained to that Law whereby Righteousness is to be attained, i.e. have not received the Gospel (s), and so are not the People of God. How

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plentifully provided for in the land of Promise. Nay, when your frequent visits and repeated provocations had made you fit for destruction, he with long suffering forbore you, that now under the gospel, executing his wrath on you, he might manifest his glory on us whom he hath called to be his people, consisting of a small remnant of Jews, and of Converts out of the Gentiles, whom he had prepared for this glory, as he had foretold by the prophets Hosea and Isaiah. This is plainly St. Paul's meaning. That God deals as is described, ver. 22. with the Jews, that he might manifest his Glory on the Gentiles; for so he declares over and over again, Chap. 11. ver. 11.

27 (p) But a remnant. There needs no more but to read the Text, to see this to be the meaning.

28 (q) Nāṣā' qawwāsā' qawwān. Shall make a contracted or little Account, or Overplus, a Metaphor taken from an Account wherein the matter is so order'd, that the Overplus or Remainder, standing still upon the Account, is very little.

29 (r) A Seed, Isaiah 1. 9. The words are, a very small remnant.

31 (s) See Chap. 10. 3. and 11. 6. 7. The Apostle's Design in this and the following Chapter, is to shew the Reason why the Jews were cast off from being the People of God, and the Gentiles admitted. From whence it follows, that by attaining to righteousness, and to the law of
How came they to miss it? Because they sought not to attain it by Faith; but as if it were to be obtained by the Works of the Law. A crucified Messiah was a stumbling-block to them (i); and at that they stumbled, as it is written, Behold I lay in Zion a stumbling-block, and a rock of offence, and whoever believeth on him, shall not be ashamed. Brethren, my heart is defiled and Prayer to God for Israel is, that they may be saved. For I bear them Writings, that they are zealous (v), and as they think for God and his Law; but their Zeal is not guided by true Knowledge. For they being ignorant of the Righteousness that is of God, viz. Righteousness which he graciously bestows and accepts of; and going about to establish Righteousness of their own, which they seek for in their own Performances, have not brought themselves to submit to the Law of the Gospel, wherein the Righteousness of God is. Righteousness by Faith, is offered. For the End of the Law (vii) was to bring Men to Christ, that by believing in him everyone that did so might be justified by Faith; For Moses described the Righteousness that was to be had by the Law thus: That the Man which doth the Things required in the Law, shall have Life thereby. But the Righteousness which is of Faith speakseth after this manner: Say not in thine heart, who shall ascend into heaven, that is to bring down the Messiah from thence, whom we expect personally here on Earth to deliver us? Or who shall descend into the deep, i.e. to bring up Christ again from the Dead to be our Saviour? You mistake the Deliverance you expect by the Messiah, there needs not the fetching him from the other World to be present with you: The Deliverance by him is a Deliverance from Sin, that you may be made Righteous by Faith in him, and that speaks thus; The Word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart; that is, the Word of Faith, or the Doctrine of the Gospel which we preach, (vii) viz. If thou shalt con-

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of righteousness here, is meant not attaining to the Righteousness which puts particular Persons into the State of Justification and Salvation; but the Acceptance of that Law, the Profession of that Religion wherein the Righteousness is exhibited; which Profession of that is now the only true Religion, and owning our selves under that Law which is now holy and the Law of God, puts any collective Body of Men into the State of being the People of God. For every one of the Jews and Gentiles that attain’d to the Law of Righteousness, or to Righteousness in the sense St. Paul speaks here, i.e. became a Professor of the Christian Religion, did not attain to eternal Salvation. In the same sense must Chap. 10. 3, and 11. 7, 8. be understood.

32 (i) See 1 Cor. 1, 23.
33 (v) This their Zeal for God, see described, Acts 21, 27—51, and 22. 3.
35 (viii) St. Paul had told them, ver. 4, that the End of the Law was to bring them to Life by Faith in Christ, that they might be justified, and so be saved. To convince them of this, he brings...
feis with thy mouth (a), i. e. openly own Jesus the Lord, i. e. Jesus to be the Messiah, thy Lord, and shalt believe in thy heart, that God hath raised him from the Dead, (a) otherwise he cannot be believed to be the Messiah, thou shalt be saved. "Twas not for nothing that Moses in the place above-cited mentioned both Heart and Mouth, there is Use of both in the case. For with the Heart Man believeth unto Righteousness, and with the Mouth Confession (a) is made unto Salvation.

For the Scripture faith, whosoever believeth on him shall be saved, shall not repent his having believed, and owning it. The Scripture faith, whosoever, for in this case there is no Distinction of Jew and Gentile. For it is he the same who is Lord of them all, and is abundantly bountiful to all that call upon him. For whosoever shall call (b) upon his name shall be saved. But

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brings three Verses out of the Book of the Law it self, declaring that the Way to Life was by hearkening to that Word which was ready in their Mouth and in their Heart, and that therefore they had no reason to reject Jesus the Christ, because he died and was now removed into Heaven, and was remote from them; their very Law propped Life to them by something nigh them, that might lead them to their Deliverer; By Words and Doctrines that might be always at hand in their Mouths and in their Hearts, and so lead them to Christ, i. e. to that Faith in him which the Apostle preached to them: I submit to the attentive Reader, whether this be not the Meaning of this place.

9. (c) The Expectation of the Jews was, that the Messiah, who was promised them, was to be their Deliverer, and so far they were in the right. But that which they expected to be delivered from, at his appearing, was the Power and Dominion of Strangers. When our Saviour came, their Reckoning was up; and the Miracles which Jesus did, concurred’d to persuade them that it was he; But his obscure Birth and mean Appearance, ousted not with that Power and Splendor they had fastened to themselves he should come in. This with his denouncing to them the Ruins of their Temple and State at hand, let the Rulers against him, and held the Body of the Jews in Suspend his Cruelty, and that gave a full Turn of their Minds from him. They had figured him a mighty Prince at the Head of their Nation, setting them free from all foreign Power, and themselves at Ease, and happy under his glorious Reign; But when at the Passover the whole People were Witnesses of his Death, they gave up all thought of Deliverance by him. He was gone, they saw him no more, and they pail doubt a dead Man could not be the Messiah or Deliverer, even of those who believed him. 'Tis against these Prejudices that what Paul says in this and the three preceding Verses seem directed, wherein he teaches them, that there was no need to fetch the Messiah out of Heaven, or out of the Grave, and bring him personally among them. For the Deliverance he was to work for them, the Salvation by him was Salvation from Sin, and condemnation for that; and that was to be had by merely believing and owning him to be the Messiah their King, and that he was raised from the Dead; by this they would be saved without his Personal Presence among them.

(a) Raised him from the dead. The Doctrine of the Lord Jesus being raised from the Dead, is certainly one of the most fundamental Articles of the Christian Religion; but yet there terns another Reason why St. Paul here annexes Salvation to the Belief of it, which may be found ver. 7, where he teaches that it was not necessary for their Salvation, that they should have Christ out of his Grave personally present amongst them; and here he gives them the Reason, because if they did but own him for their Lord, and believe that he was raised, that fulfilled, they should be saved.

10. (a) Believing, and an open avowed Profession of the Gospel, are required by our Saviour,

Mark 16. 16.

13. (b) Who so ever with care look’d into St. Paul’s Writings, must own him to be a close Reasoner that argues to the Point; and therefore if in the three preceding Verses he requires an open Profession of the Gospel, I cannot but think that all that call upon him, ver. 12, signifies all that are open professed Christians; and if this be the meaning of calling upon him, ver. 12. It is plain it must be the meaning of calling upon his name, ver. 13. a Phrase not very remote from calling his name, which is used by St. Paul for profiting Christianity. 2 Tim. 5. 16. If the meaning of the Prophet feel, from whom their words be taken, be urged, I shall only say, that it will be an ill Rule for interpreting St. Paul, to tie up his use of any
How shall they call upon him, in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher?

And how shall they preach, except they be sent? as it is written, How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things!

But they have not all obeyed the gospel. For Esaias saith, Lord, who hath believed our report?

So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.

But I say, have they not heard? yes, verily, their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.

But I say, Did not Israel know? First Moises, faith, I will provoke you to jealousy by them that are no people, and by a foolish nation I will anger you.

But Esaias is very bold, and faith, I was found of them that sought.

But how shall they call upon him on whom they have not believed? And how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach except they be sent? As it is written, How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things?

For Esaias hath foretold that they should not, saying, Lord, who hath believed our report? That which we may learn from thence, is that faith cometh by hearing, and hearing from the Word of God, i.e. the Revelation of the Gospel in the Writings of the Sacred Scriptures, communicated by those whom God sends as Preachers thereof, to those who are ignorant of it; and there is no need that Christ should be brought down from Heaven, to be personally with you, to be your Saviour.

It is enough that both Jews and Gentiles have heard of him by Messengers, whose Voice is gone out into the whole Earth, and Words unto the Ends of the World, far beyond the Bound of Judea.

But I ask, did not Israel know this, that the Gentiles were to be taken in and made the People of God?

First Moises tells it them from God, who says, I will provoke you to jealousy by them who are no people; and by a foolish nation I will anger you. But Esaias declares it yet much plainer in these words; I was found of them that sought.

Text he brings out of the Old Testament, to that which is taken to be the meaning of it there. We need go no farther for an Example than the 6, 7, 8 Verses of this Chapter, which I desire any one to read as they stand, Deut. 30. 11—14, and see whether St. Paul uses them here in the same Sense.

(1.) St. Paul is careful everywhere to keep himself, as well as possibly he can, in the Minds and fair Exterm of his Brethren the Jews; may not therefore this, with the two foregoing verses, be understood as an Apology to them for presenting himself an Apostle of the Gentiles, as he does, by the Tore of this Epistle, and in the next Chapter in words at length, ver. 13? In this Chapter or. 12. he had showed that both Jews and Greeks of Gentiles were to be saved only by receiving the Gospel of Christ; And if so, it was necessary that some body should be sent to teach them, and therefore the Jews had no reason to be angry with any that was sent on that Employment.

(2.) But they have not all obeyed. This seems an Objection of the Jews, while St. Paul had said, which he answers in this and the following verse. The Objection and Answer seem to stand thus: You tell us that you are sent from God to preach the Gospel; If it be so, how come it is that all that have heard, have not received and obeyed; and since, according to what you would infermate, the Messengers of good Tidings (which is the Input of Evangel in Greek, and Gospel in English) were so welcome to them? To this he answers out of Esaias, that the Messengers went from God, nor were believed by all. But from those words of Esaias, he draws an Inference to confirm the Argument he was upon, viz. that Salvation cometh by hearing and believing the Word of God. He had laid it down, ver. 8. that it was by their having Jesus Christ, the word of faith, might or present with them, and not by the bodily Presence of their Deliverer amongst them, that they were to be saved. This word, he tells them, ver. 17. by Preaching brought to be actually present with them and the Gentiles; so that it was its own Power if they believed it or not to Salvation.

(3.) Did not Israel know? In this, and the next Verses, St. Paul seems to suppose a reasoning of the Jews to this Particular, viz. That they did not desire to be saved off, because they did not know that the Gentiles were to be admitted, and so might be excused if they did not embrace a Religion, wherein they were to mix with the Gentiles; and so he answers in the following Verses.
PARAPHRASE.

21. I was made manifest to them that asked not after me. And to Israel, to shew their Refusal, he faith; All day long have I stretched forth mine hands unto a disobedient and gain-saying people. They that fought me not; I was made manifest unto them that asked not after me.

Text.

Paraphrase.

1. Say then, Has (f) God wholly cast away his People, or from being his People? By no means. For I my self am an Israelite, of the Seed of Abraham, of the Tribe of Benjamin. God hath not utterly cast off his People whom he formerly owned (g) with so peculiar a Respect. Know ye not what the Scripture faith concerning Eliah? How he complain'd to the God of Israel in these Words: Lord, they have killed thy Prophets, and have digged down thine Altars, and of all that were stiled thee, I alone am left, and they seek my Life also.

Text.

1 (f) This is a Question in the Person of a Jew, who made the Objections in the foregoing Chapter, and continues on to object here.

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2 (g) See Chap. 3. 29.
Romans

Text

4. But what faith can the answer of God unto him? I have referred to my self seven thousand Min., who have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal. (b) i.e. have not been guilty of Idolatry. Even so at this time also there is a Remnant referred and segregated by the Favour and free Choice of God. Which Refervation of a Remnant, if it be by Grace and Favour, it is not of Works (i), for then Grace would not be Grace. But if it were of Works, then is it not Grace. For then Work would not be Work; i.e. Work gives a Right, Grace behoves the Favour where there is no Right to it; so that what is confered by the one cannot be ascribed to the other. How is it then? Even thus; Israel, or the Nation of the Jews, obtained not what it seeks (k) but the Election (l), or that part which was to remain God's Elect chosen People, obtained it, but the rest of them were blinded (m): According as it is written (n), God hath given them the Spirit of Slumber; Eyes that they should not see, and Ears that they should not hear, unto this day. And David faith (o), Let their Table be made a Snare and a Trap, and a Stumbling-block, and a Reconcurrence unto them: Let their Eyes be darkened.

Paraphrase

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(b) Baal and Baalim was the Name whereby the false Gods and Idols which the Heathens worshipped were signified in Sacred Scripture; see Judges 11. 11—13. Hist. 11. 2.

(i) It is not of works.

This Exclusion of Works, seems to be misunderstood by those who extend it to all manner of Difference in the Person chosen, from those that were rejected; for such a Choice as that, excludes not Grace in the Chooser, but Merit in the Choisen. For it is plain that by Works here St. Paul means Merit, as is evident also from Chap. 4. 2—5. The Law required compleat perfect Obedience: He that performed that, had a Right to the Reward; but he that failed and came short of that, had by the Law no Right to anything but Death. And fo the Jews being all Sinners, God might without Injustice have call them all off; none of them could plead a Right to his Favour. If therefore he chose out and refered any, it was of meer Grace, tho' in his Choice he prefer'd those who were the best disposed and most inclined to his Service. A whole Province revolts from their Prince, and takes Arms against him; He resolves to pardon some of them. This is a Purposo of Grace. He reduces them under his Power, and then chooses out of them, as Veils of Mercy, those that he finds least infected with Malice, Obstinacy and Rebellion. This Choice neither voids nor abates his Purpose of Grace, that stands firm; but only executes it so as may best comport with his Wisdom and Goodness. And indeed without some Regard to a Difference in the things taken from those that are left, I do not see how it can be called Choice. An handful of Pebbles, for Example, may be taken out of a Heap; they are taken and separated indeed from the rest, but if it be without any Regard to any Difference in them from others rejected, I doubt whether any body can call them choosen.

(k) What it seeks, I.e., That Righteousness whereby it was to continue the People of God; see ch. 9. 31. It may be observed, that St. Paul's Discourse being of the National Privilege of continuing the People of God, he speaks here, and all along of the Jews in the collective term Israel. And so likewise the Remnant, which were to remain his People, and in corporate with the Convert Gentiles, into one Body of Christians, owning the Dominion of the one true God, in the Kingdom he had set up under his Son, and owned by God for his People, he calls the Election.

(l) Election, a collective Appellation of the Part elected, which in other places he calls Remnant. This Remnant or Election, call it by which name you please, were those who fought Righteousness by Faith in Christ, and not by the Deeds of the Law, and so became the People of God, that People which he had choosen to be his.

(m) Blinded, see 2 Cor. 3. 13—16.

(n) Written, 1sa. 29. 10. and 9. 9. 10.

(o) Faith, Phil. 6. 22. 23.
darkened, that they may not see, and bow down their back away. What then do I say, that they have so fumbled as to be fallen past Recovery? By no means: But this I say, that by their Fall, by their Rejection for refusing the Gospel, the Privilege of becoming the People of God, by receiving the Doctrine of Salvation, is come to the Gentiles, to provoke the Jews to jealousy. Now if the Fall of the Jews hath been to the enriching of the rest of the World, and their Damage an Advantage to the Gentiles, by letting them into the Church, how much more shall their Completion be so, when their whole Nation shall be reformed? This I say to you Gentiles, forasmuch as being Apostle of the Gentiles, I magnifie mine Office: If by any means I may provoke to Emulation the Jews, who are my own Flesh and Blood, and bring some of them into the way of Salvation. For if the casting them off be a Means of reconciling the World, what shall their Restoration be, when they are taken again into Favour, but as it were Life from the Dead, which is to all Mankind of all Nations. For if the First-fruit be holy, and accepted, the whole Produce of the Year is holy, and will be accepted. And if Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, from whom the Jewish Nation had their Original, were holy, the Branches also that sprang from this Root are holy. If then some of the natural Branches were broken off: If some of the natural Jews, of the Stock of Israel, were broken off and rejected, and thou a Heathen of the wild Gentile-Race, were taken in, and ingrafted into the Church of God in their room: And there partaketh of the Blessings promised to Abraham and his Seed, be not so conceited of thyself, as to shew any Disrespect to the Jews. If any such Vanity policies thee, remember that the Privilege thou hast in being a Christian, is derived to thee from the Promise made to Abraham and his Seed, but nothing accrues to Abraham or his red, that they may not see, and bow down their back away.

11. I say then, Have they stumbled that they should fall? God forbid: but rather through their fall salvation is come unto the Gentiles, for to provoke them to jealousy.

12. Now if the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles: how much more their fulness?

13. For I speak to you Gentiles in as much as I am the Apostle of the Gentiles, I magnifie mine office.

14. If by any means I may provoke to emulation them which are my flesh, and might save some of them.

15. For if the casting away be of them be the reconciling of the world; what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead?

16. For if the first-fruit be holy, the lump is also holy: and if the root be holy, so are the branches.

17. And if some of the branches be broken off, and thou being a wild olive-tree, was grafted in amongst them, and with them partaketh of the root and fatness of the olive-tree.

18. Boast not against the branches: but if thou boast, thou behardest not the root, but the root the.

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11 (p) That this is the meaning of Fall here, see Alis 13. 46.

12 (q) St. Paul magnifie his Office of Apostle of the Gentiles, not only by preaching the Gospel to the Gentiles, but in affurining them farther, as he doth, ver. 12, that when the Nation of the Jews shall be restored, the Fulness of the Gentiles shall also come in.

15 (r) These Allusions the Apostle makes use of here, to shew that the Patriarchs, the Root of the Jewish Nation, being accepted by God; and the few Jewish Converts, which as first entered into the Christian Church, being also accepted by God, are, as it were, first Fruits or Pledges, that God will in due time admit the whole Nation of the Jews into his visible Church, to be his peculiar People again.

(p) Holy: By Holy is here meant that relative Holiness whereby any thing hath an Appropriation to God.

18 (s) Boast not against the Branches. Tho' the great Fault that most disorder'd the Church, and principally exercised the Apostle's Care in this Epistle, was that the Jews preferring the Necessity of legal Observances, and not brooking that the Gentiles, tho' Converts to Christianity, should be admitted into their Communion, without being circumcised; yet it is plain from this Verse, as also ch. 14. 3, 10, that the Convert Gentiles were not wholly without fault on their side, in treating the Jews with Disesteem and Contempt. To this also, as it comes in his way, he applies it Remedies, particularly in this Chapter, and ch. 14.
20. Well; because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou shouldest by faith. Be not high-minded, but fear.

21. For if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thine.

22. Behold therefore the goodness and severity of God: on them which fell, severity; but towards thee, goodness, if thou continue in his goodness: otherwise thou also shalt be cut off.

23. And they also, if they abide not still in unbelief, shall be grafted in: for God is able to graft them in again.

24. For if thouwert cut out of the olive tree, which is wild by nature, and grafted contrary to nature into a good olive tree; how much more shall these which are the natural branches be grafted into their own olive tree.

25. For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery (ye know that a part of us, brethren, were preserved), how that the unbelief of them of Israel should be the faith of the Gentiles, and their faith should be the unbelief of them of Israel; for this ye see come in.

26. And as concerning the gentiles which are called, they are the threescore and one year. And I say, that these last shall be blessed with thee. For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, lest ye should be wise in your own conceits:

27. (a) This grafting in again, seems to import, that the Jews shall be a flourishing Nation again, professing Christianity in the Land of Promise, for that is to be re-inflated again in the Promise made to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. This St. Paul might, for good Reasons, be withheld from speaking out here: But in the Prophets there are very plain Intimations of it.

28. (b) The Church is the Body of the Gentiles professing Christianity: And therefore here πάντα τοῦ τῆς Βαπτιστικῆς, The Church of the Gentiles, must be the whole Body of the Gentiles professing Christianity. And this v. 15. seems to teach. For the Restitution is of all.

29. (c) Shall be saved. 'Tis plain that the Salvation that St. Paul in this Discourse concerning the Nation of the Jews, and the Gentile World in gen. speaks of, is not eternal Happiness in Heaven, but he means by it the Professio of the true Religion here on Earth. Whether it be that that is as far as Corporations or Bodies Politick can go, towards the Attainment of eternal Salvation, I will not enquire. But this is evident, that being loved, is used by the Apostle here in this Sense. That all the Jewish Nation may become the People of God again, by taking up the Christian Profession, may be easily conceived. But that every Person of such a Christian Nation, shall attain eternal Salvation in Heaven, I think no body can imagine to be here intended.
27. godliness from Jacob. For this is my Covenant to them, when I shall take away (v) their Sins. They are indeed at present Strangers to the Gospel, and so are in the State of Enemies (a), but this is for your sakes: Their Fall and Lof is your enriching, you having obtained Admittance through their being called out: But ye, being within the Election that God made of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and their Posterity, to be his People, are still his beloved People, for Abraham, Isaac and Jacob's fake, from whom they are descended. For the Favors that God shew'd those their Fathers, in calling them and their Posterity to be his People, he doth not repent of; but his Promise, that they shall be his People, shall stand good (a). For as you the Gentiles formerly stood out, and were not the People of God, but ye have now obtained Mercy so as to be taken in through the flanging out of the Jews, who submit not to the Gospel (b): Even so they now have stood out by reason of your being in Mercy admitted, that they also, through the Mercy you have received, may again hereafter be admitted. For God hath put up together in a State of Revolt from their Allegiance (c) to him, as it were in one Fold, all Men, both Jews and Gentiles, that through his Mercy they might all, both Jews and Gentiles, come to be his People, i.e. he hath suffer'd both Jews and Gentiles in their turns not to be his People, that he might bring the whole Body, both

NOTES.

27 (v) Take away, i.e. Forgive their Sins, and take away the Punishment they live under for them.
28 (v) Enemies signifies Strangers or Aliens, i.e. such as are no longer the People of God. For they are called Enemies in opposition to beloved, in this very Verse. And the Reason given why they are Enemies makes it plain, that this is the Sense (v): For the Gentiles fake, i.e. They are rejected from being the People of God, that you Gentiles may be taken in to be the People of God in their room, ver. 30. The same Signification has you all, Enemies, ch. 4. 10. sa't bou'sta thal yugel, as concerning the Gospel, Enemies, i.e. all those, who not embracing the Gospel, not receiving Christ for their King and Lord, are Aliens from the Kingdom of God, and all such Aliens are called yugel, Enemies. And so indeed were the Jews now: but yet they were sa't kou'sh da'mar, as touching the Election, beloved, i.e. were not actually within the Kingdom of God his People, but were within the Election which God had made of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and their Posterity to be his People, and so God had still Intentions of Kindness to them for their Fathers fake, to make them again his People.
29 (a) So God's Repenting is explain'd, Num. 23. 19——24.
30 (b) See Acts 13. 46.
32 (c) In Unbelief. The Unbelief here charged nationally on Jews and Gentiles in their turns, in this and the two preceding Verses, whereby they ceased to be the People of God, was evidently the dishonoring of his Dominion, whereby they put themselves out of the Kingdom which he had and ought to have in the World, and so were no longer in the State of Subjects, but Aliens and Enemies. A general View of Mankind will lead us into an easier Conception of St. Paul's Doctrine, who all through this Epistle considers the Gentiles, Jews and Christians, as three distinct Bodies of Men.

God by Creation had no doubt an unquestionable Sovereignty over Mankind, and this was at first acknowledged in their Sacrifices and Worship of him. Afterwards they withdrew themselves from theirSubmission to him, and found out other Gods, whom they worshiped and served. This Revolt from God, and the Consequences of it, God's abandoning them, St. Paul describes, ch. 15——17.

In this State of Revolt from God were the Nations of the Earth in the times of Abraham; and then Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their Posterity the Israelites, upon God's gracious Call, return'd to their Allegiance to their ancient and rightful King and Sovereign, to own the
O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!
For who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counsellor?
Or who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again?
For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

NOTES.

one invisible God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, for their God, and to become his People again, to whom he, as to his peculiar People, gave a Law. And thus remain'd the Distinction between Jews and Gentiles, i.e. the Nations, as the word signifies, till the time of the Messiah, and then the Jews ceased to be the People of God, not by a direct Renunciation of the God of Israel, and taking to themselves other false Gods whom they worshipped: but by opposing and rejecting the Kingdom of God, which he purposed at that time to set up with new Laws and Institutions, and to a more glorious and spiritual Purpose under his Son Jesus Christ: Him God sent to them, and him the Nation of the Jews refused to receive as their Lord and Ruler, tho' he was their promised King and Deliverer, answering all the Prophecies and Types of him, and evidencing his Mission by his Miracles. By this Rebellion against him, into whose hand God had committed the Rule of his Kingdom, and appointed Lord over all things, the Jews turn'd themselves out of the Kingdom of God, and ceased to be his People, who had now no other People but those who receive'd and obey'd his Son as their Lord and Ruler. This was the _Apostasia_, _Unbelief_, here spoken of. And I would be glad to know any other Sense of _Believing_ or _Unbelief_, wherein it can be nationally attributed to a People (as visibly here it is) whereby they shall cease, or come to be the People of God, or visible Subjects of his Kingdom here on Earth. Indeed to enjoy Life and Estate in this, as well as other Kingdoms, not only the owning of the Prince, and the Authority of his Laws, but also Obedience to them is required. For a Jew might own the Authority of God, and his Law given by _Moses_, and to be a true Subject, and as much a Member of the Commonwealth of Israel, as any one in it, and yet forfeit his Life by Disobedience to the Law. And a Christian may own the Authority of Jesus Christ, and of the Gospel, and yet forfeit eternal Life by his Disobedience to the Precepts of it, as may be seen, ch. 7, 8, and 9.

(d) This emphatical Conclusion seems in a special manner to regard the Jews, whom the Apostle would hereby teach Modesty and Submission to the over-ruuling Hand of the All-wise God, whom they are very unfit to call to account for his dealing so favourably with the Gentiles. His Wisdom and Ways are infinitely above their Comprehension, and will they take upon them to advise him what to do? Or is God in their Debt? Let them say for what, and he shall repay it to them. This is a very strong Rebuke to the Jews, but delivered, as we see, in a way very gentle and insensitively. A Method which the Apostle endeavours every where to obviate towards his Nation.

(e) This has a manifest Respect to the Jews, who claim'd a Right to be the People of God so far, that St. Paul, ch. 9, 14. finds it necessary to vindicate the Justice of God in the Case, and does here in this Question expose and silence the Folly of any such Pretence.
ST. Paul in the end of the foregoing Chapter, with a very solemn Epiphonema, closes that admirable Evangelical Discourse to the Church at Rome, which had taken up the eleven foregoing Chapters. It was addressed to the two sorts of Converts, viz. Gentiles and Jews, into which, as into two distinct Bodies, he all along through this Epistle divides all Mankind, and considers them as so divided into two separate Corporations.

1. As to the Gentiles, he endeavours to satisfy them, that tho' they, for their Apostacy from God to Idolatry, and the Worship of false Gods, had been abandon’d by God, had lived in Sin and Blindness, without God in the World, Strangers from the Knowledge and Acknowledgment of him; yet that the Mercy of God through Jesus Christ was extended to them, whereby there was a Way now open’d to them to become the People of God. For since no Man could be saved by his own Righteousness, no not the Jews themselves, by the Deeds of the Law; the only Way to Salvation, both for Jews and Gentiles, was by Faith in Jesus Christ. Nor had the Jews any other Way now to continue themselves the People of God, than by receiving the Gospel, which Way was open’d also to the Gentiles, and they as freely admitted into the Kingdom of God now erected under Jesus Christ, as the Jews, and upon the sole Terms of Believing. So that there was no need at all for the Gentiles to be circumcised to become Jews, that they might be Partakers of the Benefits of the Gospel.

2. As to the Jews, the Apostle’s other great Aim in the foregoing Discourse, is to remove the Offence the Jews took at the Gospel, because the Gentiles were received into the Church as the People of God, and were allowed to be Subjects of the Kingdom of the Messiah. To bring them to a better Temper, he shews them from the Sacred Scripture, that they could not be saved by the Deeds of the Law, and therefore the Doctrine of Righteousness by Faith ought not to be so strange a thing to them. And as to their being for their Unbelief rejected from being the People of God, and the Gentiles taken-in in their room, he shews plainly, that this was foretold them in the Old Testament; and that herein God did them no Injustice. He was Sovereign over all Mankind, and might choose whom he would to be his People, with the same Freedom that he chose the Pottery of Abraham among all the Nations of the Earth, and of that Race chose the Descendants of Jacob before those of his elder Brother Esau, and that before they had a Being, or were capable of doing Good or Evil. In all which Discourse of his, ‘tis plain the Election spoken of, has for its Object only Nations or collective Bodies Politick in this world, and not particular Persons, in reference to their eternal State in the World to come.

Having thus finished the principal Design of his Writing, he here in this, as is usual with him in all his Epistles, concludes with practical and moral Exhortations, whereof there are several in this Chapter, which we shall take in their Order.

**Paraphrase.**

1. It being so then, that you are become the People of God in the room of the Jews, do not ye fail to offer him that Sacrifice that it is reasonable for you to offer, brethren, by the mercy of God, that ye present your bodies a living do,
sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service.  

2. And be not conformed to this world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable and perfect will of God.  

3. For I say, through the grace given unto me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think: but to think soberly, as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith.  

4. For as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office:  

5. So we being many are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another.  

6. Having then gifts, differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith:

do, I mean your Bodies (f) not to be frail, but the Lufts thereof being mortified, and the Body cleansed from the Spots and Blemishes of Sin, will be an acceptable Offering to him, and such a way of Worship as becomes a rational Creature, which therefore I beseech you by the Mercies of God to you, who has made you his People, to present to him. And be not conformed to the Fashion of this World (g): But be ye transform'd in the renewing of your Minds (b), that you may upon Examination find out what is the good, the acceptable and perfect Will of God, which now under the Gospel has shewn it self to be in Purity and Holiness of Life: the ritual Observances which he once instituted not being that, his good, acceptable, and perfect Will, which he always intended, they were made only the Types and preparatory Way to this more perfect State under the Gospel (f). For by Virtue of that Commission, to be the Apostle of the Gentiles, which by the Favour of God is bestowed on me, I bid every one of you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think, but to have sober and modest Thoughts of himself, according to that Measure of spiritual Gifts (k), which God has bestowed upon him. For as there are many Members in one and the same Body, but all the Members are not appointed to the same Work; So we who are many make all but one Body in Christ, and are all Fellow-Members one of another (l). But having according to the respective Favour that is bestowed upon us, every one of us different Gifts; whether it be Prophecy (m), let us prophesy, according to the proportion of faith:

Notes

1. (f) Your Bodies. There seem to be two Reasons why St. Paul's first Exhortation to them is, to present their Bodies undefiled to God: (1) Because he had before, especially ch. 7. so much insisted on this, that the Body was the great Source from whence Sin arose. (2) Because the Heathen World, and particularly the Romans, were guilty of those vile Affections which he mentions, ch. 1. 23—27.  

2. (g) To the Fashion of this World; or, as St. Peter expresses it, not fashioning your selves according to your former Lufts in the time of Ignorance.  

3. (h) Transformed in the renewing of your Minds. The State of the Gentiles is thus described, Eph. 4. 17—19. As walking in the Luxury of their Minds, having the Understanding darkened, being alienated from the Life of God through the Ignorance that is in them, because of the Blindness of their Hearts, who being full of Feeling, have given themselves over unto Usurpations, to work all uncleanness with Greediness, fulfilling the luxury of the Flesh and of the Mind. And Col. 1. 21. Alienated and Enemies in their Minds by wicked Works. The renewing therefore of their Minds, or as he speaks, Eph. 4. in the Spirit of their Minds, was the getting into an Estate contrary to what they were in before, (v. 17.) to take it in the Apostle's own words: That the Eyes of their Understanding might be enlightened; and that they may put on the new Man, that is renewed in Knowledge after the Image of him that created him, that ye walk as Children of the Light, proving what is acceptable to the Lord, having no fellowship with the Works of Darkness: That they be not unwise, but understanding what is the Will of the Lord: For this is the Will of God, even your Sanification. That you should abstain from Fornication. That every one of you should know how to provost his Vessel in Sanification and Honour, not in the Lusts of Porcupine, even as the Gentiles that know not God.  

4. (i) In these two first Verses of this Chapter is shewn the Preference of the Gospel to the Gentile State and the Jewish Institution.  

5. (k) Measure of Faith, some Copies read ἐκκαθαρίας, of Favour, either of them express the same thing, i.e. Gifts of the Spirit.  

5. (l) The same Simile to the same purpose, see 1 Cor. 12.  

6. (m) Prophesy is enumerated in the new Testament among the Gifts of the Spirit, and means either the Interpretation of Sacred Scripture, and explaining of Prophecies already delivered, or foretelling things to come.
Proportion of Faith (n), or Gift of Interpretation, which is given us, i. e. as far forth as we are enabled by Revelation, and an extraordinary illumination to understand and expound it, and no further: Or if it be Ministrv, let us wait on our Ministring: He that is a Teacher let him take care to teach. He whose Gift is Exhorrntation, let him be diligent in exhorting: He that giveth, let him do it liberally, and without the Mixture of any Self-Interest: He that presideth, let him do it with Diligence: He that weweth Mercy, let him do it with Fearfulness. Let Love be without Disimulation. Abhor that which is evil, flock to that which is good. Be kindly affectioned one towards another with brotherly Love; in Honour preferring one another. Not slothful in Buiness; but active and vigorous in Mind, directing all to the Service of Christ and the Gospel. Rejoicing in the Hope you have of Heaven and Happiness; patient in Tribulation; frequent and infant in Prayer: Forward to help Christians in Want, according to their

Or ministrv, let us wait on our ministring; or he that teacheth, on teacheth; and he that exhorteth, on exhortation: he that giveth, let him do it with simplicity; he that ruleth, with diligence; he that weweth mercy, with fearfulness.

Let love be without difT'nmulation. Abhor that which is evil, cleave to that which is good.

Be kindly affectioned to one another; with brotherly love, in honour preferring one another.

Not slothful in business; fervent in spirit; serving the Lord.

Rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation, continuing in prayer.

Distributing to the needful gifts, yeeping to hospitality.

**NOTES**

(n) According to the Proportion of Faith. The Context in this and the three preceding Verses leads us, without any difficulty, into the meaning of the Apostle in this Exposition: 1 Cor. 12, and 14. shew us how apt the new Converts were to be put up with the veryittle Gifts that were bestowed on them; and every one, as in like cases is usual, forward to magnifie his own, and to carry it farther than in reality it extended. That it is St. Paul's Delight here to prevent or regulate such Disorder, and to keep every one in the exercising of his particular Gift within its due Bounds, is evident in that exhorting them, ver. 3, to a sober Use of their Gifts (for 'tis in reference to their spiritual Gifts he speaks in that Verse) he makes the measure of that Sobriety to be that Measure of Faith or spiritual Gift which every one in particular enjoy'd by the Favour of God, 1 Cor. 12. That no one should go beyond that which was given him, and he really had. But besides this, which is very obvious, there is another Pailage in that Verse, which, rightly consider'd, strongly inclines this way. I say through the Grace that is given unto me, says St. Paul. He was going to relate them in the Exercise of their different Spiritual Gifts, and he could not introduce what he was going to lay in the cafe with a more perspicuous Argument than his own Example; I exhort, (says he) that every one of you in the Exercise of his Spiritual Gifts, keep within the Bounds and Measure of that Gift which is given him. I may in giving you this Exhortation do it by the grace given unto me, I do it by the Commission and Power given me by God, and beyond that I do not go. In one that had before declared himself an Apostle, such an Exposition as this here (if there were not some particular Reason for it) might seem superfluous, and to some idle, but in this Verse it has a great Grace and Energie in it. There wants nothing but the Study of St. Paul's Writings, to give us a full Admiration of his great Address, and the Skill wherewith all that he says is adapted to the Argument he has in hand: I, (says he) according to the Grace given me, direct you every one in the use of your Gifts, which according to the Grace given you are different, whether it be the Gift of Prophecy, to prophesy according to the Proportion or Measure of that Gift or Revelation that he hath, and let him not think that because some things are, therefore every thing is revealed to him. The same Rule concerning the same matter St. Paul gives, Eph. 4. 6. that every Member should act according to the measure of its own Strength, Power, and Energie; 1 Cor. 12. 29—32. may also give light to this place. This therefore is far from signifying that a Man in interpreting of Sacred Scripture should explain the Sense according to the System of his particular Sect, which each Party is pleased to call the Anatomy of Faith. For this would be to make the Apostle to let that for a Rule of Interpretation, which had not its Being till long after, and is the Product of fallible Men.

The measure of Faith, ver. 3, and proportion of Faith, in this Verse, signifies the same thing, as to a particular Gift which God was pleased to bestow on any one.

2 (e) O regiCδοον, He that ruleth, says our Translation; the Context inclines to the Sense I have taken it in: See Vitringa de Synag. I. 2. c. 3.
BLESS THEM WHICH PERSECUTE YOU: BLESS AND CURSE NOT.

REJOICE WITH THEM THAT DO REJOICE, AND WEEP WITH THEM THAT WEEP.

BE OF THE SAME MIND ONE TOWARDS ANOTHER. MIND NOT HIGH THINGS, BUT CONCEDE TO Men OF LOW ESTEEM. BE NOT WISE IN YOUR OWN CONCEITS.

RECOMPENSE TO NO MAN EVIL FOR EVIL. PROVIDE THINGS HONEST IN THE SIGHT OF ALL MEN.

IF IT BE POSSIBLE, AS MUCH AS IN YOU, LIVE PEACEABLY WITH ALL MEN.

DEARLY BELIEVED, Avenge not your selves, but rather give place unto wrath: for it is written, Vengeance is mine; I will repay, faith the Lord.

Therefore if thine Enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head.

Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.

NECESSITIES; GIVEN TO HOSPITALITY. BLESS THEM WHO PERSECUTE YOU: BLESS AND CURSE NOT. REJOICE WITH THEM THAT REJOICE, AND WEEP WITH THEM THAT WEEP. BE OF THE SAME MIND ONE TOWARDS ANOTHER. DO NOT MIND ONLY HIGH THINGS; BUT SIT YOURSELVES TO THE MEAN CONDITION AND LOW CONCERNS OF PERSONS BEORE THEE. BE NOT WISE IN YOUR OWN CONCEITS. RENDER TO NO MAN EVIL FOR EVIL: BUT TAKE CARE THAT YOUR CARRIAGE BE SUCH AS MAY BE APPROVED BY ALL MEN. IF IT BE POSSIBLE, AS MUCH AS IN YOU, LIVE PEACEABLY WITH ALL MEN. DEARLY BELIEVED, DO NOT AVERAGE YOURSELVES, BUT RATHER LEAVE THAT TO GOD. FOR IT IS WRITTEN, VENGEANCE IS MINE, AND I WILL REPAY IT, FAITH THE LORD. THEREFORE IF THINE ENEMY HUNGER, FEED HIM; IF HE THIRST, GIVE HIM DRINK: IF THIS PREVAIL ON HIM, THEN SUBDUTE HIM AN ENEMY, AND GAINNEST A FRIEND, IF HE PERVERT IN HIS ENMITY, IN DOING THOU HEAPED COALS OF FIRE ON HIS HEAD, I. E. EXPOSEST HIM TO THE WRATH OF GOD, WHO WILL BE THY AVENGER. BE NOT OVERCOME AND PREVAILED ON, BY THE EVIL THOU RECEIVEST, TO RETALIATE; BUT ENDEAVOUR TO MASTER THE MALICE OF AN ENEMY IN INJURING THEE, BY A RETURN OF KINDNESS AND GOOD OFFICES TO HIM.

SECTION XI.

CHAP. XIII. I—7.

CONTENTS.

His Section contains the Duty of Christians to the Civil Magistrate. For the understanding this right we must consider these two things. 1. That these Rules are given to Christians that were Members of a Heathen Commonwealth, to shew them that by being made Christians and Subjects of Christ's Kingdom, they were not by the Freedom of the Gospel exempt from any Ties of Duty or Subjection, which by the Laws of their Country they were in, and ought to observe, to the Government and Magistrates of it, though Heathens, any more than any of their Heathen Subjects. But on the other side, these Rules did not tie them up any more than any of their Fellow-Citizens, who were not Christians, from any of those due Rights, which by the Law of Nature, or the Constitutions of their Country, belonged to them. Whatsoever any other of their Fellow-Subjects, being in a like Station with them, might do without finning, that they were not abridged of, but might as still being Christians. The Rule here being the same with that given by St. Paul, 1 Cor. 7. 17. As God has called every one, so let him walk. The Rules of Civil Right and Wrong, that he is to walk by, are to him the same they were before.

2. That
2. That St. Paul in this Direction to the Romans, does not so much describe the Magistrates that then were in Rome, as tells whence they, and all Magistrates every where, have their Authority; and for what end they have it, and should use it. And this he does as becomes his Prudence, to avoid bringing any Imputation on Christians from Heathen Magistrates, especially those infidel and vicious ones of Rome, who could not brook any thing to be told them as their Duty, and so might be apt to interpret such plain Truths laid down in a dogmatical way, into Sauciencis, Sedition, or Treason, a Scandal cautiously to be kept off from the Christian Doctrine. Nor does he, in what he says, in the least flatter the Roman Emperor, let it be either Claudius, as some think, or Nero, as others, who then was in Possession of that Empire. For he speaks here of the Higher Powers, i. e. the Supreme Civil Power, which is in every Commonwealth derived from God, and is of the same Extent every where, i. e. is absolute and unlimited by any thing but the End for which God gave it, (viz.) the Good of the People sincerely pursued, according to the best of the Skill of those who share that Power, and so not to be resisted. But how Men come by a rightful Title to this Power; or who has that Title, he is wholly silent, and says nothing of it. To have medled with that would have been to decide of Civil Rights, contrary to the Design and Business of the Gospel, and the Example of our Saviour, who refused medling in such Cases with this decisive Question: Who made me a Judge or Divider over you? Luke 12. 14.

PARAPHRASE.

1. LET every one of you, none excepted (p), be subject unto the over-ruling Powers (q) of the Government he lives in. There is no Power but what is from God: The Powers that are in being are ordained by God: So that he who resifteth the Power, resifteth the Ordinance of God; and they that resift will be punished by those Powers that they resift. What

TEXT.

LET every soule be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be, are ordained of God: Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation.

NOTES.

1 (p) Every one, however endowed with miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghost, or advanced to any Dignity in the Church of Christ. For that these things were apt to make Men overvalue themselves, is obvious from what St. Paul says to the Corinthians, i Cor. 12, and here to the Romans, ch. 12. 3—5. But above all others, the Jews were apt to have an inward Refluctancy and Indignation against the Power of any Heathen over them, taking it to be an unjust and tyrannical usurpation upon them, who were the People of God, and their Betters. These the Apostle thought it necessary to retract, and therefore says in the Language of the Jews, Every soul, i. e. every Person among you, whether Jerome or Gentile, must live in Submission to the Civil Magistrate. We fee by what St. Peter says on the like occasion, that there was great need that Christians should have this Duty inculcated to them, lest any among them should use their Liberty for a Clash of Maliciousness or Misbehaviour, i Pet. 2. 13—16: The Doctrine of Christianity was a Doctrine of Liberty. And St. Paul in this Epistle had taught them, that all Christians were free from the Mosiacal Law. Hence corrupt and misusing Men, especially Jewish Converts, impatient, as we have observed, of any Heathen Domination, might be ready to infer, that Christians were except from Submission to the Laws of Heathen Governments. This he obviates by telling them, That all other Governments arrived the Power they had from God, as well as that of the Jews, tho' they had not the whole Frame of their Government immediately from him as the Jews had. 

2 (q) Whether we take Powers here in the Abstract for Political Authority, or in the Concrete for the Perons de foia, exercising Political Power and Jurisdiction, the Sense will be the same, (vix.) That Christians, by virtue of being Christians, are not any way exempt from Obedience to the Civil Magistrates, nor ought by any means to resist them, tho' by what is said, ver. 7, it seems that St. Paul meant here Magistrates having no lawful Power. But whether the Magistrates in being were or were not such, and consequently were or were not to be obeyed, that Christianity gave them no peculiar Power to examine. They had the common Right of others their Fellow-Citizens, but had no distinct Privilege as Christians. And therefore we see ver. 7, where he enjoins the paying of Tributes and Custom, Gr. It is in their words;
ROMANS.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

3. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same:

4. For he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil.

5. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake.

6. For, for this cause pay ye tribute: for they are God’s ministers, attending continually upon this very thing.

7. Render therefore to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour.

What should you be afraid of? Rulers are no Terror to those that do well, but to those that do ill. Wilt thou then not live in dread of the Civil Power? Do that which is good and right, and then Praise only is thy Due from the Magistrate. For he is the Officer and Minister of God appointed only for thy Good. But if thou dost amiss, then thou hast reason to be afraid. For he bears not the Sword in vain. For he is the Minister of God, and Executioner of Wrath and Punishment upon him that doth ill. This being the End of Government, and the Business of the Magistrate, to cherish the good, and punish ill Men, it is necessary for you to submit to Government, not only in apprehension of the Punishment which Disobedience will draw on you, but out of Conscience, as a Duty required of you by God. This is the Reason why also you pay Tribute, which is due to the Magistrates, because they employ their Care, Time and Pains, for the Publick Weal, in punishing and restraining the Wicked and Vicious; and in countenancing and supporting the Virtuous and Good. Render therefore to all their Dues: Tribute to whom Tribute is due, Custom to whom Custom, Fear to whom Fear, and Honour to whom Honour.

NOTES.

words. Render to all their Dues, Tribute to whom Tribute is due, Honour to whom Honour, &c. But who it was to whom any of these, or any other Dues of Right belong’d, he decides not, for that he leaves them to be determined by the Laws and Constitutions of their Country.

SECT. XII.

CHAP. XIII. 8—14.

CONTENTS.

He exHORTS them to Love, which is in effect the fulfilling of the whole Law.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

8. O WE no man any thing, but to love one another: for he that loveth another, hath fulfilled the law.

9. For this, Thou shalt not commit Adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Thou shalt not covet; and if there be any other com-

O WE nothing to any body but Affection and good Will mutually to one another; for he that loves others sincerely, as he does himself, has fulfilled the Law. For this Precept, Thou shalt not commit Adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false Witnesses, Thou shalt not covet; and whatever other Command there be concerning social Duties, it in short is comprehended in this,
PARAPHRASE.

Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self. Love permits us to do no harm to our Neighbour, and therefore is the fulfilling of the whole Law of the second Table. And all this do, considering that it is now high time that we roufe our selves up, wake off Sleep, and be- take our selves with Vigilance and Vigour to the Duties of a Christian Life. For the time of your Removal out of this place of Exercise and Probationership is nearer than when you first enter'd into the Profession of Christianity (r). The Night, the dark State of this World, wherein the Good and the Bad can scarce be distinguished, is far spent. The Day that will shew every one in his own Drefs and Colours is at hand. Let us therefore put away the Works that we should be ashamed of but in the dark; and let us put on the Drefs (s) and Ornaments, that we should be willing to appear-in in the Light. Let our Behaviour be decent, and our Carriage such, as fears not the Light nor the Eyes of Men, nor in disorderly Paffings and Drunkenness; nor in Dalliance and Wan- tonnes (t); nor in Strife and Envy (u). But walk in Newness of Life, in Obedience to the Precepts of the Gospel, as becomes those who are baptized into the Faith of Christ, and let not the great Impleyment of your Thoughts and Cares be wholly in making Pro- vision for the Body, that you may have wherewithal to satisfy your carnal Lusts.

NOTES.

11, 12 (r) It seems by these two Verses, as if St. Paul look'd upon Christ's Coming as not far off, to which there are several other concurrent Passages in his Epistles: See 1 Cor. 1, 7.

12 (s) Or, The word in the Greek is often used for the Apparel, Clothing, and Accoutrements of the Body.

13 (t) These he seems to name with reference to the Night which he had mentioned, these being the Disorders to which the Night is usually set apart.

(u) These probably were set down, with regard to universal Love and Good-will, which he was principally here pressing them to.

SECTION XIII.

CHAPTER XIV.—XV. 13.

CONTENTS.

St. Paul instructs both the Strong and the Weak in their mutual Duties one to another, in respect of Things indifferent, teaching them that the Strong should not use their Liberty where it might offend a weak Brother: Nor the Weak censure the Strong for using their Liberty.

PARAPHRASE.

HIM that is weak in the Faith, i.e. not fully per- fected, of his Christian Liberty in the Use of some indifferent thing, receive you into your Friend-

TEXT.

HIM that is weak in the Faith, receive
ROMANS.

PARAPHRASE.

you, but not to doubtfull

distractions.

2. For one believeth that he may eat all things: another who is weak, eateth herbs.

3. Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not, judge him that eateth: for God hath received him.

4. Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth: yea, he shall be holden up: for God is able to make him stand.

5. One man esteemeth one day above another: another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.

6. He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it.

ship and Conversation (w), without any Coldness or Distinction, but do not engage him in Disputes and Controversies about it. For such Variety is there in Men's Persuasions about their Christian Liberty, that one believeth that he may without Restraint eat all things; another is so scrupulous that he eateth nothing but Herbs. Let not him that is purged of his Liberty, and eateth, despise him that through Scruple eateth not: And let not him that is more doubtful and eateth not, judge or cenfure him that eateth, for God hath received (x) him into his Church and Family: And who art thou that takest upon thee to judge the Dometlick of another, whether he be of his Family or no? 'Tis his own Master alone who is to judge whether he be or shall continue his Dometlick or no: What hath thou to do to meddle in the Cafe? But trouble not thyself, he shall stand and stay in the Family. For God is able to confirm and establish him there (s). One Man judgeth (y) one Day to be set apart to God more than another, another Man judgeth every Day to be God's like. Let every one take care to be satisfied in his own Mind touching the Matter. But let him not cenfure (s) another in what he doth. He that observeth a Day, observeth it as the Lord's Servant, in Obedience to him: And he that observeth it not, passeth by that Observance as the Lord's Servant in Obedience also

NOTES.

1 (m) That the Reception here spoken of is the receiving into familiar and ordinary Conversation, is evident from ch. 15. 7. where he, directing them to receive one another mutually, ues the same word προσελήνωσας, i. e. live together in a free and friendly manner, the weak with the strong, and the strong with the weak, without any regard to the Differences among you about the Lawfulness of any indiffernt things. Let those that agree or differ concerning the Use of any indiffernt thing, live together all alike.

2. (x) By him that eateth, v. 7. St. Paul seems to mean the Gentiles, who were left scrupulous in the Use of indiffernt things; and by him that eateth not, the Jews who made a great Distinction of Meats and Drinks and Days, and placed them in a great, and as they thought, necessary Part of the Worship of the true God. To the Gentiles the Apostle gives this Caution, that they should not condemn the Jews, as weak narrow-minded Men, that laid too much Stress on Matters of so small moment, and thought Religion so much concerned in those indiffernt things. On the other side, he exhorts the Jews not to judge that those who neglected the Jewish Observances of Meats and Days, were ill Heathens, or would soon apostatize to Heathenism again: No, says he; God hath received them, and are of his Family; and thou hast nothing to do to judgeth, whether they are or will continue of his Family, or no; that belongs only to him, the Master of the Family, to judge, whether they shall stay or leave his Family, or no. But, notwithstanding thy Cenfure or hard Thoughts of them, they shall not fall off or apostatize; for God is able to continue them in his Family, in his Church, notwithstanding thou falsifiedst, from their free Use of things indiffernt, they incline too much, or approach too near to Gentilin.

3. (y) The Apostle having in the foregoing Verse used σπάνω ἀνάτετλον ιδιαίτερον, for judging any one to be or not to be another Man's Servant or Dometlick, he seems here to continue the use of the word σπάνω in the same Signification, i. e. for judging a Day to be more peculiarly God's.

4. (z) This may be concluded to be the Apostle's Sense, because the thing he is upon here, is to keep them from confusing one another in the Use of things indiffernt; particularly the Jews from judging the Gentiles in their Neglect of the Observance of Days or Meats. This judging being what St. Paul principally endeavoured here to refrain, as being opposite to the Liberty of the Gospel, which favored a Neglect of those Rituals of the Law which were now antiquated. See Gal. 4. 9——11. and 5. 1, 2.

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to the Lord. He that eateth what another out of Scruple forbears, eateth it as the Lord's Servant: For he giveth God Thanks. And he that out of Scruple forbeareth to eat, does it also as the Lord's Servant: For he giveth God Thanks even for that which he doeth, and thinks he may not eat. For no one of us Christians liveth as if he were his own Man, perfectly at his own Disposèl: And no one (a) of us dies so. For whether we live, our Life is appropriated to the Lord: or whether we die, to him we die as his Servants. For whether we live or die we are his, in his Family, his Domeficks (b), appropriated to him. For to this End Christ died, and rose, and lived again that he might be Lord and Proprietor of us (c) both dead and living. What haft thou then to do to judge thy Brother, who is none of thy Servant, but thy equal? Or how darest thou to think contemptibly of him. For we shall, thou, and he, and all of us, be brought before the Judgment-Seat of Christ, and there we shall answer every one for himself to our Lord and Master. For it is written, As I live, faith the Lord, every Knee shall bow to me, and every Tongue shall confess to God. So then every one of us shall give an Account of himself to God. Let us not therefore take upon us to judge one another; but rather come to this Judgment or Determination of Mind, that no Man put (d) a Stumbling-block, or an Occasion of falling in his Brother's way. I know and am fully affrayed by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing un- clean or unlawful to be eaten of itself. But to him that accounts any thing to be unclean, to him it is un-
gard it. He that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks; and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks.

For none of us liveth to himself; and no Man dieth to himself.

For whether we live, we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live therefore, or die, we are the Lord's.

For to this End Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living.

But why should you judge thy brother? or why should thou set at nought thy brother? for we shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ.

For it is written, As I live, faith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God.

So then every one of us shall give account of himself to God.

Let us not therefore judge one another any more; but judge this rather, that no man put a stumbling-block, or an occasion to fall in his brother's way.

I know, and am persuaded that the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself; but to him that esteemeth any thing to be unclean, to him it is unclean.

NOTES.

7 (a) Ousios should, I suppose, be taken here with the same Limitation it hath in the former part of the Verse with the Pronoun ὁσιός; and so should here, as there, he render'd in English, no one of us, and not, no Man, St. Paul speaking here only of Christians; this sense of ὁσιός the next Verse seems to confirm.

8 (b) These words, we are the Lord's, give an easy Interpretation to these Phrases of eating and living, &c. to the Lord; For they make them plainly refer to what he had said at the latter end of ver. 3. For God hath received him; signifying, that God had received all those who profest the Gospel, and had given their Names up to Jesus Christ, into his Family, and had made them his Domeficks. And therefore we should not judge or cenfure one another, for that every Christian was the Lord's Domefick, appropriated to him as his moral Servant: And therefore all that he did in that State, was to be looked on as done to the Lord, and not to be accounted for to any body else.

9 (c) Κυριός, might be Lord; but he taken so here as to make this agree with the foregoing Verse. There it was ήμεν, i. e. we Christians, whether we live or die, are the Lord's Property: For the Lord died and rose again, that we, whether living or dying, should be his.

13 (d) He had before reproved the Weak that cenfured the Strong in the use of their Liberty. He comes now to restrain the Strong from offending their weak Brethren by a too free Ufe of their Liberty, in not forbearing the Ufe of it where it might give Offence to the Weak.
15 But if thy Brother be grieved with thy meat, now walketh thou not charitably. Destroy not him with thy meat, for whom Christ died.

16 Let not then your good be evil spoken of.

17 For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

18 For he that in these things serveth Christ, is acceptable to God, and approved of men.

19 Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another.

20 For meat destroy not the work of God. All things indeed are pure; but it is evil for that man who eateth with offence.

21 It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor any thing whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak.

22 Hast thou faith? have it to thy self before God. Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth.

23 And he that doubteth, is damned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith; for whatsoever is not of faith, is sin.

1 We then that are strong, ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves.

2 Let every one of us please his neighbour for his good to edification.

clean. But if thy Brother be grieved (e) with thy Meat; thy Carriage is uncharitable to him. Destroy not him with thy Meat, for whom Christ died. Let not then your Liberty which is a Good (f) you enjoy under the Gospel, be evil spoken of. For the Privileges and Advantages of the Kingdom of God, do not confit in the Enjoyment of greater Variety of Meats and Drinks, but in Uprightness of Life, Peace of all Kinds, and Joy in the Gifts and Benefits of the Holy Ghost under the Gospel. For he that in these Things pays his Allegiance and Service to Jesus Christ, as a dutiful Subject of his Kingdom, is acceptable to God, and approved of Men. The things therefore that we let our Hearts upon to pursue and promote, let them be such as tend to Peace and Good-will, and the mutual Edification of one another. Do not for a little Meat destroy a Man that is the Work (g) of God, and no ordinary piece of Workmanship. 'Tis true all sort of wholesome Food is pure, and defileth not a Man's Conscience, but yet it is evil to him who eateth any thing so as to offend his Brother. It is better to forbear Flesh, and Wine, and any thing, rather than in the use of thy Liberty, in any indifferent things, to do that whereby thy Brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak (b). Thou art fully persuaded of the Lawfulness of eating the Meat which thou eatest: It is well. Happy is he that is not self-condemned in the thing that he practiseth. But have a Care to keep this Faith or Perseverance to thy self: Let it be between God and thy own Conscience: Raise no Dispute about it; neither make Offenation of it (i) by thy Practice before others. But he that is in doubt, and balanceth (4), is self-condemned, if he eat; because he doth it without a full Perseverance of the Lawfulness of it. For whatever a Man doth, which he is not fully persuaded in his own Mind to be lawful, is Sin. We then that are strong, ought to bear the Infirmities of the weak, and not to indulge our own Appetites or Inclinations, in such a Use of indifferent things as may offend the weak. But let every one of us please his Neighbour, comply with his Infirmities for his Good, and to Edification.

15 (e) Grieved, does not here signify only, made sorrowful for what thou dost; but brought into Trouble and Discomposure, or receives an Hurt or Wound, as every one does, who by another's Example does what he supposes to be unlawful. This Sense is confirmed in the words, Destroy not him with thy Meat: And also by what he saith, 1 Cor. 8. 9—13, in the like Case.

16 (f) See 1 Cor. 10. 33.

20 (g) The Force of this Argument, see Matt. 8. 25, The Life is more than Meat.

21 (b) Offended and made weak; i.e. drawn to the doing of any things, of whose Lawfulness not being fully persuaded, it becomes a Sin to him.

23 (i) These two, (ver.) not disputing about it, which he forbade, v. 1. and not using his Liberty before any one whom possibly it may offend, may be supposed to be contained in their words, Leave it to thy self.

23 (k) Διακρινεσθαι, translated here doubteth, is, Rom. 4. 20, translated staggered; and is there opposed to ἀναλεῖπεν, νῦν, strong in the Faith; or to ἐγκαταστάθην, fully persuaded, as it follows in the next verse.

For
For even Christ our Lord pleased not himself: but as it is written, The Reproaches of them that reproached thee are fallen upon me. For whatsoever was heretofore written, i.e. in the Old Testament, was written for our Learning, that we through Patience, and the Comfort which the Scriptures give us, might have Hope. Now God who is the Giver of Patience and Conflation, make you to be at Unity one with another, according to the Will of Christ Jesus: That you may with one Mind and one Mouth glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Wherefore admit and receive one another (ταὐτα) into Fellowship and Familiarity, without Sundry or Distance, upon occasion of Differences about things indifferent, even as Christ received us Jews to glorify (μοι) God. (For we must tell you, ye converted Romans, that Christ was sent to the Jews, and implo’d all his Ministry (σας) on those of the Circumcision for his Truth in making good his Promise made to the Fathers, i.e. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob;

NOTES:

7 (1) ἐνορμαθήσασθαι, receive one another, cannot mean, receive one another into Church-Communion: For there is no appearance, that the convert Jews and Gentiles separated Communion in Rome upon account of Differences about Meats and Drinks, and Days. We should have heard more of it from St. Paul, if there had been two separate Congregations, i.e. two Churches of Christians in Rome divided about these indifferent things. Besides Directions cannot be given to private Christians to receive one another in that Sense. The receiving therefore here, must be understood of receiving as a Man doth another into his Company, Converse and Familiarity, i.e. He would have them, Jews and Gentiles, lay by all Distinction, Coldness and Refrainedness in their Conversation one with another; and, as Domesticks of the same Family, live friendly and familiar, notwithstanding their different Judgments about those ritul Observances. Hence, v. 9, he exhorts them to be united in Friendship one to another, that with one Heart and one Voice they might conjointly glorify God, and receive one another with the same good Will that Christ had received us the Jews, ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐλαζότα, to the glorifying of God for his Truth, in fulfilling the Promises he made to the Patriarchs, and received the Gentiles to glorify God for his Mercy to them. So that we have reason, both Jews and Gentiles, laying aside these little Differences about things indifferent, to joy together heartily in glorifying God.

(m) Eic ἰδιὰς ἢ θεως, to the Glory of God; i.e. to glorify God, by the same Figure of Speech that he uses mine ἵνα, the Faith of Jesus, for, believing in Jesus, Rom. 3. 22. and 26. The thing that St. Paul is exhorting them to here, is to the glorifying of God with one accord; as is evident from the immediately preceding words, v. 6, and that which follows, v. 9, 10, is to the same purpose: So that there is no room to doubt that his meaning in these words is this, (ὡς,) Christ received or took us believing Jews to himself; that we might magnify the Truth of God; and took the Gentiles that believe to himself, that they might magnify God’s Mercy. This stands easy in the Contradiction of his Words, and Sense of his Mind.

9 (a) (Now I say, that Jesus Christ was a Minister of the Circumcision;) These words are plain by a Parenthetical, and spoken with some Emphasis, to restrain the Gentile Converts of Rome; who, as it is plain from ch. 14. 2, were apt, ἵνα μὴ λαβόντας, to set at nothing, and despise the converted Jews for fighting to their ritual Observances of Meats and Drinks, &c.

(6) ἄναρχον πρεσβύτηρα, a Minister of, or to the Circumcision. What it was that Christ minister’d to the Jews, we may see by the like Expression of St. Paul, applied to himself, v. 16, where he calls himself a Minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the Gospel of God.

And
And that the Gentiles might glorifie God for his mercy; as it is written, For this Cause I will confesse thee among the Gentiles, and sing unto thy Name. And again he saith, Rejoice ye Gentiles with his People. And again, Praise the Lord all ye Gentiles, and laud him all ye People. And again, there shall be a Root of Jesse, and he shall reign over the Gentiles; in him shall the Gentiles trust.

And received you the Gentiles to glorifie God for his Mercy to you, as it is written; For this Cause I will confesse thee among the Gentiles, and sing unto thy Name. And again he saith, Rejoice ye Gentiles with his People. And again, Praise the Lord all ye Gentiles, and laud him all ye Nations. And again, There shall be a Root of Jesse, and he that shall rise to reign over the Gentiles, in him shall the Gentiles trust. Now the God of hope shall fill you with all joy and Peace in Believing, that ye may abound in hope through the Power of the Holy Ghost.

NOTES.

12 (p) "Rom. 15:12, in him shall the Gentiles trust, rather hope; not that there is any material Difference in the Signification of trust and hope, but the better to express and answer St. Paul’s way of writing, with whom it is familiar, when he hath been speaking of any Virtue or Grace wherein God is the Author, to call God thereupon the God of that Virtue or Favour. An eminent Example whereof we have a few Verses backward, v. 4. in 2:24 and 1:4; that we through Patience and Comfort, rather Conolation, of the Scriptures might have hope; and then subjoins, and do here place the Hebrew, The Gentiles shall have hope. Now the God of hope.

13 (p) The Gifts of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon the Gentiles, were a Foundation of hope to them, that they were by believing the Children or People of God as well as the Jews.

SECT. XIV.

CHAP. XV. 14—33.

CONTENTS.

In the remaining part of this Chapter St. Paul makes a very kind and skilful Apology to them for this Epistle: Expresses an earnest Desire of coming to them; Touches upon the Reasons that hitherto had hinder’d him; Desires their Prayers for his Deliverance from the Jews in his Journey to Jerusalem, whither he was going; and promiseth that from thence he will make them a Visit in his way to Spain.
A S to my own Thoughts concerning you my Brethren, I am persuaded that you also as well as others, are full of Goodness, abounding in all Knowledge, and able to instruct one another. Nevertheless, Brethren, I have written to you in some things pretty freely, as your Remembrancer, which I have been embolden'd to do, by the Commination which God has been graciously pleased to bestow on me, Whom he hath made to be the Minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles in the Gospel of God, in which holy Ministration I officiate, that the Gentiles may be made an acceptable Offering (r) to God, sanctified by the pouring out of the Holy Ghost upon them. I have therefore Matter of glorying through Jesus Christ, as to those things that pertain (s) to God. For I shall not venture to trouble you with any concerning my self, but only what Christ hath wrought by me, for the bringing of the Gentiles to Christiannity, both in Profession and Practice, Through mighty Signs and Wonders, by the Power of the Holy Ghost, so that, from Jerusalem and the Neighbouring Countries, all along quite to Jaffa, I have effectually preached the Gospel of Christ, but so as studiously to avoid the carrying of it to those Places where it was already planted, and where the People were already Christians, lest I should build upon another Man's Foundation (t). But as it is written (u), To whom he was not spoken of they shall see: And they that have not heard shall understand. This has often hinder'd me from coming to you: But now having in these Parts no Place, where Christ hath not been heard of, to preach the Gospel in; and having had for these many Years a Desire to come to you, I will

And I my self also am persuaded of you my brethren, that ye also are full of goodness, filled with all knowledge, able also to admonish one another. Nevertheless, brethren I have written the more boldly unto you, in some sort, as putting you in mind, because of the grace that is given to me of God, That I should be the 16 minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost.

I have therefore where I may glorify through Jesus Christ, in those things which pertain to God.

For I will not dare to speak of any of those things which Christ hath not wrought by me, to make the Gentiles obedient by word and deed,

Through mighty signs and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God; so that from Jerusalem and round about unto Jaffa I have fully preached the Gospel of Christ.

Yes, so have I driven to preach the gospel, not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man's foundation:

But as it is written, To whom he was not spoken of, they shall see: and they that have not heard, shall understand.

For which cause also I have been much hinder'd from coming to you:

But now having no more places in these parts, and having a great desire these many years to come unto you;

NOTES.

16 (r) Offering. See Isai. 66. 20.
17 (s) Things that pertain to God. The same Phrase we have Heb. 5. 1, where it signifies the things that were offered to God in the Temple Ministration. St. Paul by way of Allusion speaks of the Gentiles in the foregoing verse, as an Offering to be made to God; and of himself, as the Priest by whom the Sacrifice or Offering was to be prepared and offered; and then he here tells them, that he had Matter of Glorifying in this Offering, I. e. that he had had Success in converting the Gentiles, and bringing them to be a living, holy and acceptable Sacrifice to God; in an account whereof he gives them in the four following Verses.
20 (u) See 1 Cor. 3. 10. 2 Cor. 10. 16.
21 (v) Isai. 55. 15.
ROMANS.

TEXT.

24. Whenever I take my journey into Spain, I will
come to you: for I trust to see you in my journey,
and to be brought on my way thitherward by you;
if it be so I will be somewhat added with your company.

25. But now I go unto Jerusaleph to minister unto
the saints.

26. For it hath pleased them of Macedonia and
Achaia, to make a certain contribution for the
poor saints which are at Jerusalem.

27. It hath pleased them verily, and their debtors
they are. For if the Gentiles have been made
partakers of their spiritual things, their duty is
ealso to minister unto them in carnal things.

28. When therefore I have performed this, and have
sent them this fruit, I will come by you into
Spain.

29. And I am sure that when I come unto you, I
shall bring with me to you full satisfaction
concerning the blessedness which you receive by the Gospel
of Christ. Now I beseech you, Brethren, by our
Lord Jesus Christ, and by the love which comes from
the Spirit of God, to join with me in earnest Prayers
to God for me, That I may be delivered from the Un-
believers in Judea; and that the Service I am doing
the Saints there, may be acceptable to them. That if
it be the Will of God, I may come to you with Joy,
and may be refreshed together with you. Now the
God of Peace be with you all. Amen.

NOTES.

29. (m) He may be understood to mean here, that he should be able to satisfie them, that by
the Gospel the Forgiveness of Sins was to be obtained. For that he saith, ch. 4. 6—9. And
they had as much Title to it by the Gospel as the Jews themselves; which was the thing he
had been making out to them in this Epistle.

Vol. III.  Fff  SECT.
THE foregoing Epistle furnishes us with Reasons to conclude, that the Divisions and Offences that were in the Roman Church were between the Jewish and Gentile Converts, whilst the one, over-zealous for the Rituals of the Law, endeavoured to impose Circumcision and other Mosaical Rites, as necessary to be observed by all that professed Christiinity: And the other, without due Regard to the Weakness of the Jews, shew’d too open Neglect of those their Observances, which were of so great Account with them. St. Paul was so sensible how much the Churches of Christ suffer’d on this Occasion, and so careful to prevent this which was a Disturbance almost every where (as may be seen in the History of the Acts, and collected out of the Epistles) that after he had finished his Discourse to them, (which we may observe solemnly closed in the end of the foregoing Chapter) he here in the middle of his Salutations, cannot forbear to caution them against the Authors and Fomenters of these Divisions, and that very pathetically. ver. 17—20. All the rest of this Chapter is spent almost wholly in Salutations. Only the four last Verses contain a Conclusion after St. Paul’s manner.

PARAPHRASE.

1. I command to you Phoebe our Sister, who is a servant of the Church which is at Cenchrea, that you receive her for Christ’s sake, as becomes Christians, and that you assist her in whatsoever Business she has need of you, for she has assisted many, and me in particular.

2. Salute Prisilla and Aquila, my Fellow-Labourers in the Gospel (Who have for my Life exposed their own to Danger, unto whom not only I give Thanks, but also all the Churches of the Gentiles). Greet also the Church that is in their House. Salute my well-beloved Epeneus, who is the First-fruits of Achaia unto

TEXT.

I command unto you Phoebe our Sister, which is a servant of the Church which is at Cenchrea, That ye receive her in the Lord, as becometh Saints, and that ye assist her in whatsoever Business she hath need of you; for she hath been a succourer of many, and of my self also.

Greet Prisilla and Aquila my helpers in Christ Jesus: (Who have for my Life laid down their own necks: unto whom not only I give Thanks, but also all the Churches of the Gentiles)

Likewise greet the Church that is in their House. Salute my well-beloved Epeneus, who is the First-fruits of Achaia unto Christ.

NOTES.

1. (x) Cenchrea was the Port to Corinth.

2. (γ) Negoτιας, Succourer, seems here to signify Helpfull, not in a common Inn, for there was no such thing as our Inns in that Country; but one whole House was the place of Lodging and Entertainment of those who were received by the Church as their Guests, and there the took Care of. And so that negoτιας, may be very well applied. But whether St. Paul was induced to make use of it here as somewhat corresponding to οἰκίας, which he used in her Behalf just before in this Verse, I leave to those who nicely observe St. Paul’s Stile.
Chrift. Greet Marie, who took a great deal of Pains for our Sakes. Salute Andronicus and Junia my Kinsfolk and Fellow-Prisoners, who are of Note among the Apostles, who also were Christian before me. Greet Amplias my Beloved in the Lord. Salute Urban our Helper in Christ, and Stachys my Beloved. Salute Apelles approved in Christ. Salute those who are of the Household of Aristobulus. Salute Herodon my Kinsman. Salute all those of the Household of Narcissus, who have embraced the Gospel. Salute Tryphena and Tryphosa, who take Pains in the Gospel. Salute the beloved Peres, who labour'd much in the Lord. Salute Rufus, chosen or selected to be a Disciple of the Lord; and his mother and mine. Salute Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermas, Pletobas, Hermes, and the Brethren who are with them. Salute Philologus, and Julia, Nereus and his Sister and all the Saints who are with them. Salute one another with an holy Kiss. The Churches of Christ salute you.

Now I beseech you, Brethren, mark those who cause Divisions and Offences contrary to the Doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them. For they serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own Belly's, and by good Words and fair Speeches, insinuating themselves, deceive well-meaning simple Men. Your Conversion and ready Compliance with the Doctrine of the Gospel, when it was brought to you, is known in the World, and generally talked of: I am glad for your Sakes that you so forwardly obeyed the Gospel. But give me leave to advise you to be wise and cautious in preferring your Selves steadiness in what is wise and good, but employ no Thought or Skill how to circumvent or injure another: Be in this regard very plain.

NOTES.

18 (7) Such as these we have a Description of, Tit. 1. 12. 11.
19 (4) See ch. 1. 8.
16 (4) A Direction much like this you have, 1 Cor. 14. 20. and Eph. 4. 13—15.
and simple. For God (e) who is the Giver and Lover of Peace will soon rid (d) you of these Ministers of Satan, the Disturbers of your Peace, who make Divisions amongst you. The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen.

Timothy my Work-fellow, andLucius and Jason, and
Sosipater my Kinmen salute you. I Tertius who wrote
this Epistle, salute you in the Lord. Gaius mine Hoft,
and of the whole Church, saluteth you. Erastus the
Chamberlain of the City saluteth you; and Quartus a
Brother. The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with
you all. Amen.

Now to him that is able to settle and establish you in
an Adherence to my (e) Gospel, and to that which I
deliver concerning Jesus Christ in my Preaching,
conformable to the Revelation of the (f) Mystery which
lay unexplained in the (g) peculiar times; But now is laid
open, and by the Writings of the Prophets made known
(according to the Commandment of the Everlasting
God) to the Gentiles of all Nations, for the bringing
them

20. (c) So those who made Divisions in the Church of Corinth are called, 2 Cor. 11. 15.
(d) Shall bruise Satan, i.e. shall break the Force and Attempts of Satan upon your Peace by their Infirmities, who would engage you in Quarrels and Difcords.
25 (e) My Gospel. St. Paul cannot be supposed to have used such an Expression as this, unless he knew that what he preach'd had something in it that distinguished it from what was preach'd by others; which was plainly the Mystery, as he very where calls it, of God's Purpose of taking in the Gentiles to be his People under the Messiah, and that without judging them to Circumcision, or the Law of Moses.
26 (f) That the Mystery he here speaks of, is the Calling of the Gentiles, may be seen in the following words; which is that which in many of his Epistles he calls Mystery. See Eph. 1. 9, and 2. 2. Col. 1. 25.—26.
ROMANS.

TEXT.  PARAPHRASE.

27. To God only wise, be glory through Jesus Christ for ever. Amen.

them in to the Obedience of the Law of Faith. To the only wise God be Glory, through Jesus Christ, for ever. Amen.

NOTES.

which were αἰῶνις, Eternity, or Ages, by which all the Time under the Law was measured; And so αἰῶνις is used 2 Tim. 1. 9. Tit. 1. 2. And so αἰῶνις are put for the Times of the Law, or the Jubilees, Luke 1. 70. Acts 3. 21. 1 Cor. 2. 7, and 10. 2. Eph. 3. 9. Col. 1. 26. 2 Thess. 2. 16. And to God is called the Rock הָרוֹן, the Rock, of Ages, Isa. 28. 1. 2. in the same Sense that he is called the Rock of Israel, 1 Th. 30. 29. i. e. the Strength and Support of the Jewish State: For 'tis of the Jews the Prophet here speaks. So Exod. 21. 14.

 יוֹם, the Day of the Lord, signifies not as we translate it for ever, but to the Jubilee 7 which will appear if we compare Lev. 25. 9—41. and Exod. 21. 2. See Barthog's Cleftianity a Revealed Mystery, p. 17, 18. Now that the Times of the Law were the Times spoken of here by St. Paul, seems plain from that which he declares to have continued a Mystery during all those times; to wit, God's Purpose of taking in the Gentiles to be his People under the Messiah: For this could not be said to be a Mystery at any other time, but during the time that the Jews were the peculiar People of God, separated to him from among the Nations of the Earth. Before that time there was not such Name or Notion of Dissolution as Gentiles, before the Days of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the calling of the Israelites to be God's peculiar People, was as much a Mystery, as the calling of others out of other Nations was a Mystery afterwards. All that St. Paul infers on here, and in all the places where he mentions this Mystery, is to shew, that though God has declared this his Purpose to the Jews, by the Predictions of his Prophets amongst them; yet it lay concealed from their Knowledge, 'twas a Mystery to them, they understood no such thing; there was not any where the least Suspicion or Thought of it, till the Messiah being come, it was openly declared by St. Paul to the Jews and Gentiles, and made out by the Writings of the Prophets, which were now understood.
A PARAPHRASE AND NOTES ON THE Epistle of St. PAUL TO THE EPHESIANS.

SYNOPSIS.

Our Saviour had so openly and expressly declared to his Disciples the Destruction of the Temple, that they could by no means doubt of it, nor of this Consequence of it, viz. that the Serm. Customs or Rites of the Mosaical Law, as they are called, Acts 6:14, and 21:21, were to cease with it. And this St. Stephen, by what is laid to his Charge, Acts 6:13, 14, seems to have taught. And upon this Ground it might very well be, that the Apostles and Church of Jerusalem required no more of the Convert Gentiles, than the Observance of such things as were sufficient to satisfy the Jews that they were not still Heathens and Idolaters. But as for the rest of the Mosaical Rites, they required not the Convert Gentiles (to whom the Mosaical Law was not given) to observe them. This being a very natural and obvious Consequence, which they could not but see, that if by the Destruction of the Temple and Worship of the Jews those Rites were speedily to be taken away, they were not Observances necessary to the People of God, and of perpetual Obligation. Thus
Thus far it is plain the other Apostles were instructed and satisfied of the Freedom of the Gentile-Converts from complying with the Ritual Law. But whether it was revealed to them with the same Clearness as it was to St. Paul, that the Jews too as well as the Gentiles, who were Converted to the Christian Faith, were discharget from their former Obligation to the Ritual Law of Moses, and freed from those Observances, may be doubted: Because as we fee they had not at all intrusted their Converts of the Circumcision, of their being fet at Liberty from that Yoke, which is very likely they should not have forborn to have done, if they had been convinced of it themselves. For in all that Discourse concerning this Question, Acts 15. 1—21. there is not one Syllable said of the Jews being discharget, by Faith in the Messiah, from the Observance of any of the Mosaical Rites. Nor does it appear that the Apostles of the Circumcision ever taught their Disciples, or suggested to them any such thing, which one can scarce imagin they could have neglected, if it had been revealed to them, and so given them in charge. It is certain their Converts had never been taught any such thing. For St. James himself acquaints us, Acts 21. 10. that the many thousands that believed were all zealous of the Law. And what his own Opinion of those Rites were, may be seen ver. 24. where he calls keeping this part of the Law, walking orderly; and he is concerned to have St. Paul thought a strict Observer thereof. All which could not have been, if it had been revealed to him as positively and expressly as it was to St. Paul. That all Believers in the Messiah, Jews as well as Gentiles, were abfolved from the Law of Moses, and were under no Obligation to observe those Ceremonies any longer, they being now no longer necessary to the People of God in this his new Kingdom erected under the Messiah, nor indeed was it necessary that this particular Point should have been from the beginning revealed to the other Apostles, who were sufficiently instructed for their Mission, and the Conversion of their Brethren the Jews, by the Holy Ghost’s bringing to their Minds (as was promised) all that our Saviour had said unto them in his Life-time here amongst them, in the true Sense of it. But the sending them to the Jews with this Message, that the Law was abolished, was to cross the very Design of sending them; it was to bespeak an Aversion to their Doctrine; and to stop the Ears of the Jews, and turn their Hearts from them. But St. Paul, receiving his whole Knowledge of the Gospel immediately from Heaven by Revelation, seems to have this particular Instruction added, to fit him for the Mission he was chosen to, and make him an effectual Messenger of the Gospel, by furnishing him presently with this necessary Truth concerning the Cessation of the Law, the Knowledge whereof could not but come in time to the other Apostles, when it should be seafomable. Whether this be not so, I leave it to be considered.

This at least is certain, that St. Paul alone, more than all the rest of the Apostles, was taken notice of to have preached that the Coming of Christ put an end to the Law, and that in the Kingdom of God erected under the Messiah, the Observations of the Law was neither required, nor availed ought, Faith in Christ was the only Condition of Admittance both for Jew and Gentile, all who believed being now equally the People of God, whether circumcised or uncircumcised. This was that which the Jews, zealous of the Law, which they took to be the irrevocable, unalterable Charter of the People of God, and the standing Rule of his Kingdom, could by no means bear. And therefore, provoked by this Report of St. Paul, the Jews, both Converts as well as others, looked upon him as a dangerous Innovator, and an Enemy to the true Religion, and as such feizd on him in the Temple, Acts 21. upon occasion whereof it was that he was a Prisoner at Rome when he writ this Epistle, where he seems to be concerned, left now he that was the Apostle of the Gentiles, from whom alone the Doctrine of their Exemption from the Law had its Rise and Support, was in Bonds upon that very account, it might give an Opportunity to those Judaizing Professors of Christianity, who pretended that the Gentiles, unless they were circumcised after the manner of Moses, could not be
be saved, to unsettle the Minds, and shake the Faith of those whom he had converted. This being the Controversie from whence rose the great Trouble and Danger that in the time of our Apostle disturb'd the Churches collected from among the Gentiles. That which chiefly disquieted the Minds, and shook the Faith of those, who from Heathenism were converted to Christianity, was this Doctrine, that except the Converts from Paganism were circumcised, and thereby subjected themselves to the Law and the Jewish Rites, they could have no Benefit by the Gospel, as may be seen all through the Acts, and in almost all St. Paul's Epistles. Wherefore when he heard that the Ephesians stood firm in the Faith, whereby he means their Confidence of their Title to the Privileges and Benefits of the Gospel, without Submision to the Law (for the introducing the legal Observances into the Kingdom of the Messiah, he declared to be a Subversion of the Gospel, and contrary to the great and glorious Design of that Kingdom) He thanks God for them, and, letting forth the gracious and glorious Design of God towards them, prays that they may be enlightened, so as to be able to see the mighty things done for them, and the immense Advantages they receive by it. In all which he displays the glorious State of that Kingdom, not in the ordinary way of Argumentation and formal Reasoning, which had no place in an Epistle writ as this is, all as it were in a Rapture, and in a Style far above the plain Didacticall way, he pretends not to teach them any thing, but couches all that he would drop into their Minds, in Thanksgivings and Prayers, which affording a greater Liberty and Flight to his Thoughts, he gives Utterance to them in noble and sublime Expres-
sions, suitable to the unsearchable Wisdom and Goodness of God, shewn to the World in the Work of Redemption. This the perhaps at first sight it may render his Meaning a little obscure, and his Expressions the harder to be understood; yet by the Assisstance of the two following Epistles, which were both writ whilst he was in the same Circumstances, upon the same Occasion, and to the same Purpose, the Sense and Doctrine of the Apostle here may be so clearly seen, and so perfectly comprehended; that there can be hardly any doubt left about it to any one who will examine them diligently, and carefully compare them together. The Epistle to the Colossians seems to be writ the very same time, in the same Run and Warmth of Thoughts, so that the very same Expressions yet fresh in his Mind, are repeated in many Places: the Form, Phrase, Matter and all the Parts quite through of these two Epistles, do so perfectly correspond, that one cannot be mistaken in thinking one of them very fit to give light to the other. And that to the Ephesians, writ also by St. Paul during his Bonds at Rome, when attentively looked into, will be found to have the same Aim with the other two; so that in these three Epistles taken together, one may see the great Design of the Gospel laid down as far surpassing the Law, both in Glory, Greatness, Comprehension, Grace and Bounty, and therefore they were Offerers, not Promoters of the true Doctrine of the Gospel, and the Kingdom of God under the Messiah, who would confine it to the narrow and beggarly Elements of this World, as St. Paul calls the positive Ordinances of the Mosaic Institution. To confirm the Gentile Churches, whom he had converted, in this Faith which he had instructed them in; and keep them from submitting to the Mosaic Rites in the Kingdom of Christ, by giving them a nobler and more glorious View of the Gospel, is the Design of this and the two following Epistles. For the better understanding these Epistles, it might be worth while to shew their Harmony all through, but this Synopsis is not a place for it, the following Paraphrase and Notes will give an Opportunity to point out several Passages wherein their Agreement will appear.

The latter End of this Epistle, according to St. Paul's usual Method, contains practical Directions and Exhortations.
He that desires to inform himself in what is left upon Record in Sacred Scripture, concerning the Church of the Ephesians, which was the Metropolis of Asia, briefly so called, may read the 19th and 20th of the Acts.

S E C T. I.

C H A P. I. 1, 2.

C O N T E N T S.

Ch. 1. THESE two Verses contain St. Paul's Incription or Introduction of this Epistle; what there is in it remarkable for its Difference from what is to be found in his other Epistles, we shall take notice of in the Notes.

P A R A P H R A S E.

TEXT.

1. P A U L an Apostle of Jesus Christ, by the declared Will and special Appointment of God to the Professors of the Gospel (a), who are in Ephesus, Converts who stand firm in the Faith (b) of Christ Jesus: Favour and Peace be to you from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.

N O T E S.

(a) T the αργεως, Tho' rightly translated Saints, yet it does not mean any other than a national Sanctification, such as the Jews had by being separated from the Gentiles, and appropriated to God as his peculiar People, not that every one that was of the holy Nation of the Jews heretofore, or of the holy Church of Christ, under the Gospel, were Saints in that Sense that the word is usually taken now among Christians, viz. such Persons as were every one of them actually in a State of Salvation.

(b) Tavis, Faithful. We have observed above, that this Epistle, and that to the Colossians, have all through a very great Resemblance; their Lirements do so correspond; that I think they may be Twin-Epistles, conceived and brought forth together, so that the very Expressions of the one occurr'd fresh in St. Paul's Memory, and were made use of in the other. Their being sent by the same Melleenger Tybucus, is a farther Probability that they were writ at the same time. There therefore being found in the Introduction of both Epistles, and no one other of St. Paul's, there is just Reason to think that it was a Term suited to the present Nation he had of those he was writing to, with Reference to the Business he was writing about. I take it therefore, that by faithful in Christ Jesus, he means here such as stand firm to Jesus Christ, which he did not count them to do, who made Circumcision necessary to Salvation, and an Observation of Jewish Rites a requisite Part of the Christian Religion. This is plain from his express Words, Gal. 5, 1, 2. Stand fast therefore in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not intangled again with the Yoke of Bondage. Behold I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing, &c. And those that contended for Submission to the Law, he calls Perverters of the Gospel of Christ, Gal. 1. 7. And more to the same Purpose may be seen in that Epistle: We shall have an occasion to confirm this Interpretation of the word πιστος, faithful, here, when we come to consider the Import of the word πιστος, Faith, ver. 15. They that would have it, and, not exegetical here, but used only to join under the Title of faithful in Christ Jesus, the Converts in Asia, I shall desire, besides Col. 1. 2. to read also 1 Cor. 2. 1. and thereby judge in what Sense they are to understand, And to the faithful in Christ Jesus here.
In this Section St. Paul thanks God for his Grace and Bounty to the Gentiles, wherein he so sets forth both God's gracious Purpose of bringing the Gentiles into his Kingdom under the Meffiah, and his actual bestowing on them Blessings of all kinds in Jesus Christ, for a compleat re-inflating them in that his heavenly Kingdom, that there could be nothing stronger suggested to make the Ephesians and other Gentile Converts not to think any more of the Law, and that much inferior Kingdom of his, established upon the Mofical Institution, and adapted to a little Canton of the Earth, and a small Tribe of Men, as now necessary to be retained under this more spiritual Institution, and celestial Kingdom erected under Jesus Christ, intended to comprehend Men of all Nations, and extend it self to the utmost Bounds of the Earth for the greater Honour of God, or, as St. Paul speaks, to the Praise of the Glory of God.

TEXT.

BLESSED be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ:

PARAPHRASE.

Blessed and magnified be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has, in and by Jesus Christ (e), furnished us (d) Gentiles with all sorts of Blessings that may fit us to be Partakers of his heavenly Kingdom, without need of any Assistant from the

NOTES.

3 (e) 'Eρακεία, In Christ; I take it to be put here emphatically, and to signify the Sime with all in all, v. 23, which is more fully explain'd, Col. 3, where there is neither Greek, nor Jew, Circumcision nor Uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, Bond or Free, but Christ is all, and in all.

(d) Ue. The right understanding of this Section, and indeed of this whole Epistle, depends very much on understanding a-right who are more especially comprehended under the Terms, Ue and We, from v. 3. to 12. For it must signify either, 1. St. Paul himself personally; but that the visible Tenour of the Discourse at first sight plainly deludes: Beides it fails not St. Paul's Modesty to attribute so much in particular to himself, as is spoke of Us and We in this Section; or if we could think he would give himself that Livery; yet v. 12, overturns it all; for ἡ ἡ παραβαίνει, We who first trusted in Christ, can by no means be admitted to be spoken by St. Paul personally of himself. Add to this, that in this very Chapter, no farther off than v. 15, St. Paul speaking of himself, says, I, in the singular Number; and so he does chap. 3. ver. 7, 8. Or,

3. It must signify Believers in general; but that παραβαίνει jointed to it will not admit, for We, the first Believers, cannot signify we all that are Believers, but restrains the Persons to some form of Men that then began to believe, i. e. the Gentiles; And then the next Words, v. 13, have an easie and natural Connection; We other Gentiles who first believed in Christ, in whom also ye, the Gentiles also of Ephesus, after ye heard, believed. Or,

3. It must signify the Convert Jews. But would it not be somewhat propensious for St. Paul so much to magnify God's Goodness and Bounty to the Jews in particular, in an Epistle writ to a Church of converted Gentiles? Wherein he addresses himself to the Gentiles, in Contradistinction to the Jews, and tells them they were to be made Co-partners with them in the Kingdom of the Meffiah, which was opened to them by abolishing of the Law of Mofes, estimated plainly in this very Section, v. 7—10. Whereas he magnifies the Riches of the Favour of God, to the Persons he is speaking of under the Denomination of, in gathering again all things, i. e. Men of all sorts, under Christ the Head; which could not mean the Jews alone; But of this he speaks more openly afterwards. Further, We here, and We, ch. 2. 3, must be the same, and denote the same Persons; but the We, ch. 2. 2, can neither be St. Paul
the Law. According as he chose us Gentiles upon Christ's Account alone (e), before the Law was, even before the Foundation of the World, to be his People (f) under Jesus the Messiah, and to live unblemishable Lives (g) before him in all Love and Affection (h) to all the Saints or Believers, of what Nation soever; Having pre-determined to take us Gentiles

According as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the World, that we should be holy, and without blame before him in love:

Having predestinated us unto the adoption of

NOTES.

alone, nor Believers in general, nor Jewish Converts in particular, as the obvious Sense of the place demonstrates: For neither St. Paul can be called we, nor is it true that all the Convert Jews had their Conversation among the Gentiles, as our Bible renders the Greek; which, if otherwise to be understood, is more directly against signifying the Jews. These therefore being excluded from being meant by me and us here, who can remain to be signified thereby but the Convert Gentiles in general? That St. Paul, who was the Apostle of the Gentiles, did often in an obliging manner speak for and with the Gentile Converts under the Term Us and We, as if he had been one of them, there are so many Inflections, that it cannot seem strange that he should do so in this Section, Rom. 5. 11 - 12, where it is plain all along under the Term Us, he speaks of the Gentile Converts. And many other Passages might be brought out of this Epistle to evince it, 1 Th. 1. 11, he faith, We have obtained an Inheritance. Thence We, 'displain ch. 8. 6, were Gentiles. So ch. 2. 4, when We, i. e. Converts of the Gentiles, were dead in Sin. For I do not remember that the Jews are any where said by St. Paul to be dead in Sin; that is one of the distinguishing Characters of the Gentiles: And there we see in the same Verse we is changed into ye: And so ch. 6, and 7, having spoke of the Gentiles in the first Person as, in the beginning of the next Verse this changed into ye, i. e. ye Ephesians, a part of those Gentiles. To this I shall add one place more out of the parallel Epistle to the Colossians, ch. 1. 12, 13, where he uses αυτος, us, for the convert Gentiles, changing the ye in the 10th Verse so as in the 12th; the matter of giving Thanks being the same all along from v. 3, where it begins, and is repeated here again, v. 12. 1. e. The removing of the Gentiles out of the Kingdom of the Devil and Darkness, into the Kingdom of his beloved Son: or as he expresseth it, Eph. 1. 6. Wherein he hath made us accepted in the Beloved. And in the same Sense he utters ἐκκλησία, us, Col. 2. 14. For those that the Hand-writing of Ordinances was against and contrary to, were the Gentiles, as he declares, Eph. 2. 14. 15, who were kept off from coming to be the People of God by those Ordinances, which were that wherein the Emnity between the Jews and Gentiles consisted, and was kept up; which therefore Christ abolished, to make way for their Union into one Body under Christ their Head. Other Passages, tending to the clearing of this, we shall have occasion to take notice of as they occur in the Sequel of this Epistle.

(f) ‘Aρρίον, Saints in St. Paul's Epistles is known to signify Christians, i. e. such as made Profession of the Gospel, for these were now the People of God.

(g) See Col. 1. 21, this Verse explained, where comparing it with the immediate preceding Words, v. 21. one may find a farther reason to take as here to signify the Gentile Converts, the same thing being applied there solely to the Gentile Converts of Colossi.

(b) Affection to all the Saints. That this is the meaning, may be seen, v. 15, where to their true Faith in Christ, which he was rejoiced with, he joy'd, τιν άξιωσαν ήλιον οη υπερ τυχας της αγαπης Love unto all the Saints. The very same thing which he takes notice of in the Colossians in the very same words, Col. 1. 4. Why Love is so often mention'd in this Epistle, as ch. 3. 17. and 4. 15. 16. and v. 2. and 6. 23. we may find a reason, ch. 2. 19 - 22, wherein there is an Account given of the Emnity between the Jews and Gentiles which Christ had taken away the Cause of; and therefore the ceasing of it was one great Mark of Men's being right in the Faith, and of their having true and worthy Notions of Christ, who had broken down the Wall of Partition, and opened the Kingdom of Heaven to all equally who believed in him, without any the least Diffusion of Nation, Blood, Profession, or Religion that they were of before, all that being now done away, and superceded by the Prince of Peace, Jesus Christ the Righteous, to make way for a more enlarged and glorious Kingdom solely by Faith in him, which now made the only Diffusion among Men; so that all who agreed in that, were thereby all brought to the same level, to be all Brethren and Fellow Members in Christ, and the People of Sons of God, as he says in the next Verse.
EPHESIANS

TEXT.

children by Jesus Christ (i), to be his Sons (k) and People according to the good Pleasure of his Will (l), To the end that the Gentiles too might praise him for his Grace and Mercy to them, and all Mankind magnifie his Glory for his abundant Goodness to them, by receiving them freely into the Kingdom of the Messiah, to be his People again in a State of Peace with him (m), barely for the sake of him that is his Beloved (n): In whom are (o) have Redemption by his Blood, viz. the Forgivenship of Transgressions, according to the Greatnes of his Grace and Favour, Which he has overflowed in towards us, in bestowing on us to full a Knowledge and Comprehension of the Extent and Design of the Gospel (p), and Prudence to comply with it, as becomes you (q); In that he hath made known to you the good Pleasure of his Will

PARAPHRASE.

6. To the praise of the glory of his grace, wherein he hath made us accepted in the beloved:
7. In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins according to the riches of his Grace;
8. Wherein he hath abounded towards us in all wisdom and prudence,
9. Having made known unto us the mystery of his will according to his good

NOTES.

4. (i) Was not by the Observances of the Law, but by Faith alone in Jesus Christ, that God predetermined to take the Gentiles into the State of Sonship or Adoption. This was another Particular for which St. Paul blest God in the Name of the Gentiles: the consideration whereof was fit to raise the Ephesians Thoughts above the Law, and keep them in firm Adherence to the Liberty of the Gospel.
6. (k) "Adoption, Sonship or Sonship belong only to the Jews before the coming of the Messiah, Rom. 9. 4. For after the Revolt of the Earth had revolted from God their Lord and Maker, and became Servants and Wordholders of the Devil, God abandoned them to the Vafflage they had chosen, and owned none of them for his but the Israelites, whom he had adopted to be his Children and People. See Exod. 4. 22. Jer. 21. 9. Lab. 1. 54. Which Adoption is expressed to Abraham in their words, Gen. 17. 7. I will be a God to thee, and to thy Seed after thee, and to the Israelites. Exod. 7. 12. I will take you to me for a People, and I will be your God; and so Lev. 26. 12. I will walk amongst you, and be your God, and ye shall be my People: And so we fee that those whom, Exod. 4. he calls his Sons, he calls in several other Places his People, as standing both when spoken Nationally for one and the same thing.
7. (l) According to the good Pleasure of his Will; spoken here in the same Sense with what is said, Rom. 9. 18. 23. 24. God under the Law took the Nation of Israel to be his People, without any Merit in them; and so 'tis of his meek good Pleasure that he even then purposed to enlarge his Kingdom under the Gospel, by admitting all that of all the Nations whatsoever would come in and submit themselves, not to the Law of Moses; but to the Rule and Dominion of his Son Jesus Christ; and this, as he says in the next words, for the Praize of the Glory of his Grace.
9. (n) I do not think that any thing of greater Force can be imagined to raise the Minds of the Ephesians above the Jewish Rituals, and keep them steady in the Freedom of the Gospel, than what St. Paul says here, viz. That God before the Foundation of the World freely determined within himself to admit the Gentiles into his Kingdom to be his People, for the Manifestation of his free Grace all the World over, that all Nations might glorify him; and this for the sake of his Son Jesus Christ, who was his Beloved, and so was chiefly regarded in all this; and therefore 'twas to mistake or pervert the End of the Gospel, and deprive this glorious Dispensation, to make it subservient to the Jewish Ritual, or to suppose that the Law of Moses was to support, or to be supported by the Kingdom of the Messiah, which was to be of a larger Extent, and settled upon another Foundation, whereof the Messiall Institution was but a narrow, faint and Typical Representation.
10. (o) We, does as plainly here hand for the Gentile Convert, as 'tis manifest it does in the parallel place, Col. 1. 13. 14.
11. (p) That by way of reply, St. Paul means a Comprehension of the revealed Will of God in the Gospel, more particularly the Mystery of God's Purpose of calling the Gentiles, and making out of them a People and Inheritance to himself in his Kingdom under the Messiah, may be perceived by reading and comparing ch. 1. 8. Col. 1. 9. 10. 28. and 2. 2. 3. which Verses, read with Attention to the Context, plainly shew what St. Paul means here.
12. (q) That this is the meaning of this Verse, I refer my Reader to Col. 1. 9. 10.
and Purpose, which was a (r) Mystery that he had
purposed in himself (i), Until the Coming of the due time of that Dispensation wherein he had prede-
termined to reduce all things again both in Heaven
and Earth under one Head (r) in Christ; In whom we
pleasure, which he hath purposed in himself:
That in the dispensa-
tion of the fulness of times
he might gather together in one all things in Christ,
both which are in heaven,
and which are on earth,
even in him:
In whom also we have

*NOTES.*

9 (r) I cannot think that God's Purpose of calling the Gentiles, so often term'd a Mystery, and so emphatically declared to be concealed from Ages, and particularly revealed to himself; and as we find in this Epistle, where it is so called by St. Paul five times, and four times in that to the Colossians, is by Chance, or what some particularly Reason. The Question was, whether the converted Gentiles should hearken to the Jews, who would persuade them it was necessary for them to submit to Circumcision and the Law, or to St. Paul, who had taught them other-
wise. Now there could be nothing of more Force to destroy the Authority of the Jews in the Case, than the showing them that the Jews knew nothing of the Matter, that it was a perfect Mystery to them, concealed from their Knowledge, and made manifest in God's good time, at the coming of the Messiah, and mostly particularly discovered to St. Paul by immediate Revela-
tion, to be communicated by him to the Gentiles, who therefore had reason to stick firm to this
great Truth, and not to be led away from the Gospel which he had taught them.

1) See ch. 3. 9.
10 (l) ἀνασκαμασάω, properly signifies to recapitulate or recalled, and put together
the Heads of a Discourse. But since that cannot possibly be the Meaning of this Word here, we must search for the Meaning which St. Paul gives it here in the Doctrine of the Gospel, and not in the Propriety of the Greek.

'Tis plain in Sacred Scripture, that Christ at first had the Rule and Supremacy over all, and was Head over all. See Col. 1. 15—17. Heb. 2. 8.


3. That Christ recovered this Kingdom, and was re-inated in the Supremacy and Head-
ship, in the Fulness of Time (when he came to destroy the Kingdom of Darkness, as St. Paul calls it here) at his Death and Resurrection: Hence, just before his Suffering, he says, John 12. 31. Now is the Judgment of this World; now shall the Prince of this World be cast out. from whence may be seen the Force of Christ's Argument, Mark. 12. 26. If I cast out Devils by the Spirit of God, then the Kingdom of God is come upon you? For the Jews acknowledged that the Spirit of God, which had been withdrawn from them, was not to be given out again till the coming of the Messiah, under whom the Kingdom of God was to be erected. See also Luke 10. 16. 19.

4. What was the State of his Power and Dominion from the Defection of the Angels, and setting up the Kingdom of Darkness, till his being re-inated in the Fulness of Time, there is little revealed in Sacred Scripture, as not so much pertaining to the Recovery of Men from their Apostasy, and re-inating them in the Kingdom of God. Tis true God gathered to himself a People, and set up a Kingdom here on Earth, which he maintain'd in the little Na-
tion of the Jews till the setting up the Kingdom of his Son, Acts 1. 3. and 2. 36. which was to take place as God's only Kingdom here on Earth for the future. As the Head of this, which is called the Church, he set Jesus Christ his Son; but that is not all, but he, having by his Death and Resurrection conquer'd Satan, John 12. 13. and 16. 11. Col. 2. 15. Heb. 2. 14. Ephes. 4. 9. has all Power given him in Heaven and Earth, and is made the Head over all things for the Church, [Mat. 28. 18. and 11. 27. John 3. 35. and 31. 3, Ephes. 4. 20. 22. Heb. 1. 2.]— and 2. 9, 1 Cor. 15. 23. 27. Phil. 2. 9—11. Col. 2. 10. Heb. 10. 12. 12. Acts 1. 27. and 2. 31. In both which places it should be translated, to the right hand of God. Which re-inating him again in the supreme Power, and restoring him, after the Conquest of the Devil, to that everlasting Headship which he had over all things, being now revealed under the Gospel, as may be seen in the Texts here quoted, and in other places; I leave to the Reader to judge, whether St. Paul might not probably have an Eye to that in this Verse, and in his having inserted the word ἀνασκαμασάω. But to search thoroughly into this Matter (which I have not in my small Reading found any where sufficiently taken notice of) would re-
require a Treatise.

I:
obtained an inheritance, being predestinated according to the purpose of him who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will. That we should be to the praise of his glory, who first trusted in Christ.

we became his Possession (παραλογία), and the Lot of his Inheritance, being predeterminated thereunto according to the Purpose of him, who never fails to bring to pass what he hath purposed within himself (καταφέρει): That we of the Gentiles, who first through Christ entertain’d Hope (προτότοκος), might bring Praise and Glory to God.

NOTES.

It may suffice at present, to take notice that this Exaltation of his is expressed, Phil. 2:9-10, by all Things in Heaven and Earth bowing the Knee at his Name; which we may see farther explained, Rev. 5:13. Which Acknowledgment of his Honour and Power, was that perhaps which the proud Angel that fell, refusing, thereupon rebelled.

If our Translators have rendered the sense of ἐνθησάμενος (ένθησάμενος) right, by gather together into one, it will give Countenance to those who are inclin’d to understand, by things in Heaven, and things on Earth, the Jewish and Gentile World: For of them St. John plainly says, John 14:2: That Jesus should die, not for the Nation of the Jews only; but that also many of his he should gather together in one the Children of God that were scatter’d abroad, i.e. the Gentiles that were to believe, and were by Faith to become the Children of God; whereas Christ himself speaks thus, John 10:16. Other Sheep I have which are not of this Fold, them also I must bring, and they shall hear my Voice, and there shall be one Fold, and one Shepherd. This is the gathering together into one that our Saviour speaks of, and that is which very well suits with the Apostle’s Design here, where he says in express Words, that Christ makes us “συνοπτικοί,” makes both Jews and Gentiles one, Ephes. 2:11. Now that St. Paul should sue Heaven and Earth for Jews and Gentiles, will not be thought so very strange, if we consider that Daniel himself expresses the Nation of the Jews by the Name of Heaven, Dan. 8:10. Nor does he want an Example of it in our Saviour himself, who, Luke 21:26. by Powers of Heaven, plainly signifies the great Men of the Jewish Nation: Nor is this the only place in this Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians, which will bear this Interpretation of Heaven and Earth; he who shall read the fifteen first Verses of ch. 2, and carefully weigh the Expressions, and observe the Dirit of the Apostle in them, will not find that he does manifest Violence to St. Paul’s Sense, if he understands by the Family in Heaven and Earth, v. 15, the united Body of Christians, made up of Jews and Gentiles, living still promiscuously amongst those two sorts of People, who continued in their Unbelief. However this Interpretation I am not positive in, but offer it as Matter of Enquiry, to such who think an impartial Search into the true Meaning of the Sacred Scripture the best Employment of all the Time they have.

11 (a) So the Greek word ἐνθησάμενος will signify, if taken, as I think it may, in the Passive Voice, i.e. we Gentiles, who were formerly in the Possession of the Devil, are now by Christ brought into the Kingdom, Dominion and Possession of God again. This Sense forsooth is very well to agree with the Design of the Place, viz. That the Gentiles we had now in Christ a Way open’d for their Returning into the Possession of God under their proper Head Jesus Christ. To which fuit the Words that follow, that we, who first amongst the Gentiles entertain’d Terms of Reconciliation by Christ, might be to the Praise of his Glory, i.e. so that we of the Gentiles who first believed, did, as it were, open a new Scene of Praise and Glory to God, by being restored to his People, and become again a Part of his Possession: a thing not before understood nor look’d for. See Acts 13; 14, and 16, 3, 14—15. The Apostle’s Design here being to satisfy the Ephesians, that such as are, by Faith in Christ, restored to all the Privileges of the People of God, as far forth as the Jews themselves. See ch. 2. 11—22. particularly v. 19. ἐνθησάμενος, it may, I humbly conceive, do no Violence to the Place, to suggest this Sense, we became the Inheritance, instead of we have obtained an Inheritance; that being the Way wherein God speaks of his People the Israelites, of whom he says, Deut. 32:9. The Lord’s Portion is his People, Jacob is the Lot of his Inheritance. See also Deut. 4. 20. 1 Kings 8:51. and other Places. And the Inheritance, which the Gentiles were to obtain, was to be obtained, we see Ch. 1. 12, 13, by their being translated out of the Kingdom of Satan into the Kingdom of Christ. So that take it either way, that we have obtained an Inheritance, or we are become his People and Inheritance; it in effect amounts to the same thing, and so I leave it to the Reader.

12 (a) i.e. God had purposed, even before the taking of the Israelites to be his People, to take in the Gentiles by Faith in Christ to be his People again: And what he purposed he will do, without asking the Counsel or Consent of any one, and therefore you may be sure of this your Inheritance, whether the Jews consent to it or no.

12 (*’) I was a part of the Character of the Gentiles, to be without Hope; see ch. 2. 12. But when they received the Gospel of Jesus Christ, then they ceased to be Aliens from the Commonwealth of Israel, and became the People of God, and had Hope as well as the Jews; or as St. Paul expresses it in the Name of the converted Romans, Rom. 5: 2. We rejoice in the hope of the Glory of God. This is another Evidence that προτότοκος, me, here stands for the Gentile Convert. That the Jews were not without Hope, or without God in the World, appears from that very Text,
13. God. And ye Ephesians are also in Jesus Christ become God's People and Inheritance (§), having heard the Word of Truth, the good Tidings of your Salvation, and, having believed in him, have been sealed by the Holy Ghost; Which was promised, and is the Pledge and Evidence of being the People of God (ε), his Inheritance given out (for) the Redemption (θ) of the purchased Possession, that ye also might bring Praise and Glory to God (ε).

Text, Eph. 2. 12. where the Gentiles are set apart under a discriminating Description properly belonging to them, the Sacred Scripture no where speaks of the Hebrew Nation, that People of God, as without God, or without Hope, the contrary appears every where in Genesis 17, and 12. Acts 24. 15, and 26. 6, 7, and 28. 20. And therefore the Apostle might well say, that those of the Gentiles that first entertain'd Hopes in Christ, were to the Praise of the Glory of God. All Mankind having thereby have a new and greater Subject of Praising and Glorifying God for this great and unpeachable Grace and Goodness to them, of which before they had no Knowledge, no Thought, no Expedition.

13 (§) Eς ἐγγυστὰ, seems in the Tenor and Scheme of the Words to refer to έ η εξελθα ταῦτα, ver. 11. St. Paul making a Parallel here between those of the Gentiles that first believed, and the Ephesians, tells them, that as those, who heard and received the Gospel before them, became the People of God, & to the Praise and Glory of his Name; so they the Ephesians by believing, became the People of God, & to the Praise and Glory of his Name, only in this Verse there is an Ellipsis of Ephesians.

14 (?) The Holy Ghost was neither promised nor given to the Heathen, who were Apostates from God, and Enemies; but only to the People of God, and therefore the Convert Ephesians having received it, might be assured thereby that they were now the People of God, and rest satisfied in this Pledge of it.

(a) The giving out of the Holy Ghost, and the Gift of Miracles, was the great Means whereby the Gentiles were brought to receive the Gospel, and become the People of God.

(b) Redemption in Sacred Scripture signifies not always strictly paying a Ransom for a Slave delivered from Bondage, but Deliverance from a slavish Estate into Liberty: So God declares to the Children of Israel in Egypt, Exod. 6. & 8. I will redeem you with a stretched out Arm. What is meant by it is clear from the former part of the Verse, in these Words, I will bring you out from under the Burden of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out of their Bondage. And in the next Verse he adds, And I will take you to me for my People, and I will be to you a God: The very Case here. As God in the place cited promised to deliver his People out of Bondage under the word redeem; so Deut. 7. 8. he tells them that he had brought them out with a mighty hand, and redeemed them out of the House of Bondage, from the hand of Pharaoh King of Egypt: Which Redemption was performed by God, who is called the Lord of Hosts, their Redeemer, without the Payment of any Ransom. But here there was Expiration, a Purchasement; and what that Thing purchased was, we may see, Acts 20. 28. 29. the Church of God, ζητεύσω, which he purchased with his own Blood, to be a People that should be the Lord's Portion, and the Lot of his Inheritance, as Moses speaks of the Children of Israel, Deut. 32. 9. And hence St. Peter calls the Christians, 1 Pet. 1. 19. οἱ ἐξ ἐκκλησίας, which in the Margin of our Bible is rightly translated a purchased People; But if any one takes ἐκκλησίας, v. 11. to signify me obtained an Inheritance, then unknowingly, in this Verse, will signify that Inheritance, and ζητεύσω ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, until the Redemption of that purchased Inheritance, i.e. until the Redemption of our Bodies, viz. Resurrection unto Eternal Life. But besides that this seems to have a more harth and forced Sense, the other Interpretation is more consonant to the Style and Current of the Sacred Scripture, and (which weighs more with me) answers St. Paul's Design here, in so much as he is not to establish the Ephesians in a settled Persuasion, that they, and all the other Gentiles that believed in Christ, were as much the People of God, his Lot, and his Inheritance, as the Jews themselves, and equally Partners with them of all the Privileges and Advantages belonging thereunto, as is visible by the Tenor of the 2d Chapter. And this is the Use St. Paul mentions of God's setting his Seal, 2 Tim. 2. 19. that it might mark who are his: And according we find it apply'd, Eph. 7. 2. to the Foreheads of his Servants, that they might be known to be his, ch. 4. 4. and in the next Words.

S E C T.
Having in the foregoing Section thanked God for the great Favours and Mercies which from the Beginning he had purposed for the Gentiles under the Meffiah, in such a Description of that Design of the Almighty, as was fit to raise their Thoughts above the Law, and as St. Paul calls them beggarly Elements of the Jewish Constitution, which was nothing in comparison of the great and glorious Design of the Gospel, taking Notice of their standing firm in the Faith he had taught them, and thanking God for it, he here in this prays God that he would enlighten the Minds of the Ephesians, to see fully the great Things that were actually done for them, and the glorious Estate they were in under the Gospel, of which in this Section he gives such a Draught, as in every Part of it shews, that in the Kingdom of Christ they are set far above the Mosaical Rites, and enjoy the spiritual and incomprehensible Benefits of it, not by the Tenure of a few outward Ceremonies; but by their Faith alone in Jesus Christ, to whom they are united, and of whom they are Members, who is exalted to the Top of all Dignity, Dominion and Power, and they with him their Head.

TEXT.  
15 Wherefore I also, after I heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus, and  

PARAPHRASE.  
15 Wherefore I also here in my Confinement having heard (d) of the Continuance of your Faith in

NOTES.
15 (d) Ἀκούσας τινός ἐκ τῆς ἡττήσεως τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, Wherefore I also after I heard of your Faith in the Lord Jesus. St. Paul's hearing of their Faith here mention'd, cannot signify his being informed that they had received the Gospel, and believed in Christ; this would have looked impertinent for him to have told them, since he himself had converted them, and had lived a long time amongst them, as has been already observed. We must therefore seek another Reason of his mentioning his hearing of their Faith, which must signify something else than his being barely acquainted that they were Christians, and this we may find in these Words, Ch. 3. 13. Wherefore I desire that ye faint not at my Tribulations for you. He, as Apollo of the Gentiles, had alone preached Freedom from the Law, which the other Apollos who had not that Province (see Gal. 2. 9.) in their converting the Jews, seem to have laid nothing of, as is plain from Acts 21. 20-21. 'Twas upon account of his preaching, that the Christian Converts were not under any Subjection to the Observances of the Law, and that the Law was abolished by the Death of Christ, that he was seized at Jerusalem, and sent as a Criminal to Rome to be tried for his Life, where he was now a Prisoner. He being therefore afraid that the Ephesians, and other Convert Gentiles, seeing him thus under Persecution, in Hold, and in Danger of Death, upon the Score of his being the Preacher, and zealous Propagator and Minister of this great Article of the Christian Faith, which seem'd to have had its Rife and Defence wholly from him, might give it up, and not stand firm in the Faith which he had taught them, was rejoiced when in his Confinement he heard that they persisted steadfast in that Faith, and in their Love to all the Saints, i.e. as well the Convert Gentiles that did not, as those Jews that did, conform to the Jewish Rites. This I take to be the Meaning of his hearing of their Faith here mentioned, and conformably hereunto, Ch. 6. 19, 20, he deifies their Prayers, that he may with Boldness preach the Mystery of the Gospel, of which he is the Ambassador in Bonds. This Mystery of the Gospel, 'tis plain from Ch. 1. 9, Ch. and Ch. 7. 3-7, and other Places, was God's gracious Purpofe of taking the Gentiles, or Gentiles, to be his People under the Gospel, St. Paul, while he was a Prisoner at Rome, wrote to two other Churches, that at Philippi, and that at Colossi: To the Colossians, Ch. 1. 8. he was almost ver-

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in Christ Jesus, and your Love to all the Saints, (e) Cease not to give Thanks for you, making Mention of you in my Prayers; That the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Glory, (f) would endow love unto all the saints, (e) Cease not to give thanks for you, making mention of you in my prayers;

That the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give unto you the spirit of wisdom

NOTES.

baim the same Expression that he doth here, Having heard of your Faith in Christ Jesus, and of your Love which ye have to all the Saints: He gives Thanks to God for their knowing and sticking to the Grace of God in Truth, which had been taught them by Epaphras, who had informed St. Paul of this, and their Affection to him, whereupon he expresses his great Concern that they should continue in that Faith, and not be drawn away to Judaizing, which may be seen from verse 17 of this Chapter, to the End of the Second. So that the hearing of their Faith, which he says both to the Ephesians and Colossians, is not his being told that they were Christians, but their continuing in the Faith they were converted to and instructed in, viz. That they became the People of God, and were admitted into his Kingdom only by Faith in Christ, without Submitting to the Mosaic Institution, and legal Observances, which was the thing he was afraid they should be drawn to, either through any Defpondency in themselves, or any Influence of others. Nor was it he was removed from, and in Bonds, and thereby give up that Truth and Freedom of the Gospel which he had preferred to them.

To the same Purpose he writes to the Philippians, Chr. 1. 3-5, telling them that he gave Thanks to God, even of every one of you, upon every Mention was made of them, upon every Account he received of their continuing in the Fellowship and Profession of the Gospel, as it had been taught them by him, without changing or waverings at all, which is the same with hearing of their Faith, and that thereupon he prays, amongst other things, chiefly that they might be kept from Judaizing: As appears, ver. 27, 28, where the Thing he desired to hear of them was, that they stood firm in one Spirit, and one Mind, jointly contending for the Faith of the Gospel, in nothing starting by those who are Offenders; so the Words are, and not their Adversaries. Now there was no Party at that Time, who were in Opposition to the Gospel which St. Paul preached, and with whom the Convert Gentiles had any Difference, but these were wanted for keeping up Circumcision, and the Jewish Rites under the Gospel. These were they whom St. Paul apprehended alone as likely to alright the Convert Gentiles, and make them start out of the Way from the Gospel, which is the proper Import of κυραιονται. Tho' this Passage clearly enough indicate what it was that he was and should always be glad to hear of them, yet he more plainly shews his apprehension of Danger to them, to be from the Challengers for Judaizing, in the express Words, he gives them again that Sort of Men, Chap. 2. 2, 3. So that this Hearing which he mentions, is the hearing of these three Churches perilling firmly in the Faith of the Gospel which he had taught them, without being drawn at all towards Judaizing. That was that for which St. Paul gave Thanks, and it may reasonably be presumed, that if he had writ to any other Churches of converted Gentiles, whilst he was a Prisoner at Rome, upon the like carriage there's something the same Kind would have been said to them. So that the great Business of these three Epistles, written during this being a Prisoner at Rome, was to explain the Nature of the Kingdom of God under the Messianick, from which the Gentiles were now no longer shut out by the Ordinances of the Law; and confirm the Churches in the Belief of it. St. Paul, being chosen and sent by God to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, had in all his Preaching set forth the Largeness and Freedom of the Kingdom of God now laid open to the Gentiles, by taking away the Wall of Partition that kept them out. This made the Jews his Enemies, and upon this Account they had seiz'd him, and he was now a Prisoner at Rome. Fearing that the Gentiles might be wrought upon to submit to the Law now that he was thus removed, or suffering for this Gospel, he tells these three Churches, that he rejoiced at their standing firm in the Faith, and thereupon writes to them to explain and confirm to them the Kingdom of God under the Messianick, into which all Men now had an Entrance by Faith in Christ, without any Regard to the Terms whereby the Jews were formerly admitted. The setting-forth the Largeness and free Admission into this Kingdom, which was so much for the Glory of God, and so much shewed his Mercy and Bounty to Mankind, that he makes it as it were a new Creation, is, I say, plainly the Business of these three Epistles, which tend all visibly to the same thing, that any one that reads them cannot mistake the Apostle's Meaning, they giving such a clear Light one to another.

15 (e) All the Saints. One finds in the very wording of these Words, that the Word All is emphatical here, and put in for some particular Reason. I can, I confess, see no other but this, viz. That they were not by the Judaizers in the least drawn away from their Eieeen and Love of those who were not circumcised, nor observed the Jewish Rites; which was a Proof to him that they stood firm in the Faith and Freedom of the Gospel, which he had instructed them in.

17 (f) Father of Glory: An Hebrew Expression which cannot well be changed, since it signifies his being glorious himself, being the Fountain from whence all Glory is derived, and to whom all Glory is to be given. In all which Sense it may be taken here, where there is nothing that appropriates it in peculiar to any of them, your
and revelation, in the knowledge of him:

18. The eyes of your understanding being enlightened; that ye may know what is the hope of his calling, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints,

And what is the exceeding greatness of his power towards us who believe, according to the working of his mighty power:

Which he wrought in Christ when he raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand, in the heavenly places,

Far above all principals your Spirits with Wisdom, (g) and Revelation, (h) whereby you may know him; and enlighten the Eyes of our Understandings, that you may see what Hopes his calling you to be Christians carries with it, and what an abundant Glory it is to the Saints to become his People, and the Lot of his Inheritance; And what an exceeding great Power he has employ'd upon us: (i) Who believe a Power corresponding to that mighty Power which he exerted in the raising Christ from the Dead, and in setting him next to himself over all Things relating to his heavenly Kingdom, (k) Far above all Principals, and Power,

NOTES.

(g) Wisdom, is visibly used here for a right Conception and Understanding of the Gospel. See Note, ver. 8.

(h) Revelation, is used by St. Paul, not always for immediate Inspiration, but as it is meant here, and in most other Places, for such Truths which could not have been found out by humane Reason, but had their first Discovery from Revelation, though Men afterwards come to the Knowledge of those Truths by reading them in the Sacred Scripture, where they are set down for their Information.

(i) Ut here, and you, Ch. 2. 1. and us, Ch. 2. 6., 'tis plain signifies the same, who being dead, partook of the Energy of that great Power that raised Christ from the Dead, i.e. the Convert Gentiles, and all those glorious Things he, in ver. 18—23, intimates to them, by praying they may see them, he here in this 15th Verse, is bellow'd on them as Believers, and not as Observers of the Mosaical Rites.

(k) Exordium, in heavenly Places, says our Translation, and ut ver. 3. but possibly the Marginal reading, emporia, will be thought the better, if we compare ver. 23. He set him at his right Hand, i.e. transferred on him his Power; emporia, i.e. in his heavenly Kingdom; that is to say, set him at the Head of his heavenly Kingdom, see ver. 22. This Kingdom in the Gospel is call'd indifferently Καιρών, the Kingdom of God; and παράταση, the Kingdom of Heaven, God had before a Kingdom and People in this World, ver. 17, that Kingdom which he ered to himself of the Jews, selected and brought back to himself out of the apostatized Mass of revolted and rebellious Mankind: With this his People he dwelt, among them he had his Habitation, and ruled as their King in a peculiar Kingdom; and therefore we see that our Saviour calls the Jews, Matt. 3. 12. The Children of the Kingdom. But that Kingdom, though God's, was not yet Καιρών τω Καιρων, the Kingdom of Heaven, that came with Christ; See Matt. 1. 2. and 10. That was but Αγιος of the Earth, compared to this Καιρών, heavenly Kingdom, which was to be erected under Jesus Christ; and with that Sort of Delineation our Saviour seems to speak and use those Words from earthly, and Αγιος, heavenly, John 3. 12. In his Discourse there with Nicodemus, he tells him, unless a Man were born again he could not see the Kingdom of God. This being born again stucks with Nicodemus, which Christ converses with him, finding he understood not that which belonged to the Jewish Constitution, wherein to be baptized, for Admission into that Kingdom, was called and counted to be born again; and therefore says, if, having spoken to you Αγιος, things relating to your own earthly Constitution, you comprehend me not, how shall you receive what I say, if I speak to you, Αγιος, heavenly things, i.e. of that Kingdom which is purely heavenly? And according to this St. Paul's Words here, Eph. 1. 20. and 2. 7. (which occur again, Col. 1. 15, Col. 1. 16, 20.) may perhaps not unhappily be interpreted of the spiritual heavenly Kingdom of God, and that also of the more earthly one of the Jews, whole Rites and positive Institutions St. Paul calls Elements of the World, Gal. 4. 9. Col. 2. 2. which were both at the coming of the Messiah consolidated into one, and together re-call'd under one Head, Christ Jesus. The whole Ditto of this, and the two following Chapters, being to declare the Union of Jews and Gentiles into one Body, under Christ the Head of the heavenly Kingdom, and before that expressly compares Eph. 2. 10. with Col. 1. 20. (in both which Places 'tis evident the Apostle speaks of the same thing, viz. God's reconciling of both Jews and Gentiles by the Cross of Christ) will scarce be able to avoid thinking, that things in Heaven, and things on Earth, signify the People of the one and the other of their Kingdoms.

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and
and Might, and Dominion, (l) and any other, either Man or Angel, of greater Dignity and Excellence, that we may come to be acquainted with, or hear the Names of either in this World, or the World to come. And hath put all Things in Subjection to him, and him, invested with a Power over all Things, he hath constituted Head of the Church, which is his Body, which is composed by him alone, (m) from whom comes all that gives any thing of Excellence and Perfection to any of the Members of the Church: Where to be a Jew or a Greek, circumcised, or uncircumcised, a Barbarian, or a Scythenian, a Slave, or a Freeman, matters not; but to be united to him to partake of his Influence and Spirit, is all in all.

And (n) you, also being dead in Trespasses and Sins, in which you Gentiles, before you were converted

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21 (l) These abstract Names are frequently used in the New Testament according to the Style of the Eastern Languages, for those vested with Power and Dominion, &c. and that not only here on Earth among Men, but in Heaven among superior Beings: And so often are taken to express Ranks and Degrees of Angels: And though they are generally agreed to do so here; yet there is no Reason to exclude earthly Potentates out of this Text, when ordine necessarily includes them; for that Men in Power are one Sort of ἐξουσίων and ἐπιστάσεως, in a Scripture-sense, our Saviour’s own Words shew, Luke 12: 11. and 20. Besides the Apostle’s chief Aim here being to satyfie the Ephesians, that they were not to be subjected to the Law of Moses, and the Government of those who rule’d by it, but they were called to be of the Kingdom of the Messiah: It is not to be supposed, that here, where he speaks of Christ’s Exaltation to a Power and Dominion paramount to all other, he should not have an Eye to that little and low Government of the Jews, which it was beneath the Subjects of so glorious a Kingdom as that of Jesus Christ to submit themselves to: And this the next Words do farther enforce.

23 (m) Παραξενοσ, Falsifies, here is taken in a Paffive Sense, for a Thing to be filled or completed, as appears by the following Words, of him that falseth all in all, i. e. It is Christ the Head who perieseth the Church, by supplying and furnishing all Things to all the Members, to make them what they are and ought to be in that Body. See Ch. 5. 18. Col. 2. 10. and 3. 10. 11.

1 (n) Καὶ, And, gives us here the Thread of St. Paul’s Discourse, which is impossible to be understood without seeing the Train of it; without that View it would be like a Rope of Gold Dull, all the Parts would be excellent, and of Value, but would seem heaped together, without Order or Connection. This And here, its true, ties the Parts together, and points out the Connection and Coherence of St. Paul’s Discourse: but yet it stands so far from ἐξορθώσει, fet, in v. 20. of the foregoing Chapter; and conformation, quickened, v. 4. of this Chapter, which are the two Verbs it copulates together: that by one not acquainted with St. Paul’s Style, it would scarce be obler’d or admitted, and therefore it may not be amiss to lay it in its due Light, so as to be visible to an ordinary Reader. St. Paul, v. 18—20 prays that the Ephesians may be so enlightened, as to see the great Advantages they received by the Gospel: That he specifies there: 1. What great Hopes it gave them. 2. What an exceeding Glory accompanied the Inheritance of the Saints. 3. The mighty Power exerted on God’s Behalf, which bore some Proportion to that which he employ’d in the raising Christ from the Dead, and placing him at his Right Hand: Upon the Mention of which, his Mind, being full of that glorious Image, he lets his Pen run into a Description of the Exaltation of Christ, which leads to the End of that Chapter, and then subsumes the Thread of his Discourse; which in short runs thus: "I pray God that the Eyes of your "Understandings may be enlightened, that you may see the exceeding great Power of God, "which is employ’d upon us who believe: [ενεκερ. εὐς] corresponding to that Energy whereof "with he raised Christ from the Dead, and seated him at his Right Hand; for so also has "he raised you, who were dead in Trespasses and Sins: Ut, I say, who were dead in Trespasses "and Sins has he quickened, and raised together with Christ; and feared together with him in "his heavenly Kingdom." This is, in short, the Train and Connection of his Discourse from "Ch. 1. 18. to 2. 5. though it be interrupted by many Incident Thoughts; which, as his "Manner is, he enlarges upon by the way, and then returns to the Thread of his Discourse. For here again in this first Verse of the second Chapter, we must observe, that having
2 Wherein in time past ye walked according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience.

3 Among whom also we versed to the Gospel, walked according to the State and Constitution of this World, (σ) Conforming your felves to the Will and Pleasure of the Prince of the Power of the Air, (φ) the Spirit that now yet po- sesses and works (γ) in the Children of Disobedi- ence. (φ) Of which Number even we all having for-
merly been, (a) lived in the Luft of our Flesh, fulfilling the Defires thereof, and of our blinded perverted Minds. (i) But (w) God who is rich in Mercy, (w) through his great Love wherewith he loved us, 

5. Even us Gentiles who were dead (x) in Trespassers hath he quickened, (y) together with Christ (by Grace ye are faved) And hath raised (z) us up together with Christ, and make us Partakers in and with Jesus Christ, of the Glory and Power of his heavenly Kingdom, which God has put into his Hands, and put under his Rule: That in the Ages (a) to come he might shew the exceeding Riches of his 

all had our conversation in times past, in the lusts of our Flesh, fulfilling the desires of the flesh, and of the mind; and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others. 

But God who is rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he loved us, 

Even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ, (by grace ye are faved) 

And hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus. 

That in the Ages to come he might shew the exceeding

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3 (a) "Of by cannot cognize, Amongst whom we also all had our Conversation: For if ye be, as the converted Jews, or Converts in general, it is not true. If we stands (as is evident it doth) for the converted Gentiles, of what Force or Tendency is it for the Apostle to say, we the converted Gentiles heretofore lived among the unconverted Gentiles? But it is of great Force, and to his Purpose, in magnifying the free Grace of God to them, to say, we of the Gentiles, who are now admitted to the Kingdom of God, were formerly of that very Sort of Men, in whom the Prince of the Power of the Air ruled, leading Lives in the Lusts of our Flesh, obeying the Will and Inclinations thereof, and so as much exposed to the Wrath of God, as those who still remain in their Apoacy under the Domain of the Devil. (i) This was the State that the Gentile World were given up to. See Rom. 1. 21, 24. Parallel to this 3d Verse of this 2d Chapter, we have a Passage in Ch. 4. 17—20, of the same Epibole, where he saith, 2a word now, even as the other Gentiles, plainly answers 2b is so said, even as the others here; and is not the least of worry in the great and the great to the little and the little, in the Vanity of their Minds, having their Understandings darkened. answers, is not twigustinian , αυτοί καὶ οὐκ οἱ ομοίως οἱ τοῖς ὑπερπαντοί τῷ ἁστασίῳ καὶ ὑποκλίτων, in the Luft of our Flesh, fulfilling the Defires of the Flesh and of the Mind. He that compares these Places, and considet that what is said in the 4th Chapter contains the Character of the Gentile World, of whom it is spoken: I say, he that reads and considers these two Places well together, and the Correspondence between them, can not doubt of the Sense I understand this Verse in; and that St. Paul here under the Terms we and our speaks of the Gentile Converts.

4 (w) 'O Śii, But, connects this Verse admirably well with the immediately preceding, which makes the Parts of that incident Discourse cohere, which ending in this Verse, St. Paul in the beginning of 4. 5, takes up the Thread of his Discourse again, though if nothing had come between, though zā but, in the beginning of this 4th Verse, rather breaks than continues the Sense of the whole. See Note, ver. 1. 

(w) Rich in Mercy. The Design of the Apostle being in this Epibole to set forth the exceeding great Mercy and Bounty of God to the Gentiles under the Gospel, as is manifest at large, Ch. 3. It is plain that this is, here in this Verse, must mean the Gentile Converts.

5 (x) Dead in Trespassers, does not mean here, under the Condensation of Death; or obnoxious to Death for our Transgrefions, but to under the Power and Dominion of Sin, so helpful in that State, into which for our Apoacy we were delivered up by the just Judgment of God, that we had no more Thought, nor Hope, nor Ability to get out of it, than Men dead and buried have to get out of the Grave. This State of Death he declares to be the State of Gentilism, Col. 2. 13. in the Words, And you being dead in Trespassers, and the Un circumcision of your Flesh, hath God quickened together with him, i. e. Christ. (y) Quicken'd. This Quickening was by the Spirit of God given to those who by Faith in Christ were united to him, became Members of Christ, and Sons of God, partaking of the Adopation, by which Spirit they were put into a State of Life; see Rom. 8. 14—15. and made capable, if they would, to live to God, and not to obey the Lusts of the Luft thereof, nor to yield their Members Inirmiments of Sin unto Iniquity; but to give up themselves to God, as Men alive from the Dead, and their Members to God as Instruments of Righteousness, as our Apostle exhorts the converted Romans to do, Rom. 6. 11—13.

6 (a) Wherein this raising consists may be seen, Rom. 6. 1—10.

7 (a) The great Favour and Goodness of God manifestly felt in the Salvation of Sinners in all Ages: But that which most eminently sets forth the Glory of his Grace, was those who were
Grace in his Kindness towards us through Christ Jesus. For by God’s Free Grace it is that ye (b) are through Faith in Christ (c) saved and brought into the Kingdom of God, and made his People; not by any thing you did your selves to deserve it; it is the Free Gift of God, who, might, if he had so pleased, with Justice have left you in that forlorn Estate. That no Man might have any Pretence of Boasting of being rich of his grace in his Kindness towards us, through Christ Jesus. For by grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of your selves: it is the gift of God:

8. Not of works, lest any man should boast:

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were first of all converted from Heathenism to Christinity; and brought out of the Kingdom of the Devil, in which they were as dead Men, without Life, Hope, or to much as a Thought of Salvation, or a better State. Into the Kingdom of God. Hence that he says, Ch. 1. 12. That we should be to the Praise of his Glory who first believed. To which he seems to have an Eye in this Verse; the first Conversion of the Gentiles being a surprizing and wonderful Effec

1. (b) The Change of me in the foregoing Verse, to ye here, and the like Change observable, v. 1, and 5. plainly shews, that the Peripns spoken of under these two Denominations, are of the same Kind, i. e. Gentile Converts; only St. Paul every now and then, the more effectually to move those he is writing to, enquires into ye, and wise wise; and so makes, as it were, a little fort of Distinction, that he may the more emphatically and solemnly address himself to them.

(c) Saved: He that reads St. Paul with Attention, cannot but observe, that speaking of the Gentiles, he calls their being brought back again from their Apostacy into the Kingdom of God, their being saved. Before they were thus brought to be the People of God again under the Mefiah, they were, as they are here described, Aliens, Enemies, without Hope, without God, dead in Trespasses and Sins; and therefore when by Faith in Christ they came to be reconciled, and to be in Covenant with God, as his Subjects and Lige People, they were in the Way of Salvation, and if they persevered, could not mist attaining of it, though they were not yet in actual Poffeffion. The Apostle, whole Aim it is in this Epiftle to give them an high Sense of God’s extraordinary Grace and Favour to them, and to raise their Thoughts above the mean Observances of the Law, shews them that there was nothing in them; no Deeds or Works of theirs, nothing they could do to please or commend themselves, contributed or ought to the bringing them into the Kingdom of God under the Gospel; that it was all purely the Work of Grace, for they were all dead in Trespasses and Sins, and could do nothing, not make one Step, or the least Motion towards it. Faith, which alone gain’d them Admittance, and alone open’d the Kingdom of Heaven to Believers, was the sole Gift of God; Men by their natural Faculties could not attain to it. ‘Tis Faith which is the Source and Beginning of this new Life; and the Gentile World, who were without Sense, without Hope of any such Thing, could no more help themselves, or do any thing to procure it themselves, than a dead Man can do any thing to procure himself Life. ‘Tis God here does all, by Revelation of what they could never discover from their own natural Faculties, he bellow’s on them the Knowledge of the Messiah, and the Faith of the Gospel; which as soon as they have received, they are in the Kingdom of God, in a new State of Life, and being thus quicken’d by the Spirit, may, as Men alive, work if they will. Hence St. Paul says, Rom. 10. Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God, having in the foregoing Verses declared, there is no believing without hearing, and no hearing without a Preacher, and no Preacher unless he be sent, i. e. the good Tidings of Salvation by the Messiah, and the Doctrine of Faith was not, nor could be, known to any, but to those to whom God communicat’d it, by the preaching of Prophets and Apostles, to whom he revealed it, and whom he sent on this Errand with this Divinity. And thus God now gave Faith to the Ephesians, and the other Gentiles, to whom he sent St. Paul, and others his Fellow-Workers to bellow on them the Knowledge of Salvation, Reconciliation, and Restoration into his Kingdom of the Messiah. All which, tho’ revealed by the Spirit of God in the Writings of the Old Testament, yet the Gentile World was kept wholly Strangers from the Knowledge of, by the Ceremonial Law of Moses, which was the Wall of Partition that kept the Gentiles at a Distance, Aliens and Enemies; and which Wall God, according to his gracious Purpose before the creation of it, having now broke down, communat’d to them the Doctrine of Faith, and admitted them upon their Acceptance of it, to all the Advantages and Privileges of his Kingdom; all which was done of his Free Grace, without any Merit, Procurement of their’s, he was found of them who sought him not, and was made manifest to them that asked not after him. I desire him, that would clearly understand this Chap. 2. of the Ephesians, to read carefully with it, Rom. 10. and 1 Cor.
of himself, or his own Works or Merit. So that in this new State in the Kingdom of God, we are and ought to look upon our selves not as deriving any thing from our selves, but as the mere Work-

**NOTES.**

1 Cor. 2. 9-15. where he will see, that Faith is wholly owing to the Revelation of the Spirit of God, and the Communication of that Revelation by Men sent by God, who attained this Knowledge, not by the Affliance of their own natural Part, but from the Revelation of the Spirit of God. Thus Faith we see is the Gift of God, and with it, when Men by Baptism are admitted into the Kingdom of God, comes the Spirit of God, which brings Life with it: For the attaining this Gift of Faith, Men do or can do nothing, Grace hitherto does all, and Works are wholly excluded; and God himself creates them to do good Works, but when by him they are made living Creatures in this new Creation, it is then expected, that being quickened, they should act: and hence forwards Works are required, not as the meritorious Cause of Salvation, but as a necessary, indispensible Qualification of the Subjects of God's Kingdom under his Son Jesus Christ; it being impossible that any one should at the same time be a Rebel and a Subject now: And though none can be Subjects of the Kingdom in this concerning those who, having been in the Faith that has been once believed on them, sincerely endeavour to conform themselves to the Laws of their Lord and Master Jesus Christ; and God gives eternal Life to all those, and those only that do so; yet eternal Life is the Gift of God, the Gift of Free Grace, since their Works of sincere Obedience afford no manner of Title to it; their Righteousness is imperfect, i.e. they are all unrighteous, and so deserve Death; but God gives them Life on the account of his Righteousness, v. 17. The Righteousness of Faith which is by Jesus Christ; and so they are still loved by Grace.

Now when God hath, by calling them into the Kingdom of his Son, thus quickened Men, and they are by his free Grace created in Christ Jesus unto good Works, that then Works are required of them, we see in this that they are called on, and pressed to walk worthy of God, who hath called them to his Kingdom and Glory, v. 7-12. And to the same Purpose here.

Chap. 2. 1. Eph. 2. 12. 1 Thess. 4. 1. 12. That they are commanded to obey God as living Men. This is the Tenour of the whole New Testament: The Apostle Heathen World were dead, and were of their own selves in that State not capable of doing anything to procure their Translation into the Kingdom of God, that was purely the Work of Grace: But when they received the Gospel, they were then made alive by Faith, and by the Spirit of God; and then they were in a State of Life, and working and working were expected of them. Thus Grace and Works consist without any Difficulty; that which has caused the Perplexity and seeming Contradiction, has been Men Mistaking the Kingdom of God: God in the Fulness of Time sent up his Kingdom in this World under his Son; into which he admitted all those who believed on him, and received Jesus the Messiah for their Lord. Thus by Faith in Jesus Christ Men became the People of God, and Subjects of his Kingdom; and being by Baptism admitted into it, were from henceforth, during their continuing in the Faith, and Profession of the Gospel, accounted Saints, the Beloved of God, the Faithful in Christ Jesus, the People of God favored, &c. for in these Terms, and the like, the Sacred Scripture speaks of them. And indeed those, who were thus translated into the Kingdom of the Son of God, were no longer in the dead State of the Gentiles; but having passed from Death to Life, were in the State of the Living, in the Way to eternal Life; which they were fire to attain, if they persevered in that Life which the Gospel required, with Faith and sincere Obedience. But yet this was not an actual Possession of eternal Life in the Kingdom of God in the World to come, for by Apostacy or Diobedience, this, though sometimes called Salvation, might be forfeited and lost; whereas he that is once possessed of the other, hath actually an eternal Inheritance in the Heavens, which fadeth not away. These two Confusions of the Kingdom of Heaven some Men have confounded and made one; so that a Man being brought into the fold of these, wholly by Grace without Works, Faith being all that was required to initiate a Man in it, they have concluded that for the attaining eternal Life, or the Kingdom of God in the World to come, Faith alone in good Works, are required, contrary to express Words of Scripture, and the whole Tenour of the Gospel: But yet not being admitted into that State of eternal Life for our good Works, 'tis by Grace here too that we are saved, our Righteousness after all being imperfect, and we by our Sins liable to Condemnation and Death: But 'tis by Grace we are made Partakers of both these Kingdoms, 'tis only into the Kingdom of God in this World we are admitted by Faith alone without Works; but for our Adittance into the other, both Faith and Obedience, in a sincere Endeavour to perform those Duties, all those good Works which are incumbent on us, and come in our Way to be performed by us, from the Time of our believing till our Death.
EPHESIANS.

TEXT.

mandship of God created (d) in Christ Jesus, to the end we should do good Works, for which he had prepared and fitted us to live in them (e).

NOTES.

d Workmanship of God created. 'Tis not by Virtue of any Works of the Law, nor in Consideration of our committing to the Mosaical Institution, or having any Alliance with the Jewish Nation, that we Gentiles are brought into the Kingdom of Christ; we are in this entirely the Workmanship of God, and are, as it were, created therein, framed and fitted by him, to the Performance of those good Works which we were from thence to live in; and to receive nothing of this our new Being, in this new State, to any Preparation or Fitting we received from the Jewish Church, or any Relation we stood in thereunto. That this is the Meaning of the new Creation under the Gospel, is evident from St. Paul's own explaining of it himself, 2 Cor. 5. 16—18. viz. That being in Christ was all one as if he were in a new Creation; and therefore from henceforth he knew no body after the Flesh, but he pretended to no Privilege for being of a Jewish Race, or an Observer of their Rites; all these old things were done away; all things under the Gospel are new, and of God alone.

e This is conformable to what he says, v. 5, 6. That God quickened and raised the Gentiles, that were dead in Trepasses and Sins, with Christ, being by Faith united to him, and partaking of the same Spirit of Life which raised him from the Dead; whereby, as Men brought to Life, they were enabled (if they would not resist nor quench that Spirit) to live unto God in Righteousness and Holiness, as before they were under the absolute Dominion of Satan and their own Lusts.

SECTION IV.

CHAP. II. 11—22.

CONTENTS.

From this Doctrine of his in the foregoing Section, that God of his Free Grace, according to his Purpose from the beginning, had quickened and raised the Convert Gentiles, together with Christ, and feared them with Christ in his heavenly Kingdom, St. Paul here in this Section draws this Inference to keep them from Judaizing, that though they (as was the State of the Heathen World) were heretofore, by being uncircumcised, shut out from the Kingdom of God, Strangers from the Covenants of Promise, without Hope and without God in the World; yet they were by Christ, who had taken away the Ceremonial Law, that Wall of Partition, that kept them in that State of Distance and Opposition, now received without any Subjecting them to the Law of Moses, to be the People of God, and had the same Admittance into the Kingdom of God with the Jews themselves, with whom they were now created into one new Man or Body of Men, so that they were no longer to look on themselves any more as Aliens, or remoter off from the Kingdom of God than the Jews themselves.

TEXT.

Wherefore remember that ye being in time past Gentiles in the flesh, who are called uncircumcision by that which is called the circumcision in the flesh made by hands;

PARAPHRASE.

Wherefore remember that ye who were heretofore Gentiles, differing and separated from the Jews, who are circumcised by a Circumcision made with Hands in their Flesh, by your not being
circumcised in your Flesh (f), were at that time without all Knowledge of the Messiah, or any Expectation of Deliverance or Salvation by him (g). Aliens from the Commonwealth of Israel (h), and Strangers to the Covenants of Promise (i), not having any Hope of any such thing, and living in the World without having the true God for their God (k), or they being his People. But now you, that were formerly remote and at a distance, are by Jesus Christ brought near by his Death (l). For it is he that reconcileth us (m) to the Jews, and hath brought us and them, who were before at an irreconcilable Distance, into Unity one with another, by removing the middle Wall of Partition (n), that kept us at a Distance, Having taken away the Caufe of Enmity (o), or Distance between us, by abolifhing (p) that part of the Law which consisted in positive

NOTES.

11 (f) This Separation was so great, that to a Jew the uncircumcised Gentiles were so polluted and uncleane, that they were not shut out barely from their holy Places and Service; but from their Tables and ordinary Conversation. 

12 (g) That this is the Meaning of being without Christ here, is evident from this, that what St. Paul says here, is to shew the different State of the Gentiles from that of the Jews, before the coming of our Saviour.

13. (h) Who were alone then the People of God.

14. (i) Covenants. God more than once renewed his Promise to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and the Children of Israel, that upon the Conditions proposed he would be their God, and they should be his People.

15. (j) This in the Sense that the Gentiles are called αβαπάτοι; for there were few of them Athœists in our Sense of the world, i. e. denying superior Powers; and many of them acknowledged one supreme External God; but St. Paul says, Rom. 1. 21. When they knew God, they glorified him not as God; they owned him not alone, but erected away from him the invisible God, to the Worship of Images, and the idle Gods of their Countries.

14 (l) How this was done the following words explain, and Col. 2. 14.

15 (m) Ἰσραήλ, Our, in this verse, must signify Person, in the same Condition with those he speaks to under the Pronouns οὗτος, ye, in the foregoing verse, or else the Apostle's Argument here would be wide, and not conclusive; but ye in the foregoing verse incontestibly signifies the Convert Gentiles, and so therefore must signify in this verse.

16 (n) See Col. 1. 20.

15 (o) It was the Ritual Law of the Jews, that kept them and the Gentiles at an irreconcilable Distance; so that they could come to no Terms of a fair Correspondence, the Force whereof was so great, that even after Christ was come, and had put an End to the Obligation of that Law; yet it was almost impossible to bring them together; and this was that which in the beginning most oblitered the progress of the Gospel, and disturbed the Gentile Converts.

(p) By abolishing. I do not remember that the Law of Mofés, or any Part of it, is by an actual Repeal, where it is abrogated; and yet we are told here, and in other places of the New Testament, that it is abolished. The want of a right understanding of what this abolishing was, and how it was brought about, has, I suspect, given Occasion to the misunderstanding of several Texts of Sacred Scripture; I beg leave therefore to offer what the Sacred Scripture seems to me to suggest concerning this Matter, till a more thorough Enquiry by some able Hand shall be made into it. After the general Reveal and Apology of Mankind, from the Acknowledgment and Worship of the one only true invisible God their Maker, the Children of Israel, by a Voluntary Submission to him; and Admission of him to be their God and supreme Lord, came to be his People, and he, by a peculiar Covenant, to be their King, and thus created to himself a Kingdom in this World out of these People, to whom he gave a Law by Mose, which was to be the Law of the Israelites, his People; with an Assent; at the same time, that he would in due Season transfer this his Kingdom into this World into the hands of the Messiah, whom he intended to send into the World, to be the Prince and King of his People, as he had foretold and promised to the Jews. Into which Kingdom of his under his Son, he purposed also, and foretold that he would admit and incorporate the other Nations of the
of the Earth, as well as those of the Paterity of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who were to come into this his enlarged Kingdom upon new Terms that he should then proclaim; and that now, and thence only, should proceed henceforth be his People. And thus it came to pass, that tho’ the Law which was given by Moses to the Israelites was never repealed, and so ceased not to be the Law of that Nation; yet it ceased to be the Law of the People and Kingdom of God in this World, because the Jews not receiving him to be their King, whom God had sent to be the King and sole Ruler of his Kingdom for the future, ceased to be the People of God, and the Subjects of God’s Kingdom. And thus Jesus Christ by his Death entering into his King- dom, having then fulfilled all that was required of him for the obtaining of it, put an End to the Law of Moses, opening another way to all People, both Jews and Gentiles, into the Kingdom of God, quite different from the Law of Ordinances given by Moses, viz. Faith in Jesus Christ, by which, and which alone, every one that would, had now Admittance into the Kingdom of God, by the one plain and easy simple Ceremony of Baptism. This was that which, though it was also foretold, the Jews understood not, having a very great Opinion of themselves, because they were the chosen People of God; and of their Law, because God was the Author of it; and so concluded that both they were to remain the People of God for ever, and also that they were to remain under that same Law, which was never to be alter’d; and so never understood what was foretold them of the Kingdom and the Meffiah, in respect of the ceasing of their Law of Ordinances, and the Admittance of the Gentiles upon the same Terms with them into the Kingdom of the Messiah; which therefore St. Paul calls over and over again a Mysterly, and a Mysterly hidden from Ages.

Now he that will look a little farther into this Kingdom of God, under these two different Dispositions of the Law and the Gospel, will find that it was erected by God, and Men were recall’d into it out of the general Apothisy from their Lord and Maker, for the unpeeping and holy, by bringing it in, return’d to their Allegiance, that thereby they might be brought into a Way and Capacity of being reduc’d to that happy State of Eternal Life, which they had all lost in Adam, which it was impossible they could ever recover whilst they remain’d Worshipers and Vassals of the Devil, and so Out-laws and Enemies to God, in the Kingdom, and under the Dominion of Satan; since the most blind’d and partial Inclination of an intelligent Being, could never expect that God should reward Rebellion and Apothisy with eternal Happiness, and take Men that were actually Vassals and Adorers of his Arch-Enemy the Devil, and immediately give them eternal Bliss, with the Enjoyment of Pleasures in his Presence, and at his Right-hand for evermore. The Kingdom of God therefore in this World, was, as it were, the Entrance to the Kingdom of God in the other World, and the Receptacle and Place of Preparation of those who aim’d at a Share in that eternal Inheritance. And hence the People of the Jews were called holy, choise, and Sons of God; as were afterward the Christians called Saints, Elect, Beloved, and Children of God, &c. But there is this remarkable Difference to be observ’d in what is said of the Subjects of this Kingdom, under the two different Dispositions of the Law and the Gospel, that the Converts to Christianity, and Protasis of the Gospel, are often termed and spoke of as fass’d, which I do not remember that the Jews or their Pelytes, Members of the Common-wealth, any where say: The Reason whereof is, that the Conditions of that Covenant whereby they were made the People of God, under that Constitution of God’s Kingdom in this World, was, Do this and live; but he, that continued not in all these things to do them, shall die. But the Condition of the Covenant whereby they become the People of God, in the Constitution of his Kingdom under the Messiah, is, Believe and repent, and thou shalt be fass’d, i.e. Take Christ for thy Lord, and do sincerely but what thou canst to keep his Law, and thou shalt be fass’d; in the one of which, which is therefore called the Covenant of Works, those who were actually in that Kingdom could not attain the everlasting Inheritance: And in the other called the Covenant of Grace, tho’ who, if it would but continue as they began, i.e. in the State of Faith and Repentance, i.e. in a Sub- mission to and owning of Christ, and a steady unrelenting Resolution of not opposing against him, could not miss it, and so might truly be said to be fass’d, they being in an unerring way to the Salvation. And thus we see how the Law of Moses is by Christ abolished under the Gospel, not by any actual Repeal of it, but is set aside, by ceasing to be the Law of the Kingdom of God translated into the hands of the Messiah, and set up under him; which Kingdom is erect to, contains all that God now does or will own to be his People in this World. This way of abolishing of the Law, did not make those Obervations unlawful to those who before the Conversion of the Gentiles were circumcised, and under the Law, they were indifferent things, which the converted Jews might, or might not observe, as they found convenient: That which was unlawful and contrary to the Gospel, was the making those ritual Observances necessary to be join’d with Faith in Believers for justification, as we see they did, who, Acts 15, taught the Brethren, that unless they were circumcised after the Manner of Moses, they could not be saved. To this the making it to Christ’s Cross, Col. 2. 14, was the same, and the same, from whence the whole Obligation for any one to be circumcised, and to put himself under the Obervations of the Law, to become one of the People of God, but was no Prohibition to any one who was circum- cised before Conversion to observe them. And accordingly we see, Gal. 2. 11, that what St. Paul Vol. III. I 1 2
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make, or frame the two, viz. Jews and Gentiles, into one new Society or Body of God’s People, in a new Constitution under himself, so making Peace between them. And might reconcile them both to God, being thus united into one Body in him by his Crofs, whereby he destroy’d that Enmity or Incompatibility that was between them, by nailing to his Crofs the Law of Ordinances that kept them at a Distance. And being come, preach’d the good Tidings of Peace to you Gentiles that were far off from the Kingdom of Heaven, and to the Jews that were near, and in the very Precincts of it. For it is by him that we, both Jews and Gentiles, have Access to the Father by one and the same Spirit. Therefore ye Ephesians, though heretofore Gentiles, now Believers in Christ, you are no more Strangers and Foreigners, but without any more a-do Fellow-Citizens of the Saints, and Fellow-Servants of God’s own Family: Built upon the Foundation laid by the Apostles and Prophets, whereof Jesus Christ is the Corner-

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twine, one new Man, so making Peace; And that he might reconcile both unto God in one body by the crofs, having slain the enmity thereby.

And came, and preach’d peace to you which were afar off, and to them that were nigh.

For through him we both have an access by one Spirit unto the Father. Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God.

And are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone.

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blames in St. Peter, was compelling the Gentiles to live as the Jews do: Had not that been in the Case, he would no more have blam’d his Carriage at Antioch, than he did his observing the Law at Jerusalem.

The Apostle here tells us what part of the Mosaical Law it was that Christ put an end to by his Death, viz. the whole of the Injunctions of the Law of Moses concerning things in their own nature indifferent, which became obligatory merely by Virtue of a direct positive Command: and are called by St. Paul in the parallel place, Col. 2. 15. οὑδέ τίς ἐν μίνια οὐκ ἔπετυχεν τοῖς Ἰσραήλ, the Hand-writing of Ordinances. There were, besides these, contained in the Book of the Law of Moses, the Law of Nature, or, as it is commonly called, the Moral Law, that unmoveable Rule of Right which is of perpetual Obligation: This Jesus Christ is so far from abrogating, that he has promulgated it anew under the Gospel, fuller and clearer than it was in the Mosaical Confinution, or anywhere else; and, by adding to its Precepts the Sanction of his own Divine Authority, has made the Knowledge of that Law more clear and certain than it was before; so that the Subjects of his Kingdom wheresoever this is now the Law, can be at no doubt or loss about their Duty, if they will but read and consider the Rules of Morality, which our Saviour and his Apostles have delivered in very plain words in the holy Scriptures of the New Testament.

35 (g) Male; the Greek word is ἀρσεν, which does not always signify Creation in a strict Sense.

(r) This, as I take it, being the Meaning, it may not be amiss perhaps to look into the Reason why St. Paul expresses it in this more figurative manner, viz. to make in himself of two one new Man, which, I humbly conceive, was more suitable to the Ideas he had, and so were, in fewer words, more lively and expressive to his Purpose: He always has Jesus Christ in his Mind, as the Head of the Church, which was his Body, from and by whom alone, by being united to him, the whole Body and every Member of it receiv’d Life, Vigour and Strength, and all the Benefits of that State; which admirably well flows, that whoever were united to this Head, must needs be united to one another, and also that all the Privileges and Advantages they enjoyed, were wholly owing to their Union with, and adhering to, him the Head; which were the two things that he was here insinuating to the Convert Gentiles of Ephesus, to shew them, that now under the Gospel the Men became the People of God, merely by Faith in Jesus Christ, and having him for their Head, and not at all by keeping the Ritual Law of Moses, which Christ had abolished, and to had made Way for the Jews and Gentiles to become one in Christ, since now Faith in him alone united them into one Body under that Head, with the Obervance of the Law, which is the Meaning of so making Peace. I hope this single Note here may lead ordinary Readers into an understanding of St. Paul’s Stile, and by making them observe the Reason, give them an easier Entrance into the Meaning of St. Paul’s figurative Expressions.

At the Nation of the Jews had owned and received Jesus the Messiah, they had continued on as the People of God; but after that they had Nationally rejected him, and refused to have him rule over them, and put him to Death, and so had revoluted from their Allegiance, and with—
Corner-stone: In whom all the Building fitly framed together, growth unto an holy Temple in the Lord:
In which even the Gentiles also are built up together with the believing Jews, for an Habitation of God, through the Spirit (i).

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withdrawn themselves from the Kingdom of God, which he had now put into the Hands of his Son, they were no longer the People of God; and therefore all those of the Jewish Nation, who after that would return to their Allegiance, had Need of Reconciliation to be so-admitted into the Kingdom of God, as Part of his People, who were now received into Peace and Covenant with him upon other Terms, and under other Laws, than being the Pottery of Jacob, or Observers of the Law of Moses.

22 (i) The Sense of which Allegory I take to be this: It is plain from the Antiquity of the Apostles and Prophets, that the Gentiles who believe in Christ are thereby made Members of his Kingdom, united together under him their Head into such a well-framed Body, wherein each Person has his proper Place, Rank and Function to which he is fitted, that God will accept and delight in them as his People, and live amongst them, as in a well-framed Building dedicated and set apart to him, whereof the Gentiles make a Part, and without any Difference put between you, are framed in Equality, and promiscuously with the believing Jews, by the Spirit of God to be one People, amongst whom he will dwell, and be their God, and they shall be his People.

SECT. V.
CHAP. III. 1—21.

CONTENT.
This Section gives a great Light to those foregoing, and more clearly opens the Design of this Epistle: For here St. Paul in plain words tells them, it is for preaching this Doctrine that was a Mystery, till now being hid from former Ages, (viz.) that the Gentiles should be Co-heirs with the believing Jews, and, making one Body or People with them, should be equally Partakers of the Promises under the Messiah, of which Mystery he by particular Favour and Appointment was ordained the Preacher. Whereupon he exhorts them not to be dismay’d, or flinch in the least from the Belief or Profession of this Truth, upon his being persecuted and in Bonds upon that Account. For his suffering for it, who was the Preacher and Propagator of it, was so far from being a just Discouragement to them, from standing firmly in the Belief of it, that it ought to be to them a Glory, and a Confirmation of this eminent Truth of the Gospel, which he peculiarly taught, and thereupon he tells them, he makes it his Prayer to God, that they may be strengthened herein, and be able to comprehend the Largeness of the Love of God in Christ, not confined to the Jewish Nation and Constitution, as the Jews conceived; but far surpassing the Thoughts of those who, presuming themselves knowing, would confine it to such only who were Members of the Jewish Church, and Observers of their Ceremonies.
Ephesians

For my Preaching of this (r), I Paul am a Prisoner, upon account of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, for the Sake and Service of you Gentiles (w): Which you cannot doubt of, since (w) ye have heard of the Dispensation of the Grace of God, which was given to me in Reference to you Gentiles: How that by Especific Revelation he made known unto me in particular (x) the Mystery (y) (as I hinted to you above, viz., ch. 1. 9. By the bare reading whereof ye may be assured of my Knowledge in this formerly concealed and unknown part of the Gospel of Christ (z): Which in former Ages was not made known to the Sons of Men, as it is now revealed to his holy Apostles and Prophers by the Spirit, viz. That the Gentiles should be Fellow-Heirs, be united into one Body, and partake of his Promise (a) in Christ, joyntly with the Jews (b), in the time (c) of the Gospel;

Note 1 (r) See Col. 4. 3. 2 Tim. 2. 9, 10.
Note 2 (w) See Phil. 1. 7. Col. 2. 24.
Note 3 (x) " egregious" is sometimes an affirmative Particle, and signifies in Greek the same that significa does in Latin, and so the Senec demands it to be understood here; for it could not be supposed but the Ephesians, among whom St. Paul had lived so long, must have heard that he was by express Commission from God made Apostle of the Gentiles, and by immediate Revelation instructed in the Doctrine he was to teach them, whereby this of their Admissation into the Kingdom of God purely by Faith in Christ, without Circumcision or other legal Observances, was one great and necessary Point, whereof St. Paul was so little shy, that we see the World rung of it, Acts 21. 28. And if his Preaching and Writing were of a piece, as we need not doubt this Mystery of God’s Purpose to the Gentiles, which was communicated to him by Revelation, and we hear of so often in his Epistles, was not concealed from them he preach’d to.
Note 4 (y) Though St. Peter was by a Vision from God sent to Cornelius a Gentile, Acts 10. yet we do not find that this Purpose of God’s calling the Gentiles to be his Sheep equally with the Jews, without any Regard to Circumcision, or the Mosaical Rites, as revealed to him, or to any other of the Apostles, as a Doctrine which they were to preach and publish to the World: Neither indeed was it needful that it should be any part of their Commission, who were Apostles only of the Circumcision, to mix that in their Message to the Jews, which should make them hop their Ears and refuse to hearken to the other Parts of the Gospel, which they were more concerned to know and be instructed in.
Note 5 (z) One may be ready to ask, to what Purposé is this, which this Parenthesis contains here concerning himself? And indeed without having an Eye on the Design of this Epistle, it is pretty hard to give an Account of it, but that being carried in View, there is nothing plainer, nor more pertinent and perspicuous than this here; for what can be of more Force to make them stand firm to the Doctrine which he had taught them, of their being exempt from Circumcision, and the Observances of the Law? If you have heard, and I assure you in my Epistle, that this Mystery of the Gospel was revealed in a particular manner to me from Heaven: The very reading of this is enough to satisfy you, that I am well instructed in that Truth, and that you may fairly depend upon what I have taught you concerning this Point, notwithstanding I am in Prison for it, which is a thing you ought to glory in, since I suffer for a Truth wherein you are so nearly concern’d; see ch. 6. 19.
Note 6 (a) The Promise here intended, is the Promise of the Spirit; see Gal. 3. 14. which was not given to any but to the People and Children of God; and therefore the Gentiles received not the Spirit till they became the People of God, by Faith in Christ, in the Times of the Gospel.
Note 7 (b) Though the Jews are not expressly named here; yet it is plain from the foregoing Chapter, v. 11. &c. that ’tis of the Union of the Gentiles with the Jews, and making with them one Body of God’s People, equally sharing in all the Privileges and Benefits of the Gospel, that he is here speaking, the same which he teaches, Gal. 3. 29 — 19.
Note 8 (c) And ἐκ πρώτους signifies here, in the time of the Gospel, as λέοντος signifies,
Whereof I was made a minister, according to the gift of the grace of God given unto me by the effectual working of his power.

Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, this grace given, that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ;

And to make all men see, what is the fellowship of the mystery which from the beginning of the world, hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ;

To the intent that now is made known by the dispensation of a dispensation, even the mystery, which from the beginning hath been hid in God, and is now made manifest, and by the testimony of Jesus Christ;

To wit, of which I was made a minister according to the gift of the grace of God given unto me, by the effectual working of his power, in his wonderful converting of the Gentiles by my preaching; unto me, I say, who am less than the least of all saints, this grace given, that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ; and make all men see what is the fellowship of the mystery, which from the beginning of the world, was hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ; to the intent that now is made manifest by the dispensation of a dispensation, even the mystery, which from the beginning hath been hid in God, and is now made manifest, and by the testimony of Jesus Christ, of which I was made a minister by the gift of the grace of God given unto me, by the effectual working of his power, in his wonderful converting of the Gentiles by my preaching;

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In the time of Uncircumcision, Rom. 4. 11. see Note on Rom. 7. 4. The same thing being intended here, which, ch. 1. 10. is thus expressed, That in the dispensation of the fullness of time, i.e. in the time of the Gospel, all things might be gathered together, or united, in Christ, or by Christ.

That (d) though he does not express words deny others to be made Ministers of it, for it neither suited his Modesty, nor the respect he had for the other Apostles, so to do; yet his Expression here will be found strongly to imply it, especially if we read and consider well the two following Verses, for this was a necessary Instruction to one who was sent to convert the Gentiles, though those who were sent to their Brethren the Jews were not appointed to proclaim it. This one Apostle of the Gentiles, by the Success of his preaching to the Gentiles, the Attestation of Miracles, and the Gift of the Holy Ghost, joined to what Peter had done by special Direction in the Cafe of Cornelius, would be enough in its due Season to convince the other Apostles of this Truth, as we may see it did, Acts 15, and Gal. 2. 6-10. And of what Consequence, and how much St. Paul thought the preaching of this Doctrine his peculiar Business, we may see by what he says, ch. 6. 19, 20, where any one may see by the different Treatment he received from the rest of the Apostles, being in Bonds upon that account, that his preaching herein differed from theirs, and he was thereupon, as he tells us himself, treated as an evil Doer, 2 Tim. 2. 9. The History whereof we have, Acts 21. 17, &c., as we have elsewhere observed. And it is upon the account of his preaching this Doctrine, and displaying to the World this concealed Truth, which he calls every where a hidden Mystery, that he gives to what he had preach'd the distinguishing Title of my Gospel, Rom. 16. 25, which he is concerned that God should establish in them, that being the chief Design of his Epistle to the Romans, as here to the Ephesians. The insinuating so much on this, that it was the special Favour and Commission of God to him in particular, to preach this Doctrine of God's Purpose of calling the Gentiles to the Word, was not out of Vanity or Boasting, but was from great Use to his present Purpose, as carrying a Strong Reason with it, why the Ephesians should rather believe him, to whom, as their Apostle, it was made manifest, and committed to be preached, than the Jews, from whom it had been concealed, and was kept as a Mystery, and was in itself inexplicable, incurable by Men, though of the best natural Parts and Endowments.

(e) This seems to be the Energy of the Power of God, which he here speaks of, as appears by what he says of St. Peter, and of himself, Gal. 2. 8. O ineffable, thrice is the word there, ineffable, ineffable, ineffable, as it is here translated, of which his very great Modesty could not hinder him from speaking, that Col. 15. 9, 10. I am the least of the Apostles, that am not meet to be called an Apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God; But by the Grace of God am I what I am, and his Grace, which was bestowed upon me, was not in vain, but I laboured more abundantly than they all; yet not I, but the Grace of God, that was with me: A Passege very suitable to what he says in this and the next Verse.

(f) i.e. That abundant Treasure of Mercy, Grace and Favour, laid up in Jesus Christ, not only to the Jews; but to the whole Heathen World, which was beyond the Reach of humane Sagacity to discover, and could be known only by Revelation.

(g) All Men, i.e. Men of all Sorts and Nations, Gentiles as well as Jews.

(h) The sense is, what is the Communication, i.e. that they may have light from me, to see and look into the Reason and Ground of the Divulgence of Communication of this Mystery to them now by Jesus Christ, who is now exhibited to the World, into whose hands God has put the Management of this whole Dispensation.

(i) To open our way to a right Sense of these words, το κατα των Χριστου χαριτων, it will
now under the Gospel the manifold Wisdom of God, in the ordering and management of his heavenly Kingdom, might be made known to Principalities and Powers by the Church (ἐκ), According to that unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places, might be known by the Church the manifold wisdom of God.

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will be necessary in the first place to consider the Terms of it, and how they are used by St. Paul.

1. As to χρησιμος, created, it is to be acknowledged, that it is the word used in Sacred Scripture to express Creation in the Scriptural Sense of Creation, i.e. making out of nothing: yet that it is not always used in that Sense by St. Paul, is visible from the 15th Verse of the foregoing Chapter, where our Translators have rightly render'd κτισθαι make, and it would contain a manifold Aburdity to render it there create, in the Theological Sense of the word create.

2. It is to be observed that St. Paul often chooses to speak of the Work of Redemption by Christ as a Creation. Whether it were because this was the chief End of the Creation, or whether it were because there was no less seen of the Wisdom, Power and Goodness of God, in this than in the first Creation, and the Change of lot and revolted Man from being dead in Sins to Newness of Life, was as great, and as great a Power, as at first making out of nothing, or whether it were because the διάκονος, διάκονος, διάκονος, under Jesus Christ, mentioned, ch. 1. 21. was a Reification of the Creation to its primitive State and Order, which, All. 5. 21, is called διάκονος, διάκονος, διάκονος, the Reification of all things, which was begun with the Preaching of St. John Baptist, who (was the Elias that refiled all things, Mat. 17. 11. i.e. opened the Kingdom of Heaven to Believers of all Nations, Luke 16. 10.) and is complicated in Christ's coming with his Saints in the Glory of his Father at the last Day. But whether some or all of these Considerations which I have mentioned be the Reason of it, this is certain, that St. Paul speaks of the Work of Redemption under the name of Creation. So 2 Cor. 5. 17. If any one be in Christ, κτισθαι lie, he is a new creature, or it is a new Creation. And Gal. 6. 15. In Christ Jesus neither Circumcision avouch anything, nor Uncircumcision, but κτισθαι, the new Creation.

3. It is then to be considered of which Creation τα χρησιμος, who created all things, is here to be understood. The Business St. Paul is upon in this place, is to show that God's Purpose of taking in the Gentiles to be his People under the Gospel, was a Mystery unknown in former Ages, and now under the Kingdom of the Mediation committed to him to be prehend't to the World.

This is so manifestly the Design of St. Paul here, that no body can mistake it. Now if the Creation of the material World, of this visible Frame of Sun, Moon, and Stars, and heavenly Bodies that are over us, and of the Earth we inhabit, hath no immediate Relation as of course it hath not to this Mystery, this Design of God's to call the Gentiles into the Kingdom of his Son, it is to make St. Paul a very loose Writer and weak Arguer, in the middle of a Discourse which he seems to lay much Stress on, and to profane earnestly on the Ephesians (for he urges it more than once) to bring in things not at all to his Purpose, and of no Use to the Business in hand. We cannot therefore avoid taking the Creation, and things contained here, to be those of the new Creation, (viz.) those of which the Kingdom of Christ, which was this new Creation, was to be made up, and in that Sense, τα χρησιμος, the κτισθαι, who created all things by Jesus Christ, is a Reason to shew why God kept his Purpose of making the Gentiles meet to be Parthakers of the Inheritance of the Saints, or as he expreth it, ch. 10. that they should be his Workmanship created in Christ Jesus unto good Works, concealed from former Ages, (viz.) because this new Creation was in Jesus Christ, and so proper to be preached and publish'd when he was come, which is strongly confirm'd by the Words of the following Verse, viz. that NOW in its due time, by this new piece of Workmanship of his, viz. the Church, might be made known the manifold Wisdom of God. This taking in the Gentiles into the Kingdom of his Son, and after that the re-assuming again of the Jews, who had been rejected, St. Paul looks on as so great an Instance, and Display of the Wisdom of God, that it makes him cry out, Rom. 11. 33. O the Depth of the Riches both of the Wisdom and Knowledge of God, how unsearchable are his Judgments, and his Ways past finding out!

10 (1) There be two things in this Verse that to me make it hard to determine the precise Sense of it; the first is, what is meant by ἀρχαῖα and Συναγωνίας, Terms that sometimetime in Sacred Scripture signify Temporal Magistrates, and to our Saviour they signifie, Luke 12. 11. and St. Paul, Tit. 3. 1. Sometimes for those who are ruled with Power, whether Men or Angels, so 1 Cor. 15. 24. Sometimes for evil Angels, so they are understood, ch. 6. 12. Sometimes they are understood of good Angels, so Gal. 1. 19. Now to which of these to determine the Sense here, I confess my self not sufficiently enlightened. Indeed is τις ἐν οἴκοις, in the things of his heavenly Kingdom, would do something towards it, were it undoubtedly certain, whether those words were in Conjunction to be joined to ἀρχαῖα and Συναγωνίας, or to express; i.e. Whether we are to understand it of Principalities and Powers in the Kingdom of Heaven,
11. According to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord:
12. In whom we have boldness and access with confidence by faith of him:
13. Wherefore I desire that ye faint not at my tribulations for you, which is your glory.
14. For this cause I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,

that Predisposition (I) of the Ages, or several Dispositions which he made in Christ Jesus our Lord; By whom we have Boldness and Access to God the Father, with Confidence by Faith (m) in him. Wherefore my Desire is, that ye be not dismay'd by my present Affliction, which I suffer for your Sake, and is in Truth a Glory to you, that ought to raze your Hearts, and strengthen your Resolutions. Upon this Account I bend my Knees in Prayer to the Father of

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or of the Wisdom of God in the ordering of that Kingdom: If the first of these, then 'tis evident they would signify the heavenly Host of good Angels employ'd in the Guard and Promotion of the Kingdom of Christ. But the Knowledge spoken of here, as communicated to these Principalities and Powers, being only the consequence of St. Paul's preaching, 'tis not easy to conceive, that the Revelation and Communion given to St. Paul, for the declaring the Mystery of God's Purpose to take the Gentiles into the Church, was to the Intent the Angels, either good or bad, should be intrusted in this great and important Truth, wherein the Wisdom of God so much shrivelled it self, and that they should have no Knowledge of it before nor otherwise. This is so great a Difficulty, that it seems strongly to persuade, that the Principalities and Powers here mentioned are of this World, but against this there lies this obvious Objection, That the Magistrates of the Heathen World did not much concern themselves in what St. Paul preached, nor, upon his declaring that the Gentiles under the Messiah were to be taken in to be the People of God, did in effect gather from the Church thus constituted, any Arguments of the Wisdom of God. If therefore I may venture my Conjecture, for I dare not be positive in a Place that I confess my self not fully to understand, I should take this to be the Meaning of it. The High-Priests, Scribes and Pharisees, who are the Rulers of the Jewish Nation, and alone pretend to any Authority in these Matters, deny the Converted Heathens to be the People of God, because they negled the Law and Circumcision, and those other Rites, whereby God has appointed those who are his People to be separated from the rest of the World, and made holy to himself. And so far most of the Converted Jews agree with them, that they will not allow the Converted Gentiles to be Members and Subjects of the Kingdome of the Messiah without being circumcized, and submitting to the Laws and Ceremonies of the Jews, as the only Religion and Way of Worship wherein they can be allowed to be God's People, or be accepted by him. Now, says St. Paul, God of his special Grace has commissioned me to preach to the World this his hidden Purpose of taking the Gentiles into the Kingdom of his Son, that so by the Church, consisting of Members who are God's People, without being circumcised, renewing the other Members and Subjects, might, which the Jews could by no Means conceive, now be made known, and declared to the Leaders and Chief of that Nation the manifold Wisdom of God, which is, not as the Jews imagine, tied up to their own Way, but can bring about his Purposes by sundry Manners, and in Ways that they thought not of: This seems suitable to the Apostile's Meaning here, for though the Jews were not hereby converted, yet, when urg'd by the converted Gentiles, it served to stop their Mouths, and thereby to confirm the Gentiles in the Liberty of the Gospel. And thus by the Church, to whom St. Paul says, Col. 1. 24, and 2. 2. God would now have made it manifest by his Preaching, is this Mystery made known to Principalities and Powers, i. e. the Rulers and Teachers of the Jewish Nation, the Saints, who were apprized of it by St. Paul's preaching, urging, and manifesting it to them. And to this Sense of this Passage these two Words, i. e. new, and manifold, seem wholly accommodated, i. e. Now that the uncreated Gentiles believe in Christ, and are by Baptism admitted into the Church, the Wisdom of God is made known to the Jews, not to be tied up to one invariable Way and Form, as they persuade themselves; but displays it in sundry Manners, as he thinks fit.

11. Whether by divers Ages, here, the several Dispositions Mankind was under from first to last, or whether the two great Dispositions of the Law and the Gospel (for these ought are used in the Sacred Scripture to denote these, I think an attentive Reader cannot doubt) be here meant, this seems visibly the Sense of the Place, that all these Dispositions in the several Ages of the Church were all by the Pre-ordination of God's Purpose regulated and constituted in Christ Jesus our Lord; that is, with Regard to Christ, was designed and appointed, Lord and Head over all; which seems to me to answer to what in Act 13. was said, Who created all things, by Jesus Christ, the Genitive Case of the Object, as well as of the Agent, is so frequent in Sacred Scripture, that there needs nothing to be said of it.

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our Lord Jesus Christ. (n) From whom the whole Family or Lineage both in Heaven and Earth have their Denomination, (viz.) Jesus Christ, that is already in Heaven, and Believers that are full on Earth, have all God for their Father, are all the Sons of God.

16. That he would grant you, according to the great Glory he designed to you Gentiles, who should receive the Gospel under the Messiah, (a) to be strengthened with Might by his Spirit in the inward Man; (p) That Christ may dwell in your Hearts by Faith; that you, being settled and established in the Sense of the Love of God to you in Jesus Christ, may be able together with all Christians to comprehend the Length, and Breadth, and Height, and Depth of this Mystery of God’s Purpose of calling and taking in the Gentiles to be his People in the Kingdom of his Son; (q) And to understand the exceeding (r) Love of God, in bringing us to the Knowledge of Christ: That you may be filled with that Knowledge, and all other Gifts, with God’s Plenty, or to that Degree of Fulness which is suitable to his Purpose of Munificence and Bounty towards you. (t) Now to him that worketh in us by a Power (u) whereby he is able to do exceedingly be-

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14 (n) The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, set down as it is in the beginning of this Verse, join’d to the Design of the Apostle in this Place, makes me think, that the Sense of it is so plainly by which I have given it, that I do not see any Difficulty can be made about it. In the foregoing Chapter, v. 19, he tells the Convert Gentiles of Ephesians, that now they believe in Christ, they are no longer Strangers and Foreigners, but Fellow-Citizens with the Saints, and of the Household of God; here he goes on, and tells them they are of the Family and Lineage of God, being jointly with Jesus Christ, who is already in Heaven, the Sons of God: What could be of greater Force to continue them steadfast in the Doctrine he had preached to them, and which he makes it his whole Business here to confirm them in, (v.) That they need not be circumspect and submit to the Law of Moses, they being already by Faith in Christ the Sons of God, and of the same Lineage and Family with Christ himself, who was already by that Title possessor of his Inheritance in Glory?

16 (o) See this Sense of this Passage as given, Col. 1. 27. and not much different, Ch. 1.

17. &c.

(p) What the inward Man signifies, see Rom. 7. 22. 2 Cor. 4. 16.

18 (q) This Mystery being the Subject St. Paul is here upon, and which he endeavours to magnify to them, and establish in their Minds the Height and Breadth, &c. which he mentions in these Words, being not apply’d to any thing else, cannot, in good Sense, be understood of any thing else.

19 (r) Exceeding, seems to be here a comparative Term, join’d to the Love of God, in communicating the Knowledge of Christ, and declaring it superior to some other Thing, if you desire to know what he himself tells you on the same Occasion, Phil. 3. 8, v. &c. To Circumcision, and the other Ritual Institutions of the Law, which the Jews look’d on as the Marks of the highest Degree of God’s Love to them, whereby they were sanctified and separated to him from the rest of the World, and secured of his Favour. To which, if any one will add what St. Paul says on the same Subject, Col. 2. 14, &c. (See his fulness Subject, is the very same in these three Epistles) he will not wait Light to guide him in the Sense of this Place here.

18 (s) To all the Fulness of God; the Fulness of God is such Fulness as God is wont to bestow, i.e. wherein there is nothing wanting to any one, but every one is filled to the utmost of his Capacity. This I take to be the Meaning of the ῥαμίαν, and then wayμαρίαν may be translated, to befill, to be full, so that it is not a Fulness of one Thing, and an Emptiness of another, but it is a Fulness of all those Gifts which any one shall need, and may be useful to him or the Church.

20 (t) What Power that is, see Chaps. 1. 19, 20.
21. Unto him be glory in the Church by Christ Jesus, throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.

S E C T. VI.
C H A P. IV. 1—16.
C O N T E N T S.

ST. Paul having concluded the special Part of his Epistle with the foregoing Chapter, he comes in this, as his manner is, to practical Exhortations. He begins with Unity, Love and Concord, which he presses upon them, upon a Consideration that he makes use of in more of his Epistles than one, i.e. their being all Members of one and the same Body, whereof Christ is the Head.

T E X T.

1. Therefore the prisoner of the Lord, be meet you that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called,
2. With all lowliness and meekness, with Long-suffering forbearing one another in love;
3. Endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace,
4. There is one body, and one spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling;
5. One Lord, one faith, one baptism,
6. One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all,
7. But unto every one of us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ,
8. Wherefore he saith, When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men.

P A R A P H R A S E.

1. Therefore, who am in Bonds upon account of the Gospel, beseech you to walk worthy of the Calling wherewith ye are called, with Lowliness and Meekness, with long-suffering, bearing with one another in love; Taking care to preserve the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace, Considering your selves as being one Body, enliven'd and acted by one Spirit, as also was your Calling in one Hope: There is one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, One God and Father of you all, who is above all, in the midst amongst you all, and in every one of you. And to every one of us is made a free Donation, according to that Proportion of Gifts which Christ hath allotted to every one. Wherefore the Psalmist faith, (a) When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave Gifts unto Men.

N O T E S.

8 (a) Psal. 68. 18.
9. (Now that he ascended, what is it but that he ascended first into the lower Parts of the Earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended above all Heavens, that there receiving the Fullness of Power, he might be able to fill all his Members (w.) And therefore he alone framing the Constitution of his new Government, by his own Power, and according to such a Model, and such Rules as he thought best, Making some Apostles, others Evangelists, and others Pastors and Teachers; Putting thus together in a fit Order and Frame the several Members of his new collected People, that each in its proper Place and Function might contribute to the whole, and help to build up the Body of Christ: Till all cementing together in one Faith and Knowledge of the Son of God, to the full Stature of a grown Man, according to that Measure of that Stature which is to make up the Fullness of Christ: That we should be no longer Children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every Wind of Doctrine by Men versed in the Slights of Cheating, and their cunning Artifices laid in train to deceive. But being steady in true and unfeigned Love, should grow up into a firm Union in all things with Christ, who is the Head: From whom the whole Body fitly framed together, and compacted by that which every Joint supplies, according to the proper

10. (Now that he ascended, what is it but that he ascended first into the lower Parts of the Earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended above all Heavens, that there receiving the Fullness of Power, he might be able to fill all his Members (w.) And therefore he alone framing the Constitution of his new Government, by his own Power, and according to such a Model, and such Rules as he thought best, Making some Apostles, others Evangelists, and others Pastors and Teachers; Putting thus together in a fit Order and Frame the several Members of his new collected People, that each in its proper Place and Function might contribute to the whole, and help to build up the Body of Christ: Till all cementing together in one Faith and Knowledge of the Son of God, to the full Stature of a grown Man, according to that Measure of that Stature which is to make up the Fullness of Christ: That we should be no longer Children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every Wind of Doctrine by Men versed in the Slights of Cheating, and their cunning Artifices laid in train to deceive. But being steady in true and unfeigned Love, should grow up into a firm Union in all things with Christ, who is the Head: From whom the whole Body fitly framed together, and compacted by that which every Joint supplies, according to the proper

NOTES.

9, 10 (w) St. Paul's Argumentation in these two Verses is skilfully adapted to the main Design of his Epistle. The Convert Gentiles were attacked by the Unconverted Jews, who were declared Enemies to the Thoughts of a Messiah that died: St. Paul, to enervate that Objection of their's, proves by the Passages out of the Psalms, v. 8. that he must die and be buried. Besides the unbelieving Jews, several of them, that were converted to the Gospel, or at least professed to be so, attacked the Gentile Converts on another side, persuading them, that they could not be admitted to be the People of God in the Kingdom of the Messiah, nor receive any Advantage by him, unless they were circumcised, and put themselves wholly under the Jewish Constitution. He had laid a great deal in the three first Chapters to free them from this Perplexity, but yet takes Occasion here to offer them a new Argument, by telling them, that Christ, the same Jesus that died, and was laid in his Grave, was exalted to the Right Hand of God above all the Heavens, in the highest State of Dignity and Power, that he himself being filled with the Fullness of God, Believers, who were all his Members, might receive immediately from him their Head a Fullness of Gifts and Graces, upon no other Terms, but barely as they were his Members.
measure of every part, maketh increase of the body, unto the edifying of it self in love.

Force and Function of each particular Part, makes an Increase of the whole Body, building it self up in Love, or a mutual Concern of the Parts (x).

NOTES.

16 (x) The Sum of all that St. Paul says in this figurative Discourse, is, That Christians, all as Members of one Body whereby Christ is the Head, should each in his proper place, according to the Gifts bestowed upon him, labour with Concern and good Will for the Good and Increase of the whole, till it be grown up to that Fulness which is to compleat it in Christ Jesus. This is in short the Sense of the Exhortation contained in this Section, which carries a strong Inducement with it, especially if we take in the rest of the Admonitions to the End of the Epistle, that the Mosaical Observances were no Part of the Business or Character of a Christian; but were wholly to be neglected and declined by the Subjects of Christ's Kingdom.

SECT. VII.

CHAP. IV. 17—24.

CONTENTS.

IN this Section the Apostle exhorts them wholly to forswake their former Conversation, which they had pasted their Lives in, whilst they were Gentiles, and to take up that which became them, and was proper to them, now they were Christians. Here we may see the Heathen and Christian State and Conversation describ'd, and yet in Opposition one to the other.

TEXT.

17 This I say therefore, and testify in the Lord, that ye henceforth walk not as other Gentiles walk in the vanity of their mind,

18 Having the understand- ing darken'd, being alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart;

PARAPHRASE.

This I say therefore, and testify to you, from the Lord, that ye henceforth walk not as the unconverted Gentiles walk, in the Vanity of their Minds (γ), Having their Understandings darken'd, being alienated from that Rule and Course of Life which they own and observe, who are the professed Subjects and Servants of the true God (ε), through the Ignorance that is in them, because of the Blindness

NOTES.

17 (γ) This Vanity of Mind, if we look into Rom. 1. 21, ος: we shall find to be the Apostatizing of the Gentiles from the true God to Idolatry, and in Consequence of that, to all that prodigal way of Living which followed thereupon, and is there described by St. Paul.

18 (ε) This Alienation was from owning Subjection to the true God, and the Observance of those Laws which he had given to those of Mankind, that continued and professed to be his People; see Acts 2. 12.
of their Hearts; Who being past feeling, have given themselves over to lasciviousness, to the committing of all uncleanness even beyond the Bounds of natural Desires (a). But you, that have been instructed in the Religion of Christ, have learned other things; If you have been Scholars of his School, and have been taught the Truth, as it is in the Gospel of Jesus Christ: That you change your former Conversation, abandoning those deceitful Lusts with which you were entirely corrupted; And that, being renewed in the Spirit of the Mind, You become new Men (b), framed and fashioned according to the Will of God, in Righteousness and true Holiness.

NOTES.

19 (a) Lustes... Covetousness. In the common Acceptation of the word, is the letting loose our Desires to that which by the Law of Justice we have no Right to. But St. Paul in some of his Epistles uses it for intemperate and exorbitant Desires of carnal Pleasures, not confined within the Bounds of Nature. He that will compare with this Verse here, ch. 5. 3. Col. 3. 5. Thess. 4. 4. 1 Cor. 5. 10, 11. and well consider the Context, will find Reason to take it here in the Sense I have given of it, or else it will be very hard to understand these Texts of Scripture. In the same Sense the learned Dr. Hammond understands ἡ παρακεφαλήσ. Rom. 1. 29. Which tho' perhaps the Greek Idiom will scarce justify; yet the Apostle's Stile will, who often uses Greek Terms in the full Latitude of the Hebrew words which they are usually put for in translating, tho' in the Greek use of them, they have nothing at all of that Signification, particularly the Hebrew word פֶּרֶס which signifies Covetousness, the Septuagint translates παρακεφαλήσ. Ezek. 33. 31. In which Sense the Apostle uses παρακεφαλήσ here. In these and the two preceding Verses, we have a Description of the State of the Gentiles without, and their wretched and sinful State whilst unconverted to the Christian Faith, and Strangers from the Kingdom of God; to which may be added what is said of these Sinners of the Gentiles, ch. 2. 11—13. Col. 1. 21. Thess. 4. 4. Col. 3. 5—7. Rom. 9. 30. 31. 24 (b) What the ἡ παρακεφαλήσ... ἡ παρακεφαλήσ, the old Man that is to be put off, is, and the new Man that is to be put on, is, may be seen in the opposite Characters of good and bad Men, in the following Part of this, and in several other of St. Paul's Epistles.
After the general Exhortation in the Cloze of the foregoing Section to the Ephesians, to renounce the old Course of Life they led when they were Heathens, and to become perfectly new Men, conformed to the holy Rules of the Gospel, St. Paul descends to Particulars, and here in this Section presents several Particulars of those great social Virtues, Justice and Charity, &c.

TEXT.

Wherefore putting away Lying, let every Man speak Truth to his Neighbour; for we are Members one of another. If you meet with Provocations that move you to Anger, take Care that you indulge it not so far, as to make it sinful: Defer not its Cure till Sleep calm the Mind, but endeavour to recover your self forthwith, and bring your self into Temper; Left you give an Opportunity to the Devil to produce some Mischief by your Disorder. Let him that hath stol, steal no more, but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth. Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but what is good to the use of edifying, that it may minifie grace unto the hearers. And grieve not the holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption. And be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ’s sake hath forgiven you. Therefore, as becomes Children that are beloved and cherished by God, propose him as an

NOTES.

30. (c) Sealed, i.e. have God’s Mark set upon you that you are his Servants, a Security to you, that you should be admitted into his Kingdom as such, at the Day of Redemption, i.e. at the Resurrection, when you shall be put in the actual Possession of a Place in his Kingdom, among those who are his, whereby the Spirit is now an Earnest: See Note, Ch. 1. 14.
EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

2. Example to your selves, to be imitated; And let love conduct and influence your whole Conversation, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us, an Offering, and an acceptable Sacrifice (d) to God.

TEXT.

And walk in love, as also Christ hath loved us, and hath given himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet smelling savour.

NOTES.

(d) Of a sweet smelling savour, was, in Scripture phrasé, such a Sacrifice as God accepted, and was pleased with; see Gen. 8. 21.

SECTION IX.

CHAPTER V. 3.—20.

CONTENTS.

The next Sort of Sins he dehorts them from, are those of Intemperance, especially those of Uncleanliness, which were so familiar, and so unstrain’d amongst the Heathens.

PARAPHRASE.

3. But Fornication and all Uncleanliness, or exorbitant Desires in venereal Matters, (e) let it not be once

TEXT.

But fornication, and all uncleanliness, or covetousness, let it not be once named amongst

NOTES.

(e) The Word in the Greek is ἡμετέρος, which properly signifies Covetousness, or an intemperate ungovern’d Love of Riches: But the chaste Stile of the Scripture makes use of it to express the letting loose of the Desires to irregular venereal Pleasures, beyond what was fit and right. This one can hardly avoid being convinced of, if one considers how it stands joined with their Sorts of Sins, in those many Places which Dr. Hammond mentions in his Notes on Rom. 1. 29. and Ch. 4. v. 19. of this Epistle, and v. 5. of this Ch. 5. compared with this here, they are enough to satisfy one what ἡμετέρος, Covetousness, means here; but if that should fail, these Words, Let it not be once named amongst you, as becoming Saints, which are subjoined to Covetousness, put it past doubt; for what Indecency or Misbecomingness is it amongst Christians to name Covetousness? ἡμετέρος therefore must signify the Title of Sin, that are not to be named amongst Christians, so that ἡμετέρος, been here to be used definitively for several Sorts of Sins, but as two Names of the same Thing explaining one another; and so this Verse will give us a true Notion of the Word ἡμετέρος in the New Testament, the Want whereof, and taking it to mean Fornication in our English Acceptation of that Word, as standing for one distinct Species of Uncleanliness, in the natural Mixture of an unmarried Couple, seems to me to have perplexed the Meaning of several Texts of Scripture, whereas taken in that large Sense which ἡμετέρος and ἡμετέρος seem here to expand it, the Obscurity which follows from the usual Notion of Fornication, apply’d to it, will be removed. Some Men have been forward to conclude from the Apostle’s Letter to the covert Gentiles of Antioch, Acts 15. 20. wherein they find Fornication joint’d with two or three other Actions; that simple Fornication, as they call it, was not much differing, if at all, from that indifferent Action, whereby I think they very much confounded the Meaning of the Text. The Jews that were con-
you, as becometh saints;
4 Neither filthiness, nor foolish talking, nor jesting, which are not convenient; but rather giving of thanks.
5 For this ye know, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ, and of God.
6 Let no man deceive you with vain words: for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience.
7 Be not ye therefore partakers with them.
For ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye once named amongst you, as becometh Saints: Neither Filthiness nor foolish Talking, nor Pleafrantry of Difcourfe of this kind, which are none of them convenient, but rather giving of Thanks. For this you are throughly infructed in, and acquainted with, that no Fornicator nor unclean Person, nor lewd lascivious Libertine in such Matters, who is in truth an Idolater, shall have any Part in the Kingdom of Chrift, and of God. Let no Man deceive you with vain empty Talk (f); these Things in themselves are highly offensive to God, and are that which he will bring the Heathen World (who will not come in and submit to the Law of Chrift) to Judgment for (g). Be ye not therefore Partakers with them. For ye were heretofore in your Gentile State, perfectly in the dark (b), but now by be-

N O T E S.
vented to the Gospel, could by no means admit, that tho' the Gentiles who returned any of their ancient Idolatry, tho' they professed Faith in Chrift, could by any means be received by them into the Communion of the Gospel, as the People of God under the Meffiah; and so far they were in the right, to make fore of it, that they had fully renounced Idolatry; the Gener-
rality inferred on it, that they should be circumcised, and so, by submitting to the Obediences of the Law, give the same Proof that Profelytes were wont to do, that they were perfectly clear from all Remains of Idolatry. This the Apolilæ thought more than was necessæry; but eating of things sacrificed to Idols, and Blood, whether let out of the Animal, or contained in it, being strangled; and Fornication in the large Sense of the word, as it is put for all sorts of Un-
cleanliness, being the presumed Marks of Idolatry to the Jews, they forbid the Convert Gentiles, thereby to avoid the Offence of the Jews, and prevent a Separation between the Profelytes of the Gospel upon this account. This therefore was not given to the Convert Gentiles by the Apolilæ of the Circumcision, as a standing Rule of Morality required by the Gospel; if that had been the Design, it must have contained a great many other Particulars: what Laws of Morality they were under as Subjects of Jesus Chrift, they doubted not but St. Paul their Ap-
olilæ taute and inculcated to them: All that they inculcated them in here, was necessæry for them to do, so as to be admitted into one Fellowship and Communion with the Converts of the Jewish Nation, who would certainly avoid them, if they found that they made no Scruple of those things, but practised any of them. That Fornication, or all sorts of Uncleanliness, were the Conquills and Concomitants of Idolatry, we see, Rom. 1. 29. and 'tis known were favoured by the Heathen Worfhip; and therefore the Practice of those Sins is every where let down, as the Characteristical Heathen Morals of the Idolatrous Gentiles, from which Abominations the Jews, both by their Law, Profession, and general Practice, were Strangers; and this was one of those things wherein chiefly God severed his People from the Idolatrous Nations, as may be seen, Lev. 18. 20. And hence I think that was noted, used for licentious Intemperance in unlawful and unnatural Lusts, is in the New Testament called Idolatry, and uncleanliness, an Idolater; see 1 Cor. 5. 7. Col. 3. 5. Eph. 5. 5. as being the sure and undisputed Mark of an Hea-
then Idolater.
6 (f) One would guess by this, that as there were Jews who would persuade them, that it was necessary for all Christians to be circumcised, and observe the Law of Moses; so there were others who retained so much of their ancient Heathenism, as to endeavour to make them be-
lieve, that those venereal Abominations and Uncleanliness, were no other than what the Gentiles esteemed them, barely indifferent Actions, not offensive to God, or inoffensive with his Worfhip, but only a Part of the peculiar and positive Ceremonial Law of the Jews, whereby they distinguisht themselves from other People, and thought themselves holier than the rest of the World, as they did by their Disabilities of Food into clean and unclean, these Actions being in themselves as indifferent as those Meals, which the Apostle conlates in the following words.
7 (g) Children of Diffidence, here, and ch. 2. 2. and Col. 3. 6. are plainly the Gentiles, who refused to come in and submit themselves to the Gospel, as will appear to any one who will read these Places and the Contexts with Attention.
8 (b) St. Paul, to express the great Darkness the Gentiles were in, calls them Darkness it self.
9. lieving in Christ, and receiving the Gospel, Light and Knowledge is given to you (i), walk as those who are in a State of Light (For the Fruit of the Spirit is in all Goodnes, Righteousness and Truth (k) Practising that which upon Examination you find acceptable to the Lord. And do not partake in the fruitless Works of Darkness (l); do not go in the Practice of those shameful Actions, as if they were indifferent, but rather reprove them. For the things that the Gentile-Idolaters (m) do in secret, are so filthy and abominable, that it is a Shame as much as to name them. This you now see, which is an Evidence of your being enlightened, for all things that are discovered to be amiss are made manifest by the Light; for whatsoever flews them to be such is Light (n). Wherefore he faith, Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee Light. Since then you are in the Light, make use of your Eyes to walk exactly in the right Way, not as Fools, rambling at Adventures, but as wise, In a steadly right chosen Course, securing your selves (o) by your prudent Carriage, from the Inconveniences of those difficult Times, which threatened them

10. light in the Lord; walk as children of light, (For the fruit of the Spirit is in all goodnes, and righteousness, and truth) Proving what is acceptable unto the Lord.

11. And have no fellow-ship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them. For it is a shame even to speak of those things, which are done of them in secret.

12. But all things that are reproved, are made manifest by the light: for whatsoever doth make manifest, is light. Wherefore he faith, Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light. See then that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise. Redeeming the time, because the days are evil,
Wherefore be ye not unwise, but understanding what the will of the Lord is. And be not drunken with wine, wherein is excess; but be filled with the Spirit.

Speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord.

Giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

NOTES.

Lives the Christian Practice could not but reprove. This seems to be the Meaning of redeeming the Time here, which Col. 4, 5. the other place where it occurs, seems to manifestly to confirm and give Light to. If this be not the Sense of redeeming the Time here, I must own my self ignorant of the precise Meaning of the Phrase in this place.

18. (p) St. Paul dehorts them from Wine, in a too free use of it, because therein is excess; the Greek word is ἀρρωστία, which may signify Luxury or Disinclination; L 2. that Drinking is no Friend to Continency and Chastity, but gives up the Reins to Lust and Uncleanness, the Vice he had been warning them against. Or ἀρρωστία may signify Intemperance and Disorder, opposite to that sober and prudent Demeanour advised in redeeming the Time.

SECT. X.

CHAP. V. 21—VI. 9.

CONTENTS.

In this Section he gives Rules concerning the Duties arising from the several Relations Men stand in one to another in Society, those which he particularly insinuates on are these three, Husbands and Wives, Parents and Children, Masters and Servants.
Submit (q) your selves one to another in the Fear of God. As for Example, Wives, submit your selves to your own Husbands, or as being Members of the Church you submit your selves to the Lord. For the Husband is the Head of the Wife, as Christ himself is the Head of the Church, and it is he the Head that preserves that his Body (r), so stands it between Man and Wife. Therefore as the Church is subject to Christ, so let Wives be to their Husbands in every thing. And you Husbands, do you on your side love your Wives, even as Christ also loved the Church, and gave himself to Death for it, That he might sanctify and fit it to himself, purifying it by the washing of Baptism, join'd with the Preaching and Reception of the Gospel (s); That so he himself (t) might present it to himself an honourable Spouse, without the least Spot of Uncleanliness or misbecoming Feature, or any thing amiss, but that it might be holy, and without all manner of Blemish. So ought Men to love their Wives as their own Bodies; he that loveth his Wife, loveth himself. For no Man ever hated his own Flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as the Lord Christ doth the Church; For we are Members of his Body, of his Flesh, and of his Bones. For this Cause Submitting your selves one to another in the fear of God, Wives, submit your selves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church; and he is the Saviour of the body. Therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in every thing. Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it: That he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word. That he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy, and without blemish. So ought men to love their wives, as their own bodies; he that loveth his wife, loveth himself. For no man ever hated his own flesh; but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as the Lord the church: For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones. For this cause shall a 31

NOTES.

21 (q) This, though in Grammatical Construction it be join’d on to the foregoing Discourse; yet I think it ought to be look’d on as introductory to what follows in this Section, and to be a general Rule given to the Ephesians, to submit to those Duties which the several Relations they hold in to one another require of them.

22 (r) 'Tis from the Head that the Body receives its healthy, and vigorous Constitution of Health and Life; this St. Paul pronounces here of Christ, as Head of the Church, that by that Parallel, which he makes use of to represent the Relation between Husband and Wife, he may both shew the Wife the Reasonableness of her Subjection to her Husband, and the Duty incumbent on the Husband to cherish and preserve his Wife, as we fee he pursues it in the following Verses.

26 (t) 'Et eipxovn, by the Word. The purifying of Men is ascribed so much throughout the whole New Testament to the Word, i. e. the preaching of the Gospel, and Baptism, that there needs little to be said to prove it; see John 1 4. 3. and 18. 17. 1 Pet. 1. 22. Tit. 3. 5. Heb. 10. 22. Col. 2. 12. 13. and as it is at large explained in the former part of the 6th Chapter to the Romans.

27 (t) He himself, so the Alexandrine Copy reads it, whereas, and not where, more suitable to the Apostle’s Meaning here, who, to recommend to Husbands Love and Tenderness to their Wives, in Imitation of Christ’s Affection, shews, that whereas other Brides take care to improve themselves, and let off their Persons with all manner of Neatness and Cleanness, to recommend themselves to their Bridesrooms; Christ himself, at the Expense of his own Pains and Blood, purified and prepared himself for his Spouse the Church, that he might present it to himself without Spot or Wrinkle.
man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh.

32. This is a great mystery; but I speak concerning Christ and the church.

33. Nevertheless, let every one of you in particular so love his wife even as himself; and the wife see that she reverence her husband.

1. Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is right.

2. Honour thy father and mother; (which is the first commandment with promise;)

3. That it may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth.

4. And ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath: but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

5. Servants, obey your masters according as unto the flesh; with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ:

shall a Man leave his Father and Mother, and shall be joined unto his Wife, and they two shall be one Flesh (w). These Words contain a very mystical Sense in them (w), I mean in reference to Christ and the Church. But laying that aside, their literal Sense lays hold on you, and therefore do you Husbands, every one of you in particular, so love his Wife, so as his own self, and let the Wife reverence her Husband. Children, obey your Parents, performing it as required thereunto by our Lord Jesus Christ; for this is right and conformable to that Command. Honour thy Father and Mother, (which is the first Commandment with Promise) That it may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long upon the Earth. And on the other side, ye Fathers, do not, by the Austerity of your Carriage, despise and discontent your Children, but bring them up under such a Method of Discipline, and give them such Instruction, as is suitable to the Gospel. Ye that are Bondmen, be obedient to those who are your Masters, according to the Constitution of humane Affairs, with great Respect and Subjection, and with that Sincerity of Heart which should be used to Christ.
himself: Not with Service only in those outward Actions that come under their Observation, aiming at no more but the pleasing of Men, but as the Servants of Christ, doing what God requires of you from your very Hearts, in this with good Will paying your Duty to the Lord, and not unto Men, knowing that whatsoever good thing any one doth to another, he shall be consider’d and rewarded for it by God, whether he be Bond or Free. And ye Masters have the like Respect and Readiness to do Good to your Bond-servants, forbearing the Roughness even of unnecessary Menaces, knowing that even you your selves have a Master in Heaven above, who will call you as well as them, to an impartial Account for your Carriage one to another, for he is no Respec ter of Persons.

S E C T. XI.

C H A P. VI. 10—20.

C O N T E N T S.

He concludes this Epistle with a general Exhortation to them, to stand firm against the Temptations of the Devil in the Exercise of Christian Virtues and Graces, which he proposes to them as so many pieces of Christian Armour, fit to arm them Cap-a-pie, and preserve them in the Conflict.

P A R A P H R A S E.

10. Finally, my Brethren, go on resolutely in the Profession of the Gospel, in Reliance upon that Power, and in the Exercise of that Strength, which is ready for your Support in Jesus Christ: Putting on the whole Armour of God, that ye may be able to resist all the Attacks of the Devil. For our Conflict is not barely with Men, but with Principalities, and with Powers (α), with the Rulers of the Darkness that is in Men in the present Constitution of the World, and the spiritual Managers of the Opposition to the Kingdom of God. Wherefore take unto your selves the whole Armour of God, that you may be able to make Resistance in the

T E X T.

Finally, my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might.

Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil.

For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.

Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able

N O T E S.

12 (α) Principalities and Powers, are put here, his visible, for those revolted Angels which flood in Opposition to the Kingdom of God.
to withstand in the evil day, and having done all to stand.

14. Stand therefore having your loins girded with truth, and having on the breast-plate of righteousness:

15. And your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace:

16. Above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.

17. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God:

18. Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance and supplication for all saints:

19. And for me, that utterance may be given unto me, that I may open my mouth boldly, to make known the mystery of the gospel:

20. For which I am an ambassador in bonds; that therein I may speak boldly, as I ought to speak.

NOTES.

17 (γ) In this foregoing Allegory, St. Paul providing Armour for his Christian Soldier, to arm him at all points, there is no need curiously to explain, wherein the peculiar Correspondence between these Virtues and these Pieces of Armour consitites, being plain enough what the Apostle means, and wherewith he would have Believers be armed for their Warfare.

SECT. XII.

CHAP. IV. 21—24.

EPILOGUS.

TEXT.

But that ye also may know my affairs, and how I do, Tychoius a beloved brother and faithful minister in the

PARAPHRASE.

Tychicus a beloved Brother, and faithful Minister of the Lord in the Work of the Gospel, shall acquaint you how Matters stand with me, and how I do, and give you a particular Account how all things
things stand here. I have sent him on Purpose to you, that you might know the State of our Affairs, and that he might comfort your Hearts. Peace be to the Brethren, and Love with Faith from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace be with all those that love our Lord Jesus Christ in Sincerity (z).

Notes.

24 (z) ἐκ δεσποτῆς, in Sincerity, in our Translation; the Greek word signifies, in Incorruption. St. Paul closes all his Epistles with this Benediction, Grace be with you; but this here is to peculiar a Way of expressing himself, that it may give us some Reason to enquire what Thoughts suggested it. It has been remarked more than once, that the main Business of his Epistle, is that which fills his Mind, and guides his Pen in his whole Discourse. In this to the Ephesians he sets forth the Gospel, as a Dilepation so much in every thing superior to the Law, that it was to debate, corrupt and destroy the Gospel, to join Circumcision and the Observance of the Law as necessary to it. Having writ this Epistle to this End, he here in the close having the same Thought still upon his Mind, pronounces Favour on all those that love the Lord Jesus Christ in Incorruption, i.e. without the mixing or joining any thing with him in the Work of our Salvation, that may render the Gospel useless and ineficual. For thus he says, Gal. 5. 2. If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. This I submit to the Consideration of the Judicious Reader.
POSTHUMOUS WORKS OF Mr. John Locke:

VIZ.

I. Of the Conduct of the Understanding.
II. An Examination of P. Malebranche's Opinion of Seeing all things in God.
III. A Discourse of Miracles.
IV. Part of a Fourth Letter for Toleration.
V. Memoirs relating to the Life of Anthony first Earl of Shaftesbury.

To which is added,

VI. His New Method of a Common-Place-Book, written originally in French, and now translated into English.
POSTHUMOUS WORKS

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Mr. John Locke:

I. Of the Conduct of the Human Understanding.
II. An Examination of A. Materials Opinion of God.
III. A Defence of Mr. Locke.
IV. Part of a Fourth Letter for Information.
V. A Memory, relative to the Life of Dr. Lowel and Lady
VI. He New Method of a Common-Place Book, written
originally in Dutch, and now translated into English.
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to the reader

The ensuing Treatises are true and genuine Remains of the deceased Author whose Name they bear, but for the greatest part received not his last Hand, being in a great measure little more than sudden Views, intended to be afterwards revis’d and farther look’d into, but by Sickness, Inter¬vention of Business, or preferable Enquiries, happen’d to be thrust aside, and so lay neglected.

The Conduct of the Understanding be always thought to be a Subject very well worth Consideration. As any Miscarriages in that Point accidentally came into his Mind, he used sometimes to set them down in Writing, with those Remedies that he could then think of. This Method, tho' it makes not that Haste to the End which one could wish, yet perhaps is the only one that can be followed in the Case. It being here, as in Physick, impos¬sible for a Physician to describe a Disease, or seek Remedies for it, till be comes to meet with it. Such Particulars of this kind as occurr’d to the Author at a time of Leisure, he, as is before said, set down in Writing; intending, if he had lived, to have reduc’d them into Order and Method, and to have made a complete Treatise; whereas now it is only a Collection of casual Observations, sufficient to make Men see some Faults in the Conduct of their Understanding, and suspect there may be more, and may perhaps serve to excite others to enquire farther into it, than the Author hath done.

The Examination of P. Malebranche’s Opinion, Of seeing all things in God, shews it to be a very groundless Notion, and was not publish’d by the Author, because he look’d upon it to be an Opinion that would not spread, but was like to die of its self, or at least to do no great Harm.

The Discourse of Miracles was writ for his own Satisfaction, and never went beyond the first Draught, and was occasion’d by his reading Mr. Fleetwood’s Essay on Miracles, and the Letter writ to him on that Subject.

Vol. III. M m m 2
To the Reader.

The fourth Letter for Toleration is imperfect, was begun by the Author a little before his Death, but never finish'd. It was designed for an Answer to a Book entitled, A Second Letter to the Author of the three Letters for Toleration, &c. which was writ against the Author's third Letter for Toleration, about twelve Years after the said third Letter had been publish'd.

The Memoirs of the late Earl of Shaftesbury are only certain particular Facts set down in Writing by the Author as they occur'd to his Memory; if Time and Health would have permitted him, he had gone on farther, and from such Materials had collected and compiled an History of that noble Peer.
OF THE
CONDUCT
OF THE
UNDERSTANDING.

Quid tam temerarium tamque indignum sapientis gravitate atque cons-
stantia, quam aut falsum sentire, aut quod non fatis explorat perceptum
sit & cognitum sine ullo dubitatione defendere ? Cic. de Natura Deorum,
lib. 1.

INTRODUCTION.

§ I. HE left resort a Man has recourse to in the Conduct of himself, is his Understanding; for though we distinguish the Faculties of the Mind, and give the supreme Command to the Will, as to an Agent; yet the truth is, the Man which is the Agent determines himself to this or that voluntary Action, upon some precedent Knowledge, or appearance of Knowledge in the Understanding. No Man ever sets himself about any thing but upon some View or other which serves him for a reason for what he does: And whatsoever Faculties he employs, the Understanding with such Light as it has, well or ill informed, constantly leads, and by that Light, true or false, all his operative Powers are directed. The Will it self, how absolute and uncontrorollable soever it may be thought, never fails in its Obedience to the Dictates of the Understanding. Temples have their sacred Images, and we see what Influence they have always had over a great part of Mankind. But in truth the Ideas and Images in Mens Minds are the invisible Powers that constantly govern them, and to these All universally pay a ready Submission. It is therefore of the highest Concernment, that great Care should be taken of the Understanding, to conduct it right in the Search of Knowledge, and in the Judgments it makes.

The Logick now in use has so long possessed the Chair, as the only Art taught in the Schools for the Direction of the Mind in the Study of the Arts and Sciences, that it would perhaps be thought an Affectation of Novelty to suspect, that Rules, that have served the learned World these two or three thousand Years, and which without any Complaint of Defects the Learned have
have refled in, are not sufficient to guide the Understanding. And I should not doubt but this Attempt would be cenfured as Vanity or Prefumption, did not the great Lord Verulam’s Authority justify it; who, not fervilely thinking Learning could not be advanced beyond what it was, because for many Ages it had not been, did not reft in the lazy Approbation and Applaufe of what was, because it was; but enlarged his Mind to what might be. In his Preface to his Novum Organum concerning Logick, he pronounces thus; *Qui summam Dialettica partes tribuens, atque inde fidifima Scientis praefidit comparari putatur, verifîmè & optîmè viderint intellectum humanum sibi permissum meriisse fubfeâm eft debere. Verum innumerò omnino eft malo medicinâ; nec ipsa malo expers. Siquidem Dialettica, quae recepta est, licet ad civilia & ætérna, quae in fermo & opinionis pêsta sunt, reâffîme adhibeatur; natura tamen subtilitatem longo intercasso non attingit, & præfânde quod non capiat, ad errores patiis stabilendos & quasfi fígeros, quam ad viam veritatis aprioriandam valuit.*

*They, says he, who attributed so much to Logick, perceived very well and truly, that it was not safe to trust the Understanding to it itself, without the Guard of any Rules. But the Remedy reached not the Evil, but became a part of it: For the Logick which took place, though it might do well enough in civil Affairs, and the Arts which confifted in Talk and Opinion; yet comes very far short of Subtity in the real Performances of Nature, and catching at what it cannot reach, has served to confirm and establish Errors, rather than to open a way to Truth. And therefore a little after he says, “That it is absolutely necessary that a better and perfecter Use and Employment of the Mind and Understanding should be introduced. Neofaria rerum æt totius & perfectorum mentis & intellectus humani usus ædificari interfratatur.”*

**Part.**

§ 2. There is, says he, great Variety in Mens Understandings, and their natural Constitutions put fo wide a difference between some Men in this respect, that Art and Industry would never be able to master; and their very Natures seem to want a Foundation to raise on it that which other Men easily attain unto.—Amongst Men of equal Education there is great Inequality of Parts. And the Woods of America, as well as the Schools of Athens, produce Men of several Abilities in the same kind. Though this be so, yet I imagine most Men come very short of what they might attain unto in their several degrees by a Neglect of their Understandings. A few Rules of Logick are thought sufficient in this case for those who pretend to the highest Improvement; whereas I think there are a great many natural Defects in the Understanding capable of Amendment, which are overlook’d and wholly neglected. And it is safe to perceive that Men are guilty of a great many Faults in the Exercise and Improvement of this Faculty of the Mind, which hinder them in their Progress, and keep them in Ignorance and Error all their Lives. Some of them I shall take notice of, and endeavour to point out proper Remedies for, in the following Discourse.

**Reasoning.**

§ 3. Besides the want of determin’d Ideas, and of Sagacity, and Exercise in finding out, and laying in order intermediate Ideas, there are three Mis-carriages that Men are guilty of in reference to their Reason, whereby this Faculty is hinder’d in them from that Service it might do and was design’d for. And he that reflects upon the Actions and Discourses of Mankind, will find their Defects in this kind very frequent, and very observable.

1. The first is of those who seldom reason at all, but do and think according to the Example of others, whether Parents, Neighbours, Ministers, or who else they are pleas’d to make choice of to have an implicit Faith in, for the faying of themselves the Pains and Trouble of thinking and examining for themselves.

2. The second is of those who put Passion in the place of Reason, and being resolved that shall govern their Actions and Arguments, neither use their own, nor hearken to other People’s Reason, and farther than it suits their Humour, Interest, or Party; and these one may observe commonly content themselves with Words which have no distinct Ideas to them, though, in other Matters that they come with an unbyas’d Indifference to, they
want not Abilities to talk and hear Rea son, where they have no secret Inclination that hinders them from being tractable to it.

3. The third fort is of those who readily and sincerely follow Reason, but for want of having that which one may call large, found, round about Sense, have not a full view of all that relates to the Question, and may be of Moment to decide it. We are all short-sighted, and very often see but one side of a matter; our Views are not extended to all that has a Connexion with it. From this Defect I think no Man is free. We see but in part, and we know but in part, and therefore 'tis no wonder we conclude not right from our partial Views. This might instruct the proudest Elector of his own Parts how useful it is to talk and consult with others, even such as came short of him in Capacity, Quickness and Penetration: For since no one sees all, and we generally have different Prospects of the same thing, according to our different, as I may say, Positions to it, 'tis not incongruous to think, nor beneath any Man to try, whether another may not have Notions of things which have escaped him, and which his Reason would make use of if they came into his Mind. The Faculty of Reasoning seldom or never deceives those who trueth to it; its Consequences from what it builds on are evident and certain, but that which it oftentimes, if not only, misleads us in, is, that the Principles from which we conclude, the Grounds upon which we bottom our Reasoning, are but a part, something is left out which should go into the reckoning to make it just and exact. Here we may imagine a vast and almost infinite advantage that Angels and Separate Spirits may have over us; who, in their several degrees of Elevation above us, may be endowed with more comprehensive Faculties, and some of them perhaps have perfect and exact Views of all finite Beings that come under their Consideration, can as it were, in the twinkling of an Eye, collect together all their fatter'd and almost boundless Relations. A Mind so furnish'd, what Reason has it to acquiesce in the Certainty of its Conclusions!

In this we may see Reason why some Men of Study and Thought, that Reason right, and are Lovers of Truth, do make no great Advances in their Discoveries of it. Error and Truth are uncertainly blended in their Minds; their Decisions are lame and defective, and they are very often mistaken in their Judgments: The Reason whereof is, they converse but with one fort of Men, they read but one fort of Books, they will not come in the hearing but of one fort of Notions; the truth is, they canton out to themselves a little Garden in the Intellectual World, where Light shines, and, as they conclude, Day blest them; but the rest of that vast Expanse they give up to Night and Darkness, and so avoid coming near it. They have a pretty Traffic with known Correspondents in some little Creek, within that they confine themselves, and are dextrous Managers enough of the Wares and Products of that Corner with which they content themselves, but will not venture out into the great Ocean of Knowledge, to survey the Riches that Nature hath stored other Parts with, no less genuine, no less solid, no less useful, than what has fallen to their lot in the admired Plenty and Sufficiency of their own little Spot, which to them contains whatsoever is good in the Universe. Those who live thus mew'd up within their own contracted Territories, and will not look abroad beyond the Boundaries that Chance, Conceit, or Laziness has set to their Enquiries, but live separate from the Notions, Discourses and Attainments of the rest of Mankind, may not amiss be represented by the Inhabitants of the Marian Islands; who being separated by a large Strait of Sea from all Communion with the habitable Parts of the Earth, thought themselves the only People of the World. And though the Straitness of the Conveniences of Life amongst them had never reach'd so far as to the use of Fire, till the Spaniards, not many years since, in their Voyages from Acapulco to Manila brought it amongst them; yet in the Want and Ignorance of almost all things, they look'd upon themselves, even after that the Spaniards had brought amongst them the Notice of variety of Nations abounding in Sciences, Arts and Conveniences of Life, of which they knew nothing, they look'd upon themselves, I say, as the happiest and wisest People of the Universe. But for all that, no body, I think, will imagine them
Of the Conduct

Reasonings; then deep Naturalists, or solid Metaphysicians; no Body will deem the quickest-lighted amongst them to have very enlarg'd Views in Ethics or Politics, nor can any one allow the most capable amongst them to be advanced so far in his Understanding, as to have any other Knowledge but of the few little things of his and the neighbouring Islands within his Commerce; but far enough from that comprehensive Enlargement of Mind which adorns a Soul devoted to Truth, allitured with Letters, and a free Generation of the several Views and Sentiments of thinking Men of all sides. Let not Men therefore, that would have a fight of what every one pretends to be devious to have a fight of, Truth in its full Extent, narrow and blind their own Prospect. Let not Men think there is no Truth but in the Sciences that they study, or the Books that they read. To pre-judge other Mens Notions before we have look'd into them, is not to shew their Darknests, but to put out our own Eyes. Try all things, hold fast that which is good, is a Divine Rule, coming from the Father of Light and Truth; and 'tis hard to know what other way Men can come at Truth, to lay hold of it, if they do not dig and search for it as for Gold and hid Treasure; but he that does so must have much Earth and Rubbish before he gets the pure Metal; Sand, and Pebbles, and Dross usually lie blended with it, but the Gold is 'never the less Gold, and will enrich the Man that employs his Pains to seek and separate it. Neither is there any danger he should be deceived by the Mixture. Every Man carries about him a Touch-Stone, if he will make use of it, to distinguish substantial Gold from superficial Glitterings, Truth from Appearances. And indeed the Use and Benefit of this Touch-stone, which is natural Reason, is spoil'd and lost only by assumed Prejudices, overweening Prejumptions, and narrowing our Minds. The Want of exercising it in the full Extent of things intelligible, is that which weakens and extinguishes this noble Faculty in us. Trace it, and see whether it be not so. The Day-Labourer in a Country Village has commonly but a small Pittance of Knowledge, because his Ideas and Notions have been confined to the narrow Bounds of a poor Conversation and Employment; The low Mechanick of a Country-Town does somewhat out-do him; Porters and Coblers of great Cities surpass them. A Country-Gentleman, who leaving Latin and Learning in the University, removes thence to his Manhill-House, and associates with Neighbours of the same strain, who relish nothing but Hunting and a Bottle; with those alone he spends his time, with these alone he converes, and can away with no Company whose Discourse goes beyond what Clarret, and Dissolventes inspires. Such a Patriot, formed in this happy way of Improvement, cannot fail, as we see, to give notable Decisions upon the Bench at Quarter-Seessions, and eminent Proofs of his Skill in Politics, when the Strength of his Purse and Party have advanced him to a more conspicuous Station. To such a truly an ordinary Coffee-house Gleaner of the City is an errant Statesman, and as much superior too, as a Man, conversant about Whitehall and the Courts, is to an ordinary Shop-keeper. To carry this a little farther. Here is one muffled up in the Zeal and Infallibility of his own Sect, and will not touch a Book, or enter into Debate with a Peron that will question any of those things which to him are Sacred. Another surveys our Differences in Religion with an equitable and fair Indifference, and so finds probably that none of them are in every thing unexceptionable, These Divisions and Systems were made by Men, and carry the Mark of Fallible on them; and in those whom he differs from, and till he open'd his Eyes had a general Prejudice against, he meets with more to be paid for a great many things than before he was aware of, or could have imagined. Which of these two now is most likely to judge right in our religious Controversies, and to be most staid with Truth, the Mark all pretend to aim at? All these Men that I have intimated in, thus unequally furnished with Truth, and advanced in Knowledge, I supposse of equal natural Parts; all the Odds between them has been the different Scope that has been given to their Understandings to range in, for the gathering up of Information, and furnishing their Heads with Ideas, Notions and Observations, whereon to employ their Minds, and form their Understandings.
It will possibly be objected, who is sufficient for all this? I answer, more Reasoning, than can be imagined. Every one knows what his proper Business is, and what, according to the Character he makes of himself, the World may justly expect of him; and to answer that, he will find he will have Time and Opportunity enough to furnish himself, if he will not deprive himself, by a Narrowness of Spirit, of those Helps that are at hand. I do not say to be a good Geographer that a Man should visit every Mountain, River, Promontory and Creek upon the Face of the Earth, view the Buildings, and survey the Land every where, as if he were going to make a Purchase. But yet every one must allow that he shall know a Country better that makes often Sallies into it, and traverses it up and down, and that he that like a Mill-Horse goes still round in the same Track, or keeps within the narrow Bounds of a Field or two that delight him. He that will enquire out the best Books in every Science, and inform himself of the most material Authors of the several Sects of Philosophy and Religion, will not find it an infinite Work to acquaint himself with the Sentiments of Man-kind concerning the most weighty and comprehensive Subjects. Let him exercise the Freedom of his Reason and Understanding in such a Latitude as this, and his Mind will be strengthened, his capacity enlarged, his Faculties improved; and the Light, which the remote and scatter'd parts of Truth will give to one another, will so assist his Judgment, that he will seldom be widely out, or misgiving Proof of a clear Head, and a comprehensive Knowledge. At least, this is the only way I know to give the Understanding its due Improvement to the full extent of its Capacity, and to distinguish the two most different things I know in the World, a logical Chicaner from a Man of Reason. Only he that would thus give the Mind its flight, and fend abroad his Enquiries into all Parts after Truth, must be sure to settle in his Head determined Ideas of all that he employs his Thoughts about, and never fail to judge himself, and judge unbiassedly of all that he receives from others, either in their Writings or Discourses. Reverence or Prejudice must not be suffer'd to give Beauty or Deformity to any of their Opinions.

§ 4. We are born with Faculties and Powers capable almost of anything, of Practice such at least as would carry us farther than can easily be imagined: But 'tis only the Exercise of these Powers which gives us Ability and Skill in anything, and leads us towards Perfection.

A middle-aged Ploughman will scarce ever be brought to the Carriage and Language of a Gentleman, though his Body be as well proportion'd, and his Joints as supple, and his natural Parts not any way inferior. The Legs of a Dancing-master, and the Fingers of a Musician fall as it were naturally without Thought or Pains into regular and admirable Motions. Bid them change their Parts, and they will in vain endeavour to produce like Motions in the Members not us'd to them, and it will require length of Time and long Practice to attain but some degrees of a like Ability. What incredible and astonishing Actions do we find Rope-dancers and Tumblers bring their Bodies to! Not but that Fundry in almost all manual Arts are as wonderful; but I name those which the World takes notice of for such, because on that very account, they give Money to see them. All these admired Motions, beyond the Reach and almost the Conception of unpractised Spectators, are nothing but the mere Effects of Use and Industry in Men, whose Bodies have nothing peculiar in them from those of the amazing Lookers on.

As it is in the Body, so it is in the Mind; Practice makes it what it is, and most, even of those Excellencies which are look'd on as natural Endowments, will be found, when examined into more narrowly, to be the Product of Exercise, and to be raif'd to that pitch only by repeated Actions. Some Men are remark'd for Plesantness in Railery; others for Apologies and appropriate diverting Stories. This is apt to be taken for the Effect of pure Nature, and that the rather, because it is not got by Rules, and those who excel in either of them, never purposely set themselves to the Study of it as an Art to be learnt. But yet it is true, that at first some lucky Hit which took with some body, and gain'd him Commendation, encouraged him to try again, Vol. III. N n n inclined
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and Ends.

inclined his Thoughts and Endeavours that way, 'till at last he insensibly got a Facility in it without perceiving how, and that is attributed wholly to Nature, which was much more the Effect of Use and Practice. I do not deny that natural Disposition may often give the first rile to it: but that never carries a Man far without Use and Exercise, and 'tis Practice alone that brings the Powers of the Mind as well as those of the Body to their Perfection. Many a good Poetick Vein is buried under a Trade, and never produces any thing for want of Improvement. We see the ways of Discourse and Reasoning are very different, even concerning the fame matter, at Court and in the University. And he that will go but from Westminster-Hall to the Exchange, will find a different Genius and Turn in their ways of Talking, and yet one cannot think that all, whose lot fell in the City, were born with different Parts from those who were bred at the University or Inns of Court.

To which purpose all this, but to shew that the Difference, so observable in Men's Understandings and Parts, does not arise so much from their natural Faculties as acquired Habits. He would be laughed at that should go about to make a fine Dancer out of a Country Hedge, at past Fifty. And he will not have much better Success, who shall endeavour at that age to make a Man reason well, or speak handomely who has never been used to it, though you should lay before him a Collection of all the best Precepts of Logick or Oratory. No body is made any thing by hearing of Rules, or laying them up in his Memory; Practice must settle the Habit of doing without reflecting on the Rule, and you may as well hope to make a good Painter or Musician extempore by a Lecture and Instruction in the Arts of Music and Painting, as a coherent Thinker, or strict Reasoner by a Set of Rules, shewing him wherein right Reasoning consists.

This being so, that Defects and Weaknesses in Mens Understandings, as well as other Faculties, come from Want of a right Use of their own Minds; I am apt to think the Fault is generally mislaid upon Nature, and there is often a Complaint of Want of Parts, when the Fault lies in Want of a due Improvement of them. We see Men frequently dextrous and sharp enough in making a bargain, who, if you reason with them about Matters of Religion, appear perfectly stupid.

§ 5. I will not here, in what relates to the right Conduct and Improvement of the Understanding, repeat again the getting clear and determined Ideas, and the employing our Thoughts rather about them than about Sounds put for them, nor ofsettling the Signification of Words which we use with our selves in the Search of Truth, or with others in discoursing about it. Those Hindrances of our Understandings in the pursuit of Knowledge, I have sufficiently enlarged upon in another place; so that nothing more needs here to be said of those Matters.

Principles.

§ 6. There is another Fault that flouts or misleads Men in their Knowledge, which I have alfo spoken something of, but yet is necessary to mention here again, that we may examine it to the bottom, and see the Root it spriens from, and that is a Custom of taking up with Principles that are not self-evident, and very often not so much as true. 'Tis not unusual to see Men ref their Opinions upon Foundations that have no more Certainty and Solidity than the Propositions built on them, and embraced for their sake. Such Foundations are thefe and the like, vizz. The Founders or Leaders of my Party are good Men, and therefore their Tenets are true; it is the Opinion of a Sect that is erroneous, therefore it is false: It hath been long received in the World, therefore it is true; or it is new, and therefore false.

These, and many the like, which are by no means the Measures of Truth and Fallhood, the Generality of Men make the Standards by which they accustom their Understanding to judge. And thus they falling into a Habit of determining Truth and Fallhood by such wrong Measures, 'tis no wonder they should embrace Error for Certainty, and be very positive in things they have no ground for.

There is not any, who pretends to the least Reason, but, when any of these his false Maxims are brought to the Test, must acknowledge them to be fallible, and such as he will not allow in those that differ from him; and yet
after he is convinced of this, you shall see him go on in the use of them, and Principles. the very next Occasion that offers argu again upon the same Grounds. Would one not be ready to think that Men are willing to impose upon them- selves, and mislead their own Understandings, who conduct them by such wrong Measurements, even after they see they cannot be relied on? But yet they will not appear so blamable as may be thought at first sight; for I think there are a great many that argue thus in Earnest, and do it not to impose on themselves or others. They are persuaded of what they say, and think there is Weight in it, tho' in a like Cafe they have been convinced there is none; but Men would be intolerable to themselves, and contemptible to others, if they should embrace Opinions without any Ground, and hold what they could give no manner of Reason for. True or false, solid or sandy, the Mind must have some Foundation to rest it self upon, and, as I have remark'd in another place, it no sooner entertains any Proposition, but it presently happens to some Hypothesis to bottom it on, till then it is unquiet and unsettled. So much do our own very Tempers displease us to a right Use of our Understandings, if we would follow as we should the Inclinations of our Nature.

In some Matters of Concernment, especially tho' of Religion, Men are not permitted to be always wavering and uncertain, they must embrace and profess some Tenets or other; and it would be a Shame, nay a Contradiction too heavy for any one's Mind to lie constantly under; for him to Pretend seriously to be persuaded of the Truth of any Religion, and yet not to be able to give any Reason of his Belief, or to say any thing for his Preference of this to any other Opinion; and therefore they must make use of some Principles or other, and those can be no other than such as they have and can manage; and to say they are not in earnest persuaded by them, and do not rest upon those they make use of, is contrary to Experience, and to allege that they are not milled when we complain they are.

If this be so, it will be urged, why then do they not make use of sure and unquestionable Principles, than rest on such Grounds as may deceive them, and will, as is visible, serve to support Error as well as Truth?

To this I answer, the Reason why they do not make use of better and surer Principles, is because they cannot: But this Inability proceeds not from Want of Natural Parts (for those few whose Cafe that is are to be excused) but for want of Use and Exercise. Few Men are from their Youth accustomed to strict Reasoning, and to trace the Dependence of any Truth in a long train of Consequences to its remote Principles, and to observe its Connection; and he that by frequent Practice has not been used to this Employment of his Understanding, 'tis no more wonder that he should not, when he is grown into Years, be able to bring his Mind to it, than that he should not be on a sudden able to grave or design, dance on the Ropes, or write a good Hand, who has never practiced either of them.

Nay, the most of Men are so wholly Strangers to this, that they do not so much as perceive their Want of it, they dispit the ordinary Business of their Calling by Rote, as we say, as they have learnt it, and if at any time they miss Success, they impute it to any thing rather than Want of Thought or Skill, that they conclude (because they know no better) they have in Perfection; or if there be any Subject that Interest or Fancy has recommended to their Thoughts, their Reasoning about it is still after their own fashion, be it better or worse, it serves their turns, and is the best they are acquainted with; and therefore when they are led by it into Mistakes, and their Business succeeds accordingly, they impute it to any crook's Accident, or default of others, rather than to their own Want of Understanding; that is, what no Body discovers or complains of in himself. Whatsoever made his Business to miscarry, it was not want of right Thought and Judgment in himself: He seizes no such Defect in himself, but is satisfied that he carries on his Designs well enough by his own Reasoning, or at least should have done, had it not been for unlucky Travels not in his Power. Thus being content with this short and very imperfect Use of his Understanding, he never troubles...
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Principles. himself to seek out Methods of improving his Mind, and lives all his Life without any Notion of close Reasoning, in a continued Connection of a long train of Consequences from sure Foundations, such as is requisite for the making out, and clearing most of the speculative Truths most Men own to believe and are most concern’d in. Not to mention here what I shall have occasion to insist on by and by more fully, viz. that in many cases ’tis not one Series of Consequences will serve the turn, but many different and opposite Deductions must be examin’d and laid together, before a Man can come to make a right Judgment of the Point in question. What then can be expect
ed from Men that neither see the Want of any such kind of Reasoning as this; nor if they do, know they how to fet about it, or could perform it? You may as well set a Country-Man, who scarce knows the Figures, and never call up a Sum of three Particulars, to state a Merchant’s long Account, and find the true Balance of it.

What then should be done in the Case? I answer, we should always re-
member what I said above, that the Faculties of our Souls are improvd and made useful to us, just after the same manner as our Bodies are. Would you have a Man write or paint, dance or fence well, or perform any other man-
ual Operation dexterously and with Ease, let him have ever so much Vi-
gour and Activity, Supplemenes and Address naturally; yet no Body expects this from him unless he has been used to it, and has implo’d Time and Pains in fashioning and forming his Hand or outward Parts to these Motions. Just so it is in the Mind; would you have a Man reason well, you must use him to it times, exercise his Mind in observing the Connection of Ideas, and following them in train. Nothing does this better than Mathematicks, which therefore I think should be taught all those who have the Time and Opportunity, not so much to make them Mathematicians, as to make them reasonable Creatures; for though we all call our selves so, because we are born to it if we please; yet we may truly say Nature gives us but the Seeds of it; we are born to be, if we please, rational Creatures, but ’tis Use and Exercise only that makes us so, and we are indeed so no farther than In-
dustry and Application has carried us. And therefore in ways of Reasoning which Men have not been used to, he that will observe the Conclusions they take up, must be satisfied they are not all Rational.

This has been the least taken notice of, because every one in his private Af-
fairs, uses some sort of Reasoning or other, enough to denominate him rea-
sonable. But the Mistake is, that he that is found reasonable in one thing is concluded to be so in all, and to think or say otherwise, is thought to un-
just an Affront, and so senflefs a Cenfare, that no Body ventures to do it. It looks like the Degradation of a Man below the Dignity of his Nature. It is true, that he that reasons well in any one thing, has a Mind naturally capa-
ble of reasoning well in others, and to the fame degree of Strength and Clearness, and possibly much greater, had his Understanding been so im-
ployed. But ’tis as true, that he who can reason well to Day about one sort of Matters, cannot at all reason to Day about others, though perhaps a Year hence he may. But where-ever a Man’s rational Faculty fails him, and will not serve him to reason, there we cannot say he is rational, how capable never he may be by Time and Exercise to become so.

Try in Men of low and mean Education, who have never elevated their Thoughts above the Spade and the Plough, nor look’d beyond the ordinary Drudgery of a Day-Labourer. Take the Thoughts of such an one, used for many Years to one Track, out of that narrow Compass he has been all his Life confin’d to, you will find him no more capable of reasoning than almost a perfect Natural. Some one or two Rules, on which their Conclusions im-
mmediately depend, you will find in most Men have govern’d all their Thoughts; these, true or false, have been the Maxims they have been gui-
ded by: Take thef from them, and they are perfectly at a loss, their Com-
pas and Pole-Star then are gone, and their Understanding is perfectly at a Nonplus, and therefore they either immediately return to their old Maxims again as the Foundations of all Truth to them, notwithstanding all that can be said to flout their Weaknefs; or if they give them up to their Reaons, they
they with them give up all Truth and further Enquiry, and think there is no Principles.

such thing as Certainty. For if you would enlarge their Thoughts, and sett
them upon more remote and furer Principles, they either cannot easily
apprehend them, or if they can, know not what use to make of them; for
long Deductions from remote Principles, is what they have not been us’d
to, and cannot manage.

What then, can grown Men never be improv’d or enlarg’d in their Under
standings? I say not so, but this I think I may say, that it will not be done
without Industry and Application, which will require more Time and Pains
than grown Men, settled in their Course of Life, will allow to it, and there
fore very seldom is done. And this very Capacity of attaining it by Use and
Exercise only, brings us back to that which I laid down before, that it is
only Practice that improves our Minds as well as Bodies, and we must expect
nothing from our Understandings any farther than they are perfected by
Habits.

The Americans are not all born with worse Understandings than the Euro
peans, tho’ we see none of them have such Reaches in the Arts and Sciences.
And among the Children of a poor Country-man, the lucky chance of Edu
cation, and getting into the World, gives one infinitely the Superiority in
Parts over the rest, who continuing at home, had continued also just of the
same fize with his Brethren.

He that has to do with young Scholars, especially in Mathematicks, may
perceive how their Minds open by degrees, and how it is Exercise alone
that opens them. Sometimes they will flick a long time at a part of a De
monstration, not for want of Will and Application, but really for want of
perceiving the Connection of two Ideas; that, to one whole Understanding
is more exercised, is as visible as any thing can be. The fame would be with a
grown Man beginning to study Mathematicks, the Understanding for want of
use, often flicks in very plain way, and be himself that is so puzzled,
when he comes to see the Connection, wonders what it was he stuck at in a
Cafe so plain.

§ 7. I have mentioned Mathematicks as a way to settle in the Mind an Ha-
abit of Reasoning closely and in train; not that I think it necessary that all
Men should be deep Mathematicians, but that having got the way of Rea
oning, which that Study necessarily brings the Mind to, they might be able
to transfer it to other parts of Knowledge as they shall have occasion. For
in all sorts of Reasoning, every single Argument should be manage’d as a
Mathematical Demonstration, the Connection and Dependence of Ideas
should be follow’d till the Mind is brought to the Source on which it bottom,
and observes the Coherence all along, tho’ in Proofs of Probability, one such train is not enough to settle the Judgment as in demonstrative
Knowledge.

Where a Truth is made out by one Demonstration, there needs no farther
Enquiry, but in Probabilities where there wants Demonstration to establish
the Truth beyond Doubt, there ‘tis not enough to trace one Argument to
its Source, and observe its Strength and Weakness, but all the Arguments,
after having been so examined on both sides, must be laid in Balance one
against another, and upon the whole the Understanding determine its
Assent.

This is a way of Reasoning the Understanding should be accustomed to,
which is so different from what the Illiterate are used to, that even learned
Men oftentimes seem to have very little or no Notion of it. Nor is it to be
wonder’d, since the way of disputing in the Schools leads them quite away
from it, by inflicting on one topical Argument, by the Success of which the
Truth or Fallhood of the Quelion is to be determined, and Victory adjudged
to the Opponent or Defendant; which is all one as if one should balance an
Account by one Sum charged and discharged, when there are an hundred
others to be taken into Consideration.

This therefore it would be well if Men’s Minds were accustomed to, and
that early, that they might not erect their Opinions upon one single View,
when so many other are requisite to make up the Account, and must come
into
into the reckoning before a Man can form a right Judgment. This would
ealreuge thier Minds, and give a due Freedom to their Understandings, that
they might not be led into Error by Prefumption, Lazines or Precipitancy;
fr I think no Body can approve such a Conduct of the Understanding, as
should mislead it from Truth, tho' it be ever so much in fashion to make
use of it.

To this perhaps it will be objected, that to manage the Understanding as
I propose, would require every Man to be a Scholar, and to be furnished with
all the Materials of Knowledge, and exercised in all the Ways of Reaoning.
To which I answer, that it is a shame for those that have time, and the
means to attain Knowledge, to want any helps or assistance for the Improv-
ment of their Understandings that are to be got, and to such I would be
thought here chiefly to speak. Thofe methinks, who by the Industry and
Parts of their Ancestors have been set free from a constant Drudgery to their
Backs and their Bellies, should belfow some of their spare time on their
Heads, and open their Minds by some Trays and Effays in all the forts and
matters of Reaoning. I have before mention'd Mathematicks, wherein Al-
gebra gives new Helps and Views to the Understanding. If I propose thefe,
it is not, as I said, to make every Man a thorough Mathematician, or a deep
Algebrailt; but yet I think the Study of them is of infinite Use even to grown
Men; first by experimentally convincing them, that to make any one reafon
well, it is not enough to have Parts wherewith he is fatisfied, and that
serve him well enough in his ordinary Courfe. A Man in thofe Studies will
fee, that however good he may think his Understanding, yet in many things,
and thofe very visible, it may fail him. This would take off that Prefumption
that moft Men have of themselves in this part; and they would not be fo apt
to think their Minds wanted no Helps to enlarge them, that there could be
nothing added to the acutenefs and penetration of their Understandings.

Secondly, The Study of Mathematicks would shew them the Necessity there
is, in Reaoning, to separate all the different Ideas, and see the Habitudes that
all thofe concern'd in the prefent Enquiry have to one another, and to lay
by thofe which relate not to the Proposition in hand, and wholly to leave
them out of the reckoning. This is that, which in other Subjects besides
Quantity, is what is absolutely requisite to just Reaoning, tho' in them it is
not fo easily observed, nor so carefully practis'd. In thofe parts of Knowledge
where 'tis thought Demonstration has nothing to do, Men reafon as it were
in the Lump; and if, upon a Summary and confus'd View, or upon a partial
Confideration, they can raife the appearance of a Probability, they ufually
reft content; especially if it be in a Dispute where every little Straw is laid
hold on, and every thing that can but be drawn in any way to give Colour
to the Argument, is advanced with Obfervation. But that Mind is not in a
pofiture to find the Truth, that does not diftinguifh take all the Parts at once,
and, omitting what is not at all to the Point, draw a Conclusion from the
Refult of all the Particulars which any way influence it. There is another
no less ufeful Habit to be got by an application to Mathematical Demo-
strations, and that is of using the Mind to a long train of Consequences; but
having mention'd that already, I shall not again here repeat it.

As to Men whose Fortunes and Time is narrower, what may fuffice them
is not of that vaf Extent as may be imagin'd, and fo comes not within the
Objection.

No Body is under an Obligation to know every thing. Knowledge and
Science in general, is the bufines of only thofe who are at Eafe and Leisure.
Tho' who have particular Callings ought to understand them; and 'tis no
unreasonable Proposal, nor impoffible to be compafs'd, that they should
think and reafon right about what is their daily Employment. This one cannot
think them uncapable of, without levelling them with the Brutes, and
charging them with a Stupidity below the Rank of rational Creatures.

§ 8. Besides his particular Calling for the Support of this Life, every
one has a Concern in a future Life, which he is bound to look after. This
engages his Thoughts in Religion; and here it mightily lies upon him to un-
derstand and reafon right. Men therefore cannot be excufed from under-
understanding
of the Understanding.

standing the Words, and framing the general Notions relating to Religion.

right. The one Day of seven, besides other Days of Rest, allows in the Christian World time enough for this (had they no other idle Hours) if they would but make use of these Vacancies from their daily Labour, and apply themselves to an Improvement of Knowledge, with as much Diligence as they often do to a great many other things that are useless, and had but those that would enter them according to their several Capacities in a right way to this Knowledge. The Original Make of their Minds is like that of other Men, and they would be found not to want Understanding fit to receive the Knowledge of Religion, if they were a little encourag’d and help’d in it as they should be. For there are Instances of very mean People, who have raised their Minds to a great Sense and Understanding of Religion: And tho’ these have not been so frequent as could be wish’d; yet they are enough to clear that Condition of Life from a Neglect of gross Ignorance, and to shew that more might be brought to be rational Creatures and Christians (for they can hardly be thought really to be so, who, wearing the Name, know not so much as the very Principles of that Religion) if due Care were taken of them. For, if I mistake not, the Peasantry lately in France (a Rank of People under a much heavier Prevalence of Want and Poverty than the Day-Labourers in England) of the Reformed Religion, understood it much better, and could lay more for it, than those of a higher Condition among Us.

But if it shall be concluded that the meaner sort of People must give themselves up to a brutish Stupidity in the things of their nearest Concernment, which I see no reason for, this excuse not thofe of a freer Fortune and Education, if they neglect their Understandings, and take no Care to employ them as they ought, and fet them right in the Knowledge of those things, for which principally they were given them. At least thofe, whose plentiful Fortunes allow them the Opportunities and Helps of Improvements, are not so few, but that it might be hoped great Advancements might be made in Knowledge of all kinds, especially in that of the greatest Concern and largest Views, if Men would make a right use of their Faculties, and study their own Understandings.

§ 9. Outward corporeal Objects, that constantly importune our Senfc, and captivate our Appetites, fail not to fill our Heads with lively and lasting Ideas of that kind. Here the Mind needs not be set upon getting greater store; they offer themselves fast enough, and are usually entertained in such plenty, and lodged so carefully, that the Mind wants Room or Attention for others that it has more Use and Need of. To set the Understanding therefore for such Reasoning as I have been above speaking of, care should be taken to fill it with moral and more abstract Ideas; for these not offering themselves to the Senfc, but being to be framed to the Understanding, People are generally so neglectful of a Faculty they are apt to think wants nothing; that I fear most Mens Minds are more unturnished with such Ideas than is imagined. They often use the Words, and how can they be suspected to want the Ideas? What I have said in the Third Book of my Essay, will excuse me from any other Anfwer to this Question. But to convince People of what moment it is to their Understandings, to be furnished with such abstract Ideas steadily and settled in them, give me leave to ask how any one shall be able to know, whether he be obliged to be Jult, if he has not established Ideas in his Mind, of Obligation and of Justice, since Knowledge confils in nothing but the perciv’d Agreement or Disagreement of those Ideas? And so of all others the like, which concern our Lives and Manners. And if Men do find a Difficulty to see the Agreement or Disagreement of two Angles which lye before their Eyes, unalterable in a Diagram, how utterly impossible will it be to perceive it in Ideas that have no other sensible Objects to represent them to the Mind, but Sounds, with which they have no manner of Conformity, and therefore had need to be clearly settled in the Mind themselves, if we would make any clear Judgment about them? This therefore is one of the first things the Mind should be employ’d about in the right Conduct of the Understanding, without which it is impossible it should be capable of Reasoning right about thofe
those Matters. But in these, and all other Ideas, Care must be taken that they harbour no Inconsistencies, and that they have a real Existence where real Existence is suppos’d, and are not mere Chimeras with a suppos’d Existence.

**Prejudice.** § 10. Every one is forward to complain of the Prejudices that mislead other Men or Parties, as if he were free, and had none of his own. This being objected on all sides, 'tis agreed, that it is a Fault and an Hindrance to Knowledge. What now is the Cure? No other but this, that every Man should let alone other's Prejudices and examine his own. No body is convinced of his by the Accusation of another, he reccriminates by the same Rule and is clear. The only way to remove this great Caufe of Ignorance and Error out of the World, is, for every one impartially to examine himself. If others will not deal fairly with their own Minds; does that make my Errors Truths, or ought it to make me in love with them, and willing to impose on my self? If others love Cataracts on their Eyes, should that hinder me from couching mine as soon as I could? Every one declares against Blindness, and yet who almost is not fond of that which dims his Sight, and keeps the clear Light out of his Mind, which should lead him into Truth and Knowledge? Falfe or doubtful Positions, rely’d upon as unquestionable Maxims, keep those in the dark from Truth who build on them. Such are usually the Prejudices imbibed from Education, Party, Reverence, Fashion, Interest, &c. This is the Motte which every one fees in his Brother’s Eye, but never regards the Beam in his own. For who is there almost that is ever brought fairly to examine his own Principles, and see whether they are such as will bear the Trial? But yet this should be one of the first things every one should set about, and be scrupulous in, who would rightly conduct his Understanding in the Search of Truth and Knowledge.

To those who are willing to get rid of this great Hindrance of Knowledge, (for to such only I write) to those who would shake off this great and dangerous Impostor Prejudice, who dries up Fallacy in the Likeness of Truth, and fo destructively hoodwinks Mens Minds, as to keep them in the Dark, with a Belief that they are more in the Light than any that do not fee with their Eyes; I shall offer this one Mark whereby Prejudice may be known. He that is strongly of any Opinion, must suppos’e (unless he be self-condemnd’d) that his Perfuasion is built upon good Grounds; and that his Asfent is no greater than what the Evidence of the Truth he holds forces him to; and that they are Arguments, and not Inclination or Fancy that make him so confident and positive in his Tenets. Now if after all his Profefion, he cannot bear any Opposition to his Opinion, if he cannot so much as give a patient Hearing, much less examine and weigh the Arguments on the other fide, does he not plainly confefs 'tis Prejudice governs him? And 'tis not the Evidence of Truth, but some lazy Anticipation, some beloved Presumption that he desires to rest undisturb’d in. For if what he holds be, as he gives out, well fenced with Evidence, and he sees it to be true, what need he fear to put it to the Proof? If his Opinion be settled upon a firm Foundation, if the Arguments that support it, and have obtained his Asfent, be clear, good and convincing, why should he be shy to have it try’d whether they be Proof or not? He whose Asfent goes beyond his Evidence, owes this Excess of his Adherence only to Prejudice, and does in effect own it, when he refuses to hear what is offer’d against it; declaring thereby, that 'tis not Evidence he seeks, but the quiet Enjoyment of the Opinion he is fond of, with a forward Condemnation of all, that may stand in opposition to it, unheard and unexamined; which, what is it but Prejudice? Qui aquam flauterit parte inaudita altera, etiam acquis flauterit, haud aquas fuerit. He that would acquit himself in this Cafe as a Lover of Truth, nor giving way to any Pre-occupation, or Byas that may mislead him, must do Two things that are not very common, nor very easy.

**Indifference.** § 11. First, he must not be in love with any Opinion, or with it to be true, till he knows it to be so, and then he will not need to wish it. For nothing that is False can preserve our good Willes, nor a Defire that it should have the Place and Force of Truth; and yet nothing is more frequent than this. Men are fond of certain Tenets upon no other Evidence but Respect and
and Cautione, and think they must maintain them, or all is gone, tho' they Indifferent have never examined the Ground they stand on, nor have ever made them, out to themselves, or can make them out to others. We should contend earnestly for the Truth, but we should first be sure that it is Truth, or else we fight against God, who is the God of Truth, and do the Work of the Devil, who is the Father and Propagator of Lies; and our Zeal, tho' never so warm, will not excuse us; for this is plainly Prejudice.

§ 12. Secondly, He must do that which he will find himself very averse to, as judging the thing unnecessary, or himself uncapable of doing it. He must try whether his Principles be certainly true or not; and how far he may safely rely upon them. This whether fewer have the Heart or the Skill to do, I shall not determine; but this I am sure, this is that which every one ought to do, who professes to love Truth, and would not impose upon himself; which is a surer Way to be made a Fool of than by being exposed to the Sophistry of others. The Disposition to put any Cheat upon our selves, works confusely, and we are pleas'd with it; but are impatient of being bantred or misled by others. The Inability I here speak of, is not any natural Defect that makes Men uncapable of examining their own Principles. To such, Rules of conducting their Understandings are useless, and that is the Case of very few. The great Number is of those whom the ill Habit of never exerting their Thoughts has disabled: The Powers of their Minds areiarred by Diffuse, and have left that Reach and Strength which Nature fitted them to receive from Exercise. Those who are in a Condition to learn the first Rules of plain Arithmetic, and could be brought to cast up an ordinary Sum, are capable of this, if they had but accustom'd their Minds to Reasoning; But they that have wholly neglected the Exercise of their Understandings in this way, will be very far at first from being able to do it, and as unwise for it as one unpractised in Figures to call up a Shop-Book, and perhaps think it as strange to be set about it. And yet it must nevertheless be confess'd to be a wrong Use of our Understandings, to build our Tenets (in things where we are concern'd to hold the Truth) upon Principles that may lead us into Error. We take our Principles at hasty hazard upon Truth, and without ever having examin'd them, and then believe a whole System, upon a Presumption that they are true and solid; and what is all this but childish, shamefull, fenelefs Credulity?

In these two things, viz. an equal Indifference for all Truth; I mean the receiving it in the Love of it as Truth, but not loving it for any other reason before we know it to be true; and in the Examination of our Principles, and not receiving any for such, nor building on them till we are fully convince'd, as rational Creatures, of their Solidity, Truth and Certainty, consists that Freedom of the Understanding, which is necessary to a rational Creature, and without which it is not truly an Understanding. 'Tis Conceit, Fancy, Extravagance, any thing rather than Understanding, if it must be under the Contrain of receiving and holding Opinions by the Authority of any thing but their own, not fan'y'd, but perceiv'd, Evidence. This was rightly call'd Impostion, and is of all other the worst and most dangerous sort of it. For we impose upon our selves, which is the strongest Impostion of all others; and we impose upon our selves in that part which ought with the greatest care to be kept free from all Impostion. The World is apt to cast great Blame on those who have an Indifference for Opinions, especially in Religion. I fear this is the Foundation of great Error and worse Consequences. To be indifferent which of two Opinions is true, is the right Temper of the Mind that preserves it from being impos'd on, and disposes it to examine with that Indifference, till it has done its best to find the Truth, and this is the only direct and safe way to it. But to be indifferent whether we embrace Falshood or Truth or no, is the great Road to Error. Those who are not indifferent which Opinion is true, are guilty of this, they suppose, without examining, that what they hold is true, and then think they ought to be zealous for it. Those, 'tis plain by their Warmth and Eagernefs, are not indifferent for their own Opinions, but methinks are very indifferent whether they be true or false, since they cannot endure to have

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Examine any Doubts raised, or Objections made against them: and this visible they never have made any themselves, and so never having examin'd them, know not, nor are concern'd, as they should be, to know whether they are true or false.

These are the common and most general Miscarriages which I think Men should avoid or reticile in a right Conduct of their Understandings, and should be particularly taken care of in Education. The busines whereof in respect of Knowledge, is not, as I think, to perfect a Learner in all or any one of the Sciences, but to give his Mind that Freedom, that Disposition, and those Habits that may enable him to attain any part of Knowledge he shall apply himself to, or stand in need of in the future Course of his Life.

This, and this only is well principling, and not the infilling a Reverence and Veneration for certain Dogmas, under the specious Title of Principles, which are often so remote from that Truth and Evidence which belongs to Principles, that they ought to be rejected as false and erroneous, and is often the Cause to Men so educated, when they come abroad into the World, and find they cannot maintain the Principles so taken up and refted in, to call off all Principles, and turn perfect Scepticks, regardless of Knowledge and Virtue.

There are several Weaknesses and Defects in the Understanding, either from the natural Temper of the Mind, or ill Habits taken up, which hinder it in its Progress to Knowledge. Of these there are as many possibly to be found, if the Mind were thoroughly study'd, as there are Diseases of the Body, each whereof clogs and disables the Understanding to some degree, and therefore deserve to be look'd after and cur'd. I shall set down some few to excite Men, especially those who make Knowledge their Business, to look into themselves, and observe whether they do not indulge some Weaknesses, allow some Miscarriages in the Management of their Intellectual Faculty, which is prejudicial to them in the Search of Truth.

§. 13. Particular Matters of Fact are the undoubted Foundations on which our civil and natural Knowledge is built: The Benefit the Understanding makes of them is to draw from them Conclusions, which may be as standing Rules of Knowledge, and consequently of Practice. The Mind often makes not that Benefit it should of the Information it receives from the Accounts of Civil or Natural Historians, in being too forward, or too slow in making Observations on the particular Facts recorded in them.

There are those who are very affidious in reading, and yet do not much advance their Knowledge by it. They are delighted with the Stories that are told, and perhaps can tell them again, for they make all they read nothing but History to themselves; but not reflecting on it, not making to themselves Observations from what they read, they are very little improvd by all that Crowd of Particulars, that either pass through, or lodge themselves in their Understandings. They dream-on in a constant Course of reading and cramming themselves, but, not digesting any thing, it produces nothing but an heap of Crudities.

If their Memories retain well, one may say they have the Materials of Knowledge, but like those for Building, they are of no Advantage, if there be no other Use made of them but to let them lie heaped up together. Opposite to these, there are others who lose the Improvement they should make of Matters of Fact by a quite contrary Conduct. They are apt to draw general Conclusions, and raise Axioms from every Particular they meet with. These make as little true Benefit of History as the other; maybe, being of forward and active Spirits receive more harm by it; it being of worse Consequence to fix one's Thoughts by a wrong Rule, than to have none at all. Error doing to buty Men much more Harm, than Ignorance to the flow and sluggish. Between these, those seem to do both, who taking material and useful Hints sometimes from single Matters of Fact, carry them in their Minds to be judge'd of, by what they shall find in History to confirm or reverse these imperfect Observations; which may be establish'd into Rules fit to be rely'd on, when they are justify'd by a sufficient and wary Induction.
of Particulars. He that makes no such Reflections on what he reads, only obser-
loads his Mind with a Rapsody of Tales fit in Winter-Nights for the Enter-
tainment of others; and he that will improve every Matter of Fact into
Maxim, will abound in contrary Observations, that can be of no other Use
but to perplex and pudder him if he compares them; or else to misguide him,
if he gives himself up to the Authority of that, which for its Novelty, or for
some other Fancy, belit pleases him.

§ 13. Next to these we may place those, who suffer their own natural Buji,Tempers and Passions they are policy'd with to influence their Judgments,
especially of Men and Things that may any way relate to their present Circum-
cumstances and Interest. Truth is all simple, all pure, will bear no Mixture
of anything else with it. 'Tis rigid and inflexible to any bye Interest; and
so should the Understanding be, whose Use and Excellency lies in conform-
ing it self to it. To think of evety thing just as it is in itself, is the proper
Bumet's of the Understanding, though it be not that which Men always im-
ploy it to. This all Men, at arist hearing, allow is the right Use every one
should make of his Understanding. No body will be at such an open De-
fiance with current Sense, as to profess that we should not endeavor to
know, and think of things as they are in themselves, and yet there is nothing
more frequent than to do the contrary; and Men are apt to exult them-
selves, and think they have Reason to do so, if they have but a Pretense that
it is for God, or a good Cause, that is, in effect for Themselves, their own
Persuasion, or Party: For to those in their turns the several Sects of Men,
especially in Matters of Religion, entitle God and a good Cause. But God
requires not Men to wrong or misuse their Faculties for him, nor to lie to
others or themselves for his Sake; which they purposely do, who will not
suffer their Understandings to have right Conceptions of the things proposed
to them, and deignedly restrain themselves from having just Thoughts of
every thing, as far as they are concern'd to enquire. And as for a good
Cause, that needs not such ill Helps; if it be good, Truth will support it, and
it has no need of Fallacy or Falshood.

§ 14. Very much of kin to this, is the hunting after Arguments to make
a good side of a Question, and wholly to neglect and refuse those which
favour the other side. What is this but wilfully to misguide the Under-
standing, and is so far from giving Truth its due Value, that it wholly debases it:
Elipoue Opinions that best comport with their Power, Profit, or Credit, and
then seek Arguments to support them? Truth light upon this way, is of no
more avail to us than Error; for what is so taken up by us, may be false as
well as true, and he has not done his Duty who has thus stumbled upon
Truth in his way to Preferment.

There is another, but more innocent way of collecting Arguments, very
familiar among Bookish Men, which is to furnish themselves with the Argu-
ments they meet with Pro and Con in the Questions they study. This helps
them not to judge right, nor argue strongly, but only to talk copiously on
either side, without being steady and settled in their own Judgments: For
such Arguments gather'd from other Men's Thoughts, floating only in the
Memory, are there ready indeed to supply copious Talk with some ap-
pearance of Reason, but are far from helping us to judge right. Such Va-
riedy of Arguments only distract the Understanding that relies on them, un-
less it has gone farther than such a superficial way of Examining; this is to
quit Truth for Appearance, only to serve our Vanity. The sure and only
way to get true Knowledge, is to form in our Minds clear settled Notions of
Things, with Names annex'd to those determin'd Ideas. These we are to
consider, and with their several Relations and Habitudes, and not amuse our
selves with floating Names, and Words of indetermined Signification, which
we can use in several Sentences to serve a Turn. 'Tis in the Perception of the
Habitudes, and Respects our Ideas have one to another, that real Knowledge
conflits; and when a Man once perceives how far they agree or disagree one
with another, he will be able to judge of what other People say, and will
not need to be led by the Arguments of others, which are many of them no-

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thing but plausible Sophistry. This will teach him to state the Question right, and see whereon it turns; and thus he will stand upon his own Legs, and know by his own Understanding. Whereas by collecting and learning Arguments by heart, he will be but a Retainer to others; and when any one questions the Foundations they are built upon, he will be at a Nonplus, and be fain to give up his implicit Knowledge.

§ 15. Labour for Labour-fake is against Nature. The Understanding, as well as all the other Faculties, chooses always the shortest way to its End, would presently obtain the Knowledge it is about, and then set upon some new Enquiry. But this, whether Laziness or Haste often misleads it, and makes its content it felt with improper ways of Search, and such as will not serve the Turn: Sometimes it rests upon Testimony, when Testimony of right has nothing to do, because it is easier to believe than to be scientifically instructed: Sometimes it contents it itself with one Argument, and rests satisfied with that, as it were a Demonstration; whereas the Thing under Proof is not capable of Demonstration, and therefore must be submitted to the Trial of Probabilities, and all the material Arguments Pro and Con be examined and brought to a Balance. In some Cases the Mind is determined by probable Topicks in Enquiries, where Demonstration may be had. All these and several others, which Laziness, Impatience, Custom, and Want of Use and Attention lead Men into, are Misapplications of the Understanding in the Search of Truth. In every Question the Nature and Manner of the Proof it is capable of should be consider'd, to make our Enquiry such as it should be. This would save a great deal of frequently imply'd Pains, and lead us sooner to that Discovery and Possession of Truth we are capable of. The multiplying Variety of Arguments, especially frivolous ones, such as are all that are meerly Verbal, is not only lost Labour, but cumbers the Memory to no purpose, and serves only to hinder it from feizing and holding of the Truth in all those Cases which are capable of Demonstration. In such a way of Proof, the Truth and Certainty is seen, and the Mind fully possesses it self of it; when in the other way of Ajfent it only hovers about it, is amused with Uncertainties. In this superficial Way indeed the Mind is capable of more variety of plausible Talk, but is not enlarged as it should be in its Knowledge. 'Tis to this same Haste and Impatience of the Mind also, that a not due Tracing of the Arguments to their true Foundation, is owing; Men see a little, presume a great deal, and so jump to the Conclusion. This is a short way to Fancy and Conceit, and (if firmly imbrac'd) to Opiniattty, but is certainly the farthest way about to Knowledge. For he that will know, must by the Connexion of the Proofs see the Truth, and the Ground it stands on; and therefore, if he has for haste skipt over what he should have examin'd, he must begin and go over all again, or else he will never come to Knowledge.

Defects. § 16. Another Fault of all Consequence as this, which proceeds also from Laziness with a mixture of Vanity, is the skipping from one fort of Knowledge to another. Some Men's Tempers are quickly weary of any one Thing. Confinacy and Affiduity is what they cannot bear: The same Study long continu'd in, is as intolerable to them, as the appearing long in the same Cloaths or Fashion is to a Court-Lady.

Smattering. § 17. Others, that they may seem universally Knowing, get a little smatterin'g in every Thing. Both these may fill their Heads with superficial Notions of Things, but are very much out of the way of attaining Truth or Knowledge.

Universality. § 18. I do not here speak against the taking a Taste of every fort of Knowledge; it is certainly very useful and necessary to form the Mind, but then it must be done in a different Way, and to a different End. Not for Talk and Vanity to fill the Head with Shreds of all Kinds, that he who puts his'd of such a Frippery, may be able to match the Difficulties of all he shall meet with, as if nothing could come amiss to him; and his Head was so well flor'd a Magazine, that nothing could be propos'd which he was not Manner of, and was readily furnish'd to entertain any one on. This is an Excellency indeed, and a great one too, to have a real and true Knowledge in all, or most
of the **Understanding**.

most of the Objects of Contemplation. But 'tis what the Mind of one and the same Man can hardly attain unto; and the Infancies are so few of those who have in any Measure approach'd towards it, that I know not whether they are to be propos'd as Examples in the ordinary Conduct of the Understanding. For a Man to understand fully the Business of his particular Calling in the Common-wealth, and of Religion, which is his Calling as he is a Man in the World, is usuall enough to take up his whole Time; and there are few that inform themselves in thefe, which is every Man's proper and peculiar Business, so to the Bottom as they should do. But though this be so, and there are very few Men that extend their Thoughts towards universal Knowledge; yet I do not doubt, but if the right Way were taken, and the Methods of Enquiry were order'd as they should be, Men of little Businesses and great Leisure might go a great deal farther in it than is usually done. To return to the Business in Hand, the End and Use of a little Insight in those Parts of Knowledge, which are not a Man's proper Businesses, is to accustom our Minds to all sorts of Ideas, and the proper ways of examining their Habitudes and Relations. This gives the Mind a Freedom, and the exercising the Understanding in the several ways of Enquiry and Reasoning, which the most Skillful have made use of, teaches the Mind Sagacity and Wariness, and a Suppleness to apply it self more clofely and dexterously to the Bents and Turns of the Matter in all its Researches. Befides this universal Taste of all the Sciences, with an Indifference before the Mind is polish'd with any one in particular, and grown into Love and Admiration of what is made its Darling, will prevent another Evil very commonly to be observ'd in those who have from the beginning been seasc'd only by one part of Knowledge. Let a Man be given up to the Contemplation of one sort of Knowledge, and that will become every thing. The Mind, that will take such a Tincture from a Familiarity with that Object, that every thing else, how remote forever, will be brought under the same View. A Metaphysician will bring Plowing and Gardening immediately to abstract Notions, the Hierarchy of Nature shall signify nothing to him. An Alchymist, on the contrary, shall reduce Divinity to the Maxims of his Laboratory, explain Morality by Salt, Sulphur and Mercury, and allegorize the Scripture it self, and the sacred Mysteries thereof, into the Philosopher's Stone. And I heard once a Man, who had a more than ordinary Excellency in Music, seriously accommodate Moyse's seven Days of the first Week to the Notes of Music, as if from thence had been taken the measure and method of the Creation. 'Tis of no small Consequence to keep the Mind from such a Poffeffion, which I think is best done by giving it a fair and equal View of the whole intellectual World, wherein it may see the Order, Rank, and Beauty of the Whole, and give a just Allowance to the distinct Provinces of the several Sciences in the due Order and Usefulnes of each of them.

If this be that which old Men will not think necessary, nor be easily brought to; 'tis fit at least that it should be practised in the breeding of the Young. The Businesses of Education, as I have already obser'd, is not, as I think, to make them perfect in any one of the Sciences, but so to open and dispose their Minds as may best make them capable of any, when they shall apply themselves to it. If Men are for a long time accus't only to one sort or method of Thoughts, their Minds grow stiff in it, and do not readily turn to another. 'Tis therefore to give them this Freedom, that I think they should be made look into all sorts of Knowledge, and exercise their Understandings in so wide a Variety and Stock of Knowledge. But I do not propose it as a Variety and Stock of Knowledge, but a Variety and Freedom of Thinking, as an Increase of the Powers and Activity of the Mind, not as an Enlargement of its Possessions.

§ 19. This is that which I think great Readers are apt to be mistaken in. Reading. Those who have read of every Thing, are thought to understand every thing too; but it is not always so. Reading furnishes the Mind only with Materials of Knowledge, 'tis Thinking makes what we read our's. We are of the ruminating Kind, and 'tis not enough to cram our selves with a great Load of Collections; unless we chew them over again, they will not give us Strength.
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Reading, Strength and Nourishment. There are indeed in some Writers visible Instances of deep Thoughts, close and acute Reasoning, and Ideas well pursued. The Light there would give would be of great Use, if their Reader would observe and imitate them; all the rest at best are but Particulars fit to be turn'd into Knowledge; but that can be done only by our own Meditation, and examining the Reach, Force and Coherence of what is said; and then as far as we apprehend and see the Connexion of Ideas, so far it is our's; without that, it is but so much loose Matter floating in our Brain. The Memory may be flor'd, but the Judgment is little better, and the Stock of Knowledge not increased by being able to repeat what others have said, or produce the Arguments we have found in them. Such a Knowledge as this, is but Knowledge by hear-fay, and the Oferiration of it, is at best but talk-ing by Roar, and very often upon weak and wrong Principles. For all that is to be found in Books, is not built upon true Foundations, nor always readily duc'ted from the Principles it is pretended to be built on. Such an Examen as is requisite to discover that, every Reader's Mind is not forward to make; especially in those who have given themselves up to a Party, and only hunt for what they can scrape together, that may favour and support the Tenets of it. Such Men wilfully exclude themselves from Truth, and from all true Benefit to be received by Reading. Others of more Indifferency often want Attention and Industry. The Mind is backward in itself to be at the pains to trace every Argument to its Original, and to see upon what Bafis it stands, and how firmly; but yet it is this that gives so much the Advantage to one Man more than another in Reading. The Mind should, by severer Rules, be ty'd down to this at first uneasy Task; Use and Exercise will give it Facility. So that those who are accustom'd to it, readily, as it were with one cast of the Eye, take a View of the Argument, and presently, in most cases, see where it bottoms. Those who have got this Faculty, one may say, have got the true Key of Books, and the Clue to lead them, through the Maze of Variety of Opinions and Authors, to Truth and Certainty. This young Beginners should be enter'd in, and should't the Use of, that they might profit by their Reading. Those who are Strangers to it, will be apt to think it too great a Clog in the way of Men's Studies, and they will suppose they shall make but small Progress, if, in the Books they read, they must stand to examine and unravel every Argument, and follow it step by step up to its Original.

I answer, this is a good Objection, and ought to weigh with those whose Reading is design'd for much Talk and little Knowledge, and I have nothing to say to it. But I am here enquiring into the Conduct of the Understanding in its Progress towards Knowledge; and to those who aim at that, I may say, that he, who fair and softly goes steadily forward in a Course that points right, will sooner be at his Journey's-end, than he that runs after every one he meets, though he gallop all Day full-speed.

To which let me add, that this way of thinking on, and profiting by, what we read, will be a Clog and Rub to any one only in the Beginning; when Custom and Exercise has made it familiar, it will be dispatch'd in most Occasions, without Refting or Interruption in the course of our Reading. The Motions and Views of a Mind exercis'd that way, are wonderfully quick; and a Man used to such sort of Reflections, sees as much at one glimse as would require a long Discourse to lay before another, and make out in an entire and gradual Deduction. Besides, that when the first Difficulties are over, the Delight and sensible Advantage it brings, mightily encourages and enlivens the Mind in Reading, which without this is very improperly called Study.

§. 20. As an Help to this, I think it may be propos'd, that for the saving the long Progression of the Thoughts to remote and first Principles in every case, the Mind should provide it several Stages; that is to say, Intermediate Principles, which it might have recourse to in the examining those Positions that come in its way. These, though they are not self-evident Principles, yet if they have been made out from them by a wary and unquestionable Deduction, may be depended on as certain and infallible Truths, and serve as unque-
of the Understanding.

unquestionable Truths to prove other Points depending on them by a nearer and shorter View than remote and general Maxims. These may serve as Land-marks to shew what lies in the direct way of Truth, or is quite besides it. And thus Mathematicians do, who do not in every new Problem run it back to the first Axioms, through all the whole Train of intermediate Propositions. Certain Theorems, that they have settled to themselves upon sure Demonstration, serve to resolve to them multitudes of Propositions which depend on them, and are as firmly made out from thence, as if the Mind went areth over every Link of the whole Chain that tie them to first self-evident Principles. Only in other Sciences great Care is to be taken that they establish those intermediate Principles with as much Caution, Exactness and Indifference, as Mathematicians use in the setting any of their great Theorems. When this is not done, but Men take up the Principles in this or that Science upon Credit, Inclination, Interest, &c. in haste, without due Examination, and moft unquestionable Proof, they lay a Trap for themselves, and as much as in them lies captivate their Understandings to Mistake, Falseness and Error.

§ 21. As there is a Partiality to Opinions, which, as we have already observed, is apt to mislead the Understanding; so there is often a Partiality to Studies, which is prejudicial also to Knowledge and Improvement. Those Sciences which Men are particularly vers'd in, they are apt to value and extol, as if that Part of Knowledge, which every one has acquainted himself with, were that alone which was worth the having; and all the rest were idle, and empty Amusements, comparatively of no Use or Importance. This is the Effect of Ignorance and not Knowledge, the being vainly puffed up with a Flatulency, arising from a weak and narrow Comprehension.

Tis not amiss that every one should refil the Science that he has made his peculiar Study; a View of its Beauties, and a Sense of its Usefulness, carries a Man on with the more Delight and Warmth in the Pursuit and Improvement of it. But the Contempt of all other Knowledge, as if it were nothing in comparison of Law or Physick, of Astronomy or Chemistry, or perhaps some yet meaner Part of Knowledge, wherein I have got some fmaltering, or am somewhat advanced, is not only the Mark of a vain or little Mind; but does this Prejudice in the Conduct of the Understanding, that it coops it up within narrow Bounds, and hinders it from looking abroad into other Provinces of the intellectual World, more beautiful possibly, and more fruitful than that which it had till then labour'd in; wherein it might find, besides new Knowledge, Ways or Hints whereby it might be enabled the better to cultivate its own.

§ 22. There is indeed one Science (as they are now distinguishing) incomparably above all the rest, where it is not by Corruption narrow'd into a Trade or Faction, for mean or ill Ends, and peculiar Interests; I mean Theology, which, containing the Knowledge of God and his Creatures, our Duty to him and our fellow Creatures, and a View of our present and future State, is the Comprehension of all other Knowledge directed to its true End; i.e. the Honour and Veneration of the Creator, and the Happiness of Mankind. This is that noble Study which is every Man's Duty, and every one that can call'd a rational Creature is capable of. The Works of Nature, and the Words of Revelation, display it to Mankind in Characters so large and visible, that those who are not quite blind may in them read, and see the first Principles and most necessary Parts of it; and from thence, as they have Time and Industry, may be enabled to go on to the more abstruse Parts of it, and penetrate into those infinite Depths fill'd with the Treasures of Wisdom and Knowledge. This is that Science which would truly enlarge Men's Minds, were it study'd, or permitted to be study'd everywhere with that Freedom, Love of Truth and Charity which it teaches; and which were not made, contrary to its Nature, the occasion of Strife, Faction, Malignity, and narrow Impositions. I shall say no more here of this, but that it is undoubtedly a wrong Use of my Understanding, to make it the Rule and Measure of another Man's; a Use which it is neither fit for, nor capable of.

§ 23. This
This Partiality, where it is not permitted an Authority to render all other Studies insignificant or contemptible, is often indulged to so far as to rely'd upon, and made use of in other parts of Knowledge, to which it does not at all belong, and wherewith it has no manner of Affinity. Some Men have so used their Heads to Mathematical Figures; that, giving a Preference to the Methods of that Science, they introduce Lines and Diagrams into their Study of Divinity, or Politick Enquiries, as if nothing could be known without them; and others, accustom'd to retitulate Speculations, run Natural Philosophy into Metaphysical Notions, and the abstract Generalties of Logic; and how often may one meet with Religion and Morality treated of in the Terms of the Laboratory, and thought to be improv'd by the Methods and Notions of Chymistry? But he, that will take care of the conduct of his Understanding to direct it right to the Knowledge of Things, must avoid those undue Mixtures, and not, by a Fondness for what he has found useful and necessary in one, transfer it to another Science, where it serves only to perplex and confound the Understanding. It is a certain Truth, that res voluit malè administratur, 'tis no less certain res malè intelligi. Things themselves are to be consider'd as they are in themselves, and then they will shew us in what way they are to be understood. For to have right Conceptions about them, we must bring our Understandings to the inflexible Natures, and unalterable Relations of things, and not endeavour to bring things to any preconceived Notions of our own.

There is another Partiality, very commonly observable in Men of Study, no less prejudicial nor ridiculous than the former; and that is a fantastical and wild-attributing all Knowledge to the Ancients alone, or to the Moderns. This raving upon Antiquity in Matter of Poetry, Horae has wittily describ'd and expos'd in one of his Satyrs. The fame fort of Madness may be found in reference to all the other Sciences. Some will not admit an Opinion not Authoriz'd by Men of Old, who were then all Giants in Knowledge. Nothing is to be put into the Treasury of Truth or Knowledge, which has not the Stamp of Greece or Rome upon it; and, since their Days, will scarce allow that Men have been able to see, think or write. Others with a like Extravagancy, contemn all that the Ancients have left us, and being taken with the Modern Inventions and Discoveries, lay by all that went before, as if whatever is called old must have the Decay of Time upon it, and Truth too were liable to Mould and Rottenness. Men, I think, have been much the fame for natural Indowments in all Times. Fashions, Disciplines and Education, have put eminent Differences in the Ages of several Countries, and made one Generation much differ from another in Arts and Sciences: But Truth is always the same; Time alters it not, nor is it the better or worse for being of ancient or modern Tradition. Many were eminent in former Ages of the World for their Discoveries and Deliveries of it; but though the Knowledge they have left us be worth our Study; yet they exhausted not all its Treasure; they left a great deal for the Industry and Sagacity of after-Ages, and so shall we. That was once new to them, which any one now receives with Veneration for its Antiquity, nor was it the worse for appearing as a Novelty; and that which is now embrac'd for its Newness, will to Folly be old, but not thereby be less true or less genuine.

There is no occasion on this account to oppose the Ancients and the Moderns to one another, or to be squeamish on either side. He, that wisely conducts his Mind in the Pursuit of Knowledge, will gather what Lights, and get what Helps he can from either of them, from whom they are both to be bad, without adoring the Errors, or rejecting the Truths, which he may find mingled in them.

Another Partiality may be observ'd, in some to vulgar, in others, to heterodox Tenets: Some are apt to conclude, that what is the common Opinion cannot but be true; so many Men's Eyes they think cannot but see right; so many Men's Understandings of all sorts cannot be deceit'd, and therefore will not venture to look beyond the receiv'd Notions of the Place and Age, nor have so presumptuous a Thought as to be wiser than their Neigh-
of the Understanding.

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Neighbours. They are content to go with the Crowd, and so go easily, Partially, which they think is going right, or at least serves them as well. But however vox Populi vox Dei has prevailed as a Maxim; yet I do not remember wherever God deliver'd his Oracles by the Multitude, or Nature Truths by the Herd. On the other side, some fly all common Opinions as either false or frivolous. The Title of many-headed Beast is a sufficient Reason to them to conclude, that no Truths of Weight or Consequence can be lodg'd there. Vulgar Opinions are fuited to vulgar Capacities, and adapted to the Ends of those that govern. He that will know the Truth of Things, must leave the common and beaten Track, which none but weak and servile Minds are satisfy'd to trudge along continually in. Such nice Palates relish nothing but strange Notions quite out of the way: Whatever is commonly receiv'd, has the Mark of the Beast on it; and they think it a leflething to them to hearken to it, or receive it; their Mind runs only after Paradoxes; these they seek, these they embrace, these alone they vent, and so, as they think, distinguish themselves from the Vulgar. But common or uncommon are not the Marks to distinguish Truth or Fallacy, and therefore should not be any Byafs to us in our Enquiries. We should not judge of Things by Men's Opinions, but of Opinions by Things. The Multitude reason but ill, and therefore may be well suspected, and cannot be rely'd on, nor should be follow'd as a sure Guide; but Philosophers, who have quitted the Orthodoxy of the Community, and the popular Doctrines of their Countries, have fallen into as extravagant and as absurd Opinions as ever common Reception countenanced. 'Twould be Madness to refuse to breathe the common Air, or quench one's Thirst with Water, because the Rabble use them to these Purposes; and if there are Conveniencies of Life which common Use reaches not, 'tis not reason to reject them, because they are not grown into the ordinary Fashion of the Country, and every Villager doth not know them. Truth, whether in or out of Fashion, is the Measure of Knowledge, and the Busines of the Understanding; whatsoever is besides that, however authoriz'd by Consent, or recommended by Rarity, is nothing but Ignorance, or something worse.

Another sort of Partiality there is, whereby Men impose upon themselves, and by it make their Reading little useful to themselves; I mean the making use of the Opinions of Writers, and laying Stress upon their Authorities, wherever they find them to favour their own Opinions. There is nothing almost has done more Harm to Men dedicated to Letters, than giving the Name of Study to Reading, and making a Man of great Reading to be the same with a Man of great Knowledge, or at least to be a Title of Honour. All that can be recorded in Writing, are only Facts or Reasons. Facts are of three sorts:

1. Merely of natural Agents, observable in the ordinary Operations of Bodies one upon another, whether in the visible Course of things left to themselves, or in Experiments made by Men, applying Agents and Patients to one another after a peculiar and artificial manner.

2. Of voluntary Agents, more especially the Actions of Men in Society, which makes Civil and Moral History.

3. Of Opinions.

In these three consists, as it seems to me, that which commonly has the Name of Learning; to which perhaps some may add a distinct Head of Critical Writings, which indeed at Bottom is nothing but Matter of Fact, and resolves it fell into this, that such a Man, or Set of Men, ued such a Word or Phrase in such a Sense, i.e. that they made such Sounds the Marks of such Ideas.

Under Reasons I comprehend all the Discoveries of general Truths made by human Reason, whether found by Intuition, Demonstration, or probable Deductions. And this is that which is, if not alone knowledge, (because the Truth or Probability of particular Propositions may be known too) yet is, as may be supposed, most properly the Business of those who pretend to improve their Understandings, and make themselves knowing by Reading.
Of the Conduct

Books and Reading are look'd upon to be the great Helps of the Understanding, and Instruments of Knowledge, as it must be allowed that they are; and yet I beg leave to question whether these do not prove an Hindrance to many, and keep several bookish Men from attaining to solid and true Knowledge. This, I think, I may be permitted to lay, that there is no part wherein the Understanding needs a more careful and wary Condukt, than in the use of Books; without which they will prove rather innocent Amusements than profitable Employments of our Time, and bring but small additions to our Knowledge.

There is not seldom to be found even amongst those who aim at Knowledge, who with an unwearied Industry implant their whole Time in Books, who scarce allow themselves time to eat or sleep, but read, and read, and read on, but yet make no great Advances in real Knowledge, tho' there be no Defect in their intellectual Faculties, to which their little Progress can be imputed. The Mistake here is, that it is usually suppos'd, that by reading, the Author's Knowledge is transus'd into the Reader's Understanding; and so it is, but not by bare reading, but by reading and understanding what he writ. Whereby I mean, not bare comprehending what is affirmed or denied in each Proposition (though that great Readers do not always think themselves concern'd precipitely to do) but to see and follow the Train of his Reasonings, observe the Strength and Clearness of their Connection, and examine upon what they bottom. Without this a Man may read the Discourses of a very rational Author, writ in a Language, and in Propositions that he very well understands, and yet acquire not one jot of his Knowledge; which consisting only in the perceived, certain, or probable Connection of the Ideas made use of in his Reasonings, the Reader's Knowledge is no farther encreas'd than he perceives that; so much as he fees of this Connection, so much he knows of the Truth or Probability of that Author's Opinions.

All that he relies on without this Perception, he takes upon Trust upon the Author's Credit, without any knowledge of it at all. This makes me not at all wonder to see some Men so abound in Citations, and build so much upon Authorities, it being the sole Foundation on which they bottom most of their own Tenets; so that in Effect they have but a second Hand, or implicit Knowledge, i.e. are in the Right if such an one, from whom they borrow'd it, were in the Right in that Opinion which they took from him, which indeed is no Knowledge at all. Writers of this or former Ages may be good Witnesses of Matters of Fact which they deliver, which we may do well to take upon their Authority; but their Credit can go no farther than this, it cannot at all affect the Truth and Falsehood of Opinions, which have no other sort of Trial but Reason and Proof; which they themselves made use of to make themselves knowing, and so must others too that will partake in their Knowledge. Indeed 'tis an Advantage that they have been at the Pains to find out the Proofs, and lay them in that order that may shew the Truth or Probability of their Conclusions; and for this we owe them great Acknowledgements for saving us the Pains in searching out those Proofs which they have collect'd for us, and which possibly, after all our Pains, we might not have found, nor been able to have set them in so good a Light as that which they left them us in. Upon this Account we are impartially beholden to judicious Writers of all Ages, for those Discoveries and Discourses they have left behind them for our Instruction, if we know how to make a right Use of them; which is not to run them over in an hasty Perusal, and perhaps lodge their Opinions, or some remarkable Passages in our Memories; but to enter into their Reasonings, examine their Proofs, and then judge of the Truth or Falsehood, Probability or Improbability of what they advance; nor by any Opinion we have entertain'd of the Author, but by the Evidence he produces, and the Conviction he affords us, drawn from things themselves. Knowing is Seeing, and if it be so, it is Madness to persuade ourselves that we do so by another Man's Eyes, let him use ever so many Words to tell us, that what he affirms is very visible. Till we our selves see it with our own Eyes, and perceive it by our own Understandings,
ings, we are as much in the Dark, and as void of Knowledge as before, let Partiality, us believe any learned Author as much as we will.

Euclid and Archimedes are allowed to be knowing, and to have demonstrated what they say; and yet whoever shall read over their Writings without perceiving the Connection of their Proofs, and seeing what they flew, though he may understand all their Words, yet he is not more knowing: He may believe indeed, but does not know what they say, and so is not advanced one jot in Mathematical Knowledge by all his reading of those approved Mathematicians.

§. 24. The Eagernefs and Strong Bent of the Mind after Knowledge, if not warily regulated, is often an Hindrance to it. It still presses into farther Discoveries and new Objects, and catches at the variety of Knowledge, and therefore often stays not long enough on what is before it, to look into it as it should, for Haste to pursue what is yet out of Sight. He that rides Post through a Country, may be able, from the transient View, to tell how in general the Parts lie, and may be able to give some loose Description of here a Mountain, and there a Plain, here a Morass, and there a River; Woodland in one part, and Savannah in another. Such superficial Ideas and Observations as these he may collect in Galloping over it: But the more useful Observations of the Soil, Plants, Animals and Inhabitants, with their several Sorts and Properties, must necessarily escape him; and 'tis seldom Men ever discover the rich Mines, without some digging. Nature commonly lodges her Treasure and Jewels in Rocky Ground. If the Matter be knotty, and the Sense lies deep, the Mind must stop and buckle to it, and stick upon it with Labour and Thought, and close Contemplation, and not leave it till it has mastered the Difficulty, and got possession of Truth. But here Care must be taken to avoid the other Extremes: A Man must not stick at every little Difficulty, and expect Mysteries of Science in every trivial Question or Scruple that he may raise. He that will stand to pick up and examine every Pebble that comes in his way, is as unlikely to return enriched and loaded with Jewels, as the other that travels full-speed. Truths are not the better nor the worse for their Obviousness or Difficulty, but their Value is to be measured by their Usefulness and Tendency. Insignificant Observations should not take up any of our Minutes, and those that enlarge our View, and give Light towards farther and useful Discoveries, should not be neglected, though they float our Course, and spend some of our Time in a fixed Attention.

There is another Haste that does often, and will mislead the Mind if it be left to its self, and its own Conduct. The Understanding is naturally forward, not only to learn its Knowledge by Variety (which makes it skip over one to get speedily to another part of Knowledge) but also eager to enlarge its Views, by running too fast into general Observations and Conclusions, without a due Examination of Particulars enough whereon to found those general Axioms. This seems to enlarge their Stock, but 'tis of Fanfary not Realities; such Theories built upon narrow Foundations stand but weakly, and, if they fall not of themselves, are at least very hardly to be supported against the Assaults of Opposition. And thus Men being too hasty to erect to themselves general Notions and ill-grounded Theories, find themselves deceiv'd in their Stock of Knowledge, when they come to examine their hastily assum'd Maxims themselves, or to have them attack'd by others. General Observations drawn from Particulars, are the Jewels of Knowledge, comprehending great Store in a little Room; but they are therefore to be made with the greater Care and Caution, lest if we take Counterfeit for True, our Loss and Shame be the greater when our Stock comes to a severe Scrutiny. One or two Particulars may suggest Hints of Enquiry, and they do well to take those Hints; but if they turn them into Conclusions, and make them perfectly general Rules, they are forward indeed, but it is only to impose on themselves by Propositions assum'd for Truths without sufficient Warrant. To make such Observations, is, as has been already remark'd, to make the Head a Magazine of Materials, which can hardly be call'd Knowledge, or at least 'tis but like a Collection of Lumber not reduc'd.
to Use or Order; and he that makes every thing an Observation, has the
same uselesls Plenty and much more Fallhood mix'd with it. The Extremes
on both sides are to be avoided, and he will be able to give the best Ac-
count of his Studies who keeps his Understanding in the right Mean be-
tween them.

§. 25. Whether it be a Love of that which brings the first Light and In-
formation to their Minds, and want of Vigour and Industry to enquire, or
else that Men content themselves with any appearance of Knowledge, right,
or wrong: which, when they have once got, they will hold fast: This is
visible, that many Men give themselves up to the first Anticipations of their
Minds, and are very tenacious of the Opinions that first possess them; they
are often as fond of their first Conceptions as of their first Born, and will by
no Means recede from the Judgment they have once made, or any Con-
jecture or Conceit which they have once entertain'd. This is a Fault in the
Conduct of the Understanding, since this Firmness, or rather Stiffness of the
Mind, is not from an Adherence to Truth, but a Submission to Prejudice.
'Tis an unreasonable Homage paid to Prepossession, whereby we shew a
Reverence not to (what we pretend to seek) Truth; but what by Haz-
ard we chance to light on, be it what it will. This is visibly a pre-
posterous Use of our Faculties, and is a downright prostituting of the Mind
to reign it thus, and put it under the Power of the first Comer. This can
never be allow'd, or ought to be follow'd as a right way to Knowledge, till
the Understanding (whose Business it is to conform it self to what it finds
on the Objects without) can by its own Opinion and change that, and make
the unalterable Nature of Things comply with its own hasty Determinations,
which will never be. Whatever we fancy, things keep their Course; and
their Habitudes, Correspondencies and Relations, keep the same to one
another.

§. 26. Contrary to these, but by a like dangerous Excess on the other side,
are those who always reign their Judgment to the last Man they heard or
read. Truth never sinks into these Men's Minds, nor gives any Tinctorure to
them, but Camelion-like, they take the Colour of what is laid before them,
and as soon loose and reign it to the next that happens to come in their way.
The Order wherein Opinions are propos'd, or receiv'd by us, is no Rule of
their Respective, nor ought to be a Caufc of their Preference. First or last
in this Case, is the Effect of Chance, and not the Measure of Truth or Fall-
hood. This every one must confess, and therefore should, in the pursuit of
Truth, keep his Mind free from the Influence of any such Accidents. A
Man may as reasonably draw Cutts for his Tenets, regulate his Persuasion
by the Cast of a Die, as take it up for its Novelty, or retain it because it had
his first Assent, and he was never of another Mind. Well-weighed Reasons
are to determine the Judgment; those the Mind should be always ready to
hearken and submit to, and by their Testimony and Suffrage, entertain or
reject any Tenet indifferently, whether it be a perfect Stranger, or an old
Acquaintance.

§. 27. Tho' the Faculties of the Mind are improv'd by Exercise, yet they
must not be put to a Stress beyond their Strength. Quod valeat humeri, quid
forte ressur, must be made the Measure of every one's Understanding, who
has a Desire not only to perform well, but to keep up the Vigour of his Fac-
culties, and not to baulk his Understanding by what is too hard for it. The
Mind, by being engag'd in a Task beyond its Strength, like the Body, finis-
'd by lifting at a Weight too heavy, has often its Force broken, and thereby
gets an Unaptness or an Aversion to any vigorous Attempt ever after. A
Sinew crack'd seldom recovers its former Strength, or at least the Tendernes-
s of the Spleen remains a good while after, and the Memory of it longer, and
leaves a lasting Caution in the Man, not to put the Part quickly again to any
robust Employment. So it fares in the Mind once jaded by an Attempt above
its Power, it either is disabled for the future, or else checks at any vigorous
Undertaking ever after, at least is very hardly brought to exert its Force
again on any Subject that requires Thought and Meditation. The Under-
standing should be brought to the difficult and knotty Parts of Knowledge,
that
that try the Strength of Thought, and a full Bent of the Mind by insensible Degrees: and in such a gradual Proceeding nothing is too hard for it. Nor let it be objected, that such a flow Progress will never reach the Extent of some Sciences. It is not to be imagin'd how far Constancy will carry a Man; however it is better walking slowly in a rugged Way, than to break a Leg and be a Cripple. He that begins with the Calf may carry the Ox; but he that will at first go to take up an Ox, may so disable himself, as not to be able to like a Calf after that. When the Mind, by insensible Degrees, has brought it itself to Attention and close Thinking, it will be able to cope with Difficulties, and master them without any Prejudice to it felt, and then it may go on roundly. Every abstruse Problem, every intricate Question will not baffle, discourage, or break it. But though putting the Mind unprepared upon an unusual Stree, that may discourage or damp it for the future, ought to be avoided; yet this must not run it, by an over-great Shyness of Difficulties, into a lazy Sauntering about ordinary and obvious Things, that demand no Thought or Application. This debases and enervates the Understanding; makes it weak and unfit for Labour. This is a sort of Hovering about the Surface of Things, without any Infight into them or Penetration; and when the Mind has been once habituated to this lazy Recklessness and Satisfaction on the obvious Surface of Things, it is in danger to rest satisfied there, and go no deeper, since it cannot do it without Pains and Digging. He, that has for some time accustomed himself to take up with what easily offers itself at first View, has Reason to fear he shall never reconcile himself to the Fatigue of turning and rumbling Things in his Mind, to discover more retir'd and more valuable Secrets.

'Tis not strange that Methods of Learning, which Scholars have been accustomed to in their beginning and entrance upon the Sciences, should influence them all their Lives, and be settled in their Minds by an over-ruling Reverence, especially if they be such as universal Use has established. Learners must at first be Believers, and their Master's Rules having been once made Axioms to them, 'tis no wonder they should keep that Dignity, and by the Authority they have once got, mislead those who think it sufficient to excuse them, if they go out of their way in a well-beaten Track.

§ 28. I have copiously enough spoken of the Abuse of Words in another place, and therefore shall, upon this Reflection that the Sciences are full of them, warn those, that would conduct their Understandings right, not to take any Term however authorized by the Language of the Schools, to stand for any thing till they have an Idea of it. A Word may be of frequent Use and great Credit with several Authors, and be by them made use of as if it stood for some real Being; but yet if he that reads cannot frame any distinct Idea of that Being, it is certain to him a mere empty Sound without a Meaning, and he learns no more by all that is said of it, or attributed to it, than if it were affirm'd only of that bare empty Sound. They who would advance in Knowledge, and not deceive and swindle themselves with a little articulated Air, should lay down this as a Fundamental Rule, not to take Words for Things, nor suppose that Names in Books signify real Entities in Nature, till they can frame clear and distinct Ideas of those Entities. It will not perhaps be allow'd, if I should set down substantial Forms and intellectual Species, as such that may justly be suspected to be of this kind of insignificant Terms. But this I am sure, to one that can form no determin'd Idea of what they stand for, they signify nothing at all; and all that he thinks he knows about them, is to him so much Knowledge about nothing, and amounts at most but to a learned Ignorance. 'Tis not without all Reason supposed, that there are many such empty Terms to be found in some learned Writers, to which they had Recourse to etch out their Systems where their Understandings could not furnish them with Conceptions from things. But yet I believe the fupposing of some Realities in Nature, answering those and the like Words, have much perplex'd some, and quite muddled others in the Study of Nature. That which in any Discourse signifies, I know not what, should be consider'd I know not when. Where Men have any Conceptions, they can, if they are ever so abstruse or abstraited, explain them, and
and the Terms they use for them. For our Conceptions being nothing but Ideas, which are all made up of simple Ones: If they cannot give us the Ideas their Words stand for, 'tis plain they have none. To what Purpose can it be to hunt after his Conceptions, who has none, or none discriminating? He that knew not what he himself meant by a learned Term, cannot make us know any thing by his Ufe of it, let us beat our Heads about it ever fo long. Whether we are able to comprehend all the Operations of Nature, and the Manners of them, it matters not to enquire; but this is certain, that we can comprehend no more of them than we can distinctly conceive; and therefore to obtrude Terms where we have no distinct Conceptions, as if they did contain, or rather conceal something, is but an Artifice of learned Vanity, to cover a Defect in an Hypothesis or our Understandings. Words are not made to conceal but to declare and shew something: where they are, by thofe, who pretend to instruct, otherwise us'd, they conceal indeed something; but that which they conceal is nothing but the Ignorance, Error, or Sophisty of the Talker, for there is, in Truth, nothing else under them.

Wandering. § 29. That there is constant Succession and Flux of Ideas in our Minds, I have observ'd in the former Part of this Essay, and every one may take notice of it in himself. This, I suppose, may deferve some part of our Care in the Conduct of our Understandings; and I think it may be of great Advantage, if we can by Ufe get that Power over our Minds, as to be able to direct that Train of Ideas, that so, since there will new Ones perpetually come into our Thoughts by a constant Succession, we may be able by Choice so to direct them, that none may come in View, but such as are pertinent to our present Enquiry, and in such order as may be most useful to the Discovery we are upon; or at leaft, if some foreign and unfruitful Ideas do offer themselves, that yet we might be able to reject them, and keep them from taking off our Minds from its present Pursuit, and hinder them from running away with our Thoughts quite from the Subject in Hand. This is not, I suppose, so easy to be done, as perhaps may be imagin'd; and yet, for ought I know, this may be, if not the chief, yet one of the great Differences that carry some Men in their Reazoning so far beyond others, where they seem to be naturally of equal Parts. A proper and effectual Remedy for this Wandering of Thoughts I would be glad to find. He, that shall propose such an One, would do great Service to the judicious and contemplative Part of Mankind, and perhaps help unthinking Men to become thinking. I must acknowledge that hitherto I have discover'd no other way to keep our Thoughts close to their Business, but the endavouring as much as we can, and by frequent Attention and Application, getting the Habit of Attention and Application. He that will observe Children, will find, that even when they endeavour their utmost, they cannot keep their Minds from straggling. The way to cure it, I am satisfy'd, is not angry Chiding or Beating, for that prefently fills their Heads with all the Ideas that Fear, Dread, or Confusion can offer to them. To bring back gently their wandering Thoughts, by leading them into the Path, and going before them in the Train they should pursue, without any Rebuff, or so much as taking notice (where it can be avoided) of their roving. I suppose would sooner reconcile and inure them to Attention, than all tho' rougher Methods which more diftract their Thought, and, hindering the Application they would promote, introduce a contrary Habit.

Disting. § 30. Diftinguishment and Division are (if I mistake not the Import of the Words) very different things; the one being the Perception of a Difference that Nature has plac'd in things; the other our making a Division where there is yet none; at leaft, if I may be permitted to consider them in this Sense, I think I may say of them, that one of them is the most necessary and conducive to true Knowledge that can be; the other, when too much made ufe of, serves only to puzzle and confound the Understandings. To observe every the least Difference that is in things, argues a quick and clear Sight, and this keeps the Understanding steady, and right in its way to Knowledge. But tho' it be useful to discern every Variety that is to be found
in Nature, yet it is not convenient to consider every Difference that is in different things, and divide them into distinct Classes under every such Difference. This will run us, if follow’d, into Particulars, (for every Individual has something that differences it from another) and we shall be able to establish no general Truths, or else at least shall be apt to perplex the Mind about them. The Collection of several things into several Classes, gives the Mind more general and larger Views; but we must take Care to unite them only in that, and so far as they do agree; for so far they may be united under the Consideration. For Entity it self, that comprehends all things, as general as it is, may afford us clear and rational Conceptions. If we would weigh and keep in our Minds what it is we are considering, that would best instruct us when we should, or should not branch into farther Distinctions, which are to be taken only from a due Contemplation of things; to which there is nothing more opposite than the Art of Verbal Distinctions, made at pleasure in learned and arbitrarily invented Terms, to be applied at a venture, without comprehending or conveying any distinct Notions, and so altogether fitted to artificial Talk, or empty Noise in Dispute, without any clearing of Difficulties, or advance in Knowledge. Whatever Subject we examine and would get Knowledge in, we should, I think, make as general and as large as it will bear; nor can there be any Danger of this, if the Idea of it be settled and determined: For if that be so, we shall easily distinguish it from any other Idea, though comprehended under the same Name. For it is to fence against the Intanglements of Equivocal Words, and the great Art of Sophistry which lies in them, that Distinctions have been multiplied, and their Use thought necessary. But had every distinct abstract Idea a distinct known Name, there would be little need of these multiplied Scholastic Distinctions, though there would be nevertheless as much need still of the Mind’s observing the Differences that are in things, and discriminating them thereby one from another. ’Tis nor therefore the right way to Knowledge, to hunt after, and fill the Head with abundance of Artificial and Scholastic Distinctions, wherewith learned Men’s Writings are often fill’d; we sometimes find what they treat of so divided and subdivided, that the Mind of the most attentive Reader loses the Sight of it, as it is more than probable the Writer himself did; for in things crumbled into Dust, ’tis in vain to affect or pretend Order, or expect Clearness. To avoid Confusion by too few or too many Divisions, is a great Skill in Thinking as well as Writing, which is but the Copying our Thoughts; but what are the Boundaries of the Mean between the two virtuous Excesses on both Hands, I think is hard to set down in Words: Clear and distinct Ideas is all that I yet know able to regulate it. But as to Verbal Distinctions receiv’d and apply’d to common Terms, i.e. Equivocal Words; they are more properly, I think, the Busines of Criticisms and Dictionaries than of real Knowledge and Philosophy, since they, for the most part, explain the meaning of Words, and give us their several Significations. The dexterous Management of Terms, and being able to send and receive with them, I know has and does pass in the World for a great part of Learning; but it is Learning distinct from Knowledge, for Knowledge consists only in perceiving the Habitudes and Relations of Ideas one to another, which is done without Words; the Intervention of a Sound helps nothing to it. And hence we see that there is least use of Distinctions where there is most Knowledge; I mean in Mathematicks, where Men have determin’d Ideas with known Names to them; and so there being no room for Equivocations, there is no need of Distinctions. In arguing, the Opponent uses as comprehensive and equivocal Terms as he can, to involve his Adversary in the Doubtfulness of his Expressions: This is expected, and therefore the Anfwerer on his side makes it his Play to distinguish as much as he can, and thinks he can never do it too much, nor can he indeed in that way wherein Victory may be had without Truth and without Knowledge. This seems to me to be the Art of Disputing. Ufe your Words as captiously as you can in your arguing on one side, and apply Distinctions as much as you can on the other side to every Term, to nonplus your Opponent; so that in this sort of Scholarship, there being no Bounds
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Distinguishing, some Men have thought all Acutenefs to have lain in it; and therefore in all they have read or thought on, their great Business has been to amuse themselves with Distinguitions, and multiply to themselves Divisions, at least, more than the Nature of the thing requireth. There seems to me, as I said, to be no other Rule for this, but a due and right Consideration of Things as they are in themselves. He that has settled in his Mind determin'd Ideas, with Names affix'd to them, will be able both to discern their Differences one from another, which is really distinguishing; and, where the Penury of Words affords not Terms answering every distinct Idea, will be able to apply proper distinguishing Terms to the Comprehensive and Equivocal Names he is forc'd to make use of. This is all the need I know of distinguishing Terms; and in such Verbal Distinguitions, each Term of the Distinction, joyn'd to that whole Signification it distinguishes, is but a distinct Name for a distinct Idea. Where they are so, and Men have clear and distinct Conceptions that answer their Verbal Distinguitions, they are right, and are pertinent as far as they serve to clear any thing in the Subject under Consideration. And this is that which seems to me the proper and only Measure of Distinguitions and Divisions; which he that will conduct his Understanding right, must not look for in the Acutenefs of Invention, nor the Authority of Writers, but will find only in the Consideration of Things themselves, whether they are led into it by their own Meditations, or the Information of Books.

An Aptness to jumble Things together, wherein can be found any Likeness, is a Fault in the Understanding on the other side, which will not fail to mislead it, and by thus lumping of Things, hinder the Mind from distinct and accurate Conceptions of them.

§ 31. To which let me here add another near of Kin to this, at least in Name, and that is letting the Mind upon the Suggestion of any new Notion, run immediately after Similies to make it the clearer to it self; which, though it may be a good way, and useful in the explaining our Thoughts to others; yet it is by no Means a right Method to settle true Notions of any thing in our selves, because Similies always fail in some part, and come short of that Exactness which our Conceptions should have to Things, if we would think aright. This indeed makes Men plausible Talkers; for those are always most acceptable in Discourse who have the way to let their Thoughts into other Men's Minds with the greatest Eafe and Facility, whether those Thoughts are well formed and correspond with Things, matters not; few Men care to be instructed but at an easy rate. They, who in their Discourse strike the Fancy, and take the Hearers Conceptions along with them as fast as their Words flow, are the applauded Talkers, and go for the only Men of clear Thoughts. Nothing contributes so much to this as Similies, whereby Men think they themselves understand better, because they are the better understood. But it is one thing to think right, and another thing to know the right way to lay our Thoughts before others with Advantage and Cleareness, be they right or wrong. Well chozen Similies, Metaphors, and Allegories, with Method and Order, do this the best of any thing, because being taken from Objects already known, and familiar to the Understanding, they are conceiv'd as fast as spoken; and the Correspondence being concluded, the thing they are brought to explain and elucidate is thought to be understood too. Thus Fancy passeth for Knowledge, and what is prettily said is mistaken for solid. I say not this to decry Metaphor, or with Design to take away that Ornament of Speech; my Business here is not with Rhetoricians and Orators, but with Philosophers and Lovers of Truth; to whom I would beg leave to give this one Rule whereby to try whether, in the Application of their Thoughts to any thing for the Improvement of their Knowledge, they do in Truth comprehend the Matter before them really such as it is in it self. The way to discover this is to observe, whether in the laying it before themselves or others, they make use only of borrow'd Representations and Ideas foreign to the things which are apply'd to it by way of Accommodation, as bearing some Proportion or imagin'd Likeness to the Subject under Consideration. Figur'd and
and Metaphorical Expressions do well to illustrate more abstruse and unfamiliar Ideas which the Mind is not yet thoroughly accustomed to; but then they must be made use of to illustrate Ideas that we already have, not to paint to us those which we yet have not. Such borrow'd and allusive Ideas may follow real and solid Truth, to set it off when found, but must by no means be fet in its place, and taken for it. If all our Search has yet reach'd no farther than Simile and Metaphor, we may assure our selves we rather fan- 

§ 32. In the whole Conduct of the Understanding, there is nothing of Affent, more moment than to know when and where, and how far to give Affent, and possibly there is nothing harder. 'Tis very easily said, and no Body questions it. That giving and with-holding our Affent, and the Degrees of it, should be regulated by the Evidence which things carry with them; and yet we see Men are not the better for this Rule; some firmly embrace Doctrines upon Flight Grounds, some upon no Grounds, and some contrary to Appear-

ance: Some admit of Certainty, and are not to be moved in what they hold: Others waver in every thing, and there want not those that reject All as uncertain. What then shall a Novice, an Enquirer, a Stranger do in the Cafe? I answer, Use his Eyes. There is a Correspondence in things, and Agreement and Disagreement in Ideas, discernible in very different Degrees, and there are Eyes in Men to see them if they please, only their Eyes may be dim'd or dazzled, and the discerning Sight in them impair'd or lost. In-

tereft and Passion dazzles; the Custom of Arguing on any Side, even against our Persuasions, dims the Understanding, and makes it by Degrees lose the Faculty of discerning clearly between Truth and Fallhood, and so of ad-

hering to the right Side. 'Tis not safe to play with Error, and dresf it up to our selves or others in the Shape of Truth. The Mind by Degrees loses its natural Relish of real solid Truth, is reconciled insensibly to any thing that can but be dres'd up into any feint Appearance of it; and if the Fancy be allowed the place of Judgment at first in Sport, it afterwards comes by Use to usurp it, and what is recommended by this Flatterer (that studys but to please) is receiv'd for Good. There are so many Ways of Fallacy, such Arts of giving Colours, Appearances and Refemblances by this Court-
dresser, the Fancy, that he, who is not wary to admit nothing but Truth it self, very careful not to make his Mind subservient to any thing else, cannot but be caught. He that has a Mind to believe has half assent'd already; and he, that by often arguing against his own Sense, imposes Fallhoods on others, is not far from believing himself. This takes away the great Distance there is betwixt Truth and Fallhood; it brings them almost together, and makes it no great odds, in things that approach so near, which you take; and when things are brought to that Pals, Passion or Interest; &c. easily, and without being perceived, determine which shall be the right.

§ 33. I have said above, that we should keep a perfect Indifference for all Indiffer-

Opinions, not with any of them true, or try to make them appear so; but if

being indifferent, receive and embrace them according as Evidence, and

that alone, gives the Attestation of Truth. They that do thus, i.e. to keep their

Mind indifferent to Opinions, to be determined only by Evidence, will al-

ways find the Understanding has Perception enough to distinguish between Evidence or no Evidence, betwixt plain and doubtful; and if they neither
give nor refuse their Assent but by that Measure, they will be safe in the

Opinions they have. Which being perhaps but few, this Caution will have

also this Good in it, that it will put them upon Considering, and teach them

the Necessity of Examining more than they do; without which, the Mind is

but a Receptacle of Inconsistencies, not the Store-House of Truths. They,

that do not keep up this Indifference in themselves for all but Truth, not

supposed, but evidenced in themselves, put colour'd Speculations before their

Eyes, and look on things through fals Knifles, and then think themselves

excused in following the false Appearances which they themselves put upon

them. I do not expect that by this way the Assent should in every one be

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proportion'd to the Grounds and Cearnefs wherewith every Truth is capable to be made out, or that Men should be perfectly kepe from Error: That is more than Humane Nature can by any means be advanced to; I aim at no such unattainable Privilege; I am only speaking of what they should do, who would deal fairly with their own Minds, and make a right Use of their Faculties in the pursuit of Truth; we fail them a great deal more than they fail us. Tis Mismanagement more than want of Abilities that Men have reason to complain of, and which they actually do complain of in those that differ from them. He, that by an Indifference for all but Truth, suffers not his Affent to go faster than his Evidence, nor beyond it, will learn to examine, and examine fairly instead of presuming, and no Body will be at a Los, or in Danger for want of embracing those Truths which are necessary in his Station and Circumstances. In any other way but this all the World are born to Orthodoxy; they imibe at first the allow'd Opinions of their Country and Party, and so never questioning their Truth, not one of an hundred ever examines. They are applauded for presuming they are in the right. He that considers, is a Foe to Orthodoxy, because possibly he may deviate from some of the receiv'd Doctrines there. And thus Men, without any Indulgence or Acquisition of their own, inherit local Truths (for it is not the fame every where) and are inur'd to Affent without Evidence. This influences farther than is thought; for what one of an hundred of the zealous Bigots in all Parties, ever examin'd the Tenets he is so stiff in, or ever thought it his Business or Duty to do? It is suspected of Lake-warmnefs to suppose it necessary, and a Tendency to Apostacy to go about it. And if a Man can bring his Mind once to be positive and hence for Positions, whose Evidence he has never once examin'd, and that in Matters of greatest Concernment to him, what shall keep him from this short and cæsæ Way of being in the right in Cafes of left Moment? Thus we are taught to clothe our Minds as we do our Bodies after the Fashion in Vogue, and 'tis accounted Fantasticalnefs, or something worfe not to do fo. This Custom (which who dares oppose) makes the short-fight'd Bigots, and the wary Scepticks, as far as it prevails. And those that break from it are in danger of Hereby; for taking the whole World, how much of it doth Truth and Orthodoxy poffefs together? Though 'tis by the left alone (which has the good Luck to be every where) that Error and Hereby are judg'd of; for Argument and Evidence signify nothing in the Cafe, and excuse no where, but are sure to be born down in all Societies by the infallible Orthodoxy of the place. Whether this be the way to Truth and right Affent, let the Opinions, that take place and prescribe in the several habitable Parts of the Earth, declare. I never saw any reason yet why Truth might not be trusted to its own Evidence: I am sure if that be not able to support it, there is no Fence against Error, and then Truth and Falhood are but Names that stand for the same things. Evidence therefore is that by which alone every Man is (and should be) taught to regulate his Affent, who is then, and then only, in the right way when he follows it.

Men deficient in Knowledge are usually in one of these three States, either wholly Ignorant, or as doubting of some Proposition they have either embrac'd formerly, or at present inclin'd to: Or lastly, they do with Assurance hold and protest without ever having examin'd, and being convinc'd by well-grounded Arguments.

The firft of these are in the best State of the three, by having their Minds yet in their perfect Freedom and Indifference, the likelier to pursue Truth the better, having no Biases yet clap'd on to mislead them.

§ 34. For Ignorance with an Indifference for Truth is nearer to it, than Opinion with ungrounded Inclination, which is the great Source of Error; and they are more in danger to go out of the way, who are marching under the Conduct of a Guide, that 'tis an hundred to one will mislead them, than he that has not yet taken a Step, and is likelier to be prevail'd on to enquire after the right Way. The last of the three Sorts are in the worst Condition of all; for if a Man can be persuad'd, and fully assur'd of any thing for a Truth, without having examin'd what is there that he may not embrace for Truth;
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Truth; and if he has given himself up to believe a Lie, what Means is there left to recover one who can be assured without examining? To the other 9.

Two this I crave leave to say, That as he that is Ignorant is in the best State of the two, so he should pursue Truth in a Method suitable to that State, i.e. by enquiring directly into the Nature of the thing; it self, without minding the Opinions of others, or troubling himself with their Questions or Disputes about it, but to see what he himself can, sincerely searching after Truth, find out. He that proceeds upon others Principles in his Enquiry into any Sciences, though he be resolv'd to examine them, and judge of them freely, does yet at least put himself on that side, and poll himself in a Party which he will not quit till he be beaten out; by which the Mind is infensibly engag'd to make what Defence it can, and so is unaware of the case. I do not say but a Man should embrace some Opinion when he has examin'd, else he examines to no purpose; but the surest and safest way is to have no Opinion at all till he has examin'd, and that without any the least regard to the Opinions or Systems of other Men about it. For Example, were it my Business to understand Phyfick, would not the safer and readier way be to consult Nature her self, and inform my self in the History of Diseases and their Cure, than efpoufe the Principles of the Dogmatists, Methodists or Chymists engage in all the Disputes concerning either of those Systems, and suppose it to be true, till I have try'd what they can say to best me out of it? Or, supposing that Hippocrates, or any other Book, infallibly contains the whole Art of Phyfick, would not the direct way be to study, read, and consider that Book, weigh and compare the Parts of it to find the Truth, rather than efpoufe the Doctrines of any Party; who, tho' they acknowledge his Authority, have already interpreted and wire-drawn all his Text to their own Sense; the Tincture whereof, when I have imbib'd, I am more in danger to misunderstand his true Meaning, than if I had come to him with a Mind unprepossess'd by Doctors and Commentators of my Sect, whole Reasons, Interpretation and Language which I have been us'd to, will of Course make all chime that way, and make another, and perhaps the genuine Meaning of the Author seem hard, strain'd and uncouth to me? For Words having naturally none of their own, carry that Signification to the Hearer, that he is us'd to put upon them, whatever be the Sense of him that uses them. This, I think, is visibly so; and if it be, he that begins to have any Doubt of any of his Tenets, which he receiv'd without Examination, ought, as much as he can, to put himself wholly into this State of Ignorance in reference to that Question, and throwing wholly by all his former Notions, and the Opinions of others, examine, with a perfect Indifference, the Question in its Source, without any Inclination to either Side, or any Regard to his or others unexamined Opinions. This I own is no easy thing to do, but I am not enquiring the easy way to Opinion, but the right way to Truth; which they must follow who will deal fairly with their own Understandings and their own Souls.

§ 35. The Indifference that I here propose, will also enable them to state the Question right, which they are in Doubt about, without which they can never come to a fair and clear Decision of it.

§ 36. Another Fruit from this Indifference, and the considering Things in themselves abstract from our own Opinions and other Men's Notions, and Discourtes on them, will be, that each Man will pursue his Thoughts in that Method which will be most agreeable to the Nature of the thing, and to his Apprehension of what it fuggels to him; in which he ought to proceed with Regularity and Constancy, until he come to a well-grounded Resolution wherein he may acquiesce. If it be objected that this will require every Man to be a Scholar, and quit all his other Business, and betake himself wholly to Study; I answer, I propose no more to any one than he has time for. Some Men's State and Condition requires no great Extent of Knowledge; the necessary Provision for Life swallows the greatest part of their Time. But one Man's want of Leasure is no Excuse for the Oscillancy and Ignorance of those who have time to spare; and every one has enough to
get as much Knowledge as is require'd and expected of him, and he that does not that, is in love with Ignorance, and is accountable for it.

§ 37. The Variety of Dispositions in Men's Minds is as great as of those in their Bodies; some are Epidemick, few 'scape them, and every one too, if he would look into himself, would find some Defect of his particular Genius. There is scarce any one without some Idiosyncrasy that he suffers by. This Man prelumes upon his Parts, that they will not fail him at time of Need, and so thinks it superfluous Labour to make any Provision beforehand. His Understanding is to him like Fortunatus's Purse, which is always to furnish him without ever putting any thing into it before-hand; and so he sits still satisfy'd, without endeavouring to store his Understanding with Knowledge. 'Tis the spontaneous Product of the Country, and what need of Labour in Tillage? Such Men may spread their native Riches before the Ignorant; but they were best not come to Strefs and Trial with the skilful. We are born ignorant of every thing. The Superficies of things that surround them, make Impreffions on the negligent, but no Body penetrates into the inside without Labour, Attention and Industry. Stones and Timber grow of themselves, but yet there is no uniform Pile with Symmetry and Convenience to lodge in without Toil and Pains. God has made the intellectual World harmonious and beautiful without us; but it will never come into our Heads all at once, we must bring it home Piece-meal, and there set it up by our own Industry, or else we shall have nothing but Darkness and a Chaos within, whatever Order and Light there be in Things without us.

§ 38. On the other side, there are others that depress their own Minds, despand at the first Difficulty, and conclude that the getting an Insight in any of the Sciences, or making any Progress in Knowledge farther than serves their ordinary Business, is above their Capacities. These fit still, because they think they have not Legs to go as the others I left mention'd do, because they think they have Wings to fly, and can soar on high when they please. To these latter one may for Anwer apply the Proverb, *Ubi Leges habe Leges*. No body knows what Strength of Parts he has till he has try'd them. And of the Understanding one may most truly say, that its Force is greater generally than it thinks, till it is put to it. *Viribus acquiris uno*.

And therefore the proper Remedy here is but to set the Mind to work, and apply the Thoughts vigorously to the Business; for it holds in the Struggles of the Mind as in those of War, *Dum putam te vincere, vincere s*; a Perfection that we shall overcome any Difficulties that we meet with in the Sciences, seldom fails to carry us through them. No body knows the Strength of his Mind, and the Force of steady and regular Application till he has try'd. This is certain, he that sets out upon weak Legs, will not only go farther, but grow stronger too than one, who with a vigorous Constitution and firm Limbs, only fits still.

Something of kin to this Men may observe in themselves, when the Mind frights it self (as it often does) with any thing reflect'd on in Grofs, and tranfiently view'd confusedly, and at a Distance. Things thus offer'd to the Mind, carry the Shew of nothing but Difficulty in them, and are thought to be wrap'd up in impenetrable Obscurity. But the Truth is, there are nothing but Species that the Understanding raises to it self to flatter its own Lazines. It sees nothing distinctly in things remote, and in a huddle, and therefore concludes too faintly, that there is nothing more clear to be discover'd in them. 'Tis but to approach nearer, and that Mist of our own raising that enveloped them will remove; and those that in that Mist appear'd hideous Giants not to be grappled with, will be found to be of the ordinary and natural Size and Shape. Things, that in a remote and confused View seem very obscure, must be approach'd by gentle and regular Steps; and what is most visible, safe and obvious in them first consider'd. Reduce them into their distinct Parts; and then in their due Order bring all that should be known concerning every one of those Parts into plain and simple Questions; and then what was thought obscure, perplex'd, and too hard for our weak Parts, will lay it self open to the Understanding in a fair View, and let the Mind into that which before it was aw'd with, and kept at a distance from, as wholly mystic-
mysterious. I appeal to my Reader's Experience; whether this has never happened to him, especially when, buty on one thing, he has occasionally reflected on another. I ask him whether he has never thus been fear'd with a sudden Opinion of mighty Difficulties, which yet have vanished, when he has seriously and methodically apply'd himself to the Consideration of this seeming terrible Subject; and there has been no other Matter of Atonishment left, but that he amus'd himself with disdaining a Prospect of his own raising, about a Matter, which in the handling was found to have nothing in it more strange nor intricate than several other things which he had long since, and with Ease master'd. This Experience would teach us how to do deal with such Bugbears another time, which should rather serve to excite our Vigour than enervate our Industry. The surest way for a Learner in this as in all other Cafes, is not to advance by Jumps and large Strides; let that which he fets himself to learn next be indeed the next, i.e. as nearly conjoin'd with what he knows already as is possible; let it be distinct but not remote from it: Let it be new, and what he did not know before, that the Understanding may advance; but let it be as little at once as may be, that its Advances may be clear and sure. All the Ground that it gets this way it will hold. This distinct gradual Growth in Knowledge is firm and sure, it carries its own Light with it in every Step of its Progression in an easy and orderly Train, than which there is nothing of more Use to the Understanding. And though this perhaps may seem a very slow and lingering way to Knowledge; yet I dare confidently affirm, that whoever will try it in himself, or any one he will teach, shall find the Advances greater in this Method, than they would in the same space of time have been in any other he could have taken. The greatest part of true Knowledge lies in a distinct Perception of Things in themselves distinct. And some Men give more clear Light and Knowledge by the bare distinct stating of a Question, than others by talking of it in Grofs whole Hours together. In this, they who so state a Question, do no more but separate and disentangle the Parts of it one from another, and lay them, when so disintangled, in their due Order. This often, without any more ado, resolves the Doubt, and shews the Mind where the Truth lies. The Agreement or Disagreement of the Ideas in question, when they are once separated and distinctly consider'd, is, in many Cafes, presently perceived, and thereby clear and lafting Knowledge gain'd; whereas Things in Grofs taken up together, and so lying together in Confusion, can produce in the Mind but a confus'd, which in Effect is no Knowledge; or at least when it comes to be examin'd and made use of, will prove little better than none. I therefore take the liberty to repeat here again what I have said elsewhere, that in learning any thing, as little should be propos'd to the Mind at once as is possible; and that being understood and fully master'd, to proceed to the next adjoining Part yet unknown, simple, unperplex'd Proposition belonging to the Matter in Hand, and tending to the clearing what is principally design'd.

§ 39. Analogy is of great Use to the Mind in many Cafes, especially in natural Philosophy; and that part of it chiefly which consists in happy and successful Experiments. But here we must take care that we keep our selves within that wherein the Analogy consists. For Example, the acid Oyl of Vitriol is found to be good in such a Cafe, therefore the Spirit of Wine or Vinegar may be us'd in the like Cafe. If the good Effect of it be owing wholly to the Acidity of it, the Trial may be justifed; but if there be something else besides the Acidity in the Oyl of Vitriol, which produces the Good we desire in the Cafe, we mistake that for Analogy, which is not, and suffer our Understanding to be misguid'd by a wrong Supposition of Analogy where there is none.

§ 40. Though I have, in the Second Book of my Essay concerning Human Understanding, treated of the Association of Ideas; yet having done it there Historically, as giving a View of the Understanding in this as well as its several other ways of operating, rather than designing there to inquire into the Remedies ought to be applied to it: It will, under this latter Consideration, afford other Matter of Thought to those who have a mind to instruct
instruct themselves thoroughly in the right way of conducting their Understandings; and that the rather, because this, if I mistake not, is as frequent a Caufe of Mistake and Error in us, as perhaps any thing else that can be named; and is a Diſeafe of the Mind as hard to be cur’d as any; it being a very hard thing to convince any one that things are not fo, and naturally fo as they constantly appear to him.

By this one evil and unheeded Mifunderstanding, and the Infallible Principles, and will not suffer themselves to be touch’d or question’d: Such unnatural Connections become by Custom as natural to the Mind as Sun and Light: Fire and Warmth go together, and so seem to carry with them as natural an Evidence as Self-evident Truths themselves. And where then shall one with hopes of Success begin the Cure? Many Men firmly embrace Fallhood for Truth; not only because they never thought otherwise, but also because thus blinded as they have been from the beginning, they never could think otherwise; at least without a Vigour of Mind able to contest the Empire of Habit, and look into its own Principles; a Freedom which few Men have the Notion of in themselves, and fewer are allow’d the Practice of by others; it being the great Art and Business of the Teachers and Guides in most Sects, to suppress, as much as they can, this fundamental Duty which every Man owes himself, and is the first steady Step towards Right and Truth in the whole Train of his Actions and Opinions. This would give one Reason to suspect, that such Teachers are conscious to themselves of the Fallhood or Weakness of the Tenets they profess, since they will not suffer the Grounds wherein they are built to be examin’d; whenas those who seek Truth only, and desire to own and propagate nothing else, freely expose their Principles to the Test, are pleas’d to have them examin’d, give Men leave to reject them if they can; and if there be any thing weak and unfound in them, are willing to have it detected, that they themselves, as well as others, may not lay any Strefs upon any receiv’d Proposition beyond what the Evidence of its Truth will warrant and allow.

There is, I know, a great Fault among all sorts of People of principling their Children and Scholars; which at first, when look’d into, amounts to no more, but making them imbibe their Teacher’s Notions and Tenets, by an implicit Faith, and firmly to adhere to them whether true or false. What Colours may be given to this, or of what Use it may be when practis’d upon the Vulgar, desir’d to Labour, and given up to the Service of their Beliefs, I will not here enquire. But as to the ingenuous part of Mankind, whose Condition allows them Leisure, and Letters, and Enquiry after Truth; I can see no other right way of principling them, but to take heed, as much as may be, that in their tender Years Ideas, that have no natural Cohesions, come not to be united in their Heads, and that this Rule be often inculcated to them to be their Guide in the whole Course of their Lives and Studies, (viz.) That they never suffer any Ideas to be joyn’d in their Understandings, in any other or stronger Combination than what their own Nature and Correspondence give them; and that they often examine those that they find link’d together in their Minds, whether this Association of Ideas be from the visible Agreement that is in the Ideas themselves, or from the habitual and prevailing Custom of the Mind joyning them thus together in Thinking.

This is for Caution against this Evil, before it be thoroughly riveted by Custom in the Understanding; but he, that would cure it when Habit has establish’d it, must nicely observe the very quick and almost imperceptible Motions of the Mind in its habitual Actions. What I have said in another Place about the Change of the Ideas of Sense into those of Judgment, may be Proof of this. Let any one not skill’d in Painting, be told when he sees Bottles and Tobacco-pipes, and other things so painted, as they are in some Places shewn, that he does not see Protuberances, and you will not convince him but by the Touch: He will not believe that by an instantaneous Legerdemain of his own Thoughts, one Idea is sublitturated for the other. How frequent Injudices may one meet with in this in the Arguings of the Learned, who not seldom in two Ideas that they have been accustom’d to join
join in their Minds, sublimate one for the other; and, I am apt to think, often without perceiving it themselves. This, whilst they are under the De-
ce of it, makes them incapable of Conviction, and they applaud themselves as zealous Champions for Truth, when indeed they are contending for Error. And the Confusion of two different Ideas, which a customary Connection of them in their Minds hath made to them almost one, fills their Head with false Views, and their Reasonings with false Consequences.

§. 4. Right Understanding consists in the Discovery and Adherence to Truth, and that in the Perception of the visible or probable Agreement or Disagreement of Ideas, as they are affirm'd and deny'd one of another. From whence it is evident, that the right Use and Conduct of the Under-
standing, whose Business is purely Truth and nothing else, is, that the Mind should be kept in a perfect Indifferency, not inclining to either Side, any farther than Evidence settles it by Knowledge, or the Over-balance of Prob-
ability gives it the turn of Assent and Belief; but yet it is very hard to meet with any Discourse wherein one may not perceive the Author not only main-
tain (for that is reasonable and fit) but inclin'd and bias'd to one Side of the Question, with Marks of a Desire that That should be true. If it be ask'd me, How Authors who have such a Bias, and lean to it may be discover'd? I answer, By observing how in their Writings or Arguings they are often led by their Inclinations to change the Ideas of the Question, either by changing the Terms, or by adding and joining others to them, whereby the Ideas under
Consideration are so varied, as to be more serviceable to their Purpose, and to be thereby brought to an easier and nearer Agreement, or more vi-
Table and remoter Disagreement one with another. This is plain and direct Sophistry: but I am far from thinking, that wherever it is found, it is made use of with design to deceive and mislead the Readers. It is visible that Men's Prejudices and Inclinations by this way impose often upon themselves; and their Affection for Truth, under their Prepossession in favour of one Side, is the very thing that leads them from it. Inclination suggetts and slides into their Discourse favourable Terms, which introduce favourable Ideas, till at last by this means That is concluded clear and evident, thus dress'd up, which, taken in its native State, by making use of none but the specific determin'd Ideas, would find no Admittance at all. The putting these Glosses on what they affirm, thefe, as they are thought, handsome, easy, and graceful Ex-
plications of what they are diffourc'ing on, is so much the Character of what is call'd and esteem'd Writing well, that it is very hard to think that Authors will ever be persuad'd to leave what serves so well to propagate their Opinions, and procure themselves Credit in the World, for a more jeune and dry way of Writing, by keeping to the same Terms precisely an-
nexed to the same Ideas, a fowre and blunt Stiffnesse tolerable in Mathematicians only, who force their way, and make Truth prevail by irresistible De-
monstration.

But yet if Authors cannot be prevail'd with to quit the looser, tho' more inuninating ways of Writing, if they will not think fit to keep close to Truth and Instruction by unvaried Terms, and plain unsophisticated Arguments; yet it concerns Readers not to be imposed on by Fallacies, and the prevail-
ing Ways of Inuition. To do this, the surest and most effectual Remedy, is to fix in the Mind the clear and distinct Ideas of the Question stripp'd of Words; and so likewise in the Train of Argumentation, to take up the Author's Ideas neglecting his Words, observing how they connect or separate those in the Question. He that does this will be able to call off all that is superfluous; he will see what is pertinent, what coherent, what is direct to, what slides by, the Question. This will readily shew him all the foreign Ideas in the Discourse, and where they were brought in; and though they perhaps dazzled the Writer; yet he will perceive that they give no Light nor Strength to his Reasonings.

This, though it be the shortest and easiest way of reading Books with Pro-
fits, and keeping ones-self from being misled by great Names or plausible Dis-
courses; yet it being hard and tedious to those who have not accustomed themselves to it; it is not to be expected that every one (amongst those few who
who really pursue Truth) should this way guard his Understanding from being imposed on by the wilful, or at least undesign'd Sophistry, which creeps into most of the Books of Argument. They, that write against their Conviction, or that next to them, are resolv'd to maintain the Tenets of a Party they are engag'd in, cannot be suppos'd to reject any Arms that may help to defend their Cause, and therefore such should be read with the greatest Caution. And they, who write for Opinions they are sincerely perswaded of, and believe to be true, think they may so far allow themselves to indulge their laudable Affection to Truth, as to permit their Esteem of it to give it the best Colours, and set it of with the best Expressions and Dres they can, thereby to gain it the easieft Entrance into the Minds of their Readers, and fix it deepest there.

One of tho' being the State of Mind we may justly suppose most Writers to be in, 'tis fit their Readers, who apply to them for Instruction, should not lay by that Caution which becomes a sincere Pursuit of Truth, and should make them always watchful against whatever might conceal or misrepresent it. If they have not the Skill of representing to themselves the Author's Sense by pure Ideas separated from Sounds, and thereby divested of the false Lights and deceitful Ornaments of Speech; this yet they should do, they should keep the precise Question steadily in their Minds, carry it along with them through the whole Discourse, and suffer not the least Alteration in the Terms, either by Addition, Subtraction, or Substituting any other. This every one can do who has a mind to it; and he that has not a mind to it, 'tis plain makes his Understanding only the Ware-house of other Men's Lumber; I mean false and unconsidered Reasonings, rather than a Repository of Truth for his own Use, which will prove subfubstantial, and stand him in Stead, when he has occasion for it. And whether such an one deals fairly by his own Mind, and conducts his own Understanding right, I leave to his own Understanding to judge.

§ 42. The Mind of Man being very narrow, and so flow in making Acquaintance with things, and taking in new Truths, that no one Man is capable, in a much longer Life than our's, to know all Truths; it becomes our Prudence, in our Search after Knowledge, to employ our Thoughts about fundamental and material Questions, carefully avoiding those that are trifling, and not suffering our selves to be diverted from our main even Purpose, by those that are merely incidental. How much of many young Men's Time is thrown away in purely Logical Enquiries, I need not mention. This is no better than if a Man, who was to be a Painter, should spend all his Time in examining the Threads of the several Cloths he is to paint upon, and counting the Hairs of each Pencil and Brush he intends to use in the laying on of his Colours. Nay, it is much worse than for a young Painter to spend his Apprenticeship in such useles Niceties; for he, at the End of all his Pains to no Purpose, finds that it is not Painting, nor any help to it, and so is really to no Purpose: Whereas Men design'd for Scholars have often their Heads so full'd and warm'd with Discourses on Logical Questions, that they take those airy useless Notions for real and substantial Knowledge, and think their Understandings so well furnished with Science, that they need not look any farther into the Nature of Things, or defend to the Mechanical Drudgery of Experiment and Enquiry. This is so obvious a Mismanagement of the Understanding, and that in the profest'd way to Knowledge, that it could not be pass'd by; to which might be joyn'd abundance of Questions, and the way of handling of them in the Schools. What Faults in particular of this Kind, every Man is, or may be guilty of, would be infinite to enumerate; it suffices to have flown, That superficial and light Discoveries and Observations that contain nothing of Moment in themselves, nor serve as Clues to lead us into farther Knowledge, should not be thought worth our searching after.

There are fundamental Truths that lie at the bottom, the Basis upon which a great many others rest, and in which they have their Confidencly. These are teeming Truths, rich in Store, with which they furnish the Mind, and, like the Lights of Heaven, are not only beautiful and enter-
entertaining in themselves, but give Light and Evidence to other things, that without them could not be seen or known. Such is that admirable Discovery of Mr. Newton, that all Bodies gravitate to one another, which may be counted as the Basis of Natural Philosophy; which, of what Use it is to the Understanding of the great Frame of our Solar System, he has to the Afterthought of the Learned World shewn, and how much farther it would guide us in other things, if rightly purfu’d, is not yet known. Our Saviour’s great Rule, that we should love our Neighbour as our selves, is such a Fundamental Truth for the regulating human Society; that, I think, by that alone, one might without Difficulty determine all the Cases and Doubts in Social Morality, Thee, and such as these are the Truths we should endeavour to find out, and store our Minds with. Which leads me to another thing in the Conduct of the Understanding that is no less necessary, viz.

§. 43. To acquaint our selves in any Question propos’d, to examine and find out upon what it bottoms. Most of the Difficulties that come in our way, when well consider’d and trau’d, lead us to some Proposition, which known to be true clears the Doubt, and gives an easie Solution of the Question, whilst Topical and Superficial Arguments, of which there is store to be found on both sides, filling the Head with Variety of Thoughts, and the Mouth with copious Discourse, serve only to amuse the Understanding; and entertain Company without coming to the Bottom of the Question, the only Place of Rest and Stability for an inquisitive Mind, whose Tendency is only to Truth and Knowledge.

For Example, if it be demanded, whether the Grand Seignior can lawfully take what he will from any of his People? This Question cannot be resolv’d without coming to a Certainty, whether all Men are naturally equal; for upon that it turns, and that Truth well settled in the Understanding, and carried in the Mind through the various Debates concerning the various Rights of Men in Society, will go a great way in putting an End to them, and shewing upon which side the Truth is.

§. 44. There is scarce any thing more for the Improvement of Knowledge, for the Eafe of Life, and the Dispatch of Business, than for a Man to be able to dispose of his own Thoughts; and there is scarce any thing harder in the whole Conduct of the Understanding than to get a full Mastery over it. The Mind, in a waking Man, has always some Object that it applies itself to; which, when we are lazy or unconcern’d, we can easily change, and at pleasure transfer our Thoughts to another, and from thence to a third, which has no Relation to either of the former. Hence Men forwardly conclude, and frequently say, nothing is so free as Thought, and it were well it were so; but the contrary will be found true in several Instances; and there are many Cafes wherein there is nothing more readiness and ungovernable than our Thoughts: They will not be directed what Objects to pursue, nor be taken off from thence they have once fix’d on, but run away with a Man in pursuit of those Ideas they have in View, let him do what he can.

I will not here mention again what I have above taken notice of, how hard it is to get the Mind, narrow’d by a Custom of thirty or forty Years standing to a scanty Collection of obvious and common Ideas, to enlarge it self to a more copious Stock, and grow into an Acquaintance with those that would afford more abundant Matter of useful Contemplation: ’tis not of this I am here speaking. The Inconvenience I would here reprend and find a Remedy for, is the Difficulty there is sometimes to transfer our Minds from one Subject to another, in Cafes where the Ideas are equally familiar to us.

Matters, that are recommended to our Thoughts by any of our Passions, take possession of our Minds with a kind of Authority, and will not be kept out or diffus’d, but as if the Passion that rules, were for the time, the Sheriff of the Place, and came with all the Poffe, the Understanding is seiz’d and taken with the Object it introduces, as if it had a legal Right to be alone concern’d there. There is scarce any Body, I think, of so calm a Temper, who hath not sometime found this Tyranny on his Understanding, and suffer’d under the Inconvenience of it. Who is there almost, who’s Mind, at...
some time or other, Love or Anger, Fear or Grief has not so fallen’d to some Clog, that it could not turn it self to any other Object? I call it a Clog, for it hangs upon the Mind so as to hinder its Vigour and Activity in the pursuit of other Contemplations, and advances it self little or not at all in the Knowledge of the thing which it so closely hugs and constantly pores on. Men thus posse’d, are sometimes as if they were fo in the worst Scene, and lay under the Power of an Inchantment. They see not what passes before their Eyes; hear not the audible Discourse of the Company; and when by any strong Application to them they are rous’d a little, they are like Men brought to themselves from some remote Region; whereas in Truth they come no farther than their Secret Cabinet within, where they have been wholly taken up with the Puppet, which is for that time appointed for their Entertainment. The Shame that such Dumps cause to well-bred People, when it carries them away from the Company, where they should bear a part in the Conversation, is a sufficient Argument, that it is a Fault in the Conduct of our Understanding, not to have that Power over it as to make use of it to those Purposes, and on those Occasions wherein we have Need of its Assistance. The Mind should be always free and ready to turn it self to the Variety of Objects that occur, and allow them as much Consideration as shall for that time be thought fit. To be ingrossed fo by one Object, as not to be prevail’d on to leave it for another that we judge fitter for our Contemplation, is to make it of no Use to us. Did this State of Mind remain always so, every one would, without Scruple, give it the Name of perfect Madness; and whilst it does last, at whatever Intervals it returns, such a Rotation of Thoughts about the same Object no more carries us forwards towards the Attainment of Knowledge, than getting upon a Mill-horse whilst he jogs on in his Circular Track would carry a Man a Journey.

I grant something must be allow’d to legitimate Passions, and to natural Inclinations. Every Man, besides occasional Affections, has below’d Studies, and those the Mind will more closely stick to; but yet it is best that it should be always at Liberty, and under the free Disposal of the Man, to act how, and upon what he dircts. This we should endeavour to obtain, unless we would be content with such a Flaw in our Understandings, that sometimes we should be as it were without it; for it is very little better than in Cafes where we cannot make use of it to those Purposes we would, and which stand in present need of it.

But before I go on to consider what Remedies can be thought on for this Disease, we must know the several Causes of it, and then consider the Cure, if we will hope to labour with Success.

One we have already inflamed in, whereof all Men that reflect have so general a Knowledge, and so often an Experience in themselves, that no Body doubts of it. A prevailing Passion so pins down our Thoughts to the Object and Concern of it, that a Man passionately in Love, cannot bring himself to think of his ordinary Affairs, or a kind Mother drooping under the Loss of a Child, is not able to bear a part as she was wont in the Discourse of the Company or Conversation of her Friends.

But though Passion be the most obvious and general, yet it is not the only Cause that binds up the Understanding, and confines it for the time to one Object, from which it will not be taken off.

Besides this, we may often find that the Understanding, when it has a while employ’d it self upon a Subject which either Chances, or some flight Accident offer’d to it, without the Interest or Recommendation of any Passion, works it self into a Warmth, and by degrees gets into a Career, wherein, like a Bowl down a Hill, it increases its Motion by going, and will not be stop’d or diverted, though, when the Heat is over, it fees all this earnest Application was about a Trifle not worth a Thought, and all the Pains employ’d about it, lost Labour.

There is a third sort, if I mistake not, yet lower than this: ‘tis a sort of Childishness, if I may so say, of the Understanding, wherein, during the Fit, it plays with, and dandles, some insignificant Puppet to no End, nor with any Design at all, and yet cannot easily be got off from it. Thus some trivial
trivial Sentence, or a Scrap of Poetry will sometimes get into Men's Heads, and make such a Chiming there, that there is no silencing of it; no Peace to be obtain'd, nor Attention to any thing else, but this impertinent Guest will take up the Mind and possest the Thoughts in spight of all Endeavours to get rid of it. Whether every one hath experimented in themselves this troublesome Intrusion of some frisking Ideas which thus importune the Understanding, and hinder it from being better employ'd, I know not. But Persons of very good Parts, and those more than one, I have heard speak and complain of it themselves. The reason I have to make this Doubt, is from what I have known in a Cafe somethings of kin to this, though much odder, and that is of a fort of Visions that some People have lying quiet, but perfectly awake, in the Dark, or with their Eyes shut. It is a great Variety of Faces, most commonly very odd ones, that appear to them in Train one after another; so that having had but the Sight of one, it immediately passes away to give place to another, that the same infant succeeds, and has as quick an Exit as its Leader, and so they march on in a confant Succession; nor can any one of them by any Endeavour be stopp'd or retain'd beyond the infant of its Appearance, but is thrust out by its Follower, which will have its Turn. Concerning this fantastical Phenomenon, I have talked with several People, whereof some have been perfectly acquainted with it, and others have been so wholly Strangers to it, that they could hardly be brought to conceive or believe it. I knew a Lady of excellent Parts who had got past Thirty, without having ever had the least Notice of any such thing; she was so great a Stranger to it, that when she heard me and another talking of it, could scarce forbear thinking we banter'd her; but sometime after drinking a large Dose of dilute Tea (as she was order'd by a Physician) going to Bed, she told us at next Meeting, that she had now experimented what our Discourse had much a do to persuade her of. She had seen a great Variety of Faces in a long Train, succeeding one another, as we had describ'd; they were all Strangers and Intruders, such as she had no Acquaintance with before, nor fought after then, and as they came of themselves they went too; none of them stay'd a Moment, nor could be detain'd by all the Endeavours she could use, but went on in their solemn Procession, just appear'd and then vanish'd. This odd Phenomenon seems to have a mechanical Cause, and to depend upon the Matter and Motion of the Blood or animal Spirits.

When the Fancy is bound by Passion, I know no way to fet the Mind free, and at liberty to prosecute what Thoughts the Man would make choice of, but to allay the present Passion, or counter-balance it with another, which is an Art to be got by Study, and Acquaintance with the Passions.

Those, who find themselves apt to be carried away with the spontaneous Current of their own Thoughts, not excited by any Passion or Interest, must be very wary and careful in all the Influences of it to stop it, and never humour their Minds in being thus triflingly buifie. Men know the Value of their corporal Liberty, and therefore suffer not willingly Fetter's and Chains to be put upon them. To have the Mind captivated, is, for the time, certainly the greater Evil of the two, and deferves our utmost Care and Endeavours to preserve the Freedom of our better Part. And in this Cafe our Pains will not be lost; striving and struggling will prevail, if we constantly, in all such Occasions, make use of it. We must never indulge these trivial Attentions of Thought; as soon as we find the Mind makes it self a Buinefs of nothing, we should immediately disturb and check it, introduce new and more serious Considerations, and not leave till we have beaten it off from the Pursuit it was upon. This, at first, if we have let the contrary Practice grow to an Habit, will perhaps be difficult; but constant Endeavours will by degrees prevail, and at last make it efficacious. And when a Man is pretty well advanced, and can command his Mind off at Pleasure from incidental and undesigned Pursuits, it may not be amifs for him to go on farther, and make Attempts upon Meditations of greater Moment, that at last he may have a full Power over his own Mind, and be so fully Master of his own Thoughts, as to be able to transfer them from one Subject to another, with the same Ease that he can lay by any thing he has in his Hand, and take something else.
Of the Conduct, &c.

that he has a Mind to in the room of it. This Liberty of Mind is of great Use both in Business and Study, and he that has got it will have no small Advantage of Safe and Dispatch in all that is the choicest and useful Employment of his Understanding.

The third and last way which I mention'd the Mind to be sometimes taken up with, I mean the Chiming of some particular Words or Sentence in the Memory, and, as it were, making a Noise in the Head, and the like, seldom happens, but when the Mind is lazy or very loosely and negligently employ'd. It were better indeed be without such impertinent and useless Repetitions. Any obvious Idea, when it is roving causally at a venture, being of more Use, and apter to suggest something worth Consideration, than the insignificant Buzz of purely empty Sounds. But since the Rousing of the Mind, and Setting the Understanding on work with some degrees of Vigour, does for the most part presently set it free from these idle Companions; it may not be amis, whenever we find our selves troubled with them, to make use of so profitable a Remedy that is always at hand.
AN EXAMINATION OF P. MALEBRANCHE'S OPINION OF Seeing all Things in GOD.

1. The acute and ingenious Author of the *Recherche de la Verité*, among a great many very fine Thoughts, judicious Reasonings, and uncommon Reflections, has in that Treatise started the Notion of *Seeing all things in God*, as the best way to explain the Nature and Manner of the Ideas in our Understanding. The Desire I had to have my unaffected Ignorance remov'd, has made it necessary for me to see, whether this Hypothesis, when examin'd, and the Parts of it put together, can be thought to cure our Ignorance, or is intelligible and satisfactory to one who would not deceive himself, take Words for Things, and think he knows what he knows not.

2. This I observe at the Entrance, that *P. Malebranche* having enumerated, and in the following Chapters shew'd the Difficulties of the other Ways, whereby he thinks human Understanding may be attempted to be explain'd, and how insufficient they are to give a satisfactory Account of the Ideas we have, erects this of *Seeing all things in God* upon their Ruin, as the true, because it is impossible to find a better. Which Argument so far being only *Argumentum ad Ignorantiam*, looses all its Force as soon as we consider the Weakness of our Minds, and the Narrowness of our Capacities, and have but Humility enough to allow, that there may be many things which we cannot fully comprehend, and that God is not bound in all he does to subject his ways of Operation to the Scrutiny of our Thoughts, and confine himself to do nothing but what we must comprehend. And it will very little help to cure my Ignorance, that this is the best of four or five Hypotheses propos'd, which are all defective; if this too has in it what is inconsistent with it self, or unintelligible to me.

3. The
3. The P. Malebranche's *Recherche de la Vérité*, l. 3. p. 2. c. 1. tells us, that whatever the Mind perceives must be actually present and intimately united to it. That the things that the Mind perceives are its own Sensations, Imagination, or Notions; which being in the Soul, the Modifications of it need no Ideas to represent them. But all things exteriour to the Soul we cannot perceive but by the Intervention of Ideas, supposing that the things themselves cannot be intimately united to the Soul. But because Spiritual things may possibly be united to the Soul, therefore he thinks it probable that they can discover themselves immediately without Ideas; though of this he doubts, because he believes not there is any Substance purely intelligible, but that of God; and that though Spirits can possibly unite themselves to our Minds; yet at present we cannot entirely know them. But he speaks here principally of material things, which he says certainly cannot unite themselves to our Souls in such a manner, as is necessary that it should perceive them; because being extended, the Soul not being fo, there is no Proportion between them.

4. This is the Sum of his Doctrine contained in the 1st Ch. of the 3d Part of the 3d Book, as far as I can comprehend it. Wherein, I confess, there are many Expressions, which carrying with them, to my Mind, no clear Ideas, are like to remove but little of my Ignorance by their Sounds. V. g. *What it is to be intimately united to the Soul.* What it is for two Souls or Spirits to be intimately united; for intimate Union being an Idea taken from Bodies, when the Parts of one get within the Surface of the other, and touch their inward Parts: What is the Idea of intimate Union, I must have, between two Beings that hath neither of them any Extension or Surface? And if it be not so explain'd as to give me a clear Idea of that Union, it will make me understand very little more of the Nature of the Ideas in my Mind, when 'tis said I see them in God, who being intimately united to the Soul exhibits them to it; than when it is only said they are by the Appointment of God produced in the Mind by certain Motions of our Bodies, to which our Minds are united. Which, however imperfect a way of explaining this Matter, will still be as good as any other, that does not by clear Ideas remove my Ignorance of the Manner of my Perception.

5. But he says that *certainly material things cannot unite themselves to our Souls.* Our Bodies are united to our Souls, yes; but, says he, not after a manner which is necessary that the Soul may perceive them. Explain this Manner of Union, and shew wherein the Difference consists betwixt the Union necessary and not necessary to Perception, and then I shall confess this Difficulty removed. The Reason that he gives why *material things cannot be united to our Souls after a manner that is necessary to the Soul's perceiving them,* is this, viz. That material things being extended, and the Soul not, there is no Proportion between them. This, if it shews any thing, shews only that a Soul and a Body cannot be united, because one has Surface to be united by, and the other none. But it shews not why a Soul united to a Body, as our's is, cannot, by that Body, have the Idea of a Triangle existed in it, as well as by being united to God (between whom and the Soul there is as little Proportion, as between any Creature immaterial or material and the Soul) feel in God the Idea of a Triangle that is in him, since we cannot conceive a Triangle, whether seen in Matter, or in God, to be without Extension.

6. He says, *There is no Substance purely intelligible but that of God.* Here again I must confess my self in the Dark, having no Notion at all of the Substance of God; nor being able to conceive how his is more intelligible than any other Substance.

7. One thing more there is, which, I confess, stumbles me in the very Foundation of this Hypothesis, which stands thus; we cannot perceive any thing but what is intimately united to the Soul. The Reason why some things (viz. material) cannot be intimately united to the Soul, is, because there is no Proportion between the Soul and them. If this be a good Reason, it follows, that the greater the Proportion there is between the Soul and any other Being, the better, and more intimately they can be united. Now then I ask, whether there be a greater Proportion between God, an Infinite Being, and the Soul, or between Finite Created Spirits and the Soul? And yet the Author says, that
that he believes that there is no Substance purely intelligible but that of God, and that we cannot entirely know created Spirits at present. Make this out upon your Principles of Intimate Union and Proportion, and then they will be of some Use to the clearing of your Hypothesis, otherwise Intimate Union and Proportion are only Sounds serving to amuse, not instruct us.

8. In the Cloze of this Chapter he enumerates the several Ways whereby he thinks we come by Ideas, and compares them severally with his own way. Which how much more intelligible it is than either of those, the following Chapters will shew; to which I shall proceed, when I have observed that it seems a bold Determination, when he says, that it must be one of these Ways, and we can see Objects no other. Which Assertion must be built on this good Opinion of our Capacities; that God cannot make the Creatures operate, but in ways conceivable to us. That we cannot difcourse and reason about them farther than we conceive, is a great Truth: And 'twould be well if we would not, but would ingenuously own the Shortness of our Sight where we do not see. To say there can be no other, because we conceive no other, does not, I confess, much instruct. And if I should say, that 'tis possible God has made our Souls so, and so united them to our Bodies, that, upon certain Motions made in our Bodies by external Objects, the Soul should have such or such Perceptions or Ideas, though in a Way unconceivable to us; this perhaps would appear as true and as instructive a Proposition as what is so positively laid down.

9. Tho' the Peripatetick Doctrine of the Species does not at all satisfy me, yet I think it were not hard to shew, that it is as easy to account for the Difficulties he charges on it, as for those his own Hypothesis is laden with. But it being not my Business to defend what I do not understand, nor to prefer the Learned Gibberish of the Schools, to what is yet unintelligible to me in P.M. I shall only take notice of so much of his Objections, as concerns what I guess to be the Truth. Though I do not think any material Species, carrying the Refemblance of Things by a continual Flux from the Body we perceive, bring the Perception of them to our Senses; yet I think the Perception we have of Bodies at a Distance from our's, may be accounted for, as far as we are capable of understanding it, by the Motion of Particles of Matter coming from them and striking on our Organs. In Feeling and Tasting there is immediate Contact. Sound is not unintelligibly explained by a vibrating Motion communicated to the Medium, and the Effluvia of odorous Bodies, will, without any great Difficulties, account for Smells. And therefore P.M. makes his Objections only against visible Species, as the most difficult to be explained by material Causes; as indeed they are. But he that shall allow external Sensibilities in the Particles of Light, and exceeding Swiftness in their Motion; and the great Porosity that must be granted in Bodies, (if we compare Gold, which wants them not, with Air, the Medium wherein the Rays of Light come to our Eyes, and that of a Million of Rays that rebound from any visible Area of any Body, perhaps the ... or ... Part coming to the Eye, is enough to move the Retina sufficiently to cause a Sensation in the Mind) will not find any great Difficulty in the Objections are brought from the Impenetrability of Matter; and these Rays ruffling and breaking one another in the Medium which is full of them. As to what is said, that from one Point we can see a great Number of Objects, that is no Objection against the Species, or visible Appearances of Bodies, being brought into the Eye by the Rays of Light; for the Bottom of the Eye or Retina, which, in regard of these Rays, is the Place of Vision, is far from being a Point. Nor is it true, that the Eye be in any one place; yet that the Sight is performed in one Point; i.e. That the Rays that bring those visible Species do all meet in a Point; for they cause their distinct Sensations, by striking on distinct parts of the Retina, as is plain in Opticks; and the Figure they paint there must be of some considerable Bigness, since it takes up on the Retina an Area whose Diameter is at least Thirty Seconds of a Circle, whereof the Circumference is in the Retina, and the Centre somewhere in the Crystalline: as a little Skill in Opticks will manifest to any one that considers, that few Eyes can perceive an Object less than Thirty Minutes of a Circle, whereof the Eye is the Centre. And,
And, he that will but reflect on that seeming odd Experiment of seeing only the two outward ones of three Bits of Paper stuck up against a Wall, at about half a Foot, or a Foot one from another, without seeing the middle one at all, whilst his Eye remains fixed in the same posture, must confess that Vision is not made in a Point, when 'tis plain, that looking with one Eye there is always one part between the Extremes of the Area that we see, which is not seen at the same time that we perceive the Extremes of it; though the looking with two Eyes, or the quick turning of the Axis of the Eye to the part we would distinctly view, when we look but with one, does not let us take notice of it.

10. What I have here said I think sufficient to make intelligible, how by material Rays of Light visible Species may be brought into the Eye, notwithstanding any of P. M's Objections against so much of material Causes, as my Hypothesis is concern'd in. But when by this means an Image is made on the Retina, how we see it, I conceive no more than when I am told we see it in God. How we see it, is, I confess, what I understand not in the one or in the other, only it appears to me more difficult to conceive a distinct visible Image in the uniform unvariable Essence of God, than in variously modifiable Matter; but the Manner how I see either, still escapes my Comprehension. Impressions made on the Retina by Rays of Light, I think I understand; and Motions from thence continued to the Brain may be conceived, and that these produce Ideas in our Minds, I am persuaded, but in a manner to me incomprehensible. This I can resolve only into the good Pleasure of God, whose Ways are past finding out. And, I think, I know it as well when I am told there are Ideas that the Motion of the Animal Spirits, by a Law establish'd by God, produces in me, as when I am told they are Ideas I see in God. The Ideas 'tis certain I have, and God both ways is the original Cause of my having them; but the Manner how I come by them, how it is that I perceive, I confess I understand not; though it be plain Motion has to do in the producing of them: And Motion so modified, is appointed to be the Cause of our having of them; as appears by the curious and artificial Structure of the Eye, accommodated to all the Rules of Refraction and Dioptricks, that so visible Objects might be exactly and regularly painted on the Bottom of the Eye.

11. The Change of Bigness in the Ideas of visible Objects, by Distance and Optick-Glasses, which is the next Argument he uses against visible Species, is a good Argument against them, as suppos'd by the Peripatetics, but when consider'd, would persuade one that we see the Figures and Magnitudes of Things rather in the Bottom of our Eyes than in God; the Idea we have of them and their Grandure being still proportion'd to the Bigness of the Area, on the Bottom of our Eyes, that is affected by the Rays which paint the Image there, and we may be said to see the Picture in the Retina, as when it is prick'd, we are truly said to feel the Pain in our Finger.

12. In the next place where he says, that when we look on a Cube we see all its sides equal. This, I think, is a Mistake; and I have in another place shewn, how the Idea we have from a regular Solid, is not the true Idea of that Solid, but such an one as by Custom (as the name of it does) serves to excite our Judgment to form such an one.

13. What he says of seeing an Object several Millions of Leagues, the very fame Instant that it is uncover'd, I think may be shewn to be a Mistake in Matter of Fact. For by Observations made on the Satellites of Jupiter, it is discover'd that Light is successively propagated, and is about ten Minutes coming from the Sun to us.

14. By what I have said, I think it may be underfstood how we may conceive, that from remote Objects material Causes may reach our Sensnes, and therein produce several Motions that may be the Causes of Ideas in us; notwithstanding what P. M. has said in this second Chapter against Material Species. I confess his Arguments are good against those Species as usually underfstood by the Peripatetics; But, since my Principles have been said to be conformable to the Aristotelian Philosophy, I have endeavoured to remove the Difficulties it is charged with, as far as my Opinion is concerned in them.

15. His
His third Chapter is to confute the Opinion of those who think our Minds have a Power to produce the Ideas of Things on which they would think, and that they are excited to produce them by the Impressions which Objects make on the Body. One who thinks Ideas are nothing but Perceptions of the Mind annex’d to certain Motions of the Body by the Will of God, who hath order’d such Perceptions always to accompany such Motions, though we know not how they are produced, does in effect conceive those Ideas or Perceptions to be only Passions of the Mind, when produced in it, whether we will or no, by external Objects. But he conceives them to be a Mixture of Action and Passion when the Mind attends to them or revives them in the Memory. Whether the Soul has such a Power as this, we shall perhaps have occasion to consider hereafter; and this Power our Author does not deny, since in this very Chapter he says, when we conceive a Square by pure Understanding, we can yet imagine it, i.e., perceive it in our selves by tracing an Image of it on the Brain. Here then he allows the Soul power to trace Images on the Brain, and perceive them. This, to me, is Matter of new Perplexity in this Hypothesis; for if the Soul be so united to the Brain as to trace Images on it, and perceive them, I do not see how this consuits with what he says a little before in the first Chapter, viz., That certainly material Things cannot be united to our Souls after a manner necessary to its perceiving them.

That which is said about Objects exciting Ideas in us by Motion; and our reviving the Ideas we have once got in our Memories, does not, I confess, fully explain the manner how it is done. In this I frankly avow my Ignorance, and I should be glad to find in him any thing that would clear it to me; but in his Explications I find these difficulties which I cannot get over.

The Mind cannot produce Ideas, says he, because they are real Spiritual Beings, i.e., Substances; for so is the Conclusion of that Paragraph, where he mentions it as an Aburdity to think they are annihilated when they are not present to the Mind. And the whole Force of this Argument would persuade one to understand him so; though I do not remember that he anywhere speaks it out, or in direct Terms calls them Substances.

I shall here only take notice how inconceivable it is to me, that a Spiritual, i.e., an unextended Substance should represent to the Mind an extended Figure, e.g., a Triangle of unequal sides, or two Triangles of different Magnitudes. Next, supposing I could conceive an unextended Substance to represent a Figure, or be the Idea of a Figure, the Difficulty still remains to conceive how it is my Soul feels it. Let this Substantial Being be ever so pure, and the Picture ever so clear; yet how we feel it, is to me inconceivable. Intimate Union, were it as intelligible of two unextended Substances, as of two Bodies, would not yet reach Perception, which is something beyond Union. But yet a little lower he agrees, that an Idea is not a Substance, but yet affirms, 'tis a Spiritual Thing: This Spiritual Thing therefore must either be a Spiritual Substance, or a Mode of a Spiritual Substance, or a Relation; for besides these I have no Conception of any thing. And if any shall tell me it is a Mode, it must be a Mode of the Substance of God; which, besides that it will be strange to mention any Modes in the simple Essence of God; who overwells shall propose any such Modes, as a way to explain the Nature of our Ideas, propostes to me something unconceivable, as a means to conceive what I do not yet know; and so bating a new Phrase, teaches me nothing, but leaves me as much in the dark as one can be where he conceives nothing. So that supposing Ideas real Spiritual Things never so much, if they are neither Substances nor Modes, let them be what they will, I am no more instructed in their Nature, than when I am told they are Perceptions, such as I find them. And I appeal to my Reader, whether that Hypothesis be to be prefer’d for its Easiness to be understood, which is explain’d by real Beings, that are neither Substances nor Modes.

In the fourth Chapter he proves, that we do not see Objects by Ideas that are created with us; because the Ideas we have even of one very simple Figure, e.g., a Triangle, are not infinite, though there may be infinite Triangles. What this proves I will not here examine; but the Reason he gives being built on his Hypotheses, I cannot get over, and that is, That 'tis not for Vol. III.
want of Ideas, or that infinite is not present, to see, but is only for want of Capacity and Extent of our Souls, because the Extension of our Spirits is very narrow and limited. To have a limited Extension, is to have some Extension which agrees but ill with what is before said of our Souls, that they have no Extension. By what he says here and in other places, one would think he were to be understood, as if the Soul, being but a small Extension, could not at once receive all the Ideas conceivable in infinite Space, because but a little Part of that infinite Space can be applied to the Soul at once. To conceive thus of the Soul’s intimate Union with an infinite Being, and by that Union receiving of Ideas, leads one as naturally into as gross Thoughts, as a Country-Maid would have of an infinite Butter-print, in which were ingraven Figures of all Sorts and Sizes, the several Parts whereof, as there was occasion, applied to her Lump of Butter, left on it the Figure or Idea there was present need of. But whether any one would thus explain our Ideas, I will not say, only I know not well how to understand what he says here, with what he says before of Union in a better Sense.

20. He farther says, that had we a Magazine of all Ideas that are necessary for seeing things, they would be of no Use, since the Mind could not know which to choose, and yet before it fell to see the Sun. What he here means by the Sun, is hard to conceive, and according to his Hypothesis of Seeing all things in God, how can he know that there is any such real Being in the World as the Sun? Did he ever see the Sun? No, but on occasion of the Presence of the Sun to his Eyes, he has seen the Idea of the Sun in God, which God has exhibited to him; but the Sun, because it cannot be united to his Soul, he cannot see. How then does he know that there is a Sun which he never saw? And since God does all things by the most compendious ways, what need is there that God should make a Sun that we might see its Idea in him when he pleased to exhibit it, when this might as well be done without any real Sun at all?

21. He farther says, that God does not actually produce in us as many new Ideas as we every Moment perceive different things. Whether he has prov’d this or no, I will not examine.

22. But he says, That we have at all times actually in our selves the Ideas of all things. Then we have always actually in our selves the Ideas of all Triangles, which was but now denied, but we have them confusedly. If we see them in God, and they are not in him confusedly, I do not understand how we can see them in God confusedly.

23. In the fifth Chapter he tells us All things are in God, even the most Corporeal and Earthly, but after a manner altogether Spiritual, and which we cannot comprehend. Here therefore He and I are alike ignorant of these good Words; material things are in God after a Spiritual manner, signified nothing to either of us; and Spiritual manner, signifies no more but this, that material things are in God immaterially. This and the like are ways of speaking, which our Vanity has found out to cover, not remove our Ignorance. But material things are in God, because their Ideas are in God, and those Ideas which God had of them before the World was created, are not at all different from himself. This seems to me to come very near saying, not only that there is Variety in God, since we see Variety in what is not different from himself; but that material things are God, or a Part of him; which, though I do not think to be what our Author designes; yet thus I fear he must be forc’d to talk, who thinks he knows God’s Understanding so much better than his own, that he will make use of the Divine Intellect to explain the Human.

24. In the sixth Chapter he comes more particularly to explain his own Doctrine, where he first says, the Ideas of all Being are in God. Let it be so, God has the Idea of a Triangle, of a Horse, of a River just as we have; for hitherto this signifies no more, for we see them as they are in him; and to the Ideas that are in him, are the Ideas we perceive. Thus far I then understand God hath the same Ideas we have. This tells us indeed that there are Ideas, which was agreed before, and I think no Body denies; but tells me not yet what they are.

25. Ha-
25. Having said that they are in God, the next thing he tells us is, that we can see them in God. His Proof, that our Souls can see them in God, is because God is most straitly united to our Souls by his Presence, inasmuch as one may say, God is the place of Spirits, as Spaces are the places of Bodies; in which there is not, I confess, one Word that I can understand. For, first, in what Sense can he say, that Spaces are the places of Bodies; when he makes Body and Space, or Extension, to be the same thing? So that I do no more understand what he means, when he says, Spaces are the places of Bodies, than if he had said, Bodies are the places of Bodies. But when this Simile is applied to God and Spirits, it makes this saying, that God is the place of Spirits, either to be meerly Metaphorical, and so signifies literally nothing, or else being literal, makes us conceive that Spirits move up and down, and have their Distances and Intervals in God, as Bodies have in Space. When I am told in which of these Sense he is to be understood, I shall be able to see how far it helps us to understand the Nature of Ideas. But is not God as straitly united to Bodies as to Spirits? For he is also present, even where they are, but yet they see not these Ideas in him. He therefore adds, That the Soul can see in God the Works of God, supposing God would discover to it what there is in him to represent them, viz. the Ideas that are in him. Union therefore is not the Cause of this seeing; for the Soul may be united to God, and yet not see the Ideas are in him, till he discovers them to it; so that after all I am but where I was. I have Ideas, that I know, but I would know what they are; and to that I am yet only told, that I see them in God. I ask how I see them in God? and 'tis answer'd, by my intimate Union with God, for he is every where present. I answer, if that were enough, Bodies are also intimately united with God, for he is everywhere present; besides, if that were enough, I should see all the Ideas that are in God. No, but only those that he pleases to discover. Tell me where in this Discovery lies, besides barely making me see them, and you explain the Manner of my having Ideas: Otherwise all that has been said amounts to no more but this, that I have those Ideas that it pleases God I should have, but by Ways that I know not; and of this Mind I was before, and am not got one jot farther.

26. In the next Paragraph he calls them Beings, representative Beings. But whether these Beings are Substances, Modes, or Relations, I am not told; and so by being told they are Spiritual Beings, I know no more but that they are something, I know not what, and that I knew before.

27. To explain this Matter a little farther, he adds, It must be observed, that it cannot be concluded, that Souls see the Essence of God, in that they see all things in God; because what they see is very imperfect, and God is very perfect. They see Matter divisible, figured, &c. and in God there is nothing divisible and figured: For God is all Being, because he is Infinite, and comprehends all things; but he is not any Being in particular. Whereas what we see is but one or more Beings in particular; and we do not at all comprehend that perfect Simplicity of God which contains all Beings. Moreover, one may say, that we do not so much see the Ideas of things, as the things themselves, which the Ideas represent. For when, for Example, one sees a Square, one says not that one sees the Idea of a Square, which is united to the Soul, but only the Square that is without. I do not pretend not to be short-sighted; but if I am not duller than ordinary, this Paragraph shews, that P.M. himself is at a stand in this Matter, and comprehends not what it is we see in God, or how. C. 4. he says, in express Words, that it is necessary that at all times we should have actually in our selves the Ideas of all things. And in this very Chapter, a little lower, he says, that all Beings are present to our Minds, and that we have general Ideas antecedent to particular. And, C. 8. that we are never without the general Idea of Being: And yet here he says, that which we see is but one or more Beings in particular. And after having taken a great deal of Pains to prove, that we cannot possibly see things themselves, but only Ideas; here he tells us we do not so much see the Ideas of things as the things themselves. In this Uncertainty of the Author what 'tis we see, I am to be excus'd, if my Eyes see not more clearly in his Hypothesis than he himself does.

28. He farther tells us in this fifth Chapter, that we see all Beings, because God wills that That which is in him that represents them should be discovered to us. This tells us only, that there are Ideas of things in God, and that we see
them when he pleases to discover them; but what does this shew us more of the Nature of those Ideas, or of the Discovery of them, wherein that consists, than he that says, without pretending to know what they are, or how they are made, that Ideas are in our Minds when God pleases to produce them there, by such Motions as he has appointed to do it? The next Argument for our seeing all things in God, is in these Words; But the strongest of all the Reasons is the manner in which the Mind perceives all things: It is evident, and all the World knows it by Experience, that when we would think of any thing in particular, we at first make our View upon all Beings, and afterwards we apply our Senses to the Consideration of the Object which we desire to think on. This Argument has no other Effect on me, but to make me doubt the more of the Truth of this Doctrine. First, Because this, which he calls the strongest Reason of all, is built upon Matter of Fact, which I cannot find to be so in my self. I do not observe, that when I would think of a Triangle, I first think of all Beings; whether these Words all Beings are to be taken here in their proper Sense, or very improperly for Being in general. Nor do I think my Country Neighbours do so, when they first wake in the Morning, who, I imagine, do not find it impossible to think of a lame Horse they have, or their blighted Corn, till they have run over in their Minds all Beings that are, and then pitch on Dapple; or else begin to think of Being in general, which is Being abstrated from all its inferior Species, before they come to think of the Fly in their Sheep, or the Tares in their Corn. For I am apt to think that the greatest part of Mankind very seldom, if ever at all, think of Being in general, i.e. abstrated from all its inferior Species and Individuals. But taking it to be so, that a Carrier when he would think of a Remedy for his gall'd Horse, or a Poor-boy for an Excuse for some Fault he has committed, begins with casting his Eye upon all things; how does this make out the Conclusion? Therefore we can defere to see all Objectis, whence it follows, that all Beings are present to our Minds. Which Prefence signifies that we see them, or else it signifies nothing at all. They are all actually always seen by us; which, how true, let every one judge.

29. The Words, wherein he pursues this Argument stand thus, Now it is indubitable that we cannot defere to see any particular Object without seeing it already, although confusedly, and in general. So that being able to defere to see all Beings, sometimes one, sometimes another, it is certain that all Beings are present to our Spirits; and it seems all Beings could not be present to our Spirits, but because God is present to them, i.e. he that contains all things in the Simplicity of his Being. I must leave it to others to judge how far it is blameable in me; but so it is, that I cannot make to my self the Links of this Chain to hang together; and methinks if a Man would have studied Obscurity, he could not have writ more unintelligible than this. We can defere to see all Beings, sometimes one, sometimes another; therefore we do already see all things, because we cannot defere to see any particular Object, but what we see already confusedly and in general. The Discourse here is about Ideas, which he says are real Things, and we see in God. In taking this along with me, to make it prove any thing, to his Purpose, the Argument mist, as it seems to me, stand thus: We can defere to have all Ideas, sometimes one, sometimes another; therefore we have already all Ideas, because we cannot defere to have any particular Idea, but what we have already confusedly and in general. What can be meant here by having any particular Idea confusedly and in general, I confess I cannot conceive, unlefs it be a Capacity in us to have them, and in that Sense the whole Argument amounts to no more but this: We have all Ideas, because we are capable of having all Ideas, and so proves not at all that we actually have them by being united to God, who contains them all in the Simplicity of his Being. That any thing else is, or can be meant by it, I do not see; for that which we defere to see, being nothing but what we see already (for if it can be any thing, the Argument falls and proves nothing) and that which we defere to see, being, as we are told here, something particular, sometimes one thing, sometimes another; that which we do see must be particular too; but how to see a particular thing in general, is past my Comprehension. I cannot conceive how a blind Man has the particular Idea of Scarlet confusedly.
futedly or in general, when he has it not at all; and yet that he might desire to have it, I cannot doubt, no more than I doubt that I can desire to perceive, or to have the Ideas of those things that God has prepar’d for those that love him, tho’ they be such as Eye hath not seen, nor Ear hath not heard, nor hath it enter’d into the Heart of Man to conceive, such as I have yet no Idea of. He who desires to know what Creatures are in Jupiter, or what God hath prepar’d for them that love him, hath, ’tis true, a Supposition that there is something in Jupiter, or in the Place of the Blessed; but if that be to have the particular Ideas of things there, enough to say that we see them already, no Body can be ignorant of any thing. He that has seen one thing hath seen all things; for he has got the general Idea of Something. But this is not, I confess, sufficient to convince me, that hereby we see all things in the Simplicity of God’s Being, which comprehends all things. For if the Ideas I see are all, as our Author tells us, real Beings in him, ’tis plain they must be so many real distinct Beings in him; and if we see them in him, we must see them as they are, distinct particular Things, and so shall not see them confusedly and in general. And what it is to see any Idea (to which I do not give a Name) confusedly, is what I do not well understand. What I see I see, and the Idea I see is distinct from all others that are not the same with it: Besides, I see them as they are in God, and as he shews them me. Are they in God confusedly? Or does he shew them me confusedly?

30. Secondly, This seeing of all things, because we can desire to see all things, he makes a Proof that they are present to our Minds; and if they be present, they can no ways be present but by the Presence of God, who contains them all in the Simplicity of his Being. This Reasoning seems to be founded on this, that the Reason of seeing all things, is their being present to our Minds; because God, in whom they are, is present. This, though the Foundation he seems to build on, is liable to a very natural Objection, which is, that then we should actually always see all things, because in God, who is present, they are all actually present to the Mind. This he has endeavoured to obviate, by saying we see all the Ideas in God, which he is pleas’d to discover to us; which indeed is an Answer to this Objection; but such an one as over-turns his whole Hypothesis, and renders it useless and as unintelligible as any of those he has for that Reason laid aside. He pretends to explain to us how we come to perceive any thing, and that is by having the Ideas of them present in our Minds; for the Soul cannot perceive things at a distance, or remote from it. And those Ideas are present to the Mind, only because God, in whom they are, is present to the Mind. This so far hangs together, and is of a piece. But when after this I am told, that their Presence is not enough to make them be seen, but God must do something farther to discover them to me, I am as much in the Dark as I was at first; and all this Talk of their Presence in my Mind explains nothing of the Way wherein I perceive them, nor ever will, till he also makes me understand, what God does more than make them present to my Mind, when he discovers them to me. For I think no Body denies, I am sure I affirm, that the Ideas we have, are in our Minds by the Will and Power of God; though in a way that we conceive not, nor are able to comprehend. God, says our Author, is strictly united to the Soul, and to the Ideas of things too. But yet that Presence or Union of their’s is not enough to make them be seen, but God must shew or exhibit them; and what does God do more than make them present to the Mind when he shews them? Of that there is nothing said to help me over this Difficulty, but that when God shews them, we see them; which in short seems to me to say only thus much, that when we have these Ideas we have them, and we owe the having of them to our Maker, which is to say no more than I do with my Ignorance. We have the Ideas of Figures and Colours by the Operation of exterior Objects on our Senses, when the Sun shews them us; but how the Sun shews them us, or how the Light of the Sun produces them in us; what, and how the Alteration is made in our Souls, I know not; nor does it appear, by any thing our Author says, that he knows any more what God does when he shews them us, or what it is that is done upon our Minds, since the Presence of them to our Minds, he confesses, does it not.

31. Thirdly,
An Examination of

31. Thirdly, One thing more is incomprehensible to me in this Matter, and that is, how the Simplicity of God's Being should contain in it a Variety of real Beings, so that the Soul can discern them in him distinctly one from another; it being said C. 5. That the Ideas in God are not different from God himself. This seems to me to express a Simplicity made up of Variety, a thing I cannot understand. God I believe to be a simple Being, that by his Wisdom knows all things, and by his Power can do all things; but how He does it, I think my sole force to comprehend, than to contain the Ocean in my Hand, or grasp the Universe with my Span. Ideas are real Beings, you say; if so, 'tis evident they must be distinct real Beings; for there is nothing more certain than that there are distinct Ideas; and they are in God, in whom we see them. There they are then actually distinct, or else we could not see them distinct in him. Now these distinct real Beings that are in God, are they either Parts, or Modifications of the Deity, or comprehended in him as Things in a place? For besides these three, I think we can scarce think of another way wherein we can conceive them to be in him, so that we can see them. For to say they are in him eminenter, is to say they are not in him actually and really to be seen, but only if they are in him eminenter, and we see them only in him, we can be said to see them only eminenter too. So that though it cannot be denied that God sees and knows all things; yet when we say we see all things in him, it is but a metaphorical Expression to cover our Ignorance, in a Way that pretends to explain our Knowledge; seeing things in God signifying no more than that we perceive them we know not how.

32. He farther adds, That he does not believe that one can well give an Account of the Manner wherein the Mind knows many abstract and general Truths, but by the Presence of him who can enlighten the Mind after a thousand different Fashions. It is not to be denied that God can enlighten our Minds after a thousand different Fashions; and it cannot also be denied, that those thousand different Fashions may be such, as we comprehend not one of them. The Question is, whether this Talk of seeing all things in God does make us clearly, or at all, comprehend one of them; if it did so to me, I should gratefully acknowledge that then I was ignorant of nine hundred ninety nine of the thousand, whereas I must yet confess my self ignorant of them all.

33. The next Paragraph, if it proves any thing, seems to me to prove that the Idea we have of God is God himself, it being Something as he says uncreated. The Ideas that Men have of God are so very different, that it would be very hard to say it was God himself. Nor does it avail to say they would all have the same, if they would apply their Minds to the Contemplation of Him; for this being brought here to prove that God is present in all Men's Minds, and that therefore they see Him, it must also, in my Prepossession, prove that He being immutably the same, and they seeing Him must needs see Him all alike.

34. In the next Section we are told that we have not only the Idea of Infinite, but before that of Finite. This being a thing of Experience, every one must examine himself; and it being my Misfortune to find it otherwise in my self, this Argument, of course, is like to have the least Effect on me, who therefore cannot so easily admit the Inference, viz. Thus the Mind perceives not one thing, but in the Idea it has of Infinite. And I cannot but believe many a Child can tell Twenty, have the Idea of a square Trencher, or a round Plate, and have the distinct clear Ideas of Two and Three, long before he has any Idea of Infinite at all.

35. The last Argument which he tells us is a Demonstration that we see all things in God, is this; God has made all things for himself; but if God made a Spirit or Mind, and gave it the Sun for its Idea, or the immediate Object of its Knowledge, God would have made that Spirit or Mind for the Sun, and not for himself. The natural Inference from this Argument seems to me to be this, therefore God has given himself for the Idea, or immediate Object of the Knowledge of all humane Minds. But Experience too manifestly contradicting this, our Author hath made another Conclusion, and says thus, It is necessary then that the Light which he gives the Mind, should make us know something that is in him, v. 8.
P. Malebranche's Opinion, &c.

v. g. Because all things that came from God cannot be but for God. Therefore a covetous Man fees in God the Money, and a Persian the Sun that he worships; and thus God is the immediate Object of the Minds, both of the one and the other. I confess this Demonstration is lost on me, and I cannot see the Force of it. All things, it is true, are made for God, i. e. for his Glory; and He will be glorified even by those rational Beings, who would not apply their Faculties to the Knowledge of him.

41. But the next Paragraph explains this. God could not then make a Soul for to know his Works, were it not that the Soul sees God after a Fashion in seeing his Works, just after such a Fashion, that if he never saw more of him, he would never know anything of a God, nor believe there was any such Being. A Child, as soon as he is born, sees a Candle, or before he can speak, the Ball he plays with; there he sees in God whom he has yet no Notion of. Whether this be enough to make us say that the Mind is made for God, and this be the Proof of it, other People must judge for themselves. I must own that if this were the Knowledge of God, which intelligent Beings were made for, I do not see but they might be made for the Knowledge of God without knowing anything of him; and those that deny him, were made for the Knowledge of him. Therefore I am not convinced of the Truth of what follows, That we do not see any one thing, but by the natural Knowledge which we have of God. Which seems to me a quite contrary Way of arguing to what the Apostle uses, where he says, that the invisible things of God are seen by the visible things that he has made. For it seems to me a quite contrary way of arguing, to say we see the Creator in, or by the Creatures, and we see the Creatures in the Creator. The Apostle begins our Knowledge in the Creatures, which lead us to the Knowledge of God, if we will make use of our Reason: Our Author begins our Knowledge in God, and by that leads us to the Creatures.

42. But to confirm his Argument, he says, All the particular Ideas we have of the Creatures are but Limitations of the Idea of the Creator. As for Example, I have the Idea of the Solidity of Matter, and of the Motion of Body, what is the Idea of God that either of these limits? And when I think of the Number Ten, I do not see how that any way concerns or limits the Idea of God.

38. The Distinction he makes a little lower between Sentiment and Idea, does not at all clear to me, but cloud his Doctrine. His Words are, It must be observed, that I do not say that we have the Sentiment of material things in God, but that it is from God that all is in us; for God knows sensible things, but feels them not. When we perceive any sensible thing, there is in our Perception Sentiment and pure Idea. If by Sentiment, which is the Word he uses in French, he means the Act of Sensation, or the Operation of the Soul in perceiving; and by pure Idea, the immediate Object of that Perception, which is the Definition of Ideas he gives us here in the first Chapter, there is some Foundation for it, taking Ideas for real Beings or Substances. But taken thus, I cannot see how it can be avoided, but that we must be said to smell a Rose in God, as well as to see a Rose in God; and the Scent of the Rose that we smell, as well as the Colour and Figure of the Rose that we see, must be in God; which seems not to be his Sense here, and does not well agree with what he says concerning the Ideas we see in God, which I shall consider in its due place. If by Sentiment here he means something that is neither the Act of Perception nor the Idea perceiv'd, I confess I know not what it is, nor have any Conception at all of it. When we see and smell a Violet, we perceive the Figure, Colour and Scent of that Flower. Here I cannot but ask whether all these three are pure Ideas, or all Sentiments? If they are all Ideas, then according to his Doctrine they are all in God; and then it will follow, that as I see the Figure of the Violet in God; so also I see the Colour of it, and smell the Scent of it in God, which way of Speaking he does not allow, nor can I blame him. For it shews a little too plainly the Absurdity of that Doctrine, if he should say we smell a Violet, taste Wormwood, or feel Cold in God; and yet I can find no Reason why the Action of one of our Senses is applied only to God, when we use them all as well as our Eyes in receiving Ideas. If the Figure, Colour and Smell are all of them Sentiments, then they are none of them in God, and so this whole Business of seeing in God...
God is out of doors. If (as by what he says in his Edairiflemet, it appears to me to be his Meaning) the Figure of the Violet be to be taken for an Idea, but its Colour and Smell for Sentiments : I confess it puzzles me to know by what Rule it is, that in a Violet the purple Colour, whereof whilst I write this I seem to have as clear an Idea in my Mind as of its Figure, is not as much an Idea as the Figure of it; especially, since he tells me in the first Chapter here, which is concerning the Nature of Ideas, that by this Word Idea be understood here nothing else, but what is the immediate or nearst Object of the Mind when it perceives any thing.

39. The Sentiment, says he in the next Words, is a Modification of our Soul. This Word Modification here, that comes in for Explanation, seems to me to signifie nothing more than the Word to be explained by it; e.g. I see the purple Colour of a Violet, this, says he, is Sentiment : I desire to know what Sentiment is? That, says he, is a Modification of the Soul. I take the Word, and desire to see what I can conceive by it concerning my Soul; and here, I confess, I can conceive nothing more, but that I have the Idea of Purple in my Mind, which I had not before, without being able to apprehend any thing the Mind does or suffers in this, besides barely having the Idea of Purple; and so the good Word Modification signifies nothing to me more than I knew before; e.g. That I have now the Idea of Purple in it, which I had not some Minutes since. So that though they say Sentations are Modifications of the Mind; yet having no manner of Idea what that Modification of the Mind is, distinct from that very Sentation, e.g. the Sentation of a red Colour or a bitter Taste; ’Tis plain this Explanation amounts to no more than that a Sentation is a Sentation, and the Sentation of Red or Bitter is the Sentation of Red or Bitter; for if I have no other Idea, when I say it is a Modification of the Mind, than when I say it is the Sentation of Red or Bitter, ’tis plain Sentation and Modification stand both for the same Idea, and so are but two Names of one and the same Thing. But to examine their Doctrine of Modification a little farther. Different Sentations are different Modifications of the Mind. The Mind or Soul that perceives, is one immaterial indivisible Substance. Now I see the White and Black on this Paper, I hear one singing in the next Room, I feel the Warmth of the Fire I fit by, and I taste an Apple I am eating, and all this at the same time. Now I ask, take Modification for what you please, can the same unextended indivisible Substance have different, nay inconsistent and opposite (as thebe of White and Black must be) Modifications at the same time? Or must we suppose distinct Parts in an indivisible Substance, one for black, another for white, and another for red Ideas, and so of the rest of those infinite Sentations which we have in Sorts and Degrees; all which we can distinctly perceive, and so are distinct Ideas, some whereof are opposite, as Heat and Cold, which yet a Man may feel at the same time? I was ignorant before how Sentation was performed in us: This they call an Explanation of it! Muff I say now I understand it better? If this be to cure one’s Ignorance, ’tis a very light Difease, and the Charm of two or three insignificant words will at any time remove it, probatum est. But let it signifie what it will when I recollect the Figure of one of the Leaves of a Violet, is not that a new Modification of my Soul, as well as when I think of its purple Colour? Does my Mind do or suffer nothing a-new when I see that Figure in God?

40. The Idea of that Figure, you say is in God; let it be so, but it may be there, and I not see it, that’s allow’d; when I come to see it, which I did not before, is there no new Modification, as you call it, of my Mind? If there be, then seeing of Figure in God, as well as having the Idea of Purple, is a Modification of the Mind, and this Distinction signifies nothing. If seeing that Figure in God now, which a Minute or two since I did not see at all, be no new Modification or Alteration in my Mind, no different Action or Passion from what was before, there is no Difference made in my Appre-hension between seeing and not seeing. The Ideas of Figures, our Author says, are in God, and are real Beings in God; and God being united to the Mind, these are also united to it. This all seems to me to have something very obscure and unconsiderable in it, when I come to examine Particulars; but
but let it be granted to be as clear as any one would suppose it; yet it reaches not the main Difficulty, which is in seeing. How after all do I see? The Ideas are in God, they are real Things, they are intimately united to my Mind, because God is fo, but yet I do not see them. How at last after all this Preparation, which hitherto is ineffectual, do I come to see them? And to that I am told, when God is pleased to discover them to me. This in good earnest seems to me to be nothing but going a great Way about to come to the same place, and this learned Circuit thus set out, brings me at last no farther than this, That I see or perceive, or have Ideas when it pleases God I should, but in a Way I cannot comprehend; and this I thought without all this ado.

41. This Sentiment he tells us in the next Words, 'tis God causes in us, and he can cause it in us, although he has it not, because he sees in the Idea that he has of our Soul, that it is capable of them. This I take to be laid to shew the Difference between Sentiments and Ideas in us. V.g. Figures and Numbers are Ideas, and they are in God. Colours and Smells, &c. are Sentiments in us, and not Ideas in God. First, As to our selves I ask, Why, when I recollect in my Memory a Violet, the Purple Colour as well as Figure is not an Idea in me? The making then the Picture of any visible thing in my Mind, as of a Landscape I have seen, composed of Figure and Colour, the Colour is not an Idea, but the Figure is an Idea, and the Colour a Sentiment. Every one I allow may use his Words as he pleases, but if it be to instruct others, he must, when he uses two Words where others use but one, shew some Ground of the Distinction. And I do not find but the Colour of the Marigold I now think of, is as much the immediate Object of my Mind, as its Figure; and so according to his Definition is an Idea. Next as to God, I ask whether before the Creation of the World, the Idea of the whole Marigold Colour as well as Figure was not in God? God, says he, can cause those Sentiments in us, because he sees in the Idea that he has of our Soul, that it is capable of them. God before he created any Soul, knew all that he would make it capable of. He resolved to make it capable of having the Perception of the Colour as well as Figure of a Marigold; he had then the Idea of that Colour that he resolved to make it capable of, or else he made it capable (with Reverence let it be spoken) of he knew not what. And if he knew what it should be capable of, he had the Idea of what he knew; for before the Creation there was nothing but God, and the Ideas he had. 'Tis true the Colour of that Flower is not actually in God, no more is its Figure actually in God; but we that can consider no other Understanding, but in Analogy to our own, cannot conceive otherwise but as the Ideas of the Figure, Colour and Situation of the Leaves of a Marigold is in our Minds, when we think of that Flower in the Night when we see it not; so it was in the Thoughts of God before he made that Flower. And thus we conceive him to have the Idea of the Smell of a Violet, of the Taste of Sugar, the Sound of a Lute or Trumpet, and of the Pain and Pleasure that accompanies any of these or other Sensations which he designed we should feel, though he never felt any of them; as we have the Ideas of the Taste of a Cherry in Winter, or the Pain of a Burn when it is over. This is what I think we conceive of the Ideas in God, which we must allow to have distinctly represented to him all that was to be in time, and consequently the Colours, Odures, and other Ideas they were to produce in us. I cannot be so bold as to pretend to say what those Ideas are in God, or to determine that they are real Beings; but this I think I may say, that the Idea of the Colour of a Marigold, or the Motion of a Stone, are as much real Beings in God, as the Idea of the Figure or Number of its Leaves.

42. The Reader must not blame me for making use here all along of the Word Sentiment, which is our Author's own, and I underlood it so little, that I knew not how to translate it into any other. He concludes, That he believes there is no Appearance of Truth in any other Ways of explaining these things, and that this of seeing all things in God, is more than probable. I have considered with as much Indifference and Attention as is possible; and I must own it appears to me as little or less intelligible than any of the rest; and the Sum-
mary of his Doctrine, which he here subjoyns, is to me wholly incompre-
hesible. His Words are, 

Thus our Souls depend on God all manner of ways: For
as it is he which makes them feel Pleasure and Pain, and all other Sensations, by the
natural Union which he has made between them and our Bodies, which is nothing else
but his Decree and general Will: So it is he, who by the natural Union which he has
made between the Will of Man, and the Representation of Ideas, which the Immen
ty of the Divine Being contains, makes them know all that they know; and this natural
Union is also nothing but his general Will.

This Phraze of the Union of our Will to the Ideas contain’d in God’s Immen
ty, seems to me a very strange one, and what Light it gives to his Doctrine I truly cannot find. It seems’d to un-
telligible to me, that I guess’d it an Error in the Print of the Edition I us’d, which was the 4to. Printed at Paris, 78, and therefore consulted the 8vo. Printed also at Paris, and found it Will in both of them. Here again the Im-
mensty of the Divine Being being mention’d as that which contains in it the Ideas
to which our Will’s are united; which Ideas being only those of Quantity, as
I shall shew hereafter, seems to me to carry with it a very gross Notion of this Matter, as we have above remark’d. But that which I take notice of principally here, is, that this Union of our Will’s to the Ideas contain’d in
God’s Immensty, does not all explain our seeing of them. This Union of our Will’s to the Ideas, or, as in other places, of our Souls to God, is, says he, nothing but the Will of God. And after this Union, our seeing them is only when God discourses them. I. e. our having them in our Minds, is noth-
ting but the Will of God; all which is brought about in a Way we compre
hend not. And what then does this explain more than when one says, our Souls are united to our Bodies by the Will of God, and by the Motion of some Parts of our Bodies? V. g. the Nerves or Animal Spirits have Ideas or Perceptions produc’d in them, and this is the Will of God. Why is not this as intelligible and as clear as the other? Here is the by Will of God given Union and Perception in both Cages; but how that Perception is made in both Ways, seems to me equally incomprehensible. In one, God discourses Ideas in himself to the Soul united to him when he pleases; and in the other, he discourses Ideas to the Soul, or produces Perception in the Soul united to the Body by Motion, according to Laws establis’d by the good Pleasure of his Will; but how it is done in the one or the other, I confess my Incapa
city to comprehend. So that I agree perfectly with him in his Conclusion, that there is nothing but God that can enlighten us; but a clear Comprehension of the Manner how He does it, I doubt I shall not have, till I know a great deal more of him and myself, than in this State of Darkness and Ignorance our Souls are capable of.

43. In the next, Chap. 7. he tells us, there are four Ways of knowing; the fi
rst is to know things by themselves: and thus, he says, We know God alone; and the Rea
son he gives of it is this, because at present he alone penetrates the Mind, and
discoveres himself to it.

First, I would know what it is to penetrate a thing that is unextended? These are Ways of speaking, which taken from Body, when they are applied to Spirit, signify nothing, nor shew us any thing but our Ignorance. To
God’s penetrating our Spirits, he joyns his discovering himself; as if one were the Cau
e of the other, and explain’d it: But I not conceiving any thing of the Penetration of an unextended thing, it is left upon me. But next God penetrates our Souls, and therefore we see him by a direct and immediate View, as he says in the following words. The Ideas of all things which are in
God, he elsewhere tells us, are not at all different from God himself; and if
God’s penetrating our Minds be the Cauze of our direct and immediate feel
ing God, we have a direct and immediate View of all that we see; for we see nothing but God and Ideas; and ’tis impossible for us to know that there is any thing else in the Universe; for since we see, and can see nothing but God and Ideas, how can we know there is any thing else which we neither

do nor can see? But if there be any thing to be understood by this Penetration of our Souls, and we have a direct View of God by this Penetration, why have we not also a direct and immediate View of other separate Spirits besides God? 
To this he says, that there is none but God alone who at present penetrates our
our Spirits. This he says, but I do not see for what Reason, but because it
suits with his Hypothesis: But he proves it not, nor goes about to do it, un-
less the direct and immediate View, he says, we have of God, be to be taken as
a Proof of it. But what is that direct and immediate View we have of God that
we have not of a Cherubim? The Ideas of Being, Power, Knowledge,
Goodness, Duration, make up the complex Idea we have of one and of the
other; but only that in the one we join the Idea of Infinite to each simple
Idea, that makes our complex one, but to the other, that of Finite. But
how have we a more direct or immediate View of the Idea of Power, Know-
ledge or Duration, when we consider them in God, than when we consider
them in an Angel? The View of these Ideas seem to be the same. Indeed
we have a clearer Proof of the Existence of God than of a Cherubim, but
the Idea of either, when we have it in our Minds, seems to me to be there by
an equally direct and immediate View. And 'tis about the Ideas which are in
our Minds that I think our Author's Enquiry here is, and not about the real
Existence of those things whereof we have Ideas, which are two very remote
things.

45. Perhaps 'tis God alone, says our Author, who can enlighten our Minds by his
Substance. When I know what the Substance of God is, and what it is to be
equiluminous by that Substance, I shall know what I also shall think of it; but at
present I confess my self in the Dark as to this Matter; nor do these good
Words of Substance and Enlightening, in the Way they are here used, help me
one Jet out of it.

46. He goes on, one cannot conceive, says he, that any thing created can represen-
t what is infinite. And I cannot conceive that there is any positive com-
prehensive Idea in any finite Mind that does represent it fully and clearly as
it is. I do not find that the Mind of Man has Infinity, positively and fully
represented to it, or comprehended by it; which must be, if his Argument
were true, that therefore God enlightens our Minds by his proper Substan-
t; because no created Thing is big enough to represent what is infinite; and
therefore what makes us conceive his Infinity, is the Presence of his own
infinite Substance in our Minds: Which to me manifestly supposes, that we
comprehend in our Minds God's infinite Substance, which is present to our
Minds; for if this be not the Force of his Argument, where he says, No-
ting created can represent what is infinite; the Being that is without Bounds, the
Being immense, the Being universal, cannot be perceived by an Idea, i.e. by a particular
Being, by a Being different from the universal infinite Being it self. It seems to me
that this Argument is founded on a Supposition of our comprehending the
infinite Substance of God in our Minds, or else I see not any Force in it, as
I have already said. I shall take notice of one or two things in it that con-
found me, and that is, that he calls God here the universal Being; which must
either signify that Being which contains, and is made up as one comprehen-
sive Aggregate of all the rest, in which Senec the Universe may be called the
universal Being; or else it must mean Being in general, which is nothing but
the Idea of Being abstracted from all inferior Divisions of that general No-
tion, and from all particular Existence. But in neither of these Senes can I
conceive God to be the universal Being, since I cannot think the Creatures
either to be a Part or a Species of him. Next he calls the Ideas that are in
God, particular Beings. I grant whatever exists is particular, it cannot be
otherwise; but that which is particular in Existence, may be universal in
Representation, which I take to be all the universal Beings we know, or
can conceive to be. But let universal or particular Beings be what they will,
I do not fee how our Author can say, that God is an universal Being, and
the Ideas we fee in him particular Beings; since he in another place tells us,
that the Ideas we see in God are not at all different from God. But, says
he, as to particular Beings it is not hard to conceive that they can be represented by the
infinite Being which contains them, and contains them after a very spiritual Manner,
and consequently very intelligible. It seems as impossible to me, that an infinite
simple Being, in whom there is no Varietie, nor Shadow of Variety, should
represent a finite Thing, as that a finite Thing should represent an infinite;
and I see how its containing all things in it after a very spiritual Manner, makes

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it so very intelligible; since I understand not what it is to contain a material thing spiritually, nor the Manner how God contains any thing in himself, but either as an Aggregate contains all things which it is made up of; and so indeed that Part of him may be seen, which comes within the Reach of our View. But this way of containing all things can by no means belong to God, and to make things thus visible in him, is to make the material World a Part of him, or else as having a Power to produce all things; and in this way, 'tis true, God contains all things in himself, but in a way not proper to make the Being of God a Representativ of those things to us; for then his Being being the Representativ of the Effects of that Power, it must represent to us all that he is capable of producing, which I do not find in my self that it does.

Secondly, The second way of knowing things, he tells us, is by Ideas, that is, by something that is different from them; and thus we know things when they are not intelligible by themselves, either because they are corporeal, or because they cannot penetrate the Mind, or disfigure themselves to it; and this is the way we know corporeal Things. This Reasoning I do not understand: For, Because I do not understand why a Line or a Triangle is not as intelligible as any thing that can be nam'd; for we must still carry along with us, that the Discourse here is about our Perception, or what we have any Idea or Conception of in our own Minds. Secondly, Because I do not understand what is meant by the penetrationing a Spirit; and till I can comprehend these upon which this Reasoning is built, this Reasoning cannot work on me. But from these Reasons he concludes, thus it is in God, and by their Ideas that we see Bodies and their Properties; and 'tis for this Reason that the Knowledge we have of them is most perfect. Whether others will think that what we see of Bodies, is seen in God, by seeing the Ideas of them that are in God, must be left to them. Why I cannot think so I have flown; but the Inference he makes here from it, I think, few will assent to, that we know Bodies and their Properties most perfectly. For who is there that can say, he knows the Properties either of Body in general, or of any one particular Body perfectly? One Property of Body in general, is to have Parts cohering and united together, for where-ever there is Body, there is Cohesion of Parts; but who is there that perfectly understands that Cohesion? And as for particular Bodies, who can say that he perfectly understands Gold or a Lodestone, and all its Properties? But to explain himself, he says, That the Idea we have of Extension, suffices to make us know all the Properties whereof Extension is capable, and that we cannot desire to have an Idea more distinct, and more fruitful of Extension, of Figures, and of Motions, than that which God has given us of them. This seems to me a strange Proof that we see Bodies and their Properties in God, and know them perfectly, because God has given us distinct and fruitful Ideas of Extension, Figure and Motion; for this had been the same whether God had given these Ideas by shewing them in himself, or by any other way; and his saying, that God has given us as distinct and fruitful Ideas of them as we can desire, seems as if our Author himself had some other Thoughts of them. If he thought we see them in God, he must think we see them as they are in themselves, and there would be no room for saying, God had given them us as distinct as we could desire: The calling them fruitful, shews this yet more; for one that thinks he sees the Ideas of Figures in God, and can see no Idea of a Figure but in God, with what Thought can he call any one of them Fecunda, which is said only of such things as produce others? Which Expression of his seems to proceed only from this Thought in him, That when I have once got the Idea of Extension, I can frame the Ideas of what Figures, and of what Bignefs I please. And in this I agree with him, as appears in what I have said L. 2. C. 13. But then this can by no means proceed from a Supposition, that I see these Figures only in God; for there they do not produce one another, but are there, as it were, in their first Pattern to be seen, just such, and so many as God is pleased to shew them to us. But 'twill be said, our Desire to see them is the occasional Cause of God's shewing them us, and so we see whatever Figure we desire. Let it be so, this does not make any Idea Fecunda, for here is no Production of one out of another: But as to the occasional Cause, can any
any one say that is so? I, or our Author, desire to see an Angle next in Greatness to a right Angle; did upon this God ever shew him or me such an Angle? That God knows, or has in himself the Idea of such an Angle, I think will not be deny'd; but that he ever shew'd it to any Man, how much soever he defir'd it, I think may be doubted. But after all, how comes it by this Means that we have a perfect Knowledge of Bodies and their Properties, when several Men in the World have not the fame Idea of Body, and this very Author and I differ in it? He thinks bare Extension to be Body; and I think Extension alone makes not Body, but Extension and Solidity; thus either he, or I, one of us, has a wrong and imperfect Knowledge of Bodies and their Properties. For if Bodies be Extension alone and nothing else, I cannot conceive how they can move and hit one against another, or what can make distinct Surfaces in an uniform simple Extension. A solid extended Thing I can conceive moveable; but then, if I have a clear View of Bodies and their Properties in God, I must see the Idea of Solidity in God, which yet I think by what our Author has said in his Esclairecements, he does not allow that we do. He says farther, That whereas the Ideas of things that are in God contain all their Properties, he that sees their Ideas may see sufficiently all their Properties. This seems to me not to concern our Ideas more, whether we see them in God, or have them otherwise. Any Idea that we have, whencesoever we have it, contains in it all the Properties it has, which are nothing but the Relations it has to other Ideas, which are always the same. What he says concerning the Properties, that we may sufficiently know them, is equally true, whether we see them in God, or have them by any other Means. They that apply them as they ought to the Consideration of their Ideas, may sufficiently come to the Knowledge of some of their Properties; but that they may know all their Properties, is more than I think the Reason proves, which he subjoins in these Words, For when one sees the things as they are in God, one sees them always in a most perfect manner. We see, for Example in God, the Idea of a Triangle, or a Circle; does it hence follow, that we can know all the Properties of either of them? He adds, that the Manner of seeing them would be infinitely perfect, if the Mind which sees them in God was infinite. I confess my self here not well to comprehend his Distinction between seeing after a manner [très-parfait] most perfect and infinitely perfect; he adds, That which is wanting to the Knowledge that we have of Extension, Figures and Motion, is not a Defect of the Idea which represents it, but of our Mind which considers it. It by Ideas be meant here the real Objects of our Knowledge, I easily agree, that the Want of Knowledge in us is a Defect in our Minds, and not in the things to be known. But if by Ideas be here meant the Perception or Representation of Things in the Mind, that I cannot but observe in my self to be very imperfect and defective, as when I desire to perceive what is the Substance of Body or Spirit, the Idea thereof fails me. To conclude, I see not what there is in this Paragraph that makes any thing for the Doctrine of seeing all things in God.

47. The third way of knowing is by Confusions or interiour Sentiments; and thus, he says, we know our Souls, and 'tis for this Reason that the Knowledge we have of them is imperfect, we know nothing of our Souls but what we feel within our selves. This Confusion of our Author brings me back, do what I can, to that Original of all our Ideas which my Thoughts led me to when I write my Book, viz. Sensation and Reflection; and therefore I am forc'd to ask any one who is of our Author's Principles, whether God had not the Idea of mine, or of an human Soul before he created it? Next whether that Idea of an human Soul be not as much a real Being in God as the Idea of a Triangle? If so, why does not my Soul, being intimately united to God, as well see the Idea of my Soul which is in him, as the Idea of a Triangle which is in him? And what Reason can there be given, why God shews the Idea of a Triangle to us, and not the Idea of our Souls, but this, That God has given us external Sensation to perceive the one, and none to perceive the other, but only internal Sensation to perceive the Operation of the latter? He that pleases may read what our Author says in the Remainder of this, and the two or three next Paragraphs, and see whether it carries him beyond where my Ignorance stopp'd, I must own that me it does not.

48. This
48. This, [i. e. the Ignorance we are in of our own Souls] says he, may serve to prove that the Ideas that represent any thing to us that is without us are not Modifications of our Souls; for if the Soul saw all things by considering its own proper Modifications, it should know more clearly its own Essence, or its own Nature than that of Bodies, and all the Sensations or Modifications whereof it is capable, than the Figures or Modifications of which Bodies are capable. In the mean time it knows not that it is capable of any such Sensation by Sight as it has of itself, but only by Experience; instead that it knows that Extension is capable of an infinite Number of Figures by the Idea that it has of Extension. There are, moreover, certain Sensations, as Colours and Sounds, which the greatest part of Men cannot discover whether they are Modifications of the Soul; and there are Figures which all Men do not discover by the Idea of Extension to be Modifications of Bodies. This Paragraph is, as he tells us, to prove, That the Ideas that represent to us something without us, are not Modifications of the Soul; but instead of that, it seems to prove that Figure is the Modification of Space, and not of our Souls. For it this Argument had tended to prove, That the Ideas that represent any thing without us were not Modifications of the Soul, he should not have put the Mind's not knowing what Modifications it felt was capable of, and knowing what Figures Space was capable of, in Opposition one to another; but the Antithesis must have lain in this, that the Mind knew it was capable of the Perception of Figure or Motion without any Modification of it felt, but was not capable of the Perception of Sound or Colour without a Modification of it felt. For the Quotation here is not whether Space be capable of Figure, and the Soul not; but whether the Soul be capable of perceiving, or having the Idea of Figure, without a Modification of it felt, and not capable of having the Idea of Colour without a Modification of it felt. I think now of the Figure, Colour and Hardness of a Diamond that I saw some time since: In this Case I desire to be inform'd how my Mind knows that the Thinking on, or the Idea of the Figure, is not a Modification of the Mind; but the Thinking on, or having an Idea of the Colour or Hardness is a Modification of the Mind? 'Tis certain there is some Alteration in my Mind when I think of a Figure which I did not think of before, as well as when I think of a Colour that I did not think of before. But one I am told is seeing it in God, and the other a Modification of my Mind. But supposing one is seeing in God, is there no Alteration in my Mind between seeing and not seeing? And is that to be called a Modification or no? For when he says seeing a Colour, and hearing a Sound, is a Modification of the Mind, what does it signify but an Alteration of the Mind from not perceiving to perceiving that Sound or Colour? And so when the Mind sees a Triangle, which it did not see before, what is this but an Alteration of the Mind from not seeing to seeing, whether that Figure be seen in God or no? And why is not this Alteration of the Mind to be called a Modification, as well as the other? Or indeed what Service does that Word do us in the one Case or the other, when it is only a new Sound brought in without any new Conception at all? For my Mind when it sees a Colour or Figure is alter'd, I know, from the not having such or such a Perception to the having it; but when, to explain this, I am told that either of these Perceptions is a Modification of the Mind, what do I conceive more, than that from not having such a Perception my Mind is come to have such a Perception? Which is what I as well knew before the Word Modification was made use of, which by its Use has made me conceive nothing more than what I conceived before.

49. One thing I cannot but take notice of here by the bye, that he says, That the Soul knows that Extension is capable of an infinite Number of Figures by the Idea it has of Extension, which is true. And afterwards he says, that there are no Figures, which all Men do not discover by the Idea they have of Extension to be Modifications of Body. One would wonder why he did not say Modifications of Extension, rather than as he does the Modifications of Body, they being discovered by the Idea of Extension; but the Truth would not bear such an Expression. For 'tis certain that in pure Space or Extension, which is not terminated, there is truly no Distinction of Figures, but in different Bodies that are terminated there are different Figures, because simple Space or Extension, being in itself uniform, inseparable, immovable, has in it no such Modifications or Distinction.
function of Figures. But it is capable, as he says, but of what? Of Bodies of all sorts of Figures and Magnitudes, without which there is no Distinction of Figures in Space. Bodies that are solid, separable, terminated and moveable, have all sorts of Figures, and they are Bodies alone that have them: And so Figures are properly Modifications of Bodies, for pure Space is not any where terminated nor can be, whether there be or be not Body in it, it is uniformly continued on. This that he plainly said here, to me plainly shews that Body and Extension are two Things, though much of our Author's Doctrine be built upon their being one and the same.

50. The next Paragraph is to shew us the Difference between Ideas and Sentiments in this, that Sentiments are not tied to Words; so that he that never had seen a Colour, or felt Heat, could never be made to have those Sensations by all the Definitions one could give him of them. This is true of what he calls Sentiments; and as true alfo of what he calls Ideas. Shew me one who has not got by Experience, i.e. by seeing or feeling the Idea of Space or Motion, and I will as soon by Words make one, who never felt what Heat is, have a Conception of Heat, as he, that has not by his Senses perceiv'd what Space or Motion is, can by Words be made to conceive either of them. The Reason why we are apt to think these Ideas belonging to Extension, got another way than other Ideas, is because our Bodies being extended, we cannot avoid the Distinction of Parts in our selves; and all that is for the Support of our Lives, being by Motion apply'd to us, it is impossible to find any one who has not by Experience got those Ideas; and so by the Ufe of Language learnt what Words stand for them, which by Cuffom came to excite them in his Mind, as the Names of Heat and Pleasure do excite in the Mind of thofe who have by Experience got them, the Ideas they are by Ufe annexed to. Not that Words or Definitions can teach or bring into the Mind one more than another of thofe I call fimple Ideas; but can by Ufe excite them in thofe, who having got them by Experience, know certain Sounds to be by Ufe annexed to them as the Signs of them.

51. Fourthly, The fourth way of knowing, he tells us, is by Conjejïure, and thus only we know the Souls of other Men, and pure Intelligences, i.e. We know them not at all; but we probably think there are such Beings really existing in rerum natura. But this looks to me besides our Author's business here, which seems to be to examine what Ideas we have, and how we came by them. So that the Thing here consider'd, should in my Opinion be, not whether there were any Souls of Men or pure Intelligences any where existing, but what Ideas we have of them, and how we came by them. For when he says, we know not Angels, either in themfelves, or by their Ideas, or by Conjejïures, what is in that place does Angel signifie? What Idea in him does itstand for? Or is it the Sign of no Idea at all, and so a bare Sound without Signification? He that reads this seventh Chapter of his with Attention, will find that we have simple Ideas as far as our Experience reaches, and no farther. And beyond that we know nothing at all, no not even what thofe Ideas that are in us, but only that they are Perceptions in the Mind, but how made we cannot comprehend.

52. In his EléAirçements on the Nature of Ideas, p. 535. of the Quarto Edition, he says, that he is certain that the Ideas of Things are unchangeable. This I cannot comprehend, for how can I know that the Picture of any Thing is like that Thing, when I never see that which it represents? For if these Words do not mean that Ideas are true unchangeable Representations of Things, I know not to what purpose they are. And if that be not their Meaning, then they can only signifie, that the Idea I have once had will be unchangeably the fame as long as it recurs the fame in my Memory; but when another different from that comes into my Mind, it will not be that. Thus the Idea of an Horfe, and the Idea of a Centaur, will, as often as they recur in my Mind, be unchangeably the fame; which is no more than this, the fame Idea will be always the fame Idea; but whether the one or the other be the true Representation of any Thing that exists, that, upon his Principles, neither our Author nor any body else can know.
What he says here of Universal Reason, which enlightens every one, whereof all Men partake, seems to me nothing else but the Power Men have to consider the Ideas they have one with another, and by thus comparing them, find out the Relations that are between them; and therefore if an intelligent being at one End of the World, and another at the other End of the World, will consider twice two and four together, he cannot but find them to be equal, i.e. to be the same Number. These Relations 'tis true, are infinite, and God, who knows all Things, and their Relations as they are, knows them all, and so his Knowledge is infinite. But Men are able to discover more or less of these Relations, only as they apply their Minds to consider any part of Ideas, and to find out intermediate ones, which can shew the Relation of those Ideas, which cannot immediately be compared by Juxta-position. But then what he means by that infinite Reason which Men consult, I confess my self not well to understand. For if he means that they consider a Part of those Relations of Things which are infinite, that is true; but then, this is a very improper way of speaking, and I cannot think that a Man of his Parts would use it to mean nothing else by it. If he means, as he says, p. 536. That this infinite and universal Reason, whereof Men partake, and which they consult, is the Reason of God himself; I can by no Means assent to it. First, Because I think we cannot say God reasons at all; for he has at once a View of all Things. But Reason is very far from such an Intuition, it is a laborious and gradual Progress in the Knowledge of Things, by comparing one Idea with a second, and a second with a third, and that with a fourth, &c. to find the Relation between the first and the last of these in this Train, and in Search for such intermediate Ideas, as may shew us the Relation we desire to know, which sometimes we find, and sometimes not. This way therefore of finding Truth, so painful, uncertain, and limited, is proper only to Men or finite Understandings, but can by no Means be suppose'd in God; it is therefore in God Understanding or Knowledge. But then to say that we partake in the Knowledge of God, or consult his Understanding, is what I cannot receive for true. God has given me an Understanding of my own; and I should think it Presumption in me to suppose I apprehend any thing by God's Understanding, saw with his Eyes, or heard of his Knowledge. I think it more possible for me to see with other Men's Eyes, and understand with another Man's Understanding, than with God's; there being some Proportion between mine and another Man's Understanding, but none between mine and God's. But if this infinite Reason which we consult, be at last nothing but those infinite unchangeable Relations which are in Things, some of which we make a Shift to discover, this indeed is true, but seems to me to make little to our Author's Purpose, of seeing all Things in God; and that if we see not all Things by the natural Union of our Minds with the universal and infinite Reason, we should not have the Liberty to think on all Things, as he expresseth it, p. 538. To explain himself farther concerning this universal Reason, or as he there calls it by another Name, Order, p. 539. he says, That God contains in himself the Perfections of all the Creatures that he has created, or can create, after an intelligible Manner. Intelligible to himself, that's true, but intelligible to Men, at least to me, that I do not find; unless by containing in himself the Perfections of all the Creatures, be meant, that there is no Perfection in any Creature, but there is a greater in God, or that there is in God greater Perfection than all the Perfection to the Creatures taken together. And therefore though it be true what follows in the next Words, that it is by these intelligible Perfections that God knows the Essence of every Thing; yet it will not follow from hence, or from any thing else that he has said, that those Perfections in God, which contain in them the Perfections of all the Creatures, are the immediate Objects of the Mind of Man, or that they are to the Objects of the Mind of Man, that he can in them see the Essences of the Creatures. For I ask in which of the Perfections of God does a Man see the Essence of an Horse or an As, of a Serpent or a Dove, of Hemlock or Parsley? I for my part, I confess, see not the Essence of any of these Things in any of the Perfections of God, which I have any Notion of. For indeed I see not the distinct Essence either of these Things at all, or know wherein it consists. And therefore I cannot comprehend the Force of the Inference,
ference, which follows in these Words, *Then the intelligible Ideas or Perfections that are in God, which represent to us what is out of God, are absolutely necessary and unchangeable.* That the Perfections that are in God are necessary and unchangeable, I readily grant: But that the Ideas that are intelligible to God, or are in the Understanding of God (for so we must speak of him whilst we conceive of him after the manner of Men) can be seen by us; or, that the Perfections that are in God represent to us the Essences of Things that are out of God, that I cannot conceive. The Essence of Matter, as much as I can see of it, is Extension, Solidity, Divinity and Mobility; but in which of the Perfections of God do I see this Essence? To another Man, as to our Author perhaps, the Essence of Body is quite another thing; and when he has told us what to him is the Essence of Body, it will be then to be consider'd in which of the Perfections of God he sees it. For example, let it be pure Extension alone, the Idea then that God had in himself the Essence of Body before Body was created, was the Idea of pure Extension; when God then created Body he created Extension, and then Space, which existed not before, began to exist. This, I confess, I cannot conceive; but we see in the Perfections of God the necessary and unchangeable Essences of Things. He sees one Essence of Body in God, and I another; Which is that necessary and unchangeable Essence of Body which is contain'd in the Perfections of God, his or mine? Or indeed how do or can we know there is any such thing existing as Body at all? For we see nothing but the Ideas that are in God; but Body it self we neither do nor can possibly see at all; and how then can we know that there is any such Thing existing as Body, since we can by no means see or perceive it by our Senses, which is all the Way we can have of knowing any corporeal Thing to exist? But'tis said, God fashews us the Ideas in himself, on occasion of the Presence of those Bodies to our Senses. This is gratis dictum, and begs the Thing in Question; and therefore I desire to have it prov'd to me that they are present. I see the Sun, or an Horse; no, says our Author, that is impossible, they cannot be seen, because being Bodies they cannot be united to my Mind, and be present to it. But the Sun being risen, and the Horse brought within convenient distance, and so being present to my Eyes, God fashews me their Ideas in himself: And I say God fashews me these Ideas when he pleases, without the Presence of any such Bodies to my Eyes. For when I think I see a Star at such a distance from me, which truly I do not see, but the Idea of it which God fashews me, I would have it prov'd to me that there is such a Star existing a Million of Millions of Miles from me when I think I see it, more than when I dream of such a Star. For 'till it be prov'd that there is a Candle in the Room by which I write this, the Supposition of my seeing in God the Pyramidal Idea of its Flame upon occasion of the Candle's being there, is begging what is in Question. And to prove to me that God exhibits to me that Idea upon occasion of the Presence of the Candle, it must first be proved to me that there is a Candle there, which upon these Principles can never be done.

Farther, We see the necessary and unchangeable Essences of things in the Perfections of God. Water, a Rope, and a Lion, have their distinct Essences from one another, and all other things; what I desire to know are these distinct Essences. I confess I neither see them in nor out of God, and in which of the Perfections of God do we see each of them?

Pag. 594. I find these Words, *It is evident that the Perfections that are in God which represent created or possible Beings, are not at all equal: That those for example that represent Bodies, are not so noble as those for example that represent Spirits; and amongst those themselves, which represent nothing but Body, or nothing but Spirits, there are more perfect one than another to Infinity. This is conceivable clearly, and without Pain, though one finds some Difficulty to reconcile the Simplicity of the Divine Being, with this Variety of intelligible Ideas which he contains in his Wisdom. This Difficulty is to me insurmountable, and I conclude it always shall be so, till I can find a way to make Simplicity and Variety the same. And this Difficulty must always cumber this Doctrine, which supposes that the Perfections of God are the Representatives to us of whatever we perceive of the Creatures;*
for then those Perfections must be many, and diverse, and distinct one from another, as those Ideas are that represent the different Creatures to us. And this seems to me to make God formally to contain in him all the distinct Ideas of all the Creatures, and that so, that they might be seen one after another. Which seems to me after all the Talk of Abstraction to be but a little less gross Conception than of the Sketches of all the Pictures that ever a Painter draws, kept by him in his Closet, which are there all to be seen one after another, as he pleases to shew them. But whilst these abstract Thoughts produce nothing better than this, I the easier content my self with my Ignorance which roundly thinks thus. God is a sempile Being, Omnipotent, that knows all things possible; and Omnipotent, that can do or make all things possible. But how he knows, or how he makes, I do not conceive: His ways of knowing as well as his ways of creating, are to me incomprehensible; and if they were not so, I should not think him to be God, or to be perfecter in Knowledge than I am. To which our Author’s Thoughts seem in the close of what is above-cited somewhat to encline, when he says, The Variety of intelligible Ideas which God contains in his Wisdom; whereby he seems to place this Variety of Ideas in the Mind or Thoughts of God, as we may so say, whereby ’tis hard to conceive how we can see them, and not in the Being of God, where they are to be seen as so many distinct Things in it.
A DISCOURSE OF MIRACLES.

O discourse of Miracles without defining what one means by the Word Miracle, is to make a Shew, but in Effect to talk of nothing.

A Miracle then I take to be a sensibl Operation, which, being above the Comprehension of the Spectator, and in his Opinion contrary to the establish'd Course of Nature, is taken by him to be Divine.

He that is present at the Fact, is a Spectator: He that believes the History of the Fact, puts himself in the place of a Spectator.

This Definition, 'tis probable, will not escape these two Exceptions.

1. That hereby what is a Miracle is made very uncertain; for it depending on the Opinion of the Spectator, that will be a Miracle to one which will not be so to another.

In answer to which, it is enough to say, that this Objection is of no Force, but in the Mouth of one who can produce a Definition of a Miracle not liable to the same Exception, which I think not easy to do; for it being agreed, that a Miracle must be that which surpasses the Force of Nature in the establish'd, steady Laws of Causes and Effects, nothing can be taken to be a Miracle but what is judged to exceed those Laws. Now every one being able to judge of those Laws only by his own Acquaintance with Nature, and Notions of its Force (which are different in different Men) it is unavoidable that there should be a Miracle to one, which is not so to another.

2. Another Objection to this Definition, will be, that the Notion of a Miracle thus enlarged, may come sometimes to take in Operations that have nothing extraordinary or Supernatural in them, and thereby invalidate the Use of Miracles for the attesting of Divine Revelation.

To which I answer, not at all, if the Testimony which Divine Revelation receives from Miracles be rightly consider'd.

To know that any Revelation is from God, it is necessary to know that the Messengers that delivers it is sent from God, and that cannot be known but by some Credential given him by God himself. Let us see then whether Miracles, in my Sense, be not suchCredentials, and will not infallibly direct us right in the Search of Divine Revelation.

It is to be consider'd, that Divine Revelation receives Testimony from no other Miracles, but such as are wrought to witness his Mission from God who delivers the Revelation. All other Miracles that are done in the World,
how many or great soever, Revelation is not concern'd in. Cafes wherein there has been, or can be Need of Miracles for the Confirmation of Revelation, are fewer than perhaps is imagin'd. The heathen World, amidst an infinite and uncertain Jumble of Deities, Fables and Worships, had no room for a divine Attestation of any one against the rest. Those Owners of many Gods were at liberty in their Worship; and no one of their Divinities pretending to be the one only true God, no one of them could be supposed in the Pagan Scheme to make Use of Miracles to establish his Worship alone, or to abolish that of the other; much less was there any Use of Miracles to confirm any Articles of Faith, since no one of them had any such to propose as necessary to be believ'd by their Votaries. And therefore I do not remember any Miracles recorded in the Greek or Roman Writers, as done to confirm any one's Mission and Doctrine. Conformable hereto, we find St. Paul, 1 Cor. i. 22. takes notice that the Jews ('tis true) requir'd Miracles, but as for the Greeks they look'd after something else; they knew no Need or Use there was of Miracles to recommend any Religion to them. And indeed it is an astonish't Mark how far the God of this World had blinded Men's Minds, if we consider that the Gentile World receiv'd and stuck to a Religion, which, not being deriv'd from Rezon, had no sure Foundation in Revelation. They knew not its Original, nor the Authors of it, nor seem'd concern'd to know from whence it came, or by whose Authority deliver'd; and so had no Mention or Use of Miracles for its Confirmation. For though there were here and there some Pretences to Revelation, yet there were not so much as Pretences to Miracles that attest'd it.

If we will direct our Thoughts by what has been, we must conclude that Miracles, as the Credentials of a Messiah delivering a Divine Religion, have no Place but upon a Supposition of One only true God; and that it is so in the Nature of the thing, and cannot be otherwise, I think will be made appear in the Sequel of this Discourse. Of such who have come in the Name of the One only true God, professing to bring a Law from him, we have in History a clear Account but of three, viz. Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet. For what the Perfeas say of their Zoroaster, or the Indians of their Brahma (not to mention all the wild Stories of the Religions farther East) is so obscure, or so manifestly fabulous, that no Account can be made of it. Now of the three before-mention'd, Mahomet having none to produce, pretends to no Miracles for the vouching his Mission; so that the only Revelations that come attest'd by Miracles, being only those of Moses and Christ, and they confirming each other, the Befines of Miracles, as it stands really in Matter of Fact, has no manner of Difficulty in it; and I think the most scrupulous or sceptical cannot from Miracles raise the least Doubt against the Divine Revelation of the Gospel.

But since the Speculative and Learned will be putting of Cafes which never were, and it may be presum'd never will be; since Scholars and Disputants will be raising of Questions where there are none, and enter upon Debates, whereas there is no Need; I crave leave to say, that he who comes with a Message from God to be deliver'd to the World, cannot be refus'd Belief if he vouches his Mission by a Miracle, because his Credentials have a Right to it. For every rational thinking Man must conclude as Nicodemus did, We know that thou art a Teacher come from God, for no Man can do these Signs which thou doest, except God be with him.

For Example, Jesus of Nazareth professest himself sent from God: He with a Word calms a Tempest at Sea: This one looks on as a Miracle, and consequently cannot but receive his Doctrine: Another thinks this might be the Effect of Chance, or Skill in the Weather and no Miracle, and so stands out; but afterwards seeing him walk on the Sea, owns that for a Miracle and believes: Which yet upon another has not that Force, who suspeets it may possibly be done by the Aililience of a Spirit: But yet the fame Person, seeing afterwards our Saviour cure an inveterate Palsy by a Word, admits that for a Miracle, and becomes a Convert: Another over-lookit this in this Instance, afterwards finds a Miracle in his giving Sight to one born Blind, or in raising the Dead, or his raising himself from the Dead, and so receives
his Doctrine as a Revelation coming from God. By all which it is plain, that where the Miracle is admitted, the Doctrine cannot be rejected: it comes with the Assurance of a Divine Attestation to him that allows the Miracle, and he cannot question its Truth.

The next thing then is, what shall be a sufficient Inducement to take any extraordinary Operation to be a Miracle, i. e. wrought by God himself for the Attestation of a Revelation from him?

And to this I answer, the carrying with it the Marks of a greater Power than appears in Opposition to it. For,

1. First, This removes the main Difficulty where it presents itself, and clears the Matter from Doubt, when extraordinary and supernatural Operations are brought to support opposite Missions, about which men think more Dull has been raised by Men of Leisure than to plain a Matter needed. For since God’s Power is paramount to all, and no Opposition can be made against him with an equal Force to his; and since his Honour and Goodness can never be supposed to suffer his Message and his Truth to be born down by the Appearance of a greater Power on the side of an Adversary, and in favour of a Liars; wherever there is an Opposition, and two pretending to be sent from Heaven claim the Signs, which carry with them the evident Marks of a greater Power, will always be a certain and unquestionable Evidence, that the Truth and Divine Mission are on that side on which they appear. For though the Discovery, how the lying Wonders are or can be produced, be beyond the Capacity of the ignorant, and often beyond the Conception of the most knowing Spectator, who is therefore forced to allow them in his Apprehension to be above the Force of Natural Causes and Effects; yet he cannot but know they are not Seals set by God to his Truth for the attesting of it, since they are oppos’d by Miracles that carry the evident Marks of a greater and superior Power, and therefore they cannot at all falsify the Authority of one so supported. God can never be thought to suffer that a Lie, set up in Opposition to a Truth coming from him, should be back’d with a greater Power than he will shew for the Confirmation and Propagation of a Doctrine which he has reveal’d, to the End it might be believed. The producing of Serpents, Blood and Frogs, by the Egyptian Sorcerers and by Moses, could not to the Spectators but appear equally miraculous, which of the Pretenders then had their Mission from God: And the Truth on their side could not have been determin’d if the Matter had rested there. But when Moses’ Serpent eat up theirs, when he produced Lice which they could not, the Decision was eais. It was plain James and Jambes acted by an inferior Power, and their Operations, how marvellous and extraordinary soever, could not in the least bring in Question Moses’ Mission; that fools the standing for this Opposition, and remain’d the more unquestionable after this, than if no such Signs had been brought against it.

So likewise the Number, Variety and Greatness of the Miracles, wrought for the Confirmation of the Doctrine deliver’d by Jesus Christ, carry with them such strong Marks of an extraordinary Divine Power, that the Truth of his Mission will stand firm and unquestionable, till any one rising up in Opposition to him shall do greater Miracles than he and his Apostles did. For anything less will not be of Weight to turn the Scales in the Opinion of any one, whether of an inferior or more exalted Understanding. This is one of those palpable Truths and Trials, of which all Mankind are Judges; and there needs no Affluence of Learning, no deep Thought to come to a Certainty in it. Such Care has God taken that no pretended Revelation should stand in Competition with what is truly Divine, that we need but open our Eyes to see and be sure which came from him. The Marks of his over-ruling Power accompany it; and therefore to this Day we find, that wherever the Gospel comes, it prevails to the beating down the strong Holds of Satan, and the dislodging the Prince of the Power of Darkness, driving him away with all his living Wonders; which is a standing Miracle, carrying with it the Testimony of Superiority.

What
What is the uttermost Power of natural Agents or created Beings, Men of the greatest Reach cannot discover; but that it is not equal to God's Omnipotency is obvious to every one's Understanding; so that the superior Power is an eafe, as well as sure Guide to Divine Revelation, attested by Miracles, where they are brought as Credentials to an Embassy from God. And thus upon the same Grounds of Superiority of Power, uncontested Revelation will stand too.

For the explaining of which, it may be necessary to premise,

1. That no Mission can be look'd on to be Divine, that delivers any thing derogating from the Honour of the one, only, true, invisible God, or inconsistent with natural Religion and the Rules of Morality: Because God having discovered to Men the Unity and Majesty of his Eternal Godhead, and the Truths of natural Religion and Morality by the Light of Reason, he cannot be supposed to back the contrary by Revelation; for that would be to destroy the Euse of Reason, without which Men cannot be able to distinguish Divine Revelation from Diabolical Imposture.

2. That it cannot be expected that God should send any one into the World on purpose to inform Men of things indifferent, and of small Moment, or that are knowable by the Use of their natural Faculties. This would be to lessen the Dignity of his Majesty in Favour of our Sloth, and in Prejudice to our Reason.

3. The only Case then wherein a Mission of any one from Heaven can be reconciled to the high and awful Thoughts Men ought to have of the Deity, must be the Revelation of some supernatural Truths relating to the Glory of God, and some great Concern of Men. Supernatural Operations attesting such a Revelation may, with reason, be taken to be Miracles, as carrying the Marks of a superior and over-ruling Power, as long as no Revelation accompanied with Marks of a greater Power appears against it. Such supernatural Signs may justly stand good, and be received for Divine, i.e. wrought by a Power superior to all, 'till a Mission attested by Operations of a greater Force shall disprove them: Because it cannot be supposed, God should suffer his Prerogative to be so far usurped by any inferior Being, as to permit any Creature, depending on him, to set his Seals, the Marks of his Divine Authority, to a Mission coming from him. For these supernatural Signs being the only Means God is conceived to have to satisfy Men as rational Creatures of the Certainty of any thing he would reveal, as coming from himself, can never content that it should be wrenched out of his Hands, to serve the Ends and establish the Authority of an inferior Agent that rival him. His Power being known to have no equal, always will, and always may be safely depended on, to shew its Superiority in vindicating his Authority, and maintaining every Truth that he hath revealed. So that the Marks of a superior Power accompanying it, always have been, and always will be a visible and sure Guide to divine Revelation; by which Men may conduct themselves in their examining of revealed Religions, and be satisfied which they ought to receive as coming from God; though they have by no means Ability precisly to determine what is, or is not above the Force of any created Being; or what Operations can be performed by none but a divine Power, and require the immediate Hand of the Almighty. And therefore we fee 'tis by that our Saviour measures the great Unbelief of the Jews, John xv. 24. saying, If I had not done among them the Works which no other Man did, they had not had Sin, but now have they both seen and hated both me and my Father; declaring, that they could not but fee the Power and Presence of God in those many Miracles he did, which were greater than ever any other Man had done. When God sent Moses to the Children of Israel with a Message, that now according to his Promise he would redeem them by his Hand out of Egypt, and furnish'd him with Signs and Credentials of his Mission; it is very remarkable what God himself tells of those Signs, Exod. iv. 8. And it shall come to pass, if they will not believe thee, nor hearken to the Voice of the first Sign (which was turning his Rod into a Serpent) that they will believe, and the Voice of the latter Sign (which was the making his Hand leprous by putting it in his Bofom:)

God
God further adds, v. 9. *And it shall come to pass, if they will not believe also these two Signs, neither hearken unto thy Voice, that thou shalt take of the Water of the River and pour upon the dry Land: And the Water which thou takest out of the River shall become Blood upon the dry Land.* Which of those Operations was or was not above the Force of all created Beings, will, I suppose, be hard for any Man, too hard for a poor Brick-maker to determine; and therefore the Credit and certain Reception of the Mission, was annex'd to neither of them, but the prevailing of their Attestation was heighten'd by the Increas of their Number; two supernatural Operations shewing more Power than one, and three more than two. God allow'd that it was natural, that the Marks of greater Power should have a greater Impression on the Minds and Belief of the Spectators. Accordingly the Jews, by this Ettimate judg'd of the Miracles of our Saviour, John vii. 31. where we have this Account, *And many of the People believe'd on him, and said when Crist cometh will he do more Miracles than these which this Man hath done?* This perhaps, as it is the plainest, so it is also the surest way to preserve the Testimony of Miracles in its due Force to all Sorts and Degrees of People. For Miracles being the Basis on which Divine Mission is always established, and consequently that Foundation on which the Believers of any Divine Revelation must ultimately bottom their Faith, this Use of them would be lost, if not to all Mankind, yet at least to the simple and illiterate (which is the far greatest Part) if Miracles be defined to be none but such Divine Operations as are in themselves beyond the Power of all created Beings, or at least Operations contrary to the fix'd and establish'd Laws of Nature. For as to the latter of those, what are the fix'd and establish'd Laws of Nature, Philosophers alone, if at least they, can pretend to determine. And if they are to be Operations performable only by Divine Power, I doubt whether any Man learned or unlearned, can in most Cases be able to say of any particular Operation, that can fall under his Sense, that it is certainly a Miracle. Before he can come to that Certainty, he must know that no created Being has a Power to perform it. We know good and bad Angels have Abilities and Excellencies exceedingly beyond all our poor Performances or narrow Comprehensions. But to define what is the utmost Extent of Power that any of them has, is a bold Undertaking of a Man in the Dark, that pronounces without seeing, and sets Bounds in his narrow Cell to things at an infinite Distance from his Model and Comprehension.

Such Definitions therefore of Miracles, however specious in Discourse and Theory, fail us when we come to Use, and an Application of them in particular Cases. 170.

These Thoughts concerning Miracles, were occasioned by my reading Mr. Fleetwood's Essay on Miracles, and the Letter writ to him on that Subject. *The one of them defining a Miracle to be an extraordinary Operation performable by God alone: And the other writer of Miracles without any Definition of a Miracle at all.*

J. LOCKE.
Part of a Fourth

LETTER
FOR
TOLERATION, &c.

SIR,

Frequent revival of the Controversy formerly between you and me, is what I suppose no Body did expect from you after twelve Years Silence. But Reputation (a sufficient Cause for a new War) as you give the World to understand, hath put Resolution into your Heart, and Arms into your Hands to make an Example of me, to the Shame and Confusion of all those who could be so injurious to you, as to think you could quit the Opinion you had appeared for in Print, and agree with me in the Matter of Toleration. 'Tis visible how tender even Men of the most settled Calmness are in Point of Reputation, and 'tis allow'd the most excusable Part of human Frailty; and therefore no Body can wonder to see a Report thought injurious, labour'd against with Might and Main, and the Assistance and Cause of Religion itself taken in and made use of to put a Stop to it. But yet for all this there are sober Men who are of Opinion, that it better becomes a Christian Temper, that Disputes, especially of Religion, should be waged purely for the Sake of Truth, and not for our own: Self should have nothing to do in them. But since as we see it will crowd it self in, and be often the principal Agent, your Ingenuity in owning what has brought you upon the Stage again, and let you on work, after the Ease and Quiet you resolutely maintain'd your self in so many Years, ought to be commended, in giving us a View of the discreet Choice you have made of a Method suited to your Purpofe, which you publish to the World in these Words, P. 42. Being defirous to put a Stop to a Report so injurious (as well as ground-less) as I look upon this to be, I think it will be no improper way of doing it, if I thus signify to you and the Reader, that I find nothing more convincing in this your long Letter, than I did in your two former; giving withal a brief Specimen of the Author's Reasons of it. Which I choose to do upon a few Pages at the beginning, where you have placed your greatest Strength, or at least so much of it, as you think sufficient to put an End to this Controversy.

Here we have your Declaration of War, of the Grounds that mov'd you to it, and of your compendious way to assure Victory, which I must own is very new and very remarkable. You choose a few Pages out of the beginning of my third Letter; in thefe, you lay, I have placed my greatest Strength. So that, what I have there said being baffled, it gives you a just Triumph over Vol. III. 

X x x
my whole large Letter; and all the rest of it being but pitiful, weak, impertinent Stuff, is by the Overthrow of this forlorn Hope fully confused.

This is called answering by Specimen. A new way, which the World owes to your Invention, an Evidence that whilst you said nothing you did not spare thinking. And indeed it was a noble Thought, a Stratagem, which I believe thee fear any other but your self would have found out in a Meditation of twelve or twelve Years, how to answear Arguments without laying a Word to them, or so much as reciting them; and, by examining six or seven Pages in the beginning of a Book, reduce to nothing above three hundred Pages of it that follow. This is indeed a decisive Stroke that lays all flat before you. Who can stand against such a Conqueror, who, by barely attacking of one, kills an hundred? This would certainly be an admirable way, did it not degrade the Conqueror, whose Bufiness is to do; and turn him into a mere talking Gazeteeer, whose Bonfts are of no Consequence. For after Slaughter of Foes, and routing of Armies by such a dead-doing Hand, no Body thinks it strange to find them all alive again safe and found upon their Feet, and in a Posture of defending themselves. The Event, in all forts of Controversies, hath often better instructed those who have, without bringing it to Trial, profusely on the Weakness of their Adversaries. However, this which you have set up, of confuting without arguing, cannot be deny'd to be a ready way, and well thought on to let you up high, and your Reputation secure in the Thoughts of your believing Readers, if that be (as it seems it is) your Bufiness. But, as I take it, tends not at all to the informing their Understandings, and making them see the Truth and Grounds it stands on. That perhaps is too much for the profane Vulgar to know; it is enough for them that you know it for them, and have assured them, that you can, when you please to confedecnd so far, confound all that any one offers against your Opinion. An implicit Faith of your being in the right, and ascribing Victory to you, even in Points whereof you have said nothing, is that which some forts of Men think most useful, and so their Followers have but Tongues for their Champion to give him the Praife and Authority he aimes at, tis no matter whether they have any Eyes for themselves to see on which side the Truth lies. Thus methinks you and I both find our Account in this Controversie under your Management; you in setting your Reputation safe from the Blemish it would have been to it that you were brought over to my Opinion; and I in seeing (if you will forgive me so preumprouus a Word) that you have left my Caufe safe in all those Parts you have said nothing to, and not very much damaged in that Part you have attacked, as I hope to shew the indifferent Reader. You enter upon your Specimen, p. 2. by minding me that I tell you, "That I doubt not but to let you fee that if you will be true to your own Principles, and stand to what you have said, you must carry some Degrees of Force to all those Degrees which in Words you declare against, even to the Discipline of Fire and Faggot." And you say, if I make my Word good; you assure me you will carry a Faggot your self to the burning what you have written for so manercful and outrageous a Discipline; But till I have done that, you suppose the Discipline you have endeavoured to defend, may remain safe and unburnt, as it is, in its own Nature, harmless and salutary to the World.

To promise fairly, is then the Part of an honest Man, when the time of Performance is not yet come. But it falls out unluckily here; for you who have undertaken, by answearing some Parts of my second Letter, to shew the Answarableness of the whole, that instead of answearing, you promise to retract, if I make good my Word, in proving upon your own Principles you must carry your some degrees of Force to Fire and Faggot.

Sir, My Endeavours to make my Word good, have lain before you a pretty competent time, the World is witness of it, and will, as I imagine, think it time for you, since you your self have brought this Question upon the Stage, either to acknowledge that I have made my Word good, or, by invalidating my Arguments, shew that I have not. He, that after a Debt of so many Years, only promises what brave things he will do hereafter, is hardly thought upon the Exchange to do what he ought. The Account in his Hand
Hand requires to be made up and balanced; and that will shew not what
he is to promise, but, if he be a fair Man, what he is to perform. If the
Schools make longer Allowances of time, and admit Evasions for Satisfaction,
'tis fit you use your Privilege, and take more time to consider; only I crave
leave in the mean while to refer my Reader to what I said on this Argu-
ment, Chap. 4. of my third Letter, that he may have a View of your Way of
answering by Specimen, and judge whether all that I have there urged be
answer'd by what you say here, or what you promise here be ever like to be
performed.

The next Sample you give, to shew the Answerables of my Letter, is not
much more lucky than the former; it may be seen, p. 3. and 4. where you
say, That I tell you, p. 1. "That you have alter'd the Question"; for it seems,
p. 26. you tell me the Question between us is, "Whether the Magistrate has any
"Right to use Force, to bring Men to the True Religion? Whereas, p. 76,
"you your self, I say, own the Question to be, Whether the Magistrate
"has a Right to use Force in Matters of Religion?" Which Affirmation of
mine, you must take leave to tell me, is a meer Fiction, for neither p. 76. nor any
where else, do you own the Question to be what I say you do.

And as to " using Force in Matters of Religion" (which you say are my Words,
not your's) if I mean by it the using Force to bring Men to any other Religion besides the
True; you are so far from owning the Question to be, Whether the Magistrate has a
Right to use Force for such a purpose, that you have always thought it out of 'question,
that no Man in the World, Magistrate or other, can have any Right to use either Force,
or any other Means that I can name, to bring Men to any False Religion, how much
forever be may persuade himself that it is True.

It is not therefore from any Alteration, but from the true State of the Question, that
"You take occasion, as I complain without cause, to lay a load on me, for
"charging you with the Absurdities of a Power in the Magistrates to punish
"Men, to bring them to their Religion." But it seems, having little to say
against what you do assert, you say, I find it necessary my self to alter the Question,
and to make the World believe that you assert what you do not, that I may have some-
thing before me which I can confute.

In this Paragraph you positively deny, that it is any where owned by you
as the Question between us, Whether the Magistrate has a Right of using Force in
Matters of Religion? Indeed these Words are not as they are cited in p. 76. of
your former Letter; but he that will turn over the Leaf, may, in p. 78. read
these Words of your's, viz. that I ver refer it to me, whether I in saying, no Body has a
Right, or you in saying, the Magistrate has a Right in using Force in Matters of Reli-
gion, have most Reason. Though you positively tell me, That neither p. 76.
nor any where else, do you own the Question to be what I say you do. And now let
the Reader judge between us. I should not perhaps have so much as taken
notice of this, but that you who are so sparing of your Anwer, that you think a brief Specimen upon some few Pages of the beginning of my Letter,
sufficient to confute all I have said in it, do yet spend the better Part of two
Pages on this; which if I had been mistaken in, it had been of no great
Consequence; of which I see no other Use you have, but to cast on me some
civil Reflections of your Fashions, and fix on me the Imputation of Fiction, meer Fiction; a Compliment which I shall not return you, though you say,
"Using Force in Matters of Religion, are my Words, not yours.
Whether they are your Words or not, let p. 78. of your former Letter decide,
where you own your self to say, that The Magistrate has a Right to use Force
in Matters of Religion. So that this, as I take it, is a Specimen of your being
very positive in a Mistake, and about a plain Matter of Fact, about an Action
of your own, and so will scarce prove a Specimen of the Answerables of all
I say in my Letter, unless we must allow that Truth and Falsehood are equally
answerable, when you declare against either of them.

The next part of your Specimen we have, p. 4. 5. where you tell me that I
undertake to prove, that "If upon your Grounds the Magistrate be obliged
to use Force to bring Men to the true Religion, it will necessarily fol-
low, that every Magistrate, who believes his Religion to be true, is obliged
to use Force to bring Men to his.

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Now because this Undertaking is so necessary for me; and my whole Cause seems to depend upon the Success of it: You shall the more carefully consider how well I perform it. But before you do this, it will be fit to let me know, in what Sense you grant my Inference, and in what Sense you deny it. Now that every Magistrate, who upon just and sufficient Grounds believes his Religion to be true, is obliged to use some moderate Penalties (which is all the Force you ever contended for) to bring Men to his Religion, you freely grant; because that must needs be the True Religion; since no other can, upon such Grounds, be believed to be true. But that any Magistrate, who upon weak and deceitful Grounds, believes a false Religion to be true (and he can never do it upon better Grounds) is obliged to use the same (or any other) means, to bring Men to his Religion, this you flatly deny; nor can it by any Rules of Reasoning, be inferred from what you affer.

Here you tell me you grant my Inference in this Sense, viz. That every Magistrate, who upon just and sufficient Grounds believes his Religion to be true, is bound to use Force to bring Men to it.

Here you grant that every Magistrate, without knowing that his Religion is true, is oblig'd, upon his believing it to be true, to use Force to bring Men to it; indeed you add, who believes it to be true upon just and sufficient Grounds. So you have got a Distinction, and that always sets off a Difputant, though many times it is of no Use to his Argument. For here let me ask you who must be Judge, whether the Grounds, upon which he believes his Religion to be true, be just and sufficient? Must the Magistrate himself judge for himself, or must you judge for him? A third Competitor in this Judgment I know not where you will find for your Turn. If every Magistrate must judge for himself, whether the Grounds upon which he believes his Religion to be true, are just and sufficient Grounds, your Limitation of the Use of Force to such only as believe upon just and sufficient Grounds, bating that it is an Ornament to your Stile and Learning, might have been spared, since it leaves my Inference untouched in the full Latitude I have express'd it concerning every Magistrate, there not being any one Magistrate excluded thereby from an Obligation to use Force to bring Men to his own Religion by this your Distinction. For if every Magistrate, who upon just and sufficient Grounds believes his Religion to be true, be obliged to use Force to bring Men to his Religion, and every Magistrate be himself Judge, whether the Grounds he believes upon, be just and sufficient; it is visible every Magistrate is obliged to use Force to bring Men to his Religion; since any one, who believes any Religion to be true, cannot but judge the Grounds, upon which he believes it to be true, are just and sufficient; for if he judged otherwise, he could not then believe it to be true. If you say, you must judge for the Magistrate, then what you grant is this, That every Magistrate who upon Grounds that you judge to be just and sufficient, believes his Religion to be true, is obliged to use Force to bring Men to his Religion. If this be your Meaning, as it seems not much remote from it, you will do well to speak it out, that the Magistrates of the World may know who to have recourse to in the Difficulty you put upon them, in declaring them under an Obligation to use Force to bring Men to the true Religion; which they can neither certainly know, nor must venture to use Force to bring Men to, upon their own Persuasion of the Truth of it, when they have nothing but one of these two (viz.) Knowledge, or Belief that the Religion they promote is true, to determine them. Necessity has at last (unless you would have the Magistrate act in the Dark, and use his Force wholly at random) prevailed on you to grant that the Magistrate may use Force to bring Men to that Religion which he believes to be true; but say you, his Belief must be upon just and sufficient Grounds. The same Necessity remaining still, must prevail with you to go one Step farther, and tell me whether the Magistrate himself must be Judge, Whether the Grounds upon which he believes his Religion to be true, be just and sufficient, or whether you are to be Judge for him? If you say the first, my Inference stands good, and this Question, I think, is yielded, and at an end. If you say you are to be Judge for the Magistrates, I shall congratulate to the Magistrates of the World the Way you have found out for them to acquit themselves of their Duty, if you will
will but please to publish it, that they may know where to find you: for in truth, Sir, I prefer you, in this Cafe, to the Pope; though you know that old Gentleman at Rome has long since laid Claim to all Decisions of this Kind, and alleges Infallibility for the Support of his Title; which indeed will scarce be able to stand at Rome, or any where else, without the Help of Infallibility. But of this perhaps more in the next Paragraph.

You go on with your Specimen in your next Paragraph, p. 5, which I shall crave Leave of my Reader to set down at large, it being a most exact and studied Piece of artificial Fencing, wherein, under the Cover of good Words, and the Appearance of nice Thinking, nothing is said; and therefore may deserve to be kept not as a Specimen of your Answering, for, as we shall see, you answer nothing, but as a Specimen of your Skill in seeming to say something where you have nothing to answer. You tell me that I say, p. 2, that "I suppose that you will grant me (what he must be a hard Man indeed that will not grant) that any thing laid upon the Magistrate as a Duty, is some Way or other practicable. Now the Magistrate being obliged to use Force in Matters of Religion, but yet so as to bring Men only to the true Religion, he will not be in any Capacity to perform this Part of his Duty, unless the Religion he is to promote, be what he can certainly know, or else what it is sufficient for him to believe to be the true: Either his Knowledge or his Opinion must point out that Religion to him, which is by Force to promote." Where, if by Knowing, or Knowledge, I mean the Effect of strict Demonstration; and by Believing or Opinion, any sort of Assent or Persuasion how highly forever grounded: Then you must deny the Sufficiency of my Division; because there is a third Sort or Degree of Persuasion which though not grounded upon strict Demonstration; yet in Firmness and Stability, does far exceed that which is built upon flight Appearances of Probability; being grounded upon such clear and solid Proof, as leaves no reasonable Doubt in an attentive and unbiassed Mind: So that it approaches very near to that which is produced by Demonstration, and is therefore as it respects Religion, very frequently and familiarly called in Scripture not Faith or Belief only, but Knowledge, and in divers places full Assurance; as might easily be shown, if that were needful. Now this kind of Persuasion, this Knowledge, this full Assurance Men may, and ought to have of the true Religion: But they can never have it of a false one. And this it is that must point out that Religion to the Magistrate, which he is to promote by the Method you counsel for.

Here the first thing you do is, to pretend an Uncertainty of what I mean by Knowing or Knowledge, and by Believing or Opinion. First, As to Knowledge, I have said certainly know. I have called it Vision, Knowledge and Certainty, Knowledge properly so called. And for Believing or Opinion, I speak of Believing with Assurance, and say, that Believing in the highest Degree of Assurance is not Knowledge. That whatever is not capable of Demonstration, is not, unless it be self-evident, capable to produce Knowledge, how well grounded and great ever the Assurance of Faith may be wherewith it is received. That I grant, that a strong Assurance of any Truth, settled upon prevalent and well-grounded Arguments of Probability, is often called Knowledge in popular Ways of Talking; but being here to distinguish between Knowledge and Belief, to what Degrees of Confidence ever raised, their Boundaries must be kept, and their Names not confounded, with more to the same Purpose. P. 2, 3 and 4, whereby it is so plain, that by Knowledge I mean the Effect of strict Demonstration; and by Believing or Opinion, I mean any Degree of Persuasion even to the highest Degree of Assurance; that I challenge you your self to fet it down in plainer and more express Terms. But no Body can blame you for not finding your Adversary's Meaning, let it be ever so plain, when you can find nothing to answer to it. The Reason therefore which you allege for the denying the Sufficiency of my Division, is no Reason at all. Your pretended Reason is because there is a third sort or Degree of Persuasion; which, though not grounded upon strict Demonstration; yet in Firmness and Stability does far exceed that which is built upon flight Appearances of Probability, &c. Let it be so, that there is a Degree of Persuasion not grounded upon strict Demonstration, far exceeding that which is built upon flight Appearances of Probability. But let me ask you what
what Reason can this be to deny the Sufficiency of my Division, because there is, as you say, a third Sort or Degree of Persuasion, when even that which you call this third Sort or Degree of Persuasion is contained in my Division? This is a Specimen indeed, not of answering what I have said, but of not answering; and for such I leave it to the Reader. A Degree of Persuasion, though not grounded on strict Demonstration, yet in Firmness and Stability far exceeding that which is built upon flight Appearances of Probability, you call here a third Sort or Degree of Persuasion. Pray tell me which are the two other Sorts; for Knowledge upon strict Demonstration, is not Belief or Persuasion, but wholly above it. Besides, if the Degrees of Firmness in Persuasion make different Sorts of Persuasion, there are not only three, but three hundred Sorts of Persuasion; and therefore the naming of your third Sort was with little Ground, and to no purpose or Tendency to an Answr; though the drawing in something like a Distinction be always to the Purpose of a Man who hath nothing to answr, it giving Occasion for the Use of many good Words; which, tho' nothing to the Point, serve to cover the Disputant's laying nothing under the Appearance of Learning, to those who will not be at the Pains to examine what he says.

You say, Every Magistrate is by the Law of Nature under an Obligation to use Force to bring Man to the True Religion. To this I urge, that the Magistrate hath nothing else to determine him in the Ufe of Force, for Promotion of any Religion one before another, but only his own Belief or Persuasion of the Truth of it. Here you had nothing to do, but fairly to grant or deny; but instead thereof you first raise a groundless Doubt, as I have shewn, about my Meaning, whereof there could be no Doubt at all to any one who would but read what I had said; and thereupon having got a Pretense for a Distinction, you solemnly tell the World there is a third Sort of Persuasion, which, though not grounded on strict Demonstration; yet in Firmness and Stability, does far exceed that which is built upon flight Appearances of Probability, leaving no Doubt, approaching near to Knowledge, being full Assurance. Well, the Magistrate hath a Persuasion of Firmness and Stability, has full Assurance; must he be determined by this his full Assurance in the promoting of that Religion by Force, of whose Truth he is in so high a Degree of Persuasion so fully assured? No, say you, it must be grounded upon such clear and solid Proof as leaves no reasonable Doubt in an attentive and unbiased Mind. To which the Magistrate is ready to reply, that he, upon his Grounds, can see no reasonable Doubt, and that his is an attentive and unbiased Mind, of all which he himself is to be Judge, till you can produce your Authority to judge for him; though, in the Conclusion, you actually make your self Judge for him. This is such a Kind of Persuasion, such a full Assurance must point out to the Magistrate that Religion he is to promote by Force, which can never be had but of the true Religion: Which is in effect, as every one may see, the Religion that you judge to be true, and not the Religion the Magistrate judges to be true: For pray tell me, must the Magistrate's full Assurance point out to him the Religion which he is by Force to promote, or must he by Force promote a Religion, of whose Truth he hath no Belief, no Assurance at all? If you say the first of these, you grant that every Magistrate must use Force to promote his own Religion, for that is the Religion whereof he has so full Assurance, that he ventures his eternal State upon it. Ay, say you, that is for Want of Attention, and because he is not unbiased. "Tis like he will say the same of you, and then you are quits. And that he should by Force promote that Religion which he believes not to be true, is so absurd, that I think you can neither expect it, nor bring your self to say it. Neither of these therefore being Answers that you can make use of, that which lies at the Bottom, though you give it but covertly, is this, That the Magistrate ought by Force to promote the Religion that you believe with full Assurance to be true. This would do admirably well for your Purpose, were not the Magistrate intituled to ask, who made you a Judge for him in the Cafe? And ready to retort your own Words upon you, that 'tis Want of Attention and Unbiasedness in you, that puts your Religion past Doubt with you upon your Proofs of it. Try when you please with a Bramin, a Mahometan, a Papist, Lutheran, Quaker, Anabaptist, Presbyterian,
Presbyterians, &c. you will find if you argue with them, as you do here with me, that the Matter will rest here between you, and that you are no more a Judge for any of them than they are for you. Men in all Religions have equally strong Persuasions, and every one must judge for himself; nor can any one judge for another, and you laft of all for the Magistrate, that the Ground you build upon, that Firmness and Stability of Persuasion in the highest Degree of Assurance leaves no Doubt, can never be bad of a false Religion being false, all your Talk of full Assurance, pointing out to the Magistrate the true Religion that he is obliged by Force to promote, amounts to no more but his own Religion, and can point out no other to him.

However, in the next Paragraph you go on with your Specimen, and tell me, Hence appears the Impartimony of all A discourse, p. 2, 3, 4. concerning the Difference between Faith and Knowledge: Where the thing I was concern'd to make out, if I should speak to the Purposes, was no other but this, That "there are as clear and solid Grounds for the Belief of False Religions, as there are for the Belief of the True: Or, that Men may both as firmly and as rationally believe and embrace False Religions as they can the True." This, you confess, is a Point, which, you say, when I have well cleared and established it, will do my business, but nothing else will. And therefore my Talk of Faith and Knowledge, however it may annoy such as are prone to admire all that I say, will never enable me, before better Judges, from the Duty of every Magistrate to use moderate Penalties for promoting the true Religion, to infer the same Obligation to be upon every Magistrate in respect to his Religion, whatever it be.

Where the Impartimony lies will be seen, when 'tis remember'd, that the Question between us is not what Religion has the most clear and solid Grounds for the Belief of it, much less whether there are as clear and solid Grounds for the Belief of False Religions, as there are for the Belief of the True, i.e. whether Fallhood has as much Truth in it as Truth it self? A Question, which, I guess, no Man, but one of your great Pertinency could ever have propos'd. But the Question here between you and me, is what most point out to the Magistrate that Religion which he is by Force to promote, that so he may be able to perform the Duty that you pretend is incumbent on him by the Law of Nature; and here I prov'd, that having no certain demonstrative Knowledge of the true Religion, all that was left him to determine him in the Application of Force (which you make the proper Instrument of promoting the true Religion) for the promoting the true Religion, which was only his Persuasion, Belief, or Assurance of the true Religion, which was always his own; and so in this State, the Religion, which by Force the Magistrates of the World must of necessity promote, must be either their own, or none at all. Thus the Argument standing between us, I am apt to think the World may be of Opinion, that it had been pertinent to your Cause to have answer'd my Argument, if you had any thing to answer; which since you have not done, this Specimen also of the Facility, wherewith you can answer all I have said in the third Letter, may be joynd to the former, and be a Specimen of something else than what you intended it. For in truth, Sir, the endeavouring to set up a new Question absurd in it self, and nothing at all to the Purpose, without offering any thing to clear the Difficulty you were prefled with, will to understanding Readers appear pertinent in one that sets himself up for an arrant Draughtsman, and is giving Specimen of him self, that nothing can stand in his way.

'Tis with the same Pertinency that to this Proposition, That there are as clear and solid Grounds for the Belief of a False Religion as there are for the Belief of the True, you join this following as an equivalent, Or that Men may both as firmly and as rationally believe and embrace False Religions as they can the True; and you would fain have it thought that your Cause is gain'd, unless I will maintain these two absurd Propositions, which my Argument has nothing to do with. And you seem to me to build upon these two false Propositions.

I. That in the want of Knowledge and Certainty, of which is the true Religion, nothing is fit to set the Magistrate upon doing his Duty in employing of Force to make Men consider and embrace the true Religion, but the highest Persuasion and full Assurance of its Truth. Whereas his own Persuasion
fusion of the Truth of his own Religion, in what degree forever it be, so he believes it to be true, will, if he thinks it his Duty by Force to promote the true, be sufficient to set him on Work. Nor can it be otherwise, since his own Perfusion of his own Religion, which he judges so well grounded as to venture his future State upon it, cannot but be sufficient to set him upon doing what he takes to be his Duty in bringing others to the same Religion.

II. Another false Supposition you build upon is this, that the true Religion is always embraced with the firmest Affent. There is scarce any one so little acquainted with the World, that hath not met with Instances of Men most unwillingly reconciled, and fully assured'd in a Religion which was not the true. Nor is there among the many absurd Religions of the World, almost any one that does not find Votaries to lay down their Lives for it; and if that be not firm Perfusion and full Assurance that is stronger than the Love of Life, and has Force enough to make a Man throw himself into the Arms of Death, it is hard to know what is firm Perfusion and full Assurance. Jesus and Makemetaus have frequently given Instances of this highest Degree of Perfusion. And the Brahmin Religion in the East is entertain'd by its Followers with no less Assurance of its Truth, since it is not unusual for some of them to throw themselves under the Wheels of a mighty Chariot, wherein they on solemn Days draw the Image of their God about in Procession, there to be crushed to Death, and sacrifice their Lives in Honour of the God they believe in. If it be objected, that those are Examples of mean and common Men; but the great Men of the World, and the Heads of Societies, do not so easily give themselves up to a confirm'd Bigotry. I answer, The Perfusion they have of the Truth of their own Religion, is sufficiently strong enough to make them venture themselves, and use Force to others upon the Belief of it. Princes are made like other Men, believe upon the like Grounds that other Men do, and act as warmly upon that Belief, though the Grounds of their Perfusion be in themselves not very clear, or may appear to others to be not of the utmost Solidity. Men act by the Strength of their Perfusion, though they do not always place their Perfusion and Affent on that side, on which in reality the Strength of Truth lies. Reasons that are not thought of, not heard of, not rightly apprehended, nor duly weighed, make no Impression on the Mind: And Truth, how richly forever foster'd with them, may not be attent'd to, but lie neglected. The only Difference between Princes and other Men herein, is this, that Princes are usually more positive in Matters of Religion, but less instructed. The Softness and Pleasures of a Court, to which they are usually abandon'd when young, and Affairs of State which wholly possest them when grown up, seldom allow any of them time to consider and examine that they may embrace the true Religion. And here your Scheme, upon your own Supposition, has a fundamental Error that over-turns it. For you affirming that Force, your way apply'd, is the necessary and competent Means to bring Men to the true Religion, you leave Magistrates delitute of these necessary and competent Means of being brought to the true Religion, tho' that be the readiest way, in your Scheme the only way, to bring other Men to it, and is contended for by you as the only Method.

But farther, you will perhaps be ready to reply, that you do not say bare-barely, that Men may not as firmly, but that they cannot as firmly and as rationally believe and embrace false Religions as they can the true. This, be it as true as it will, is of no manner of Advantage to your Cause. For here the Question, necessary to be consider'd in your way of arguing returns upon you, who must be the Judge whether the Magistrate believes and embraces his Religion rationally or no? If he himself be Judge, then he does act rationally, and it must have the same Operation on him, as if it were the most rational in the World: If you must be Judge for him, whether his Belief be rational or no, why may not others judge for him as well as you: Or at least he judge for you, as well as you for him; at least till you have produc'd your Patent of Infallibility and Commission of Superintendency over the Belief of the Magistrates of the Earth, and shewn the Commission whereby you are appointed the Director of the Magistrates of the World in their Belief, which is or is not the true Religion; do not
think this said without Caufe, your whole Discourse here has no other Tendency, but the making your self Judge of what Religion should be promoted by the Magistrate’s Force; which, let me tell you by the way, every warm Zealot in any Religion, has as much a Right to be as you. I beseech you tell me, are you not perfused, nay, fully assure, that the Church of England is in the right, and all that differ from Her are in the Wrong? Why else would you have Force us’d to make them consider and conform? If then the Religion of the Church of England be, as you are fully assure, the only true Religion, and the Magistrate must ground his Persuasion of the Truth of his Religion, on such clear and solid Proofs as the true Religion alone has, and no false one can have, and by that Persuasion the Magistrate must be directed in the Use of Force (for all this in Effect, you say, in the sixth and beginning of the seventh Pages) what is this but covertly to say, that it is the Duty of all Magistrates to use Force to bring Men to embrace the Religion of the Church of England? Which since it plainly follows from your Doctrine, and I think you cannot deny to be your Opinion, and what in effect you contend for, you will do well to speak it out in plain Words, and then there will need no more to be said in the Question.

And now I desire it may be consider’d, what Advantage this Supposition of Force, which is suppos’d put into the Magistrate’s Hands by the Law of Nature to be us’d in Religion, brings to the true Religion, which must unavoidably in the State of things in the World act against it, for one that uses Force for it. I say, that this Use of Force in the Magistrate’s Hand is barely suppos’d by you from the Benefit it is like to produce; but it being Demonstration, that the Prejudice that will accrue to the true Religion from such a Use of Force, is five hundred times more than the Advantages can be expected from it, the natural and unavoidable Inference from your own ground of Benefit, is, that God never gave any such Power to the Magistrate; and there it will rest till you can, by some better Argument prove the Magistrate to have such a Power; To which give me leave to add one Word more.

You say the Magistrate is obliged by the Law of Nature to use Force to promote the true Religion; must he stand still and do nothing till he certainly know which is the true Religion? If so, the Commission is lost, and he can never do his Duty; for to certain Knowledge of the true Religion he can in this World never arrive. May he then act upon firm Persuasion and full Assurance, grounded upon such clear and solid Proofs as the true Religion alone has, and no false one can have? And then indeed you have distinguished your self into a false Retreat. For who can doubt but your third fort or degree of Persuasion, if that be your Meaning, will determine the Magistrate to the true Religion, when it is grounded on those which are the Proofs only of the true Religion, which if it be all that you intend by your full Assurance (which is the Title you give to this your third fort or degree of Persuasion) I must desire you to apply this in Answer to my Argument. I say, Magistrates in general have nothing to determine them in their Application of Force but their own Persuasion; and your Answer is, the Magistrates of the true Religion have their own Persuasion to determine them; but of all the other Magistrates, which are above an hundred, I might say a thousand to one, you say nothing at all; and thus, by the Help of a Distinction, the Question is resolved. I say the Magistrates are not in a Capacity to perform their Duty, if they be oblig’d to use Force to promote the true Religion, since they have nothing to determine them but their own Persuasion of the Truth of any Religion; which, in the Variety of Religions which the Magistrates of the World have embraced, cannot direct them to the true. Yes, say you, their Persuasion, who have embraced the true Religion, will direct them to the true Religion. Which amounts at last to no more but this, That the Magistrate that is in the right is in the right. A very true Proposition without doubt; but whether it removes the Difficulty I proposed any better than begging the Question, you were best consider. There are five hundred Magistrates of false Religions for one that is of the true; I speak much within Compacts; ’tis a Duty incumbent on them all, say you, to use Force to bring Men to the true Religion. My Question is, how can this be compelled by Men who are unavoidably determined by the Persuasion of the Truth of their own Religion? ’Tis answer’d,
they who are of the true Religion will perform their Duty. A great Advantage surely to true Religion, and worth the contending for, that it should be the Magistrate’s Duty to use Force for promoting the true Religion, when in the State of things that is at present in the World, and always hitherto has been, one Magistrate in five hundred will use Force to promote the true Religion, and the other four hundred ninety nine to promote false ones.

But perhaps you will tell me, That you do not allow that Magistrates, who are of false Religions, should be determin’d by their own Persuasions, which are built upon fictitious and false appearances of Probability; but such as are grounded upon clear and solid Proofs, which the true Religion alone has. In answer to this, I ask, Who must be Judge whether his Persuasion be grounded on clear and solid Proofs, the Magistrate himself, or you for him? If the Magistrate himself, then we are but where we were; and all that you say here, with the Distinction that you have made about several forts of Persuasion, serves only to lead us round about to the same place: For the Magistrate, of what Religion soever, must, notwithstanding all you have said, be determin’d by his own Persuasion. If you say you must be Judge of the Clearness and Solidity of the Proofs upon which the Magistrate grounds the Belief of his own Religion, it is time you should produce your Patent, and shew the Commission whereby you act.

There are other Qualifications you assign of the Proof, on which you tell us your third fort or degree of Persuasion is grounded; and that is such as leaves no reasonable Doubt in an attentive and unbiassed Mind: Which unless you must be Judge what is a reasonable Doubt, and which is an attentive and unbiassed Mind, will do you no manner of Service. If the Magistrate must be Judge for himself in this Case, you can have nothing to say to him; but if you must be Judge, then any Doubt about your Religion will be unreasonable, and his not embracing and promoting your Religion will be Want of Attention and an unbiassed Mind. But let me tell you, give but the same Liberty of judging for the Magistrate of your Religion to the Men of another Religion, which they have as much Right to as you have to judge for the Magistrate of any other Religion in the Points mentioned, all this will return upon you. Go into France and try whether it be so fo. So that your Plea for the Magistrate’s using Force for promoting the true Religion, as you have stated it, gives as much Power and Authority to the King of France to use it against his dissenting Subjects, as to any other Prince in Christendom to use it against theirs; name which you please.

The Fallacy in making it the Magistrate’s Duty to promote by Force the only true Religion, lies in this, That you allow your self to suppose the Magistrate, who is of your Religion, to be well-grounded, attentive and unbiassed, and fully and firmly assured that his Religion is true; but that other Magistrates of other Religions different from your’s are not so; Which is it but to erect your self into a State of Infallibility above all other Men of different Persuasions from your’s, which yet they have as good a Title to as your self?

Having thus advanced your self into the Chair, and given your self the Power of deciding for all Men, which is, and which is not the true Religion, it is not to be wonder’d you so roundly pronounce all my Disquisitions, p. 3, 4, concerning the Difference between Faith and Knowledge to be Impertinency; and so Magisterially to tell me, That the thing I was there concern’d to make out, if I would speak to the Purpose, was no other but this, That there are as clear and as solid Grounds for the Belief of false Religions, as there are for Belief of the true: Or, that Men may both as firmly and as rationally believe and embrace false Religions as they can the true.

The Impertinency in these two or three Pages I shall leave to shunt for it fell in the Judgment of any indifferent Reader; and will only, at present, examine what you tell I was concern’d to make out if I would speak to the Purpose.

My Business there was to prove, That the Magistrate being taught that it was his Duty to use Force to promote the true Religion, it would thence unavoidably follow, that not having Knowledge of the Truth of any Religion, but only Belief that it was true to determine him in his Application of
of Force, he would take himself in Duty bound to promote his own Religion by Force; and thereupon Force would inevitably be used to promote false Religions, upon those very Grounds upon which you pretend to make it serviceable only to the true: And this, I suppose, I have in those Pages evidently proved, though you think not fit to give any other Answer to what I there say, but that it is impertinent; and I should have proved something else, which you would have done well, by a plain and clear Deduction, to have shewn from my Words.

[The two following Leaves of the Copy are either lost or mislaid.]

After this new Invention of your's, of answering by Specimen, so happily found out for the Eafe of your self and other Disputants of Renown, that shall please to follow it, I cannot presume you should take notice of any thing I have to say: You have assumed the Privilege, by shewing your Strength against one Argument, to pronounce all the rest baffled; and therefore to what Purpofe is it to offer Difficulties to you, who can blow them all off with a Breath? But yet to apologize for myself to the World, for being of Opinion that it is not always from want of Consideration, Attention, or being unhy'd, that Men with Firmness of Persuasion embrace, and with full Assurance adhere to the wrong Side in Matters of Religion; I shall take the Liberty to offer the famous Infantine of the two Raynolds, Brothers, both Men of Learning and Parts; whereof the one being of the Church of England, and the other of the Church of Rome, they both desiring each other's Conversion to the Religion which he himself was of, that they write to one another about it; and with such Appearance of solid and clear Grounds on both Sides, that they were wrought upon by them: Each chang'd his Religion, and that with so firm a Persuasion, and full an Assurance of the Truth of that which he turn'd to; that no Endeavours or Arguments of either of them could ever after move the other, or bring him back from what he had perfused him to. If now I should ask to which of these two, full Assurance pointed out the true Religion? You no doubt, if you would answer at all, would say, To him that embrac'd that of the Church of England, and a Papist would say the other: But if an indifferent Man were ask'd whether this full Assurance was sufficient to point out the true Religion to either of them, he must answer, No; for if it were, they must necessarily have been both of the same Religion.

To sum up then what you answer to my saying, "It cannot be the Magistrate's Duty to use Force to promote the true Religion, because he is not in a Capacity to perform that Duty; for not having a certain Knowledge, but only his own Persuasion to point out to him which is the true Religion, if he be satisfied 'tis his Duty to use Force to promote the true Religion, it will inevitably follow, that he must always use it to promote his own." To which you answer, That a Persuasion of a low Degree is not sufficient to point out that Religion to the Magistrate which he is to promote by Force; but that a Firmness and Stability of Persuasion, a full Assurance is that which is to point out to the Magistrate that Religion which he is by Force to promote. Wherefore, if by Firmness and Stability of Persuasion and full Assurance, you mean what the Words import, 'tis plain you confess the Magistrate's Duty is to promote his own Religion by Force; for that is the Religion which his firm Persuasion and full Assurance points out to him. If by full Assurance you mean any thing but the Strength of Persuasion, you contradict all that you have said about Firmness and Stability, and Degrees of Persuasion; and having in that Sense allow'd the Sufficiency of my Division, where I say, "Knowledge or Opinion must point out that Religion to him, which he is by Force to promote;" retract it again, and instead thereof under the Name of full Assurance, you substiture and put in true Religion, and so Firmness of Persuasion is in effect laid by, and nothing but the Name made use of: For pray tell me, Is Firmness of Persuasion, or being of the true Religion, either of them by it self, sufficient to point out to the Magistrate that Religion which it is his Duty to promote by Force? For they do not always go together. If being of the true Religion by it self may do Vol. III. Y y y 2
it, your mentioning Firmness of Persuasion, grounded on solid Proof that
leaves no Doubt, is to no Purpofe, but to mislead your Reason; for every
one that is of the true Religion, does not arrive at that high Degree of
Persuasion, that full Assurance, which approaches that which is very near to
that which is produced by Demonstration. And in this Sense of full Assurance,
which you say Men may have of the true Religion, and can never have of
a false one, your Answer amounts to this, That full Assurance, in him that
embraces the true Religion, will point out the Religion he is by Force to pro-
move: Where 'tis plain, that by Falsities of Assurance you do mean not the
Firmness of his Persuasion that points out to him the Religion which he is
by Force to promote (for any lower Degree of Persuasion to him, that
embraces the true Religion would do it as certainly; and to one that embraces
not the true Religion, the highest Degree of Persuasion would even in your
Opinion do nothing at all,) but his being of the true Religion, is that which
alone guides him to his Duty of promoting the true Religion by Force.

So that to my Question, how shall a Magistrate, who is persuaded that it
is his, and every Magistrate's Duty to promote the true Religion by Force,
be determined in his Use of Force? You seem to say his firm Persuasion or full
Assurance of the Truth of the Religion he so promotes must determine him;
and presently, in other Words, you seem to lay the Stress upon his actually
being of the true Religion. The first of these Answers is not true; for I
have shown, that Firmness of Persuasion may and does point out to Ma-
gistrates false Religions as well as the true: And the second is much what
the same, as it to one, who should ask what should enable a Man to find the
right Way who knows it not, it should be answered, the being in it. One
of these must be your Meaning, (chose which you please of them) if you
have any Meaning at all in your sixth, and Beginning of the seventh Page,
to which I refer the Reader; where, if he find nothing else, he cannot
fail to find a Specimen of School-play, of talking uncertainly in the utmost
Perfection, nicely and artificially worded, that it may serve for a Specimen
of a Master-piece in that Kind, but a Specimen of the Answerables of my
Letter will require, as I imagine, a little more plain Dealing. And to fa-
tisfie Readers, that have not attain'd to the Admiration of skilfully saying
nothing; you must directly inform them, whether Firmness of Persuasion
be or be not sufficient in a Magistrate to enable him to do his Duty in pro-
moting the true Religion by Force, or else this you have pitch'd on will force
be a Sample of the Answerables of all I have said.

But you stand positive in it, and that is like a Master, that it cannot be
infer'd from the Magistrate's being obliged to promote by Force the true
Religion, that every Magistrate is obliged to promote by Force his own Reli-
gion. And that for the same Reason you had given before, more perplext
and obscurely, viz. Because there is this perpetual Advantage on the Side of the true
Religion, that it may and ought to be believed in clear and solid Grounds, such as will
appear the more so, the more they are examined: Whereas no other Religion can be
believed so, but upon such Appearances only as will not bear a just Examination.

This would be an Answer to what I have said, if it were so that all Ma-
gistrates saw the Preponderancy of the Grounds of Belief, which are on the
Side of the true Religion; but since it is not the Grounds and Reasons of
a Truth that are not seen, that do or can fet the Magistrate upon doing
his Duty in the Case; but 'tis the Persuasion of the Mind, produc'd by such
Reasons and Grounds as do affect it, that alone does, or is capable, to deter-
mine the Magistrate in the Use of Force, for performing of his Duty; it
necessarily follows, that if two Magistrates have equally strong Persuasions
concerning the Truth of their Religions respectively, they must both be
set on work thereby, or neither; for though one be of a false, and the
other of the true Religion; yet the Principle of Operation, that alone which
they have to determine them, being equal in both, they must both be deter-
mined by it; unless it can be said, that one of them muft act according to
that Principle, which alone can determine, and the other muft act against
it; that is, do what he cannot do; be determined to one thing, by what at
the same time determines him to another. From which Incapacity in Ma-
gistrates
griphates to perform their Duty by Force to promote the true Religion, I think it may justly be concluded, that to use Force for the promoting any Religion, cannot be their Duty.

You tell us, 'tis by the Law of Nature Magistrates are obliged to promote the true Religion by Force. It must be own'd, that if this be an Obligation of the Law of Nature, very few Magistrates overlook it, so forward are they to promote that Religion by Force which they take to be true. This being the Case, I beseech you tell me what was Huaina Capa, Emperor of Peru oblig'd to do? Who, being persuaded of his Duty to promote the true Religion, was not yet within distance of knowing so much as hearing of the Christian Religion, which really is the true, (so far was he from a Possibility to have his Belief grounded upon the solid and clear Proofs of the true Religion.) Was he to promote the true Religion by Force? That he neither did nor could know any thing of, so that That was morally impossible for him to do. Was he to sit still in the Neglect of his Duty incumbent on him? That is in effect to suppose it a Duty and no Duty at the same time. If upon his not knowing which is the true Religion, you allow it his Duty to promote it by Force, the Question is at an End: You and I are agreed, that it is not the Magistrate's Duty by Force to promote the true Religion. If you hold it in that Case to be his Duty: What remains for him to do, but to use Force to promote that Religion which he himself is strongly, nay perhaps to the highest Degree of Firmness, persuaded is the true? Which is the granting what I contend for, that, if the Magistrate be obliged to promote by Force the true Religion, it will thence follow, That he is obliged to promote by Force that Religion which he is persuaded is the true; since, as you will have it, Force was given him to that End, and it is his Duty to use it, and he hath nothing else to determine it to that End but his own Persuasion. So that one of these two Things must follow, either That in that Case it ceases to be his Duty, or else he must promote his own Religion; choose you which you please...
MEMOIRS
Relating to the
LIFE
OF
Anthony First Earl of Shaftsbury.
To which are added,
Three LETTERS writ by the E. of Shaftesbury
while Prisoner in the Tower; one to King
Charles II; another to the Duke of York; and
a third to a Noble Lord: Found with
Mr. Locke's MEMOIRS, &c.

BEING at Oxford in the beginning of the Civil War, (for he
was on that Side as long as he had any Hopes to serve his
Country there) he was brought one Day to King Charles I. by
the Lord Falkland his Friend, then Secretary of State, and pre-
sented to him as having something to offer to his Majesty
worth his Consideration. At this Audience he told the King
that he thought he could put an End to the War if his Ma-
jesty pleased, and would affix him in it. The King anfwer'd, that he was a
very young Man for so great an Undertaking. Sir, reply'd he, that will not
be the worfe for your Affairs, provided I do the Bufinefs; whereupon the King
shewing a Willingnefs to hear him, he difcourfed to him to this Purpofe.

The Gentlemen and Men of Eftates, who firft engag'd in this War, feeing
now after a Year or two that it seems to be no nearer the End than it was
at firft, and beginning to be weary of it, I am very well satisfied, would be
glad to be at Quiet at Home again, if they could be affur'd of a Redrefs
of their Grievances, and have their Rights and Liberties fecur'd to them.
This I am satisfied is the present Temper generally through all England, and
particularly in thofe Parts where my Eftate and Concerns lie; if therefore
your Majesty will impower me to treat with the Parliament-Garrifions to
grant them a full and general Pardon, with an Affurance that a general
Amnefty
Amnesty (Arms being laid down on both Sides) should reinstate all things in the same Pottle they were before the War, and then a free Parliament should do what more remain’d to be done for the Settlement of the Nation. That he would begin and try the Experiment first in his own Country, and doubted not but the good Success he should have there, would open him the Gates of other adjoyning Garrisons, bringing them the News of Peace and Security in laying down their Arms.

Being furnish’d with full Power according to his Desire, away he goes to Duwestheire, where he managed a Treaty with the Garrisons of Pool, Weymouth, Dorchester, and others; and was so successful in it, that one of them was actually put into his Hands, as the other were to have been some few Days after. But Prince Maurice, who commanded some of the King’s Forces, being with his Army then in those Parts, no sooner heard that the Town was surrender’d, but he presently march’d into it, and gave the Pillage of it to his Soldiers. This SIR A. law with the utmost Displeasure, and could not forbear to express his Refentence to the Prince, so that there pass’d some pretty hot Words between them; but the Violence was committed, and thereby his Design broken. All that he could do was, that he sent to the other Garrisons, he was in Treaty with, to stand upon their Guard, for that he could not secure his Articles to them, and so this Design prov’d abortive and died in Silence.

This Project of his for putting an End to a Civil War, which had sufficiently harrased the Kingdom, and no Body could tell what fatal Consequences it might have, being thus frustrated, it was not long before his active Thoughts, always intent upon saving his Country (the Good of that being that by which he fleer’d his Counsel and Actions through the whole Course of his Life) it was not long before he set his Head upon framing another Design to the same Purpose. The first Project of it took its Rise in a Debate between him and Serjeant Fountain in an Inn at Hungerford, where they accidentally met, and both disliking the Continuance of the War, and deploiring the Ruin it threaten’d, it was started between them, that the Countries all through England, shou’d arm and endeavour to suppress the Armies on both Sides. This Proposal, which, in one Night’s Debate, look’d more like a well-meant With than a form’d Design, he afterwards consider’d more at leisure, framed and fashioned into a well-ordered and practical Contrivance, and never left working in it till he had brought most of the sober and well-intention’d Gentlemen of both Sides all through England into it. This was that which gave Rise to that third Sort of Army, which of a sudden started up in several Parts of England, with so much Terror to the Armies both of King and Parliament, and had not some of those who had engag’d in it, and had undertaken to rise at the Time appointed, fail’d, the Cluimen, for so they were called, had been strong enough to carry their Point, which was to make both Sides lay down their Arms, and if they would not do it, to force them to it; to declare for a general Amnesty, to have the then Parliament dissolv’d, and to have a new one call’d for redressing the Grievances, and settling the Nation. This Undertaking was not a Romantick Fancy, but had very promising Grounds of Success; for the Yeomanry and Body of the People had suffer’d already very much by the War, and the Gentry and Men of Estates had abated much of their Fiercenes, and wish’d to return to their former Ease, Security and Plenty, especially perceiving that the Game, particularly on the King’s Side, began to be play’d out of their Hands, and that it was the Soldiers of Fortune who were best look’d upon at Court, and had the Commands and Power put into their Hands.

He had been for some time before in Duwestheire, forming and combining the Parts of this great Machine, till at length he got it to begin to move. But those, who had been forward to enter into the Design, not being so vigorous and resolute, when the time was to appear and act; and the Court, who had learnt or suspected that it had its Rise and Life from him, having so strict an Eye upon him that he could not maintain Correspondence with distant Countries, and animate the several Parts as it was necessary, before it was his time to stir, He receiv’d a very civil and more than ordinary Letter from
from the King to come to him at Oxford; but he wanted not Friends there to inform him of the Danger it would be to him to appear there, and to confirm him in the Suspicion that the King’s Letter put him in, that there was something else meant him, and not so much Kindness as that expressed. Besides, the Lord Goring, who lay with an Army in those parts, had Orders from Court to seize him, and had civilly sent him Word, that he would come such a Day and dine with him. All this together made him see that he could be no longer safe at home, nor in the King’s Quarters; he therefore went, whither he was driven, into the Parliament Quarters, and took Shelter in Portsmouth. Thus, for endeavouring to save his King and Country, he was banish’d from the Side he had chosen. And the Court, that was then in high Hopes of nothing less than perfect Conquest, and being Masters of all, had a great Aversion to moderate Counsels, and to those of the Nobility and Gentry of their Party, who were Authors or Favourers of any such Proposals as might bring Things to a Composition. Such Well-wishers to their Country, though they had spent much, and ventured all on the King’s Side, when they appeared for any other End of the War but Dint of Arms, and a total Reduction of the Parliament by Force, were counted Enemies; and any Contrivance carried on to that End was interpreted Treason.

A Person of his Consideration thus rejected and cast off by the King, and taking Sanctuary with them, was receiv’d by the Parliament with open Arms; and though he came in from the other Side, and put himself into their Hands without any Terms; yet there were those among them that so well knew his Worth, and what Value they ought to put upon it, that he was soon after offer’d considerable Employments under them, and was actually trusted with Command, without so much as ever being question’d concerning what he knew of Persons or Counsels on the other Side, where they knew that his great Penetration and forward Mind, would not let him live in Ignorance among the great Men who were most of them his Friends, and all his Acquaintance.

But though he was not suffer’d to stay among those with whom he had embark’d, and had liv’d in Confidence with, and was for’d to go over to the Parliament, he carried thither himself only, and nothing of any Body’s else; he left them and all their Concerns, Actions, Purposes, Counsels perfectly behind him, and no Body of the King’s Side could complain of him after the Day he went from his House, where he could be no longer safe, that he had any Memory of what he had known when one of them.

This Forgettingness to becoming a Gentleman, and a Man of Honour, he had establish’d fo firmly in his own Mind, that his Resolution to perish in it was like afterwards to cost him no little Trouble. Mr. Dentell Hollis (afterwards the Lord Hollis) had been one of the Commissioners employ’d by the Parliament in the Treaty at Usheridge, he had there had some secret and separate Transactions with the King; this could not be kept so secret, but that it got some Vent, and some of the Parliament had some Notice of it. Mr. Hollis being afterwards attacked in Parliament by a contrary Party, there wanted nothing perfectly to ruin him, but some Witnesses to give Credulity to such an Accusation against him. Sir A. Abell Cooper they thought fit for their Purposes, they doubted not but he knew enough of it, and they made sure that he would not fail to embrace such a fair and unsought-for Opportunity of ruining Mr. Hollis, who had been long his Enemy upon a Family Quarrel, which he had carried so far, as, by his Power in the House, to hinder him from sitting in the Parliament upon a fair Election for that Parliament. Upon this Presumption he was summon’d to the House, and being called in, was there asked, whether when he was at Oxford he knew not, or had not heard something concerning Mr. Hollis’s secret Transaction with the King at the Treaty at Usheridge. To this Question he told them he could answer nothing at all; for though possibly what he had to say would be to the clearing of Mr. Hollis; yet he could not allow himself to say any thing in the Cafe, since whatever answer he made, it would be a Confession that if he had known any thing to the Disadvantage of Mr. Hollis, he would have

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taken
taken that dishonourable Way of doing him a Prejudice, and wreak his Revenge on a Man that was his Enemy.

Those who had brought him there professed him mightily to declare, but in vain, the Threats were added of sending him to the Tower. He persisting obstinately silent was bid to withdraw, and those who had depended upon his Discovery being defeated, and consequently very much displeas'd, mov'd warmly for his Commitment; of which he, waiting in the Lobby, having notice, unmov'd expected his Doom, tho' several of his Friends coming out, were earnest with him to satisifie the House; but he kept firm to his Resolution, and found Friends enough among the great Men of the Party that oppos'd Mr. Hollis to bring him off; who very much applauded the Generosity of his Carriage, and shew'd that Action so much to deferre the Commandation, rather than the Censure of that Assembly, that the angry Men were aham'd to insist farther on it, and so drop'd the Debate.

Some Days after Mr. Hollis came to his Lodging, and having in Terms of great Acknowledgment and Esteem express'd his Thanks for his late Behaviour in the House, with respect to him: He reply'd, That he pretend'd not therby to merit any thing of him, or to lay an Obligation on him; that what he had done, was not out of any Consideration of him, but what was due to himself, and he should equally have done, had any other Man been concern'd in it, and therefore he was perfectly as much at liberty as before, to live with him as he pleased. But with all, that he was not so ignorant of Mr. Hollis's Worth, nor knew fo little how to put a just Value on his Friendship, as not to receive it as a very great and sensible Favour, if he thought him a Person worthy on whom to bestow it. Mr. Hollis, not less taken with his Difcourfe than what had occasion'd it, gave him fresh and repeated Assurances of his sincere and hearty Friendship, which were receiv'd with suitable Expressions. And thus an old Quarrel between two Men of high Spirits and great Estates, Neighbours in the same County, ended in a sound and firm Friendship, which lasted as long as they liv'd.

This Passage brings to my Mind what I remember to have often heard him say concerning a Man's Obligation to Silence, in regard of Difcourfe made to him or in his Prefence: That it was not enough to keep close and uncommunicated what had been committ'd to him with that Caution, but there was a general and tacit Trust in Conversation, whereby a Man was oblig'd not to report again any thing that might be any way to the Speaker's Prejudice, tho' no Intimation had been given of a Desire not to have it spoke again.

He was wont to say, that Wisdom lay in the Heart and not in the Head, and that it was not the want of Knowledge, but the Perverfions of the Will that fill'd Men's Actions with Folly, and their Lives with Disorder.

That there was in every one, two Men, the Wife and the Foolish, and that each of them must be allow'd his Turn. If you would have the Wife, the Grave, and the Serious always to rule and have the Sway, the Fool would grow fo peevish and troublesome, that he would put the wife Man out of Order, and make him fit for nothing; He must have his Times of being let loose to follow his Fancies, and play his Gambols, if you would have your Business go on smoothly.

I have heard him also say, that he defir'd no more of any Man but that he would talk; If he would but talk, said he, let him talk as he pleases. And indeed I never knew any one penetrate fo quick into Men's Breaths, and from a small Opening, surfey that dark Cabinet, as he would. He would understand Men's true Errand as soon as they had open'd their Mouths, and begun their Story in appearance to another Purpofe.

Sir Rich. Onslow and He were invited by Sir J. D. to dine with him at Chelsea, and desir'd to come early, because he had an Affair of Concernment to communicate to them. They came at the time, and being fat, he told them he had made Choice of them both for their known Abilities, and particular Friendship to him, for their Advice in a Matter of the greatest Moment to him that could be. He had, he said, been a Widower for many Years, and began to want some Body that might safe him of the Trouble of House-keeping,
keeping, and take some Care of him under the growing Infirmities of old Age; and to that Purpose had pitch’d upon a Woman very well known to him by the Experience of many Years, in fine, his Houfe-keeper. These Gentlemen, who were not Strangers to his Family, and knew the Woman very well, and were besides very great Friends to his Son and Daughter, grown up, and both fit for Marriage, to whom they thought this would be a very prejudicial Match, were both in their Minds opposite to it; and to that Purpose Sir Rich. Onslow began the Discourse; wherein, when he came to that Part, he was entreating upon the Description of the Woman, and going to fet her out in her own Colours, which were such as could not have pleas’d any Man in his Wife. Sir Anthony seeing whither he was going, to prevent any Mischief, beg’d leave to interrupt him, by asking Sir J. a Question, which in short was this, whether he were not already married? Sir J. after a little Demur, anfwer’d, Yes truly he was married the Day before. Well then, reply’d Sir Anthony, there is no more need of our Advice; pray let us have the Honour to fee my Lady and with her Joy, and fo to Dinner. As they were returning to London in their Coach, I am oblig’d to you, said Sir Rich. for preventing my running into a Discourse which could never have been for-given me, if I had spoke out what I was going to say. But as for Sir J. he methinks ought to cut your Throat for your civil Question. How could it possibly enter into your Head to ask a Man, who had solemnly invited us on purpoze to have our Advice about a Marriage he intended, had gravely pro-posed the Woman to us, and fuffer’d us seriously to enter into the Debate, whether he were already married or no? The Man, and the Manner, reply’d Sir Anthony, gave me a Suspicion that having done a foolish thing, he was defirous to cover himself with the Authority of our Advice. I thought it good to be sure before you went any farther, and you fee what came of it. This afforded them Entertainment till they came to Town, and so they parted.

Soon after the Restauration of King Charles II. the Earl of Southampton and he having dined together at the Chancellor’s, as they were returning home, he said to my Lord Southampton, Yonder Mrs. Ann Hide (for fo as I remember he fill’d her) is certainly married to one of the Brothers. The Earl who was a Friend to the Chancellor, treated this as a Chimera, and ask’d him how fo wild a Fanfie could get into his Head? Affure your fel’d, Sir, reply’d he, it is fo. A conceale’d Respect, however suppress’d, fhewed it felt fo plainly in the Looks, Voice and Manner, wherewith her Mother care’d to her, or offer’d her of every Dift, that ’tis impoffible but it muft be fo. My Lord S. who thought it a groundlefs Conceit then, was not long after convin’d by the Duke of York’s owning of her, that Lord Aflby was no bad Guelfer.

I fhall give one Inflance more of his great Sagacity, wherein it prov’d of great Ufe to him in a Cafe of mighty Confequence. Having reafon to ap-prehend what Tyranny the Ufurpation of the Government by the Officers of the Army under the Title of the Committee of Safety might end in; he thought the firft Step to Settlement was the breaking of them, which could not be done with any pretence of Authority, but that of the Long Parliament. Meeting therefore secretly with Sir Arthur Hafleigh, and some others of the Members, they gave Commissions in the Name of the Parliament to be Major-General, one of the Forces about London, another of the Wefl, &c. and this when they had not one Soldier. Nay, he often would tell it laughing, that when he had his Commission his great Care was where to hide it. Before this he had secure’d Portsmouth; for the Governour of it, Coll. Metham, being his old Acquaintance and Friend, he ask’d him one Day, meeting him by Chance in Westminster-Hall, whether he would put Portsmouth into his Hands if he should happen to have an Occafion for it? Metham promis’d it should be at his Devotion. These Tranfactions, tho’ no Part of them were known in particular, yet caufing some remote Preparations, alarm’d Wallingford-Houfe, where the Committee of Safety sat, and made them fo attentive to all Actions and Discoveries that might give them any Light, that at laft they were fully persuad’d there was something a
brewing against them, and that Matter for Commotions in several Parts was gathering. They knew the Vigour and Activity of Sir A. Afsley and how well he stood affectionated to them, and therefore suspected that he was at the Bottom of this Matter. To find what they could, and secure the Man they moat apprehended, he was sent for to Wallingford-House, where Fleetwood examin’d him according to the Suspicions he had of him; that he was laying Designs in the Welf against them, and was working the People to an Insurrec-
tion that he intended to Head there. He told them, he knew no Obliga-
tion he was under to give them an Account of his Actions, nor to make them any Promises; but to shew them how ill-grounded their Suspicions were, he promised that he would not go out of Town without coming first and giving him an Account of it. Fleetwood knowing his Word might be rely’d on, satis-
tished with the Promise he had made, let him go upon his Parole. That which deceived them in the Cafe, was, that knowing his Estate and Interest lay in the Welf, they premund, that That was his Polt, and there certainly if any Stir was he would appear, since there lay his great Strength, and they had no Body else in View who could supply his Room, and manage that Part. But they were mistaken, Hafelrig, upon the Knowledge that they should have Portsmouth, forwardly took that Province; and he, who had In-
struments at work in the Army quartered in and about London, and knew that must be the Place of most Buinefs and Management, and where the Turn of Affairs would be, had chosen that.

Lambert, who was one of the Rulers at Wallingford-House, happened to be away when he was there, and came not in till he was gone: When they told him that Sir A. Afsley had been there, and what had passed, he blamed Fleetwood for letting him go, and told him they should have securfed him, for that certainly there was something in it that they were deceiv’d in, and they should not have parted so easily with so buife and dangerous a Man as he was. Lambert was of a quicker Sight, and a deeper Reach than Fleetwood, and the rest of that Gang, and knowing of what Moment it was to their Secu-
ritiy to frustrate the Contrivances of that working and able Head, was resol-
v, if possibly he could, to get him into his Clutches.

Sir A. A. coming home to his Houfe in Street in Covent-Garden one Evening, found a Man knocking at his Door. He ask’d his Buinefs; the Man answer’d, It was with him, and fell a discoursing with him. Sir A. A. heard him out, and gave him such an Answer as he thought proper, and so they parted, the Stranger out of the Entry where they flood, into the Street, and Sir A. A. along the Entry into the Houfe, but guessing by the Story the other told him, that the Buinefs was but a Pretence, and that his real Errand he came about was something else; when he parted from the Fellow went inwards, as if he intended to go into the Houfe, but as soon as the Fellow was gone, turned short, and went out, and went to his Barber’s which was but jult by; where he was no sooner got in, and got up Stairs into a Chamber, but his Door was betw with Musketeers, and the Officer went in to too others to seize him; but not finding him, they searched every Cor-
ner and Cranny of the Houfe diligently, the Officer declaring he was sure he was in the Houfe, for he had left him there jult now; as was true, for he had gone no farther than the Corner of the Half-Moon-Tavern, which was jult by to fetch a File of Soldiers that he had left there in the Strand out of fight, whilst he went to discouer whether the Gentleman he sought were within or no; where doubting not to find him safely lodged, he return’d with his Mir-
imons to his Houfe, sure as he thought, of his Prey; but Sir A. A. saw thro’
his made Story, and gave him the Slip. After this he was fain to get out of the way and conceal himself under a Disguife; but he hid himself not lazily in a Hole, he made War upon them at Wallingford-House ingeniously, as he was, and made them feel him, though he kept out of fight. **

Several Companies of their Soldiers drew up in Lincoln-fields without their Officers, and there put themselves under the Command of such Officers as he appointed them. The City began to roufe it fell, and to shew manifcred Signs of little Regard to Wallingford-House, and he never left working, till he had rais’d a Spirit and Strength enough to declare openly
for the old Parliament, as the only legal Authority then in England, which had any Pretence to claim and take on them the Government. For Portsmouth being put into the Hands of Sir Arthur Hafelig, and the City shewing their Inclination, the Countries readily took into it, and by their concurrent Weight reinstated the excluded Members in their former Administration. This was the first open Step he made towards the wresting the Civil Power out of the Hands of the Army; who having thought Richard, Oliver's Son, unworthy of it, had taken it to themselves, executed by a Committee of their own Officers, where Lambert who had the chief Command and Influence in the Army had plac'd it, till he had model'd things among them, so as might make way for his taking the sole Administration into his own Hands; but Sir A. A. found a Way to strip him of that as soon as the Parliament was refor'd.

The first thing he did was to get from them a Commission to himself, and two or three more of the most weighty and popular Members of the House, to have the Power of General of all the Forces in England, which they were to execute jointly. This was no sooner done but he got them together, where he had provided abundance of Clerks who were immediately set to work to transcribe a great many Copies of the Form of a Letter, wherein they reciting, that it had pleas'd God to restore the Parliament to the Exercise of their Power, and that the Parliament had given to them a Commission to Command the Army, they therefore commanded him (viz. the Officer to whom the Letter was directed) immediately with his Troop, Company, or Regiment, as it happen'd, to march to N. These Letters were directed to the chief Officer of any part of the Army who had their Quarters together in any part of England. These Letters were dispatched away by particular Messengers that very Night, and coming to the several Officers to peremptorily to march immediately, they had not time to assemble and debate among themselves what to do; and having no other Intelligence but that the Parliament was refor'd, and that the City and Portsmouth, and other Parts of England had declar'd for them; the Officers durst not disobey, but all, according to their several Orders, march'd some one way, and some another; so that this Army, which was the great Strength of the Gentlemen of Wallingford-Houfe, was by this Means quite scatter'd and render'd perfectly useless to the Committee of Safety, who were hereby perfectly reduce'd under the Power of the Parliament, as so many disarmed Men to be dispos'd of as they thought fit.

'Tis known, that whilst the Long Parliament remain'd entire, Mr. Demil Hollis was the Man of the greatest SWay in it, and might have continued it on, if he would have follow'd Sir A. A.'s Advice. But he was a haughty stiff Man, and so by straining it a little too much, loft all.

From the time of their Reconcilement already mention'd, they had been very hearty Friends; it happen'd one Morning that Sir A. A. calling upon Mr. Hollis in his way to the Houfe, as he often did, he found him in a great Heat against Cromwell, who had then the Command of the Army, and a great Interest in it. The Provocation may be read at large in the Pamphlets of that time, for which Mr. Hollis was resolv'd, he said, to bring him to Punishment. Sir A. A. diffused him all he could from any such Attempt, shewing him the Danger of it, and told him 'twould be sufficient to remove him out of the way, by sending him with a Command into Ireland. This Cromwell, as things stood, would be glad to accept; but this would not satisfie Mr. Hollis. When he came to the Houfe, the Matter was brought into Debate, and it was mov'd, that Cromwell, and those guilty with him, should be punished. Cromwell, who was in the Houfe, no sooner heard this, but he stole out, took Horfe, and rode immediately to the Army, which, as I remember, was at Triploe-Heath; there he acquainted them what the Presbyterion Party was a doing in the Houfe, and made such Use of it to them, that they, who were before in the Power of the Parliament, now united together under Cromwell, who immediately led them away to London, giving out Menaces against Hollis and his Party as they march, who with Stapleton and some others were fain to fly, and thereby the Independent Party be-
coming, the stronger, they, as they call'd it, purg'd the House, and turn'd out all the Presbyterian Party. Cromwell, some time after, meeting Sir A. A. told him, I am beholden to you for your Kindness to me, for you, I hear, were for letting me go without Punishment, but your Friend, God be thank'd, was not wise enough to take your Advice.

Monk, after the Death of Oliver Cromwell, and the Removal of Richard, marching with the Army he had with him into England, gave fair Promises all along in his Way to London to the Rump that were then sitting, who had sent Commissioners to him that accompanied him. When he was come to Town, though he had promised fair to the Rump and Commonwealth Party on one hand, and gave Hopes to the Royalists on the other; yet at last agreed with the French Ambassador to take the Government on himself, by whom he had Promises from Mazarine of Affiliation from France to support him in this Undertaking. This Bargain was struck up between them late at Night, but not so secretly, but that his Wife, who had posted herself conveniently behind the Hangings, where she could hear all that pass'd, finding what was resolved, sent her Brother Clarke away immediately with Notice of it to Sir A. A. She was zealous for the Refauration of the King, and had therefore promised Sir A. to watch her Husband, and inform him from time to time how Matters went. Upon this Notice Sir A. cauè the Council of State, whereof he was one, to be summoned, and when they were met, he desired the Clerks might withdraw, he having Matter of great Importance to communicate to them. The Doors of the Council-Chamber being lock'd, and the Keys laid upon the Table, he began to charge Monk not in a direct and open Accusation, but in obscure Intimations, and doubtful Expressions, giving Ground of Suspicion, that he was playing false with them, and not doing as he promised. This he did so skilfully and intelligibly to Monk, that he perceived he was discover'd, and therefore in his Answer to him fumbled and feemed out of Order; so that the rest of the Council perceive'd there was something in it, though they knew not what the Matter was; and the General at last averring that what had been suggested was upon groundless Suspicious, and that he was true to his Principles, and found firm to what he had profess'd to them, and had no secret Designs that ought to disturb them, and that he was ready to give them all manner of Satisfaction; whereupon Sir A. A. closing with him, and making a farther Use of what he had said than he intended: For he meant no more than so far as to get away from them upon this Assurance which he gave them. But Sir A. A. told him, that if he was sincere in what he had said, he might presently remove all Scruples, if He would take away their Commissions from such and such Officers in his Army, and give them to those whom he named, and that presently before he went out of the Room. Monk was in himself no quick Man, he was guilty alone among a Company of Men who he knew not what they would do with him: for they all strick in with Sir A. A. and plainly said: 'that Monk had design'd some foul Play. In these Straits being thus close press'd, and knowing not how else to extricate himself, he contended to what was propos'd, and so immediately before he stirr'd, a great Part of the Commissions of his Officers were chang'd, and Sir Edward Harley, among the rest, who was a Member of the Council, and there present, was made Governor of Dunkirk in the Room of Sir William Lockhart, and was sent away immediately to take Possession of it. By which Means the Army was to be at Monk's Devotion, and was put into Hands that would not serve him in the Design he had undertak'en. The French Ambassador, who had the Night before sent away an Express to Mazarine, positively to allure him that things went here as he desired, and that Monk was fix'd by him in his Resolution to take on himself the Government, was not a little abomin'd the next Day to find Things taking another Turn, and indeed this so much disgraced him in the French Court, that he was presently call'd Home, and soon after broke his Heart.

This was that which gave the great Turn to the Refauration of King Charles II., whereof Sir A. A. had laid the Plan in his Head a long time before, and had carried it on.
Quantus hic situs ex titulis, quad varò, disus.
Baro Ashley de Wimborne St. Giles,
Deinde Comes Shaftsburiensis,
Cancellarius Saccaruiq, Ævarij Triamvair,
Magnus Anglia Cancellarius,
CAROLO Secundo à Sanctioribus & Secretioribus Consiliis, &c.
Hac non Sepulchri ornamenta, sed Veri,
Quippe qua nec Majoribus debuit nec favori.
Comitate, acuminis, suadél, conflito, animo, constantia, also,
Vix Parem alibi inventum, Superiorem certe nulli.
Libertatis Civitatis, Ecclesiasticae
Propugnator fœrenus, indefessus.
Vita publicis commissis impenisa memoriae & laudes,
Statue libertate, nequeam obliterabit
Tempus edux, nec edacior Invicnda.
Servo populi inutilia, invisa magna exempla.

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Three Letters writ by the E. of Shaftesbury whilst Prisoner in the Tower, one to King Charles II. another to the D. of York, a third to a Noble Lord; found with Mr. Locke's Memoirs, relating to the Life of Anthony First Earl of Shaftesbury.

To King CHARLES II.

SIR,

THE Almighty God, the King of Kings permitted Job to dispute with him, and to order his Cause before him; give me Leave therefore, Great Sir, to lay my Case before your Majesty, and to plead not only my Innocence but my Merits towards your Majesty; for my Integrity will I hold fast, and will not let it go; my Heart shall not reproach me so long as I live.

I had the Honour to have a principal Hand in Your Restauration, neither did I act in it, but on a Principle of Piety and Honour: I never betray'd (as your Majesty knows) the Party or Councils I was of. I kept no Correspondence with, nor I made no secret Addresses to your Majesty; neither did I endeavour or obtain any private Terms or Articles for my self, or Reward for what I had or should do. In whatever I did toward the Service of your Majesty, I was soley acted by the Sense of that Duty I owed to God, the English Nation, and your Majesty's just Right and Title. I saw the Hand of Providence that had led us through various Forms of Government, and had given Power into the Hands of several Sorts of Men, but He had given none of them a Heart to ufe it as they should; they all fell to the Prey, sought not the Good or Settlement of the Nation, endeavour'd only the Enlargement and Continuance of their own Authority, and grasped at those very Powers they had complain'd of so much, and for which so bloody and so fatal a War had been rais'd and continued in the Bowels of the Nation. I observ'd the Leaders of the great Parties of Religion both Latiety and Clergy ready and forward to deliver up the Rights and Liberties of the People, and to introduce an absolute Dominion, so that Tyranny might be establish'd in the Hands of those that favour'd their Way, and with whom they might have Hopes to divide the present Spoile, having no Eye to Pollution, or Thought of future things. One of the last Scenes of this Confusion was General Lambert's seizing of the Government in a Morning by Force of Arms, turning out the Parliament and their Council of State, and in their Room erecting a Committee of Safety. The News of this gives a great Surprise to General Monk, who commanded the Army in Scotland.  

To
To the D. of York.

SIR,

Humbly confess I never thought my Person or my Principles acceptable to your Royal Highness; but at that Juncture of Time and Occasion when I was committed, I had no Reason to expect you should be my severer Enemy. Reputation is the greatest Concern of great Dealers in the World; Great Princes are the greatest Dealers; no Reputation more their Interest than to be thought merciful, Relievers of the Distressed, and Maintainers of the ancient Laws and Rights of their Country. This I ever wish may attend your Royal Highness, and that I may be one Instance of it.

To the Lord ———

My Lord,

I had prepared this for your Meeting in December, but that being adjourn'd to the 3d of April, an Age to an old infirm Man, especially shut up in a Winter's Prison; forgive me if I say you owe your Self and your Posterity as well as me, the endeavouring to remove so sever a President on one of your Members; such as I may truly say is the first of the Kind, and I pray heartily may be the last. Your Intercession to his Majesty if it be general, is not after all, like to be refus'd; if you are single, yet you have done honourably and what I should have done for you.
A NEW
METHOD
OF A
Common-Place-Book.

Translated out of FRENCH from the Second Volume of the Bibliothèque Universelle.

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*Note: The text is in Latin.*
A New Method of

A Letter from Mr. Locke to Mr. Toignonard, containing a New and Easy Method of a Common-Place-Book, to which an Index of two Pages is sufficient.

To length, Sir, in obedience to you, I publish my Method of a Common-Place-Book. I am ashamed that I defer'd so long complying with your Request, but I esteem'd it so mean a thing as not to deserve publishing in an Age so full of useful Inventions as our's is. You may remember that I freely communicated it to you, and several others, to whom I imagined it would not be unacceptable. So that it was not to deserve the sole Use of it to myself, that I declined publishing it. But the regard I had to the Publick, discouraged me from presenting it with such a Trifle. Yet my Obligations to you, and the Friendship between us, compel me now to follow your Advice. Your last Letter has perfectly determin'd me to it, and I am convince'd that I ought not to delay publishing it, when you tell me that an Experience of several Years has

3. has shew'd its Usefulness, and several of your Friends to whom you have communicated it. There is no need I should tell you how useful it has been to me after five and twenty Years Experience, as I told you eight years since, when I had the Honour to wait on you at Paris, and when I might have been instructed by your learned and agreeable Discourse. What I aim at now by this Letter, is to testify publicly the Esteem and Respect I have for you, and to convince you how much I am, Sir, your,

Before I enter on my Subject, it is fit to acquaint the Reader, that this Tract is disposed in the same manner that the Common-Place-Book ought to be disposed. It will be underlaid by reading what follows, what is the Meaning of the Latin Title on the Top of the Backside of each Leaf, and at the Bottom of this Page.

E b i o n i t h e r. In eorum Evangelio, quod secundum Hebraeos dicebatur, historia qua habetur Matth. xix. 16. & seq. ut alia quaedam, erat interputata in bunc Modum: Dixit ad eum alter divitum, Magister, quid bonum faciens vivam? Dixit ei: Homo, Legem & Prophetas fac. Re- 14. spondit ad eum, feci. Dixit ei: vade,
Adversariorum Methodus.

4. I take a Paper Book of what Size I please. I divide the two first Pages that face one another by parallel Lines into five and twenty equal Parts, every fifth Line black, the other red. I then cut them perpendicularly by other Lines that I draw from the Top to the Bottom of the Page, as you may see in the Table prefixed, I put about the Middle of each five Spaces one of the twenty Letters I design to make use of, and a little forward in each Space the five Vowels one below another in their natural Order. This is the Index to the whole Volume how big soever it may be.

The Index being made after this Manner, I leave a Margin in all the other Pages of the Book, of about the Largeness of an Inch in a Volume in Folio, or a little larger, and in a less Volume, smaller in Proportion.

If I would put any thing in my Common-Place-Book, I find out a Head to which I may refer it. Each

Vol. III.

5. Each Head ought to be some important and essential Word to the Matter in Hand, and in that Word regard is to be had to the first Letter, and the Vowel that follows it; for upon these two Letters depend all the Use of the Index.

I omit three Letters of the Alphabet as of no Use to me, viz. K, Y, W which are supplied by C, I, U that are equivalent to them. I put the Letter Q, that is always follow'd with an U. in the fifth Space of Z. By throwing Q. last in my Index, I preserve the Regularity of my Index, and diminish not in the least its Extent; for it seldom happens that there is any Head begins with Z, U. I have found none in the five and twenty Years I have used this Method. If nevertheless it be necessary, nothing hinders but that one may make a Reference after Q, U, provided it be done with any kind of Distinction; but for more Exactness a Place may be assign'd for Q, U. below the Index, as I have formerly done. When I meet with any thing that I think fit to put into my Common-Place-Book, I first find a proper Head. Suppose, for Example, that the Head be Epistola, I look unto the Index for the first
Adversariorum Methodus.]

V first Letter and the following Vowel which in this Instance are E I. if in the Space mark'd E I. there is any Number that directs me to the Page design'd for Words that begin with an E, and whose first Vowel, after the initial Letter, is I ; I must then write under the Word Epistola in that Page what I have to remark. I write the Head in large Letters, and begin a little way out into the Margin, and I continue on the Line in Writing what I have to say. I observe constantly this Rule, that only the Head appears in the Margin, and that it be continued on without ever doubling the Line in the Margin, by which Means the Heads will be obvious at first Sight.

If I find no Number in the Index in the Space E I. I look into my Book for the first Backside of a Leaf that is not written in, which, in a Book where there is yet nothing but the Index, must be p. 2. I write then in my Index after E I. the Number 2. and the Head Epistola at the Top of the Margin of the second Page, and all that I put under that Head in the same Page, as you see I have done in the second Page of this Method. From that time the Clafs E. I. is wholly in Possession of the second and third Pages.

They

7. They are to be employed only on Words that begin with an E. and whose nearest Vowel is an I, as Ebionites (see the Bottom of the third Page) Episcopus, Ecclesius, Edithum, Epografia, &c. The Reason why I begin always at the Top of the Back-side of a Leaf, and assign to one Clafs two Pages that face one another, rather than an entire Leaf, is, because the Heads of the Clafs appear all at once, without the trouble of turning over a Leaf.

Every time that I would write a new Head, I look first in my Index for the Characteristic Letters of the Word, and I see by the Number that follows, what the Page is that is assign'd to the Clafs of that Head. If there is no Number, I must look for the first Backside of a Page that is Blank. I then set down the Number in the Index, and design that Page with that of the right Side of the following Leaf to this new Clafs. Let it be, for Example, the Word Adversaria ; if I see no Number in the Space A. E. I seek for the first Back-side of a Leaf, which being at p. 4. I set down in the Space A. E. the Number 4. and in the fourth Page the Head Adversaria with all that I write under it, as I have already informed you. From this Time the fourth Page with
When the two Pages designed for one Class are full, I look forwards for the next Back-side of a Leaf that is blank. If it be that which immediately follows, I write at the Bottom of the Margin in the Page that I have filled the Letter V, that is to say, *Verte, turn over*; as likewise the name at the Top of the next Page. If the Pages that immediately follow are already fill'd by other Classes, I write at the Bottom of the Page last filled, V, and the Number of the next empty Back-side of a Page. At the Beginning of that Page I write down the Head, under which I go on with what I had to put in my *Common-Place-Book*, as if it had been in the same Page. At the Top of this new Back-side of a Leaf, I set down the Number of the Page I filled last. By these Numbers which refer to one another, the first whereof is at the Bottom of one Page, and the second is at the Beginning of another, one joyous Matter that is separated as if there was nothing between them. For by this reciprocal Reference of Numbers one may turn as one Leaf all those that are between the two, even as if they were pasted.

9. pasted together. You have an Example of this in the third and fourteenth Pages.

Every time I put a Number at the Bottom of a Page, I put it also into the *Index*; but when I put only an V, I make no Addition in the *Index*; the Reason whereof is plain.

If the Head is a Monosyllable and begins with a Vowel, that Vowel is at the same time both the first Letter of the Word, and the Characteristic Vowel. Therefore I write the Word *Ars* in A a and 0s in O o.

You may see by what I have said, that one is to begin to write each Class of Words on the Back-side of a Page. It may happen, upon that Account, that the Back-side of all the Pages may be full, and yet there may remain several Pages on the Right Hand which are empty. Now if you have a Mind to fill your Book, you may affix these right Sides which are wholly blank, to new Classes.

If anyone imagines that these hundred Classes are not sufficient to comprehend all sorts of Subjects without Confusion, he may follow the same Method, and yet augment the Number to five Hundred, in adding a Vowel. But having experience'd both the one and the other Method, I prefer the first; and Usage will convince those who shall try it how well it will serve the Purpose aimed at, especially if one V. has a Book for each Science.
A New Method of A V d e r s a r i o r u m Methodus.] V. upon which one makes Colle. lections, or at least two for the two Heads, to which one may refer all our Knowledge, viz. Moral Philosophy and Natural.

You may add a third, which may be called the Knowledge of Signs, which relates to the Use of Words, and is of much more Extent than mere Criticism.

As to the Language in which one ought to express the Heads, I esteem the Latin Tongue most commodious, provided the Nominative Case be always kept to, for fear left in Words of two Syllables, or in Monosyllables that begin with the Vowel, the Change which happens in oblique Cases should occasion Confusion. But it is not of much Consequence what Language is made use of, provided there be no mixture in the Heads of different Languages.

To take notice of a Place in an Author from whom I quote something, I make use of this Method: Before I write any thing, I put the Name of the Author in my Common Place-Book, and under that Name the Title of the Treatise, the size of the Volume, the Time and Place of its Edition, and (what ought never to be omitted) the Number of Pages that the whole Book contains. For Example, I put into

11. to the Clafs, M. A. Ma r s h a m i Canon Chronicus Aegyptiacus, Graecus, &c. Disquisitiones fol. Lond. 1672. p. 626. This Number of Pages serves me for the Future to mark the particular Treatise of this Author, and the Edition I make use of. I have no need to mark the Place, otherwise than in setting down the Number of the Page from whence I have drawn what I have wrote, just above the Number of Pages contain'd in the whole Volume. You will see an Example in A c e r n s a, where the Number 259 is just above the Number 626, that is to say, the Number of the Page where I take my Matter, is just above the Number of Pages of the whole Volume. By this Means I not only save my self the Trouble of writing Canon Chronicus Aegyptiacus, &c. but am able by the Rule of Three to find out the same Passage in any other Edition, by looking for the Number of its Pages, since the Edition I have used, which contains 626, gives me 259. You will not indeed always light on the very Page you want, because of the Breaches that are made in different Editions of Books, and that are not always equal in Proportion; but you are never very far from the Place you want, and it is better to be able to find a Passage in turning over a few Pages, than to be obliged to turn V. over a whole Book to find
A COMMON-PLACE-BOOK.

Adversariorum Methodus.] V. it, as it happens when the Book 12. has no Index, or when the Index is not exact.

Acheron.] Pratum, seta mortuorum habitatio, est locus prop. Memphins, iuxta paludem quam vocant Acherusiam, &c. This is a Passage out of D. Siculus, the Sense whereof is this: The Fields, where they feign that the Dead inhabit, are only a Place near Memphis near a Marsh call’d Acherusia, about which is a most delightful Country, where one may behold Lakes and Forests of Lotus and Calamus. It is with Reafon that Orpheus said, the Dead inhabit these Places, because there the Egyptians celebrate the greatest Part and the most Fuguit of their Funeral Solemnities. They carry the Dead over the Nile, and through the Marsh of Acherusia, and there put them into Subterraneous Vaults. There are a great many other Fables among the Greeks touching the State of the Dead, which very well agree with what is at this Day practifed in Egypt. For they call the Boat in which the Dead are transported, Baris; and a certain Piece of Money is given to the Ferry-man for a Passage, who, in their Language, is called Coaron. Near this Place is a Temple of Hecate in the Shade, &c. and the Gates of

Cory.

13. Corycus and Lethe shut up with Bars of Brafs. There are other Gates which are called the Gates of Truth, with the Statue of Justice before them, which has no Head. Marsham. 222.
15. as the Law and Prophets di-
rect you, since it is written in
the Law, Thou shalt love thy
Neighbour as thy self; and there
are many of thy brethren, Chil-
dren of Abram, who are al-
most naked, and who are ready
to die with hunger, while thy
House is full of good things,
and yet thou givest them no
Help nor Assistance. And turn-
ing himself towards Simon his
Disciple who sat near him: Si-
mon, Son of Jochanna, said be,
it is easier for a Camel to go
through the Eye of a Needle,
than for a Richmond to enter
into the Kingdom of Heaven.
Ebion chang'd this Passafe, be-
cause he did not believe Jesus
Crifit to be the Son of God,
nor a Law-giver, but a meer
Interpreter of the Law of
Mofes. Groitus.
HERETICI] Nostrum igitur
fiuit eligere & optare melhora,
16. ut ad vestram correlationem a-
datum haberemus, non in con-
tentione & amulatione & per-
secutionibus, sed manugete con-
solando, benevolentia, more,
inter disputatione, sicut scriptum est, Sermum autem Do-
mini non operetur litigare, sed
metem esse ad omnes, doci-
dem, patientem, in modestia
Corripientem diversa sentien-
tes. Nostrum ergo fuit velle
bus partes expetere: Dei est
voluntatis & potentiass do-
nare quod bonum est. Illi in
vos saviant, qui nesciant cum
quo labore verum inventur,
& quam difficile caveantur
errores. Illi in vos saviant,
qui nesciant quam rarum &
arduum sit carnalia phantasm
ata pie mentis serenitate
superare. Illi in vos saviant,
qui nesciant cum quanta dif-
ficultate sanctur oculis inte-
rioris boninis ut possit intueri
solem sium.—Illi in vos se-
viant qui nesciant quibus sus-
piris & genitibus siat ut ex
quantulacunque parte possit
intelligi Deus. Postrema illi in
vos saviant qui nullo tali er-
rore decepiunt, quali vos
deceptis volent. In Catholica
enim Ecclesia, ut omnimem
serissima sapientiam, ad cu-
just cognitionem pauci spiri-
tuales in hac vitâ perveniant,
sunt esse minimis quidem par-
tem quia bonines sunt, sed ta-
men sine dubitatione, cognos-
cant: ceteram quippe turbam
non intelligendi vivacitas, sed
credenti simplicitas tutissimam
facit. Augustine. Tom.

1542. contra Epift. Manichaei,
quam vocant Fundamenti.
"We were of Opinion, that
"other Methods were to be
"made choice of, and that,
"to recover you from your
"Errors, we ought not to
"persecute you with Inju-
"ries and Invectives, or any
"ill Treatment, but endeav-
"our to procure your at-
tention by soft Words and
Exhortations, which would
"threw the tendernefs we
"have for you: According
"to that Passage of Ha-
"ly Writ, The Servant
"of the Lord ought not to
"love Strife and Quarrels,
"but to be gentle, affable,
"and patient towards all
"Mankind, and to reprove
"with Modesty those who
"differ from him in Opin-
"ion.—Let them only
"treat you with Rigour
"who know not how diffi-
cult it is to find out the
"Truth, and avoid Error.
"Let those treat you with Ri-
gour, who are ignorant how
"rare and painful a Work it is
"calmly to dissipate the Car-
"nal Phantoms that disturb
"even a Pious Mind. Let those
"treat you with Rigour, who
"are ignorant of the extrem
"Difficulty that there is to
"purifie the Eye of the Inward
"Man, to render him capable
"of seeing the Truth, which
"is the Sun or Light of the
"Soul. Let those treat you
"with Rigour, who have ne-
"ver felt the Sighs and Groans
20. "that a Soul must have before
"it
Confessio Fidei.] Pericul. 18. losum nobis admodum atq; etiam miserabile est, tot munificentiae existere, quot voluntates: & tot nobis doctrinas esse quot mores: & tot causas blasphemiarum pullulare quod vistia sunt: dum aut ita fides scribuntur ut volumus, aut ita ut volumus intelliguntur. Et cum secundum unum Deum & unum Dominum, & unum baptisma, etiam fides una sit, excitimus ab ea fide quae sola est: & dum phantai, id esse eperunt ne ulla sit; Consecit enim nobis invicem summus poff Niceni conventus Synodum nikiel eiusd quam fidem scribi. Dum in verbis pugna est, dum de novitabibus quasio est, dum de ambiguis occasio est, dum de Autoribus querela est, dum de studiis certamen est, dum in confensi difficultas est, dum alter alteri anathema esse capite, prope jam nemo est Christi, &c. Jam vero proximi anni fides, quid jam de immutacione in se babet? Primum que Homousion decernit taceri: sequens sursum que Homousion decernit & pradacit. Tertium deinceps que Utiam simpliciter a patribus praefungam, per indulgentiam excusat. Poffremum quartum, que non excusat, sed condemnat, &c. De similitudine autem filii Dei ad Deum Patrem, quod miserabile nostro tempore est fides, ne non ex toto, sed tantum ex portione sit similes & Egregii seiliques, arbitri caelestium sacramentorum conquistares, insipientium mysteriorum professionibus.

19. bus de fide Dei calumniarum, annuis atri, mensfruas de Deo fidei decernimus, decretis pone nitemus, parnententes defendimus, defenso anathematizamus, aut in nostri aliena, aut in alienis nostris damnamus, &nordentes invocem jam absolvemus invicem. Hilarius, p. 211. in lib. ad Constantinum Augustum. Basil. 1550. fol. "It is a thing equally deplorable and dangerous, that there are at present as many Creeds as there are Opinions among Men, as many Doctrines as Inclinations, and as many Sources of Blasphemy, as there are Faults among us, because we make Creeds arbitrarily, and explain them as arbitrarily. And as there is but one Faith; so there is but one only God, one Lord, and one Baptism. We renounce this one Faith when we make so many different Creeds, and that Divinity is the Reason why we have no true Faith among us. We cannot be ignorant, that since the Council of Nice, we have done nothing but make Creeds. And while we fight against Words, litigate about new Questions, dispute about Equivocal Terms, complain of Authors, that every one may V make his own Party tri. 24. unum, while we cannot agree, "while
HERETICI.] "it can obtain 20. " any Knowledge of the Divine Being. To conclude, " let thef treat you with " Rigour, who never have " been seduced into Errors, " near a-kin to thofe you are " engaged in. I pass over in " Silence that pure Wisdom, " which but a few Spiritual " Men attain to in this Life; " so that though they know " but in part, becaufe they " are Men; yet neverthelefs " they know what they do " know with Certainty: For " in the Catholick Church, it " is not Penetration of Mind, " nor profound Knowledge, " but Simplicity of Faith, " which puts Men in a State " of Safety.

Barbari quippe homines Romanoe ino potius Humanoe eruditionis expertes, qui nihil omnino sint nisi quod a Doctoribus suis auditum: quod auditum boc sequitur, ac si necesse esset eos qui totius literaturae ac scientiae ignari, sacramentum divinum legi doctrina magis quam lectione cognoscunt, doctrinam potius retinere quam legem. Itaq; eis traditio magistrorum fiorum & doctrina inveterata, quasi lex esset, qui boc sequunt quod docentur. Hæretici ergo sunt, sed non scientes. Denique apud nos sunt Hæretici, apud fe non sunt. Nam in tantum se Catholicos esse judicant ut nos ipsos titulo Hæretica appellations infrangam. Quod ergo illi nobis sunt & boc nos illis, Nos eos inquitam divina generations.
A New Method of

H E R E T I C I. J. "The Tradition of their Doctors, and the only Rule they follow, because they know nothing but what they have taught them. They are Heretics, but they know it not. They are so in our Account, but they believe it not, and think themselves so good Catholics, that they treat us as Heretics, judging of us, as we do of them. We are persuaded that they believe amiss concerning the Divine Generation, when they maintain the Son is inferior to the Father; and they imagine that we rob the Father of his Glory who believe them both to be equal. We have the Truth on our Side, and they pretend it is on their. We give to God his due honour, and they think they Honour him better. They fail in their Duty, but they imagine they perform perfectly well; and they make true Piety to consist in what we call Impious. They are in a Mistake, but with a great deal of Sincerity; and it is so far from being an Effect of their Hatred, that it is a Mark of their Love of God, since by what they do they imagine they shew the greatest Respect for the Lord, and Zeal for his Glory. Therefore, tho' they have not true Faith, they nevertheless look upon that which they have, as a perfect Love of God. It belongs only to the Judge of the Universe to know how these Men will be punished for their Errors at the last Day. Yet I believe God will shew Compassion towards them, because he sees their Heart is more right than their Belief, and that, if they are mistaken, it is their Piety made them err.
CONFESSIO FIDEI] "while we
24. " anathematize one another,
" there is hardly one that ad-
" heres to Jesus Christ. What
" Change was there not in
" the Creed last Year ! The
" first Council ordained a Si-
" lence upon the Homousian ;
" the second established it and
" would have us speak ; the
" third excuses the Fathers of
" the Council, and pretends
" they took the Word Ousia
" simply; the fourth condemns
" them instead of excusing
" them. With Respect to the
" Likeness of the Son of God
" to the Father, which is the
" Faith of our deplorable
" Times, they dispute wheth-
" er He is like in Whole
" or in Part. These are rare
" Folks to unravel the Secrets
" of Heaven. Nevertheless
" it is for these Creeds about
" invisible Mysteries that we
" calumniate one another, and
" for our Belief in God. We
" make Creeds every Year, nay
" every Moon, we repent of
" what we have done, we de-
" fend those that repent, we
" anathematize those we de-
" fended. So we condemn
" either the Doctrine of oth-
" others in our selves, or our
" own in that of others; and,
" reciprocally tearing one an-
" other to Pieces, we have been
" the Cause of each others
" Ruin.

The END of the Common-Place-Book.
SOME
Familiar LETTERS
BETWEEN
Mr. LOCKE,
AND
Several of his FRIENDS.
SOME
FAMILIAR LETTERS
BETWEEN
MR. LOCKE
AND
SOCIETY OF HIS FRIENDS
TO THE

READER.

HE following Letters, offer'd to your Perusal, are the genuine Productions of those Gentlemen to whom they are attributed.

They contain not only such civil and polite Conversation as Friendship produces among Men of Parts, Learning, and Candour; but several Matters relating to Literature, and more particularly to Mr. Locke's Notions, in his Essay concerning Human Understanding, and in some of his other Works: And therefore I cannot doubt of your Thanks for the Present I make you. For, though the Curiosity of some to see whatever drops from the Pens of Great Men, and to inform themselves in their private Characters, their Tempers, Dispositions and manner of conversing with their Friends, would perhaps have justified me in publishing any Letters of Mr. Locke's, and of his Friends to him (that were not Letters of mere Business) yet my Regard to what I take to be the more general Judg-
To the Reader.

ment of the Publick, has determin'd me to publish such only as have Relation to this twofold View, and shall determine me hereafter in a second Volume, if Gentlemen that have any Letters of Mr. Locke's by them think fit to communicate them to me.
Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

SIR,

THOUGH the extraordinary Complement you were pleased to make me in the Epistle Dedicator y easily perswaded me from whom that Prefent was likely to come, when at my coming to Town I found your Book left for me by Mr. Tooke at my Bookfeller’s; yet my Confciousnefs how little I could deferve the one or the other from you, made me fear fome Mi-fake, till enquiring of Mr. Tooke himfelf, he affured me of the Favour you had done me. I will not pretend to return you fuch Thanks as I ought, till I can write fuch a Book as your’s is. Only give me leave to fay that if my Trife could poifibly be an Occaſion of Vanity to me; you have done more to make it fo, since I could scarce forbear to applaud my felf upo[f a Testimony from one, who fo well understands Demonftration, did I not fee that thofe, who can be extreme rigorous and exact in the Search of Truth, can be as civil and as complaining in their Dealing with thofe whom they take to be Lovers of it. But this cannot keep me from being out of Cuentaence at the Receipt of fuch Obligations, without the Hopes of making fuch Returns as I ought. Instead of that, give me leave to do what is next to it, and let you fee that I am not forry I am obliged to you. The Bearer hereof Dr. Sibellius, is a Friend of mine, who comes to Dublin with a Defign to fettle there, and I beg your Affiftance of him in what lies in your way. I fhall take it as a Favour done to me. And methinks I have reafon now to expect it of you, fince you have done me, more than one, very great ones, when I had no Reafon to expect any at all. Sir, you have made great Advances of Friendship towards me, and you fee they are not loft upon me. I am very fensible of them, and would make fuch an Ufe of them as might affure you I fhould take it for a new Favour, if you would afford me an Occaſion where-in I might, by any Service, tell you how much I am,

SIR,

Your moft humble, and moft obliged Servant,

John Locke.

I had the Honour to know one of your Name at Leyden, about seven or eight Years fince. If he be any Relation of your’s, and now in Dublin, I beg the favour of you to prefent my humble Service to him.

† Before A Treatife of Dioptricks, printed at London 1692, wherein it is faid, That to none do we owe for a greater Advancement in this Part of Philosophy, (viz. Logick,) than to the incomparable Mr. Locke, who, in his Essay of Human Understanding, hath revealed more received Mistakes, and delivered more profound Truths, &c., established on Experience and Observation, for the Direction of Man’s Mind in the Perfection of Knowledge, (which I think may be properly termed Logick) than are to be met with in all the Volumes of the Ancients. He has clearly overthrown all those metaphysical Whimfies, which inflected Men’s Brains with a Spice of Madness, whereby they feign’d a Knowledge where they had none, by making a Noise with Sounds, without clear and defined Significations.

Vol. III.
Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

Dublin, August 27, 1692.

SIR,

Upon the arrival of our Lord Lieutenant in this Place, which was on the 25th Instant, I had the favour of a Letter from you by the Hands of Dr. Sibellius. I cannot easily tell you how grateful it was to me, having the highest Esteem for him that sent it, from the first Moment that I was so happy as to see any of his Writings; and therefore it was, that I was so ambitious of making a Friendship with you, by presenting you one of my Trilles, which I order'd my Bookeller to lay before you under this Character, As a Token Testimony of the great Respect I had for the Author of the Essay of Human Understanding. And since I find by your's to me, that my Ambition is not fallen short of its Design; but that you are pleas'd to encourage me, by assuring me that I have made great Advances of Friendship towards you; give me leave to embrace the Favour with all Joy imaginable. And that you may judge of Sincerity by my open Heart, I will plainly confess to you, that I have not in my Life read any Book with more Satisfaction than your Essay; insomuch that a repeated Perusal of it is still more pleasing to me.

And I have endeavour'd with great Success, to recommend it to the Consideration of the Ingenious in this Place. Dr. King, Bishop of Derry, when he read it, made some flight Remarks on the foremost Parts of the Book; but his Buisiness would not permit him to go through it all. What he did, rough as it was, he gave to me, and they are at your Commands when you please.

One thing I must needs insist on to you, which is, that you would think of obliging the World with A Treatise of Morals, drawn up according to the Hints you frequently give in your Essay, of their being demonstrable according to the mathematical Method. This is most certainly true. But then the Task must be undertaken only by so clear and distinct a Thinker as you are. This were an Attempt worthy your Consideration. And there is nothing I should more ardently wish for, than to see it. And, therefore, good Sir, let me beg of you to turn your Thoughts this way; and if so young a Friendship as mine have any Force, let me prevail upon you.

Upon my reading your Essay, I was so taken with it, that when I was in London, in August 1692, I made enquiry amongst some of my learned Friends, for any other of your Writings, it perhaps they knew any; I was recommended by some to Two Discourses concerning Government, and a little Treatise concerning Toleration. There is neither of them carries your Name; and I will not venture to ask whether they are your's or not: This, only, I think, no Name need be ashamed of either.

Dr. Sibellius I find, is your Friend, and therefore I assure him of all Service I can possibly do him. I will make it my Business to get him Acquaintance in this Place; and I dare promise him some of the best.

The Inclosed from my Brother, will tell you that he was your Acquaintance in Leyden. I my self have been there Anno 1685, but had not the good Fortune of being known to you. But from this time I shall reckon my self happy in your Friendship, and shall ever subscribe my felt

Your most affectionate, and most obliged humble Servant,

Will. Molyneux.

Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

London, Sept. 20, 1692.

SIR,

There being nothing that I think of so much Value as the Acquaintance and Friendship of knowing and worthy Men, you may easily guess how much I find my self obliged, I will not say by the Offer of, but by the Gift you have made me of your's. That which confirms me in the Assurance of it is
is the little Pretence I have to it. For, knowing my self as I do, I cannot think so vainly of my self, as to imagine that you should make such Over-
tures and Expessions of Kindnefs to me for any other End, but merely as the
Pledges and Exercise of it. I return you therefore my Thanks, as for the
greatest and most acceptable Prefent you could have made me; and desire
you to believe, that since I cannot hope that the Returns which I made you
of mine should be of any great Use to you, I shall endeavour to make it up,
as well as I can, with an high Esteem, and perfect Sincerity. You must there-
fore expect to have me live with you hereafter, with all the Liberty and
Affluence of a settled Friendship. For meeting with but few Men in the
World whose Acquaintance I find much reason to covet, I make more than
ordinary Hafte into the Familiarity of a rational Enquirer after, and Lover
of Truth, whenever I can light on any fuch. There are Beauties of the
Mind, as well as of the Body, that take and prevail at first Sight; and where-
ever I have met with this, I have readily surrender’d my self, and have nev-
er yet been deceiv’d in my Expectation. Wonder not therefore, if, having
been thus wrougt on, I begin to converse with you with as much Freedom
as if we had begun our Acquaintance when you were in Holland; and desire
your Advice and Affiftance about a fcond Edition of my Effay, the former
being now difperf’d. You have, I perceive, read it over fo carefully, more
than once, that I know no Body I can more reasonably confult about the
Miftakes and Defects of it. And I expect a great deal more from any Obje-
cfions you should make, who comprehend the whole Dejsign and Compafs of
it, than from one who has read but a Part of it, or meafures it upon a
flight Reading, by his own Prejudices. You will find, by my Epifle to the
Reader, that I was not infensible of the Fault I committed by being too long
upon some Points, and the Repetitions that by my way of writing of it
had got in, I let it pafs with, but not without Advice fo to do. But now
that my Notions are got into the World, and have in some meafure baffled
through the Opposition and Difficulty they were like to meet with from the
received Opinion, and that Propoffition which might hinder them from
being undertook upon a short Propofal; I ask you whether it would not be
better now to pare off, in a fcond Edition, a great Part of that which can-
not but appear superfluous to an intelligent and attentive Reader. If you
are of that Mind, I fhall beg the favour of you to mark to me these Passages
which you would think fitteft to be left out. If there be any thing where-
in you think me mistaken, I beg you to deal freely with me, that either I
may clear it up to you, or reform it in the next Edition. For I flatter my
felf that I am fo fensitive a Lover of Truth, that it is very indifferent to me,
so I am poifefs’d of it, whether it be by my own, or any other’s Discovery.
For I count any Parcel of this Gold not the less to be valued, nor not the
less enriching, because I wrought it not out of the Mine myfelf. I think every
one ought to contribute to the common Stock, and to have no other Scruple
or Shynefs about the receiving of Truth, but that he be not impos’d on, and
take Counterfeit, and what will not bear the Touch, for genuine and real
Truth. I doubt not but, to one of your Largemens of Thought, that in the
reading of my Book you miff several things, that perhaps belong to my Sub-
ject, and you would think belongs to the System: If in this Part too you
will communicate your Thoughts, you will do me a Favour. For though I
will not fo flatter my felf as to undertake to fill up the Gaps which you
may obferve in it; yet it may be of Ufe where mine is at a Stand, to fug-
gell to others Matter of farther Contemplation. This I often find, that
what Men by thinking have made clear to themselves, they are apt to think,
that upon the firft Suggestion it should be fo to others, and fo let it go not
sufficiently explain’d; not considering what may be very clear to themselves,
may be very obfcurc to others. Your Penetration and Quicknefs hinders me
from expecting from you many Complaints of this Kind. But if you have
met with any Thing, in your Reading of my Book, which at firft Sight you
flick at, I shall think it a fufficient Reason, in the next Edition, to amend
it for the Benefit of meaner Readers.
The Remarks of that learned Gentleman you mention, which you say you have in your Hands, I shall receive as a Favour from you.

Tho' by the View I had of moral Ideas, whilst I was considering that Subject, I thought I saw that Morality might be demonstratively made out; yet whether I am able so to make it out, is another Question. Every one could not have demonstrated what Mr. Newton's Book hath shewn to be demonstrable: But to chew my Readiness to obey your Commands, I shall not decline the sift Leisure I can get to employ some Thoughts that way; unless I find what I have said in my Essay shall have fir'd up some able Man to prevent me, and effectually do that Service to the World.

We had here, the 8th Instant, a very sensible Earthquake, there being scarce an House, wherein it was not by some Body or other felt. We have News of it at several Places from Cologne, as far as Bristol. Whether it reach'd you I have not heard. If it did, I would be glad to know what was the exact Time it was felt, if any Body observed it. By the Queen's Pendulum at Kensington, which the Shake stop'd from going, it was 2 h. past m. At Whitehall, where I observed it, it was by my Watch 2 h. 5 m. past m. Which, supposing the Queen's Pendulum went exact, and adding the Equation of that Day, will fall near the Time mark'd by my Watch, or a little later. If there could be found People, that in the whole Extent of it, did by well adjusted Clocks exactly observe the Time, one might see whether it were all one Shock, or proceeded gradually from one Place to another.

I thank you for having taken Dr. Sibellus into your Protection. I desire you, with my Service to present my most humble Thanks to your Brother for the Favour of his Letter; to which, tho' I have not time this Post to return an Answer, I shall not long delay my Acknowledgments.

I hope you will see, by the Freedom I have here taken with you, that I begin to reckon my self amongst your Acquaintance. Use me so, I beseech you. If there be any Service I can do you here employ me, with an Assurance that I am,

SIR,

Your most humble, and most faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

SIR,

Dublin, Oct. 15. 92.

I do most heartily beg your Pardon for my long Silence to your's of the 20th last. Our then approaching Parliament was the Occasion of my not returning you an immediate Answer; and I expected withal to give you a more large Account of some Things you desire from me. But seeing no immediate Hopes of Leisure, by reason of our parliamentary Business, I ventured at present to send you only the inclosed rough Papers. And till I can have an Opportunity my self of revising your Book, I have put it into the Hands of a very ingenious and learned Person, who promises me to give his Observations in Writing, which as soon as obtain'd I shall transmit to you.—— The Earthquake was not at all felt here —— I am wonderfully pleas'd that you give me Hopes of seeing a Moral Essay from your Hand; which I assure you, Sir, with all Sincerity, is highly respected by

Your most humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.
SIR,  

Dublin, Dec. 22. 1692.

I now sit down to answer your's of September 20 concerning the second Edition of your Book, wherein you desire my Opinion and Advice. And after so long Consideration of the Matter, as between that and this; and consulting some ingenious Heads here about it, I can say but little; only that the fame judicious Hand, that first form'd it, is best able to reform it where he sees convenient. I never quarrell'd with a Book for being too prolix, especially where the Prolinssy is pleasant, and tends to the Illustration of the Matter in Hand, as I am sure your's always does. And after I received your Letter on this Subject, I communicated the Contents thereof to two very ingenious Persons here; and at the same time I lent them your Book, desiring them to examine it strictely, and to find out, and note, whatever might be changed, added, or substracted. And after a diligent Perusal, they agreed with me in the same Conclusion, viz. That the Work, in all its Parts, was so wonderfully curious and instructive, that they would not venture to alter any Thing in it. But however, that I may in some measure answer your Expectations, I shall briefly note to you what I conceive on this Subject.

And, if, The Errata Typographic a (besides those mention'd in the Table) are many and great; these therefore, in your next Edition, are diligently to be corrected.

ady. pag. 270. 'Tis asserted, "That without a particular Revelation we cannot be certain, that Matter cannot think, or that Omnipotency may not endow Matter with a Power of Thinking.

And pag. 314, 315. "The Immortality of God is evinced from the absolute Impossibility of Matter's Thinking." These two Places, I know, have been stumbled at by some, as not conformable. To me indeed they appear, and are, very agreeable; and I have clearly evinced their Conformity to those that have scrupled them. But I thought fit to give you this Hint, that in your next Edition you may prevent any such Doubt. My Sense, of these two Places is this. In the first 'tis said, "That we cannot tell (without a particular Revelation to the contrary) but an Almighty God can make Matter think." In the other 'tis asserted, "That unthinking Matter cannot be this Almighty God." The next place I take notice of, as requiring some further Explication, is your Discourse about Man's Liberty and Necessity. This Thread seems so wonderfully fine spun in your Book, that at least the great Question of Liberty and Necessity seems to vanish. And herein you seem to make all Sins to proceed from our Understandings, or to be against Conscience, and not at all from the Depravity of our Wills. Now it seems hard to say, that a Man shall be damn'd, because he understands no better than he does. What you say concerning Genera and Species is unquestionably true; and yet it seems hard to assert, that there is no such fort of Creatures in Nature as Birds: For tho' we may be ignorant of the particular Essence that makes a Bird to be a Bird, or that determines and distinguishes a Bird from a Beast; or the just Limits and Boundaries between each; yet we can no more doubt of a Sparrow's being a Bird, and an Horse's being a Beast, than we can of this Colour being black, and that other white; tho' by Shades they may be made so gradually to vanish into each other, that we cannot tell where either determines.

But all this I write, more in Defence to your Defences from me, than to satisfy my self that I have given you any material Hints, or have offer'd any considerable Objection that is worth your Notice and Removal. Mr. Norris's unfortunate Attempts on your Book sufficiently tellify its Validity; and truly I think he troubles so egregiously, that he should forewarn all Men how far they venture to criticize on your Work. But thus far, after all, I'll venture to intimate to you, that if you are for another Work of this Kind, I should advise you to let this stand as it does. And your next shall be of a Model wholly new, and that is by way of Logick: something accommodated
to the usual Forms, together with the Consideration of Extent, Solidity, Mobility, Thinking, Existence, Duration, Number, &c. and of the Mind of Man, and its Powers, as may make up a complete Body of what the Schools call Logick and Metaphysics. This I am the more inclinable to advise on two Accounts; First, because I have lately seen Johannis Clerici Logica, Ontologia and Pneumatologia, in all which he has little extraordinary but what he borrows from you; and in the Alteration he gives them, he robs them of their native Beauties; which can only be preferred to them by the same incomparable Art that first framed them. Secondly, I was the first that recommended and lent to the Reverend Provost of our University, Dr. Ailet, a most learned and ingenious Man, your Essay, with which he was so wonderfully pleased and satisfied, that he has order'd it to be read by the Batchelors in the College, and strictly examines them in their Progress therein. Now a large Discourse in the way of a Logick would be much more taking in the Universities, wherein Youths do not satisifie themselves to have the Breeding or Buitness of the Place, unless they are engag'd in Something that bears the Name and Form of Logick.

This, Sir, is in short what offers itself to me at present concerning your Work. There remains only that I again put you in Mind of the second Member of your Division of Sciences, the Art Practica, or Ethics; you cannot imagine what an earnest Desire and Expectation I have rais'd in thole that are acquainted with your Writings, by the Hopes I have given them from your Promise of endeavouring Something on that Subject. Good Sir, let me renew my Requests to you therein; for believe me, Sir, 'twill be one of the most useful and glorious Undertakings that can employ you. The Touches you give in many Places of your Book on this Subject are wonderfully Curious, and do largely testifie your great Abilities that way, and I am sure the Pravity of Men's Morals does mightily require the most powerful Means to reform them. Be as large as 'tis possible on this Subject, and by all Means let it be in English. He that reads the xivth Section in your 126th Page, will be inflam'd to read more of the same Kind from the same incomparable Pen. Look therefore on your self as obliged by God Almighty to undertake this Task (pardon me, Sir that I am so free with you, as to insinuate to your self on your Duty, who, doubtless, understand it better than I can tell you) suffice not therefore your Thoughts to rest till you have finish'd it, and that God Almighty may succed your Labours, is, and shall be the Prayer of,

Worthy Sir,

Your entirely affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

S I R,

Whatever has happen'd to give you Leisure sooner than was expected, I hope to receive some Advantage by it. And that now you will be able to send me your own Thoughts on my Book, together with the Observations of your Friend, into whose Hands you have put it with that Design. I return you my humble Thanks for the Papers you did me the Favour to send me in your last. But am apt to think you agree with me, that there is very little in those Papers wherein either my Senfe is not mistaken, or very little wherein the Argument is directly against me. I suppose that learned Gentleman, if he had had the Leisure to read my Essay quite through, would have found several of his Objections might have been parried. And I can easily forgive those who have not been at the Pains to read the third Book of my Essay, if they make use of Expressions, that when examined signify nothing at all, in Defence of Hypotheses that have long possess'd their Minds. I am far from imagining my self infallible; but yet I should be loth to differ from any
any thinking Man, being fully persuaded there are very few Things of pure Speculation, wherein two thinking Men, who impartially seek Truth, can differ, if they give themselves the Leasure to examine their Hypotheses, and understand one another. I, presuming you to be of this Mank, whereof so few are to be found (for 'tis not every one that thinks himself a Lover or Seeker of Truth, who sincerely does it) took the Liberty to defire your Objections, that in the next Edition I might correct my Miftakes. For I am not fond of any thing in my Book; because I have once thought or said it. And therefore I beg you, if you will give your self the Pains to look over my Book again with this Design to oblige me, that you would use all manner of Freedom, both as to Matter, Style, Disposition, and every thing wherein, in your own Thoughts, any thing appears to you in the least to be alter'd, omitted, explain'd, or added. I find none so fit, nor so fair Judges as those whose Minds the Study of Mathematicks has open'd, and dis-intangled from the Cheat of Words, which has too great an Influence in all the other which go for Sciences: And I think (were it not for the doubtful and fallacious Use is made of those Signs) might be made much more Sciences than they are.

I sent Order some time since, that a posthuma Piece of Mr. Boyle's should be given to your Bookseller in London to be convey'd to you. It is A general History of the Air, which, though left by him very imperfect, yet I think the very Design of it will please you, and it is cast into a Method that any one who pleases may add to it, under any of the several Titles, as his Reading or Observation shall furnish him with Matter of Fact. If such Men as you are, curious and knowing, would join to what Mr. Boyle had collected and prepared, what comes in their Way, we might hope in some time to have a considerable History of the Air, than which I scarce know any Part of Natural Philosophy would yield more Variety and Use; but it is a Subject too large for the Attempts of any one Man, and will require the Assistance of many Hands to make it a History very short of compleat.

Since I did my self the Honour to write to your Brother, I have been very ill, to which you must pardon some Part of the Length of my Silence. But my Esteem and Respect for you is founded upon Something so much beyond Complement and Ceremony, that I hope you will not think me the less so, though I do not every Post importune you with repeated Professions that I am,

SIR,

Your most Humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

SIR,

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.


A D I known I should within so few Days have receive'd the Favour of such a Letter as your's of 22. Dec. I should not have troubled you with mine, that went hence but a little before the Receipt of your's. I was afraid in reading the Beginning of your's, that I had not so great an Interest in you as I flatter'd my self, and upon a Premumption whereof it was that I took the Liberty so confidencly to ask your Advice concerning the second Edition of my Book. But what followed satisfied me, that it was your Civility, and not Refredednesss, made you tell me, that the same Hand which first form'd it, is best able to reform it. Could I flatter my self so as to think I deferved all that you say of me in your obliging Letter, I should yet think you a better Judge of what is to be reform'd in my Book than I my self. You have given the World Proofs of your great Penetration, and I have received great Marks of your Candor. But were the Inequality between us as much to my Advantage as it is on the other Side, I should neverthelesse beg your Opinion. Whatsoever is our own, let us do what we can, stands a little too near us to
to be view'd as it should: And though we ever so sincerely aim at Truth; yet our own Thoughts, judging fhill of our own Thoughts, may be suspected to overlook Errors and Mistsakes. And I should think he valued Himself more than Truth, and presumed to much on his own Abilities, who would not be willing to have all the Exceptions could be made by any ingenious Friend, before he ventured any thing into the Publick. I therefore heartily thank you for those you have sent me, and for consulting some of your Friends to the same Purposes: And beg the Favour, if any Thing more occurs from your own Thoughts, or from them, you will be pleased to communicate it to me, if it be but those Erutata Typographica you meet with, not taken notice of in the Table. I confes, I thought some of the Explications in my Book too long, though turn'd several Ways, to make those abstract Notions the easier sink into Minds prejudiced in the ordinary Way of Education, and therefore I was of a mind to contract it. But finding you, and some other Friends of mine, whom I consulted in the Cafe, of a contrary Opinion, and that you judge the Redundancy in it a pardonable Fault, I shall take very little Pains to reform it.

I confes what I say, page 270, compar'd with p. 314, 315. may, to an unwary Reader, seem to contain a Contradiction; but you, considering right, perceive that there is none. But it not being reasonable for me to expect, that every Body should read me with that Judgment you do, and observe the Design and Foundation of what I say, rather than flick barely in the Words, tis fit, as far as may be, that I accommodate my Felt to ordinary Readers, and avoid the Appearances of Contradiction, even in their Thoughts. p. 314. I suppose Matter in its own natural State, void of Thought, a Supposition I concluded would not be denied me, or not hard to be prov'd if it shou'd: And thence I infer'd, Matter could not be the first eternal Being. But p. 270. I thought it no Aburdity or Contradiction to suppose, that a thinking omnipotent Being once granted, such a Being might annex to some Systems of Matter, ordered in a Way that he thought fit, a Capacity of some Degrees of Sense and Thinking. To avoid this Appearance of a Contradiction in my two Suppositions, and clear it up to less attentive Readers, I intend in the second Edition to alter it thus, if you think it will do.

P. 270. 1. 20. read, For I see no Contradiction in it, that the first eternal thinking Being, or omnipotent Spirit, should, if he pleas'd, give to certain Systems of created senseless Matter, put together as he thinks fit, some Degrees of Sense, Perception, and Thought; though I judge it no less than a Contradiction, to suppose Matter (which is evidently, in its own Nature, without Sense and Thought) should be the eternal first thinking Being. What Certainty of Knowledge can any one have, that some Perceptions, such as v. e. Pleasure and Pain, should not be in some Bodies themselves after—

P. 315. 1. 5. read, Thought can never begin to be: For it is impossible to conceive that Matter, either with or without Motion, could have originally in and from it self Sense, Perception and Knowledge, as is evident from hence, that Sense, Perception and Knowledge must then be a Property eternally inseparable from Matter, and every Particle of it. Not to add, that though our general or specific Conception of Matter makes us speak of it as one Thing; yet really all Matter is not one individual Thing, neither is there any such Thing existing as one material Being, or one Body, that we know or can conceive. And therefore, if Matter were the eternal first cogitative Being, there would not be one eternal infinite cogitative Being: But an infinite Number of finite cogitative Beings, independent one of another, of limited Force and defined Thoughts, which could never produce that Order, Harmony and Beauty is to be found in Nature. Since therefore whatsoever is the first eternal Being must necessarily be cogitative: And whatsoever is first of all things—higher Degrees, it necessarily follows, that the eternal first Being cannot be Matter. Pray give me your Opinion, whether, if I print it thus, it will not remove the Appearance of any Contradiction.

I do not wonder to find you think my Discourse about Liberty a little too fine spun, I had so much that Thought of it my self, that I said the same Thing of it to some of my Friends before it was printed, and told them that upon that account I judged it best to leave it out, but they persuaded me to the contrary. When the Connexion of the Parts of my Subject brought me to the Consideration of Power, I had no Design to meddle with the Question of
of Liberty, but barely pursu'd my Thoughts in the Contemplation of that Power in Man of choosing or preferring, which we call the Will, as far as they would lead me without any the least Byways to one Side or other; or if there was any leaning in my Mind, it was rather to the contrary Side to that where I found my self at the End of my Pursuit. But doubting that it bore a little too hard upon Man's Liberty, I shew'd it to a very ingenious but profess'd Arminian, and discrib'd him, after he had consider'd it, to tell me his Objections, if he had any, who frankly confess'd he could carry it no farther. I confess, I think there might be something said, which with a great many Men would pass for a satisfactory Answer to your Objection; but it not satisfying me, I neither put it into my Book, nor shall now into my Letter. If I have put any Fallacy on my self in all that Deduction, as it may be, and I have been ready to suspect it my self, you will do me a very acceptable Kindness to shew it me, that I may reform it. But if you will argue for or against Liberty from Consequences, I will not undertake to answer you. For I own freely to you the Weakness of my Understanding, that though it be unquestionable that there is Omnipotence and Omniscience in God our Maker, and I cannot have a clearer Perception of any Thing than that I am free; yet I cannot make Freedom in Man consistent with Omnipotence and Omniscience in God, though I am as fully persuaded of both as of any Truths I most firmly att'nt to. And therefore I have long since given off the Consideration of that Question, revolting all into this short Conclusion; That if it be possible for God to make a free Agent, then Man is free, though I see not the Way of it.

In the Objection you raise about Species, I fear you are fallen into the same Difficulty I often found my self under, when I was writing on that Subject, where I was very apt to suppose distinct Species I could talk of, without Names. For pray, Sir, consider what it is you mean, when you say, That we can no more doubt of a Sparrow's being a Bird, and an Horse's being a Beast, than we can of this Colour being Black, and t'other White, &c. but this, that the Combination of simple Ideas, which the Word Bird stands for, is to be found in that particular Thing we call a Sparrow. And therefore I hope I have no where said, There is no such sort of Creatures in Nature as Birds; if I have, it is both contrary to Truth and to my Opinion. This I do say, That there are real Constitutions in Things from whence these simple Ideas flow, which we observ'd combined in them. And this I farther say, That there are real Distinctions and Differences in those real Constitutions one from another; whereby they are distinguished one from another, whether we think of them, or name them or no. But that that, whereby we distinguish and rank particular Substances into Sorts, or Genera and Species, is not those real Essences, or internal Constitutions, but such Combinations of simple Ideas, as we observe in them. This I design'd to shew in lib. iii. c. 6. If, upon your Purposal of that Chapter again, you find any Thing contrary to this, I beg the Favour of you to mark it to me, that I may correct it, for it is not what I think true. Some Parts of that third Book concerning Words, though the Thoughts were easy and clear enough, yet cost me more Pains to express than all the rest of my Essay. And therefore I shall not much wonder if there be in some Places of it Obscurity and Doubtfulness. It would be a great Kindness from my Readers to oblige me, as you have done, by telling me any Thing they find amis; for the printed Book being more for others Use than my own, 'tis fit I should accommodate it to that as much as I can, which truly is my Intention.

That which you propose of turning my Essay into a Body of Logick and Metaphysics, accommodated to the usual Forms, though I thank you very kindly for it, and plainly see in it the Care you have of the Education of young Scholars, which is a Thing of no small Moment; yet I fear I shall scarce find Time to do it; you have cut out other Work for me, more to my Liking, and I think of more Use. Besides that, if they have in this Book of mine, what you think the Matter of these two Sciences, or what you will call them; I like the Method it is in, better than that of the Schools, where I think 'tis no small Prejudice to Knowledge, that Predicaments, Predicables, &c.
being universally in all their Systems, come to be look’d on as necessary Principles, or unquestionable Parts of Knowledge; just as they are set down there. If Logick be the first thing to be taught young Men, after Grammar, as is the usual Method, I think yet it should be nothing but Proposition and Syllogism. But that being in order to their disputing Exercises in the University, perhaps I may think those may be spared too. Disputing being but an ill (not to say the worst) Way to Knowledge. I say this not as pretending to change or find fault with what publick Allowance and establisht’d Practice has settled in Universities; but to excuse my self to you, from whom I cannot allow my self to differ, without telling you the true Reasons of it. For I see so much Knowledge, Candor, and the Marks of so much good Will to Man-kind in you, that there are few Men, whose Opinion I think ought to have so much Authority with me as yours. But as to the Method of Learning, perhaps I may entertain you more at large hereafter; only now let me ask you, since you mention Logick and Metaphysicks in relation to my Book, whether either of those Sciences may suggest to you any new Heads fit to be inserted into my Essay in a second Edition?

You have done too much Honour to me in the Recommendation I see you have given to my Book, and I am the more piafed with it, because I think it was not done out of Kindness to one so much a Stranger to you as I then was. But yet, pray do not think me so vain that I dare assume to myself almost any Part of what you say of me in your last Letter. Could I find in my self any Reason you could have to flatter me, I should suspect you resolved to play the Courtier a little. But I know what Latitude civil and well-bred Men allow themselves with great Sincerity, where they are pleas’d, and Kindness warms them. I am sensible of the Obligation, and in Return shall only tell you, that I shall speedily set my self to obey your Commands in the last Part of your Letter. I beg your Pardon for trespassing so much on your Patience, and am,

SIR,

Your most humble, and most obliged Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honoured SIR, Dublin, March 2. 1693:

Yours of Jan. 20. came to my Hands just as I lay down on a Bed of Sickness, being a severe Cholick, that held me nigh five Weeks, and brought me very weak; this was the more grievous to me, in that it hinder’d me from giving that ready answer to your Letters, which I desir’d; being very covetous, on all Opportunities, of keeping up a Correspondence with one for whom I have so great a Respect. I am now, God be thanked, pretty well recover’d, but yet weak, and have not yet stirr’d abroad. I know the bare signifying this to you is sufficient in my Excuse; so that, relying on your Pardon, I proceed to answer your last.

And first, Sir, believe me, that whatever Respect I have at any time us’d to you, has been the sincere Thoughts of my Heart, and not the vain Complements that usually pass between Courtiers, and how extravagant ever, are look’d upon as the Effects of good Breeding, and passes only as such by Licence. I think I know a worthy Man when I meet him, and they are so rare in the World, that no Honour is too great for those that are such. And I must plainly say it to your self, that so much Humanity, Candor, Condescension, and good Nature, join’d with so great Judgment, Learning, and Parts, I have not met with in any Man living, as in the Author of the Essay concerning Human Understanding. You so favourably entertain all Men’s Objections, you are so desirous to hear the Sentiments of others, you are so tender in
in differing from any Man, that you have captivated me beyond Resistance. What you propone to add in those Places which I intimat to you, as seemingly repugnant to unwary Readers, pag. 270. and 314. 315. is abundantly sufficient; unless you may think it convenient (for the Prevention of all manner of Scruple, and to shew your Readers that you are aware of the Objection that may be rais’d against these Passages) to add in the Margin a little Note to that Purpose, specifying the seeming Repugnancy that was in the first Edition, and that for the clearing thereof, you have thus farther illustrated it in this. But this, as every thing else, I propone with all Submission to your better Judgment. Mentioning the marginal Note to you minds me to intimate, that I should think it convenient in your next Edition, to express the Abstract or Content of each Section in the Margin, and to spare (if you think fit) the Table of Contents at the latter end of the Book, though I think both may do bett. I can assure you, for my own reading, and consulting your Book, I have put the Table of Contents to their respective Sections throughout the whole.

I am fully convinced by the Arguments you give me for not turning your Book into the scholastick Form of Logick and Metaphysicks, and I had no other Reason to advise the other, but merely to get it promoted the easier in our Universitie; one of the Bussineses of which Places is to learn according to the old Forms. And this minds me to let you know the great Joy and Satisfaction of Mind I conceived on your Promise of the Method of Learning; there could nothing be more acceptable to me than the Hopes thereof, and that on this Account: I have but one Child in the World, who is now nigh four Years old, and promises well; his Mother left him to me very young, and my Affections (I must confess) are strongly placed on him: It has pleased God, by the liberal Provisions of our Auncillors, to free me from the toiling Cares of providing a Fortune for him; so that my whole Study shall be to lay up a Treasure of Knowledge in his Mind, for his Happiness both in this Life and the next. And I have been often thinking of some Method for his Instruction, that may bett obtain the End I propone. And now, to my great Joy, I hope to be abundantly supplied by your Method. And my Brother has sometimes told me, that whilst he had the Happiness of your Acquaintance at Leyden, you were upon such a Work as this I desire; and that too, at the Request of a tender Father, for the Use of his only Son. Wherefore, good Sir, let me most earnestly intreat you, by no Means to lay aside this infinitely useful Work, till you have finish’d it; for ’twill be of vast Advantage to all Mankind, as well as particularly to me your entire Friend. And on this Consideration of Usefulness to Mankind, I will presume again to remind you of your Discourse of Morality; and I shall think my self very happy, if by putting you on the Thought, I should be the least Occasion of so Great Good to the World. What I have more to say relating to your Book, is of little or no Moment; however, you so readily entertain all Men’s Thoughts of your Works, that, futile as mine are, you shall have a Remark or two more from me.

But first to your Query, whether I know any new Heads from Logick or Metaphysicks to be inserted in the second Edition of your Essay: I answer, I know none, unless you think it may not do well to infust more particularly, and at large, on Aeterna. Veritate, and the Principium Individuationis. Concerning the first, you have some Touches, pag. 281. §. 31. p. 323. § 14. p. 343. § 14. and concerning the latter, p. 28. §. 4. p. 40. §. 12.

Pag. 96. Sc. 9. you assert, what I conceive is an Error in Fact, viz. That a Man’s Eye can distinguish a Second of a Circle, whereas its self is the Centre. Whereas ‘tis certain, that few Men’s Eyes can distinguish less than 30 Seconds, and not under a Minute, or 60 Seconds, as is manifested from what Mr. Hook lays down in his Animadversions on the first Part of Hewelis Machina coelestis, p. 8, 9, &c. But this, as I said before, is only an Error in Fact, and affects not the Doctrine laid down in the said Section.
512 Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke,

Pag. 341. Sect. 2. You say, The Existence of all Things without us (except only of God) is had by our Senses. And P. 147. Sect. 33, 34, 35, 36. you shew how the idea we have of God is made up of the Ideas we have gotten by our Senses. Now this, tho’ no Repugnancy; yet to unwarly Readers may seem one, and therefore perhaps may deferve a fuller Exprefion. To me 'tis plain, that in pag. 341. you speak barely of the Existence of a God; and in p. 147, you speak of the Ideas that are ingredient in the complex Idea of God; that is, p. 147. you say, That all the Ideas, ingredient in the Idea of a God, are had from Sences; and p. 341. you only afert that the Existence of this God, or that really there are united in one Being all these Ideas, is had; not from Sences, but Demonstration. This to me seems your Senté, yet perhaps every Reader may not so readily conceive it; and therefore, possibly you may think this Passage, p. 341. worth your farther Confederation and Addition.

I will conclude my tedious Lines with a joicofe Problem, that upon Diffcourfe with several concerning your Book and Notions, I have proposed to divers very ingenious Men, and could hardly ever meet with one, that at first deaf, would give me the Anfwer to it which I think true, till by hearing my Reafons they were convinced. 'Tis this: "Suppofe a Man born blind, and now adult, and taught by his Touch to diftinguifh between a Cube and a Sphere (suppofoe) of Ivory, highfly of the fame Bignefs, as to tell when he felt one and fother, which is the Cube, which the Sphere. Suppofoe then, the Cube and Sphere placed on a Table, and the blind Man to be made to fee; Query, whether by his Sight, before he touch’d them, he could now diftinguifh and tell which is the Globe, which the Cube? I anfwer, not; for tho’ he has obtained the Experience of how a Globe, how a Cube affects his Touch; yet he has not yet attain’d the Experience, that what affects his Touch fo or fo, must affect his Sight fo or fo; or that a protuberant Angle in the Cube, that pres’d his Hand unequally, fhall appear to his Eye as it does in the Cube. But of this enough; perhaps you may find some Place in your Effay, wherein you may not think it amifs to fay Something of this Problem.

I am extremely obliged to you for Mr. Boyle’s Book of the Air, which lately came to my Hands. 'Tis a vaft Design and not to be finifh’d but by the united Labours of many Heads, and indefatigably prosecuted for many Years; fo that I despair of feeing any Thing complete therein. However, if many will lend the fame helping Hands that you have done, I fhould be in Hopes: And certainly there is not a Chapter in all Natural Philosophy of greater Ufe to Mankind than what is here proposed. I am,

Worthy Sir,

Your moft humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

SIR,


Your Silence, that spared me a great deal of Fear and Uneaffines, by concealing from me your Sicknes till it was well over, is abundantly made amends for by the Joy it brings me in the News of your Recovery. You have given me thofe Marks of your Kindness to me, that you will not think it strange, that I count you amongst my Friends, and with thofe, defiring to live with the Eafe and Freedom of a perfect Confidence, I never accuse them to my felf of Neglect or Coldnes, when I fail to hear from them fo soon as I expected or defired; Though had I known you fo well before as I do now, since your laft Letter, I fhould not have avoided being in Pain upon Account of your Health.

I cannot
I cannot at all doubt the Sincerity of any Thing you say to me; but you give me leave to think, that 'tis an Excess of Kindness alone could excuse it from looking like Complement. But I am convinced you love your Friends extremely, where you have made choice of them, and then believe you can never think not speak too well of them. I know not whether it belongs to a Man who gets once in Print, to read in his Book that it is perfect, and that the Author is infallible. Had I had such an Opinion of my own Sufficiency before I write, my Essay would have brought me to another, and given me such a Sight of the Weakness of my Understanding, that I could not fail to suspect my self of Error and Mistake in many Things I had writ, and to desire all the light I could get from others to let me right. I have found you one of the likelyest to afford it me; your Clearness and Candor gave me the Confidence to ask your Judgment, and I take it for no small Assurance of your Friendship that you have given it me, and have condescended to advise me of the Printer's Faults, which gives me Hopes you have not concealed any you have observed in the Work it self. The marginal Summaries you desire, of the Paragraphs, I shall take care to have added, were it only for your Sake, but I think too it will make the Book the more useful.

That Request of yours you press so earnestly upon me, makes me bemoan the Distance you are from me, which deprives me of the Assistance I might have from your Opinion and Judgment, before I venture any Thing into the Publick. 'Tis so hard to find impartial Freedom in one's Friends, or an unbiased Judgment anywhere, that amongst all the Helps of Conversation and Acquaintance, I know none more wanted, nor more useful than speaking freely and candidly one's Opinion upon the Thoughts and Compositions of another intended for the Press. Experience has taught me, that you are a Friend of this Rank, and therefore I cannot but heartily wish that a Sea between us did not hinder me from the Advantage of this good Office. Had you been within Reach, I should have beg'd your severe Examination of what is now gone to the Printer at your Instance; I had rather I could have paid upon your Perusal, and with your Correction. I am not, in my Nature a Lover of Novelty nor Contradiction; but my Notions in this Tract, have run me so far out of the common Road and Practice, that I could have been glad to have had them allow'd by so sober a Judgment as your's, or fop'd, if they had appear'd impracticable or extravagant, from going any farther. That which your Brother tells you, on this Occasion, is not wholly besides the Matter. The Main of what I now publish, is but what was contain'd in several Letters to a Friend of mine, the greatest Part whereof were writ out of Holland. How your Brother came to know of it I have clearly forgot, and do not remember that ever I communicated it to any Body there. These Letters, or at least some of them, have been seen by some of my Acquaintance here, who would needs persuade me 'twould be of use to publish them; your Impatience to see them, has not, I assure you, flaschen'd my Hand, or kept me in Suspense: And I with now they were our, that you might the sooner see them, and I the sooner have your Opinion of them. I know not yet whether I shall set my Name to this Discourse, and therefore shall desire you to conceal it. You see I make you my Confessor, for you have made your self my Friend.

The Faults of the Preface are, I find upon a sedate Reading over of my Book, infinitely more than I could have thought; those that you have observed I have corrected, and return you my Thanks; and, as far as I have gone in my Review, have added and alter'd several Things, but am not yet got so far as those Places you mark for the Aeterna Veritates, and Principium Individuationis, which I shall consider when I come to them, and endeavour to satisfy your Desire. Malebranche's Hypothesis of seeing all Things in God, being that from whence I find some Men would derive our Ideas, I have some Thoughts of adding a new Chapter, wherein I will examine it, having, as I think, something for to say against it, that will shew the Weakness of it very clearly. But I have so little Love to Controversie, that I am not fully resolved. Some other additions I have made, I hope will not displease you, but I wish I could
could shew them you before they are in Print; for I would not make my Book bigger, unless it were to make it better.

I thank you for advising me of the Erreur about Sight, for indeed it was a great one in Matter of Facit, but it was in the Expression, for I meant a Minute, but, by Mistake, call'd 1/2 of a Degree, a Second. Your ingenious Problem will defer to be publish'd to the World.

The seeming Contradiction between what is said p. 147; and p. 341, is just as you take it, and I hope to clearly express, that it cannot be mistaken, but by a very unwaried Reader, who cannot distinguish between an Idea in the Mind, and the real Existence of Something out of the Mind answering that Idea. But I heartily thank you for your Caution, and shall take Care how to prevent any such Mistake when I come to that Place. My humble Service to your Brother. I am,

SIR,
Your most humble Servant,

J O H N L O C K E.

M R. M O L Y N E U X to M R. L O C K E.

SIR,

Dublin, Apr. 18. 1693.

I have lately received farther Testimonies of your Kindness and Friendship to me in your last of March 28. which brings with it the welcome News of your having committed your Work Of Education to the Press; than which, I know not any Thing that I ever expected with a more earnest Desire. What my Brother told me, relating to that Treatise, he had from your self in Holland; but perhaps you might have forgot what pass'd between you on that Occasion. I perceive you fear the Novelty of some Notions therein may seem extravagant; but, if I may venture to judge of the Author, I fear no such Thing from him. I doubt not, but the Work will be new and peculiar, as his other Performances; and this it is that renders them estimable and pleasant. He that travels the beaten Roads may chance indeed to have Company, but he that takes his Liberty, and manages it with Judgment, is the Man that makes useful Discoveries, and most beneficial to those that follow him. Had Columbus never ventured farther than his Predecessors, we had yet been ignorant of a vast Part of our Earth, preferable (as some say) to all the other three. And, if none may be allow'd to try the Ocean of Philosophy farther than our Ancestors, we shall have but little Advancements or Discoveries made in the Mundus intellectualis; wherein, I believe, there is much more unknown than what we have yet found out.

I should very much approve of your adding a Chapter in your Essay, concerning Malebranche's Hypothesis. As there are Enthusiasms in Divinity; so there are in Philosophy; and as one proceeds from not consulting, or misapprehending the Book of God; so the other from not reading and considering the Book of Nature. I look upon Malebranche's Notions, or rather Plato's, in this particular, as perfectly unintelligible. And if you will engage in a Philosophick Controversy, you cannot do it with more Advantage than in this Matter. What you lay down concerning our Ideas and Knowledge, is founded and confirmed by Experiment and Observation, that any Man may make in himself, or the Children he converses with, wherein he may note the gradual Steps that we make in Knowledge. But Plato's Fancy has no Foundation in Nature, but is merely the Product of his own Brain.

I know 'tis none of your Business to engage in Controversy, or remove Objections; save only such as seem immediately to strike at your own Positions; and therefore I cannot insist upon what I am now going to mention to you. However I will give you the Hint, and leave the Consideration thereof to your own Breast. The 10th Chapter of your 1st Book, is a most exact Demonstration of the Existence of a God. But perhaps it might be more full,
full, by an Addition against the Eternity of the World, and that all Things have not been going on in the same Manner as we now see them ab aeterno. I have known a pack of Philosophical Atheists, that rely much on this Hypothesis; and even Hobbes himself does somewhere allude (if I am not forgetful, 'tis in his Book De Corpore, in the Chapter De Universo) That the same Argument, which are brought against the Eternity of the World, may serve as well against the Eternity of the Creator of the World. I am,

Honour'd SIR,

Your most affectionate, devoted Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

SIR,


I had not been so long before I had acknowledg'd the Favour of your last, had not I a Design to give you at large an Account of some Alterations I intended to make in the Chapter of Power, wherein I should have been very glad you had shewn me any Mistake. I myself, not being very well satisfied, by the Conclusion I was led to, that my Reasonings were perfectly right, re- view'd that Chapter again with great Care, and by observing only the Mistake of one Word (viz. having put Things for Actions, which was very easy to be done in the Place where it is, viz. p. 123, as I remember, for I have not my Book by me here in Town) I got into a new View of Things, which, if I mistake not, will satisfy you, and give a clearer Account of Human Freedom than hitherto I have done, as you will perceive by the following Sections of that Chapter:

§. 28. Volition is the ordering of some Action by Thought.

§. 29. Uneasiness determines the Will.

§. 30. Will must be distinguished from Desire.

§. 31. The greater Good in View barely consider'd determines not the Will. The Joys of Heaven are often neglected.

§. 32. Desire determines the Will.

§. 33. Desire is an Uneasiness.

§. 34. The greatest present Uneasiness usually determines the Will, as is evident in Experience. The Reason.

§. 35. Because Uneasiness being a Part of Unhappiness, which is first to be removed in our Way to Happiness.

§. 36. Because Uneasiness alone is present.

§. 37. The Uneasiness of other Passions have their Share with Desire.

§. 38. Happiness alone moves the Desire.

§. 39. All absent Good not desired, because not necessary to our Happiness.

§. 40. The greatest Uneasiness does not always determine the Will, because we can suspend the Execution of our Desires.

This short Scheme may perhaps give you so much Light into my present Hypothesis, that you will be able to judge of the Truth of it, which I beg you to examine by your own Mind. I wish you were so near that I could communicate it to you at large, before it goes to the Press. But it is so much too long for a Letter, and the Press will be so ready to lay for it before it is finished, that I fear I shall not be able to have the Advantage of your Thoughts upon the whole Thread of my Deduction. For I had much rather have your Corrections, whilst they might contribute to make it receive your Approbation, than flatter my self before-hand that you will be pleased with it.

I hope,
516 Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke,

I hope, 'e're this, you have receiv'd from Mr. ....... that which I promis-

ed you the Beginning of this Spring. I must desire your Opinion of it

without Reference, for I should not have ventur'd, upon any other Condition,
to have own'd, and presented to you such a Trifle. I am,

SIR,

Your most humble Servant,

John Locke.

Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

Sir,

Dublin, August 12. 1693.

Yours of July 15. came to my Hands about a Fortnight since; and I

had, 'e're this, acknowledged the Favour thereof, but that I waited

the Arrival of your much desired Piece, Of Education, which came not to me
till about three Days ago. I immediately let my self to read it, as all Things
from its Author, with the utmost Attention; and I find it answerable to the
highest Expectations I had of it. And since, with your usual Modesty you
are pleased to require my Thoughts more particularly concerning it, I shall
with all Freedom, but at the same time with all Deference, propose them to
you, not doubting of your favourable Interpretation and Pardon, where
you see it needful. And first, in general, I think you propose Nothing in
your whole Book but what is very reasonable, and very practicable, except
only in one Particular, which seems to bear hard on the tender Spirits of
Children, and the natural Affections of Parents: Tis pag. 17, 118. where
you advise, That a Child should never be suffer'd to have what he craves, or so much
as speaks for, much less if he cries for it. I acknowledge what you say in
explaining this Rule, Sect. 101. in relation to natural Wants, especially that
of Hunger, may be well enough allow'd; but in Sect. 102. where you come
to apply it to Wants of Fancy and Affection, you seem too strict and severe.
You say indeed, this will teach them to stifle their Desires, and to practice Modesty
and Temperance; but for teaching these Virtues, I conceive we shall have
Occasions enough in relation to their hurtful Desires, without abridging
them so wholly in Matters indifferent and innocent, that tend only to di-
vert and please their busie Spirits. You allow indeed, That it would be Inhu-
manity to deny them those Things one perceives would delight them; if so, I see no
Reason why, in a modest Way, and with Submission to the Wills of their
Superiors, they may not be allow'd to declare what will delight them. No,
so you; but in all Wants of Fancy and Affection, they should never, if once de-
declared, be harken'd to, or comply'd with. This I can never agree to, it being
to deny that Liberty between a Child and its Parents, as we desire, and have
granted us, between Man and his Creator. And, as in this Case, Man is
allow'd to declare his Wants, and with Submission to recommend his Re-
quests to God; so I think Children may be allow'd by their Parents or Go-
vournors. And as between the Creature and Creator all manner of re-
pining upon Denial or Disappointment is forbidden; so in the Case of
Children, all Frowardness or Discontent upon a Refusal, is severer to be re-
primanded. But thus far I agree with you in the whole, that whether it
be in Wants natural or fanciful that they express their Desires in a froward
humourous Manner, there they should be surely deny'd them. A farther
Reason for my allowing Children a Liberty of expressing their innocent De-
sires, is, that the contrary is impracticable; and you must have the Children
almost moaped for Want of Diversion and Recreation, or else you must
have those about them study nothing all Day but how to find Employment
for them; and how this would rack the Invention of any Man alive, I leave
you to judge. And besides, were it an easy Task for any adult Person to
study the Fancy, the unaccountable Fancy, and Diversion of Children, the
whole Year round; yet it would not prove delightful to a Child, being
not
not his own Choice. But this, you'll say, is what you would have imprinted on them, that they are not to choose for themselves; but why not, in harmless things, and Plays or Sports, I see no Reasen. In all Things of Moment let them live by the Conduct of others wiser than themselves.

This, Sir, is all, that in your whole Book I stick at; to all the rest I could subscribe. And I am not a little pleased, when I consider that my own Management of my only little one has hitherto been agreeable, in the main, to your Rules, save only in what relates to his hardy Breeding, which I was cautious in, because he is come from a tender and sickly Mother; but the Child himself is hitherto (God be thanked) very healthful, though not very strong.

The Rules you give for the correcting of Children, and implanting in their Minds an early Sense of Praife or Dispraife, of Repute and Dishonour, are certainly very just.

The Contrivances you propose for teaching them to read and write, are very ingenious. And because I have practised one much of the same Nature, I'll venture to describe it. "'Tis by writing Syllables and Words in Print-hand, on the Face of a Pack of Cards, with Figures or Cyphers adjoin'd to each Word; by which I can form twenty several forts of Games, that shall teach Children both to read and count at the same time; and this with great Variety." One Thing more I shall venture to add to what you direct concerning Writing; that is, I will have my Son taught Short-hand; I do not mean to that Perfection as to copy a Speech from the Mouth of a ready Speaker, but to be able to write it readily for his own private Business. Believe me, Sir, 'tis as useful a Knack as a Man of Business, or any Scholar can be Master of, and I have found the Want of it my self, and seen the Advantage of it in others frequently.

You are certainly in the right of it, relating to the Manner of acquiring Languages, French, Latin, &c. and in what you lay down concerning Grammar-Schools, Themes, Verles, and other Learning. But above all, what you direct in every Particular for the forming of Children's Minds, and giving them an early Turn to Morality, Virtue, Religion, &c. is most excellent.

And I can only say in general, that I can give no better Proof of my liking your Book in all these Precepts, than by a strict Observance of them in the Education of my own Son, which I shall pursue (God willing) as exactly as I can. One Thing, I fear, I shall be at a loss in, that is, a Tutor agreeable to the Character you prescribe. But in this neither shall my Endeavours be wanting; though I leave him the worse Estate, to leave him the better Mind.

I could heartily have with'd you had been more particular in naming the Authors you would advise Gentlemen to read, and be conversant in, in the several Parts of Learning you recommend to their Study. Had you done this, I know no Logick that deferves to be named, but the Essay of Human Understanding. So that I fear you would rather have left that Head open, than recommended your own Work.

The last Thing I shall take notice of, is what mightily pleases me, it being the very Thought of my own Mind these many Years; which is, your recommending a manual Trade to all Gentlemen. This I have ever been for, and have wonder'd how it comes to pass, that 'tis so generally neglected; but the lazy effeminate Luxuriousness that overruns the Nation, occasions the Neglect thereof. Painting I have ever design'd for my Son, but you have raised two Objections against it, that are not easily answer'd, especially its taking up so much Time to attain a Maitrety in it.

I have now given you my Opinion of your Book, and now I am obliged to thank you for sending me a Prefent, which I so highly value. As to that Part of your Letter relating to the Alterations you have made in your Essay concerning Man's Liberty, I dare not venture, upon those short Hints you give me, to pass my Opinion. But, now that you have discovered it to me, I plainly perceive the Mistake of Soc. 28. P. 123, where you put Thing for Action. And I doubt not, but in your next Edition, you will fully rectify this Matter. And I could advise you to hasten that Edition.
tution with what Speed you can, leaft Foreigners undertake a Translation of your firft, without your fecond Thoughts. Thus they have ferved me, by translating into Latin, and printing my Diftricks in Holland, when I have now by me a Translation of my own of that Work, with many Amendments and large Additions.

Pray, Sir, let me beg the favour of your Correspondence as frequently as you can, for nothing is more acceptable to

Your most obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

SIR,

YOURS of Auguft 12. which I received laft Night, eafeed me of a great deal of Pain your Silence had for some time put me in; for you must allow me to be concern'd for your Health, as for a Friend that I could not think in Danger, or a Difcase, without a Concern and Trouble, fuitable to that great Esteem and Love I have for you. But you have made me amends plentifully by the Length and Kindnefs, and, let me add too, the Freedom of your Letter. For the Approval you fo largely give to my Book is the more welcome to me, and gives me the better Opinion of my Method, becaufe it has joyn'd with it your Exception to one Rule of it; which I am apt to think you your felf, upon second Thoughts, will have remov'd, before I fay any Thing to your Objections. It confirms to me that you are the good natur'd Man I took you for; and I do not at all wonder, that the Affection of a kind Father should fatterle at it at firft Reading, and think it very severe that Children fhould not be fuffer'd to express their Deifires; for fo you seem to understand me. And fuch a Refrain, you fear, would be apt to moap them, and hinder their Diftrtion. But if you pleafe to look upon the Place, and obferve my Drift, you will find that they fhould not be indulged, or complied with, in any Thing their Conceits have made a Want to them, as neceffary to be supplied. What you fay, That Children would be moap'd for want of Diftrition and Recreations, or else we muft have thefe about them study nofthing all Day, but how to fnd Employment for them; and how this would rack the Invention of any Man living, you leave me to judge, seems to intimate, as if you understood that Children fhould do nothing but by the Prefcription of their Parents or Tutors, chalking out each Action of the whole Day in Train to them. I hope my Words express no fuch Thing, for its quite contrary to my Senfe, and I think would be ufelefs Tyranny in their Governours, and certain Ruin to the Children. I am fo much for Recreation, that I would, as much as poifible, have all they do be made fo. I think Recreation as neceffary to them as their Food, and that nothing can be Recreation which does not delight. This, I think, I have fo exprifed, and when you have put that together, judge whether I would not have them have the greatest Part of their Time left to them, without Relfraint, to divert themselves any way they think bel't, fo it be free from vicious Actions, or fuch as may introduce vicious Habits. And therefore if they should ask to play, it could be no more interpreted a Want of Fancy, than if they asked for Vifuals when hungry; though where the Matter is well order'd, they will never need to do that. For when they have either done what their Governour thinks enough in any Application to what is ufually made their Bufinefs, or are perceived to be tir'd with it, they fhould of course be difmiffed to their innocent Diftrions, without ever being put to ask for it. So that I am for the full liberty of Diftrion, as much as you can be, and, upon a fcond Perufal of my Book, I do not doubt but you will find me fo. But being allow'd that, as one of their natural Wants, they fhould not yet be permitted to let loose their Deifires in Importunities for what they fancy. Children are very apt to covet what they fee thofe above them in Age have or do, to
have or do the like, especially if it be their elder Brothers and Sisters. Does one go Abroad? The other strait has a mind to it too. Has such an one new, or fine Cloaths, or Play-things? They, if you once allow it them, will be impatient for the like, and think themselves ill dealt with if they have it not. This being indulged when they are little, grows up with their Age, and with that engraves it self to Things of greater Consequence, and has ruin’d more Families than one in the World. This should be suppressefd in its very first Rife, and the Desires you would not have encouraged, you should not permit to be spoken, which is the best Way for them to silence them to themselves. Children should by constant Use learn to be very modest in owning their Desires, and careful not to ask any Thing of their Parents, but what they have Reason to think their Parents will approve of. And a Reprimand upon their ill bearing a Refusal comes too late, the Fault is committed and allow’d; and if you allow them to ask, you can scarce think it strange they should be troubled to be deny’d; so that you suffer them to engage themselves in the Diforder, and then think the fittest time for a Cure, and I think, the surest and easiest Way is Prevention. For we must take the same Nature to be in Children, that is in grown Men; and how often do we find Men take ill to be deny’d what they would not have been concerned for if they had not asked. But I shall not enlarge any farther in this, believing you and I shall agree in the Matter; and indeed it is very hard, and almost impossible to give general Rules of Education, when there is scarce any one Child, which in some Cafes should not be treated differently from another. All that we can do in general, is only to shew what Parents and Tutors should aim at, and leave to them the ordering of particular Circumstances as the Cffe shall require.

One Thing give me leave to be importunate with you about: You say, your Son is not very strong; to make him strong, you must ufe him hardly, as I have directed; but you must be sure to do it by very indefinible Degrees, and begin an Hardship you would bring him to only in the Spring. This is all the Caution needs be used. I have an Example of it in the House I live in, where the only Son of a very tender Mother was almost destroy’d by a too tender keeping. He is now, by a contrary Usage, come to bear Wind and Weather, and wet in his Feet; and the Cough, which threaten’d him under that warm and cautious Management, has left him, and is now no longer his Parents confiant Apprehension as it was.

I am of your Mind as to short Hand. I my self learn’d it since I was a Man, but had forget to put it in when I write, as I have, I doubt not, overone a thousand other Things, which might have been said on this Subject. But it was only at first a short Scheme for a Friend, and is publish’d to excite others to treat it more fully.

I know not whether it would be useful to make a Catalogue of Authors to be read by a young Man, or whether it could be done, unless one knew the Child’s Temper, and what he was design’d to.

My Essay is now very near ready for another Edition, and upon Review of my Alterations, concerning what determines the Will, in my cool Thoughts I am apt to think them to be right, as far as my Thoughts can reach in fo nice a Point, and in short is this. Liberty is a Power to act or not to act, accordingly as the Mind directs. A Power to direct the operative Faculties to Motion or Rest in particular Instances, is that which we call the Will. That, which in the Train of our voluntary Actions determines the Will to any Change of Operation, is some present Unaffections, which is, or at leaft is always accompanied with that of Desire. Desire is always moved by Evil to fly it; because a total Freedom from Pain always makes a necessary Part of our Happines. But every Good, may every greater Good, does not constantly move Desire, because it may not make, or may not be taken to make any necessary Part of our Happines; for all that we desire is only to be happy. But though this general Desire of Happines operates constantly and invariably in us; yet the Satisfaction of any particular Desire, can be suspended from determining the Will to any subservient Action, till we have maturely examined, whether the particular apparent Good we then desire,
make a Part of our real Happiness, or be consistent or inconsistent with it. The Refute of our Judgment, upon Examination, is what ultimately determines the Man, who could not be free, if his Will were determined by any thing but his own Desire, guided by his own Judgment. This, in short, is what I think of this Matter, I desire you to examine it by your own Thoughts. I think I have so well made out the several Particulars where I treat them at large, that they have convinced some I have shewn them to here, who were of another Mind; and therefore how much more contrary to the receiv’d Opinion, I think I may publish them; but I would first have your judicious and free Thoughts, which I much rely on; for you love Truth for it self, and me so well, as to tell it me without Disguise.

You will here with receive a new Chapter Of Identity and Diversity, which, having wrt only at your Incitance, ‘tis fit you should fee and judge of before it goes to the Prfs. Pray send me your Opinion of every Part of it. You need not fend back the Papers, but your Remarks on the Paragraphs you shall think fit, for I have a Copy here.

You defir’d me too to enlarge more particularly about eternal Verities, which, to obey you, I feet about, but upon Examination, find all general Truths are eternal Verities, and so there is no Entering into Particulars; though, by Mistake, some Men have selected some as if they alone were eternal Verities. I never, but with Regret, reflect on the Dintance you are from me, and am,

SIR,
Your most humble Servant,

J ohn Locke

Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.
Honoured Sir,

I have your’s from Oates of Aug. 23. with your Chapter of Identity and Diversity; and I acknowledge my self extremely obliged to you, for being at all that Thought on my Account. However, I repent not of the Trouble I gave you therein, seeing the Effects thereof, such clear Reasoning, and profound Judgment, that convinces and delights at once. And I protest, Sir, ‘tis to me the hardest Task in the World, to add any Thing to, or make any Remarks upon, what you deliver therein; every Thing you write therein is deliver’d with such convincing Reason, that I fully assent to all. And to make Remarks where I have no Room to say any Thing, would please neither you nor my self. And to shew you that I would not wholly rely on my own Examination of your Chapter, I imparted it to others, deiring their Consideration of it; but still with the same Event, all acknowledge the Clearness of the Reasoning, and that nothing more was left to be said on the Subject.

The Answer you make to what I writ on your Thoughts of Education, does fully satisfie me. But I assure you, Sir, I was not the only Person shock’d at that Passage. I find several humble at it, as taking little Play-things, that Children are very apt to desire and ask for, to be Matters of Fancy and Affection within your Rule. But seeing, in your last Letter, you confine Desires of Fancy and Affection to other Matters, I am satisfi’d in this Busines.

I can say no more to the Scheme you lay down of Man’s Liberty, but that I believe it very just, and will answer in all Things. I long to see the second Edition of your Essay; and then, if any Thing offer, I’ll give you my Thoughts more fully.

I am very sensible how closely you are engaged, till you have discharged this Work off your Hands; and therefore I will not venture, till it be over, to prs the again to what you have promis’d in the Busines of Man’s Life, Morality. But you must expect that I shall never be forgetful of that, from which I propose to great Good to the World, and so much Satisfaction to

Your most intirely affectionate humble Servant,

Will. Molyneux

Mr.
Honoured SIR,

I have now read over your Essay of Human Understanding a third time, and always make new Discoveries therein of Something profound. I should hear it again, but that I will wait for your next Edition, which I hope by this time is almost finished. The universal Satisfaction I take in reading all Things that come from you, made me lately again run over your Chapter of Identity and Diversity; concerning the Justness thereof, I have yet the same Opinion as formerly. But one Thought suggested itself to me, which on my first Reading did not occur. It relates to Sect. 22; wherein the Reason you give, why the Law may justly punish a sober Man for what he did when Drunk, or a waking Man for what he did when walking in his Sleep, the’ be true and full in the Case of the Night-walker; yet I conceive it not so full in the Case of the drunken Man. For Drunkenness is itself a Crime, and therefore no one shall allege it an Excuse of another Crime. And in the Law we find, That Killing a Man by Chance-medly is not Capital; yet if I am doing an unlawful Act, as shooting at a Deer in a Park to steal it, and by Chance-medly I kill a Man unawares, this is Capital; because the Act wherein I was engaged, and which was the Occasion of this Mischief, was in itself unlawful, and I cannot plead it in Excuse. In the Case of the Night-walker, your Answer is true, full, and satisfactory; but that in the Drunkard’s Case is somewhat short. The Night-walking is a sort of Delirium, not to be helped or prevented by the Patient. But Drunkenness is a deliberate Act, which a Man may easily avoid and prevent. Moreover, whatever the Law appoints in this Case, I think, were I on the Jury of one, who walking in his Sleep had kill’d another, I should not violate a good Confidence if I acquitted him; for he is certainly, during those Fits, Non compos mentis; and it were easy to distinguish, by Circumstances, how far he counterfeited or not.

You will very much oblige me by a Line or two, to let me know how forward your Work is, and what other Things you have on the Anvil before you; amongst which, I hope you will not forget your Thoughts on Morality. For I am obliged to prosecute this Request to you, being the first, I presume, that moved you in it. There is a Gentleman in this Town, one Captain Henry Monk, a Nigh Relation of the Alberoni, who tells me he has been known to you long ago; and on all Occasions mentions you with the highest Respects. He desired me the other Day to give you his most humble Service. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your most obedient Servant,

WILL. MOYNEUX.

Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

Honoured SIR,

I can take it for no other than a great Mark of your Kindness to me, that you spend so much of your Time in the Perusal of my Thoughts, when you have so much better of your own to improve it. To which you add this further Obligation, that you read my Book for my Instruction, still taking notice to me of what you judge amiss in it. This is a good Office, that to few in the World perform in the way that you do, that it deserves my particular Acknowledgment. And I own my self no less beholden to you when I differ from you, than when convinced by your better Judgment, you give me Opportunity to mend what before was amiss; your Intention being that, to which I equally, in both Cases, owe my Gratitude.

You
Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke,

You doubt whether my Answer be full in the Case of the Drunkard. To try whether it be or no, we must consider what I am there doing. As I remember (for I have not that Chapter here by me) I am there shewing that Punishment is annexed to Personality, and Personality to Conscioussness: How then can a Drunkard be punished for what he did, whereof he is not conscious? To this I answer, Human Judicatures justly punish him, because the Fact is proved against him; but Want of Conscioussness cannot be proved for him. This you think not sufficient, but would have me add the common Reason, that Drunkennes being a Crime, one Crime cannot be alleged in Excuse for another. This Reason, how good soever, cannot, I think, be used by me, as not reaching my Case: for what has this to do with Conscioussness? Nay, it is an Argument against me, for it a Man may be punished for any Crime, which he committed when drunk, whereof he is allowed not to be conscious, it overturns my Hypothec. Your Case of Shooting a Man by Chance, when stealing a Deer, being made Capital, and the like, I allow to be just; but then, pray consider, it concerns not my Argument; there being no Doubt of Conscioussness in that Case, but only shews, that any criminal Action infects the Consequences of it. But Drunkennes has something peculiar in it in what it destroys Conscioussness; and to the Instances you bring justifie not the punishing of a drunken Fact, that was totally and irrecoverably forgotten, which the Reason that I give being sufficient to do, it well enough removed the Objection, without entering into the true Foundation of the Thing, and shewing how far it was reasonable for Human Justice to punish a Crime of a Drunkard, which he could be supposed not conscious of, which would have usefully engag'd me in a very large Discourse, and an impertinent Digression. For I ask you, if a Man by intemperate Drinking should get a Fever, and in the Frenzy of his Disease (which lafted not perhaps above an Hour) committed some Crime, would you punish him for it? If you would not think this just, how can you think it just to punish him for any Fact committed in a drunken Frenzy, without a Fever? Both had the fame criminal Cause, Drunkennes, and both committed without Conscioussness. I shall not enlarge any farther into other particular Instances, that might raise Difficulties about the punishing or not punishing the Crime of an unconscious drunken Man, which would not easily be resolved, without enquiring into the Reason upon which Human Justice ought to proceed in such Cases, which was beyond my present Business to do. Thus, Sir, I have laid before you the Reasons why I have let that Passage go without any Addition made to it. I desire you to lay by your Friendship to me, and only to make use of your Judgment in considering them. And if you are still of Opinion that I need give the Reason too, that one Crime cannot be alleged in Excuse of another, I beg the Favour of you to let me know it as soon as I can, that I may add what is necessary in this Place amongst the Errata, before my Book comes out, which advances now apace, and I believe there are, by this time, near 150 Pages of it printed. And now, Sir, though I have not agreed with your Opinion in this Point; yet I beseech you believe I am as much obliged to your Kindness in it, as if you had shewn me what, upon your Reason, had appeared to me the greatest Mistake; and I beg the Favour of you, whenever you cast your Eye upon any of my Writings, to continue and communicate to me your Remarks.

You write to me, as if Ink had the same Spell upon me, that Mortar, as the Italians say, has upon others, that when I had once got my Fingers into it, I could never afterwards keep them out. I grant, that methinks I see Subjects enough, which Way ever I cast my Eyes, that deserve to be otherwise handled, than I imagine they have been; but they require abler Heads, and firmer Endes than I have, to manage them. Besides, when I reflect on what I have done, I wonder at my own bold Folly, that has to far exposed me in this nice and critical, as well as quick-fitted and learned Age. I say not this to excuse a lazy Idleness, to which I intend to give up the rest of my few Days. I think every one, according to what way Providence has placed him in, is bound to labour for the publick Good as far as he is able, or
and several of his Friends.

or else he has no Right to eat. Under this Obligation of doing Something, I cannot have a stronger to determine me, what I shall do, than what your Desires shall engage me in. I know not whether the Attempt will exceed my Strength. But there being several here who join with you to press me to it; (I received a Letter with the same Instancy, from two of my Friends at London, the last Post) I think, the first Leave I can get to my self, I shall apply my Thoughts to it; and however I may mis my Aim, will justify my self in my Obedience to you, and some others of my ingenious Friends.

I am exceedingly obliged to Captain Mask for his kind Remembrance, and to you for sending it me, and letting me know he is alive. I have, as I ought, all the Effer for him, that you know so modest and good a Man deserves. Pray, when you see him, present my humble Service to him, and let him know that I am extremely glad to hear that he is well, and that he has not forgot me, and should be much more so to see him here again in England. Pray, give my humble Service to your Brother. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your most humble, and most faithful Servant,

John Locke.

Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

Honoured SIR,

I am so very sensible of the great Caution, and deep Consideration you use before you write any Thing, that I wonder at my own Hardiness when I venture to object any Thing against your Positions. And when I read your Answers to any of such my Objections, I much the more admire at my own Weakness in making them. I have a new Instance of this in your last of January 18, which came not to this Place before Yesterday. This has most abundantly satisfied me in the Doubt I lay under, concerning the Case of a drunken Man; which you have clear'd up to me in three Words most convincingly. So that I think you have no Reason in the least to alter that Paragraph, unless you may think it convenient to express that Matter a little plainer. Which I think indeed your last Letter to me does better than your twenty second Section of that Chapter. That Section runs thus:

22. But is not a Man, drunk and sober, the same Person? Why else is he punished for the Fact he commits when drunk, though he be never afterwards conscious of it? Just as much the same Person, as a Man that walks, and does other Things in his Sleep, is the same Person, and is answerable for any Mischief he shall do in it. Human Laws punish both with a Justice suitable to their Way of Knowledge; because in these Cases they cannot distinguish certainly what is real, what counterfeit. And so the Ignorance in Drunkenness or Sleep is not admitted as a Plea, &c.

Now I conceive, that which makes the Expression herein not so very clear, is, suitable to their Way of Knowledge. Some will be apt to mistake the Word their to refer to the drunken or sleeping Man, whereas it refers to the Laws, as if you had said, "Suitable to their Way of Knowledge or Information, which the Laws have established to proceed by."

This, in your Letter, is very manifest in a few Words. There you say, Punishment is annexed to Personality, Personality to Consciouness. How then can a Drunkard be punished for what he did, whereas he is not conscious? To this I answer, Human Judicatures justly punish him, because the Fact is proved against him, but Want of Consciouness cannot be proved for him. This, Sir, is most full in the Case you are there treating of. So I have nothing more to offer in that Matter.

Only give me leave to propose one Question more to you, though it be foreign to the Business you are upon in your Chapter of Identity. How comes it to pass that Want of Consciouness cannot be proved for a Drunkard as well as for a Frenzick? One, methinks, is as manifest as the other; and if Drunkenness may be counterfeit, so may a Frenzy. Wherefore to me it seems,
Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke,

seems that the Law has made a Difference in these two Cases, on this Account, viz. "That Drunkenness is commonly incurr'd voluntarily and pre-
meditatedly; whereas a Frenzy is commonly without our Consent, or im-
possible to be prevented." But enough of this.

I should not have troubled you with this, but that according to your usual Candor and Goodness, you seem'd to desire my farther Thoughts thereon, as speedily as I could. I am,

Most worthy SIR,
Your most obliged, humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

Sir,

The Slowness of the Press has so long retarded my Answer to your last obliging Letter, that my Book, which is now printed and bound, and ready to be sent to you, must be an Excuse for my long Silence. By the Obe-
dience I have pay'd to you in the Index and Summaries order'd according to your Desires, you will see 'tis not Want of Deference to you, or Esteem of you, that has injured this Neglect. And the Profit I have made by your Reflections on several Passages of my Book, will, I hope, encourage you to the Continuance of that Freedom, to a Man who can distinguish between the Causes of a judicious Friend, and the Wrangling of a peevish Critick.

There is nothing more acceptable to me than the one, nor more, I think, to be slighted than the other. If therefore, as you seem to resolve, you shall throw away any more of your Time in a Perusal of my Essay; judge, I beseech you, as severely as you can of what you read. I know you will not forfake Truth to quarrel with me; and whilst you follow her you will al-
ways oblige me, by shewing me my Mistakes, or what seems to you to be so.

You will find, in this second Edition, that your Advice at any time has not been thrown away upon me. And you will see by the Errata, that though your last came a little too late; yet that could not hinder me from following what you so kindly, and with so much Reason suggested.

I agree with you, that Drunkenness being a voluntary Defect, Want of Conscience ought not to be presum'd in Favour of the Drunkard. But Frenzy, being involuntary, and a Misfortune, not a Fault, has a Right to that Excuse, which certainly is a just one where it is truly a Frenzy. And all that lies upon human Justice is, to distinguish carefully between what is real, and what counterfeit in the Cafe.

My Book, which I desire you to accept from me, is put into Mr. Churchill the Bookseller's Hand, who has told me he will send it in a Bale of Books, the next Week, to Mr. Dobson, a Bookseller in Castle-street, Dublin; and I have order'd him to send with it a Copy of the Additions and Alterations which are printed by themselves, and will help to make your former Book useful to any young Man, as you will see (is design'd) by the Conclusion of the Epistle to the Reader. I am,

SIR,
Your most affectionate, and most humble Servant,

John Locke.
Mr. Molyneux to M. Locke.

Dublin, June 2. 1694.

SIR,

I am highly obliged to you for the Favour of your last, of May 26. which I received Yesterdays. It brought me the welcome News of the second Edition of your Essay being published; and that you have favourd me with a Copy, which I shall expect with some Impatience; and when I have perused it, I shall, with all Freedom, give you my Thoughts of it.

And now that you have clear'd your Hands of your second Edition, I hope you may have Leasure to turn your Thoughts to the Subject I have so often proposed to you; but this, you will say, is a Cruelty in me, that no sooner you are rid of one Trouble, but I set you on another. Truly, Sir, were I sensible it could be a Trouble to you, I should hardly presume so soon on your Goodness; but I know those Things are so easy and natural to your Mind, that they give you no Pain in the Production. And I know also, such is your universal Love of Mankind, that you count nothing troublesome that tends to their Good, in a Matter of so great Concernment as Morality.

I have formerly told you what Care I proposed to take in the Education of my only Child. I must now beg your Pardon if I trouble you in a Matter, wherein I shall be at a Loss without your Affassitude. He is now five Years old, of a most cheerful and promising Disposition; bred exactly, as far as his Age permits, to the Rules you prescribe, I mean as to forming his Mind, and mastering his Passions. He reads very well, and I think it Time now to put him forward to some other Learning. In order to this I shall want a Tutor for him, and indeed this Place can hardly afford me one to my Mind. If therefore you know any ingenious Man that may be proper for my Purpuse, you would highly oblige me, by procuring him for me. I confess the Encouragement I can propose to such a one is but moderate, yet perhaps there may be some found that may not despise it. He should eat at my own Table, and have his Lodging, Waftings, Firing and Candlelight in my Houfe, in a good handsome Apartment; and besides this, I should allow him 20l. per Annum. His Work for this should be only to instruct three or four Boys in Latin, and such other Learning as you recommend in your Book: I lay three or four Boys, because perhaps I may have a Relation's Child or two; one who is my Sister's Son I have always, and do intend to keep as a Companion to my own Son; and of more I am uncertain. But if there be one or two, that will be no great Addition to his Trouble, considering, that perhaps their Parents may recom pense that by their Gratuities. I mention to you, of the Languages, only Latin, but, if I could obtain it, I should be glad he were also Master of the French. As to his other Qualifications, I shall only lay in general, I could with them such as you would defire in a Tutor, to instruct a young Gentleman as you propose in your Book. I would have him indeed a good Man, and a good Scholar; and I propose very much Satisfaction to my Slef in the Conversation of such a one. And because a Man may be cautious of leaving his native Soil, and coming into a Strange Country, without some Certainty of being acceptable to those that fend for him, and of some Continuance and Settlement, I can say that I design him to lay with my Son to his State of Manhood; whether he go into the University, or travel, or whatever other State of Life he may take to. And if perhaps on Trial for some time, he or I may not like each other, I do promife to bear his Charges both to and from me, fo that he shall be no Lofer by his Journey.

I beg your Anwer to this at your Leasure; and if any such present, be pleased to let me know of him what Particulars you can, as his Parentage, Education, Qualifications, Disposition, &c. with what other Particulars you please to mention; and accordingly I shall write to you farther about it.
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In the mean time, I befeech you to pardon this Trouble given you by,

Honoured SIR,

Your most affectionate, and most obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

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**Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.**

SIR,

London, 28 June, 1694:

Since the Receipt of your’s of the second Instant, I have made what Enquiry I can for a Tutor for your Son; the most likely, and the best recommended that I have met with, you will have an Account of from himself in the Inclosed, to which I need add little but these two Things; 1st, That Mr. Fletcher, who is a good Judge, and a Person whose Word I can rely on, gave me a very good Character of him, both as to his Manners and Abilities, and said he would be answerable for him; The other is, That however it comes to pass, the Search have now here a far greater Reputation for this sort of Employment, than our own Country-men. I am sorry it is so, but I have of late found it in many Instances.

I hope, by this Time, the second Edition of my Book, which I ordered for you, and a printed Copy of the Additions are come to your Hands. I wish it were more answerable to the Value you place on it, and better worth your Acceptation. But, as I order the Matter, methinks I make it a hard Bargain to you, to pay so much Time and Pains as must go to the Reading it over, though it were more lightly than we seem agreed, when you promise, and I expect your Observations on it. There appears to me so little Material in the Objections that I have seen in Print against me, that I have paffed them all by but one Gentleman’s, whose Book not coming to my Hand till those Parts of mine were printed that he questions, I was fain to put my Answer in the latter End of the Epistle.

I wish the Endeavours I have used to procure you a Tutor for your Son, may be as successful as I desire. 'Tis a Business of great Concernment to both you and your Son; but Government, that have right Thoughts concerning Education, are hard to be found. 'Tis happy for your Son, that a good Part of it is to be under your Eye. I shall be very glad, if in this or any other Occasion, I may be able to do you any Service; for with great Sincerity and Respect I am,

SIR,

Your most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

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**Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.**

My most honoured Friend,

Dublin, July 28, 1694.

For so you have publickly allow’d me to call *you*; and 'tis a Title wherein I boast more than in Mace or Parliament-Robes. By this you may find I have received the second Edition of your Essay, which I prize as an inestimable Treasure of Knowledge. 'Tis but a Week since it came to me; and I have yet only look’d over those Parts which are newly added; particularly that of Liberty, the Alterations wherein, I take to be most judiciously made; and now, I think that whole Chapter stands so well put together, and the Argumentation is so legitimate, that nothing can shake it.

I was

See Mr. Locke’s Essay of Human Understanding, 2d Ed. p. 68,
and several of his Friends.

I was mightily pleased to find therein a rational Account of what I have often
wonder'd at; viz. Why Men should content themselves to play in this Life for ever,
though at the same time they will grant, that in the next Life they expect to be infinitely
happy? Of this you give so clear an Account in the 44th Section of your
xxx. Chapters, Book II. that my Wonder no longer remains. That candid Re-
ception from your former Hypothesis, which you shew in this Chapter, where
Truth requireth it, raiseth in me a greater Opinion (if possible) of your Worth
than ever. This is rarely to be found amongst Men, and they seem to have
something Angelical, that are so far raised above the common Pitch.

In time I shall give you my farther Thoughts of the other Parts of your
Book, where any Thing occurs to me. But, at present, I can only pour
out my Thanks to you for the favourable Character, under which you have
transmitted me to Potterity, pag. 67. My only Concern is, that I can pre-
tend to none of it, but that of your Friend; and this I set up for in the
highest Degree. I should think my self happy had I but half the Title to
the rest.

I am extremely obliged to you for the Trouble you took on you in my
last Request, about a Tutor for my Son. I received your Letter with
Mr. Gibbs's inclofed; to which I returned an Answer, address'd to himself.
The Import whereof was, "That I had some Offers made to me in this
Place, relating to that Matter, to which I thought I should hearken, at
least, so far as to make some Tryal. That I was loth to divert him from
his good Intentions to the Ministry, and therefore I could not encourage
him to undertake so long a Journey, on such Uncertainties on both
Sides, &c. I am,

My most highly esteem'd Friend,
Your most affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

SIR,

I have so much the Advantage in the Bargain, if Friendship may be call'd
one, that whatsoever Satisfaction you find in your self on that Account,
you must allow in me with a large Over-plus. The only Riches I have
valued, or labour'd to acquire, has been the Friendship of ingenious and
worthy Men, and therefore you cannot blame me if I so forwardly laid hold
of the first Occasion that open'd me a Way to your's. That I have so well
succeeded in it, I count one of my greatest Happinesses, and a sufficient
Reward for writing my Book, had I no other Benefit by it. The Opinion
you have of it, gives me farther Hopes, for it is no small Reward to one
who loves Truth, to be perfused that he has made some Discoveries of it,
and any ways help'd to propagate it to others. I depend so much upon your
Judgment and Candor, that I think my self secure in you from peevish Cri-
ticism or Flattery; only give me leave to pullpect, that Kindness and Friend-
ship do sometimes carry your Expressions a little too far on the favourable
Side. This, however, makes me not apprehend you will silently pass by any
Thing you are not thoroughly satisfactory of in it. The Ue I have made of the
Adventures I have received from you of this Kind, will satisfie you that I
defire this Office of Friendship from you, not out of Complement, but for
the Ue of Truth, and that your Animadversions will not be lost upon me.
Any Faults you shall meet with in Reasoning, in Perspicuity, in Expression,
or of the Pref, I defire you to take Notice of, and fend me Word of.
Especially if you have any where any Doubt; for I am perfused, that, upon
Debate, you and I cannot be of two Opinions; nor, I think, any two Men
used to think with Freedom, who really prefer Truth to Opiniatrety, and a
little foolish Vain-glory of not having made a Millake.

Vol. III. G g g g 2 I shall
Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke,

I shall not need to justify what I have said of you in my Book: The learned World will be Vouchers for me; and that in an Age not very free from Envy and Censure. But you are very kind to me, since for my sake you allow your self to own that Part which I am more particularly concerned in, and permit me to call you my Friend, whilst your Modesty checks at the other Part of your Character. But assure your self, I am as well persuaded of the Truth of it, as of any Thing else in my Book, it had not else been put down in it. It only wants a great deal more, I had to say, had that been a Place to draw your Picture at large. Herein I pretend not to any peculiar Obligation above others that know you. For though perhaps I may love you better than many others; yet, I conclude, I cannot think better of you than others do.

I am very glad you were provided of a Tutor nearer home, and it had this particular good Luck in it, that otherwise you had been disappointed, if you had depended on Mr. Gibbs; as a Letter I write to you from London about it, I hope, acquainted you. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate, and most humble Servant,

John Locke.

Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

Sir,

Oates, 23 Nov. 1694.

You speak of my Book in such Terms, that had I not convincing Arguments that you are not a Man of Complements, I should a little suspect your Civility border'd very much on them in this Cafe. But there are so few of them to be found, that you think you cannot speak too highly of the Endeavours of one who pursues Truth unbyassedly, and chooseth not his Opinions first, and then seeks Arguments to support them. Upon that Account I admit of whatever you please to say; but withal give me leave to assure you, that in the Performance itself, I see nothing but what any one might have done, who would have fat down to it with the fame Love of Truth and Indifference, that I did. However, I cannot but be pleased that you think so well of it: For whether your Friendship to me bribes your Judgment, or whether your good Opinion of my Essay adds to your kind Thoughts of the Author; I find my Account both Ways, and should think my self well rewarded for my Pains in this single Purchase. But, Sir, will you not pardon so lawful a Desire, in one that loves you, if I ask, Shall I never have the Happiness to see you in England?

Mr. Churchill, my Bookseller, sends me Word by the last Post, that he has sent you the fix Copies that you sent for, and Advice of it. I sent to him a Project of a new Reduction of the Year by Dr. Wood, to be sent with the Copy of my Essay to you. The Author gave me it himself, and I thought it might possibly please you, if you had not seen it before. This, with the supernumerary Cuts I order'd him to send you, will, with the Books, I hope, come safe to your Hands. The mentioning of those Cuts puts me in Mind again of your Civility, which I fee studies all manner of ways of expatriating it felt.

You see, by this Liberty I take with you, that I am past Terms of Complement with you, that is, I use you as one I look upon to be my Friend, with a Freedom of good Offices, either to receive or do them, as it happens. Look upon me as such, I beseech you, and believe that I am, with the utmost Sincerity,

Sir,

Your most affectionate Friend, and most humble Servant,

John Locke.
Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

SIR,

Dublin, December 18, 1694.

Your's of November 23. found me labouring under a sharp Fever, which has held me this Month past, but I am now, God be thanked, pretty well recovered. I am obliged to you for the earnest desire you express of seeing me in England. But as to that particular, the truth is thus: Last Summer I designed to make a journey, on purpose to pay my respects to you, and for no other errand; but my resolutions were not so fixed as to give you any intimations thereof. For indeed, the state of my health was so very uncertain, that I was very mistrustful whether I should be able to undertake the journey. However, I thought to make an essay of my strength in our own country; so that some busines, calling me about threecore miles from this city, the fatigue was so troublesome to me, that I was quite discouraged from thinking of England that season. I have now had another pull-back, by my present sickness, so that I cannot yet well tell how to think of the other side of the water. This only I will assure you, that the first entire health God is pleased to bestow on me, shall be employ'd in a journey towards you; there being nothing, I so earnestly covet, as the personal acquaintance of one, for whom I have so great a respect and veneration, and to whom I am so highly obliged for many favours.

There is a very worthy person, Dr. St. George Afos, provost of the college here, lately gone from hence to London; he is a great admirer, and zealous promoter of your writings in his college. He desired me to a letter of recommendation to you, but I fear your being in the country will hinder his design'd happiness in your conversation. He stays in London these three or four months to come, in which time, if your business call you to the city, you will hear of him either at your lodging at Mr. Pawlin's, where perhaps he will leave the place of his residence or at Mr. Tucker's, in the secretary's office at Whitehall, where a penny-post letter will find him out.

I thank you for the care you have taken to send me the books and sculptures, which I hope to receive in good time, having advice thereof already from Mr. Churchill. I am,

Worthy Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

Honoured Sir,

Dublin, January 15, 1695.

I have received the six copies of your book, and thank you for the care you have taken about them. I acknowledge my self likewise obliged to you for your present of Dr. Wood's almanack, tho' it was not new to me, having received the favour of one from the author himself, when accountant general here in Ireland, many years ago. 'Tis a very pretty project, but, I believe, 'twill hard ever be practised; because men think what they have already, sufficiently accurate for the common uses of life, and are hardly brought from what they have used, so long as they have done the common julian account, unless prevailed upon by some such potent authority as the church, which abrogated the julian, and established the Gregorian calendar.

The sculptures also I received, and thank you for them. I shall do them all the honour that outward ornament can give them. And I heartily wish I had more effectual ways of shewing my respects, which I think I can never do sufficiently.

I have
I have ever thought that an elegant Translation of your Essay into Latin, would be highly acceptable to Foreigners, and of great Use in those Countries, whose Minds lie yet captivated in Verboes, disputative Philosophy, and false Reasoning; I therefore presume to mention it to you, that tho’ your own Leisure may not permit you to perform it yourself, you may think of putting some one on it, that under your Eye may do it correctly. And were I not persuaded that your own Eye and Correction were absolutely requisite herein, I would venture to make a bold Proposal to have it done by some one in this Place, whom I should reward for his Labour herein. And this I do, not that I think you may not with a great deal of Ease employ one your self in this Matter, but meerly that herein I may have an Opportunity of doing so much Good in the World. You see, Sir, what a Veneration I have for your Writings, and therefore you will pardon me, if I desire from you Job a-micita etsere, the Names of what Books you have publish’d. I remember, once I proposed to you the like Request, and you were silent to it. It it were, that you designly conceal them, I acquiesce; but perhaps it proceeded from your cursory Passing over that Part of my Letter, which makes me venture again on the same Request. And now that your Thoughts are at liberty from that Essay, you will give me leave, with all Submission, to mind you of what you once told me you would think of, viz. of demonstrating Morals. I am sure, as no Hand could perform it better; so no Age ever requir’d it more than our’s.

I do heartily wish you an happy succeeding Year; and may it end with us happier than the last past. I am,

Your most obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR,

You will, I fear, think me frozen up with this long Winter, or else with a Negligence colder than that, having two very obliging Letters of your’s by me, the one ever since January, the other February last, I make you no Answer to either, till thus far in March. The Truth is, expecting ever since I received your last Letter an Account from London, concerning Something I had a mind to put into my Letter, and after writing four times about it, being yet delayed, I can forbear no longer to return you my Thanks, and to beg your Pardon that I have been so slow in it. If you interpret it right, you will look upon it as the Effect of a Friendship got past Formalities, and that has Confidence enough to make bold with you, where it is without Neglect of you, or Prejudice to either. I was not a little rejoiced with the News you sent me in the first of your Letters, of your late Recovery of a Fever. Had I known it before the Danger was over, that you had been ill, it would have been no small Fright and Pain to me. For I must assure you, that amongst all the Friends your Kindness or Worth has procured you, there is not any one who values you more than I do, or does more interest himself in all your Concerns. This makes me, that tho’ I have a long time extremely desired to see you, and propose to my self an infinite Satisfaction in a free Conversation with you; yet what you tell me, that you were coming last Summer into England, to make me a Visit, makes me dread the Satisfaction of my own Wifhes. And methinks I ought not to purchase one of the greatest Happinesses I can propose to my self at so dear and dangerous a Rate. I have received many and great Obligations from you before, but they were such, as though I had no Title to, I thought I might accept from one whom I love, and therefore was glad to find kind to me. But when I reflect on the Length of the Way, and the Sea between us, the Danger of the one, and the Fatigue of both, and your no
and several of his Friends.

no very robust Constitution, as I imagine, I cannot consent you should venture so much for my Sake. If any Harm should happen to you in the Journey, I could never forgive it my self, to be the Occasion of so great a Loss to the World and my self. And if you should come safe, the Greatness of the Hazard, and an Obligation out of all Proportion to what I either ought to receive, or was capable to return, would overwhelm me with Shame, and hinder my Enjoyment. And yet, if I may confess my secret Thoughts, there is not any Thing which I would not give, that some other unavoidable Occasion would draw you into England. A rational free-minded Man, tied to nothing but Truth, is so rare a Thing, that I almost worship such a Friend; but when Friendship is join'd to it, and these are brought into a free Conversation, where they meet, and can be together; What is there can have equal Charms? I cannot but exceedingly wish for that happy Day, when I may see a Man I have so often longed to have in my Embraces. But yet, though it would endear the Gift to receive it from his Kindness, I cannot but with rather that Fortune alone would throw him into my Arms.

This cold Winter has kept me so close a Prisoner within Doors, that 'till Yester day, I have been Abroad but once these three Months, and that only a Mile in a Coach. And the Inability I am in to breathe London Air in cold Weather, has hinder'd me yet from the Happines of waiting on Dr. A--h; but I hope to get to London before he leaves it, that I may, to a Person whom you have an Esteem for, pay some Part of the Respect I owe you. I had last Week the Honour of a Visit from an ingenious Gentleman, a Member of your College at Dublin, lately returned from Turkey. He told me he was a Kinman of yours; and though his other good Qualities might have made him welcome any where, he was not, you may be sure, the less welcome to me, for being known and related to you. He seems to me to have been very diligent and curious in making Observations whilst he has been Abroad, and more inquisitive than most of our People that go into those Parts. And, by the Discourse I had with him the little Time we were together, I promise my self we shall have a more exact Account of those Parts, in what I hope he intends to publish, than hitherto is extant. Dr. Huntington, who was formerly at Aleppo, and is my old Acquaintance, and now my Neighbour in this Country, brought Mr. Smith hither with him from his House. But yet I must acknowledge the Favour to you, and desire you to thank him for it, when he returns to Dublin. For the Friendship he knew you had for me, was, I take it, the great Inducement that made him give himself the Trouble of coming fix or seven Miles in a dirty Country.

You do so attack me on every Side with your Kindness to my Book, to me, to my Shadow, that I cannot but be ashamed I am not in a Capacity to make you any other Acknowledgment, but in a very full and deep Sense of it. I return you my Thanks for the Corrections you have sent me, which I will take all the Care of I can in the next Edition, which, my Bookfeller tells me, he thinks, will be this Summer. And if any other fall under your Observation, I shall desire the Continuance of your Favour in communicating them.

I must own to you, that I have been solicited from beyond Sea to put my Essay into Latin, but you guess right, I have not the Leifure to do it. It was once translated by a young Man in Holland into Latin, but he was so little Master of the English or Latin Tongue, that when it was shew'd me, which he did not till he had quite done it, I satisfied him that it would be very little for his Credit to publish it, and so that was laid by. Since that, my Bookfeller was, and had been for some time, seeking for a Translator, whom he would have treated with to have undertaken it, and have satisfied for his Pains. But a little before the Coming of your Letter, he writ me Word he had been disappointed, where he expected to have found one who would have done it, and was now at a Loss. So that what you call a bold, is not only the kindest, but the most reasonable Proposal you could have made. You understand my Thoughts as well as I do my self, and can be a fit Judge, whether the Translator has expressed them well in Latin or no, and can di-
rect him, where to omit or contract any Thing, where you think I have been more large than needed. And though in this I know you intend, as you say, some Good to the World; yet I cannot but take it as a very particular Obligation to my self, and shall not be a little satisfied to have my Book go abroad into the World with Strokes of your judicious Hand to it. For, as to omitting, adding, altering, transposing any Thing in it, I permit it wholly to your Judgment. And if there be any Thing in it defective, or which you think may be added with Advantage to the Design of the whole Work, if you will let me know, I shall endeavour to supply that Defect the best I can. The Chapter of Identity and Diversity, which owes its Birth wholly to your putting me upon it, will be an Encouragement to you to lay any the like Commands upon me. I have had some Thoughts of my self, that it would not be possibly amiss to add, in lib. iv. cap. 18. Something about Enthusiasm, or to make a Chapter of it by itself. If you are of the same Mind, and that it will not be foreign to the Blemishes of my Essay, I promise you, before the Translator you shall employ shall be got so far, I will send you my Thoughts on that Subject, so that it may be put into the Latin Edition. I have also examined P. Malebranche's Opinion concerning Seeing all Things in God, and to my own Satisfaction laid open the Vanity, Inconstancy, and Unintelligible-ness of that Way of explaining Human Understanding. I have gone almost, but not quite through it, and know not whether I now ever shall finish it, being fully satisfied my self about it. You cannot think how often I regret the Distance that is between us; I envy Dublin for what I every Day want in London. Were you in my Neighbourhood, you would every Day be troubled with the Proposal of some of my Thoughts to you. I find mine generally so much out of the Way of the Books I meet with, or Men led by Books, that, were I not conscious to my self that I impartially seek Truth, I should be discouraged from letting my Thoughts loose, which commonly lead me out of the beaten Track. However, I want some Body near me, to whom I could freely communicate them, and without Reserve lay them open. I should find Security and Ease in such a Friend as you, were you within Distance. For your Judgment would confirm and set me at Rest, where it approved, and your Candor would excuse whatever your Judgment corrected, and set me right in. As to your Request you now repeat to me, I desire you to believe that there is nothing in your Letters which I pass over lightly, or without taking notice of; and if I formerly said nothing to it, think it to be, that I thought it the best way of answearing a Friend, whom I was resolved to deny nothing that was in my Power. There are some particular Obligations that tie me up in the Points, and which have drawn on me some Displeasure for a Time, from some of my Friends who made me a somewhat like Demand. But I expect to find you more reasonable, and give you this Assurance, that you shall be the first that shall be satisfied in that Point. I am not forgetful of what you so kindly put me upon. I think no Body ought to live only to eat and drink, and count the Days he spends idly. The small Remainder of a crazy Life, I shall, as much as my Health will permit, apply to the Search of Truth, and shall not neglect to propose to my self those that may be most useful. My Paper is more than done, and, I suppose, you tired, and yet I can scarce give off. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.
Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

Sir,

The concern you express for my welfare is extremely obliging, and I never prized my health so much, as since thereby I am enabled to enjoy your correspondence and friendship. But whatever becomes of me and my cares, I can heartily wish you had one more easy, healthful and strong. For I know mankind in general is interested in you; whereas I am sure to fall ungrateful to all, save a few particular friends.

I understand my kinman has enjoy'd that which I have earnestly long'd for. He tells me by letter, the great obligations he bears you, for the civilities you shew'd him, and desires me to acknowledge them.

I am very glad to find your essay like to suffer a third impression; 'tis a good sign, and shews the world not so averse to truth, when fairly laid open. To have truth prevail, the only way is calmly and meekly to publish it, and let it shift for itself; *Magna est veritas et praevalebit*: 'Twill make its own party good without fire and faggot, which never promoted, but, I am sure, has often stifled it.

This encourages me, with more vigour, to promote the translation of your work, and to own my self infinitely obliged to you, that you are pleased to readily comply with the offer I made you in my last. Yesterday I sent for an ingenious young man of the college here, to discourse with him about it. The result was, he would make an essay, and shew it me, and accordingly would proceed or desist. But then, he tells me that he cannot set himself fully to it till towards the latter end of May; for he design to stand candidate for a fellowship in the college, which, by the removal of the provost, is to be disposed of about next Trinity-sunday; and, in the mean time, he is to prepare himself for the examination they undergo on that occasion. I shall see his first attempt the next week, and shall give you an account. As to any alterations to be made by me, I should be very cautious of meddling therein; I know the whole work has already undergone so exact a judgment, that there is no room left for amendments. However, if any such offer, after your approbation of them, I should venture to insert them.

I must freely confess, that if my notion of enthuasiasm agree with yours, there is no necessity of adding any thing concerning it, more than by the bye, and in a single section in chap. 18. lib. 4. I conceive it to be no other than a religious sort of madness, and consists not in it any mode of thinking, or operation of the mind, different from what you have treated of in your essay. 'Tis true indeed, the abjuracies men embrace on account of religion are most astonishing; and if in a chapter of enthuasiasm you endeavour to give an account of them, it would be very acceptable. So that (on second thoughts) I do very well approve of what you propose therein, being very desirous of having your sentiments on any subject.

Pere malebranche's chapter of seeing all things in God, was ever to me absolutely unintelligible; and unless you think a polemick discourse in your essay (which you have hitherto avoided therein) may not be of a piece with the rest, I am sure it highly deserves to be exposed, and is very agreeable to the bufiness of your work. I would therefore humbly propose it to you to consider of doing something therein. Pere malebranche has many curious notions, and some as erroneous and absurd. 'Tis a good while since I read him, but I am now turning him over a second time; he is most platonick, and in some things, almost enthuasistical. I am,

Honoured dear sir,

Your most obliged humble servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Vol. III.  

H h h h  

Mr.
Sir,

Oates, April 26, 1695.

You look with the Eyes, and speak the Language of Friendship, when you make my Life of much more Concern to the World than your own. I take it, as it is, for an Effect of your Kindness, and to shall not ascribe you of Complement; the Mistakes and Over-valuings of good Will being always sincere, even when they exceed what common Truth allows. This on my Side, I must beg you to believe, that my Life would be much more pleasant and useful to me, if you were within my Reach, that I might sometimes enjoy your Conversation, and, upon twenty Occasions, lay my Thoughts before you, and have the Advantage of your Judgment. I cannot complain that I have not my Share of Friends of all Ranks, and such, whose Interest, Assistance, Affection, and Opinions too, in fit Cases, I can rely on. But methinks, for all this, there is one Place vacant, that I know no Body that would so well fill as your self, I want one near me to talk freely with, De qualibet Eute; to propose to, the Extravagancies that rise in my Mind; one with whom I would debate several Doubts and Questions, to see what was in them. Meditating by one’s self is like digging in the Mine; it often, perhaps, brings up maiden Earth, which never came near the Light before; but whether it contain any Metal in it, is never so well tried as in Conversation with a knowing judicious Friend, who carries about him the true Touch-stone, which is Love of Truth in a clear-thinking Head. Men of Parts and Judgment the World usually gets hold of, and by a great Mistake (that their Abilities of Mind are left, if not employ’d in the Pursuit of Wealth or Power) engages them in the Ways of Fortune and Interest, which usually leave but little Freedom or Leisure of Thought for pure disinterested Truth. And such who give themselves up frankly, and in earnest, to the full Latitude of real Knowledge, are not every where to be met with. Wonder not, therefore, that I wish so much for you in my Neighbourhood; I should be too happy in a Friend of your Make, were you within my Reach. But yet, I cannot but wish that some Bufiness would once bring you within Distance, and ’tis a Pain to me to think of leaving the World, without the Happines of seeing you.

I do not wonder that a Kinman of your’s should magnifie Civilities that feare deferve that Name; I know not wherein they consist’d, but in being glad to see One that was any way related to you, and was himself a very ingenious Man; either of those was a Title to more than I did, or could shew him. I am sorry I have not yet had an Opportunity to wait on him in London, and I fear he should be gone before I am able to get thither. This long Winter, and cold Spring, has hung very heavy upon my Lungs, and they are not yet in a Cafe to be ventur’d in London-Air, which must be my Excuse for not waiting upon him and Dr. Aftre yet.

The third Edition of my Essay is already, or will be speedily in the Press. But what perhaps will seem stranger, and possibly please you better, an Abridgment is now making (if it be not already done) by one of the University of Oxford, for the Use of young Scholars, in the Place of an ordinary System of Logick. From the Acquaintance I had of the Temper of that Place, I did not expect to have it get much Footing there. But so it is, I some time since received a very civil Letter from one, wholly a Stranger to me there, concerning such a Design, and, by another from him since, I conclude it near done. He seems to be an ingenious Man, and he writes sensibly about it, but I can say nothing of it till I see it, and he, of his own Accord, has offer’d that it shall wholly be submitted to my Opinion, and Difpofal of it. And thus, Sir, possibly that which you once propos’d may be attain’d to, and I was pleas’d with the Gentleman’s Design for your Sake.
You are a strange Man, you oblige me very much by the Care you take to have it well translated, and you thank me for complying with your Offer. In my last, as I remember, I told you the Reason why it was so long before I wrote, was an Expectation of an Answer from London, concerning Something I had to communicate to you: It was in short this, I was willing to know what my Bookseller would give for a good Latin Copy; he told me at last, twenty Pounds. His Delay was, because he would first have known what the Translator demanded. But I forced him to make his Proposal, and so I send it you, to make what Use of it you please. He since writ me Word, that a Friend of his at Oxford would, in some Time, be at Leisure to do it, and would undertake it. I bid him excuse himself to him, for that it was in Hands I approvd of, and some Part of it now actually done. For I hope the Essay (he was to shew you the next Week after you writ to me last) pleased you. Think it not a Complement, that I desire you to make what Alterations you think fit. One Thing particularly you will oblige me and the World in, and that is, in paring off some of the superfluous Repetitions, which I left in for the Sake of illiterate Men, and the better Sex, not used to abstract Notions and Reaoning. But much of this Reasoning will be out of Doors in a Latin Translation. I refer all to your Judgment, and so am secure it will be done as is best.

What I shall add concerning Enthusiasm, I guess, will very much agree with your Thoughts, since your’s jump so right with mine about the Place where it is to come in, I having design’d it for chap. 18. lib. iv. as a false Principle of Reasoning often made use of. But, to give an historical Account of the various Ravings Men have embraced for Religion, would, I fear, be besides my Purpose, and be enough to make an huge Volume.

My Opinion of P. Malebranche agrees perfectly with your’s. What I have writ concerning Seeing all Things in God, would make a little Treatise of it felt. But I have not quite gone through it, for fear I should by Somebody or other be tempted to print it. For I love not Controversies, and have a personal Kindness for the Author. When I have the Happiness to see you, we will consider it together, and you shall dispoze of it.

I think I shall make some other Additions to be put into your Latin Translation, and particularly concerning the Connexion of Ideas, which has not, that I know, been hitherto consider’d, and has, I guess, a greater Influence upon our Minds, than is usually taken notice of. Thus, you see, I make the Confident of my Reveries; you would be troubled with a great many more of them, were you nearer. I am,

Honoured SIR,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

John Locke.

Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

SIR,

I am extremely pleased to understand by your’s of April 26, that we are to expect an Abridgment of your Work from a judicious Hand in Oxford; tis what I always thought might be of good Use in the Universities, where we yet want another sort of Language, than what has hitherto prevail’d there, to the great Hindrance of Science.

As to the Translation that is going on here, tis undertaken by one Mr. William Millar, a Senior Batchelor in the College. He has the Repute of an ingenious and learned young Man, and I hope he may perform it well. I here incline a Specimen of his Performance, concerning which I desire you would give me your Thoughts, before he proceed much farther. This only may be hinted, that when he is better acquainted with the Work, and your Language, and has entered farther into it, tis probable his Translation Vol. III.

H h h 2 may
may be better, more easie and natural. He proposes to finish it in half a Year, or nine Months at farthest; for he cannot wholly disengage himself from some other Studies. I perceive your Bookseller is resolved to share with me in the Good I thought to do the World, by beftowing on it this Translation. And since he is so generous as to have it fo, I will by no means be the Translator’s Hindrance in partaking of the Bookseller’s Profits; and at the same time, to engage his Diligence the more, I will increase the Reward considerably, that I may not wholly misf of the good Design I first proposed to myself. If you encourage the Translator to go forward, you may be pleased to transmit to me the Additions you design; as that of Emphusias, Connexion of Ideas, and what else you have.

And now, with redoubled Force, I send back to you the Complaints you make for our Distance. I cannot but hope, that Providence has yet in store for me so much Happiness on this side the Grave, and if it have not, I shall think I have missed the greatest temporal Good my Mind was ever set on. But I still say, I live in Hopes, the Accomplishment whereof would be the greatest Satisfaction to

Your most cordially affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Were it not too nigh approaching to Vanity, I could tell you of the extraordinary Effects your Method of Education has had on my little Boy.

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Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

Dear Sir,

I do not assure my self that our Friendship were grown beyond Suspicion of Complement, I should think I should have need to make Excuses to you for my long Silence; but I know you will credit me, when I tell you it has been neither Forgetfulness nor Negligence. The Specimen of the Translation you sent me, gave me some Reason to apprehend, that Mr. Mollart’s Stile would lay too great a Burthen on your Kindness, by often needing the Correction of your Hand, to make it express my Sentiments with that Clearness and Easiness, which I know you desire. My Bookseller therefore having before told me of one who had offer’d to undertake the Translation of my Essay, I have been ever since endeavouring to get from him a Specimen, that I might fend it you, and have your Opinion, which is like to do best; that fo it this Man had a Talent that way, you might be eafed of the Trouble, which your Friendship to me, and Zeal to the Work, I forsee, is likely to lay upon you. But, having the last Post received this Account from Mr. Churchill, that the Gentleman proposed is in the Country, and must have a Book sent him down, on purpose, before we can expect to fee any Thing from him, and this being all to be managed by a third Hand, who is not every Day to be met with; I have resolved to lose no more Time on that Thought, but accepting of your kind Offer, put that whole Matter into your Hands, to be ordered as you shall think best, and shall spend no more Time in other Enquiries, since the Gentleman you propose will (as I remember you told me) be about this Time at Leisiffure to fend himself in Earnest to it. There is one Thing I would offer, which may be of Advantage to him and the Work too, and that is, that he would conftantly and sedulously read Tully, especially his Philosophical Works, which will infensibly work him into a good Latin Stile. I have heard it reported of Bishop Sanderfon, that being asked how he came to write Latin so well, as appears in the Treatises he published in that Tongue? He answer’d, By ordering his Studies fo, that he read over all Tully’s Works every Year. I leave it to you, whether you will think fit to mention this to Mr. Mollart.
The Abridgment of my Essay is quite finisht’d. It is done by a very ingenious Man of Oxford, a Master of Arts, very considerable for his Learning and Virtue, who has a great many Pupils. It is done with the same Design you had in View, when you mention’d it. He has generally (as far as I could remember) made use of my Words; he very civilly sent it me when it was done, and, upon looking it over, I guess you will approve of it, and think it well done. It is in Mr. Churchill’s Hands, and will be printed as soon as the third Edition of my Essay, which is now in the Press, is printed off.

I am extremely glad to hear that you have found any good Effects of my Method on your Son. I should be glad to know the Particulars; for though I have seen the Success of it in a Child of the Lady, in whose House I am, (whose Mother has taught him Latin without knowing it her self when she began) yet I would be glad to have other Instances; because some Men, who cannot endure any Thing should be mended in the World by a new Method, object, I hear, that my Way of Education is impracticable. But this I can assure you, that the Child above-mention’d, but nine Years old in June last, has learn’d to read and write very well; is now reading Quintus Curtius with his Mother, understands Geography and Chronology very well, and the Copernican System of our Vortex; is able to multiply well, and divide a little; and all this without ever having had one Blow for his Book. The third Edition is now out, I have order’d Mr. Churchill to send you one of them, which I hope he has done before this. I expect your Opinion of the Additions, which have much encreased the Bulk of the Book. And though I think all that I have said right; yet you are the Man I depend on for a fair and free Censure, not inclined either to flatter, or quarrel. You know not of what Value a knowing Man, that is a sincere Lover of Truth, is, nor how hard to be found; wonder not, therefore, if I place a great Part of my Happines in your Friendship, and with every Day you were my Neighbour; you would then find what Use I should make of it. But, not to complain of what cannot be remedied, pray let me have all the Advantage I can at this Distance. Read the Additions, and examine them strictly, for I would not willingly mislead the World. Pray let me know whether the Dr. your Brother has any Children; when he has, I count I owe him one of my Books of Education.

With my Treatise of Education, I believe you will receive another little one concerning Interest and Courage. It is one of the Fatherless Children which the World lay at my Door; but, whoever be the Author, I shall be glad to know your Opinion of it. And now I must mightily bemoan the Loss of an Happines which you design’d me, and I through great Misfortune miffed. The Impressions of the late severe Winter on my weak Lungs, and the slow Return of warm Weather this Spring, confined me so long to the Country, that I concluded Dr. Africa would be gone before I should get to Town, and I should lose the Honour of so desiring an Acquaintance. However, as soon as I was got to London, I enquir’d of Mr. Churchill, who told me Dr. Africa was lately in Town, and he promised me, as I desired him, that he would enquire whether he was still there, and where he lodged. He returned me no Answer, and I (through a Multitude of Business) forgot to enquire again, for some few Days. Upon the first Thought of it again, I went to the Secretary’s Office at Whitehall, and not finding Mr. Tucker there, I went to his House, who told me that Dr. Africa was that very Morning gone out of Town. The miffing of him thus unluckily, when he had been within my Reach, very much vexed me, and it look’d, as if Fortune had a Mind sensibly to crofs me, in what the knew I was extremely defirous of. I enquired too for Mr. Smith, but he, I heard, was gone to Flanders before I came to Town. It would have been more than ordinary Satisfaction to me, to have convers’d and made an Acquaintance with so estem’d a Friend of your’s as Dr. Africa. I shall not be at quiet, till some Business brings you into England to repair this Loss, and brings me a Satisfaction to the most earnest of all my Desires. My decayng Health does not promise me any long Stay in this World, you are the only Person in it, that I desire to see once, and to converse some time with,
with, before I leave it. I wish your other Occasions might draw you into England, and then let me alone to husband our Time together; I have laid all that in my Head already. But I talk my Desires and Fancies as if they were in View. I wish you all manner of Happines, and am,

Dear SIR,

Your most affectionate, and most faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Pray present my humble Service to Dr. Aske, and excuse my misfortunate Loss to him.

When you consider the Length of this, you will find my late Silence was not from a Sparingly of Speech, or a Backwardness to talk with you; I have more Reason now to beg your Pardon for my Taliativeness than Silence.

The Additions I intend to make, shall be sent time enough for the Translator.

MR. MOLYNEUX TO MR. LOCKE.

SIR,

Dublin, August 24. 1695.

I defer'd my Answer all this while to your's of July 2. (which I received some Weeks ago) in Expectation of the Books you have been pleased to order for me; but hitherto they are not arrived, and I would not omit my Duty any longer, left the Befineus of our ensuing Parliament should give me a farther Hindrance. The University has done me the Honour to choose me as one of their Representative; and tho' I cannot pretend to do them any great Service; yet it shall not be for want of constant Attendance on their Befineus, which will take up most of my Time, till the Session is ended.

I am now at a great Loss what Apology to make you, for the Disappointment you are at last like to receive in the Translacion of your Essay. But, to a candid and ingenuous Man, the best Exculp is a plain Narrative of the Matter of Fact.

The Gentleman, whom I formerly mentioned to you, Mr. Mullars, went into the Country about the middle of last June, and return'd about a Fortnight ago. When he went away, he affir'd me, he would make a considerable Progress in the Work, in a Month or fix Weeks time; but he was taken ill for about a Fortnight, and, at his Return, I found he had scarce done four Pages of the Book. I found also (as you rightly surmised) that his Stile will hardly answer Expectation; but this Difficulty, I thought, might be overcome by Time and Application. But what to say to his very flow Performance I cannot tell, or whether it may answer your, or your Book-seller's Designs. But that which most of all discourages me, is, that the young Man himself seems not very fond of the Undertaking, but has fix'd his Thoughts on another Pursuit. I formerly told you how he designed for a Fellowship, had any at that time happen'd vacant, as there did none. But very lately there are two Fellowships become void, and a third like to be so, before the time of fitting for them, which is next June 1696; and he tells me plainly, he must endeavour to get one of them; and that there will be at least five Competitors, if not fix, who are all his Seniors; and therefore, he must use his utmost Diligence, Application and Study in the intermediate Time, to fit himself for the Examination they undergo; and this, he says, will take up so much of his Time, that he knows not whether he shall have any to spare for the Translation.

I cannot
I cannot well tell which way next to turn my self in this Affair. I have but one Anchor more, and that is not at hand immediately to use. There is a Gentleman of my Acquaintance, the greatest Master of Stile of any I have known, who, I am confident, would perform this Work to your utmost Satisfaction; but he is not, at present, in Town, and when he comes, (which, I expect, may be about Michaelmas next, as I have it from himself,) I make some Doubt, whether his other Avocations will permit him to undertake this. He is Chancellor of the Diocese of Down and Down, and has also a private Work of his own, in Latin, now fitting for the Prefaces, which he permits to run through my Hands, as he goes on with it. When he comes to Town, I will move him in it, if you will give me leave, and you shall know the Event.

I am mightily pleased that your Essay is abridg'd, tho' for my own Reading, I would not part with a Syllable of it. However, others may not have so much Leisure as to set on a large Book, and for such the Abridgment may be useful. 'Tis to me no small Argument of the curious Genius of the English Nation, that a Work, so abstract as your's, should now suffer three Impressions in so short a Time.

I have already so much Experience of your Method of Education, that I long to see your third Edition. And since you put me upon it, (to whom I can refuse nothing in my Power,) I will give you a short Account of my little Boy's Progress under it.

He was fix years old about the middle of last July. When he was but just turn'd five he could read perfectly well; and on the Globes could have traced out, and pointed at all the noted Parts, Countries, and Cities of the World, both Land and Sea. And by five and an half could perform many of the plainest Problems on the Globe, as the Longitude and Latitude, the Antipodes, the Time with them and other Countries, &c. and this by way of Play and Diversion, seldom call'd to it, never chid or beaten for it. About the same Age he could read any Number of Figures, not exceeding six Places, break it as you please by Cyphers or Zero's. By the time he was six, he could manage a Compas, Ruler and Pencil, very prettily, and perform many little Geometrical Tricks, and advanced to Writing and Arithmetic; and has been about three Months at Latin, wherein his Tutor observes, as nigh as he can, the Method prescrib'd by you. He can read a Gazette, and, in the large Maps of Savar, shews most of the remarkable Places as he goes along, and turns to the proper Maps. He has been shewn some Dogs dissected, and can give some little Account of the grand Traces of Anatomy. And as to the Formation of his Mind, which you rightly observe to be the most valuable Part of Education; I do not believe that any Child had ever his Passions more perfectly at Command. He is obedient and obsequient to the nicest Particular, and at the same time sprightly, playful, and active.

But I will say no more, this may be tiresome to others, however pleasing to my self.

I have some Thoughts of seeing England next Spring, or Summer, but the Time I cannot prefix as yet, till I see how our Affairs are like to go in Parliament, and whether we are like to have another Session, and when. To other Day I chanced to mention your Name accidentally to his Excellency my Lord Capel, who thereupon expressed himself with the utmost Respect and Esteem for you. I am,

Honour'd SIR,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.
Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

SIR,


Though there be no Man in the World that I so much long to see as you; yet your last Letter, of the second Instant, makes me afraid of your coming. Your Kindness and Expression in my Favour, has painted me so in your Fancy, that I shall unavoidably fall many Degrees in your Esteem, when you find me come so much short of what you expected; Parvum oif mini magnum adversarii Exspectatio, as I remember, Tully somewhere says. One Thing only I have to satisfie my self, viz. That, whatever I may want of those Qualities you ascribe to me, I have one that helps mightily to cover Defects, and make one acceptable, without the Recommendation of great Perfections, I mean Friendship, true and sincere. This I can boast of to you, this I can bid you expect, and tell you, you shall not be deceived. Come then, but come with this Resolution, that you will be content, that shall make up to you all those fine Things which you imagine before-hand, in a Man whom you will really find a plain, honest, well-meaning Man, who unbyassedly seeks Truth, though it be but a very small Part of it he has yet discover’d.

I am very glad you approve of the Additions to the third Edition of my Education: You are a Father, and are concerned not to be deceived, and therefore I expect you will not flatter me in this Point. You speak so well of that you have, that I shall take Care to have another of those Treatises of Interest and Coinage sent to you. The Affair of our Money, which is in a lamentable State, is now under Debate here, what the Issue will be, I know not; I pray for a good One. I find every Body almost looks on it as a Mystery; to me there appears to be none at all in it. Tis but stripping it of the Caut which all Men that talk of it involve in it, and there is nothing easier: Lay by the arbitrary Names of Pence and Shillings, and consider and speak of it as Grains and Ounces of Silver, and ’tis as easie as telling of Twenty.

I had a great deal more to say to you, in Answer to this, and two other obliging Letters I am indebted to you for: But I am sent for into the Country by an Express. I am,

SIR,

Your most humble, and most affectionate Servant,

John Locke.

Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

SIR,


Before I left London, I gave Order that the Book you desired about Interest and Money, should be sent you by the first Opportunity. But it is to you I send it, and not to any Body else; you may give it to whom you please, for ’tis your’s as soon as you receive it, but pray do not give it to any Body in my Name, or as a Present from me. And however you are pleased to make me a Complement, in making me the Author of a Book you think well of; yet you may be sure I do not own it to be mine, till you see my Name to it.

You, I see, are troubled there about your Money, as well as we are here, though, I hope, you are not so deep in that Dilemma as we are. A little before his Majesty’s Return, the Lords Justices here had this Matter under Consideration, and, amongst others, were pleased to tend to me for my Thoughts about it. This is too publickly known here, to make the mentioning of it to you appear Vanity in me. The Paper I here inclose would seem a strange Thing, did I not tell you the Occasion of my writing it. And, since some of my Friends here persuade me it gives some Light to that
that, which the States-man you mention, thinks so profound a Mystery, I have taken the Liberty to fend it you, either to open that Matter a little farther to you, or that you may shew me the Mistakes and Defects of it. But pray, whatever Use you make of it, conceal my Name.

I write to you from London, just as I was leaving the Town in haste, in Answer to your's of the second Instant. You must pardon the Faults of that to the Hurry and Disturbance I was then in. I am not much more at Leisure, or at Quiet now; but Shame will not suffer me to be silent any longer, under the Obligation of two other Letters I have by me of your's unanswered.

I cannot read your's of the 24th of August last, without finding new Marks of your Kindness to me, in the Concern you therein express to get a good Hand for the translating my Essay. I think, at last, you have got a better than I could have expected. I designed to have brought Mr. Churchill and him together, and settled that Matter before I left London; but I was so unexpectedly called thence, that I left that and several other Business undone. But I took order with Mr. Churchill, my Bookseller, to go to him; he is a reasonable Man, and, I doubt not, but it will be taken care of, as well as if I were there. I think the Abridgment is near, if not quite printed; but I had not the Time or Memory to enquire, after my hasty Summons into the Country. I was told too, when I was in Town, that some Body is printing against it; if it be a fair Enquirer I shall be glad, if a wrangling Disputant, I shall not mind him.

Mr. Burridge is the Man you speak him to be, in your's of September 19. Had I stay'd in London, I think I should have been able to have procured him some Particulars would have been of Use to him in his Design. Some of them I have taken Care he should receive, notwithstanding my Absence. But perhaps they might have been more, could I have stay'd till more of my Acquaintance were come to Town. I am now in an House of Sorrow and Business, which hinders me from that Freedom I would be in when I write to you. I am,

SIR,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. Locke.

SIR,

Dublin, December 24. 1695.

I am ashamed to say, that I have two of your's before me unanswered. Your's of Nov. 20. brought me a Paper, which, of all Things I have ever seen on that Subject, I most highly admire. You have therein revealed the whole Mystery of Money, Exchange, Trade, &c. which have hitherto been wrap'd up in unintelligible Cant, I believe, partly out of Knavery, partly out of Ignorance. You gave me Liberty to make what Use of it I pleased, and therefore I ventur'd to give a Copy of it to his Excellency my Lord Deputy Capel, rather than the Book of Interest and Coinsage, which I thought might be too long for his present Perusal in his multitude of Business. But I can tell you, that your admirable Perfiduity of Writing is so clearly different from all the World, and almost peculiar to your self; that in vain you expect to be conceal'd in any thing that comes from you. For, I assure you, in some Discourse I had with his Excellency, no longer ago than Yester-day, concerning the Business of Money; he asked me (without any Occasion given him from me) whether I had ever seen Mr. Locke's Book of Interest, &c. for he has formerly known (as I think I have told you) that I had the Happiness of your Acquaintance; I reply'd to his Lordship, That I had seen such a Book, but that it did not bear your Name in it: He answer'd me: Vol. III.
The Printer presented it to him as your’s; and besides (says he) all the World knows Mr. Locke’s way of Writing; and, if I may guess, I believe the Paper you gave me a few Days ago, came from Mr. Locke; pray, did it not? I told his Excellency I was under some Obligation to conceal the Author. That’s enough (says he) I am sure’tis his, and will put his Name to it, and lay it up among my choicest Papers.

I have lately received three small Prints from London, concerning the Subject of Money. They were inclosed in a blank Wrapper, and frank’d to me by Sir Walter Youngs, Bar. a Gentleman whom I never saw, and have no manner of Acquaintance with. I wonder how he comes to confer an Obligation on me so suitable and agreeable to my present Thoughts. If you have any Hand in this Favour to me, be pleased to accept of my Thanks, and to express the same to Sir Walter. The Titles of those Papers are,

Sir W. Petty’s Quantulumconque concerning Money.


Some Questions answer’d, relating to the Badges of the new Silver Coin of England.

I hear Mr. Lowand of the Treasury has publish’d something on that Subject, and that Mr. Flamstead has answer’d him, in a Tract he calls Five me Sin.

I wish I could see them both, and shall beg the Favour of you, if this Letter finds you at London, to get them beaten pretty close, wrap’d up in Folds, and directed to me, unless they be much too bulky for the Post. You need not have them frank’d, for our Letters come to us so, as we are of the Parliament here.

I herewith send you inclosed the Copy of a Letter from an ingenious Man, on the Problem which you have honour’d with a Place in pag. 67. of your Essay. You will find thereby, that what I say of its puzzling some ingenuous Men, is true; and you will easily discover by what false Steps this Gentleman is led into his Error. The Letter was communicated to me by the Party to whom it was writ, Dr. Quayl. And the Writer of the Letter, Mr. Edw. Synges, is the Author of a little Book call’d the Gentleman’s Religion, which is vended as your’s. The Gentleman is on a second Part, which he will shew me before he sends it to the Press. But this only between our selves, and the Bookseller, who has been lately informed of thus much already. For tho’ the Book shews not that Freedom of Thought as you or I, perhaps, may expect; yet it shews enough to incense his own Herd against him, for there is little of Mystery or Enthusiastic in it, and yet the Author is a Clergy-man. And you know that, in a Writer on a religious Subject, ’tis an high Offence, even to be silent on thse abstruse Points. The Clergy are not dissatisfied only with those that plainly oppose them, but are enraged also, even at those that omit zealously to advance them; as we have had a late Instance in him that writes against the Reasonableness of Christianity.

I should be mighty glad to hear that Mr. Burridge had set upon translating your Essay: I believe he will do it well.

I shall also be very much obliged by any Information you give me, of whatsoever is done, or doing by yourself, or others, relating to your Works, of which there is none a more devoted Admiring than the excellent Author’s

Most affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.
Mr. Synge to Dr. Quayl.

Mr. Molyneux's ingenious Question, of which you gave me an Account at Mr. Lisle's Yesterday, has run so much in my Mind ever since, that I could scarce drive it out of my Thoughts. To be reveng'd on you therefore for putting my Brains into such a Ferment, I have resolved to be so Impertinent as to send you the Result of my Meditations upon the Subject.

The Case is this: A Man born perfectly blind has a Globe and a Cube given into his Hands, and instructed, as much as he is capable of, in the Notion of each of these Figures, and the Difference between them. Let us now suppose this Man suddenly to be endowed with the Sense of Seeing, and the Question is, whether, the Globe and the Cube being placed before his Eyes, he would be able, by his Sight alone, and without touching them, to tell which was the Globe, and which the Cube?

For the better Understanding of what I shall say on this Question, I desire you to take Notice, that I call every Notion of any Thing which a Man entertains, an Idea; but that Notion only, which a Man entertains of a visible Thing, as it is visible, I call an Image.

This being premised, I lay down these Propositions.

1. A Man born Blind may have a true (though perhaps not a perfect) Idea of a Globe and of a Cube, and of some Difference which is between them.

This evidently appears, because he will certainly be able by his Touch to distinguish them one from the other.

2. A Man who has ever been perfectly Blind, and whilst he so remains, can have no Image in his Mind, either of a Cube or Globe.

This, in my Opinion, is very evident, because there is no Passage but the Organs of Sight (of which we suppose him to be deprived) for such an Image to enter; and I take it for granted, that such Images are not innate in Men's Apprehensions.

3. Such a Man, as soon as he is endowed with the Sense of Seeing, will immediately have a different Image in his Mind, of a Globe, and of a Cube, as soon as they are exposed to his Sight.

This must needs be so, if his Sight, and the Organs thereof be such as our's, which we suppose.

4. And if immediately, upon the Sight of the Globe and Cube, there be Grounds enough for such a Person clearly to perceive the Agreement, and the Difference between his pre-conceived Ideas, and newly conceived Images of those Figures, then may he be able to know which is the Globe, and which the Cube, without touching them again after he has seen them.

For the Agreement which he may find between his Idea and his Image of a Globe, and the Difference of the Idea of a Globe from the Image of a Cube (et sic vice versa) will be a sufficient Direction to him. (If, I say, there be sufficient Ground immediately to perceive the said Agreement and Difference.)

5. The Idea which such a blind Man must needs, by his Touch alone, form of a Globe, will be this, that it is a Body which is exactly alike on all Sides.

For let him roll it as often as he will between his Hands, and he can find no manner of Difference between the one Side and the other.

6. Part of the Idea which such a Man must needs, by his Touch, conceive of a Cube, will be, that it is a Body which is not alike in every Part of its Superficies.

For in one Part he feels a smooth Flat, in another the sharp Point of an Angle, and in a third a long Ridge, which reaches from one Angle to another.
Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke,

7. The Image, which at the first Sight such a Man will form of a Globe, must needs represent it as a Body which is alike on all Sides, which consequently must be agreeable to the Idea which he before had of it, and different from that Idea which he had of a Cube.

For turn a Globe ten thousand ways, and it still carries the same Aspect, if it be all of the same Colour which we now suppose.

8. The Image, which upon the first View such a Man will frame of a Cube, must needs be this, that it is a Body which is not alike in all the Parts of its Superficies, which consequently must be agreeable to the Idea which before he had of it, and different from that Idea which he had of a Globe.

For a Cube does not carry the same Aspect when it is expos'd to our Sight in different Positions.

Since then the Image, which such a Man would have of a Globe, would be agreeable to the Idea which before he had conceived of it, and different from that Idea which before he had entertain'd of a Cube (& sic vice versa) it follows, that by his Sight alone he might be able to know which was the Globe, and which the Cube.

I have no more, but to wish you a good Journey, and tell you, that if you call me Impertinent for sending you my Thoughts upon such a Speculation, I will retort, and tell that it was your self who put the Question to

Your most affectionate Friend, and faithful Servant,

Edw. Stenge.

Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

Sir,

Dublin, March 14, 1696.

Ass nothing is more pleasing to me than a Letter from you; so my Concern is not little, when in so long a Time I have wanted that Satisfaction; and more especially so, when I have Reason to fear it may proceed from your Indisposition in Health. The last Letter I had from Mr. Churchill intimated to me that you were not well, and I have not yet received any Account to the contrary; so that my Fears daily increase upon me, and I shall be very uneasy till I receive the glad Tidings of your Recovery and Safety.

Mr. Lewsden's Book about our Coin, and your's against him (which I understand you have sent me, and for which I most heartily thank you) are not yet arrived; when they come, you shall hear farther from me concerning them.

I have lately received a Letter from Mr. Burridge, who is gone down to his Cure in the Country; he takes all Opportunities of thanking you for the civil Reception you gave him; and, as it was upon my Recommendation, I must also thank you for my Share in the Favour. He tells me he has read over your Essay carefully, and has just set upon the Translation thereof; but he has not yet sent me any Specimen thereof, when he does you shall receive it forthwith from me. I doubt not but he will perform it to your Satisfaction; there is not a Man in Ireland but himself, for whom I dare promise so boldly in this Matter. One Thing he intimates to me, which I must needs mention to you, as being so agreeable to the Apprehensions I have always had of the excellent Author of the Essay, to whom I have sometimes prefigured to propose it, viz. That he would write a Book of Offices, or moral Philosophy. I give you Mr. Burridge's own Words, who goes on, The fine Strokes which he has frequently in his Essay, make me think he would perform it admirably. I wish you would try his Inclinations; you may assure him, I will cheerfully undertake the Translation of it afterwards.

Thus you see, Sir, how you are attack'd on all Sides; I doubt not but you have as frequent Solicitations from your Friends in England. I will at this time add nothing more to the troublesome Importunity. Only, on this Occasion,
Occasion, I will venture to tell you, that I have a Design on Mr. Burridge, to get him, by Degrees, to translate all the Books you have written, and will give leave for. I am,

Honoured SIR,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. Locke to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR,

Though I have been very ill this Winter, not without some apprehensions of my Life; yet I am afraid I that either that, or Burinsefs that has took up more of my Time than my Health could well allow, should keep me so long silent to a Man so kindly concern’d to hear from me. Twas more than once that I resolved on the next Pott, but fill Something or other came between; and I more readily yielded to Delays, in hopes to hear Something from you concerning my Anwer to Mr. Lewises. If this be a Fault in me, it is such an one that I am guilty of to no Body but my Friends. Perhaps the running from Cerimony or Punctuality towards those whom I look on as my sure Friends, that is, my self, may sometimes carry me a little too far to the other Side. But if you disapprove of it, I shall only say, it is an ill Effect of a very good Cause; and beg you to believe, that I shall never be tardy in writing, speaking, or doing, whenever I shall think it may be of any Moment to the least Interest of your’s.

The Businesse of our Money has so near brought us to Ruin, that, till the Plot broke out, it was every Body’s Talk, every Body’s Uneafinesses. And because I had play’d the Fool to print about it, there was scarce a Pott wherein Somebody or other did not give me fresh Trouble about it. But now the Parliament has reduced Guineaes to two and twenty Shillinges a piece after the 10th Infant, and prohibited the Receipt of clip’d Money after the 4th of May next. The Bill has passed both Houfes, and, I believe, will speedily receive the Royal Affent. Though I can never bethink any Pains or Time of mine, in the Service of my Country, as far as I may be of any Ufe; yet I must own to you, this, and the like Subjects, are not those which I now relish, or that do, with most Pleasure, employ my Thoughts; and therefore shall not be sorry if I escape a very honourable Employment, with a thousand Pounds a Year Salary annexed to it, to which the King was pleased to nominate me some Time since. May I have but Quiet and Leifure, and a Competency of Health to perfect some Thoughts my Mind is sometimes upon, I should desire no more for my self in this World, if one Thing were added to it, viz. You in my Neighbourhood. You cannot imagine how much I want such a Friend within Difance, with whom I could confer freely De quolibet Eius, and have his Sentences of my Reveries, and his Judgment to guide me.

I am afraid to receive so many Thanks for having done so little for a Man who came recommended to me by you. I had so little Opportunity to flew the Civility I would have done to Mr. Burridge, that I should not know how to excuse it to you or him, were not he himfelf a Witnesse of the perpetual Hurry I was in all the Time I was then in Town. I doubt not at all of his Performance in the Tranflation of my Book he has undertaken. He has Understanding, and Latin, much beyond thofe who ufually meddle with fuch Works. And I am fo well satisfyed, both of his Ability, and your Care, that the fending me a Specimen I fhall look on as more than needes. As to a Treatife of Morals, I must own to you, that you are not the only Perfons (you and Mr. Burridge I mean) who have been for putting me upon it; neither have I wholly laid by the Thoughts of it. Nay, I fo far incline to comply with your Defires, that I ever now and then lay by some Materials for it, as they occasionally occur in the Rovings of my Mind. But when I consider,
that a Book of Offices, as you call it, ought not to be slightly done, especially by me, after what I have laid out of that Science in my Essay; and that Namique praematur in annum, is a Rule more necessary to be observed in a Subject of that Consequence, than in any Thing Horace speaks of; I am in doubt whether it would be prudent, in one of my Age and Health, not to mention other Difficulties in me, to set about it. Did the World want a Rule, I confess there could be no Work so necessary, nor so commendable. But the Gospel contains so perfect a Body of Ethicks, that Reason may be excused from that Enquiry, since she may find Man's Duty clearer and easier in Revelation than in herself. Think not this the Excuse of a lazy Man, though it be, perhaps, of one, who having a sufficient Rule for his Actions, is content therewith, and thinks he may, perhaps, with more Profit to himself, employ the little Time and Strength he has in other Re-searches, wherein he finds himself more in the Dark.

You put too great a Value on my Writings, by the Design you own on Mr. Burridge, in Reference to them. I am not to flatter my self, that because they had the good Luck to pass pretty well here amongst English Readers, that therefore they will satisfy the learned World, and be fit to appear in the learned Language. Mr. Whyn's Abstrackt of my Essay is now publish'd, and I have sent Order to Mr. Clavard to lend you one of them. Thus far in Answer to your's of the 14th of March. I come now to that of the 24th of December.

My Lord Deputy and you did too great Honour to the Paper I sent you, and to me, upon that Account. I know too well the Deficiency of my Stile, to think it deserves the Commissions you give it. That which makes my Writings tolerable, is only this, that I never write for any Thing but Truth, and never publish any Thing to others, which I am not fully persuaded of my self, and do not think that I understand. So that I never have need of false Colours to set off the weak Parts of an Hypothesis, or of obscure Expressions, or the Affidavit of artificial Jargon, to cover an Error of my System or Party. Where I am ignorant (for what is our Knowledge) I own it. And though I am not proud of my Errors; yet I am always ready and glad to be convinced of any of them. I think there wants nothing but such a Preference of Truth to Party-Interest, and Vain-glory, to make any Body out-do me in what you seem so much to admire.

Though Sir Walter Yoyne be an intimate Friend of mine; yet I can assure you I know nothing of those three Prints he frank'd to you, and so have no Title to any Part of your Thanks.

I see by Mr. S's Answer to that which was originally your Question, how hard it is, for even ingenious Men to free themselves from the Anticipations of Seneca. The first Step towards Knowledge is to have clear and distinct Ideas; which I have just Reason, every Day more and more, to think few Men ever have, or think themselves to want; which is one great Cause of that infinite Jargon and Non-sense which so pollutes the World. You have a good Subject to work on; and therefore, pray let this be your chief Care, to fill your Son's Head with clear and distinct Ideas, and teach him, on all Occasions, both by Practice and Rule, how to get them, and the Necessity of it. This, together with a Mind active, and set upon the attaining of Reputation and Truth, is the true principle of a young Man. But to give him a Reverence for our Opinions, because we taught them, is not to make knowing Men, but prating Parrots. I beg your Pardon for this Liberty; it is an Expression of good Will, and not the less so, because not within the precife Forms of good Breeding. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

John Locke.
Honoured Sir,

Dublin, June 6, 1696,

It is a melancholy thought to me, that since I have had the happiness of your Correspondence, there has hardly happen’d a year, when both you and I have not made it an apology for our long silence, that we have been indisposed in our health; yet it has pleased God, that so it has been, and so it is on my side at present. About four years and an half ago I was first seized by a violent cholick, which then so weaken’d me, that, to this time, I lie so far under the effects thereof, as upon any cold to be very apt to relapse into the same. And so it has been with me for a while past, but now, God be thanked, I am again well recovered. I had not otherwise so long deferred my answer to your’s of March the 30th, which, after a long silence, brought me the assurance of your health, and therewith no small satisfaction; having, before that, entertained some painful thoughts of your indisposition, from some rumours I had heard. But, I find, Heaven is not yet so angry with us as to take you from amongst us.

And now I most heartily congratulate you, both on the recovery of your health, and on the honourable preferment you have lately received from his Majesty. In your writings concerning money, you have given such demonstrative proofs of your reach, even in the bufiness of the world, that I should have wonder’d had the King overlook’d you. And I do as much wonder, that, after what you have publish’d on that subject, there should remain the least doubt with any man concerning that matter. But, I fancy, ’tis only those who are prejudiced by their interest, that seem to be dissatisfied; such as bankers, &c. who make a prey of the people’s ignorance in this great affair. But, I think, you have clear’d up the mystery, and made it plain to all men’s capacities, that England will never again fall into the like inconveniences. Till you write, we used money as the Indians do their wampum; it serv’d us well enough for buying and selling, and we were content and heedless it no further; but for the intimate nature, affections, and properties thereof, we no more understand them than the Indians their shells.

I have read over Mr. Wynne’s abridgment of your essay. But I must confess to you, I was never more satisfied with the length of your essay, than since I have seen this abridgment; which, though done judiciously enough, yet falls so short of that spirit which every where shews it self in the original, that nothing can be more different. To one already vers’d in the essay, the abridgment serves as a good remembrancer; but, I believe, let a man wholly unacquainted with the former, begin to read the latter, and he will not so well relish it. So that so defirous soever I might have formerly been of seeing your essay put into the form of a logick for the schools, I am now fully satisfied I was in an error; and must freely confess to you, that I with Mr. Wynne’s abridgment had been yet undone. That strength of thought and expression, that every where reigns throughout your works makes me sometimes with them twice as long.

I find, by some little pieces I have lately met with, that you are the reputed author of the reasons of Christianity; whether it be really so or not, I will not presume to enquire, because there is no name to the book; this only I will venture to say on that head, that whoever is the author or vindicator thereof, he has gotten as weak an adversary in Mr. Edwards to deal with, as a man could wish; so much unmanly passion, and bilious rage, I have not seen any man use. In so much that were Mr. Edwards to defend the best cause in the world, should he do it in that manner, he would spoil it. Were an angel of Heaven to justify a truth with virulence and heat, he would not prevail.

And now, my ever honour’d friend, with much reluctance, I am to tell you, that I cannot be so happy this summer as to see you in England. Tis needless to trouble you with a long detail of the reasons hereof; but what between my own private affairs, and a little place I have in the publick,
Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke,

so it is, and I cannot help it. But as a small Repair to my self, of this Disappointment, I shall beg the Favour of you to admit a young Gentleman, whom I shall fend to you within a while, only to look on you, and afterwards to look on a Picture of your's, which, I hear, is at Mr. Churchill's. The young Gentleman's Name is Howard, a modest and ingenuous Youth, and excellently skill'd both in the Judicious and Practical Part of Painting; for his Advancement wherein he is now kept at London, and designs soon for Italy. He is eldest Brother to my Brother's Wife, of a good Fortune and Family. If, by his Report, I understand that that Picture of your's at Mr. Churchill's be an excellent Piece, and like you, he will procure it to be finely copied for me, and may save you the trouble of fitting; but if it prove otherwise, and be not worth Copying, I will then make it my Request to you, that, at your Leasure, you would spare me so many Hours time, as to fit for such a Hand as Mr. Howard shall procure to take your Picture. This I thought fit to intitate to you before-hand, that when he waits on you, you may be forewarned of his Buisnesses.

I doubt not, but by this Time, you have heard of our Lord Deputy Capel's Death. We are now under a most unsettled Government, and our Eyes are fix'd on England for Relief. Some here with for your Noble Patron, my Lord Pembroke, and go so far as to say, that he will be the Man. I am confident we should be happy under one that favour'd you; and if there be any Thing in this Report, you would highly favour me, by letting his Lordship know, that here he will find me, amongst several others that are your Admirers; for that I reckon the most advantageous Character I can come recommended under to his Lordship.

Mr. Burridge has been lately so taken up with his Ecclesiastick Affairs in the Country, that (as he writes me Word) he has hitherto made but little further Progress in the Translaction of the Essay, but he promises now to let about it earnestly. I wish you would give me your free Opinion of what I have already sent you thereof.

I fear your Publick Buisnesses will, in some measure, take you off from your more retired Thoughts, by which the World were Gainers every Day. But, good Sir, let me intreat you, that at your leisure Hours you would think on, and fend a Line to

Your most affectionate, and humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

SIR,


I cannot, without great Trouble, hear of any Indisposition of your's; your Friendship, which Heaven has bestow'd on me, as one of the greatest Blessings I can enjoy for the Remainder of my Life, is what I value at so high a Rate, that I cannot consider my self within Danger of losing a Perfon, every way so dear to me, without very great Uneasiness of Mind.

Thus far I got when I sat down to write to you about a Month since, as you will see by the Date at the Top; Buisness, and a little Excursion into the Country, has hinder'd me ever since. Were you a Man I only cared to talk with out of Civility, I should sooner anser your Letters. But, not contenting my self with such a formal Correspondence with you, I cannot find in my Heart to begin Writing to you, 'till I think I shall have Time to talk a great deal, and pour out my Mind to a Man to whom I make sure I can do it with Freedom; his Candor and Friendship allows that, and I find I know not what Pleasure in doing it. I promised my self Abundance of Pleasure this Summer in seeing you here, and the Disappointment is one of the most sensible I could have met with in my private Concerns; and the Occasion that robb'd me of that Satisfaction frights me. I have, I thank God, now as much Health as my Constitution will allow me to expect. But yet,
and several of his Friends.

If I will think like a reasonable Man, the Flattery of my Summer Vigour ought not to make me count beyond the next Winter at any time for the future. The last fat so heavy upon me, that it was with Difficulty I got through it; and you will not blame me, if I have a longing to see and embrace a Man I esteem and love so much, before I leave this silly Earth; which, when the Conveniencies of Life are moderately provided for, has nothing of Value in it equal to the Conversation of a knowing, ingenious, and large-minded Friend, who sincerely loves and seeks Truth.

When I took Pen in Hand to continue this Letter, I had your's of March and June last before me, with a Design to answer them. But my Pen run on, as you see, before I could get leave of my forward Thoughts, to come to what was my chief Business, viz. To read again, and answer those kind Letters of yours.

That of March 28 brought me a Sample of Mr. Burridge's Translation; upon my reading of it, I began to correct it after my Fashion, and intended to have gone through that, and so all the rest of the Sheets, as they came to my hand; but some other more pressing Occasion interrupted me, and now I am left all Hopes to have any Leisure at all to do any thing more to it in that Kind, and must wholly leave it to his and your Care. When I say your Care, I do not make so ill an Use of your Kindness, as to expect you should look it over, and correct it; but I doubt not, but you have such an Interest in your College, that you have the Affidence of some able Man there to do it. The Subject itself, and my Way of expressing my Thoughts upon them, may, I doubt not, but be very different from the Genius of the Latin Tongue, and therefore I should not think it amiss, if Mr. Burridge would take more Liberty to quitt the Scheme and Phrase of my Stile, and so he takes but my Sense, to comply more with the Turn and Manner of Tully's Philosophical Language. For he has but my Sense, I care not how much he neglects my Words; and whether he exprest my Thoughts, you are as good a Judge as I, for I think you as much Master of them. I say this to excuse you from the Trouble of sending his Papers over to me as he dispatches them; for, in my present Circumstances, I shall hardly have Time so much as to peruse them. Pray, when you see, or send to him, give him my humble Service.

Though your Cholick has done me no small Prejudice, yet I am much more angry with it, upon the account of those Inconveniencies it has made you suffer. I know you are in skilful, as well as careful Hands, under the Care of your Brother, and it could not be advisable in any one to draw you from them. The Cholick is so general a Name for Pains in the lower Belly, that I cannot from thence pretend to make any Judgment of your Cafe; but it can be no Harm to advise you to ask him, whether he does not think that the Drinking of our Bath Waters may be useful to you in your Cafe. I know those Waters mightily strengthen those Parts.

Your Congratulation to me I take as you meant, kindly, and seriously, and, it may be, it is what another would rejoice in; but, if you will give me leave to whisper Truth without Vanity, in the Ear of a Friend, 'tis a Precept which I shall get nothing by, and I know not whether my Country will; tho' that I shall aim at with all my Endeavours.

Riches may be instrumental to so many good Purposes, that it is, I think, Vanity, rather than Religion or Philosophy, to pretend to contain them. But yet they may be purchased too dear. My Age and Health demand a Retreat from Business and Business, and the Pursuit of some Enquiries I have in my Thoughts, makes it more desirable than any of those Rewards which publick Employments tempt People with. I think, we have it enough, and do not desire to live higher, or die richer than I am. And therefore you have Reason rather to pity the Folly, than congratulate the Fortune, that engages me in the Whirlpool.

'Tis your Pre-occupation, in favour of me, that makes you say what you do of Mr. Hume's Abridgement; I know not whether it be that, or any thing else, that has occasion'd it; but I was told, some time since, that my Essay began to get some Credit in Cambridge, where, I think for some Years after Vol. III.
it was published, it was scarce so much as look'd into. But now, I have some
Reason to think it is a little more favourably received there, by these two
Questions held there this last Commencement; viz. Probable est animam non
semper cogitare: And, Idea Dei non est immata.

What you say of the Reafonableness of Christianity, gives me occasion to ask
your Thoughts of that Treatise, and also how it pass'd amongst you there; for
here, at its first coming out, it was received with no Indifference, some speak-
ing of it with great Commendation, but most cenfuring it as a very bad Book.
What you say of Mr. Edwards is so visible, that I find all the World of your
Mind.

This is now a third Sitting before I finish this Letter; whereby, I fear, I
shall give you an ill Picture of my self. By the reading of the next Paragraph
of your obliging Letter of June 6. I am mightily comforted to find that it is
not want of Health (as it run in my Head by a strong Impression I found
remain'd in my Mind, from the Cholick mentioned in the beginning of your
Letter) but Business, that keeps me this Year from the Happines of your
Company. This is much more tolerable to me than the other, and though I
suffer by it, yet I can bear it the better, whilst there is room to hope it
may be such that both you and your Country may receive Advantage by it.
Mr. Howard, whom I was resolv'd yesterday Morning to enquire after, pre-
vented me by a Visit he made me, wherein he gave me an Account he had
received a Letter from you since his Return from Cambridge. That which
you desire of me, as the chief Reason of affording me his Acquaintance, is
what I cannot refuse, and yet it causes in me some Confusion to grant. If
the Original could do you any Service, I shall be glad; but to think my Pi-
cure worth your having, would carry too much Vanity with it, to allow my
Consent, did not the Skill of the Painter often make amends for the Manners
of the Subject, and a good Pencil frequently make the painted Representation
of more Value than the real Substance. This may probably be my Cafe.
Mr. Howard is a very pretty young Gentleman, and I thank you for his Ac-
quaintance. I with it lay in my Power to do him any Service whilst he is
here. If the Length of my Letter could be an Excuse for the Slowness of its
coming, I have certainly made a very ample Apology; though I satisfy my
self neither in being silent so long, nor in tiring you with talking so much
now; but 'tis from an Heart wholly devoted to you. I am,

4. August 1696.

SIR,
Your most affectionate humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLINEUX.

SIR,

Could the Painter have made a Picture of me capable of your Conversa-
tion, I should have sat to him with more Delight than ever I did, any
thing in my Life. The Honour you do me, in giving me thus a Place in
your House, I look upon as the Effect of having a Place already in your
Esteem and Affection; and that made me more easily submit to what me-
thought look'd too much like Vanity in me. Painting was design'd to re-
present the Gods, or the great Men that stood next to them. But Friendship,
I see, takes no Measure of any thing, but by itself; and where it is great
and high, will make its Object so, and raise it above its Level. This is that
which has deceived you into my Picture, and made you put so great a Com-
plement upon me; and I do not know what you will find to justify your
self to those who shall see it in your Possession. You may indeed tell them,
the Original is as much your's as the Picture; but this will be no great Boafl,
when the Man is not more considerable than his Shadow. When I look'd
upon it, after it was done, methought it had not that Countenance I ought
to
and several of his Friends.

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to accord you wish. I know not whether the secret Displeasure I felt, whilst I was sitting, from the Consideration that the going of my Picture brought us no nearer together, made me look grave: But this I must own, that it was not without Regret, that I remember'd that this Counterfeit would be before me with the Man that I so much desired to be with, and could not tell him, how much I long'd to put my self into his Hands, and to have him in my Arms. One Thing pray let it mind you of, and when you look on it at any time, pray believe, that the Colours of that Face on the Cloath, are more fading and changeable than those Thoughts which will always represent you to my Mind, as the most valuable Person in the World, whose Face I do not know, and one whose Company is so desirable to me, that I shall not be happy till I do.

Though I know how little Service I am able to do; yet my Conscience will never reproach me for not withering well to my Country, by which I mean Englishmen, and their Interest every where. There has been, of late Years, a Manufacture of Linen carried on in Ireland, if I mistake not; I would be glad to learn from you the Condition it is in; and, if it thrives not, what are the Ruds and Hindrances that stop it. I suppose you have Land very proper to produce Flax and Hemp, why could not there be enough, especially of the latter, produced there to supply His Majesty's Navy? I should be obliged by your Thoughts about it, and how it might be brought about. I have heard there is a Law requiring a certain Quantity of Hemp to be grown every Year: If it be so, how comes it to be neglected? I know you have the fame publick Aims for the Good of your Country that I have, and therefore, without any Apology, I take this Liberty with you. I received an Account of your Health, and your Remembrance of me, not long since, by Mr. Howard, for which I return you my Thanks. I troubled you with a long Letter about the Beginning of the last Month, and am,

SIR,

Your most affectionate, and most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

Honour'd SIR,


I have now before me two of your's, one of August the 4th, and t'other of the 12th Instant. I had sooner answer'd the former, but that I waited to give you an Account of the farther Progrees of the Translation, which Mr. Burridge faithfully promised me; and I lately understand from him, that he has gone through the three first Chapters of the first Book. I must confess, his Avocations are many, and therefore his Progrees is not so quick as I could desire. But I am sure he will accomplish it, and that well too; and Mr. Churchill has told him that you lay, fat, fit, & fat bene: And he is very well pleased that you give him Time.

I do not wonder that your Essay is received in the Universities. I should indeed have wonder'd with Indignation at the contrary; Magna est Veritas & praevalebit. We may expect a Liberty of Philosopherizing in the Schools; but that your Doctrine should be so soon heard out of our Pulpits, is what is much more remarkable. He that, even ten Years ago, should have preach'd, that Idea Dei non est immutata, had certainly drawn on him the Character of an Atheist; yet now we find Mr. Bentley very large upon it, in his Sermons at Mr. Boyle's Lectures, Serm. 1. p. 4. and Serm. 3. p. 5. And Mr. Whiston, in his new Theory of the Earth, pag. 118.

 Mentioning those Books minds me to intimate to you, that these ingenious Authors agree exactly with you in a Passag you have in your Thoughts of Education, p. 337. 3d Edit. § 192. That the Phenomenon of Gravitation cannot be accounted for by mere Matter and Motion, but forms an immediate Law of the Divine Will.

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Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke,

W'll so ordering it. And you conclude that Section thus, Referring to a future Opportunity, a fuller Explication of this Hypothesis, and the Application of it to all the Parts of the Delege, and any Difficulties can be supposed in the History of the Flood. This seems to imply, that you have some Thoughts of writing on that Subject; it would be a mighty Satisfaction to me, to know from you the Certainty thereof. I should be very glad also to hear what the Opinion of Mr. Whetsun's Book.

As to the Reasonsableness of Christianity, I do not find but'tis very well approved of here, amongst candid unprejudiced Men, that dare speak their Thoughts. I'll tell you what a very learned and ingenious Prelate said to me on that Occasion: I asked him whether he had read that Book, and how he liked it? He told me, Very well; and that if my Friend Mr. Locke write it, 'twas the best Book he ever laboured at; but, says he, if I should be known to think so, I should have my Lawns torn from my Shoulders. But he knew my Opinion afore-hand, and was therefore the freer to commit his secret Thoughts in that Matter to me.

I am very sorry I can give you no better an Account of the Linne Manufactures, of late Years set up in Ireland, than what follows.

About the Year 1692. (I think) one Mons. Du Pin came to Dublin from England, and here, by the King and Queen's Letter, and Patents thereon, he set up a Royal Corporation, for carrying on the Linen Manufacture in Ireland. Into this Corporation many of the Nobility and Gentry were admitted, more for their Countenance and Favour to the Project, than for any great Help could be expected, either from their Pursues or Heads to carry on the Work. Du Pin himself was nominated Under-governor, and a great Buffet was made about the Buinefs; many Meetings were held, and considerable Sums advanced to forward the Work, and the Members promised themselves prodigious Gains; and this Expectation prevailed so far (by what Artifices I cannot tell) as to raise the Value of each Share to 40 or 50 Pounds, though but five Pounds was paid by each Member at first for every Share he had. At length Artificers began to be set at work, and some Pieces of Cloth were made, when on a sudden there happen'd some Controversie between the Corporation here in Ireland, and such another Corporation establish'd in England, by London Undertakers, and in which Du Pin was also a chief Member. Much Time was spent in managing this Dispute, and the Work began in the mean time to flag, and the Price of the Shares to lower mightily.

But, some little time before this Controversie happen'd, some private Gentlemen and Merchants, on their own Stock, without the Authority of an incorporating Patent, set up a Linen Manufacture at Drogheda, which proformed, and thrive'd very well at first; and the Corporation of Dublin perceiving this, began to quarrel with them also, and would never let them alone till they embodied with them. These Quarrels and Controversies (the Particulars whereof I can give you no Account of, for I was not engaged amongst them, and I can get no one that was, who can give any tolerable Account of them) I say they grew so high, and Du Pin began to play such Tricks, that all were discouraged, and withdrew as fast as they could. So that now all is blown up, and nothing of this Kind is carried on, but by such as out of their own private Pursues set up Looms and bleaching Yards. We have many of these in many Parts of Ireland; and, I believe, no Country in the World is better adapted for it, especially the North. I have as good Diaper, made by some of my Tenants nigh Armagh, as can come to a Table, and all other Cloth for Household uses.

As to the Law for discouraging the Linne Manufacture, 'tis this, In the 17th and 18th of Car. II. there was an Act of Parliament made, " Obliging all Landlords and Tenants to sow such a certain Proportion of their Holdings with Flax, under a great Penalty on both, on Failure; and impoverishing the Sheriffs to levy 20 Pounds in each of their respective Counties, to be distributed at the Quarter-Sessions, yearly, to the three Persons who should bring in the three best Yards of Linne Cloth, of such a Length and Breadth, 10 l. to the first, 6 l. to the second, and 4 l. to the third." This, whilst it lasted, was a great Encouragement to the Country People, to strive
and several of his Friends.

England, most certainly, will never let us thrive by the Woollen Trade; this is their darling Mistrefs, and they are jealous of any Rival. But I see not that we interfere with them in the least by the Linen Trade. So that this is yet left open to us to grow rich by, if it were well established and managed, but by what Means this should be, truly I dare not venture to give my Thoughts. There is no Country has better Land or Water for Flax and Hemp; and I do verily believe, the Navy may be provided here with Sailing and Cordage cheaper by far than in England. Our Land is cheaper, Victuals for Workmen is cheaper, and Labour is cheaper, together with other Necesaries for Artificers.

I know not in what manner to thank you for the Trouble you have been at in fitting for your Picture, on my Account. 'Tis a Favour of that Value, that I acknowledge my self extremely obliged to you for it; and therefore I could not think that the Expressions concerning it in your Letter belonged to me, did they come from one less sincere than yourself. Painting, 'tis true, was designed to represent the Gods, and the great Men that stand next them; and therefore it was, that I desired your Picture. This, Sir, is the real and sincere Thought of

Your most obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR,

DUBLIN, Jan. 5. 1697.

This now three Months since I venture'd to trouble you with a Letter; you may see thereby that I have a Regard to the Publick Bufnes of you are engaged in; but I have not been all this while without the Satisfaction of hearing that you are well; for, as all my Friends know that I have the most respectful Concern for you in the World; so they are not wanting, on all Opportunities, from the Side the Water, to give me the acceptable Tidings of your Welfare. I have lately received a Letter from Mr. Howard, that obliges me to make his Acknowledgments for the Favours he has received from you. This I can hardly do, without complaining of him at the same time, for not yet sending me your Picture; but I suppose, by this time, 'tis on the Road hither, and I forgive him; and, with all Gratitude imaginable, return you my Thanks on his Account.

The inclosed Piece of Natural History, I am directed by my Brother to present to you, with his most affectionate humble Service. If, upon perusing it, you think it may deserve it, you may send it by the Penny-Post to the Royal Society, to fill up an empty Page in the Transactions. There is nothing to recommend it but it's being exactly true, and an Account of a non-deferit Animal. Formerly I had a constant Correspondence with the Secretary of the Society, but of late it has fail'd; and therefore we take the Liberty of sending this through your Hands.

I have lately met with a Book here of Mons. Le Clerc's, called The Causes of Incredulity, done out of French. 'Tis the same Le Clerc that writes Onology, and dedicates it to you. I find thereby you are his Acquaintance and Friend; I should be very glad you would be pleased to give me some Account of that Gentle-
Gentleman, and his Circumstances in the World, if you know them. To me he seems an impartial and candid Enquirer after Truth, and to have the true Spirit of Christianity in that his Book. The Reason why I enquire after him, is, because I suppose him one of the Refugees from France, and perhaps he may receive some Encouragement to come into this Kingdom. I am,

SIR,

Your most affectionate Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR,

As I had Reason to rejoice on the Nation's Account, when you were first put on Publick Business; so I find, on my own Particular, I had Caule to lament; for since that time (to my great Concern) your Letters have been less frequent, and the Satisfaction I had in them abundantly diminished. Were I assured of the confirmed State of your Health, I could more patiently submit to this; but knowing your sickly Disposition, a Month's Silence puts me in Pain for you; and I am very uneasie under the Apprehensions of any Danger that may attend you: Favour me therefore, good Sir, though it were but by a Line or two, in the Crowd of your Business; for that it fell would be some Contentment to me, in the Want of those noble Philosophical Thoughts which sometimes you were pleased to communicate to me.

And now, Sir, I shall beg a Favour of you a little out of our common Road of Correspondence. We have here lately received the Certainty of Mr. Mestruin's being declared our Lord Chancellor; and truly Sir, all moderate and good Men, I find, are very well pleased at it. I suppose, by your Interest and Acquaintance with my Lord Keeper of England, you have an Acquaintance like-wife with Mr. Mestruin; and I beg the Favour of you to mention me to him as your devoted Friend and Servant. I am sure, if he knows you rightly, I cannot be represented to him under a more advantageous Character; and I know this will give me Admittance to his Graces, which I desire, more as I hear he is a good, than a great Man; and being one of the Mailers in Chancery here, 'tis natural to covet the Favour of him under whom I am to act.

I have lately met with a Book of the Bp. of Worcester's concerning the Trinity. He takes Occasion therein to reflect on some Things in your Essay; but truly, I think, with no great Strength of Reason. However, he being a Man of great Name, I humbly propose it to you, whether you may not judge it worth your while to take notice of what he says, and give some Answer to it, which will be no difficult Task. I do not intend hereby, that an Answer, on Purpose for that End only, should be framed by you, I think it not of that Moment; but perhaps you may find some accidental Occasion of taking notice thereof, either in the next Edition of your Essay, or some other Discourse you may publish hereafter.

I have not yet received the Satisfaction of having your Likeness before me, and therefore lately writ a very discontented Letter about it to Mr. Howard. A great Man here told me, I something resembled you in Countenance; could he but assure me of being like you in Mind too, 'twould have been the Eternal Honour and Boast of

Your most devoted humble Servant,

and entirely affectionate Friend,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

I find,
I find, by a Book I lately light on, of Mr. Norris’s, that Mr. Masbath and my Son agree in one odd Circumstance of Life, of having both their Mothers blind; for my Wife lost her Sight above twelve Years before she dyed, and I find my Lady Masbath is in the same Condition.

Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

Sir,


I fear you will be of an Opinion, that I take my Picture for my self, and think you ought to look no farther, since that is coming to you, or is already with you. Indeed we are Shadows much alikes, and there is no much Difference in our Strength and Usefulness. But yet I cannot but remember, that I cannot expect my Picture should answer your Letters to me, pay the Acknowledgements I owe you, and excuse a Silence as great as if I were nothing but a Piece of Cloath overlay’d with Colours. I could lay a great deal of the Blame on Bulfinch, and a great deal on Want of Health. Between these two I have had little leisure since I writ to you last. But all that will bear no Excuse to myself, for being three Letters in Arrear to a Person whom I the willingly hear from of any Man in the World, and with whom I had rather entertain my self, and pass my Hours in Conversation, than with any one that I know. I should take it amiss if you were not angry with me for not writing to you all this while; for I should fully set you loved me not so well as I love you, if you could patiently bear my Silence. I hope it is your Civility makes you not chide me. I promise you, I should have grumbled cruelly at you, if you had been half so guilty as I have been. But if you are angry a little, pray be not so very much, for if you should provoke me in any way, I know the first Sight of a Letter from you, would alloy all my Choler immediately; and the Joy of hearing you were well, and that you continued your Kindness to me, would fill my Mind, and leave me no other Passion. For, I tell you truly, that since the Receipt of your Letter in September last, there has scarce a Day past’d, I am sure not a Post, wherein I have not thought of my Obligation and Debt to you, and resolved to acknowledge it to you, though something or other has still come between to hinder you. For you would have pitied me, to see how much of my Time was forced from me this Winter in the Country (where my Illness confin’d me within Doors,) by Crowds of Letters which were therefore indispensible to be answér’d, because they were from People whom either I knew not, or cared not for, or was not willing to make bold with; and so you, and another Friend I have in Holland, have been delay’d, and put off, because you are my Friends beyond Ceremony and Formality. And I referred my self for you when I was at leisure, in the Ease of Thoughts to enjoy. For that you may not think you have been pass’d over by a peculiar Neglect, I mention to you another very good Friend of mine, of whom I have now by me a Letter, of an ancients Date than the first of your three, yet unanswer’d.

However, you are pleas’d out of Kindness to me, to rejoice in your’s of September 26. that my Notions have had the good Luck to be vented from the Pulpit, and particularly by Mr. Benley; yet that Matter goes not so clear as you imagine. For a Man of no small Name, as you know Dr. S — is, has been pleas’d to declare against my Doctrine of no innate Ideas, from the Pulpit in the Temple, and, as I have been told, charged it with little less than Atheism. Though the Dr. be a great Man, yet that would not much fright me, because I am told, that he is not always obfinate against Opinions which he has condemn’d more publiquely, than in an Harangue to a Sunday’s Auditory. But that ’tis possible he may be firm here, because ’tis also faid, he never quits his Aversion to any Tenet he has once declared against, ’till Change of Times bringing Change of Interest, and fashionable Opinions open his Eyes and his Heart, and then he kindly embraces what before deferv’d his Aversion and Conturce. My Book crept into the World about
about six or seven Years ago, without any Opposition, and has since passed amongst some for useful, and, the least favourable, for innocent. But, as it seems to me, it is agreed by some Men that it should no longer do so. Something, I know not what, is at last spies out in it, that is like to be troublesome, and therefore it must be an ill Book, and be treated accordingly. 'Tis not that I know any thing in particular, but some things that have happened at the same time together, seem to me to suggest this: What it will produce, Time will shew. But, as you say in that kind Letter, Magna est Veritas & praevalebit; that keeps me at perfect Ease in this, and whatever I write; for as soon as I shall discover it not to be Truth, my Hand shall be the forwardest to throw it in the Fire.

You desire to know, what the Opinion of the ingenious is, concerning Mr. Whiston's Book. I have not heard any one of my Acquaintance speak of it, but with great Commendation, as I think it deserves. And truly, I think he is more to be admired, that he has laid down an Hypothesis, whereby he has explained so many wonderful, and, before, inexplicable Things in the great Changes of this Globe, than that some of them should not go easily down with some Men, when the whole was entirely new to All. He is one of those sort of Writers, that I always fancy should be most oft'end and encouraged. I am always for the Builders who bring some Addition to our Knowledge, or, at least some new Thing to our Thoughts. The Finders of Faults, the Conjecturers and Pullers down, do not only erect a barren and useless Triumph upon human Ignorance, but advance us nothing in the Acquisition of Truth. Of all the Motto's I ever met with, this wright over a Waterwork at Cleve, best pleased me, Natura omnem fece Judices, paucas Artifices.

I thank you for the Account you gave me of your Linnen Manufacture, Private Knavery, I perceive, does there as well as here destroy all Publick good Works, and forbid the Hope of any Advantages by them, where Nature plentifully offers what Industry would improve, were it but rightly directed, and duly cherished. The Corruption of the Age gives me so ill a Prospect of any Success in Designs of this Kind, ever so well laid, that I am not sorry my ill Health gives me so just a Reason to desire to be eased of the Employment I am in.

Your's of the 5th of January, which brought with it that curious and exact Description of that Non-de script Animal, found me here under the Confinement of my ill Lungs; but knowing Bubinews of several Kinds would make it necessary for me to go to London as soon as possible, I thought it better to carry it thither myself, than send it a Strandem to the Royal Society. Accordingly, when I went up to Town, about a Fortnight since, I shew'd it to Dr. Shaw, and put it into his Hands to be communicated to the Royal Society; which he willingly undertook; and, I promise my self it will be published in their next Transactions. Dr. Shaw is a very ingenious Man, and a very good Friend of mine; and, upon my telling him that your Correspondence with the Secretary of the Society had been of late interrupted, he readily told me, that if you pleased, he would take it up, and be very glad if you would allow him the Honour of a constant Correspondence with you.

You shew your charitable and generous Temper, in what you say concerning a Friend of mine in Holland, who is truly all that you think of him. He is married there, and has some kind of Settlement; but I could be glad, if you in Ireland, or I here (tho' of the latter say nothing to others) could get him a Prebendary of 100 or 200 l. per Annum, to bring him over into our Church, and to give him Ease, and a sure Retreat to write in, where, I think he might be of great use to the Christian World. If you could do this, you would offer him a Temptation would settle him amongst us; if you think you cannot, I am never the less obliged to you, for offering to one, whom you take to be a Friend of mine, what you are able. If he should miss the Effect, yet I have still the Obligation to you.

When your's of the 3d Instant met me in London, when I was there lately I was rejoiced at my Journey, though I was uneasie in Town, because I thought my being there, might give me an Opportunity to do you some little
little Service, or at least shew you my willingnes to do it. To that Purpose I went twice or thrice to wait upon Mr. Methwin, though he be a Perfon, in whose Company I remember not that I was ever but once in my Life. I misfled him, by good Luck, both times, and my Diftemper encreased so falt upon me, that though I went to London with an intention to make some Stay there, yet I was forced away in eight Days, and had not an Opportunity to fee Mr. Methwin at all. You will, perhaps, wonder to hear me call my missing of him good Luck; but fo I must always call that which any way favours my Design of serving you, as this did. For hereupon I applied my self to a Friend of mine, who has an Interedt in him, and one to whom your Worth and Friendhips to me is not unknown, who readily undertook all I desired on your Behalf. And I promise my self, from thence, that you will find Mr. Methwin will be as defiroius of your Acquaintance, as you are of his.

You will, in a little time, fee that I have obeyed, or rather anticipated a Command of your's towards the latter end of your last Letter. What Sentiments I have of the usage I have received from the Perfon you there mention, I shall shortly more at large acquaint you. What he says, is, as you observe, not of that Moment much to need an Anfwer; but the fle Design of it I think necessary to oppofe; for I cannot allow any one's great Name a Right to use me ill. All fair Contenders for the Opinions they have, I like mightily; but there are fo few that have Opinions, or at least feem, by their way of defending them, to be really perfuded of the Opinions they profeft, that I am apt to think there is in the World a great deal more Scep-ticifm, or at leat want of Concern for Truth, than it imagin'd. When I was in Town I had the Happinefs to fee Mr. Burridge; he is, he says, fpedily returning to you, where I hope his Book, which is received with great Applaufe, will procure him something more folid than the Name he has got him here; which I look upon as a good Fore-runner of greater Things to come. He spoke something of his Intention to fet about my Book, but that I must leave to you and him. There is lately fallen into my Hand a Paper of Monf. L———, writ to a Gentleman here in England, concerning feveral Things in my Essay. I was told, when I was in London, that he had lately ordered his Correspondent to communicate them to me, and fomething else he has since writ hither. He treats me all along with great Civility, and more Complement than I can deferve. And being, as he is, a very great Man, 'tis not for me to fay there appears to me no great Weight in the Exceptions he makes to fome Paffages in my Book; but his great Name and Knowledge in all Parts of Learning, ought to make me think, that a Man of his Parts fays nothing but what has great Weight in it; only I fufpeft he has, in fome Places, a little miiftaken my Sentt, which is eafe for a Stranger, who has (as I think) learned English out of England. The Servant I have now cannot copy French, or elfe you fhould fee what he fays: When I have all his Papers you fhall hear farther from me. I repine, as often as I think of the Distance between this and Dublin.

I read that Paffage of your Letter to my Lady Maffam which concerned her Sight; she bid me tell you, That the hopes to fee you here this Summer. You will, poftibly, wonder at the Miracle, but that you must find in Mr. Norris's Book. She has, 'tis true, but weak Eyes, which Mr. Norris, for Reafons he knew beft, was resolved to make blind ones. And having fitted his Epiftle to that Suppofition, could not be hinder'd from publifhing it fo; though my Lady, to prevent it, writ him Word that she was not blind, and hoped the never fhoiohen be. 'Tis a strange Power, you fee, we Authors take to ourfelves; but there is nothing more ordinary, than for us to make whomfoever we will blind, and give them out to the World for such, as boldly as Bayard himself. But 'tis time to spare you and your Eyes. I am, with the utmost Respect and Sincerity,

SIR,

Your most humble and most affectionate Servant,

Vol. III.

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JOHN LOCKE.

Mr.
Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke,

Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

Dublin, March 16, 1697.

I must confess, dear Sir, I have not lately (if ever in my Life) been under a greater Concern, than at your long Silence. Sometimes I was angry with my self, but I could not well tell why; and then I was apt to blame you, but I could let you why. As your Silence continued, my Distraction increased; till, at last, I was happily relieved by your's of the 22d of February, which came not to my Hands till the 10th Instant. I then perceived I was to charge some Part of my troubled Time to the Conveyance of your Letter, which was almost three Weeks on its way hither. And that which added to my Concern, was the want of even your Shadow before me, for to this Moment I have not received that, which will be apt, on its Appearance, to make me an Idolater. Mr. Howard writes me Word, he has sent it from London above five Weeks ago; but I hear nothing of it from our Correspondent, to whom 'tis consign'd in Chester. However, seeing I know the Subtance to be in Safety, and well, I can bear the hazard of the Shadow with some Patience, and doubt not but my Expectation will be satisfied in due time.

Both Whiston and Bentley are positive against the Idee of God being innate; and I had rather rely on them (if I would rely on any Man) than on Dr. S—. 'Tis true, the latter has a great Name; but that, I am sure, weighs not with you or me. Besides, you rightly observe, the Dr. is no obstinate Heretick, but may veer about when another Opinion comes in Fashion; for some Men alter their Notions as they do their Cloaths, in Complacency to the Mode. I have heard of a Master of the Temple, who during the Siege of Limerick, writ over hither to a certain Prelate, to be sure to let him know, by the first Opportunity, whenever it came to be surrender'd, which was done accordingly; and immediately the good Doctor's Eyes were opened; and he plainly saw the Oaths to K. William and Q. Mary, were not only expedient, but lawful, and our Duty. A good roaring Train of Artillery is not only Ratio ultima Regum, but of other Men besides.

I fancy I pretty well guess what it is that some Men find mischievous in your Eissant: 'Tis opening the Eyes of the ignorant, and rectifying the Methods of Reasoning, which perhaps may undermine some received Errors, and so abridge the Empire of Darkness; wherein, though the Subjects wander deplorably, yet the Rulers have their Profit and Advantage. But 'tis ridiculous, in any Man to fay in general, your Book is dangerous; let any fair Contender for Truth, fit down and faw wherein 'tis Erroneous. Dangerous is a Word of an uncertain Signification, every one ues it in his own Sense. A Papist shall fay 'tis dangerous, because, perhaps, it agrees not so well with Transubstantiation; and a Lusheran, because his Consubstantiation is in hazard; but neither consider, whether Transubstantiation or Consubstantiation be true or false, but taking it for granted that they are true, or at least gainful, whatever hits not with it, or is against it, must be dangerous.

I am extremely obliged to you for your introducing a Correspondence between Dr. S— and me, and it would be the greatest Satisfaction imaginable to me, could I but promise my self Materials, in this Place, fit to support it. However, I shall soon begin it, by sending him an Account of the largest Quadruped that moves on the Earth, except the Elephant, with which this Country has anciently been plentifully flock'd, but is now quite perfused from amongst us, and is not to be found, for ought as I can learn, any where at present, but about New England, Virginia, &c.

And now I come to that Part of your Letter relating to Mons. Le Clerc, which grieves me every time I think on't. There are so many Difficulties, in what you propose concerning him, that I know not how they will be surmounted. The Clergy here, have given that learned, pious, and candid Man, a Name that will frighten any Bishop from serving him, though otherwise inclinable enough in his own Breast. I know but two or three that are in any Part in the Church capable to help him, on whom I could rely to do it; but, at the same time, I know them to be such cautious wary Men, and
and several of his Friends.

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and so fearful of the Censure of the rest of the Tribe, that they would hardly be brought to it. I take Mon. Le Clerc to be one of the greatest Scholars in Europe; I look on him as one of the most judicious, pious, and sincere Christians that has appeared publicly; and it would be an infinite Honour to us, to have him amongst us; but, I fear, an Ecclesiastical Preferment will be very difficult to be obtained for him. And indeed, when I troubled you to give me some Account of him, it was in Prospect of bringing him into my own Family, could his Circumstances have allow'd it; for I took him to be a single Man, and one of the Refugees in Holland, and wholly unprovided for. On his own Account, I am heartily glad he has any Settlement there; but, for my own Sake, I could wish he were in other Circumstances. But, notwithstanding these Difficulties, I have ventured to break this Matter to a Clergyman here in a considerable Post, Dr. Dean of ..., a Gentleman who is happy in your Acquaintance, and is a Person of an extensive Charity, and great Candor. He relish'd the Thing extremely, but moved the forementioned Difficulties, and raised some farther Scruples concerning Mr. Le Clerc's Ordination; for ordained he must necessarily be, to capacitate him for an Ecclesiastical Preferment; and he question'd whether he would submit to those Oaths, and Subscription of Affent and Conffent, that are requisite thereto. But he promised me, that when he attends the King this Summer into Holland, as his Chaplain, he will wait on Monseigneur Le Clerc at Amsterdam, and discourse with him farther about this Matter. This Gentleman is the likelyest Ecclesiastick in Ireland to effect this Business, for he is a rising Man in the Church; and though he be very zealous in his own Principles, yet 'tis with the greatest Charity and Deference to others; which, I think, is the true Spirit of Christianity. I have not mention'd you in the least to him, in all this Matter.

I am extremely obliged to you for the good Offices you have done me to Mr. Methuen our Lord Chancellor. I promise my self a great deal of Satisfaction in the Honour of his Lordship's Acquaintance. And, I could wish, if it were consistent with your Convenience, that you would let me know the Person you desired to mention my Name to his Lordship.

I am heartily glad to understand, that you have taken notice of what the Bishop of Worcester lays, relating to your Book. I have been in discourse here, with an ingenuous Man, upon what the Bishop alleged; and the Gentleman observed, that the Bishop does not so directly object against your Notions as Erroneous, but as misused by others, and particularly by the Author of Christianitv not mysterius; but I think, this is no very just Observation. The Bishop directly opposes your Doctrine, though, 'tis true, he does it on the Occasion of the aforesaid Book. I am told the Author of that Discourse is of this Country, and that his Name is Toland, but he is a Stranger in these Parts; I believe, if he belongs to this Kingdom, he has been a good while out of it, for I have not heard of any such remarkable Man amongst us.

I should be very glad to see Mon. L——'s Paper concerning your Essay. He is certainly an extraordinary Person, especially in Mathematicks; but really, to speak freely of him, in Relation to what he may have to say to you, I do not expect any great Matters from him; for methinks (with all Deference to his great Name) he has given the World no extraordinary Samples of his Thoughts this way, as appears by two Discourses he has printed, both in the Acta Eruditorum, Lipsia, the first Anno 1694. pag. 110. De prima Philosophia Emendatione, &c. the other Anno 1695. pag. 143. Specimen Dynamis, which truly to me is, in many Places, unintelligible; but that may be my Defect, and not his.

I beg you would excuse me to my Lady Masham, for the Error I committed relating to her Ladyship. I ever look'd on Mr. Norris as an obstinate Enthusiastick Man, but I could not think he would knowingly impose on the World so notorious a Falshy in Matter of Fact. I with Authors would take more Pains to open than to shut Men's Eyes, and then we should have Vol. III.
more Success in the Discoveries of Truth. — But I have almost out-run my Paper. I am,

Ever honour’d SIR,

Your most affectionate, and
most obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honour’d SIR,

IN my last to you of March 16, there was a Passage relating to the Author of Christianity not mysterious. I did not then think that he was so near me, as within the Bounds of this City; but I find since, that he is come over hither, and have had the Favour of a Visit from him. I now understond (as I intimated to you) that he was born in this Country; but that he has been a great while Abroad, and his Education was, for some time, under the great Le Cerc. But that for which I can never honour him too much, is his Acquaintance and Friendship to you, and the Respect, which, on all Occasions, he expresses for you. I propose a great deal of Satisfaction in his Conversation; I take him to be a candid Free-Thinker, and a good Scholar. But there is a violent Sort of Spirit that reigns here, which begins already to phen it self against him; and, I believe, will increace daily; for I find the Clergy armed to a mighty Degree against him. And last Sunday he had his Welcome to this City, by hearing himself harangued against, out of the Pulpit, by a Prelate of this Country.

I have at last received my most esteemed Friend’s Picture; I must now make my grateful Acknowledgments to you, for the many Idle Hours you spent in fitting for it, to gratifie my Desire. I never look upon it, but with the greatest Veneration. But though the Artist has shown extraordinary Skill at his Pencil, yet now I have obtained some Part of my Desire, the greatst remains unsatisfied; and seeing he could not make it speak, and converse with me, I am fill at a loss. But I find you are resolved, in some measure, to supply even that too, by the kind Presents you fend me of your Thoughts, both in your Letters, and in your Books, as you publish them. Mr. Churchill tells me, I am obliged to you for one or two of this Kind, that you have been pleased to favour me with; they are not yet come to hand, but I return you my heartfelt Thanks for them. I long, indeed, to see your Answer to the Bishop of Worcester; but for Edwards, I think him such a poor Wretch, he deserves no notice. I am,

Most Worthy SIR,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR,

Though I do not suspect that you will think me careless or cold in that small Business you desired of me, and so left it in negligent Hands, give me leave to fend you a Transcript of a Passage in my Friend’s Letter, which I received last Post.

"Tis
and several of his friends. 561

"'Tis a great while since that Mr. P—— undertook to tell you that I had
spoken to Mr. Methuen about Mr. Molyneux, and that he received your
Recommendation very civilly, and answer'd, He should always have a
great regard for any body you thought worthy of your esteem; and you
gave so advantageous a character of Mr. Molyneux, that he should cover his
Acquaintance, and therefore he must desire the favour of you to recommend
him to Mr. Molyneux.

Thus, my friend, whose words, though in them there be something of
Complement to my self, I repeat to you juft as they are in his letter, that
you may see he had the same success I promised you in my last.

In obedience to your commands, I herewith send you a copy of Mr. L——'s
Paper. The last paragraph, which you will find write in my hand, is a
transcript of part of a letter, written lately to his correspondent here, one
Mr. Burnet, who sent it me lately, with a copy of Mr. L——'s paper.
Mr. Burnet has had it this year or two, but never communicated it to me, till
about a fortnight ago. Indeed Mr. Cunningham procured me a sight of it
last summer, and he and I read it paragraph by paragraph over together,
and he confided to me, that some parts of it he did not understand; and I
shew'd him in others, that Mr. L——'s opinion would not hold, who was
perfectly of my mind. I mention Mr. Cunningham to you, in the cafe, becau.se
I think him an extraordinary man of parts and learning, and he is one
that is known to Mr. L——. To answer your freedom with the like,
I must confide to you, that Mr. L——'s great name had raised in me an
expectation which the sight of his paper did not answer, nor that discourse
of his in the Academia Eruditorum, which he quotes, and I have since read, and had
just the same thoughts of it, when I read it, as I find you have. From
whence I only draw this inference, that even great parts will not muffle
any subject without great thinking, and even the largest minds have but
narrow swallow's. Upon this occasion I cannot but again regret the losses
of your company and assistance, by this great distance.

I have lately got a little leisure to think of some additions to my book,
against the next edition, and within these few days have fallen upon a subject
that I know not how far it will lead me. I have written several pages
on it, but the matter, the farther I go, opens the more upon me, and I cannot yet get right of any end of it. The title of the chapter will be, Of the
conduct of the understanding, which, if I shall pursue, as far as I imagine it will reach, and as it deserves, will, I conclude, make the largest chapter of my essay. 'Tis well for you, you are not near me; I should be always peering
with you with notions, and papers, and reveries. It would be a great happiness to have a man of thought to lay them before, and a friend that
would deal candidly and freely.

I hope, e'er this, you and your brother have received printed copies of
what the dr. communicated to the Royal Society. I presume it is publish'd
before this time, though I have not seen it; for Dr. Shawe write me word
some time since, that it would be speedily, and told me he would send it to
you. And, if Mr. Churchill has taken that care he promised me, I hope you
have also received my letter to the bishop of Worcester, and that I shall soon receive your thoughts of it.

The bufinefs you propos'd to Dr. S—— is generously designed, and well
managed, and I very much with it. Success. But will not Dr. S—— be persuaded to communicate to the world the observations he made in turky? The
discourse I had with him satisfies me, they will deserve not to be lost, as all
papers laid up in a study are. Methinks you should prevail with him to oblige his country.

Though my paper be done, yet I cannot close my letter till I have made
some acknowledgments to you, for the many great marks you give me of
a sincere affection, and an esteem extremely above what I can deserve, in
your's of the 16th of March. Such a friend, procured by my essay, makes
me more than amends for the many adversities it has rais'd me. But, I
think, no body will be able to find any thing Mitchievous in it, but what
you say, which I suspect, troubles some men; and I am not sorry for it, nor
like
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like my Book the worfe. He that follows Truth impartially, seldom pleases any Sett of Men; and I know not how a great many of thofe, who pretend to be Spreaders of Light and Teachers of Truth, would yet have Men depend upon them for it, and take it rather upon their Words than their own Knowledge, juft cook'd and feafon'd as they think fit. But 'tis time to release you after fo long a trouble. I am perfectly,

Dear Sir,

Your most humble, and most faithful Servant,

John Locke.

Refleétions de Mr. L—— sur l'Effay de l'Entendement Humain de Monsieur Locke.

Je trouve tant de marques d'une penetration peu ordinaire dans ce que Mons. Locke nous a donné sur l'Entendement de l'Homme, & sur l'Education, & je juge la matiere si importante que j'ay cru ne pas mal employer le temps que je demeurois à une lecture si profitable; d'autant que j'ay fort méridi moi même sur ce qui regarde les fondemens de nos connoiffances. C'est ce qui ma fait mettre sur cette feuille quelques uenes des remarques qui me sont venues en lisant fon Effay de l'Entendement. De toutes les recherches il n'a point de plus importante, puis que c'est la clef de toutes les autres.

Le premier livre regarde principalement les principes qu'on dit effire nés avec nous. Mons. Locke ne les admet pas, non plus que les idees immédes. Il a eu d'autre de grandes raisons de s'opposer en cela aux prejudice ordinaires, car on abuse extrêmement du nom d'idées, & de principes. Les philosophes vulgaires je sont des principes à leur phantafe, & les Cartesians, qui sont profession de plus d'exactitude, ne laissat pas de faire leur renouvellement des idees pretendant, de l'étendue de la matiere, & de l'ame; voulant s'exemper par là de la necessite de prouver ce qu'ils avoient; sans preter que ceux qui meditent les idees, y trouventoient la meme chose qu'eux, c'est à dire, que ceux qui s'accoutmazoient à leur jargon & à leur maniere de penfer, avoient les memes prevenions, ce qui est tres veritable. Mon opinion est donc qu'on ne doit rien prendre pour principe primitif, si non les experiences & l'axiome de l'identite ou (ce qui est la meme chose) de la contradiction, qui est primitif, puis qu'autrement il n'ayroit point de difference entre la verité & la fausseté, & toutes les recherches cessoient d'abord, il estoit indifferens de dire oui ou non. On ne sauroit donc s'empecher de s'appuyer sur le principe, des qu'on veat raiionner. Toutes les autres verités sont prouveables, & je sçaiextreme ment la methode d'Euclide quans ne sauroit a ce qu'on croiroit être aye prouvé par les pretendues idees, a demontré (par exemple) que dans une triangle un cite est toujours moindre que les deux autres ensemble. Cependant Euclide a eu raison de prendre quelque axioms pour accordés, non pas comme s'ils estoit veritablement primitifs & in demonstrables, mais par ce qu'il se fuoit trop eventé, il n'avoit voulo voulo aux conclusions qu'après une disputation exacte des principes: Apres il a jugé à propos de se contenter d'avoir passé les presses jusqu'à ce petit nombre de propositions, en forte qu'on peut dire que si elles sont vraies, tout ce qu'il dit l'est aussi. Il a laffè à d'autres le font de demontrer ces principes meme que d'ailleurs sont deja justifes par les experences. Mais c'est deuy au ne le se contenter point en ces matieres: C'est pourquoi Apollonio, Proclus, & autres ont pris la peine de demostrer quelques uns des axioms d'Euclide. Cette maniere doit être imitée des philosophes, pour venir enfin à quelques establissement, quand ils ne favoient que provoques; de la maniere que je viens de dire. Quant aux idees j'en ay voulu quelque ouai ressemblement dans un petit Ecrit imprimen dans les Actes de Scavans de Leipzig au mois de November, 1684. pag. 537, qui est intitule, Meditationes de cognitione, veritate, & ideis, & j'aurois souhaité que Mr. Locke l'ait vouu & examiné, car je fus defplus deciles, & rien n'ay plus propre à avancer nos penfées que les conféderations & les remarques des perfomans de merite, lors qu'elles sont faites avec attention & avec sincerité. Je diray seulement ici, que les idees vraies ou reelles sont celles dont on est afferc qu'If execution est possible, les autres sont distenes ou (en cas de preuve de l'imposibilité) chimeriques. Or la possibilité des idees se provo
pourtant à priori par des démonstrations, se servant de la possibilité d'autres idées plus simples, qu'à postériori par les expériences, car ce qui est ne se voit ou manque d'être possible. Mais les idées primitives sont celles dont la possibilité est indemonstrable, et qui en effet ne sont autre chose que les attributs de Dieu. Pour ce qui est de la question, s'il y a des idées & des vérités créées avec nous, Je ne trouve point absolument nécessaire pour les commencements, ni pour la pratique de l'art de penser, de la décider : fait qu'elles nous viennent toutes de dehors, ou qu'elles viennent de nous, on raisonnera juste pourvu qu'on garde de ce que j'ai dit ci-dessus & qu'on procède avec ordre & sans prévention. La question de l'origine de nos idées & de nos maximes n'est pas précédente en philosophie, & il faut avoir fait de grands progrès pour la bien résoudre. Je crois cependant pouvoir dire que nos idées (même celles de choses sensibles) viennent de notre propre fonds, dont on pourra mieux juger par ce que j'ai publié touchant la nature & la communication des substances & ce qu'on appelle l'union de l'âme avec le corps. Car j'ay trouvé que ces choses n'évoquent pas être bien prises. Je ne suis nullement pour la tabula rasa d'Aristote, & il y a quelque chose de solide dans ce que Platon appela la reminiscence. Il y a même quelque chose de plus, car nous n'avons pas seulement une reminiscence de toutes nos pensées passées, mais encore un prélissement de toutes nos pensées futures. Il est vrai que c'est confusément & sans les distinguer, à peu près comme lorsque j'entends le bruit de la mer, je m'entends entier de toutes les vagues en particulier qui composent le bruit total ; quelque ce soit sans diviser une vague de l'autre. Et il est vrai dans un certain sens que j'ay expliqué, que non seulement nos idées, mais encore nos sentiments naissent de notre propre fonds, & que l'âme est plus indépendante qu'au ne pense, qui au qu'il est toujours vrai que rien ne se pose en elle qui ne soit déterminé.

Dans le livre ii. qui vient au détail des idées, j'avoue que les raisons de Mef. Locke pour prouver que l'âme est quelquefois penser à rien, ne me paraissent pas convaincantes ; je ne vois qu'il donne le nom de pensées aux seules perceptions essentielles pour être distinguées & perçues. Je tiens que l'âme & même le corps n'est jamais sans action, & que l'âme n'est jamais sans quelque perception. Même en dormant et que l'âme & du corps il y a en somme & d'autres choses. Mais quand l'expérience ne le confirmant pas je crois que ces deux derniers de l'âme qui entrent en aléatoire. Je me penche cependant c'est ce que je crois que j'y a eu de démonstration. Il est à peu près comme on ne saurait prouver absolument par les experiences s'il y a point de vide dans l'espace & s'il y a de repos dans la matière. Et cependant ces deux questions me paraissent décidées démonstrativement, aussi bien qu'à Mr. Locke. Je déclare d'accord de la différence qu'il met avec beaucoup de raison entre la matière & l'espace. Mais pour ce qui est de l'espace plusieurs personnes habites l'ont cru. Monseigneur Locke est de ce nombré, j'en suis presque persuadé moi même, mais je suis resté depuis longtemps. Et l'incomparable Monseigneur Huysgens qui est aussi pour le vide, & pour les atomes, commence à faire réflexion sur mes raisons, comme les lettres que vous avez envoyées, la preuve du vide prise du mouvement, dont Mr. Locke se fera, suppose que le corps est originellement dur, & qu'il est composé d'un certain nombre de parties indivisibles. Car en ce cas il serait vrai, quelque nombre fut d'atomes, qu'on pourrait penser que le mouvement ne saurait avoir lieu sans vide ; mais toutes les parties de la matière sont divisibles & phiables. Il y a encore quelques autres choses dans ce second livre qui m'arivent, par exemple lors qu'il est dit chap. 17. que l'infini ne doit attribuer qu'à l'espace, au temps, & aux nombres. Je crois avec Mr. Locke qu'il est proprement parler en peut dire qu'il n'y a point d'espace, de temps, ni de nombre, qui soit fini, mais qu'il est seulement vrai que plus grand que soit un espace, ou temps, ou bien un nombre, il y a toujours un autre plus grand que lui sans fin, qu'il soit le véritable infini ne se trouve point dans un tout composé de parties. Cependant il ne faîse pas de se trouver ailleurs, savoir dans l'absolu, qui est sans parties & qui a influence sur les choses composées, parce qu'elles refuent de la limitation de l'absolu. Donc l'infini positif n'est autre chose que l'absolu, on peut dire qu'il y a en ce sens un idée positive de l'infini, & qu'elle est antérieure à celle du fini. Autre chose qui est vrai, que les deux composés de ferique enfin infinis, & particulièrement l'excellent Mr. Newton. Quand à ce qui est dit chap. 30. de l'idee de l'infini, il est permis de donner aux termes la signification qu'on trouve à propos. Cependant faut blâmer le sens de Mr. Locke je me suis en degré dans les idées selon lequel l'appelé à la nature, le temps point parmi les adequates, aufl'il est ce point par elles mêmes, ni à priori, mais par l'expérience que nous en savons la réalité, ou la possibilité.
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Il y a encore bien de bonnes choses dans le livre iii. où il est traité des mots ou termes. Il est très vrai qu'on ne saurait tout définir, & que les qualités sensibles n'ont point de définition nominale, & on en peut appeler primitifs en ce sens là. Mais elles ne laissent pas de pouvoir reposer une Définition réelle. J'ay montré la différence de ces deux sortes de Définitions dans la Meditation citée cy défus. La définition nominale explique le nom par les marques de la chose ; mais la Définition réelle fait connoître à priori la possibilité du définit. Au reste j'applaudi fort à la Doctrine de Mons. Locke tenant la demoisabilité des verités morales.

Le iv ou dernier livre, où il s'agit de la Connaissance de la verité, montre l'usage de ce qui vient d'effet dit. J'ay trouvé (aussi bien que dans les livres précédents) une infinité de belles réflexions. De faire là défus les remarques convaincantes, ce serait faire un livre aussi grand que l'ouvrage même. Il me semble que les axiomes y sont un peu moins considérés qu'ils ne méritent de l'effet. C'est apparemment parce qu'excepté ceux des Mathematiciens ou en vertu qu'en est ordinairement, qui soient importans & solides ; j'ay, touché à remédier à ce défaut. Je ne m'écrire pas les propositions identiques, & j'ay trouvé qu'elles ont un grand usage même dans l'analyse. Il est très vrai, que nous concluons notre existence par une intuition immédiate & celle de Dieu par demonstration, & qu'une masse de matières, dont les parties sont sans perception, ne sauraient faire un tout qui pense. Je ne m'écrier point l'argument inverse, il y a quelques pièces, par Anélème, qui prouvé que l'ètre parfait doit exister ; quoique je trouve qu'il manque quelque chose à cet Argument, parce qu'il suppose que l'effet parfait est possible. Car si ce seul point se démontre encore, la démonstration toute entière sera entièrement abové. Quant à la connaissance des autres choses, il est fort bien dit, que la seule expérience ne suffit pas pour avancer affir. En Physique. Un esprit penetrant tirerait plus de conféquences des quelques experiences affir. ordinaires qu'un autre ne saurait tirer des plus choisis, outre qu'il y a un art d'expérimenter & d'interroger, pour ainsi dire, la nature. Cependant il est toujours vrai qu'on ne saurait avancer dans le détail de la physique qu'à mesure qu'on en a des experiences. Mons. Locke est l'opinion de plusieurs habiles hommes, qui tiennent que la forme des Logiciens est de peu d'usage. Je serois quand à un autre sentiment ; & j'ay trouvé souvent que les paralogismes même dans les Mathématiques sont des manqueurs de la forme. M. Huygens a fait la même remarque. Il aurait bien à dire là défus ; & plusieurs choses excellentes sont mepriées parce qu'en on fait pas l'usage dont elles sont capables. Nous sommes portés à m'expriser ce que nous avons appris dans les écoles. Il est vrai que nous y apprénons bien des inutilités, mais il est bon de faire la sanction della crucifix, c'est à dire de séparer le bon du mauvais.

Mr. Locke le peut faire autant que qui que ce soit ; & de plus il nous donne des pensées considérables de son propre crâ. Il n'est pas seulement Elysateur, mais il est encore Transmutateur par l'augmentation, qu'il donne du bon matéial. S'il continuit d'en faire prement au public, nous les en serons fort redevables. 

Je voudrais que Mons. Locke eut dit son sentiment à Mons. Cunningham sur Mess. Remarques, ou que Mons. Cunningham voulut nous le dire librement. Car je ne suis pas de ceux qui sont entendus, & la raison peut tout sour. Mais les Affaires de negoce detournent Mons. Locke de ces pensées, car cette matière de negoce est de très grande etendue & meme fort subtile & demima-thematique, &c.

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Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

Dear SIR,

T

ough the Honour you do me in the Value you put upon my Shadow, be a fresh Mark of that Friendships which is so great an Happines to me; yet I shall never consider my Picture in the fame Houfe with you, without Regret at my far Distance from you my self. But I will not continue to importune you with my Complaints of that Kind; 'tis an Advantage greater than I could have hoped, to have the Conversation of such a Friend, though with the Sea between; and the remaining little Scantling of my Life would be too happy, if I had you in my Neighbourhood.


I am
I am glad to hear, that the Gentleman you mention in your's of the 6th of
the last Month, does me the Favour to speak well of me on that Side the
Water, I never deferred other of him, but that he should always have done
so on this. If his exceeding great Value of himself do not deprive the World
of that Usefulness, that his Parts, if rightly conducted, might be of, I shall
be very glad. He went from Loudon, as I heard afterwards, soon after I left
it the last time. But he did me not the Favour to give me a Visit whilst I
was there, nor to let me know of his intended Journey to you; if he had,
'tis possible I might have writ by him to you, which I am now not sorry I
did not. I always value Men of Parts and Learning, and think I cannot do
too much in procuring them Friends and Assistance. But there may happen
Occasions that may make one stop one's hand. And 'tis the Hopes young
Men give, of what Use they will make of their Parts, which is to me the
Encouragement of being concern'd for them. But, if Vanity increases
with Age, I always fear whither it will lead a Man. I say this to you, be-
cause you are my Friend, for whom I have no Referves, and think I ought
to talk freely where you enquire, and possibly may be concern'd; but I lay it
to you alone, and desire it may go no farther. For the Man I wish very
well, and could give you, if it needed, Proofs that I do so. And therefore
I desire you to be kind to him; but I must leave it to your Prudence, in what
way, and how far. If his Carriage with you gives you the Promises of a
steady useful Man, I know you will be forward enough of your self, and I shall
be very glad of it. For it will be his Fault alone, if he prove not a very
valuable Man, and have not you for his Friend.

But I have something to say to you of another Man. Mons. Le Clerc, in
a Letter I lately received from him, writes thus:

Mons. C—— me défait dernièrement que s'il trouvait occasion d'entrer dans une mai-
son de condition en qualité de percepteur il serait ravi d'en profiter. C'est un fort bouffe
homme, & qui serait bien capable de s'acquitter de cet emploi. Il ne fait l'Anglais que
par les lois, c'est à dire, qu'il l'entend lors qu'il le lit, mais qu'il ne le faudroit parler
plus que moi, faute d'habitude. Si quelque un de vos amis avait besoin de pre-
cepteur, & qu'il lui donnât de quoi s'entretenir, il ne faudroit trouver d'homme plus sage
& plus réglé, outre qu'il fait beaucoup de choses utiles pour un emploi comme celui là, les
belles lettres, l'histoire, &c.

This Mr. C—— is he that translated my Book of Education, upon which
Occasion I came to have some Acquaintance with him by Letters, and he
seems a very ingenious Man; and Mr. Le Clerc has often, before any thing of
this, spoke of him to me with Commination and Esteem. He has since trans-
lated The Lady's Religion, and The Reasonableness of Christianity into French.
You may easily guess, why I put this into my Letter to you, after what you said
concerning Mr. Le Clerc in your last Letter but one.

You are willing, I see, to make my little Prefents to you more and greater
than they are. Amongst the Books that Mr. Churchill sent you, you are be-
holden to me (since you will call it so) but for one; and to that the
Bishop of Worcester, I hear, has an Answer in the Press, which will be out
this Week. So that I perceive this Controversie is a Matter of serious Mo-
ment beyond what I could have thought. This Benefit I shall be sure to
get by it, either to be confirmed in my Opinion, or be convinced of some
Errors, which I shall presently reform, in my Essay, and so make it the bet-
ter for it. For I have no Opinions that I am fond of. Truth, I hope, I
shall always be fond of, and so ready to embrace, and with so much Joy,
that I shall own it to the World, and thank him that does me the Favour.
So that I am never afraid of any thing writ against me, unless it be the
waiting of my Time, when it is not writ closely in pursuit of Truth, and
Truth only.

In my last to you, I sent you a Copy of Mr. L——'s Paper, I have this
writ me out of Holland concerning it:

Mr. L—— Mathematicien de Hannover aient ont dire, qu'on traduisoit notre
ouvrage, & qu'en l'allait imprimer, a envoyé ici à un de mes amis ce jugement qu'il
en fait, comme pour la mettre à la tête. Cependant il a été bien aise qu'on vous le
communiquât, Il m'a été remis entre les mains pour cela. On m'a dit mille biens de ce
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Mmmm

Mathema-
566 Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke,

Mathematicien. Il y a long temps que magna & praecista minstat, sans rien produire que quelques Demonstrationes detachées. Je croi neannoyais qu'il ne vous entende par, & je doute, qu'il s'entende bien lui même.

I see you and I, and this Gentleman, agree pretty well concerning the Man; and this sort of Fidling makes me hardly avoid thinking, that he is not that very great Man as has been talked of him. His Paper was in England a Year, or more, before it was communicated to me, and I imagin you will think he need not make such a great Stir with it.

My Essay, you see is translated into French, and it is by the same Mr. Cotte above-mentioned. But this need not hinder Mr. Burridge in what he design'd, for Mr. Cotte goes on exceeding flowly, as I am told.

You see how forward I am to importune you with all my little Concerns. But this would be nothing to what I should do, if I were nearer you, I should then be talking to you De quolibet ente, and confulting you about a thousand Whimfies that come sometimems into my Thoughts. But with all this I unsignedly am,

Dear SIR,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

John Locke.

The Poem that was sent you by Mr. Churchill, amongst the other Books, I believe will pleaze you, there are some noble Parts in it.

Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

Dublin, May 15. 1697.

Nothing could excuse my keeping your kind Letter of April 10. so long by me unanswered, but an unexpected and melancholy Accident that has lately befallen a dear Sister of mine, who, on the 24th of the last Month, left her Husband, the Lord Bishop of Meath, a Learned and Worthy Prelate. Our whole Family has so deeply partaken in this Trouble, that we have been All under a great Concern; but more particularly my self, who am intrusted by the good Bishop with the Disposal of some of his Affairs. This has of late so taken me up, that I had not time to take the Satisfaction of writing to you; but the Hurry of that Business being somewhat abated, I refume the Pleasure of kissing your Hands, and of affuring you, with what a deep Sense of Gratitude I receive the Kindness you have done me with my Lord Chancellor Methwin. I hope we shall see his Lordship soon here, for we understand he parts from London the 18th Instant.

I am extremely obliged to you for the Trouble you have been at in communicating to me Monf. L——'s Paper, and I am now sorry I ever put the Task on you; for to speak freely to you, as I formerly did, I find nothing in this Paper to make me alter the Opinion I had of Monf. L——'s Performances this way. He is either very unhappy in Exprelling, or I am very dull in Apprehending his Thoughts. I do not know but some of the Doubts he raises concerning your Essay, may proceed from his Unacquaintance with our Language; and this makes me yet more earnest to procure the Translation of your Essay; but Mr. Burridge, since he last arrived here, has been wholly employ'd in overtaking his Business in the Country, to which he is run much in Arrear. He is Chaplain to my Lord Chancellor Methwin, and, on that account, I hope he will keep much in Town, and then I shall ply him hard.

I will give you a thousand Thanks for the Prefent of your Letter to the Bishop of Worcester; but I need not give you my Opinion of it, otherwise than as you find it in the following Paragraph of a Letter which I received concerning it, from a Reverend Prelate of this Kingdom. (The present Bishop of . . . between ourselves.)

"I read Mr. Locke's Letter to the Bishop of Worcester with great Satisfaction, and am wholly of your Opinion, That he has fairly laid the great Bishop en his Back; but 'tis with so much Gentleness, as if he were afraid not only
and several of his Friends.

"only of hurting him, but even of spoiling or tumbling his Cloaths. Indeed
"I cannot tell which I most admire, the great Civility and good Manners
"in his Book, or the Force and Clearness of his Reasonings. And I fancy
"the Bishop will thank him privately, and trouble the World no more with
"this Dispute.

You see thereby my Friend’s, and my own Opinion of your Book; and
I can tell you farther, that all those whom I have yet conversed with in this
place, concerning it, agree in the same Judgment. And another (Bishop too)
told me, that though your Words were as smooth as Oyl, yet cut they like a two-
edged’d Sword.

At the same time that Mr. Churchill sent me your Letter to the Bishop, he sent
me likewise the Second Vindication of the Reasonableness of Christianity. If you know
the Author thereof (as I am apt to surmise you may) be pleased to let him
know, that I think he has done Edwards too much Honour in thinking him
worth his notice; for so vile a poor Wretch, certainly, never appeared in
Print. But, at the same time, tell him, that as this Vindication contains a fur-
ther Iillustration of the Divine Truths in the Reasonableness of Christianity, he
has the Thanks of me, and of all fair candid Men, that I converse with about
it.

In giving you the Opinion we have here of your Letter to the Bishop of Wor-
cester, I have rather chosen to let you know particularly that of some of our
Bishops with whom I converse; for this Rank, if any, might seem inclined to
favour their Brother, could they do it with any shew of Jusitce. And yet,
after all, I am told from London, that the Bishop is hammering out an Answ
er to you. Certainly some Men think, or hope the World will think, that
Truth always goes with the last Word.

You never write to me, that you do not raise new Expectations in my long-
ing Mind of partaking your Thoughts, on those noble Subjects you are upon.
Your Chapter concerning the Conduct of the Understanding, must needs be very
Sublime and Specious. Oh Sir! never more mention to me our Distance as
your Lofs: 'Tis my Disadvantage! 'tis my Unhappiness! I never before had
such Reason to deplore my hard Fate, in being condemned to this Prison of
an Island: But one day or other I will get loose, in spite of all the Fetters
and Clogs that incumber me at present. But if you did but know, in what a
Wood of Business I am engaged, (by the greatest part whereof I reap no other
Advantage than the Satisfaction of being Serviceable to my Friends) you
would pity me. But I hope soon to rid my Hands of a great part of this
Trouble, and then I shall be at more Liberty. 'Till which happy time, and
for ever, I remain

Your most faithful Friend,

and most humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. Locke.

Honoured dear SIR, Dublin, May 27. 1697.

The Hints you are pleased so Friendly to communicate to me, in your’s
of the 3d instant, concerning Mr. T——, are fresh Marks of your
Kindness and Confidence in me, and they perfectly agree with the Apprehen-
sions I had conceived of that Gentleman. Truly, to be free, and without
Reserve to you, I do not think his Management, since he came into this
City, has been so prudent. He has raifed against him the Clamours of all
Parties; and this, not so much by his Difference in Opinion, as by his un-
feasable Way of Discourling, Propagating, and Maintaining it. Coffee-
Houses, and publick Tables, are not proper Places for serious Discourses re-
lating to the most important Truths. But when all a Tincture of Vanity ap-
ppears in the whole Course of a Man’s Conversation, it disfigurs many that
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M M M m 2
may otherwise have a due Value for his Parts and Learning. I have known a Gentleman in this Town, that was a most strict Socinian, and thought as much out of the common Road as any Man, and was also known so to do; but then his Behaviour and Diffoure was attended with so much Modesty, Goodness, and Prudence, that I never heard him publicly confess'd or claim'd against, neither was any Man in danger of Conture, by receiving his Visits, or keeping him Company. I am very loth to tell you how far his otherwife with Mr. T—— in this place; but, I am persuaded it may be for his Advantage that you know it, and that you friendly admonish him of it, for his Conduct hereafter. I do not think that any Man can be dissenfaced with to dissemble the Truth, and full Perfusion of his Mind in Religious Truths, when duly called to it, and upon fitting Occasions: But I think, Prudence may guide us in the Choice of proper Opportunities, that we may not run our selves against Rocks to no purpose, and involve Men against us unnecessarily. Mr. T—— also takes here a great Liberty, on all occasions, to vouch your Patronage and Friendship, which makes many that read at him, rail also at you. I believe you will not approve of this, as far as I am able to judge, by your Jesting him off in your Letter to the Bishop of Worcester. But after all this, I look upon Mr. T—— as a very ingenious Man, and I should be very glad of any Opportunity of doing him Service, to which I think my self indispensibly bound by your Recommendation. One thing more I had almost forgot to intimate to you; That all here are mitionly at a Loss in guessing what might be the occasion of Mr. T——'s coming, at this time, into Ireland. He is known to be of no Fortune or Employ, and yet is observ'd to have a Substantiall, but from whence it comes, no one can tell certainly. These Things, joyn'd with his great Forwardness in appearing publick, makes People form the thousand Fancies. If you could give me Light into these Matters, as far as it may help me in my own Conduct, I should be much obliged to you.

By the Books which Mr. Cofie has translated, I perceive his Inclinations would be extremely agreeable to mine, and I should be very happy, could I give him, at present, any Encouragement to come into my poor Family. But I have a Gentleman with me, in the House, whose Dependence is wholly upon me; and I cannot find Fault with my little Boy's Progress under him. When I formerly made Enquiry from you about Mons. Le Clerc, I was in some Prospect of providing for this Gentleman whom I now have, by the favour of a good Friend, who is since dead. So that, at present, having no Opportunity of dissembling it to his Advantage, I cannot conveniently part with him. However, I do not know how soon it may be otherwise; and therefore be pleased, in the mean time, to let me know something farther of Mons. Cofie; as whether he be a complete Master of the Latin Tongue, or other Language; whether a Mathematician, or given to experimental Philosophy; what his Age, and where Educated? As to the Belles Lettres 1. Histoire, &c. Mons. Le Clerc has mentioned them already in his Character.

I am mightily pleased to find that some others have the same Thoughts of Mons. L—— as you and I, His Performances in Mathematicks have made all the World mistaken in him. But certainly in other Attempts I am of your Opinion, he no more understands himself, than others understand him.

Mr. Churchill favoured me with the Prefent of Sir R. Blackmore's K. Arthur. I had Pr. Arithus before, and read it with Admiration, which is not at all lessened by this second Piece. All our English Poets (except Milton) have been mere Ballad-makers, in comparison to him. Upon the Publication of his first Poem, I intimated to him, through Mr. Churchill's Hands, how excellently I thought he might perform a Philosophick Poem, from many Touches he gave in his Pr. Arithus, particularly from Methus' Song. And, I perceive by his Preface to K. Arithus, he has had the like Intimations from others, but rejects them, as being an Enemy to all Philosophick Hypotheses. Were I acquainted with Sir R. Blackmore, I could assure him, (and if you be so, I beseech you to tell him) that I am as little an Admirer of Hypotheses, as any Man, and never proposed that Thought to him, with a Design that a Philosophick Poem should run on such a Strain. A natural History of the great
and several of his Friends.

and admirable Phenomena of the Universe, is a Subject, I think, may afford sublime Thoughts in a Poem; and so far, and no farther, would I desire a Poem to extend.

You see I am carried beyond my designed Bounds, by the Mark on 'other side this Leaf. But as I am never weary of Reading Letters from you, so, I think, I am never tired of Writing to you. However, 'tis time I relieve you, by Subscribing my self entirely

Your most affectionate, and devoted Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

Dear SIR,

Have the Honour of your two obliging Letters of the 15th and 27th of May, wherein I find the same Mind, the same Affection, and the same Friendship, which you have so frankly, and so long, made me happy in. And, if I may guess, by the Paragraph which you transferred out of your Friend’s Letter into your’s of the 15th of May, I shall have reason to think your Kindness to me is grown infectious, and that by it you incite your Friends Understanding, and corrupt their Judgments in my favour. 'Tis enough for me, in so unequal a Match, if mighty Truth can keep me from a shameful Overthrow. If I can maintain my Ground, 'tis enough, against so redoubtable an Adversary, but Victory I must not think of. I doubt not but you are convinced of that by this time, and you will see how silly a thing it is for an unskilful Pigmy to enter the Lists with a Man at Arms, veried in the use of his Weapons.

My Health, and Business that I like as little as you do those you complain of, make me know what it is to want Time. I often resolve not to trouble you any more with my Complaints of the Distance between us, and as often impatiently break that Resolution. I never have any Thoughts working in my Head, or any new Project start in my Mind, but my Withe carry me immediately to you, and I desire to lay them before you. You may julIy think this carries a pretty severe Reflection on my Country, or my self, that in it I have not a Friend to communicate my Thoughts with. I cannot much complain of want of Friends to other Purposes. But a Man with whom one can freely seek Truth, without any regard to old or new, fashionable or not fashionable, but Truth merely for Truth’s sake, is what is scarce to be found in an Age; and such an one I take you to be. Do you think then what a Pleasure, what an Advantage it would be to me to have you by me, who have so much Thought, so much Cleanliness, so much Penetration, all directed to the same Aim which I propose to my self, in all the Ramblings of my Mind. I, on this Occasion, mention only the Wants that I daily feel, which makes me not so often speak of the other Advantages I should receive from the Communication of your own Notions, as well as from the Correction of mine. But, with this Repining, I trouble you too much; and, for the Favours I receive from you, thank you too little, and rejoice not enough in having such a Friend, though at a distance.

As to the Gentleman, to whom you think my friendly Admonishments may be of Advantage for his Conduct hereafter, I must tell you, that he is a Man to whom I never writ in my Life, and, I think, I shall not now begin. And, as to his Conduct, 'tis what I never so much as spoke to him of. That is a Liberty to be only taken with Friends and Intimates, for whose Conduct one is mightily concern’d, and in whose Affairs one intercedes himself. I cannot but with well to all Men of Parts and Learning, and be ready to afford them all the Civilities, and good Offices in my Power. But there must be other Qualities to bring me to a Friendship, and unite me in those stricter Ties of Concern. For I put a great deal of Difference between those whom I thus receive into my Heart and Affection, and those whom I receive
ceive into my Chamber, and do not treat there with a perfect Stranger; I perceive you think your self under some Obligation of peculiar Respect to that Person, upon the Account of my Recommendation to you; but certainly, this comes from nothing but your over-great Tenderness to oblige me. For if I did recommend him, you will find it was only as a Man of Parts and Learning for his Age, but without any intention that that should be of any other Consequence, or lead you any farther, than the other Qualities you should find in him, should recommend him to you. And therefore, whatsoever you shall, or shall not do for him, I shall no way intertoll my self in. I know, of your own self, you are a good Friend to those who deserve it of you; and for those that do not, I shall never blame your Neglect of them. The Occasion of his coming into Ireland now, I guess to be the Hopes of some Employment, now upon this Change of Hands there. I tell you, I guess, for he himself never told me any thing of it, nor so much as acquainted me with his Intentions of going to Ireland, how much sooner he vouches his Patronage and Friendship, as you are pleased to phrase it. And as to his Subsistence, from whence that comes, I cannot tell. I should not have waited so much of my Conversation with you, on this Subject, had you not told me it would oblige you to give you Light in thefe Matters, which I have done, as a Friend to a Friend, with a greater Freedom than I should allow my self to talk to another.

I shall, when I see Sir Rich. Blackmore, discourse him as you desire. There is, I with Pleasure find, a strange Harmony throughout, between your Thoughts and mine. I have always thought, that laying down, and building upon Hypotheses, has been one of the great Hindrances of Natural Knowledge; and I see your Notions agree with mine in it. And, though I have a great Value for Sir R. Blackmore, on several Accounts, yet there is nothing has given me a greater Esteem of him, than what he says about Hypotheses in Medicine, in his Preface to King Arthur, which is an Argument to me, that he understands the right Method of Practising Physick; and it gives me great hopes he will improve it, since he keeps in the only Way it is capable to be improved in; and has so publicly declared against the more easie, fashionable, and pleasing way of an Hypothesis, which, I think, has done more to hinder the true Art of Physick, which is the Curing of Diseasess, than all other Things put together; by making it learned, specious, and talkative, but ineffective to its great End, the Health of Mankind; as was visible in the Practice of Physick, in the Hands of the illiterate Americans, and the learned Physicians, that went thither out of Europe, stored with their Hypotheses, borrowed from Natural Philosophy, which made them indeed great Men, and admired in the Schools, but, in Curing Diseasess, the poor Americans, who had escaped those splendid Clogs, clearly out-went them. You cannot imagin how far a little Observation, carefully made, by a Man not tied up to the four Humours; or Sal, Sulphur and Mercury; or to Acid and Alkali, which has of late prevailed, will carry a Man in the Curing of Diseasess, though very Stubborn and Dangerous, and that with very little and common Things, and almost no Medicines at all. Of this I could, from my own Experience, convince you, were we together but a little while. But my Letter is too long already. When I am Writing to you, the Pleasure of Talking to you makes me forget you are a Man of Business, and have your Hands full. I beg your Pardon for it. 'Tis time to dismiss you. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your most affectionate, and
most faithful humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr.
Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

Dublin, July 20, 1697.

The latest Favour I received from my ever honoured Friend, was of the 15th of June, and I have it before me, to acknowledge with all due Gratitude. I was mightily surprized to see the Bishop of Worcester's Answer to your Letter; I thought he would have let that Matter fall, and have privately thanked you, and have said no more. This was the least I expected from him; for I think indeed, he might have gone farther, and made his publick Acknowledgments to you. This had been like a Man of Ingenuity and Candor; and by this he had been more valuable, in the Opinion of all I converse with here, than by the Shiftings, Windings, and Turnings he ues in his last Piece. You well observe the Bishop has shewn himself a Man at his Weapon; but I think him Aundabatomicum more pugnare, he winks as he fights. However, in the Pollicicr a he shews a Sample of the old Leven, and must not let you go without coupling his Observations on a Scotian Book, with his Confutation of your's; as if there were something so agreeable between them, that they cannot be well separated. This i such an indirect Practice, and seems such an invidious Infusion, that I cannot but give it the Name of Male.

I am obliged to you for the Confidence you put in me, by communicating your Thoughts concerning Mr. T——, more freely than you would do to every one. He has had his Opposers here, as you will find by a Book which I have sent to you by a Gentleman's Servant, to be left for you at your Lodging; wherein you will meet with a Pallace relating to your self, which, though with Decency, yet I fear will not redound much to the Author's Advantage; for, with very great Assurance, (an usual Companion of Ignorance) he undertakes to demonstratethe Immateriality of the Soul, and to shew the Fality of your Argumentation, wherein you assert, That we have no Proof, but that God may communicate a Power of Thinking to a certain System of Matter. But this is all but Affertion and Promise; we are so unhappy as yet to want this Demonstration from this Author, and I fear we shall ever want it from him; and, I believe, you will be of my Opinion when you read his Book. The Author is my Acquaintance; but two Things I shall never forgive in his Book; the one is the foul Language, and opprobrious Names he gives Mr. T——; the other is, upon several Occasions, calling in the Aid of the Civil Magistrate, and delivering Mr. T—— up to SECULAR Punishment. This, indeed, is a killing Argument; but some will be apt to say, Where the Strength of his Reason fail'd him, there he flies to the Strength of the Sword. And this minds me of a Busines that was very surprizing to many, even several Prelates in this Place, the Prefentment of some pernicious Books, and their Authors, by the Grand Jury of Middlesex. This is look'd upon as a Matter of dangerous Consequence, to make our Civil Courts Judges of Religious Doctrines; and no one knows, upon a Change of Affairs, whose Turn it may be next to be condemn'd. But the Example has been follow'd in our Countrie; and Mr. T——, and his Book have been present'd here, by a Grand Jury, not one of which (I am perfused) ever read one Leaf in Christianity non mysteriosus. Let the Sibyls for ever now be silent; a learned Grand Jury, directed by a learned Judge, does the Business much better. The Difenters here were the chief Promoters of this Matter; but, when I asked one of them, What if a violent Church of England Jury should present Mr. Baxter's Books, as Pernicious, and condemn them to the Flames by the common Executioner? He was sensible of the Error, and said, He wish'd it had never been done.

I must not forget to thank you for the Countenance I have received from my Lord Chancellor Melwian, since his coming into Ireland. I know 'tis all owing to your, and your Friends Endeavours. My Lord is a Perfon from whom the Kingdom expects very well, for hitherto his Management has been very promising. Mr. Burridge is his Chaplain, and expects very soon to
be settled in a Parish here in Dublin, and then he promises me to prosecute the Essay with Vigour.

My Brother gives you his most humble Service. He is told by Mr. Burridge, that you had sent him a Book in Medicine, but by what Hand, he could not inform him. He has such a Value for every Thing that comes from you, that he desired me to let you know, that no such Book came to his Hands, or else he had not all this while defer'd his Acknowledgements.

I perceive you are so happy as to be acquainted with Sir Richard Blackmore; he is an extraordinary Person, and I admire his two Prefaces as much as I do any Parts of his Books; the first, wherein he expouses the Lamentations and Immorality of our late Poetry, is incomparable; and the second, wherein he prosecutes the same Subject, and delivers his Thoughts concerning Hypothesis, is no less judicious. And I am wholly of his Opinion, relating to the latter. However, the History and Phenomena of Nature we may venture at; and this is what I propose to be the Subject of a Philosophick Poem. Sir Richard Blackmore has exquisite Touches of this Kind, diuers'd in many Places of his Books; (to pass over Mopas's Son) I'll instance one Particular, in the most profound Speculations of Mr. Newton's Philosophy, thus curiously touch'd in King Arthur, Book ix. pag. 243.

The Constellations shine at his Command,
He form'd their radiant Orbs, and with his Hand
He weigh'd, and put them off with such a Force,
As might preserve an everlasting Course.

I doubt not but Sir R. Blackmore, in these Lines, had a Regard to the Proportionment of the projective Motion to the Vis centripeta, that keeps the Planets in their continued Courses.

I have by me some Observations made by a judicious Friend of mine, on both Sir R. Blackmore's Poems; if they may be any ways acceptable to Sir R. I shall fend them to you; they are in the Comps of a Sheet of Paper. And, were it proper, I should humbly desire you to procure for me from Sir R. the Key to the Perfon's Names, in both his Poems; most of the first I have already, and a great many in the second, but many I also want, which I should be very glad to understand. But if herein I desire any thing disagreeable, I beg Sir Richard's Pardon, and defect.

Ever since you first mentioned to me, that Monf. Le Clerc might be inticed into Ireland by a moderate Encouragement, it has sat grievous on my Spirit, that it lay not in my Power to procure for him what might be worth his Acception. I should reckon it (next to your Friendship) one of the greatest Glories of my Life, that I could be able any ways to contribute to transplanting him hither. The other Day I ventured to mention it to a great Prelate here, the Bishop of ———. He was pleas'd to favour the Proposal immediately, and gave me Directions, that I should enquire whether Monf. Le Clerc would be willing to take Orders in our Church, and to submit to the Oaths and Injunctions thereof; and how far he is Master of the English Language. He told me, he doubted not but he might procure for him 150 or 200l. per Ann. in some Place of Ease and Retirement. Be pleas'd therefore, dear Sir, to let me be informed in these Particulars, and in whatever else you think requisite in managing this Affair.

I have protracted this Letter as if I had a Design to kill you, by tiring you to Death, I beg your Excuse for it. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.
Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

Dear Sirs,

If you have received my Reply to the Bishop, before this comes to your Hand, I shall need say no more to the first Paragraph of your obliging Letter of the 20th of July. Mr. Churchill tells me, he has taken Care you should have it with speed. I have order’d another to Mr. Burridge, who has, by his Undertaking, some Concernment now in my Essay. I am not delighted at all in Controversie, and think I could spend my Time to greater Advantage to my self. But, being attack’d, as I am, and in a way that sufficiently justifies your Remarks on it, I think every Body will judge I had Reason to defend my self; whether I have or no, so far as I have gone, the World must judge.

I think, with you, the Difsenters were best confider, That what is Sauce for a Goose, is Sauce for a Gander. But they are a sort of Men that will always be the same.

You thank me for what is owing to your own Worth. Every one who knows you, will think (if he judges right) that he receives as much Advantage as he gives by the Countenance he shews you. However, I am obliged by your Thanks to me, for, if I do not procure you as much Good as you are capable of receiving from any one that comes to you from hence, ’tis my Want of Ability, and not Want of Will. My Heart and Inclination, wherein the Friendship lies, will always be such, as I can presume, will not displease you, in a Man whom I am very sensible you love.

Here was, the last Year, a Book in Physick published by a young Lad not Twenty, who had never seen the University. It was about the Motion of the Muscles, with as good an Explication of it as any I have yet seen. I believe I might have spoke to Mr. Churchill to send your Brother one of them, for the sake of the Author; (for as to the Subject itself, I fear I shall never see it explained to my Satisfaction) whether he did it or no, I have not yet asked; but the Book itself is not worth your Brother’s Enquiry or Acknowledgment; though being written by such an Author, made it a kind of Curiosity: I should be very glad if I could do him here any Service of greater Importance. But I having now wholly laid by the Study of Physick, I know not what comes out new, or worth the Reading, in that Faculty. Pray give my humble Service to your Brother, and let me know whether he hath any Children, for then I shall think my self obliged to send him one of the next Edition of my Book of Education, which, my Bookfeller tells me, is, out of Print; and I had much rather be at Leisure to make some Additions to that, and my Essay of Human Understanding, than be employed to defend myself against the groundles, and, as others think, trifling Quarrel of the Bishop. But his Lordship is pleased to have it otherwise, and I must answer for myself as well as I can, till I have the good luck to be convinced.

I was not a little pleased to find what Thoughts you had concerning Hypotheses in Physick. Though Sir R. B.’s Vein in Poetry be what every Body must allow him to have an extraordinary Talent in, and though with you I exceeding valued his first Preface; yet I must own to you, there was nothing that I so much admired him for, as for what he says of Hypotheses in his last. It seems to me for right, and is yet so much out of the way of the ordinary Writers, and Practitioners in that Faculty, that it shews as great a Strength and Penetration of Judgment, as his Poetry has shewn Flights of Fancy; and therefore I was very glad to find in you the same Thoughts of it. And when he comes luckily in my way, I shall not forget your Wishes, and shall acquaint him with the Observations you mention. And the Key you defire I shall fend you, if it be fit to be asked of him, which I am at present in some Doubt of.

Though I could myself answer many of your Questions concerning Monf. Le Clerc; yet I have lent them to him himself, with the Reason of them. I have not yet received his Answer, the Expectation whereof has delayed my writing Vol. III.
writing to you for some time. In the mean time, till I hear from him, I thank you in his Name and my own.

I shall be very glad to hear from you how the Linnen Manufacture goes on, on that side the Water, and what Assistance the Parliament there is like to give to it, for I wish Prosperity to your Country, and, very particularly all manner of Happinefs to you. I am unfeignedly,

SIR,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

What I told you formerly of a Storm coming against my Book, proves no Fiction. Besides what you will see I have taken notice of in my Reply, Mr. Serjeant, a Popish Priest, whom you must needs have heard of, has bestowed a thick 8th upon my Essay, and Mr. Norris, as I hear, is writing hard against it. Shall I not be quite plain, think you, amongst so many notable Combatants, and the Lord knows how many more to come?

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honoured SIR,

My last to you was of July 20. since which time I have not had the Happines of a Line from you. But I am satisfied you are better employ'd; and indeed, when I see daily what Swarms of angry Wasps do arife against you (besides many which reach not our View in this place) I wonder not that you should be so far engaged as to have little time to throw away on me. Tother day I met with the last Effort of Mr. Edwards's Malice; I do now heartily pity the poor Wretch; he is certainly mad, and no more to be taken notice of hereafter, than the Railings of Oliver's Porter in Bethlem. I have seen also a Philosophical Writer against you, of another Strain, one J.S. that writes against all Ideiits; this Gentleman, though civil, yet to me is absolutely unintelligible; so unfortunate I am. Who he is I know not, but should be glad to learn from you; and what you think, in general, of his Book.

Mr. T——— is, at last, driven out of our Kingdom; the poor Gentleman, by his imprudent Management, had raised such an universal Outcry, that was even dangerous for a Man to have been known once to converse with him. This made all wary Men of Reputation decline seeing him; insomuch that at last he wanted a Meal's-Meal (as I am told) and none would admit him to their Tables. The little Stock of Money which he brought into this Country being exhausted, he fell to borrowing from any one that would lend him half a Crown, and run in Debt for his Wigs, Cloaths, and Lodging, (as I am inform'd;) and last of all, to compleat his Hardships, the Parliament fell on his Book, voted it to be burnt by the common Hangman, and ordered the Author to be taken into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, and to be prosecuted by the Attorney-General at Law. Hereupon he is fled out of this Kingdom, and none here knows where he has directed his course. I did believe you might be a Stranger to these Proceedings a great while, unless I had intimsted them to you; and that is one of my Designs in writing this to you.

I am here very happy in the Friendship of an honourable Person, Mr. Molyneux, who is an hearty Admireer and Acquaintance of yours. We never meet but we remember you; he sometimes, comes into my House, and tells me, 'tis not to pay a Visist to me, but to pay his Devotion to your Image that is in my Dining-Room.

I should be glad to hear farther from you concerning Mons. Le Clerc and Mons. Coffe, in relation to what I formerly writ to you concerning those Gentlemen. I am,

SIR,

Your most obliged, humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.
and several of his FRIENDS.

Mr. MOLYNEUX & Mr. LOCKE.

Honoured SIR,

Dublin, Oct. 4. 1697.

I perceive we were each of us mindful of t'other on the 11th of the last Month, for of that Date was your last to me, as you will find mine like-wise to you bore the same.

You have already answer'd some of my impertinent Enquiries in that Letter: You tell me therein, who if S. is that writes against you. I do not now wonder at the Confus'dness of his Notions, or that they should be unintelligible to me. I should have much more admired, had they been otherwise. I expect nothing from Mr. Sergeant but what is abstruse in the highest degree.

I look for nothing else from Mr. Norris; I thought that Gentleman had enough on't, in his first Attempt on your Essay; but he's over-run with Father Malebranche, and Plato, that 'tis in vain to endeavour to fet him right, and I give him up as an invincible Enemy.

But above all these, I should wonder at the Bishop of Worcester's Oblivion, did I not think that I partly know the Reason thereof. He has been an old Soldier in Controversies, and has hitherto had the good Luck of Victory; but now, in the latter end of his Wars, to be laid on his back (as he thinks the World would certainly say, unless he has the last Word) would wither all his former Laurels, and lose his Glory. Your Reply to him is not yet come to hand; but I can wait with the more Patience, because I am pretty well satisfied in the Matter already.

I am very glad to understand that we are to expect another Edition of your Education, with Additions. I never thought you writ too much on any Subject whatever.

I have formerly written to you, to know farther concerning Mons. Coke, who translated some of your Books into French. I fancy, by that Gentleman's Inclinations to your Works, he and I should agree very well. Pray let me know, whether to his Belles Lettres he has any Skill in the Mathematicks, Natural History, &c. As also what his Circumstances are, as to his Education, Parentage, &c. For, according to these, I may judge whether I can give him any Encouragement to come hither.

You had been troubled with this Letter sooner, but that I waited for the inclosed, to satisfy your Enquiry concerning our Linnen Manufacture. You will find thereby, that we have framed a Bill to be Enacted for the Encouragement thereof. This Bill is now before the Council of England, pursuant to our Constitution of Parliament. What Alterations, Additions, and Amendments it may receive there, we know not; but I am apt to think you will have the Consideration and Modelling thereof at your Committee of Trade. We are very sensible, that the Act we have drawn up, (whereof the inclosed are the Heads) is not so perfect and compleat as it may be, but this we thought a fair Beginning to so great an Attempt, and that Time must be given for a farther Progres, and carrying it higher, by additional Laws, as Occasion may require. The Woollen Manufacture of England was not Etablished at that high Pitch (to which now 'tis raised) by any one Law, or any one Generation. It must be so with us in Relation to our Linnen; but this, we hope, may be a fair Step towards it: Est quoddam praeire temis, &c.

James Hamilton of Tullymore, Esq; is an indefatigable Promoter of this Design, and I may say indeed the whole Scheme is owing to his Contrivance. He is an hearty Admireur of your's, and communicated to me the inclosed Abstract purposely for your Satisfaction; desiring me with it to give you his most humble Service, and to request of you your Thoughts concerning this Matter, by the first Leisure you can spare.

Whilst our House of Commons were framing this Bill, our Lords Justices communicated to us some Papers which they had received from the Lords Justices of England, laid before them by your Board. But these Papers coming in a little too late, when we had just closed the Bill, and a very little time before our last Adjournment for three Weeks; all we did with them

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was
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was to remit them again to our Lords Justices and Council, with the Houle's desire, that if their Lordships should think fit to except any Thing out of those Papers, and add it to our Act, whilst they had it before them, in order to be transmitted into England, their Lordships might do therein as they pleased, and the Houle would agree to any such Additions, when the Act came before us transmitted in due Form under the Seal of England. Whether the Lords Justices will make any such Additions out of those Papers, I cannot yet tell; but I am sure there were many Things in those Papers that highly deferred to be put in Execution.

My Brother gives you his most humble Service, and should be very proud of the Present of your Education. For though he has yet only two Daughters, yet he is in hopes of many Sons; and the Girls Minds require as much framing, as the Boys, and by the same Rules: And that I take to be the chief Part of Education. I am,

Yours most sincerely,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

My most honoured Friend,

Dublin, Oct. 28. 1697.

If Men could destroy by a Quill, as they say Porcupines do, I should think your Death not very far off. But whatever Venom they mix'd with their Ink against you, I hope it is not mortal; I am sure in my Opinion 'tis not the least harmful or dangerous. Your Reply to the Bishop of Worcester shews how vainly the mightiest Champion spends his Darts at you, and with what Force and Strength of Reason you return them on his own Head. But notwithstanding this, I verily believe he will offer again at his weak Efforts; for he that was so fully pok'd of his own Sufficiency, as to think he could deal with your first Letter to him, will certainly never lay down the Cudgel's till his Blood be about his Ears: And if he thought himself obliged in Honour to justify his first Blunders, much more will he think himself fo now, when he is thrown over Head and Ears in the Mire. To pass by all the rest of your Reply (wherein you have given him many a severe Wound) I think he is no where so clearly and disgracefully foil'd, as by the Conversation between you and your Friend concerning his Notions of Nature and Perfection. But above all, the Consequence you draw from thence, of his being obliged to write against his own Vindication of the Trinity, must needs wound him to the Heart; and indeed I do not see how 'tis possible for him to avoid the Force of that Blow, by all his Art and Cunning. Yet write he will, I am sure on't, and pour fourth an abundance of Words; but so he may for ever. I envy not the Place of his Amansaus.

But all this while I have forgot to return you my Acknowledgments for the Favour of your Book. I am extremely obliged to you for remembering me amongst your other Friends, whenever you are pleas'd to oblige the learned World with any of your happy Thoughts. I had no sooner perused them, but they were snatch'd out of my Hands by my Lord Chancellor, (to covetous are all Men of whatever comes from you) and he has them yet.

Amongst the other small Crafts that appears against you, I met with one J. H's State of England, in Relation to Coin and Trade. I hear the Author's Name is Hedges. He is much of a Clas in this Particular, with Mr. Serjeant, in Relation to your Essay, that is, both to me unintelligible.

The Inclusion is a Sample of what this Place produces against you: I wish you may not say, that it resembles our Mountains and Bogs, in being barren and useless. I have ventur'd to send you my short Answer thereto; for a longer I think it did not deserve. I have not seen the Bishop since this has pass'd; but we are so good Friends, that this Business will cause no Anger between us. I am

Your most obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

I have met with Mr. Locke's Reply to the Bishop of Worcester, and have had leisure to look it over here. I meddle not with the Controversy between them, but confess I am a little surpriz'd at what I find p. 95, and 96, where we have the Words: To talk of the Certainty of Faith, seems all one to me; as to talk of the Knowledge of Believing: And, when it is brought to Certainty, Faith is destroy'd: And, bring it to Certainty, and it ceases to be Faith. And he in Terms owns, p. 39. Wish me to know and to be certain, is the same Thing; what I know, that I am certain of, and what I am certain of, that I know. And, p. 92. Knowledge I find in my self, and I conceive in others, consists in the Perception of the Agreement or Disagreement of the immediate Object of the Mind in Thinking, which I call Ideas. And, p. 38. Certainty consists in the Perception of the Agreement or Disagreement of two Ideas. Now to me it seems, that according to Mr. Locke I cannot be said to know any thing except there be two Ideas in my Mind, and all the Knowledge I have must be concerning the Relation these two Ideas have to one another, and that I can be certain of nothing else; which, in my Opinion, excludes all Certainty of Sense, and of single Ideas, all Certainty of Consciousness, such as Willing, Believing, Knowing, etc. and, as he confess'd, all Certainty of Faith, and lastly, all Certainty of Remembrance, of which I have formerly demonstrat'd, as soon as I have forgot, or do not actually think of the Demonstration. For I suppose you are well aware, that in demonstrating Mathematical Propositions, 'tis not always from actual Perception of the Agreement of Ideas, that we assume other Propositions formerly demonstrat'd to infer the Conclusion, but from Memory: and yet we do not think our selves less certain on that Account. If this be the Importance of Mr. L's Words, as it seems to me to be, then we are not certain of the Acts of our Mind; we are not certain of any thing that remains in our Minds merely by the strength of our Memory; and lastly, we are not certain of any Proposition, though God and Man witness the Truth of it to us; And then judge how little Certainty is left in the World, and how near thislett comes to Mr. Toland's Proposition, That Authority or Testimony is only a Means of Information, not a Ground of Persuasion: For I must own, that I think I am only persuaded of the Truth of a Thing, in Proportion to the Certainty I have of it: And if Knowledge and Certainty be reciprocally the same, and consist in the Perception of the Agreement or Disagreement of two Ideas; where I do not perceive the same, though God and Man, nay the whole World should testify to me that they do agree or disagree, I cannot be certain of it. I must profess my self of another Opinion; and I think I am as certain there was such a Man as Mr. L. from the Testimony of you, and other Circumstances, tho' I perceive no Agreement or Disagreement in this Case between the two Ideas, to convince me of his Being; as that the three Angles of a straight-lin'd Triangle are equal to two right Angles, where I actually perceive the Agreement, or rather Equality: Or, that the Area of a Cycloid is equal to triple the generating Circle, of which I am certain by Memory, tho' I do not at present perceive the Demonstration, or any Agreement between the Ideas of the three Circles and a Cycloid, only remember that I once perceived it.

Let me farther add, That Agreement and Disagreement are Metaphorical Terms when applied to Ideas; for Agreement properly, I think, either signifies, first, a Connexion between two Persons; or, secondly, two Things fitting one another, as the two Parts of a Tally; or, thirdly, the Likeness of two Things, as of a Pair of Coach-horses; or, fourthly, the Aptitude of two Things to support or prefer one another. So several Meats agree with the Stomach; but I do not find, that in a Proposition, the Ideas have an Agreement in any of these Sense; and I rather think the old way of expressing this Matter ought to be retained. I learned in Sinigleius, that when the Species Intelligibilis of the Predicate was the same with the Species of the Subject, the one might be affirmed of the other: And when the Medius ter-
minus was the same with the one extreme Term in one of the Premisses, and the other extreme the same with it in the other of the Premisses, the one might be affirmed of the other in the Conclusion, because of the old Axiom, 

Qui sunt idem unum tertio, sunt idem inter se. You may use the Metaphorical Term of Agreement here instead of Identity; but Mr. L. has told us, p. 153. That Metaphorical Expressions (which seldom terminate in Truth) should be as much as possible avoided, when Men undertake to deliver clear and distinct Apprehensions, and exact Notions of Things.

I do find that Men’s Thoughts do not differ so much as their Words, and that most Men are of one Mind, when they come to understand one another, and have the same Views; and hence many Controversies are only Verbal. I doubt not but my Difference from Mr. L. in this Matter may be of the same Nature, and perhaps, if I had carefully read his Book of Human Understanding, I might perceive it; but I have neither Opportunity, Leiture, or Inclination to do so, and believe a great Part of the World to be in the same Circumstances with me; and I verily believe, that the Expressions I have noted in his Reply, will seem unwar to them as well as to me.

I do find he claims a Liberty that will not be allow’d him by all, p. 92, to phrase himself in his Terms, so they be used constantly in the same and a known Sense. I remember others have claimed the same Liberty under the Notion of making their own Dictionary; but I reckon the changing a Term, tho’ I declare my Sense, and forewarn the Reader of it, to be a very great Injury to the World; and to introduce a new one, where there is one altogether to signify the same Thing, equally injurious; and that a Man has only this Liberty when he introduces a new Thing, that has yet no Name. And I believe you fee my Reasons for being of this Opinion, and therefore shall not mention them. Let me only observe, that the want of this Caution seems to me to have brought most of Mr. L.’s Trouble on him. Words were indeed Arbitrary Signs of Things in those that first imposed them, but they are not to us. When we use the best Caution we can, we are apt to transgress in changing them; and when we do so out of Weakness, we must ask Pardon, but must not claim it as a Liberty, it being really a Fault. A few Minutes lying on my Hands, has given you this Trouble; and I know your Kindness to Mr. L. will not make it ungrateful to you, whilst it assures you that I am,

Your most affectionate humble Servant.

I could never comprehend any necessity for a Criterion of Certainty to the Understanding, any more than of one to the Eye, to teach it when it sees. Let the Eye be rightly disposed, and apply an Object to it, if duly apply’d, it will force it to see: And so apply an Object to an Understanding duly qualified, and if the Arguments or Object be as they ought to be, they will force the Understanding to assent, and remove all Doubts. And I can no more tell, what is in the Object, or Arguments, that ascertains my Understanding, than I can tell what it is in Light, that makes me see. I must say then, the fame God that ordered Light to make me see, ordered Truth, or rather certain Objects, to ascertained my Understanding; and I believe Mr. L can hardly give any other Reason why his Agreement, &c. of Ideas should cause Certainty.

Mr. Molyneux’s Answer to the Bishop.

My Lord,

I am extremely obliged to your Lordship, that having a few Minutes lying on your Hands in your Retirement from this Town, you are pleased to bellow them on my Friend and me. I should have acknowledged the Favour more early, had your Servant flaid for an Answer when he delivered your’s to me; but he was gone out of my Reach before I was aware of it.

And
And now, my Lord, all the Answer I shall trouble your Lordship with at present, is this; that your Lordship is much in the right on't, that had you read Mr. Locke’s Essay of Human Understanding more carefully and throughout, you had never made the Objections you raise against him in your Letter to me; for your Lordship would have found his fourth Book abundantly satisfactory in the Difficulties you propose, and particularly the 2d and 18th Chapters of the fourth Book, are a full Answer to your Lordship’s Letter.

But your Lordship says, you have neither Opportunity, Leisure, or Inclination to read the Essay. My Lord, I would not then have Leisure or Inclination to animadvert on a Book, that I had not (if not Inclination) at least Leisure to read. This, with Submission, I cannot but say is great Partiality. If your Lordship says, your Letter relates to his Reply to the Bishop of Worcester; neither will this do, in my humble Opinion; seeing your Lordship seems to furnish (as indeed you guess rightly) that the Essay might have for you right in this Matter. I am,

My Lord,
Your Lordship’s most humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

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Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, Decemb. 18. 1697.

Dear SIR,

This now above three Months since I heard from you, your last being of Sept. 11. You will therefore excuse my Impatience, if I can forbear no longer, and send this merely to know how you do. ’Tis an anguishing Thought to me, that you should be subject to the common Failities and Fate of Mankind; but it would be some Alleviation to my Trouble, that, if you are ill, I should know the worst of it. This has so wholly taken up my Mind at present, that I have no Inclination to write one Word more to you in this; but again, to repeat my Request to you, that you would let me know how you are; for till I know this, I am dissatisfied, I am extremely uneasy; but for ever shall be

Your most affectionate Admirer,

and devoted Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

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Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.


Dear SIR,

Your gentle and kind Reproof of my Silence, has greater Marks of true Friendship in it, than can be express’d in the most elaborate Professions, or be sufficiently acknowledg’d by a Man, who has not the Opportunity nor Ability to make those Returns he would. Though I have had less Health, and more Business since I writ to you last than ever I had for so long together in my Life; yet neither the one nor the other had kept me so long a Tranquit, had not the Concurrence of other Causes, drizz’d me on from Day to Day, in a Neglect of what I frequently purposed, and always thought my self obliged to do. Perhaps the Littlenefs my Indisposition constantly kept me in, made me too easily hearken to such Excuses; but the Expectation of hearing every Day from Monf. Le Clerc, that I might fend you his Answer, and the Thoughts that I should be able to fend your Brother an Account, that his curius Treatise concerning the Charter’s in Ireland was printed, were at least the Pretences that served to humour my Laziness. Business kept me
me in Town longer than was convenient for my Health: All the Day from my rising was commonly spent in that, and when I came home at Night, my Shorrness of Breath, and Panting for want of it, made me ordinarily so uneasy, that I had no Heart to do any thing; so that the usual Diversion of my vacant Hours forlook me, and Reading it self was a Burthen to me. In this Eftate I linger’d along in Town to December, till I betook my self to my wonted Refuge, in the more favourable Air and Retirement of this Place. That gave me presently Relief against the constant Oppression of my Lungs, whilst I fit still: But I find such a Weakness of them still remain, that if I stir ever so little, I am immediately out of Breath, and the very dressing or undressing me is a Labour that I am fain to ret after to recover my Breath; and I have not been once out of my Houfe since I came left hither. I with nevertheless that you were here with me to see how well I am: For you would find, that, sitting by the Fire’s side, I could bear my Part in discoursing, laughing, and being merry with you, as well as ever I could in my Life. If you were here (and if Wifhes of more than one could bring you, you would be here to Day) you would find three or four in the Parlour after Dinner, whom you would fay, pas’d their Afternoons as agreeably and as jocundly as any People you have this good while met with. Do not therefore figure to your self, that I am languishing away my last Hours under an uncabant Defpondency and the Weight of my Infirmitie. ‘Tis true, I do not count upon Years of Life to come, but I thank God I have not many uneasy Hours here in the four and twenty; and if I can have the Wit to keep my self out of the flitting Air of London, I see no Reason, but by the Grace of God, I may get over this Winter, and that terrible Enemy of mine may ufe me no worfe than the last did, which as severe, and as long as it was, let me yet see another Summer.

What you fay to me in your’s of the 4th of October, concerning the Bishop of W. . . . . you will, I believe, be confirm’d in, if his Answer to my Second Letter, of which I shall lay nothing to you yet, be got to you.

Mr. Cofle is now in the Houfe with me here, and is Tutor to my Lady Mafham’s Son. I need not, I think, answer your Questions about his Skill in Mathematicks and Natural History: I think it is not much; but he is an ingenuous Man, and we like him very well for our Purpofe; and I have a particular Obligation to you, for the Reafon why you enquired concerning him.

I come now to your’s of the 28th of October, wherein you have found by this time, that you prophesied right concerning the Bp. of W. . . . . , and if you can remember what you said therein, concerning Abundance of Words, you will not, I fuppofe, forbear smiling, when you read the firft Leaf of his last Answer.

If there be not an Evidence of Sense and Truth, which is apt and fifted to prevail on every human Understanding, as far as it is open and unprejudiced; there is at leat a Harmony of Understandings in some Men, to whom Sense and NonSense, Truth and Falhhood, appears equally in the respective Discourses they meet with. This I find perfectly fo between you and me, and it ferves me to no fmall Purpofe to keep me in Countenance. When I fee a Man difinterested as you are, a Lover of Truth as I know you to be, and one that has Clearness and Coherence enough of Thought to make long Mathematical, i.e. pure Deductions, pronounce of J. H. and J. S’s Books, that they are unintelligible to you; I do not pretendly condemn my felf of Pride, Prejudice, or a perfect Want of Understanding, for laying aside thoſe Authors, because I can find neither Sense nor Coherence in them. If I could think that Discourses and Arguments to the Understanding, were like the several Sorts of Cates to different Palates and Stomachs, some nauseous and deftructive to one, which are pleafant and reforative to another; I should no more think of Books and Study, and should think my Time better employ’d at Puff-pin than in Reading or Writing. But I am convinced of the contrary: I know there is Truth opposite to Falhhood, that it may be found if People will, and is worth the seeking, and is not only the most valuable, but the pleafantefl Thing in the World. And therefore I am no more troubled
troubled and disturb'd with all the Dust that is raised against it, than I should
be to see from the Top of an high Steeple, where I had clear Air and Sun-
shine, a Company of great Boys or little Boys (for 'tis all one) throw up Dust
in the Air, which reach'd not me, but fell down in their own Eyes.

Your Answer to your Friend the Bishop was certainly a very fit and full
one to what he had said, and I am obliged to you for it: But he nevertheless
thought his Objections so good, that I imagine he communicated them to my
Antagonist; for you will find the very same in his Answer, and almost in
the same Words. But they will receive an Answer at large in due Time.

It will not be at all necessary to say any thing to you concerning the
Linnen Bill, which made so great a Part of your Letter of Oct. 4th, and was
the whole Buncines of that of Oct. 16th. You know (I believe) as well as I
what became of that Bill. Pray return my humble Thanks to Mr. Hamilton
for his kind Exprouisons concerning me, and for the Favour he did me in thinking
me any ways able to serve his Country in that Matter. I am so concern'd
for it, and zealous in it, that I desire you to assure him, and to believe your
self, that I will neglect no Pains or Interest of mine to promote it as far as
I am able; and I think it a Shame, that whilest Ireland is so capable to pro-
duce Flax and Hemp, and able to nourish the Poor at so cheap a Rate, and
consequently to have their Labour upon so easie Terms, that so much Money
should go Yearly out of the King's Dominions, to enrich Foreigners, for
those Materials, and the Manufactures made out of them, when his People of
Ireland, by the Advantage of their Soil, Situation, and Plenty, might have
every Penny of it, if that Buncines were but once put into a right Way. I
perceive by one of your Letters, that you have seen the Proposals for an
Act lent from hence. I would be very glad that you and Mr. Hamilton, or
any other Man, whom you knew able, and a disinterested well-wisher of his
Country, would consider them together, and tell me whether you think that
Project will do, or wherein it is either impracticable or will fail, and
what may be added or alter'd in it to make it effectual to that End. I know,
to a Man a Stranger to your Country, as I am, many Things may be over-
seen, which by Reason of the Circumstances of the Place, or State of the
People, may in Practice have real Difficulties. If there be any such in re-
gard of that Project, you will do me a Favour to inform me of them. The
short is, I mightily have it upon my Heart to get the Linnen Manufacture
establisht in a flourishing way in your Country. I am sufficiently sensible
of the Advantages it will be to you, and shall be doubly rejoiced in the Suc-
cess of it, if I should be so happy that you and I could be instrumental in it,
and have the chief Hand in forming anything that might conduce to it.

Imply your Thoughts therefore I beseech you about it, and be assured, what
Help I can give to it here shall be as readily and as carefully employ'd, as
if you and I alone were to reap all the Profit of it.

I have not yet heard a Word from Mons. Le Clerc, in Answer to my En-
quires, and the Questions you ask'd, or else you had heard sooner from me.
I must beg you to return my Acknowledgments to Mr. Malewirth in the ci-
vilest Language you can find, for the great Complement you sent me from
him. If he could see my Confusion as often as I read that Part of your Letter,
that would express my Sense of it better than any Words I am Master of.
I can only say that I am his most humble Servant, and I have been not a little
troubled, that I could not meet with the Opportunities I sought to improve
the Advantages I propos'd to my self, in an Acquaintance with so ingenious
and extraordinary a Man as he is.

I read your Brother's Treatise, which he did me the Honour to put into
my Hands, with great Pleasure, and thought it so unreasonable to rob the
Publick of so grateful a Prefent by any Delay of mine, that I forthwith put
it into Dr. Sloane's Hand to be publish'd, and I expected to have seen it in
Print long e'er this Time. What has retarded it I have not yet heard from
Dr. Sloane, who has not writ to me since I came into the Country: But I
make no Doubt but he takes Care of so curious a Piece, and the World will
have it speedily. I must depend on you, not only for excusing my Silence
to your self, but I must be obliged to you to excute me to your Brother for
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not
Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke,

not having written to him my self to thank him for the Favour he did me. I hope e'ter long to find an Opportunity to tell him my Respects to him more in Form, which he would find I have in Reality for him, if any Occasion of that Kind should come in my Way. In the mean time I believe, if he saw the Length of this Letter, he would think it enough for one of a Family to be per-

fected by so voluminous a Scribler, and would be glad that I spared him. I am both his, and,

Dear SIR,

Your most affectionate, and,

most humble Servant,

John Locke.

Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

Dear SIR,

I N the midst of my Trouble for your long Silence, soon after I had writ
to two or three Friends to enquire after your Health, I was happily re-
lieved by your's of last January the 19th from Oates. I am heartily concern'd
that you pass'd over the last Winter with so much Indisposition; but I rejoice
with you, that you have escap'd it, and hope you will yet pass over many more.
I could make to you great Complaints likewise of my own late Illness; but
they are all drown'd in this One, that I am hinder'd for a while in seeking a
Remedy for them. I fully proposed to be at the Bath this Spring early,
but I am disappointed at present; and cannot stir from hence till my Lord
Chancellor Methwin return to this Kingdom. It has pleased the young Lord
Woodstock, by Directions from his Majesty, to shue my Lord Chancellor
Methwin, Mr. Van Hamrigh present Lord Mayor of this City, and my self,
to be his Guardians, and Managers of his Affairs in this Kingdom. Noth-
ing can be done without two of us; so I am ty'd by the Leg. Were it only
in my Health that I am disappointed, I could the easier bear it; but I am de-
lay'd from embracing my dear Friend, which is most grievous of all. Yet I
hope it will be so but for a time; for if my Lord Chancellor comes over in
any convenient Season, I will certainly get loose. But this I cannot hope for
till the Parliament in England rises. I should be glad to know from you when
that is expected; for indeed they bear very hard upon us in Ireland. How
justly they can bind us without our Conven and Representatives, I leave the Au-
tor of the two Treatises of Government to consider. But of this I shall trouble
you farther another time, for you will here more hereafter.

I have seen the Bishop of Worcester's Answer to your second Letter. 'Tis of a
Piece with the rest, and you know my Thoughts of them already. I begin
to be almoost of old Hob's Opinion, That were it Men's Interets, they would
question the Truth of Euclid's Elements, as now they contest almost as full
Evidences.

I am very glad Mons. Cofie is so well settled as you tell me: I design'd fully
to invite him over hither; and if you know any other ingenious Frenchman
of that Sort, or any such hereafter comes to your Knowledge, I should be
very glad you would give me Intimation thereof.

I had certainly answer'd that Part of your Letter relating to the Linnen
Manufacture, but that I daily expected to do it more effectually by Mr. Ha-

milton himself, who gave me Hopes of his going into England, and was re-

folvd personally to wait on you about it. He is Master of the whole My-

tery (and that I cannot pretend to be) and would have discours'd you more
satisfactorily concerning it. I promised him a Letter to you whenever he
goers over, which will now be very speedily, and then I doubt not but you will
concert Matters together much for the Good of this poor Kingdom.

Dublin, March 15. 1693.
and several of his Friends.

My Brother gives you his most humble Service, and thanks you for the Care you took about his Discourse concerning Chafters. We hear from Dr. Sloan that it is printed. I am

Your most humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

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Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

Dear SIR,

There is none of the Letters that ever I received from you gave me so much trouble as your laft of March 15. I was told that you resolved to come into England early in the Spring, and lived in the Hopes of it more than you can imagine. I do not mean that I had greater hopes of it than you can imagine; but it enliven'd me; and contributed to the Support of my Spirits more than you can think. But your Letter has quite defeated me again. The Thing I above all things long for, is to see, and embrace, and have some discourse with you before I go out of this World. I meet with too few capable of Truth, or worthy of a free Conversation, such as becomes Lovers of Truth, that you cannot think it strange if I with for some time with you, for the exposing, fitting, and rectifying of my Thoughts. If they have gone any thing farther in the Discovery of Truth than what I have already published, it must be by your encouragement that I must go on to finish some things that I have already begun, and with you I hoped to discourse my other yet crude and imperfect Thoughts, in which, if there were any thing useful to Mankind, if they were opened and deposited with you, I know them safe lodg'd for the Advantage of Truth some time or other. For I am in Doubt whether it be fit for me to trouble the Press with any new Matter; or if I did, I look on my Life as so near worn out, that it would be folly to hope to finish any Thing of Moment in the small Remainder of it. I hop'd therefore, as I said, to have seen you, and unravel'd to you that which lying in the Lump unexplicated in my Mind, I fear not yet know what it is my felt; for I have often had Experience, that a Man cannot well judge of his own Notions, till either by setting them down in Paper, or in disconcerting them to a Friend, he has drawn them out, and as it were spread them fairly before himself. As for Writing, my ill Health gives me little Heart or Opportunity for it; and of seeing you I begin now to despair: And that which very much adds to my Affliction in the Cafe is, that you neglect your own Health on Considerations, I am sure, that are not worth your Health; for nothing, if Expectations were Certainties, can be worth it. I see no likelihood of the Parliament's rising yet this good while; and when they are up, who knows whether the Man, you expect to relieve you, will come to you presently, or at all. You must therefore lay by that Business for a while which detains you, or get some other Body into it, if you will take that Care of your Health this Summer which you designed, and it seems to require: And if you defer it till the next, who knows but your Care of it may then come too late. There is nothing that we are such spendthrifts of as of Health; we spare every thing sooner than that, though whatever we sacrifice it to is worth nothing without it. Pardon me the Liberty I take with you: You have given me an Interest in you; and it is a Thing of too much Value to me, to look coldly on whilst you are running into any Inconvenience or Danger, and say nothing. If that could be any Spur to you to hasten your Journey hither, I would tell you I have an Answer ready for the Press, which I should be glad you should see first. It is too long: The Plenty of Matter of all sorts, which the Gentleman affords me, is the Cause of its too great Length, though I have passed by many Things worthy of Remarks: But what may be spared of what there is, I would be glad should be blotted out by your Hand. But this between us.

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Amongst
Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke,

Amongst other Things I would be glad to talk with you about before I die, is that which you suggest at the bottom of the first Page of your Letter. I am mightily concern'd for the place meant in the Question, you say you will ask the Author of the Treatise you mention, and with extremely well to it; and would be very glad to be inform'd by you what would be best for it, and debate with you the Ways to compose it. But this cannot be done by Letters, the Subject is of too great Extent, the Views too large, and the Particulars too many to be so managed. Come therefore yourself, and come as well prepar'd in that matter as you can. But if you talk with others on that Point there, mention not me to any body on that Subject; only let you and I try what Good we can do for those whom we with well to. Great Things have sometimes been brought about from small Beginnings well laid together.

Pray present my most humble Service to your Brother; I should be glad of an Opportunity to do him some Service. That which he thanks me for in my Care about his Discourse concerning the Chafers, was a Service to the Publick, and he owes me no Thanks for it. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your faithful, and most humble Servant,

John Locke.

Mr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

Most honoured dear SIR,

I have formerly had Thoughts of coming into England, as I have told you, on occasion of my Health. But since the Receipt of your's of April 6. which came to my Hands but this Morning, that Consideration weighs but little with me. The Desire of seeing and conversing with you, has drowned all other Expectations from my Journey, and now I am resolved to accomplish it, let what will come on't. Your Persuasions and Arguments, I think, have something in them of Incantation: I am sure their Charms are so powerful on me on all Occasions, I can never resist them. I shall therefore embrace you, God willing, as soon as ever the Parliament of England rises. I fix this Period now, not so much in Expectation of our Chancellor's Arrival, as on another Account. My dear Friend must therefore know, that the Consideration of what I mention'd in my last, from the incomparable Author of the Treatise, &c. has moved me to put Pen to Paper, and commit some Thoughts of mine on that Subject to the Press in a small 8vo, entitled, The Cafe of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England, stated. This you'll lay is a nice Subject, but I think I have treated it with that Caution and Sublimity, that it cannot jujilly give any Offence; infomuch that I erouple not to put my Name to it, and, by Advice of some good Friends here, have premis'd to dedicate it to his Majesty. I have ordered some of them to Mr. Chartelot to be presented to you, and some of your Friends; and they are now upon the Road towards you. I have been very free in giving you my Thoughts on your Pieces; I should be extremely oblig'd to you for the like Freedom on your Side upon mine. I cannot pretend this to be an accomplish'd Performance, it was done in Haste, and intended to overtake the Proceedings at Westminster; but it comes too late for that: What Effect it may possibly have in Time to come, God and the wise Council of England only knows; but were it again under my Hands, I could considerably amend and add to it. But till I either see how the Parliament at Westminster is pleased to take it, or till I see them riven, I do not think it advisable for me to go on 't other side the Water. Tho' I am not apprehensive of any Mischief from them, yet God only knows what Refsentments cautious Men may take on such Occasions.

My
My Brother gives you his most respectful Service: He has now ready a Discourse on our Giant’s Causeway, which indeed is a stupendous natural Rarity: He has addressed it to Dr. Lifter: but you will soon see it in the Translations.

Mr. Burridge goes on now with some Speed: I had lately an Occasion of writing to Mr. Churchill, and I gave him an Account of his Progress. I hope the whole will be finished soon after Midsummer; and indeed in my Opinion he performs it incomparably. I am,

Dear SIR,
Your most affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLINEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLINEUX.

Dear SIR,
London, 9 July, 1698.

I am just come to London, where your former Promise, and what Mr. Churchill since tells me, makes me hope to see you speedily. I long mightily to welcome you hither, and do remit to that happy Time, abundance that I have to say to you. For I am,

Dear SIR,
Your most affectionate humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLINEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honoured dear SIR,
Dublin, Sept. 20. 1698.

I arrived here safely the 15th Instant, and now that the Ruffling and Fatigue of my Journey is a little over, I sit down to a Task, which I must confess is the hardest I was ever under in my Life; I mean, expressing my Thanks to you suitable to the Favours I received from you, and suitable to the inward Sense I have of them in my Mind. Were it possible for me to do either, I should in some measure be satisfied; but my Inability of paying my Debts, makes me ashamed to appear before my Creditor. However, thus much with the strictest Sincerity I will venture to assert to you, that I cannot recollect through the whole Course of my Life, such signal Instances of real Friendship, as when I had the Happiness of your Company for five Weeks together in London. Tis with the greatest Satisfaction imaginable, that I recollect what then passed between us, and I reckon it the happiest Scene of my whole Life. That Part thereof especially, which I pass’d at Oates, has made such an agreeable Impression on my Mind, that nothing can be more pleasing. To all in that excellent Family, I beseech you, give my most humble Respects. Tis my Duty to make my acknowledgements there in a particular Letter; but I beg of you to make my Excuse for omitting it at this time, because I am a little press’d by some Business that is thrown upon me since my Arrival. To which also you are obliged for not being troubled at present with a more tedious Letter from,

SIR,
Your most obliged,
and entirely affectionate Friend and Servant,

WILL. MOLINEUX.

Mr.
**Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke,**

**Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.**

London, Sept. 29, 1698.

Dear SIR,

Your's of the 20th has now discharged me from my daily Employment of looking upon the Weathercocks and hearkening how loud the Wind blow'd. Though I do not like this Distance, and such a Ditch between us, yet I am glad to hear that you are safe and found on the other side the Water. But pray you speak not in so magnificent and courtly a Style of what you received from me here. I lived with you, and treated you as my Friend, and therefore used no Ceremony, nor can receive any Thanks but what I owe you doubly, both for your Company, and the Pains you were at to bellow that Happines on me. If you keep your Word, and do me the same Kindness again next Year, I shall have Reason to think you value me more than you say, though you say more than I can with Modesty read.

I find you were befriended with Business when you writ your Letter to me, and do not wonder at it; but yet for all that, I cannot forgive your Silence concerning your Health and your Son. My Service to him, your Brother, and Mr. Burridge, and do me the Justice to believe, that I am with a perfect Affection,

Dear SIR,

Your most humble and most faithful Servant,

John Locke.

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**Mr. Locke to Mr. Burridge.**

Oates, October 27, 1698.

You guessed not amiss, when you said in the beginning of your's of the 13th Instant, that you gave me the Trouble of a Letter: for I have received few Letters in my Life, the Contents whereof have so much troubled and afflicted me, as that of your's. I parted with my excellent Friend when he went from England, with all the Hopes and Promise of my self of seeing him again, and enjoying him longer in the next Spring. This was a Satisfaction that helped me to bear our Separation; and the short Tast I had of him here, in this our first Interview, I hoped would be made up in a longer Conversation, which he promised me the next Time: But it has served only to give me a greater Sense of my Loss, in an eternal Farewel in this World. Your earlier Acquaintance may have given you a longer Knowledge of his Virtue and excellent Endowments, a fuller Sight or greater Esteem of them, you could not have than I. His Worth and his Friendship to me, made him an inestimable Treasure, which I must regret the Loss of, the little Remainder of my Life, without any Hopes of repairing it any Way. I should be glad if what I owed the Father could enable me to do any Service to his Son. He deservers it for his own Sake (his Father has more than once talked to me of him) as well as for his Father's. I desire you therefore to assure those who have the Care of him, that if there be any Thing wherein I at this Distance may be any way serviceable to young Mr. Molyneux, they cannot do me a greater Pleasure than to give me the Opportunity to shew, that my Friendship died not with him.

Pray give my most humble Service to Dr. Molyneux and to his Nephew. I am

SIR,

Your most faithful and humble Servant,

John Locke.

Dr.
Dr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

Dublin, Aug. 27. 1692.

Sir,

I’m very sensible of your great Civility in remembering me upon so short an Acquaintance as I had with you in Holland so long time since; and I assure you without any Complement, I reckon it amongst the most fortunate Accidents of my Life, my so luckily falling into your Conversation, which was so candid, diverting and instructive, that I still reap the Benefit and Satisfaction of it. Some Years after I left you in Holland, upon my Return for England I contracted no small Intimacy with Dr. Sydenham, on the Account of having been known to you his much esteemed Friend, and I found him so accurate an Observer of Diseases, so thoroughly skill’d in all useful Knowledge of his Profession, and withal so communicative, that his Acquaintance was a very great Advantage to me: And all this I chiefly owe to you, Sir, besides the Information of many useful Truths, and a great deal of very pleasing Entertainment I have met with, in the Perusal of your lately published Writings: So that on many Accounts I must needs say, there are very few Men in the World, to whom I can with the like Sincerity profess my self to be, as I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most real Friend, and

very humble and obliged Servant,

Tho. Molyneux.

Mr. Locke to Dr. Molyneux.

Oates, Nov. 1. 1692.

Sir,

The Indisposition of my Health, which drove me out of London, and keeps me still in the Country, must be an Excuse for my so long Silence. The very great Civility you express to me in your Letter, makes me hope your Pardon for the Slowness of my Answer, whereby I hope you will not measure the Esteem and Respect I have for you. That your own distinguishing Merit, amongst the rest of my Countrymen I met with at Leyden, has so settled in me, that before the Occasion your Brother’s Favour lately gave me to inquire after you, I often remember’d you; and ’twas not without Regret I considered you at a Distance that allow’d me not the Hopes of renewing and improving my Acquaintance with you. There being nothing of value so much, as ingenious knowing Men, think it not strange that I laid hold on the first Opportunity, to bring myself again into your Thoughts. You must take it as an Exercise of your Goodness drawn on you by your own Merit: For whatever Satisfaction I gain to myself in having recovered you again, I can propose no Advantage to you, in the Offer of a very useful and infirm Acquaintance, who can only boast that he very much esteems you.

That which I always thought of Dr. Sydenham living, I find the World allows him now he is dead, and that he deferred all that you say of him. I hope the Age has many who will follow his Example, and by the way of accurate practical Observation, as he has so happily begun, enlarge the History of Diseases, and improve the Art of Physick, and not by speculative Hypotheses fill the World with useless, though pleasing Visions. Something of this Kind permit me to promise my self one Day from your Judicious Pen. I know nothing that has so great an Encouragement from the good of Man-kind as this.

I beg you to present my most humble Service to your Brother, whom I forbear now to interrupt, in the midst of his Parliamentary Affairs, whereof I know a great Part must fall to his Share, with my Thanks for the Favour of
of his of the 15th of Oct. which lately found me out safe here. Let him
know that I am exceedingly sensible of the Obligation, and shall at large
make my Acknowledgments to him as soon as good Manners will allow it.
I am,

SIR,
Your most humble, and most faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Dr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

Dublin, Dec. 20. 1692.

I am much concerned to hear you have your Health no better, and on this
Occasion cannot but deplore the great Losses the intellectual World in
all Ages has suffered by the strongest and foundest Minds polluting the most
infirm and sickly Bodies. Certainly there must be some very powerful Cause
to this in Nature, or else we could not have so many Instances, where the
Knife cuts the Sheath, as the French materially express it: And if so, this
must be reckoned among the many other inseparable Miseries that attend hu-
man Affairs.

I could wish the Physician's Art were so powerful and perfect, as in some
Mesure to prevent so great an Evil; but we find where once Nature, or the
Economia Animalis of the Body is so depraved, as not to co-operate with
Medicine, all Remedies, and the Courses of them prove wholly ineffectual,
or to very little Purpose. But still the more imperfect Physick is, so much the
more is owing to those, who the least improve so difficult a Province, which
certainly has been considerably advanced by some late English Authors; and
that puts me in Mind to desire of you your Thoughts, or what other learned
Physicians you converse with, concerning Dr. Morton and his late Exer-
citations on Fevers. As for his General Theory of them, I esteem it, as all others of
this Kind, a sort of mere waking Dream, that Men are strangely apt to fall
into, when they think long of a Subject, beginning quite at the wrong End;
for by framing such Conjectures in their Fancies, they vainly think to give their
Understandings Light, whilst the Things themselves are still, and perhaps
ever must remain in Darkness.

In his first Exercitation that treats of Agues, I don't find he has said any
Thing very material or worth Notice, that the World did not sufficiently know
before, unless it were some Hiftories of the irregular Shapes and Symptoms
this Distemper appears under, which I think may be very instructive to the
Physician, and of great Ease and Advantage to the Sick.

But his practical Remarks in his second Exercitation about continuing and
remitting Fevers, if they be judiciously founded upon many and steady Obser-
vations, so that they may safely pass into a Rule, must certainly be of great
Moment in directing the Management and Cure of Fevers. I confess my
Experience in this Distemper, as yet falls something too short for to determine
positively, whether all his Observations be real and well grounded; but as far
as I can judge at present, several of them do hold good.

I remember to have heard Dr. Morton was once a Presbyterian Preacher; and
though he were, this does not make him a jot the less capable in above 20
Years Practice to have carefully observed the Accidents that naturally occur in
the Progress of a Disease; and if he be but a true and judicious Register, 'tis
all I desire from him.

You see I have taken great Freedom in giving a Character according to my
Apprehensions of this Author, but 'tis only to encourage you to use the same
Liberty; for if at your Leisure you would let me know your own Thoughts,
or what other candid Men say concerning him and his Methods of Cure, or
any other useful Tract that comes Abroad, you will extremely oblige,

SIR,
Your very obedient humble Servant,

T. MOLYNEUX.
Mr.
Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

SIR,

Oate, Jan. 20. 1697.

I must acknowledge the care you take of my health, in a way wherein you so kindly apply to my mind; and if I could persuade my self that my weak constitution was owing to that strength of mind you ascribe to me, or accompanied with it, I should find therein, if not a remedy, yet a great relief against the infirmities of my body. However, I am not the less obliged to you so friendly an application; and if the cordial you prescribe be not to be had (for I know none equal to a judicious and capacious mind) your kindness is not to be blamed, who I am confident with me that satisfaction, or any thing else that could contribute to my health.

The doctor, concerning whom you enquire of me, had, I remember, when I lived in town and convers'd among the physicians there, a good reputation amongst those of his own faculty. I can say nothing of his late book of fevers, having not read it my self, nor heard it spoke of by others; but I perfectly agree with you concerning general theories, that they are for the most part but a fort of waking dreams, with which, when men have warm'd their own heads, they pass into unquestionable truths, and then the ignorant world must be set right by them. Tho' this be, as you rightly obverse, beginning at the wrong end, when men lay the foundation in their own fancies, and then endeavour to suit the phenomena of diseases, and the cure of them, to those fancies. I wonder that, after the pattern Dr. Sydenham has set them of a better way, men should return again to that romance way of phyllick. But I see it is easier and more natural for men to build castles in the air of their own, than to survey well those that are to be found standing. Nicely to observe the history of diseases in all their changes and circumstances, is a work of time, accuracy, attention and judgment, and wherein if men, through prepossession or obstinacy, mistake, they may be convinced of their error, by uncertain nature and matter of fact, which leaves lea room for the subtlety and dispute of words, which serves very much instead of knowledge in the learned world, where methinks wit and invention has much the preference to truth. Upon such grounds as are the establishment history of diseases, hypotheses might with less danger be erected, which I think are so far useful, as they serve as an art of memory to direct the physician in particular cases, but not to be rely'd on as foundations of reasoning, or verities to be contended for; they being, I think I may say all of them, suppositions taken up gratis, and will so remain, till we can discover how the natural functions of the body are performed, and by what alteration of the humours or defects in the parts they are hinder'd or disorder'd. To which purpose I fear the galenists four humours, or the chymists sal, sulphur, and mercury, or the late prevailing invention of acid and alcali, or whatever hereafter shall be substitut'd to these with new applause, will upon examination be found to be but so many learned empty sounds, with no precise determinate signification. What we know of the works of nature, especially in the constitution of health, and the operations of our own bodies, is only by the sensible effects, but not by any certainty we can have of the tools the uses, or the ways the works by. So that there is nothing left for a physician to do, but to observe well, and to by analogy argue to like cases, and thence make to himself rules of practice: And he that is this way most sagacious, will, I imagine, make the best physician, though he should entertain distinct hypotheses concerning distinct species of diseases, subservient to this end, that were inconsistent one with another, they being made use of in those several sorts of diseases, but as distinct arts of memory in those cases. And I the rather say this, that they might be rely'd on only as artificial helps to a physician, and not as philosophical truths to a naturalist. But, sir, I run too far, and must beg your pardon for talking so freely on a Subject you understand so much better than I do. I hope the way of treating of diseases, which with so much approbation Dr. Sydenham had introduced into the world, would have
Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke,

have beaten the other out, and turned Men from Visions and Wrangling to Observation, and endeavouring after settled Practices in more Diseases, such as I think he has given us in some. If my Zeal for the saving Men's Lives, and preserving their Health (which is infinitely to be prefer'd to any Speculations ever so fine in Physick) has carried me too far, you will excuse it in one who wishes well to the Practice of Physick, though he meddles not with it. I wish you, and your Brother, and all yours, a very happy New-Year, and am,

SIR,

Your most humble and faithful Servant,

John Locke

Dr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

Sir,

Dublin, Nov. A. 1693.

For a While I defer'd making any Return for the Favour of your last Letter, on the Account I understood by one of yours to my Brother, that I was suddenly to expect another Obligation from you, by the Receipt of your Treatise of Education, which Yesterday first came to my Hands; and now I return you my hearty Thanks for both your Kindnesses together, of which should I express the real Thoughts I have, I should seem to run either into extravagant Complement, or gross Flattery: But thus much I must needs say, that as your Letter certainly contains in short, the only true Method for the prosecuting the curing Part of the Practice of Physick, and the sure Way of improving it; a Matter of the chiefest Good in relation to Men's Bodies: So your Book of Education lays down such Rules for the breeding of Youth, as if followed, must necessarily prove of the greatest Advantage to the better Part of Man, the Mind; by infensibly disposing it to an habitual Exercise of what is serious and laudable, and the Acquisition of all such Knowledge as is necessary for one's own Good, or that of others whom we are to converse with. Whence I can't but think, had those of our own Countries but a thorough Persuation, and a right Sense of the great Benefit that redounds from a careful Education, so as universally to put it in Practice, without Question we should soon become a Nation as remarkably different from the rest of the World for the inward Endowments of our Minds, and the Rectitude of our Manners, as the Negro's, are from the rest of Mankind for their outward Shape and Colour of Body. But this I fear is a Happiness only to be wished for; however, he that makes it his Endeavour to promote so great a Good, by shewing the certain Way to it, if they will follow him, justly deserves the high Esteem of all that know how to value a truly Publick Spirit.

I hope, Sir, you have your Health better, and that we may suddenly have Abridg'd your Essay of Human Understanding, with those farther Additions and Alterations you have some while since designed for the Press. I'm confident 'tis impatiently expected by all, that are acquainted with your Writings, and that peculiar clear Manner of delivering Truth you are so much Master of, but by none more than,

SIR,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

Tho. Molyneux
SIR,

Dr. Molyneux to Mr. Locke.

Dublin, Octob. 25. 1697.

Should oftener make Acknowledgments to you for your Favours, and ex-
press the great Esteem I bear you, but that this barren Place affords lit-
tle else to say; and this I can’t think Reason enough to trouble one so busy
and usefully engaged as you always are. Yet I would not omit thanking you,
by this worthy Gentleman Mr. Berryford your Acquaintance, for a Preface
of a Book, I understand by my Brother you designd for me, tho’ I was so un-
lucky as to miss of it; and also communicate to you the inclosed Letter, which
the Bishop of Clonier was pleased (perhaps out of his too Partial Friend
ship) to tell me deferred to be made Publick, and desired me accordingly to tran-
mit it to Dr. Swayne: But this I would not do, unless it have your Approbation
also; so that ’tis wholly at your Disposal to do with it as you please, as is
likewise

SIR,

Your very affectionate Friend,

and humble Servant,

Tho. Molyneux.

Mr. Locke to Dr. Molyneux.

Sir,


Death has with a violent Hand haftily snatch’d from you a dear Brother.
I doubt not but on this Occasion you need all the Consolation can be
given to one unexpectedly bereft of so worthy and near a Relation. Whatever
Inclination I may have to alleviate your Sorrow, I bear too great a
Share in the Loss, and am too sensibly touch’d with it myself, to be in a Con-
dition to discourse you on this Subject, or do any thing but mingle my Tears
with your’s. I have lost in your Brother, not only an ingenious and learned
Acquaintance, that all the World esteemed; but an intimate and sincere Friend,
whom I truly loved, and by whom I was truly loved: And what a Loss that
is, those only can be sensible who know how valuable and how scarce a true
Friend is, and how far to be preferred to all other sorts of Treasure. He has
left a Son who I know was dear to him, and deferred to be so much as was
possible for one of his Age. I cannot think my self wholly incapacitated from
paying some of the Affection and Service was due from me to my dear Friend,
as long as he has a Child or a Brother in the World. If therefore there be
any Thing at this distance wherein I in my little Sphere may be able to
serve your Nephew or you, I beg you by the Memory of our deceased Friend
to let me know it, that you may fee, that one who loved him so well cannot
but be tenderly concerned for his Son, nor be otherwise than I am,

SIR,

Your most humble,

and most affectionate Servant,

John Locke.

Vol. III. Pppp 2 Dr.
SIR,

Dublin, Nov. 26, 1698.

As you have a true Sense of every thing, so you were very much in the right, when you tell me in the Letter you favour’d me with of the 26th of last Month, that I needed all the Consolations could be given one that had loft so unexpectedly a dear and only Brother. His Death indeed has been a severe Affliction to me, and though I have you, and many more, that bear a great Share with me in my Sorrow; yet this does no way alleviate it, but makes it fall the heavier upon me; for it doubles my Grief to think what an unspeakable Los his must be to me near a Relation, that is so much lamented by those that were only acquainted with him. I could not believe that Mortality could have made so deep an Impressions on me, whose Profession leads into so thorough a Familiarity with it; but I find a passionate Affection surmounts all this, and the teum obeam labem, though it was the Expression of a Poet, yet I am sensible was a very Natural one where we love extremely, and the Indians prove it no less in Fact. Could any outward Circumstance of his Life have increased that brotherly Affection I had for him, it must have been that he had so great a Part in your Friendship, who must be allowed to have a nice Judgment in discerning the true Characters and Worth of Men. He frequently in his Life-time has expressed to me with great Complacency of Mind, how happy he thought himself in your Acquaintance, and he spoke of you several times, during his short Sicknefs, with great Respect. With his own Hand he has writ this Clause in his Will: I give and bequeath to my excellent Friend John Locke Esq; Author of the Essay concerning Human Understanding, the Sum of five Pounds to buy him a Ring, in Memory of the Value and Esteem I had for him. This I shall take care to fend you in a Bill by Mr. Churchill’s Hands, when he flates the Account as it stands between him and my Brother. The only Child he has left behind him, is under my Care and Management. I shall endeavour to discharge this Trust, with all the Regard to my Brother’s Memory, and the Advantage of his Child, I can: But it grieves me to think, that I must surely fall very much short of that extraordinary Application and Prudence his Father would have shewn in his Education; for he made it the chief, and indeed the only Business of his Life. I have made his little Son as sensible as his tender Age would allow, how much he is obliged to you, his Father’s Friend, for your earnest Desire to serve him: I wish you may both prolong your Lives fo, as he may one Day be more thankfull and capable of your Kindnefs, by profiting much from your good Instructions and Advice. And since you so earnestly press me by the Memory of your deceased Friend, to let you know wherein you might oblige me, I’ll venture to break the Bounds of Modesty so far, as to tell you I should be extremely pleased to receive from yourself the last Edition of your incomparable Essay of Human Understanding, and such other Pieces of your Works as you shall think fit; for all which, as I have a great Esteem; so I should have a more particular Regard coming from your self, as a private Memorial of my dear Brother’s Friend, and of a Person for whom I have such an extraordinary Value, as I shall ever be proud of owning myself.

SIR,

Your truly affectionate and humble Servant,

Tho. Molyneux.

Mr. Locke to Dr. Molyneux.

Sir,


I have been flower in returning you my Thanks for the Favour of your Letter of the 26th of Nov. and the Civilities you express to me in it, than perhaps I should have been. But the Truth is, my Thoughts never look
look towards Dublin now, without casting such a Cloud upon my Mind, and laying such a Load of fresh Sorrow on me for the Loss of my dear Friend, your Brother, that I cannot without Displeasure turn them that Way; and when I do it I find my self very unfit for Conversation and the Entertainment of a Friend. ’Tis therefore not without Pain that I bring my self to write you a Scurvy Letter. What there wants in it of Expiation, you must make up out of the Esteem I have for the Memory of our common Friend; and I desire you not to think my Respects to you the less, because the Loss of your Brother makes me not able to speake them as I would.

Since you are pleased to put such a Value on my Trifles, I have given Order to Mr. Couchill to fend you my last Reply to the Bishop of Worcester, and the last Edition of my Treatise of Education, which came forth since Mr. Molyneux’s Death. I fend this with the more Confidence to you, because your Brother told me more than once, that he followed the Method I therein offer to the World, in the breeding of his Son. I wish you may find it fit to be continued to him, and useful to you in his Education; for I cannot but be mightily concerned for the Son of such a Father, and with that he may grow up into that Esteem and Character, which his Father left behind him amongst all good Men who knew him. As for my Essay concerning Human Understanding, it is now out of Print, and if it were not, I think I should make you but an ill Complement in sending it you less perfect than I design it should be in the next Edition, in which I shall make many Additions to it: And when it is as perfect as I can make it, I know not whether in sending it you I shall not load you with a troublesome and useless Preface. But since by desiring it you seem to promise me your Acceptance, I shall as soon as it is re-printed take the Liberty to thrust it into your Study. I am,

SIR,

Your most humble, and faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

PHILIPPO À LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S.P.D.

CUM ante dies decem ad amicum nostrum D. Guennelonom scripsi, facile credes quod te, V.C. non infalutatum prateriveris: Verum mei officii tuorumque beneficiorum ratio posuitut à me alium & futandi & gratias agendi Methodum, ne aut obiter aut negligentem id quod mihi maxime incumbit agere videar. Prefertim cum Guenneloni nostri litteram me incertum reddat an mea ad ipsum pervenerint literae, quas hane minime vellem interciddire; ne vobis omnibus, quibus tot nominibus obstrictus fumi, aut parum memer aut parum gratus appareat, credatique paucarum horarum intervallum cx animo meo tot tantarumque beneficiorum delievae memoriam, quan nulla temporis diuturnitas unquam delere valesit. In illa etiam significationem quam humanitatis tuus Vander Key me excepti, quam officio adjuvat, quo nomine hic tibi gratias iterum agendas suadet Viti illius fumma humanitas, quamquam illud parum est, si cum maximo beneficiorum tuorum cumulo contradatur. D. Veenium & optimam illius feminam, quibus faltem verbi non facile reperio, cum nulla sint quae aut illorum beneficia, aut eas quas habebo & semper habebo gratias agere posint, tuis tamen rogo quibus potes verbi maxime ornes. Ut me hic ulterior perspectem detinuet valetudinis ratio ad D. Guennelonem scripsi. Amostris loci, & non defidia, saltum quietis amor, & molesti quam in itinere perpetuis fum averlatio adhuc detinet. Deambulationes hic, quibus quotidian pragretrum ulcificor otium, valde jucunda sunt, fed longe jucundiores forent si aliquot veltrum expansive haberem focios, quod tam mei quam veltri caufa continuo opto, prefertim hic faventce colo: Nec enim credo fanitati incommodum effet prefertim
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tim D. Guennloni, cujus infirmis pulmonibus & valetudini parum robustis
prodefset maxime credo hic ferenus & liber aer. Quid agatur aud vos, pra-
ferim nostrorum respectu, ad me percerbas rogo; praferim me de tua amic-
corumque nostrorum valetudine certiorum facias. Sum,


Tui observantissimus,

J. Locke.

-----

Philippo Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

D uas à te, Vir amplissime, officii & benevolentiae plenas hic accepi lite-
ras, nec ingratus tibi videor spero, si ad singula, prout oportet, non
Iufere respondam, temporis angustiæ impeditus. Hoc unum enixe rogo, ut
des operam, ut de adventu Comitis Pembrokei per aliquem tuorum amico-
rum Hagæ degentium certioriam transmissiæ ea de rel vel ad me vel ad te
nuntio. Dux copiarum Britanniarum futurus huc adventaret, & si jam
non adeat, quotidie expectacur. Mea multum interret, ut quam fieri potest, ma-
ture illius accessum cognoscam. Hoc cum dixero, fatis leio te omnem curam
operamque in eo locaturum, ut quam celerisse id mihi innotescat. De alii
alias, nam tabellarius difcided. Amicos meos meo nomine quam officiosissime
quxfo salutes. Vale, & me ut facis am

Clev. 3. Octob. 1685.

Tui observantissimum,

J. Locke.

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Philippo Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir Clarissime,

Si duabus tuis amicissimis epistolis parum vel nihil à me responsum est,
id instanti tabellarii difcusseri impetus rogo, nec credas me tam rebus
meis intentum, tua vero confuetudinis & jucundissimis juxta se docentissimis
fermonis negligimentum, ut omnia de meis negotiis, de tuis gratissimis litteris ni-
hil dicerem, nisi gravissi aliqua subeget caufa cur de adventu Comitis Pembro-
ike quam fieri potuerit cistissime certior fierem. Sed jam, quo maxime pro-
pended animus, ad te, Vir optime, & scripta tua redeo, in quibus primo ac-
cuo amicissimiam tuam de me & meritis meis tam magnifice, de veltris erga
me officiis & beneficiis tam exiliter locuentem. Siunt facta magni & non
ficta amicitia aliquando errores de quibus idque deor, ut mihi aliter de if-
dem rebus fentientes ignorasc, & me credas amicissimum gratitudinis dictata 
sequi cum in ea perfistiamententia, aliqua me apud vos accepsi beneficia qui-
bus respondere verbis nec possim nec debeat. Et nifi vos omnes in re contra
quam par est, voluntati meae obtbare viderem, tuum ego hic opem implora-
retem ut hanc mihi velles eximere agradituidinem, & tua authoritate, qua plu-
rinimum apud præfentissimum Veenium polles, huic querele tam juverimus
imponeres. Si, quod videris promittere, sed heu! longum affer, his in col-
libus & fylvarum umbra, tua frui daretur & amicorum nostrorum confuetu-
dinem, crederem ego speciem aliquod aurei reditius facul. Nam virtus,
benignitas, paix & fides in sylvis folium degebant, quibus in urbanorum ho-
minum frequentia vix datur locus. Sic ececrunt Poetae: An aliquid alius
nos docent Historici, hic tempore non est mihi inquiriendis animus. Gaudeo
fratrem tuum convaluisse & fine graviore aliquo symptomate. Locum illum
Epistolæ tua ubi scriptorum tuorum memineris non fine esse legi, fentio
quantam ex dicesset meo fecerimus jacturam & voluptatis & eruditionis, quod
non legeris reliqua tua scripta, ex quibus non minorem mihi lucem promitt-
terem quam ex jam lectis multo cum fructu percepiest. Si vis ut sincerer &
aperte dicam, nullubi reperì opinions magis delucide propositas, argumento-
rum
ram rationibus melius subnixas, à partium fluidis longius remotas, & veritas per omnia magis consormente. Hoc me ex animo proferre dubitare non potes, cum me tam importune, tam dedita opera, criticum tam paucis potuisse deterrat malum imaginem impetrare patet. Sed me miserum! magnam partem fructus, quem ex illo mea critica severitate mihi propofui, perdidis. Plurima enim quae inter legeminent notaveram non tam tui corrigeendi quam mei informandi feci animo, de quibus tectum ulterius inquirendum flatueram. Non est igitur quod mihi tanto ardore gratias agas, fatis est fui vehementi nimis inquisitori & culpandi anfas studiose quarenti ignotos. Quamquam non male pietae tabulae indicium est quis cogatur in ea quare re navos. Undinam quae ego meditor eo effeent scripta idiomate ut tu poteris vicis rependere, repertores te ulciscendi copiofam materiam. Quod scribent de criticis critici facile credo; quamprimum enim attigi illum undecim epifolii locum, vidbar mihi audire obfrepentium excipientem quam de religione omnino actum effe, nolii hujusmodi hominum mores, quominus heterodoxos aliquid poftimi reffeller, ne nihil in caufa Dei agere videantur, tanto magis claroribus, incationibus, culminis infulgent. Factor argumentum ilium modelle proponendum fuiffe, & caufe trahendum, sed tamen ejusmodi eff ur mearerat tandem fumma cum acribia difcuti. Si omnia quae in facris libris continentur pro theoneufis pariter habenda fine omnii difertione, magna fane probetur philoditis de fide & fencritate noftra dubitandi anf. Si e contrario quodam pro scriptis purus humanis habenda: ubi confiabet scripturam divina autoritas, quae qua corruet religio curifiana? quoniam erit criterium? quis modus? adeo ut in hac queftione, quia alia, maxime fundamentalia, fumma cum cautione, prudence, modellia agendum, praeferm ab eo cu cui uti credo jam non nimium facient ecclesiastic potestates & theologorum clafifes. Sed signa ceceerunt, & expectandus est conflictus. Ego qui ubique folam quarto veritatem, quamque quantum capere possum, five inter orthodoxos ferepo five heterodoxos, pariter amplector. Factor alia effe in eo scripto quod mihi plene non fatisfacit, alia quibus respondere non ponam, de illis ab autore libenter repofium acceptem, fum commodum exiftimam, de his tue quarto judicium.

I. Ni faltor, author lepsum utitur contra apofolorum continentum infpirationem hoc argumento, quod fc. multa ab illis dicit inveniuis, quae fene auxilio Spiritus Sancti dicit poterant; quod tamen concelion, contra divinam S. scripturae authorityatem & eordendas nihil concludit. Affertur in S. Scriptura confians per omnia & infalibilis veritas. Si quid autem dicit S. Paulus Aet. xxiii. (V. p. 24.) quod coelitus ipfi revelatum non erat, id nihil detrahit eertitudini scripturae, quandoquidem ejusmodi res effe, quam certe & infallibili cognocere potuit fine revelatione divina. Quae feliibus & certa cognitione apostolis confabant, non opus erat revelatione ut earum historia ab apostolis tradita pro indubitata habercetur. Itaque metuo ne homines suficientur hoc argumentum potius quiferum quam e re natum.


* Sentimenta de quibus Theologian d' Hollandia sur l' Histoire critique, du P. Simon.*
PHILIPPO a LIMBORCH \ Joannes Locke, S.P.D.

Quanquam longo usu ad alia hujus vitae incommoda ocellavit aliquatenus mens mea, a confutundiae tamen tua, Vir doctissime & amicorum optimo, me divelli sine magna animi agriturudine pati non possum. Tu enim me eruditione tua instruire; judicio confirmare; consilio dirigere; & amicitia & comitate solari solobras, quotidiam curatum meum perfugium: fed ita pereunte cum agi folet, ut ubi & quibuscum esse maxime cupio refrangere fortuna raro permittimur fit. Devorandum igitur ut potero hujus absintiae tadium, quod frequentibus tuis litteris levare debes, jam praeterim dum tempus & otium tibi permittunt adversarii illi, qui domi tua praetla tibi meditansur. Hoc te in quo jam fumus faculo expectate non dubito. Si candidae, & ut veritatis amici argumentorum pondere tecom agant, tibi fecio non displicebunt, qui veritatem amplectentur unde necunque venientem. Sin irascunde, veteratoriae, maligne, paucis placebunt, nisi fuilimilibus; quicquid demum acciderit hoc certum est, quod tu illasvis, vicitorque aibibis, quia veritatem queris non victoriam. Sed ut verum fatear, ego a rixosis hujusmodi disputatoribnis non multum excepto, qui in alienis convellendis, non quis adhucrescit quarum gloriam: Artifices & laudem merentis est adificare. Sed pignacae hisce tibi & curis tuis relinquamus. Si quid in B— placidius & liberalius reperisset, gaudeo; pacificorum vellem quotidianus aegris numerum, praeterim inter reformatos, inter quos minus quotidianus feruntur lites. Inimicus homo facit hoc. Alterius sunt indolis amici quibus hic te favente familiariter uto. Utque Graevius falitem plurimam tibi dicit. Verrynium sapientum nondum domi reperi; hujus septimanae dies aliquot extra urbem transegit, cum domum rediit non diu in aliquid permittam, Vale cum tua tuifque, & me am

Utrecht, 11 Oct. 1686.

Tui studioissimum,

J. Locke.

PHILIPPO a LIMBORCH \ Joannes Locke, S.P.D.


Sed
Sed mihi hac de re à tua opinione non esse alienum non multum miraberis. Ailiquid amplius fateor ess, quod ego numeros tuos secreto notaverim, & quod tu hoc observaveris. Cave tibi & ignosce quamplimum silentio meo, ne loquacitate tibi magis sim molestus, vide me in secretiora tua penetrare. Seire volunt secreta domus,—& nolite quod sequeritis,—atque inde simeri.


Tui amanissimum,

Roxterdami, Mar. 8. 16(87)

J. Locke.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S.P.D.

Qui dilo facies homine, qui nec cantare par ess, nec respondere paras tus? Quid juvat liberate à te ipso conceella ut sine virtus ad ea quae decent praefata neceffarim? Juncundissima tua & floribus undeque offerta epifolita ad ea que scribis iterum iterumque legenda maxime invitar, ut vero calamum fumam, & aliquid meo more recisibam valide dehortatur & dereret. Eti enim grami sit animi, argutis & facetis amici fernonibus aliquid responder, improduntis tamen ess & parum pudici, ornatis incontinia, urbanibus agrestia, pretiosis vilia, vel in ipso literarum commercio reponere. Frustra igitur à te liberate donatus sum, munus fane in specie magnificum, fed nisi aliquid de tuo etiam impertire possis ingenio, plane inutilis, frusta enim ac culabri me tequa in liberate tardum, cui tam parata & jufta fit defensio hebetem non desere esse loquacem, nec decere Xæcere xerzèrunt, ut ut enim co modo liber sim, parum cerre videbor liberalis. Novi animalum tuum, novi ingenium, & quam paras tus fuis omnia ab amica voluntate profecta in bonam partem interpreteri, hoc boni omnia confulentis non parva laus ess, fed ma le interim scribentis peflina excusatio. Ea tamen fudicia frett en en te iterum compellare autim melioribus studiis vacantem, si quid in eo pecco, nolo in cucare vim à fatis illatam, caufam fane, si qua fia, omnium maxime improbam, fed te ipsum, qui ab omni vi & coactione longiflime abes, tua humanitas, tua benevolentia, tui lepores cogunt ut agnofcam & ut fatare me tibi gratias habere, etiammi referre non potim. Si his conditionibus mecum agere velis, en tibi ad legendas tuas epifolitas paralitumum & cupidiffimum: Ad mea refcribendas etiammi cupiam tardum, & fane tam necifratte quam officio tardum. Tu cum ita excufatione uti non potes, & mutate scribas rogo & abunde. Id ni facias audies me graviter queritem, te non prefare & amico & egenti, id quod potes, & id quod debes qui potes. Si jam incipercem iniquo jure communem inter nos colore amicitiam, haec jam proponere vix animum inducerem; fed cum hae lega à primordiis amicitias temper vimixim, ut tu propere & cumulate omnia officia benevolentia praefates, ego vel in agnofoendo parcos & lentus effem, pari jam debes mores meos quantumvis malos verufare jam confirmatos, in quibus nihil novum, nihil infolens reperies. Vide quocum tibi res ess; in hac tamen culpa non prorsus ingratus videri vellem, si id in fæ aliquid gratitudinis habet, ut qui eam qua se deftitutum fature, in te miratur & amplectitur vir tumen: in ea quxro mihi patrocinium quod militem praefare non potiam. Sed de me fatis, ad majora nunc venio tua, felicis typographo haud parum iraf Vol. III. Q q q q coc
P. L. J. L. 

Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke,

cor quod tuum, tam utile, tam doctum opus adeo procrastiner, spero jam accedente sole operarum diligentia incaelest. De Episcopi etiam tradatur gaudeo: de alio quod postulas tecum coram agam, ut enim quod res est factar, scripseram prius ad te nisi speraveram ante hac me Amstelodamum accissurum, ut juundissima illic amicorum consuetudine fruenter, imprimis tua, sine qua hi ipsi veris non amcne transeunt dies: Vale, Vir praelatissime, & ut facis me ama

Roterodi, 16 Maij
1687.

J. Locke.

P. L. J. L. 

Philippo & Limborch Joannes Locke, S.P.D.

Onne fatis tibi ess, Vir clarissime, Judaeum t viciisse, nisi eodem opere inter Christianos, tuui amantissimum tibi etiam prorius subjuges? Diveris fatoor armis nos aggrederis, illum argumentis, me beneficis obstrictum tenes, e quibus illis se vix credo expedit; ego certo de me pronuntiare possum, me tibi remem no obstantem. Quid enim repandam viro cui non sufficis me suis cumulare beneficis, nisi inper me dignum reddere conetur, dum suas sibi laudes ipsa detrahir, quibus me ornatum velit, & in earum partem mihi non debitem venire? Tu fatoor amica tua urbanitate faciis me quoque velis circumducere possess, quam illa alter tua quemquam metaphysica: Sed ne expectes tamen ut unquam eo usque me deducas, ut concedeam iam festinationem, quae exemplar ad me primum omnium misfit, mihi quovis jure debeat. Toium hoc beneficii & festinationis & munieris tuae benevolentiae & amicitiae acceptum refero. Tu forsan prout tua est humilitas, aliquo modo aequum puellae e primo omnium donare, quum noveras debere ex jam degrayito opere vehemensissime omnium expetere hunc differentiam, & desiderare redinintegraritibis meus legendo voluptatem. Hujusmodi meruit facile agnosco, nec cuquam donare poteras hoc volumen, cui aequo exopratum, aequo acceptum esse potuit ac mihi. Triduum illud & amplius, uti mones, nemo videbit. Laudo ego istam tuam erga Judeum comitatem; quanquam, ni fallor, quando perlegetis vix credet ille, tibi hoc munere tantum factum esse beneficis, ut gaudeat tam mature hunc libros in manus suas pervenisse. Deo quod in calce epistolae adjiciis brevi plura. Dolui te per triduum mihi tam prope tam procurule suisse. Sed patientiis ferendum quod amicum habeam, quem plures amant. Optimam tuam uxorem, collegas, reliquosque amicos nostros, officiosissime quosto meo nomine salutes. Vale, & me ama

Roterod. 11 Sept.
1687.

J. Locke.

P. L. J. L. 

Philippo & Limborch Joannes Locke, S.P.D.

Nimis severus profecto es, Vir clarissime, tuorum erga amicos officiorum exactor, aliena vero negligentes valde immemor, dum te cunctationis infinitas, apud hominem uti nolti omnium mortalium maxime cunctaborem. Nolo igitur apud te obtinere axioma illud, quo ultimam tuas male auspicas et. Nihil deterius amico cunctatore, fove de te ipso cogites, fove (uti aliquando mielore jure evenire possit) de me. Ego enim lenitus admodum, & tamen inter eos qui amicitiam cum fide colunt non ultimo mihi locum vendico.

+ De Veritate Religionis Christiana Amica Collisio cum eruditiss Judaeo. (V. Orobis.)

Si
Si hoc aliquanto arroganter dictum sit tu ipse videas. Tu alineas laudes milii tribus, & si illis femel mihi met placeo, ubi tandem me satis? Ilud sy-nagogae decretum fatis ut mihi videtur à Judaeis afluere promulgatur, ut eorum hic hyperaspites aliquid habeant quod alius dicit, etiam si nihil habeant quod tibi respondat: est confutus hoc factum credo, ut salvo honore & quan- tum fieri possit caufa, possit ex arena decredere: tua enim argumentationis methodus an nasutulis quibudam Christianis, & nihil nisi tua probabitibus, placebo, necio; vix credo placbet Judaeis, qui ea se magis implicatos lenient, quam fieri solet ab ipsis qui Christianam religionem ad suum modulum exigentes, vix in ea reperiret quod solide Judaeis opponere possent. Ego a quo librum tuum priuimum accepit (nam ita me cumulatus ut diffinie tione opus sit) tam incommoda usus sum valeutudine, ut illius lectioni vacare adhuc non potuercer. Sed jam indies convalefces, spero me non diu cariturum ea voluptere. Interim gratias tibi ago quam maximas, & jam spero credes mihi satiis factum duplici hoc tributo, quod illud Judaei scriptum, five characteres respicias five latinitatem, plane barbarum, olim perlegerim; nam de tuo si quid dicas, cogitare debes & proferi quantum ego per te proferendum. Ita enim, fi verum dicere liceat, fe res habet. Sed nolo ulterioris ea de re tectum contedere, ne tertium mihi librum mittas. Literas D. Clerici quas tuis inclusas memoras nusquam reperio, spero eas Amphilodami repertum iri & brevi me acceperas. Illum, tum, tuos, nostros, quafo meo nomine fai- lutes, & me ames, Vir amplifimne.
Vir amplissime,

Cum nihil adeo corporis sanitatem foveat & restaurat ac animi tranquillitas, non dubitare potes quin quidquam maxime meritum & benevolentiae tuae literae amoris & beneficis tuae vires, in hac, in qua diu verum est, infirmis mutabiliter valuerint felicitati, qui maximis fuerint solatia. Allorum medicamentorum me spes perexitum, reficiens illa tua maxime grata & diuva maxime. & cum alia nautaeabundus refugium, salutis illa fale tuo Antico condicio appetentius semen desideravi. Cavo ergo ut credas te mihi epistolis tuis creas missam, nisi simul crederes velis ingraram fore convalescentiam, cujus tu amore, cura, studio tuo maximus iniqui fator, nec desistis tanta amicitia indicia decubentem me aliquando erigere. Si aliquando tardius hae cum gratiarum actione agnofo, nolli hominem, nec expectare debes morbum me expediore reddidisse. Quanquam, si hae tibi jufta fatis videris poffit caufa, aliquantulum procrafitnavi, ut confirmaret sanitatis nuncium tibi poftem mittere, & mihi tectum gravarium convalescentiam, qua tibi adeo cura & cordi fuit. Dolo Orobimu nobis tam cito creptum, non quod in eo amiferis triumphi ornamentum, fecio enim te, modo veritas vincat, de vincendi gloria parum effe folicitum, quamvis in illo vivente aliqua veritas confessio non displiciiffet: fed definavarem in proximis ad te liceris perte exactam eorum quae in inquisitione paffus efft historia. Adjis me in impulit narratio cujufdam Galli quae nuper pridit de is quae ipse efte Catholici paffus efft ab inquisitoribus Lutonis in Goa Indis. Quae ad Judaeo noftrum confirmari omnia vel superari poiffe facile crediderim. Quandoquidem vero illae jam ad silentes migraverit, rogo ut tu quicquid infii rei tenes memoria velis chartis confignare, ne intercedat quantum nobis reftat methodi infius evangeliæ testimonia. Dolo me non interfuisse collegarum convivium, non quod offres caruern, in hujusmodi enim conventibus nihil mihi minus placer quam pars raciturum, & ejusmodi convivarem fermo aliq/id magis fapidum & jucundius falfum habet, quam ipfæ offres Gaurnia. Salutes eos quod meo nomine, uti & optimam tuam fœminam, tomatum Veenii & Genuellonis familiam. Ante duas vel tres septimanas ad D. le Clerc scripsi, unique chartas aliquas mifi, an recte acceperit aveo fique, jam enim illius rebus vacare incipio: ipsum meo etiam nomine falutes. Vale, & ut ipse valeam, amando & scribendo office.

Rotterdam. 30 Nov. 1687.

Tui studiofissimus,

J. LOCKE.

Vir speclatissime,

Quantumvis obfirmato animo minas meas non expavescis, senties tamen aliquando data occasione quid sit irritaffe crabronem, in eo enim gere merito numerari poftis provocabufe iratusque amicos. Nondum vidis Acta illa Liphienfis ubi tu coram fitteris, fed euge! jam falva res est, incepi de infius operis merito pretioque aliquamodo dubitare, quod nemo ex syftematicis illis reperiet in eo tractatu quod dixit, nihil enim argumenti aut boni aut novi debere continere, nec quod fupra vulgarus fuperatur, fi vulgo placeret. Sed jam vapulas laudo, nec visibles metuo. Benignior his pedagogis si non vulgatas, fallam vis efft, quam ut eorum virga vulnus vel caticries rei loquanc. Condiiones subscripturum plus femel in Angliae mifi, fed haec tenuus reprehendi nihil accipit: ego data occasione iterum & ad alios miram, quo succefsus nefcio, hac enim & hujusmodi, nolli præfato adls & habitanes impellas, immemores moneas, pleurerunt neglignantur. Quod de Judaeo narras valde placet: brevi habebitis spero que sufficiat ad feulum vo-
lumen, in quo fanetitas Officij ad plenum depicta, omnium oculos animosque in sui admirationem arripit. Dolendum pleno effe per tanta fanetatis exempla in tenebris latere, prodeant tandem in lucem, ut quibus fundamentis stabilitur & propagatour fugas tandem notassent. De MS. codici ego nihil dico, ante bidum ea de re scripsit ad te Furlieus notsser. Inde ceijio te aliquando Wettenium convenire, eaque occasione has inclutas illi tradendas ad te mittere aufer. Scripsi ad illum ante quindecim dies aliquosque mibi ad illum libros, aliosque postulavi & fettinaco ad me mitrendos, sed nihil audior, nihil responder. Esseque magis silentium ejus me follicitum habet quod simul miferam duo volumina Garciilla di de la Vega D'. Veenio (cum epistola quam ad eum scripsi) reddenda quae olim ab eo mutuo accepseram. Salutes illum rogò meo nomine reliquisque collegas. Vale, Vir amiciissime, & me ama ut facis

Roterod. 22 Jun. 1688.

Tui studiissimum,

J. Locke.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir speíissime,
Sve iratum me five gratum existimari vellem, sentio me jam nimis diu taçuiff. Amicum amico respondisse crabronem irritantis vindictam restulisce citius oportuit. Sed ego necio qua ingenii tarditate nec amici nec inimici partes recte ago, An tibi hoc modo placere possum necio, me Slado nofiro (fi cum eo ita agerem) valde displicitum fatfcio, qui hujusmodi Lertulios aquo animo ferre non potest. Editionem MS. de quo cum Wettenio transtigebas dolendum plane efft non procedere, & metuus ii jam non procedat illius impreffo, ne intereat tam inclementum historis monumentum; quod sane multis qua jam omnium manibus versatur libris longe anterfem-dum existimo. Multa cum voluptate legi Clerici nostri Tentamen, ut ipfe vocat, de antiqua Hebræorum poësi: non parum lucis inde aufflurum pfalmis, reliquisque qua in S. S. extant, scriptis metricis, minime dubito. Totum psal-morum librum fbi ita reflitutum ed optarem: incites illum rogo ut quantum per alia negotia liceat hoc opus fessitne. Cuidam meo Amico in litereis hebrais verfatisimo cum hoc dixifem, credere non potuer, exemplo periufus jam creder. Plura habui dicenda, fed adventus amici ex Anglia hic me interpretat, adeo ut in aliud tempus fint rejicienda. Vale & me ama

Roterod. 30 Julij, 1688.

Tui studiissimum,

J. Locke.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,
F'Amulus meus Amftelodamum res suas agens profecturus meam non prius rogavit veniam quam infatire deceflus, adeo ut ad te feribendi tempus non dabatur. Doleo profecto adeo labefaciatam in familia tua valentudem. De morbo & curatione illius abfens nihil audes pronunciare, nec quidem opus eff, cum tam amicos docetifique paratos tibi habeas medicos. Unum tamen permissa ut moneam, fi, uti sperare viseris, erumpant tandem vario-le, velim ut in medicamentis affumendis, & fragularum operimemtis caveatur regimen calidius, unde in fanguiine excitatur fervor non fine magni aetoti mals & discteirne. Hoc vel invito extortis mihi meus in te tuosque amor,

* Historia inquisitionis.*
& expertus loquor. Tuorum valetudo eo fero in statu est, ut de alius loci qui licet, praeterea tibi hauud ingratis. Furleio noftr Principe ecclesiae actum erit, & coram allocutus est, ut illius opem contra perfedictionem hac in provincis, si unam alias, certe jam intempestive coepitam, esset taret. Rem ita ut, ut placuerit Principe epifolam scribere Baillivico de Kenmerland, qui Foecke Floris minifrum eccleféæ Mennonitarum juxta ad autoritate synodi intra interdidium foliwm verte, & ea ex directe exire, ni mallef carere includi. Historiam ilius Foecke Floris ex alius quam ex me mellius cognofces. Furleio enim noftr acute hane caufam ne de facie quidem notum. Sed communem christianorum rem in eis libertate agi ratus, caufam illius prono animo fufcetip & furenue egit; fi enim abfidiis iisdem nihil promoverit. Huic epifolae fufamime reperium audio in praesens perfeclorum fervorém. Si quid de hac re amplius inter Mennonitas velftros tibi innoceuerit, fac nos certiores. Vale, Vir optime, cum integra tua familia, sic animitus opto.

Rotaed. 24 Nov.
1688.

Tui studiosorum.

J. L. C. K. E.

PHILIPPO LIMBORCH JOANNES L. C. K., S. P. D.

O uod imprimes hic decedens defideravi ut scil le, Vir ampliffime, reffiquosque amicos Amftelodaminae amplecti darceur, in eo omnium qua foint dira opera mihi maxime adverfiti videntur. Primo glacies & feftinatio, dein de inplio tinnere pluvia intericept. Die enim fabbati ultimo hinc Hagaam profecluram, ut tibi nobilis fesimem ad Amftelodamum eifam cogitantem compellarem, imber fatis violentus me Delphos tranfuentem perfulter, quod incommodum Haga eifiam pauui fin. Ira totus madidus accelfi ad illam quae nocturnam illud iter, quod ad vos ea nocle perfecluram eram, tanguam fanita mihi nam vicim perculpolation non diffuat folum fed & prohibuer. Sic pluvia illa quae jam ab duobus mensibus pene unica quafi signata unius deculae vobifice fpec, quin hisc gefensione deffifi prouifus abfufit. In aula omnium paras ab habitum, tam mora impatietia inveni, ut primo venient vento Principefiam claffe confecfiorum nemo dubiter. Iftud definita. iter ad vos incepi non tam veneno quam Principisque religioni confitus, quam vix credbi die dominica velle iter ingredi, etiamini venustus orientaliis in vitaret; fed jam nihil aliud expectatur quam venustus navigatiionem ondeus, quin simul ad naves convolucionem erit. Heri vesperii huc reddi, & quamdiu hic langueclendum fit necfio; hoc certo fecio, nihil molefius effe quam ad fati- dum uque laborare oti, & tamen ad id quod maxime velles tempus non suppetere. Quam vellem mihi dare apud vos horam unam vel alteram, vultus, fermo, amplexus amicorum neefio quid habent, què fe expere anima mea anxié defiderat. Quo vos in me firis animo, quo ego in vos nullum cre- do eft dubium, nec augeri posset mutua noftri amicitia valedictoriam alleviam loquio, opto tamen uideres, dextrae junctum, ac me iterum vobis tuum tradere cujus totius fun. Hoc mihi jam non concedius fuerit, alias fepu fo- rum non enim de te tam male ominor, ut nullum credam fore diem quod nos iterum conjavunt. Multa sunt que hanc navigandi occasionem non mihi omnem adjuvantum haudente: amicorum expectatio, res mea privata jam qui al- quor annos negliget, piratae frequents, & parum utus alias tran fidem, & nobilibeal femina five cura five amicitia cu cum iturus fun. Velim hoc tibi pertuadeas, me hic aliam patriam repriefile & pene dixeram paren- tes, quod enim in illo nomine caritismum effe, benevolentiam, amorc, charitatem, quem ad conciliandum homines conjungendosque fortiora fangins habent vincula, apud vos abunde expertus fun. Habeo hic amicos tempem mihi colentes, item & inviendos fi res & dies paritatur. Hoc certo fecio, quod decedo cum animo revindicti ut cum illis folium aliqando & illibitatem capiam gaudium, quorum humanitate effectum est, ut a mei abfens & in commune omnium mutusse nullam fentirem animi egritudinem. Te quod attinet
attinet (Vir omnium opitme, amicissime, dilectissime) cum tuam cogito do-
ëtrinac, animum, mores, candorem, fuivaretam, amicitiam, factis in te uno
reperi (ut ceteros taceam) quo mihi temper gratulari potero opime loca-
tam & fructuosissimam aliquot annorum apud vos moram: nec scio an ali-
quad mea vita tempus aequum iudicium habitura sit, certe magis proficuam
nondum habuit. Deus O. M. te omni felicitate generem cumulatum, fa-
milium patriam incolumem conservet & custodiet, ut dixis ecclesiae & omni-
bus bonis utilis. De meo erga te animo quibis jam fit, quibus futurus fit,
nihil addam, cum, meum spero amorem non magis mihi notum & certum
esse quam tibi, cuius in me amicitiam tot beneficis teatarum laebeo, ut quic-
quid de ea litis suis iudiciumiss dicatas, jam jam penitus perfuaso facilis
perfuadebis. Optimae tue axiorn liberae, Veenitis, Guennellonicum omnii-
bus plurimam faletem dicatas; te mihi apud illos advocatum & patronum re-
linguo, ne quid gravius statuant in hominem tot beneficis divinatum, si non
fugientes, minus ubane certo quam oportune valedicentem. Sed ida sunt
fere res humanae, ut nihil praeter voluntatem in nostra sit potestate, ea coius
ad eos feror, ea singulos amplcector, que mihi nunquam ad beneficiorum
memoriam, ad grati animi confessionem defutura est. Vale, Vir colendif-
isme, & me ut facias am

Rotterd. 16 Feb. 1689. 

Tui in perpetuum amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO ET LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S.P.D.

Vir amplissime,

Vereor ne nomine neglegientia tibi suspeatus sit, quod tam diuturno uxor
silentio, quod nec tuis meritis, nec tuis voluntate, nec nostris denique
amicis omnino convenit. Sicis velim me cum solo non animum mutuæ,
tibi idem quæ olim est, & ubique oterum fuero idem futurus est amor-
is & reverentia plenus. Sed à meo in patriam reditu amicorum vel inveni-
tum vel viendarum confutetudo, vel rerum meiurum hinc inde dispersarum
ad praetemum etiam quersendi & colligendi labore, vel aliquidem ad temp. (ab-
fit verbo invidia) fuit non accipio, Saltem ne privarum ostium publicis nego-
tiis commutarem, cura & excusatim, & quod gravissimum omnium est, ma-
ligno hujus urbiss fumos labefacta valetudo ita me occupatum tenuit, ut vix
momentum mihi vacui temporis reliquit fuerit ex quo primum huc appulse-
rim. Prima qua in terram defecendi hora ad Deo Guennellonem Sebastinae
caelò & vernacuta lingua inter salutantur turbam scripti, ut eum e cetero
ami amicos meos Amstelodamienses salutarem. Quicquid enim latum
iudiciumque hic reperi me nonit aliquid illic reliquit esse, quod non cum
minore voluptate recordarer, quam quod hic oculis uisuperparem. Burnetii
Episcopous Salisburieniis designatur. In parlamento de tolerantia jam agi
ceperist sub dupli & titulo, Comprehensus feil. & Indalgentia. Prima ecclesiae
pomoria extendenda significat, ut abatae careremoniariam parte plures com-
prehendat. Altera tolerantium significat eorum qui, oblatis conditionibus
ecclesiae Anglicanae, se unire vel nolint vel non pollint. Quam laxa vel
sitrae hac futurae sint, vix dum ficio, hoc saltem sentio, clerum episcopalem
his aliquis rebus quæ hic aguntur non multum favere, an cum suo vel reip.
commodo ipi videant. De solutione, de quæ à te ante dicas scripti, expecho à te aliquid quotidie. Vale, & me ut facias am


Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.
Vir spectaculum,


Lond. 6 Jun. 1689.

Tuam amantium,

J. Locke.

Philippus a Limborch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissimum,

Priones tuas intercidisses valde dolore, nihil enim a te profisci potest quod mihi, uti convenit, non sit valde carum. Novissimas tuas 29 Mai datas amore & benevolentia ufrata plenas accipisses metam, quod tua tuorumque valudinis me certiorem faciunt. Sed officii historiam ofcitantia bibliopola in ipsa parte ita harrere dolore. Prolegomena tua D. Cudwortha & ego valde probamus, & capitem Indicem quem tam amice promitis avide expectamus, ut luta &ligraphy operis tuis structurat praebemus, interim opantes ut quam ciristim integrum volumen Christiano orbis maxime proficium, & pene dixeram hoc tempore necessarium, prodaret. Illic enim fons omnium perfecctionis sub praxeo religionis, illic fundamentum tyrannidis ecclesiastica, quam minores feces eo exemplo animarum praeclarant affiunctae. Sed quo tendar, quasi tragedias ubique, quando parum adoleveris, editura sit eo in speculo, qui sibi oculos non erunt, facile videbuntus. Ejus lectionem sibi & utilissimum & jucundissimum fore pondet D. Cudwortha, quæ paternæ benignitate hares omnem de rebus religionis perfecctionem maxime averatur. Gratulatur sibi fe in partem amicitiae quæ patrem amplexes us succedisse, te officiosissime salutat, plurimum aematur & veneratur, unumque hoc doler, quod non utatur lingua utrique communi, ut ex commercio literarum amicitiae & eruditionis suæ, quem oparet, fructum percipient.

Hifloriam tuam de cura loquente duplici exemplo hic apud nos confirmare postum. Duo juvenes, utrique furdi, quorum alter à Doctore Wallis, celebris illo Oxoni mathefesi professo, alter à Doctore Holder theologo edoctus, quoelae utum didicit. Unrumque juvenem novi, & verba profrentem audivi, diffinente facis & articulare, tonus solum vocis parum erat in gratu & inharmonius. De altero quid sit factum sit nescio, alter adhuc vivit legendi fibrinendique peritus, & à quò illum primo loquentem audivi (viginti enim & plures sunt anni) usorem duxit paterfamilias. Vir eft ex generafia pro-
PROFAPIA, NEC DIU EST A QUO ILLAM VIDERIM. UXORI LIBERTIQUE TUIS, VENITIS QUENELLONISQUE & COLLEGIS NOSTRIS PLURIMUM SALUTEM MEO NOMINE DICAS. VALE, VIR AMPLISSIME, ET ME UT FACIS AMA

OCTAV. 18 JUN. 1691.

TUI AMANTISSIMUM,

J. LOCKE

PHILIPPO & LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S.P.D.

VIR AMPLISSIME,

QUOD GRANDEM TIBI JAMDIU DESTINAVERAM EPISTOLAM IDEO ACCEPISI NULLAM. QUISSIMI VACUUM ALIQVOD MIHI TEMPSUS DARI, UT TECUM LIBERISS & SUFISIS ROLLISHI POSTERUM, & GRATIAS AGERE PRO ULTIMA TUA & AMICISSIMA EPISTOLA CUI JAMDIUS RESPONSUM PORTUEREM. SED NESCIO QUAM RERUM ETIAM NON MEARUM IMPORTANTIA ITA MIHI OMNE OTOUM SUBTUMUS EFT, UT NE PROPRIIS QUIDEM & DOMESTICIS NEGOTIIS VACARE LICUIERUNT. CAVE AUTEM CREDES ME PUBLICIS NEGOTIIS IMPICITUM; NEC VALERUDE, NEC VIRET, NEC RERUM AGENDARUM IMPERITIA ID PATIANTUR. ET CUM MECEM REPERAM QUID A TRIBUS MANIFIBI AEDE IMPEDE TUS EGERIM, INCANTAMENTI INFTAR VIDETUR, UT QUISSUM DIES AFFERRET NEGOTIOM RERUM ONUS ALLIORUM EX ALIIS NAFCENTIUM, QUEX NEC SCIEI PRÆVIERAM, NEC CUPIENS EVITARE POTERAM.

INDICEM LIBRORUM & CAPITUM HISTORIE STA OFFICII DOMINA CUDWORTH & EGO LEGIMIS SIMUL MAGNA COM VOLUPATE. HAC PRALIBATORI MAGNUM EXCITATIV IN UTROQUE INTEGRIS OPERIS DEFIDERIUM, QUOD JAM SUB PRALO EFFE COM GASTIA A QUODAM SCOTO NON ITA PRIDEM EX VESTRA BARAVIA REDEUNTE ACCEPI. BONIS COM AVIBUS PROCEDAT OPUS CHRISTIANO OTI IMPRIMIS UTILE. HOHES MEA TYRRANNIDIS ECCLESIASTIcae INICISSIMA SIFE MIHI LAUDAT INGENIUM & CONCILIUM OOM, LABOREMQUE HUIC OPERI TAM OPPORTUNE IMPENNUM; CREDIQUE FRUSTRA DE RELIGIONIS REFORMATIONE & EVANGELIIS PROPAGATIONE TANTUM UNIQUE FREPITU MOWERI, DUM TYRANNIS IN ECCLESIA, VIS IN REBUS RELIGIOSIS (UTI PASSIM MOS EFT) ALIIS SUB NOMINIBUS UTCAUCUNQUE SPECIOSIS OBSTINET & LAUDATUR. QUID TANDEM FACTUM EFT CUM DERR ITO THEOLOGO QUI TAM MIRA DOCTUM DE ANGELIS IN LIBRO SUO DE SPIRITUM EXISTENTIA? AN NON EXPERTUS EFT FRATRUM SUBUORUM PRO RELIGIONE, PRO VERITATE, PRO ORTHODOXIA ZELUM? MIRUM SI IMPUNE EVEDAT. APUD NOS PRALUM QUOD VIDEO NIHIL PENE PARCURIT, QUOD ALIENI CIVES SCIRE AUC LEGERE MULTEM DEFEREBANTUR. ITA OBSCRIPTUM UNIQUE ARMA, UT MUFARUM VOCES VIX AUDIANTR. IMO LIS IPSA THEOLOGICA JAM CONOFIPIA MAGNAM IN PARTEM CONJUNCTEIT, UTINAM COM ANIMARUM & PARTIAM CONCORDIA. SED EA IPSIS VANA EFT, NEC TAM FACILE COMPLEMENTUR THEOLOGORUM CONTROVERSIAS. BENE EFT SI INCERTAS ALIQVADU FERANTI INDUCIT; UT MUTUA CHARITATE FANENTUR PENEIES QVIS EXPECTABIT? MAGNA MIHI APUD EXCUTIONE OPUS EFT UT TAM DIUSTUM FILIOTIO IGNOCAS. ID TIBI PERSUADAS VELLVM, HOC NON ALICUI VOLUNTATIS ALIENATIONI, NON DECREECTEI & MINUS FERVIDE AMICITIA TRIBUENDUM; TE UT SEMPER MAXIME STEITIMO, AMO, AMPLECTOR, TEMPERQUE AMABO. FAC ITIDEM UT FACIS & ME AMA.

LOND. 14 NOV. 1691.

TUI SITIOSSISSIMUM,

J. LOCKE

PHILIPPO & LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S.P.D.

VIR AMPLISSIME,

SI EX LITERARUM TARDITATE DE AMICITIA MEA JUDICAVERIS, METUO NE ME SUSPICERIS AD OFFICIA NIMIS IGNAVUM, A QUO ME PROFITIORS CUM RES POTUITAR LONGE ALIENUM. IN HOC LITERARUM COMMERCEO SI QUAE UTOR LIBERTATE, ID PLERUMQUE

VOL. III. 

† Baltjofar Boker.

Ref Ref evenic
evenit cum ad eos scirendum sit, quibus benevolentiam micidiamque meam re potius quam verbis teftatam fore mihi in animo eff. Hoc an tu probaveris necio, erta ego per pluram verum. Nemo enim omnium qui te magis suscipit, æquitas, diligat quam ego: id nunc facio & temper faciam.

Non placet Wettlenii in edenda Sacellii Officii historia cunectatio, hoc unicum in ea mora placet, qua te identidem relegente & sub incendem sepius revocante, limariorem perfectionemque habebimus. Hoc unum ut te mo-neam jam occurrit, sic alterum hujusmodi volumen duodecim circiter ab hinc annis Monsepsulius extitisse ab hoc distantiam; duo enim illic tunc erant hujusmodi volumina.


Ooste, 29 Feb. 1692.

Tui amantisimum,

J. Lock.

De miraculis post apostolorum tempora certiorum ferior cupio. Non ego fatis verfatus in historia ecclesiasticae, ut quid de uslatum nòrim. Rogo igiur obnixe, nam mea interest scire, an post apostolorum tempora edita fuerint in ecclesia christiana miracula, quibus authoribus & quae fide memoro tradita, quam frequentia, & an ad Constantini imperium vel diuitius du-raverint, & quis fuit illae Thaumaturgus, & quid ab eo actum est cujus tam speciofia appellatio ad nos pervenit. Non quae miraculorum quae in scrip- toribus ecclesiasticis memorantur catalogum, sed an confiat ex fide dignis hitoricis fuiffe vera miracula, an raro vel sepius edita, & quamdiu docunt illud ecclesiae conceffum.

Phil.
Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke, S.P.D.

Vir amplissime,

A B acceptis tuis 27 Junii datis ad urbem accedens hodie primum Archiepiscopum convenit. Quamprimum tuum audivit nomen, agnovit acceptam & te contra Judaeum dispositionem, excusavit filentium quod ob valeditionem, oculorum debilitatem, & alia quae interveniunt impedimenta, integram nonum perlegaret. Laudavit maxime illud opus una cum autore, & gratias quas nonumegigit fe habere agnovit. Histriam Sancti Officii jam valde opportunam judicavit. Capitum indicem summa cum voluptate & approbatione perlegit, & cum tuum de dedicatione consilium aperuisset, ea verborum urbanitate & honore, eo vulgo acceptit, ut si adiuisset hoc sibi non ingratum fore certus esset. Mitte igitur quamprimum dedicationem, novi viri modéstiam, & laudo consilium tuum, quod preceltam ab eo prius velis quam editam. Illi monitrobo, quod fecio honori ducet, & si quid mutandum videret indicabo. Interim dixit fe habere librum Luistaniæ editum de quodam acta Inquisitionis in Lusitania, in cujus exordio occurrunt Papa rum bulæ aliisque diplomata quibus potestas Sancti Officii concevæ & stabilita est, accuratissimæ collecæ. Nomen autem non retinebat memoria, & liber ipse, illius bibliothecæ nondum in ordinem redacta, ab ipsis quæstis non repertus est. Volumen est, ut aiunt, in 8°. Brevi ipsam iterum revi fam, cæcum curam cuidam domesticorum mandabat, ut ante reditum meum praefato fe liber. Tunc tibi nomen authoris praebeban, & si nondum video ris ipsam librum tibi mutuo commodabit reverendissimum archiepiscopus, Gravium, Guenellonem, Veeniosque omnes meo nomine salutæ. Clerico nostro, quem officiosissime salutæ, ante aliquot sephmanas an menfes dicam scrupul, an pervenerint ad illum littere mea ignoro, nam ab illo tempore nihil hab eo accepti. Hoc quaxo illi indices, ne me tarditatis, si mea intercide sit epitola, supsiceret, Fœminam tuam dilectissimam liberoseque summo cum affectu salutæ. Vale, Vir dignissime, & ut facis me ama,

Land: 30 Jun. 1692.

Tui Studiöissimum,

J. Locke.

Philippo a Limborch Joannes Locke, S.P.D.

Vir amplissime,

De adventu librorum tuorum certior factus, qua potuì festinatione Landonia me contuli, ut quas tu de ipsis jüfijeras prefens curarem. Archiepiscopus quamprimum accederam, maximas fe tibi gratias habere professus est, opus ibi perplacere, fequé à libri tuo lectione hoc etiam tempore negoris maximis occupatissimo abstinere non posse: fed magnam ejus partem summa cum voluptate ex quo accept percurrit. Verum quo animo accepti legit, laudavit tunc demum relictus intelliges ex ipisis verbis cum ad te definitas litteras scribere vacaverit. Episcopus Salisburiensis multa & his familia mihi dixit, & fe adeo detencum immerfumque esse argumento libri tuo (quo histriam inquisitionis ultra quam expectati poterat delucidam accuratamque tradidit) ut ad te scribere donec tum pervoluerit non potuerit; fe interim gratias tibi amplissimam reddere. Comes Pembrokienfis multa de te cum laude, & pro munere tuo per me gratias agii jubilat, donec ipse tua manu agnofer acceptissimum à te beneficium. Bathoniensis & Wellenfem episcopum in domo procerum qux̄ivi fed non adaret: cunque extra urbem habebat hora una vel altera à meo hospitiio eum in tam brevi mora convenire non poterat. Tuum autem librum illi traditum ut reliquis omnibus certo fecio. Cæterum curavi ut Des Clarke communi nus nofiter amicus eum adeat, ut e-confirm librum incompaetum à te mißium, Vol. III.
Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke,

quod ego reliquis quibus opus fuit feci, quanquam non omnino opus fuit. Miseris jam merito cur ego, qui non minus meo quam horum virorum nomine gratias agere deberem, tantus cessator effem, ubi festinandum potius effet, ut neglegentia propioris loci commoditate, rus hac comminigerrae antequam ad te darem litteras. Dicam quod res est; fanus urbem addi, sed unius dieque mora adeo mihi mutata est valetudo, ut respirare vix potuerim. Ingravescebat quotidie malum, & tam cito me urbe expulit, ut neglegentia maxima rerum illius agendarum parte autiuere necesse effet.

Librum tuum hoc mecum attulisti, ut tuo beneficio Dn. Cudworthi & ego habeamus hac hyeme noctes Atticas, quas nihil tam augere poterat quam authoris prefentia, & quos fecum semper adferre fales Attici. Ego huc die Saturni reverius fum; hodie libri tui lectionem inchoandam quique qua voluptate facile dijudicare potes, sed credas velim quas tibi habeo gratias non esse minores. Ex tuis 10 Octob. datis quamprimum mihi innotuit quot & quibus huc deftinaveras exemplaria, ego cum hospitium & bibliopola Smith, ut singula fingulam quam occasisse tradenterant antequam liber upiam apud nos profaret venalis, quod diligenterfisse factum est; nec ea in parte interit aliqua tam eximii & tam opportuni operis gratia. Sed quid tandem flatuendum est de MS. codice autographo, quod ego in tutissimo aliquo loco inter archiva reponendum suaderem, ut in perpetuum ...... effrontes adversarios faciat fidem. Quinam vero is sit locus tutissimum libenter tecum inquirere.

Epistopii vitam tua manu æternitati confecrandam gaudeo: sed qua lingua? cum enim praestignam eas concionibus illius Belliccis (ut reor) jam probitari, metu ne illius quoque historia prodiet etiam in lingua mihi minus familiaris. Gratulor tamen erudito orbis hanc tam docti tam eximii virtum monumenta, cuius omnes lucubrations ab interitu confervanda.

Jam apud nos prodit Johannes Malea Antiochenus, quem diu & anxi sanctit in amicus meus Toinardus. Rogo igitur ut cum Wetttenio agas, ut quamprimum aliquid illius libri exemplaria ad illius manus pervenerint (quod ficio maturius futurum quam fì ego unum hinc ad eum Amfledamum mittere tenebam) unum ad Toinardum quam citiffime transmittendum curabir, pretiumque meis rationibus adscribatur, quod ego solvam. Malea author est nec magni nominis nec fidei. Sed in dubio aliquid chronologico fe lucem inde mutuaturum speravit Toinardus, & cupio ego maxime illius infervire defiderio; igitur rogo ut hanc rem cures ut mihi gratissimam.


Clerico nolito ante 15, Guennoloni ante 10 dies scripsi. Spero jam omnia pacata & amice composita in ifta familia, cui omnino omnia bona opto. Hos ceteroque meos omnes, imprimit optimam tam uxorem liberego quefo meo nomine officiofissime falutes, & me ut facis ama.

Oates, 28 Nov. 1692.

J. Locke.

PHILIPPO & LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir amississime,

Qumprimum ad urbem accessi nudift tertius reverendissimus archiepiscopus me ad se vocari curavis, & ut conveni de te & libro tuo multa cum laude praefatus, tandem dixit, se ad te scripsi negotiorum multitudo haec hentes impeditus, paratalesque epistolam sigillo muniens mihi in manus tradidit, ut inscriptione, illo dixante, mea manus exarata, tibi transmittendum curarem, quod libens fucepi. Infuper mihi tradidit libellum concionum nuper ads editorum, ut etiam ad te illum transmittarem, quod iidem diligenter curabo, & quamprimum hinc ad vos proficisci tem quem-
and several of his Friends. 609

quempiam invenero ei tradam ad te perferendum. Haec tenus de archiepiscopi mandatis. Ad me quod attinet multas tibi & habeo & refero gratias pro ea quam ex historia tua lectione percepisti volupitate. Illud credo exaurifi argumentum; certe illud mysterium iniquitatis mundo palam exposuit, et tenebris in lucem protraxit. Multarum rerum importunio impeditus interventu nondum integrum perlegi, potte brevem hac in urbe moram rus reversum, pergam porro ut fatiscaxiam ei quod in me excitasti desiderio. Noxii mis tuis literis mihi pro more gratiissimis responsum haec in charta expectare non debes. Feitians ad urbem eas rure reliqui, illuc cum rediero ad orti & quietis recusat oportunior dabitur tecum colloquendi occasii, hic vex rixiparind mihi conceditur facultas. Interim amicitiam humanitatemque tuam confuetam agnosco. Te maximo cum affectu saluto, tuoque omnes, imprimit dilectissimam conjugen, liberosq; Venios, Guenellonesque nostros, omniumque tibi prospera & felicia precor. Vale, & me ut facis ama

Lond. 10 Jan. 1695.

Tui amantissimum,

J. Locke.

PHILIPPO à LINBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S.P.D.

Vir amplissime,

JUDEAEUM EUTHEIUM silentium libens fatore, nec si feriore manum delinquenterem correxienses queri possum. Eri enim pudet me adeo tardum fuiffe ad officia, ut non nisi bis monitus excitarer: gaudeo tamen me tanti apud te fuiffe, ut me primus vocibus male respondentem iterum tentandum arbitraberis: excutione valerudinis quam iple tibi pro me fuggeffit ut non possum. Gratias enim Deo ex quo ad te ultimae dedi recte factis pro more meo valui, nec tamen fine omni causa a scribendo abilini. Maximam par tem libri tui summa cum voluptate perlegeram, progresi mihi in animo erat, & ad finem uiffe pervolvere, ut de toto operae a capite ad cælum perpeptœ, eam quis possem gratias laudeque redderem. Non multum aberam a fine libri, & paucu illa capita quæ mihi restabant legenda fæm quotidie fecerunt intra paucos dies potuisse absolvì. Sed hic negotiorum & insipientium series, dum nova & inesperata continuata ordine se invicem exciperent, me de die in diem prostraxerunt & adhuc prostratissi, nifi novissima tua tam amica oburbatione labentis temporis immemorum, primifice cognitionibus indomimente excitent. En habes fatentem reum, negligentem agnosco: fed eo confilio, eo amico negligentem, quem culpare vix posset: aut si qua fuerit culpa, ei ipsi roties deceperis forte fuit (amicitia certe non fuit) quam eandem quæ erga te femper fuit, nec minime dum ego tacerem filius profiteri gefli. Historia tua Inquisitionis, ut de ea parte quam legi libere promunici, mihi maxime placet: ordine, methodo, perpicuitate, testium fide mihi plane videtur opus absolvissimum, nec video quid in eo desiderari posset. Et ab omnibus quoquo confudere contigit maxime laudatur. Clericum nostrum nullas a me jam a pluribus becondadis (ut scribis) accipisse dolore; scripti enim ad eum ante duos circiter menfes, is inclusas a Comite Pembrokieni ad illum mihi litteras quas intercidisse vereor, quandoquidem D* Clericius in novissimis suis 11 Septemb. dati deis ii ne verbum quidem. Me illum de Spenceri obitu monuisti recte memini, & credo ea in epistolis quandoquidem tu id hac tenus ignorare videris. Bibliorum Castellionis editionem qualcumque tua narras apud vos designari valde lator, & viris litteratis apud nos gratum acceptumque fore opus non dubito: Poff diuturnam rufelationem nuperus meus in urbem reditus nondum mihi conceperit plurimorum doctorum colloquia, prout datur occaso alios confulum, quamvis vix credit potest elegantem editionem, tam elegantis verfionis notis etiam alifque scrip tis eo fpeciantibus tam docti viri ornatam, non omnibus non placueram. Eamiam tuam dilectissimam quam fere continua laboriffe scripteras tibi fuisse fanam saluamque restitutam fpero, reliquis tuis nostrisque recte valere gaud eo. Eos omnes quoquo sunt meo nomine rogo quam officiosissime salutes, quibus
Qualem te, Vir spe gratissime, semper crediderim, talem re ipsa experior ad omnia infusa: amicitia officia natum, qui non folum pronus in beneficia bene merendi nullam praetermissis occasione, sed, quod difficilium est, eadem facilitate ignoscis amicorum delictis, quia alii oblationes objurant. Diuturnum meum silentium graviori reprehensione dignum, imulac tarsas tandem à me literas acceperis, quasi prima vocula penitus deletam condonas. Agnofo beneficium candoremque illum tuum, quo tuis, quo omnibus gratias, in quo me tuo repono: dum non ex litteris amicitiam meam attestas, nec silentio imminutam fulpiscatur fueris. Id enim tibi pertussum vellem, tempus mihi & verba deesse poiffe, amicitiam qua te ampleret, qua semper amplexaurus sum, mihi deesse vel labefacerti nunquam poiffe.

In Hibernia tua Inquisitionis, ex quo novissime ad te dedi literam, non magnos progreffius feci, quotidianis negotii haecensum impeditus. Quod fi ex dubius primis libris, quos summa cum voluptate perlegi, de dubius religiosi judicare licer, nihil potest effe in eo generie perfectius, nec ad perfectam ilium tribunalis cognitionem aliquid defiderari potest. Laudo studium tuum, quod plerique in locis ipsa authorum verba citaveris, & fi nihil continent, quod tu breviore & elegantior stylo exprimere non portuisses, fi lectori placier una aest cura, fed cum quo generie hominum tibi res est reetca tecum reputatis, & eorum crimina, fraudes & favitia ex eorum ipsumore optime diffcenda, vix enim credi poterant, fi ab extraeexo vel adversario af ferreunter. Quae autem ex alis haueris authoribus tam fero, ut editioni inferi fuis apte in locis non potuerint, tuaque marginibus libri adscriptam, ea, si nimis longa non sint, ut tibi nimiam transcribendi rem pro farram, si mihi per omium excerpta tranfmittere velit, gratissimum mihi facies, ut meum etiam librum iis ornem, & fuis omnibus numeris perfectiam habeam, ut nihil deit huic mysterio inquitatis revelando. Literas tue per Hibernum illum transmissas ille fuis manibus rus huc ad me profectus mihi tradidit. Talem illum reperio qualem tu descripsist, nec defunt hic cantes pei fautores. Editionem illum Caffellionis, quam mediantur elegantiam, libens viderem, & nofratibus grattam forte nullus dubito. Quod de Harmonia Evangelica doctissimi mei Toinardi ad me scribis, de editione illius ego quidem nunquam cogitavi, nec quod amplius est unquam cogitabo, nisi ut ipsum authorem ad opus suum luce dignissimum edendum, qua data occasione, & quantum possit, impellam & infligem. Non quod ego hunc thefaurum literato orbi invideam, ego summa ope, donec commercio litterarum uti licuit, editionem ejus semper efflagitavi. Sed non ea (ut mihi vifum est) fide mihi concordium est hoc exemplar, ut ego harmoniam hanc, illo inficio aut inconfulto, typis mandarem. Si mihi integrum esse fletam sub praelo mitterem, fed dum illa vivit, aut alioque ad fuis fpes est proditum, nulla quantiss preet mercede est meis manibus in publicum elabi patiar. Nuper prodict hic liber, quem Toinardo gratissimum forte fico. Si reperire poiffs viam qua ad illum transmitti potest, mihi feceris acceptissimum beneficium. Liber quem ad illum mittere vellem est Ioannes Malela Anticobenus Oxonii non ita pradem editus. Si occasionem mittendi reperias, emplum apud vos librum five compacket five incompacket, prout commodo diffimum erit vectura, quaego ad illum mittas, à Monsieur Toinard à Orleans. Gaudeo Veenium noffrum fanum salvumque in urbem & ad praxin rediisse. Vir qui in artis fia exercitatione à juventute uque confenuerat, continui radio orii credo languesceret. Illum & Guenellonium noffrum uxoreque cum rota familia quaego meo nomine officiofissime falutes. Facem, concordiam, & amicitiam inter eos flabillitam fpelo, omnia fausta, uti par eff, illis & tibi tuique.
E Tfi meam in scribendo tardatatem prorsus excufare nequeam, me tamen eo proceffis neglignentix, ut per toto novem menfes te in fututum praeterirem nolis credas. Diurumum nimis silentium haud invitus fatoere, quod cum nec litterarum tuarum farietas, nec imminuita erga te voluntas mea eftefcerit, facilim apud te veniam inventurum fpero. Puduit fane ad te iterum fcribere antequam opere tuo penitus perleefte meam de eo sententiam five potius gratulationem potuerim perferibire. Quantum voluptatis, quantum lucis ex accurata tua Inquifitionis Historia percepere vix dicere po fed omnis autore fide & documentorum testimoniiif rata & fuffulta fane: adeo ut quorum maxime interet redarguerere, ne hifice quidem adeant. Opus illud tenebrarum & occultas nefandae crudelitatis artes in tam clarum lucem ex latibus ait proraxifi, ut fia qua reflarent in iftis ecclefia, five potius Antichrifti fataleitibus, humanitatis vetititia, puderet illos tandem tam iniqui tam horrendi tribunalis, ubi omne juis, fas, & justitia fuque deque haberur. Verum fi hae opprobria quia refelli non poftunt nihil illos moveant, reformaris fallam & ex faviilimo hoc ergaftulo ereptis animos addet, contra tam inhumanum tyrannidem quacunque specie five religionis five concordiae irrepre iterum conantem. Ea eft difputantium fape contentio, ea argumentorum subtilitas & longa feries, ut non fit uniufcquefe fe arguilis & fallatums innotandum expedire, & de fumma controverfia judicar. Si quis vero e plebe indepotus tuam perlegat hiftoriait, fentiat flatim illic certe deffce religionem, charitatem, juftitiam, ubi violata aquisita regula, omnique juis dicendi per ordinem rara, tam inhumanam, tam crudelitatem perpetrantur, & ab evangelij genii remociimfima: ideoque dignum opus exiftimo quod in cujuque genitis linguam vulgarem traducatur, tam diftineta enim & exacta methodo omnium tradidit, & tetibus exceptione majoribus conformabili, ut nihil in eo defiderari videatur, quod vulgus erudiat, litteratios in-/ratur, omniumf stabilitat. Si quid forte tibi, uti mones, occurrat ad hoc argumentum pertinentis ex libris ante editam hiftoriait tuam non vitis, rogo ut per orium, fi non finisimis operofum, ad me velis transmittere; omnia enim fuce facientia in librum tuum ad marginem apri in locis adscripta concijcere animus eft, uti nuper ex itinerario in orientem hoc quod {eqnC}urit excerptum, paginae 276. libri tui inferui.

Le St Office, ce redoutable tribunal fameux par ses injustices, & ses cruautés, regno ici [à Malte], plus tyranniennement qu'à Rome même, et on n'a fait cent fois les decis, dont je vous épargnerai la réitéss, feulemment vous direz je, que les enfeleurs, qui par tout ailleurs sont tenus de garder le secret fur peine du feu, sont ici dans l'obligation de reveler toutes les fois qu'il s'agit d'un cas d'inquisition, quoi qu'ils ne l'avouient pas, car ce serait le moyen d'empêcher les gens de ces enfeleurs: mais c'est une chose qu'on faisait fort bien. Cependant pour en être tout franc, on demeure quelquefois un an ou deux ans dire mot après quoi l'inquisiteur envoie prendre un homme, & lui demande s'il fais bien pourquoi il a fait saillir, alors c'est à lui de se renseigner de tout ce qu'il peut jamais avoir dit; qu'il malheureusement la mémoire ne lui fournira pas, ou que le delà, dont il est coupable, est il le secret que le feu enfeleur en ait en connaissance, & que se reprenant à déflas il ne veuille pas avouer; c'est fait de ces hommes là, en l'etrangle dans la prison, & puis quelque temps après on dit à ses parens qu'il
Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke.

quod n'eit pas besoin de lui porter à manger. Heureux sont ceux qui ne sont point
sujets à ce sort. Du Mont nouveau, Voyage au Levant 44° imprime en 12°.
à la Haye, 1694.

Quas minatus es prolixiores litteras avide expe[cto, sic sic ululcisaris silentium
meum, quomodo remuneraberis diligentiam? Theoligiam tuam tam
brevi iterum prodituram gaudo, paucia in ea emendanda facile crediderim;
quanta quanta addideris in codem ernunt fonte, & augebunt apud lectoris pre-
tium. In magna xllimatione apud ecclesiam Anglicam Theologos feci. Quid
in postremum futurum fit necio, audio enim nonnullus Calvinismum am-
plexuros & præseffinationem (sic inter illos convenit) palam scriptis prop-
pugnaturos. Quot & quales in partes suas pertrahebat nova hac paucorum &
adhuc privata societas, nondum conjicere licet. Latent omnia & secreto per-
raguntur, & si ex auctroribus, quorum non firma amicus quidam secreto
in aurem dixit, rem metiri libeat, non credo longe eavrum, nisi aliofine
oriarium hoc constitun, alioque habeat fautor. Si quid ultra privata aliquid
inter fe colloquia producit, hac nonnullorum molimen dies indicabit, &
tunc quid velint quo tendant rectius judicabimus. Sed hae haec tenus.
Dolete certe tantum inter nos loci effe intercapidinem, sic viximus effem haberes
me confutalorem quotidiem offia tua pulsatem. Pauci admodum sunt limati
judicis homines quibuscun poteris libere de speculationibus quibuscumque,
mutuo minus de rebus religionis differere. Deest mutua charitas, deest can-
dor, & ut eam quidque ignorantiam velum obtendat, non facile dat veniam
aliena. Nec dubia quocunque licet proponere, nifi paratius venias te totem
illis tradere, & in verba jurare, vel cenfurus onustus haereticus abire. Non
hoc de melipio queror tanquam aliquid passus ab iniquo amicorum judicio;
sed ramen jucundum est in proximo habere quern de maximis minimissime
aperte & audaciter confusis. Libri mei de Intellectu humano secunda edicio
disfraller celerius quam credere possim, nec adhuc invenit ditteratio illa
urcunque heterodoxa oppugnatorum. Utinam eo esset fermente conscripta,
ut tuo uti de universis eo in opere contentis judicio liceret. Urgent aliquid
verionem, quartis traductorium Bibliopolae, & sperat brevi reputum iri, nam
mihi non vacat. Vix per valutudinem & succrescentia quotidiem negotia li-
cuit mihi, nisi lento gradu & intercissu temporibus, tuam perlegere histiorum,
quamquam legem voluptas me vix patiabatur ingressum avelli. Bibliopolae
efflatagram tamen ut versioneer recenere velit, ut si qua a me senfus aberra-
verit corrigam, quod sane vix recutare possim. Sed quid his te ratio pro-
lixioris epistolae jam fatigatum detineo? Vale, & ut facis me ama

Oate, 26 Oct.
1694.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S.P.D.

Vir amplissime,

Magna cum voluprate tuas accepti & legi: etiam enim affectum erga me
tuum nullatenus suffit immittum plene perfluo fessem, nihilomi-
nus pest tam diuturnum silentium literarum videre non potuit non esse gra-
tissimum. Historiam meam Inquisitionis calculo tuo probari, est quod mihi
gratulator. Scio judicium tuum esse factum ad limatissimum. In praehitos
vero que addix agnoscere propensitym tuum erga me affectum, qui omnia
qua probas vero majora tibi Republicaverit. Ego veritati licite studei, & tribu-
nali illud ut exhibere, protu ipsio doctores pontifici, ito inquirere id nobis
depingunt. Saepe quidem, quando sperim in ipsorum libris procedendi modus
decribuir, & facitis coloribus pallitare, non ita patere ejus injudicio &
seriatem, quam quando omnia simul inter fe connexa nudo, fine fuco, om-
nium oculi exposuitur. Non crediderim quanquam, nequebam eo accer-
mis inquisitionem patronum, me male fidei inomaxaturum; & si qui id autur,
latim autorem, quorom nonmina margini passim adscripti, testimoniis redargui
poterit.
poterit. Sed quam dispari fato libri prodeunt! Tu historiae meas dignam judicas, quae in cujusque gentis linguam vernaculam traductur. Rome vero die Maii hujus anni, edito Cardinalium, in tota rep. christianae inquisitorum generalium condemnata est, eujus libelli severissime prohibita, sub penis in indice librorum prohibitorum contenuntur. Decretum hoc, quod & aliis libri condemnantur, triduo post, videt. Die Maii, fut publicationem & affiliationem ad valvas Basilicae principis apostolorum, palatii S. Officii, & in acie campi Flore, ac alios locis folitics & confusius uibus. Sed mihiorem sententiam quis ab inquisitione expectet, contra historiae, quae arres ac crudelitates iuris, quas occulatam omnibus exponi, tribunali hoc non sanctitate venerandum, sed injustitia, crudelitate, fraudibus, & impotitibus exercentium exhibet? Alter enim, iure describatur, exhiberi nequit. Quae ego ex aliis auctoribus, quos postmodum mihi videre contigit, annotavi, & quae postero in alius, qui forte mihi osten dentur reperiam, libentissime ad te mittam. Vidi quod ex itinerario Du Mont annos habui, qui optime illo quem desideravi loco marginis historiae meae adscribi possunt. Sed, ut ingenua dicam, velde dubito an narratio illius vera sit. Male fidei tipulum neuerquam acculo: sed hie facile potest, ut peregnotores non diu in regione aliqua comorantes, incidant in homines legum & confusutionum patriarum ad admodum peritos, nonnunquam etiam mendaces, ex quorum ore quasdam veritatis minus consistantanea fine accuratiori investigatione annotantur. Qualia multa in itinerariis eorum, qui patriae nostra meres & confusutiones describunt, oblervavi. Ratio dubitandi est: quia video omnes doctores pontificios, necnon omnia decreta ecclesiastica, folicitae admodum urgete, arcana confessionum non esse patet interienda: imo ne hæredem quidem sub fignite confessionis revelaram: lufummodo facerdotes inhumanus, ne hæredem confessio abolutionem imperiantur, sed omnibus quos possunt rationibus hortentur, ut in judicio coram inquisitionibus juridice contentur. Seio quidem non omnia quae legibus præcipiuntur exacta in praxi Inquisitionis observari, & sub specio confessionis non revelanda praetexta simpliciores insecari possit, ut ingenuus, etiam quae inquisitionibus ignota sunt, contentur, quæ a facerdoto porro inquisitionibus revelari possint, neque a talis imposerat tribunalii illius sanctitatem abhorrere credo: attamen quia omnes ipsorum constitutiones, instructiones, & leges, omnia illius ecclesiæ decreta: contrarium præcipiunt, non id affirmare aŭtem, nisi aucto et probatus, cujus nec peritum nec fide in dubium vocari quaer. Quare loco quem mihi fuggerit ex itinerario Du Mont, addi polet, si vero fit illius narratio, exinde evidentior liquere inquisitionis prætio eæpide aduersari inquisitionis instructionibus & legibus; inquisitioneque unice tantum pecunia, qua ratione miferar captivi per fas & nefas decipiant, autque praebet fraudibus irretitos miser morte perdant. Poff haec scriptas tritias me de subita optimi Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis morte nuntius non legiter perculit. Definitaevam ipsi Theologiae meae Christianæ exemplar; pridie autem ante eum tradi posuerit mortus eft. Ecclesiae reformate tanto patrono, ram prudenti, perito, pacis amantissimo antifitni orbatis flatum doleo. Utinam Deus, qui potens etiam lapidibus Abrahæ filios excipere, alium nobis subtilitatem, illus si non parem, quod vix sperare aŭtem, tamenveftigia eis quantum fieri potest proxime prementem! Ile ribi & Domina Malthiam viam ad feri usque annos producur. Vale, & me ut facis amare non define.
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PHILIPPO & LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S.P.D.

Vir amplissime,

Quamprimum ego novissimas tuas 26 Aprilis datas acceperam, statim Londinum scripsi, & quantum in me est curavi, ut libri quos adopus sumum desiderar Marcus ille nofter, ficubi reperiri poftuli ei suppeditentur. Eo diutius reponsum dictuli, ut quid in hoc & altero illo negotio Tholofano factum sit certiorum te facerem; fed nec D'Aranda, nec alter cujus cura liberorum perquisitionem commifi, haœtusen quiqcam reftipiterunt, fed ex eorum fientio nolim ego male ominari.

De autographo, an Furliei jam fit, rectius ex ipfo quam ex me cognosces: non quod ego negilgens ea in re vel otiosius fuerim procurator; fed cum per valerudinem Londinum ea tempeftade adire non auderem, tumultum amico nostrum communem commitis viro prudenti & fudelo, cui seírem rem cordi fore; & ne mora circuitu literarum per manus meas tranfunctum officeret, post primum quod ab amico Londinienfis accepis reponnum, quo intellexi illum omnem navaturum operam ut rem tranfigerem, monuis ut reétæ ad Furlieum scriberet, ut ex illo refcrieret quod facta ad rem reete perficientem adhuc operus effet. Hoc ab eo factum nullus dubito: fi quid amplius à me præfenti poftuli omnem operam, curam, induftriam me in eo locaturum pro certo habes.

Quod de Oxoniensis nobis dictis quanquam nihil fando audiverim facile credei derim: quod Kilonienfem adverfariwm negligis laudo, quodque ab aliis inter de differentibus vepulas tanto magis òstimo, veritatis enim fenceris & incorruptis authoribus sic fieri folet. Pro Theologis tua Christiana jam de nus a me tibi reddeam; sunt gratia, non quod bibliothecam volumine, fed me scientia auxerit. Hac enim hyeme in quo confideret fides Christiana diligenter apud me cogitando ex ipfis scripturis f. fontibus hauriendum duxi, femotis quibuscumque fecurum & fystematam opinionibus & orthodoxis. Ex intenta & accurata N. Teftamenti lectione novi fedeiris status & evangelii docetina mihi apparuit, ut mihi videbatur meridiana lece clarior, nec quid effet fides Christiana dubitari poftfe fencero evangelii lecto mihi perfuauimum efft. Ideoque cogitata mea in chartam conceji, ut ec melius partium inter fe convenientiam & harmoniam, & fundamenta quibus inniterem, fede & per oium comprehenderer. Cum omniam in hoc meo fymbolo fana & verbo divino ubicque conformia videabatur, theologos confuendum duxi (reformatos videlicet) ut quid illi de fide fenfiterem videarem. Calvinum adi, Turretimum aliocesque quos ita id argumentum tractasse fateri coger, ut quid dicam, quod velint capere necuquam poftum, adeo defio mihi in illis omnia videntur a fenu & simplicitate evangelica, ut illorum scripta intelligere nemum cum facro codice reconciliare non valeam. Tandem fpe meliore tuum in manus cepi theologiam, nec fane fummo gaudio legi cap. viii. lib. v. quo intellexi aliquid reperiri theologum cui ego non plane fummum horretius. Ut in libro tuo legendo ultra pergerem nondum fatis vacui temporis nactus fum. Nihil mihi optatius eft poftul quam te videre, & te coram que commentarum fum legerere & explicare, ut limato & incorrupto tuo judicio subjicerentur. Hac tibi in aurem dicta funto, nam me hoc tractasse argumentum tibi foli communica tur volo. Saluto Veenios, Guenellones tuamque imprimes familiam. Vale, & ut facis me ama

Oster, 10 Maij, 1695.

Tui amanssimum,

J. Locke.

JOANNI
Vir amplissime,

Tri nostrum diuturnum ac pertinax illud silentium imprudentum sit, ignoro. Importunus sim, si a te negotios publicos occupatissimo ad singulas meas repnonunm eflagi, put silentium tuum silentio ulisci. Amicitia sincera rigorem illum averatur, neque epistolam aequali numero, sed vide ac charitate mutua confett. Interim dulciissimo confutandis nostrae rusti jam ultra annum carui. Ultima enim tua, quibus me respondisse memini, decimo Maii die praecedentis scripturae sunt. Salutem mihi a te aliquoties dixerunt D. D. Clericus & Guenellonius, & litteras mihi a te brevi scribendas nuntiabant, quas tamen haec est rusta expectatione; hoc autem negotiorum tuorum, quibus obruit es, frequentia unice adscribendum duco. Aliquoties tibi scribere gefelli; sed verius sum, ne importunior scriptio ab amico occupatissimo repnonum minus tempestivum extorquere videtur.

Nunc vero, cum munus tibi honosriissimum a primoribus Anglicae demandatum esse confissent ad nos fama pertulit; silentio, abrumpendum cenfu, ut dignitatem hanc non tam tibi quam Anglicae gratuler, quae in collegio amplissimo una cum summis regni proceribus se affecerint habet, cujus confilia omnii prudentia, vide, candore ac sinceritate dirigitur, & communi civili fasuli unice deffinitur. Deus viatam tibi largiatur longavam, consiliique tuis succellem quem merentur concedat. Ego hic occupatus vivo; & tamen vix quicquam promoveo, non aliter ac si alio defidicio torperem. Arminii scripta inedita me occupatam tenent: promifi ego bibliopolae Germano, me a parasurum ad editionem; sed in scriptis ejus relegendi, ob caracterem exilatem & ductum lectu neutiquam commodum, tantam reperio difficultatem, ut, nisi tanti viri memoria, & non exigua quam inde ad publicum redirurar video utilitatis, ingrate laboris molestiam levaret, jam operae promissae penturisset. Hoc opus ubi edidero, nullis amplius posthumis aliorum operibus edendis me fatigabo. Oculorum acies sapitissime intendenda est urcharacteres exiles, & vetustate multis in locis furme evanescentis legantur. Ita multum temporis impendo, non tamen eo cum frui, qui temporis diutinamtem compenfare posset. Sed quoniam aea jaeta est, pergendum est. Prodibunt de novo praelectiones in Janom & Malachiam, quibus annectitur disputatio contra Judaeos, in posteriores ad Theolataliones, in seculum & terrae caput Apocalypsoes; & disputatio contra Cardinalum Perronium: quae omopulcis antehac editis justum conficient volumen. Premissi D. Calpari Brantiose plioxirom vita Arminii historiarum, quae multa haec est exteris ignota continebit. Prodict nuper apud nos tractatus Anglici, quod Religionis Christianae, quals nobis est repraesentata in scriptura sacra, sit summe rationalis, vel Gallica. Illius aetro venire multa esse amicum meum. Ego respondeo, mihi nihil de eo conferte; & cum autor, quique ille sit, latera vult, nostrum non esse coniectoris, ut plurimum fallacibus, indugere. Ego summa cum voluptate lectioii illius incumbo, & in praecepto (quod totus libro, de fidei christiana objecto tractat) argumento illi prouus illustrating. Hoc recte percepero, gravissimae ac acerbissimae in ecclesia christiana dissipationes feliciter componi possit puto; saltem ecclesiis, non obstante opinionem diveriscere, pacem facili negorio possit restituiri; ea enim quae nunc a plurifique ut unicum ferme christianissimi fundamentum urgentur, objecto fidei non comprehendi planum sit. Quod unicum anathematismi, feliminiatus, & odiosi tollendi remedium est. Ego, ut videas me autente tractatum hunc legere, omniaque argumenta exacte ponderare, non possim, quin tibi observationem quotidem indicere, quae licet forte non magni videri possit esse momenti, tenam argumento autoris quo utitur pondus aliquod affrerre potest. Cap. iv. autor ad sue sententia stablishmentum adducit locum ex 2 epist. Joan. v. 7. quem omple ab ipso allegatum judico: verum verio Gallica ita cum exhibet, ut, me judice, non exacte exprimat senum qui in Graeco extrae, quicumque sententiam autoris validius confirmat. Qua ratione cum Anglici expresserit autor, ignoro. Gallice autem ex extat: Que plusieurs imposleurs se font elevez dans la monde, lesquels ne se confissent point, que leurs, le.
Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke,

Messie, sit venus en chair: Quæ senrum hunc continere videntur, quod impotiores hi non confeindi sunt, quod Jesum, qui est Messias, veneric in carne. Gracis autem textus ita habebi: "Ohi venit unca viuho ubi f it & curauint, et hic 12697790

Qui posteriora verba ego verto, non, qui non conscientur Jesum, qui est Christus seu Messias, in carne venisse; sed, qui non conscientur Jesum Messiam qui in carne venit: non enim est infinitivus in Gracco, sed participium. Hic fenus est longe alius, & autoris hujus foceo multo accommodator. Priore enim fenus haec esse impotorum falsa doctrina arguitur, quod non conscientur Jesum, qui est Messias, in carne venisse. Inde sequeretur, quod qui conscientur Jesum, de quo Johannes affirmat quod sit Messias (vex enim sit Messias per appositionem hoc fenus est legenda) in carne venisse, maneat in doctrina Christi, ut est v. 9. Atque multi qui non credebant Jesum esse Messiam, credebant tamen Jesum, qui Messias est, in carne venisse. Si posteriori fenus verrantur, tum fenus est, impotiores non conscienter Jesum Christum qui in carne venit; hoc est, non conscienti quod ille Jesus, qui in carne venit, sit Messias. Conscienter enim Jesum Messiam, est, conscienti quod Jesus sit Messias, seque illius dicipulum professerit; juxta Matth. x. 32. Illum autem Jesum, quem conscienti oportet, describit Johannes, quod sit ille qui in carne venit, & inter Iudaeos verfatus est. Inde sequitur, quod ille in doctrina Christi manet, qui conscientur quod Jesus, qui in carne venit, sit Messias. Et haec est sincera fidei in Christum confesso. Estinde esse fenum puto. Jo. Iam. iv. 2, 3, ubi familius non reperitur infinitivus, sed participium substantia. Non est quidem haec observatio tanti in hoc negotio, facit tamen ad genuinum textus Graeci intelligentiam, & autoris instituto favet. In aliis autem dispositionibus, quae cum Mennonitis nostratis instituuntur, maximis est ufsus. Sed tempus est ubr aemum. Vide tibi cum homine loquaque rem esse, qui, cum literis suis te complur, calamo imperare non potest. Vale, Vir amplissime, & feliciter age.

Amstelod. ....

1696.

P. à Linbroch.

Philippo à Linbroch Joannes Locke, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Si omnes in religione eo uterentur candore quo tu ufsus es in amicitia, non majorem offensionem inter differentes parergent argumenta, quern inter nos nuper peperit diuturnum nimium silentium. Si episcoporum reciprocationem affimem an tua major taciturnitas an mea dicere non ufsum, credo me ea ex parte peccasse. Ea vero uncunque se res habeat, tu certe humanitate tua & ignoscendo prior effecisti, ut culpa omnia mea sit, eoque magis probrofam mihi fentio, quod tu & levissima quidem reprehensione abstinuisti: negotiorum excusatione qua pro me appud te ufsus es, aliquid momenti erga alium habere potuisset, certe tibi me eo nomine excusarum nolim, addere etiam poteram valescendo tecta praterita hyeme vaide incommodar. Sed nec hoc quidem, quo minus tam charo tam fido amico scriberem, impedimento effe non debuit. Vis rem ipsam ut tibi scriberem, ferner quero tempus omnino vacuum, animumque ab aliis curis & cogitationibus liberum; hoc cum raro accidit uta ad voluntatem, ut non ad alium & magis orientur tempus reiectiam, de die in diem differendo annus elaburit, & tamen pudor culpæ superveniens tardiorum reddidit. Si hoc ignavie labebram dicas, non recufo, hoc cerro fecio immutata amicitia, vel mutata voluntatis non effe crimen; & forsan ut omnia fatear, non expeditus linguæ Latinius ufsus faffidium menti non bene fec explicanti eggerit. Sed tua amicitia & benevolentia, Vir amplissime, omnia superant. Gratulationem tuam eo quod tu scripisti animo, id est amicissimo, accipio; sed quid tandem mihi beneceutis & valerundinis onere succumbenti cum negotiorum publicorum tumultu? Secestis mihi jam quaerendus effet, & vel annis vel studiis meis quies. Hoc, si mihi credas, & magis aco, & mihi magis accommodatum credo, fed
and several of his F R I E N D S.

sed necio quo facto quod alius ambitiose & frustra queriit, alii vel inficio vel etiam detractanti tribuitur. Viri illius magni scriptra inedita tua opera proditura gratulat reipub. christiana. De libro Anglicano in linguam Gallicam verfo, cuius lectioiium cum ad me scriperas incubuisti, ideem tec- cum sentio, contentionum & schismatum radices evellit quantum id potest religiones christianae veritas & fundamentum, si id aurior recte explicuerit, ut mihi videtur; cum vero totum perlegeris, & tuam & aliorum de tractatu illo sententiam scire vellem. Theologis nostris tam conformissim quam non-conformissim displique audio, reliqui ut fi probar impohtanve, prout suo vel alieno innuntiatur judicio. Quod monuisti de loco Johannis tecom sentio: ideem est in versione nostra, quem in Gallica observavit error; led ad rem facit, verum apposite magis tectus Gracae, quem tu rectissimo ut mihi videtur interpretari. Vale, Vir amplissime, & me ama

Lond. 7 Sept. 1696.

Tui anantissimur,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS A LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

C itius tuis, decimo quinto demum Ocotbris die mihi redditis, responsidif- sem, verum quoniam judicium meum de tractatu Anglicano in linguam Gallicam verfo permisi, tempus a reliquis cursus vacuum quosivi, ut tracta- tum illum elegantissimum uno cenore perlegere, omnisque illo contenta considerare & expendere possim. Maxime mihi opportunum videbatur tempus hoc hibernum, quo ab exercitiiis academicis feriari folemus; sed & illud frigore suo acutilissimo non leviter imperum scribendi remorarum est. Legi totum tractatum a capitae ad calcem; nec unica lectio contentus, eum re- legi. Interim huc perlatos est Auctorium Lipsienium mensis Octobrem, quo comprehendiam tractatus illius pro doctorum illorum more nobis exhiberit. Primo aitnt auctorius illius Pockii nomen effe dicit (credo eos incerto rumori temere indicat adhibuisse, & in nomine una aberratil litera) tum comprehendio quod confecerame omnas quibus aliquam auctor invidiam confari posse putau sedulo enumerantur, ut systematurn theologorum contentum ulciscie velle vedeuntur. Excellunt magnificae Ioanneum Eduardum, quot praxae hactenus in Anglia contra Socinianam harenfis varii scriptis militavit, librumque ediderit Mediationem quarundam de caufis & occaione atehisim, hodierne praerem feculi; in quo paflum auctoribus hujus anonyminententias, ut peri- culolas & a socinianismo & atheismo non alienas perfrinxiit. Subjungunt hifice compendium duorum scriptorium, quorum alterum brevis pro tractau illo est Apologia; alterum Johannis Eduardi, titulo, Socianianim unmasked. Tu illos tractatus rectius me noster. Videntur dolere, quod meditationes Eduardi ipsius ad manum non fuerint; alias & illarum comprehendiam habuillimus. Systema theologiae me scripshire noster: non tamem eo in pretio apud me systematam sunt, ut non hune exiguum tractatum multis systematibus practi- feram; imo veras theologias ex illo quam ex operosis multorum systematibus hauisse me ingenio profiere. Sed vero theologiam auctor ille tradit, nimiris facilem, nimiris laxam, que saltuem angustiss humanoorum decretorum vinculius alligatum minime cupit; nec orthodoxiam ex sectarum confessionibus, fed folo verbo divino accepit. Hoc crimen est quo foccus fociinismi & atheismi infa- nii convito a doctrinis systematicis traduci meretur: non alter acfi, qui humana placta religiose adorare recusant, eo ipso omne religionem ejarare censendi effet. Ego autors in hoc tractatu foctum fummopere laudau; foctum fumum feliciter affeetum effe, folideque ipsum quod intendit probat: judicio. Imprimis placet mihi duo: methodus accuratata histoiie evangelicae, quam cap. ix. tradit, & per quam varia loca in evangelis, in speciem obfeura, feliciter admodum interpretatur: & peripieu illa deduciio argumentorum, quibus ostendit cur D. Jesus Christus in terris degens, non expressis verbis do- cuit.
ius, Rom. viii. 29. consentanei is quæ leguntur Act. xiv. 22. 2 Tim. iii. 12.
Pag. 246. ait autors fbi non occurrere quod D. Jefus ipse fbi tribuat titulum Sacerdotis, aut mentionem faciat ullius rei quæ ad facerdotium referetur. Munus Chrifi facerdotale in apostolorum epiftolis, & praefice in epiftola ad Hebraeos nobis plenus esse descriptionum manifeftum est; nec negari potefi D. Jefum nutquam in evangeliis fbi facerdotis titulum tribuere: attempam negandum non videtur quod fbi allicubi actionem facerdotalem tribuat: diftere enim ait, fe animam fumam subefi alicubi daturum, Matth. xx. 28. Sanguinem fumum vocat sanguinem novi faderis, qui pro multis effeditur in remifionem peccatorum, Matth. xxvi. 27. Negare non possimus hunc effe actu qui ad facerdotium refpedendum habet. Quare fortasse præstiti fer pateriifer, neque hominibus calumniati occasionem quaerentibus quicquam suppediäfse quod cum specie aliqua carpere posse videatur. Prazer hec in tracæ nunc quadrin mihi occurrere videntur, quæ vix inter fe conciliari possunt, nisi foroe autem menem fumum plenus explicit. Pag. 13. ait, Cum Adam pulfus sit & paradifi terreftri, omnifque ejus poterfitas ea propter nafcatur extra hunc deliciarum locum; inde naturaliter fequi debet, omnes homines mortuuros, & in æternum sub potenta mortis manuros, atque in pratius fore perditos: ex eo fata autem omnes per Chrifium liberatos docef, & quidem per legem fidei, quam poftea fufe offendit evanfeligio contineri. Hec meo judicio vere dicuntur: verum non fit capio, quomodo cum his bene conciliaverunt quæ leguntur, pag. 250. & 266. quod qui jufti funt non indignum gratia, fed jus habent ad arборem vitae. Illi enim quaterquor Adami pofteri, etiam sub potentia mortis æternum manere debent: quomodo ergo per fumum juftitiæ jus pofturi acquirere ad arborem vitae, ira ut nulla gratia indigeam? Cum antea docuerant, omnes ex illo fata neceffaria mortis liberatos, & quidem per legem fidei: unde fequi videtur, liberationem illam non pofter fieri nisi per legem fidei. Ergo non per perfætam legis operum obedientiam: nam est miferia liberare gratia effe, quam lex operum exclusit. Tum nec cum principio ito commone fatis conciliare pofteri quoniam aut dicit, qua ratione illi, qui de Chrifi nihil quicquam inaudirentur, falvare pofterit. Si enim per Adamum neceffaria ac æterne morti sunt obnoxii, est quæ per folum legem fidei beneficio Chrifi liberentur, non videtur illis sufficere pofter, quod lumine naturæ aliquis fidei illius, quod Deus fit mifericordia, feintillas haebeant; fed pofter illius legem, quam Deus falsus obtinendo conditionem fatauit, fervari debere videtur. Video doctores ftyematicos hic multum offendi: atque ideo neque acquirere illis quinque frutibus, quod D. Jefum adventu fui in mundum hominibus conciliari doce autem. Ego in doctorum ftyematicorum gratiam nihil in veritatis praefidium docendum judico; & si quid illi præter rationem carpingant, indignationem eorum fpernendam cenfee: fed confiderandum, an non majus quid duci pofter & oporteat, quod ipsis licet non fatificaret, minus tamen forsan offendatur, & meo judicio plenus rei veritatem exhibet. Video frutibus quidem indicari prophetici ac regii muneris Chrifi, nullus vero facerdotalis. Quod fì ergo hic addatur muneris facerdotalis frutetus; quod mundus Deo fit reconciliatus, adeo uet nunc per Chrifiim omnibus omnino hominem remedium paratum fit est miferia fui, in quom loco occiptiones fegni Adams, propriique peccati incidentur, emergendi & falutem æternum conferendi? Hoc pofter, prout explicari pofter, qua ratione, salvus principis ante pofteris. II qui de Chrifi nihil ne fando quidem audirentur, per Chrifium falvare pofterint. Nempe quo Deus illius qui (ut autors hic ait, pag. 292.) infinuè luminis nature ad gratiam & mifericordiam ejus confuguit, delictorumque reiprefentiant amant, eorumque veniam supplices petunt, gratiam per Chriftum imperatam applicer, ipfi pofter Chrifhum remissionem peccatorum & juftitiæ imputet. Atque iva beneiium, quod ubi Chrifius predicatus est effe non nili per direcam in Chriftiam fidei obriti pofterest, illi fine direcam in Chriftiam, ipsis non predicatum, fidei confeguantur per gratiam imputationem divinam; qui favores & beneficia fui latius extendere pofter quam promifforum verba ferunt. Ut ita omnium fals in facrificio Chrifi fii præcipitatorius fundetur. Puto hec non mul tum æterntia hujus autors differre, & ies quæ evanfeligio continetur confeguntae effe. Ultimum caput per omniam amplector: omnia credenda & observanda ut salutem conferuantur Vol. III.
evangelis & actis cœtineri credo; nullumque novum articulum in epistolis apostolici superaddi: quæ alii novos fidei articulos urgent, non novi articuli sunt, fed aut magis dilucide articulorum jam antea traditorum explanationes; aut doctrinae antea tradita ab objectionibus præcipei judæorum vindicationes, cujus illus rebus nonis documentum præcepta epistola ad Romanos. Hæc sunt pucula illa quæ mihi inter legendum occurrerunt, quæque tibi expendenda propono. Forasse autors mentem per omnium non plene affectus fum. Verum exiguus hæc sunt, & extra principalem autors fœc omap, quem argumentis omni exceptione majoribus cum probâbe judico, adeo ut me fibi habeat petitus affectionem. Imprimis laudo quod tam candide & ingenuæ, nec minus solide, demonstrer reipublice & honorum operum necessitatem, & per legem fidei non petitus esse abolitam legem operum, fed mitigatam. Ego illorum theologiam non capio, quæ fidei Christi applicamus, etiam ante ullum reipublice actum, nos córam Deo justificare docent. Hæc enim persuatione imbuti facile mediis in fceleribus homines incauti fíbi jussitiam & falutem adscribunt, modo in fudiciam minime vacillantem deprehendant. Ex doctores improvisi hanc temerariam confidentiam alunt, dum hominibus impiis & fceleratis, modo circa vitæ finem fiduciam in Christi meritis fírmam profanæatur, falutem fine uilla hæ- stiatione addicere non verenur. Hujus generis exemplum in nostra civitate recens, quæ oblivione oblivatur non deser, memoramus. Præterita aërate ancilla quædam, ut herti fui aedés spoliare poiffet, noctu eis incendite. Mortis damnata fidem fuam in Christi meritis verbis emphaticis coram mi- nistro verbi divini, qui morituræ adfuit, prolixè professa eff: Ile fceleratae non tantum invidiae, sed usitius apœm facit, fed & postrimo pro conjusio illius fidem prolixè populo commendavit, adeo quidem, ut dicere non veritus sit, fæ, folia ignominia excepta, talem fibi vitæ exitum optare; multis applaudentibus, alii vero (non Remonfrantibus modo fed & Contra-Remonfran- tibus) non fine indignatione talem Encomiaæten cum suo encomio repre- hendentibus. Verum tandem manum de tabula. Tu pro solita tua benevo- lentia proximitati meæ ignosci. Vale, Vir amplissime, mihiqne fempem venerande.

Amstelod. 26 Martij, 1697.

P. À LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO À LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE; S.P.D.

Vir amplissime,

Inter negotia publica & privata valetudinem tam parum mihi concedi- tur uti literarii, ut fperem diurnum meum fsilentium, non ex inimicus ta omnino in te voluntate aut amicitia ortum, tibi, quæ tua effic in amicos lenitas, excufatam fore. An tu mihi egove tibi novissime literas dederim quaerere nolo. Satis egomet mihi culpandus videor, quod tam diu careo fruâ fui amplissime tuae confuetudinis, & magnus mihi dolendumque in curriculo vitæ meæ his apertus apparer, quæ deflittus literarum inter nos commercio, vacœus ea voluptate fuerit, qua maxima cum fit, ex benevolentia folum mutuâque amicorum feronibus percaptur. Præterim quamnum cura infirma fanatisis rure totam abfumpsit. Nifi quod negotia nonnulla importuna subinde irrepentia totum id quicquid erat temposis quod amici destinaveram invitò abipserent. Adeo ut non in tuo folum, fed & multorum mihi amicis fímorum ære alieno fim, nec quomodo me redimam fcio, fi taciturnitas meæ nomine negligentia fulpæda fit. Tu fcio humanior es quam ut ex me condemnari velis crimine. Quoniam enim tardior aliquando mihi in respon- dendo calamus, animum tam nonquam deficit, & fi quando hac uxor liber- tate, erga cos folum uxor, quibuscum non folummodo vitam civilem, fed íntrimam folidamque amicitiam mihi colendam propono, quibus multum me ficio debere, & quibus infuper cupio me plurimum debere. Ego nuper Londinum profectus
and several of his Friends.

profectus post oediui incommodam & anhelofam moram praepropo recebat me recipere coactus sum. Hec pulmonum imbecillis me brevi ferto
refluet pr. Rano otio. Valesinario seni quid rette prater vota pro patria? Naturae & imbecillitati cedendum est. Hoc mihi si concedatur, libri & litterae,
amicorumque interrupta vel impedita commercia optimis illa beneolitis ob-
lectamenta redibunt. Quid enim in republica literaria agatur, civili impli-
catio vix fere vacat. Apud nos sane disceptationibus & rixis maximam par-
tem impenditur scripturientium atraemum. Si disputantium servor folio ve-
ritatis amore accenderetur, laudanda effet litigantium industria & contentio;
fecit non ita femper trachantur argumenta, ut ea ad veritatem fiablebant
elucidandamve quaestia credere possit. In mea de Intelleetu Humano disser-
tione jam tandem aliquid reperitum est non ita famum, idque a viris haud in-
fini subfelli reprehendam. Si quid ego eorum argumentis edoctus reprehen-
dione dignum reperirem, gratus agnoscerem, & haud invitus corrigerem. Id
cum non fit, rationem mihi redendam censeo cur non mutaverim inuentiam,
cum nihil reperiam in ea a veritate alienum. Hac mea defenso aliquam
cartem praterire hyemis, prout tullis valerudo, occuparam habuit. Sed quid
ego te moror nostris nugi? Quis tu ilic, velque alii studiis utilioribus in-
tenti agatis aveo ficre. Nce ego iniquus officiorum exaotor fte te feftinatas
poftulem literas in scribendo iphe ratus cefeator. Verum tu facio id facies ne
nimis ferio mihi iracendi videaris. Vale, Vir optime, & ut facies me ama

Oates, 4 Mar.
1695.

Tu tudiosissimum.

J. Locke.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPIUS a LIMBORCH, S.P.D.

Vir amplissime,

MENSE Martio scripsi tibi epistolum factis proxiam. Haec aetate cum
viris aliquot primariis feromen de varii habui: inter alia incidit
fermo de tractatu de quo in superioribus meum judicium meum scripsi. Omnes
cum fummonere laudabant. Unus vero titulum fih non factis placere affirmat-
bat; tamen nimirum exilem pro dignitate materia qui toto libro tractatur.
Autors hujus longe diversum abriebat suiue inquiritur a plerorumque scripto-
rum confuetudine, qui exigui pretii libris titulos magnificos praefigere solent:
hunc autem liber magnifico exilium praebuisse titulum. Oportuifie titulum
aliquatenus respondisse dignitati operis, ut & ille possit lectoris allicere.
Alius vir (idem qui tibi antehac Sladum nostrum commendatum esse voluit,
quod tibi foli diesm velim) fe bis tractatu illum perlegisse aiebat: laudab-
bit illum summonere, autoremque fidei christianae objectum, quod praece-
pium toius libri argumentum est, solidissime probable affirmabat: unum
defiderabat; nimi. quod autem jam latim ab initio vulgarem de peccato ori-
ginis tentantiam rejecerit ac refutaverit, potuisse autorem intacta illa fen-
tentiam nihilominus praecipuum tractatus sui argumentum addiit: nunc
multos, quorum mentibus alte tententia illa infekt, lecito libri initio, ante-
quam ad principale ejus argumentum accedant, offendit, atque ita prejudici-
cium contra autorem concipere, ut sequentia non ea animi serenitate quae
requiritur, legant, sequi alieniores reddi: cum potius iporum bene-
volentia captanda fuiller; ut judicio integro expendant tentantium, ve-
ram quidem, sed communi theologorum appetiti minus contenteaeam.
qui omnes fidei christianae aliquid de suo admixtur cupiunt; quaee ca suo eacio peculiaris fit, & alii ab illa excludantur. Qui error ut
iporum animis eretuerit, illa potius sunt, quam affertione aliquis
dogmarum fih minus probati alienandi. Candida tibi scribio quid viri hi
defideraverint. Hac occasione, ut fieri folent, fermo ad alia defexit, & qui-
dem quibus argumentis solidissime unitas Dei probetur. Idem ille vir pri-
marius affirmabat, fe argumenta quodam irrefragabili require, quibus
Vol. III.
Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke,

probatur Ens aeternum, seu per se existens, seu indiguita perfe ctum, esse tantum unum. Desiderabat quodam in argumentis Hugonis Grotii, libro primo de Veritate Religionis Christiane. Addebat, audiviisse se tractatam tum de Intelleetu Humano in linguam Gallicam verbi; multum se tribuere judicio tuo, ac sumpnoper veritatem illam desiderare. Quae vitet ex me, num in illo tractatu etiam unatem etis ad existentis adstruisses? Ego me ignorantem respondi, qui tractatum, utpote linguam mihi ignota conscriptum, nunquam legierim. Voluit itaque tibi serio per me commendari, ut si in tractatu tuo questionem hanc inta tatem reliqueris, illius adstruccione trac tatum augere velis, unitatemque etis independentis solide adstrueres. Manifi estum videret ens indipendens, quod omnem in se complectitur perfectionem, unicum tantum esse: ille tam am hoc ita probari cupiebat, ut argumentum nulla parte laboraret. Ante triduum aurem mihi vellicari jussit, et ad me quasi, an jam ad te scripistis, et aliquod ad te responsum accepiissim. Non credideram ipsum id tam enixe velisse; sed quia video rem hanc ipsi card es, scriptionem meam ulterior differendum minime staret. Rogo, si id negotia tua permittanta, ut mihi responsum scribas, quod ipsi praeligere possit, ita tamen temperata tua scripitione, ut minime lubore ipsi pollire, me tibi ipsum aliquatenus indicass; posses ita respondere, quasi ego tibi scripterim, viros quosdam eruditos de hac materia differentes, ex ipsi aliquem, qui te magni aum, de ea tum velisse audire jurisdictionum, et ut questionem hanc in tuo de Intelleetu Humano trac tatu expenderes desideres. Vide quam aperte tecum agam, et quid ab amicitia tua expectare auferim. Haggam Comitis nuper excusri; salutavi honorarissimum Comitem Pembrokiensem, & per integram horam varios cum ipso, etiam de rebus theologicius, fermones habui. Virum in tam excelsa dignitate confiteturum tum in rebus sacris studium posuisse sumopore miror. Ira fermonibus ejus afficiar, ut vix per semihoram ipsi adfuisse mihi visus fum, cum tamen ab eo digresmus integram horam esse elapsam deprehenderim. Ego vero illi excellentiissimo longavam vitam precor, ut regni Anglicani negotia ipsius auspiciis feliciter administrarentur: tibi vero valerudinem prosperam, ut cogitata tua orbi erudito communicare possis. Vale, amplissime Vir, & salve plurimum Domino Madham. Salutat e xxor mea & filia.

Amstelod. 8 Octob. 1697.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à Limborch.

Lettre de Mr. Locke à Mr. Limborch.

Monseur,

S’il mon nom est venu à la connoissance de ces habiles gens avec qui vous entretenez quelquefois, & s’ils daignent parler de mes escrits dans les conversations que vous avez avec eux, c’est une faveur dont je vous suis entièrement redevable. La bonne opinion que vous avez d’une personne que vous voulez bien honorer de votre amitié les à prévenue en ma faveur. Je souhaiertiers que mon Esai concernant l’Entendement fut écrit dans une langue que ces excellents hommes pûfent entendre, car par le jugement exact & sincere qu’ils porteroient de mon ouvrage, je pourroit compter surement sur ce qu’il y a de vrai ou de faux, & sur ce qu’il peut y avoir de tolerable. Il y a sept ans que ce livre a été publié. La premiere, & la seconde edition ont eu le bonheur d’etre generallement bien reçues: mais la derniere n’a pas eu le meme avantage. Aprés un silence de cinque ou fix annees on commence d’y decouvrir je ne sais quelles fautes dont on ne s’eroit point apperçu auparavant; & ce qu’il y a de singulier, on pretend trouver matiere à des controverses de religion dans cet ouvrage, ou je n’ai eu deffien de traiter que des questions de pure Speculation philosophsique. J’avois resolu de faire quelques additions, dont j’ay deja compose quelques unes qui font affez amples, & qui auraient plut paroitre en leur place dans la quatrieme edition que le libraire se dispone à faire. Et j’aurois volontiers fatis-
fait à votre désir, ou au désir d’aucun de vos amis en y inférant les preuves de l’unité de Dieu qui se prétendent à mon esprit. Car je suis enclin à croire que l’unité de Dieu peut être aussi évidemment démontrée que son existence; & qu’elle peut être établie sur des preuves qui ne laisseront aucun sujet d’en douter. Mais j’aime la paix, & il y a des gens dans le monde qui aiment à fort les citrouilles & les vaines contesations, que je doute si je dois leur fournir de nouveaux sujets de difpute.

Les remarques que vous me dites que d’habiles gens ont fait sur le Reasnableness of Christianity, &c. font fans doute fort jutes, & il est vray que plusieurs lecteurs ont été choqués de certaines penées qu’on voit au commencement de ce livre, lesquelles ne s’accordent pas tout-à-fait avec des doctrines communément reçues. Mais sur cela je suis obligé de renvoyer ces Messieurs aux deux défenses que l’Auteur a fait de son ouvrage. Car ayant publié ce petit livre, comme il le dit lui-même, principalement afin de convaincre ceux qui doutent de la religion chrétienne, il semble qu’il a été conduit à traiter ces matières malgré lui; car pour rendre son livre utile aux déistes, il ne pouvait point le taire entièrement fur ces articles, auxquels ils s’attachent des qu’ils veulent entrer dans l’examen de la religion chrétienne. Je suis,

Londres, 29 Octob. 1697.

VOTRE TRES HUMBLE, & TRES OBEISSANT SERVITEUR,

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS A LIMBORCH, S.P.D.

VIR AMPLISSIME,

Ne merreris quod lingua Gallica responsum à me sit acceptissimus tuis Latinis 8. hujus mensis mihi scriptus, liceat mihi me tibi excusare & negotiorum multitudine quem unt um negaret, & lingua Latina defecutinde, que expedit scribere prohiber. Hanc meam epitollam alius vel præstendam vel monstrandum ex tuis colligio: virorum praecessentium censura styli neglegentia me objecte minime decorum judicavi. Quicquid enim tua vel humanitas vel amicitia in me excusare folet, alius vel naseum vel certe non condonandum molestiam creare potest. Scripsi igitur quod dicendum habui lingua vernacula felinitim, Galloque in suam linguam vertendam tradidi. Ex quo exorta est inter epistolam Wigorniensem (qui me quaestia causa aggregatus est) & me disputato: gens theologorum tota in librum meum mire excitaturo, laudarque haecenus disseritatio illa, tota jam factet erroribus (vel saltum continent latentia errororum vel scepseos fundamenta) pia doctorum virorum cura nunc demum detegendis. Ad unitatem Dei quod attinet, Grotii, factore, in loco æ ter citato argumenta non abunda satisfaciunt. Putatine tamen quempiam, qui Deum agnocebit, poele dubitate numen illud esse unicum? ego fane nuncum dubitavi; etiam, factore, mihi ex hac occasione cogitandi videtur altius aliquantum elevandum esse mente, & à communi philosophandi ratione segregandam, si quis id philosophice, vel, si ita dicam, physice probare velit; fed hoc tibi soli dictum fit.UXorem tuam dilectissimum liberosque officiosissime saluto.

G Ratussimas tuas 29 Octobris scriptas redde accepti, viroque magnifico eurus potissimum rogatu ad te scriptis, praelegi. Res ipsa de qua quatur ad nemen sane in dubium vocari posse videtur: ipsa enim deitatis notio unitatem involvit, nec necessit, ut illa pluribus communis credi posset. Quare, me judice, nemo qui attende secum considerat quid voce Dei intelligamus, pluritatem Deorum affere poeget. Quia tamen eam ab ethnici assenti videmus, & contra eos scripturae autortitate pugnari non poest, rationibus est natura petitis convincindi sunt. Quare eujusmodi requirit argumentum vir magnificus,
Familiar Lettegers between Mr. Locke,
nificus, quibus solide demonstratur ens independens & perfectum unicum
tantum esse possit. Ex solide adhucena essentia divina univatis porro facile
negotio omnia attributa divina, nofrumque tam erga Deum quam proximi
mum officium deduci poffe certissimus est. Cartesium dicit unitatem illam
non probabile, fed praefuppofuisse, ipse ibi demonstrationem scripsit, sed eam
aiustabistultilorem esse. Et quia multum tuo tribuit judicium, tua argumenta
avidissime videre desiderat. Praelegi illi epistolam tuam: guadebat, quod in
ea affirmes te id praefiare possit: tanto enim tiis argomenta tua desiderar.
Dolebat tibi item tendere motam: quoniam autem, ne fortefle novis ligibus
& fulpicionibus prater tuam intentionem vel minimum praebeas anfam, pub-
lico scripto argumenta tua proferre gravioris, rogat ut ea privatim ad me
scribas, sub promisso silenti: ille hac evulgere minime intendit, fed ad pro-
priae tuae instructioe, & in veritate confirmationem requirit. Dubius
prater quid virum intima mihi amicitia conjunctis, qui priori nostras conver-
sationes interfectunt, nili forteflle & D. Clerico ea praefegi permittas, quod tui arbitrii
est; ipfo enim ignaro hac omnia ad te scribo. Rem facturus es & viro
magnifico maxime operario; & quod fidis solummodo amici, & quidem
paucis adeo, concidetur, cujideque nullum & me cuivium apographum dabi-
tur, id disfalefcre non potest. Quinim, ut tanto honestius apographum
denegare queam, quaferim ut id in epistola tua enixe ad me fipulcrier. Nol-
lim ego te genti togata, tanquam scepfoes fundamenta jacientes, magis
suspectum fieri: plergrique illorum aliquo judicio, tanquam neros aliquis
mobile lignum, precipites in laudem ac vituperium inmmersum rapi cer-
tum. Cum tua legerem lepida mihi incidit Thomae Mori in us Uto-
pia fable. Referis, cum Raphael Hylthodex coram Cardinall Archielpi-
copo Cantuariensi docufrisme de republica differuifet, lexis quendam peri-
tum commoto capite & labis difforios quicquid dixerat improbabile, ac fta-
tim omnes quia aderant pedibus in jurispetiti illius irrupe fententiam. Cum
vero Cardinatis Hylthodex sententiam probabat, mox quia ipso narrante con-
temperant omnes, eadem neminem non certamin laudibus esse profectum.
Simile quid traetati tuo evenit, qui antea integro sexennio communi ap-
plaufu exceptus fuerit, nunc insurgente contra te magni nominis epificopo to-
tus eroribus scatet, & latentia continet scepfoes fundamenta. Ita folef theo-
logorum vulgus non ex fuo fed alieno fapere cerebro. Verum taliun judicio
epifola tua nequaquam exponetur. Quod vero linguæ latinae defuatude
 nem prætexti quod expedite scribere prohiber, plane me in ruborem dedit.
Quale iraque tuum de me judicium esse cenfebo, cujus stylos cum tuo com-
paratur plane forte: Epifola tua omnès, etiam veloci calamo scripta,
unt non tantum pure & terfa, fed & vivide ac elegantés: quia fi tibi dipli-
cente, quid deis iudices non difficile mihi est colligere. Nihilominus
amicitia tuae fretus, confideret quicquid in calamum venit tibi scribo,
benignitatis tuae, quoe defequatur boni confuleretur novit, plane securos:
imposteram vero si ea exerufione uti pergas, timidiorem me in scribendo
facies. Excufationem iraque hanc minime admitti posse facilis vides. Si
vero negotia tua tardius nobis concedent reforfum, nolim nimia fessifia-
tione graviora negligas, sed tempus ad scribendum eligas minus occupatum.
Quicquid & quandocunque scripsit gratissimum erit: interim fi cito des,
bis te dedisse gratus agnofcam. Dedix mihi hebdomade proxime elafpa D.
Clericu tuum de Educatione liberorum tractatum in linguam Belgicam ver-
fum; pro quo dono magnifico fummas tibi ago gratias. Uxor & filia eum
attente legunt: ego, ubi illae fatiata fuerint, integrum, quod & ipfis com-
mendo, a capite ad calcm perlegam. Salutari te quam officiofiffime juftifi
vir magnificus. Vale, Vir ampliffime.

Tui amantissimus,
P. a Limborch.

JOANNI
Vir amplissime,

HAC occasione mitto tibi quodam ex Paulo Servita excerpta, quae Historiae Inquisitionis inferi posseunt. Ego autem quos nunc evolvo, magno cum applicatione ad materiam Inquisitionis lego quam antehac, et quid, quod ad majorem illius illustrationem facere posset, occurrerat, illud excerpere soleo, et historiae meam locupletiorem reddere. Tu si velis aliiis ad te mittis et hece adjungere poteris. Quae mihi antea triennium ex itinerario Du Mont suppediatis, ea quanta magis considero, tanto magis historiae meae inferenda judico. Liceat enim leges pontificie secreto confessionis revelari verent, multa tamen in favorem fidei sunt legibus prohibita; quas faciscilve videntur eum tantum in finem, ut ampliores is irretiri facilius caperentur. Iacque non tantum inquisitionis leges, sed praecipue gelta ac acta ilius, quae cum legibus faptissime advertere frons pugnant, consideranda cenfent. Unum hoc expendi meretur, quod Du Mont ait, confessarios Melitenses obligatos esse Inquisitoribus revelare, quicquid ipsi in secreta confessione negotium fidei spectans confiteretur homines. Secretas illas confessiones inquisitoribus revelari nullus dubito: legem de ea revelanda extare credere vix possis; fortasse confessarios hic viae mandatur, liceat nulla hujusmodi lex extet. Quibus accedet, quod sic homo reformatus, & peregrinus, qui inter peregrinandum hoc ex quorum incolarum fermentibus hauffe; quorum relationes quandoque valde esse incertas, info fallas, ex itinerariis quibus Belgium describitor sapientiis ipse deprehendi. Quare considerandum, quomodo eujusmodi cavillationes pontificiorum solide retundis possit. Quicquid vero hujus sit, digna mihi hac narratio videtur quae historiae meae inferatur; si scriptoris alicuius pontificis non suipsecti authoritatis confirmeri posset. Si quae talia tibi inter legendum plura occurrunt, rogo ut et mihi ea imperitis velis.

Scripsi ante duos aut tres menses virum quendam eximum argumenta tua de unitate divinae videndi desiderio teneri. Ego aperte et rotunde tecum agere volui, et quod mihi in mandatis datam erat celare non potui. Nolui ego graviora tua negotia interturbare, aut aliquid tibi molestiae creare. Scio, si ab animo ac negotiis tuis impetrare posset, argumenta tua viro magnifico fore gratissima, maximim enim et acumen et judicium tuum facit. Si vero negotia tua tempus attingere eujusmodi meditationes, & diffusiorium paullum scissionis requirum, tibi non concedam, aut aliqua inde tibi forte creandam momentam veearcis (de quo tamen te fecunur esse jubeo) ego a te monitus viro magnifico prout potero te excusatam reddam: vel lim tamen eos in cuius excusationem rationes a te mihi suppediatis: malum autem, ut si fine incommode, aut incommodi meru posset, te viro magnifico gratiam hanc facere, ut materiam hanc, quam jamdiuin animo volvis, tua opera explanatiorem habeat. Vale, Vir amplissime.

Tuis amantissimis,

Amstelod. 11 Martij, 1698

P. à Limborch.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Dostiimas tuas literas 21 Februarii datas, Martii 21, die recte accepis. Paucis id eadem die literis per filium meum tibi tradendis significavi. Attente tuas cum D. Clerico relegi. Ita judicamus argumentis invictis te unita-
La question que vous m'avez proposée, vient de la part d'une personne d'un genre si vaste & d'une si profonde capacité, que je fus confus de l'honneur qu'il me faut de déserver si fort à mon jugement dans une occasion, ou il luy seroit plus avantageux & plus deur de s'en rapporter à lui-même. Je ne fais que l'opinion vous avez pus luy donner de moy, seduit par l'amitie que vous me portez; mais une chose dont je fus fort affliée, c'est que, si je ne consentois que ma propre réputation, je vesterois d'exposer me sobriètes penées devant une personne d'un si grand jugement, & que je ne me hazardois pas à regarder cet être comme une question à prouver: bien des gens étant peut-être d'avis qu'il vaut mieux le recevoir en qualité de maxime, parce que, selon eux, il est mieux établi sur les fondements ordinaires que l'on tachoit de l'expliquer par des particularités & des raisonnemens aux quels tout le monde n'est pas accoutumé. Mais je fais que la personne, par qui je croy que cette question vous a été proposée, a le prit autrement tourné. Sa candeur & sa probité étaient la science & les autres grandes qualitez. S'il ne trouve pas mes raisons afficher claires ou afficher convaincantes, il ne fera pour cela porté à condamner affûtôt mon intention, ni à mal juger de moy fous pretexte que mes preuves ne sont pas authi bonnes qu'il l'auroit souhaitée. Enfin, moins il trouvera de satisfaction dans mes raisonnemens, plus il sera obligé de me pardonner, parce que, quelque convaincu que je sois de ma sobriete, je n'ai pas laissé d'obier à ses ordres. J'écris donc simplement parce que vous le vouloiz l'un & l'autre; & je veux bien, Monfieur, que vous failliez voir s'il vous plait ma lettre à cet excellent homme, & aux autres personnes, qui se trouveront dans votre conférence. Mais c'est aux conditions suivantes: La premiere, que ces Messieurs me promettroient de m'apprendre librement & sincerement leurs penées fur ce que je dis; la seconde, que vous me donnez aucune copie de ce que je vous écris à qui que ce soit, mais que vous me promettrez de jeter cette lettre au feu quand je vous prierois de le faire. A quoi je serois bien aife que vous suffiez la bonté d'ajouter une troisieme condition, c'est, que ces Messieurs me feront l'honneur de me communiquer les raisons fur lesquelles ils establissent eux mêmes l'unité de Dieu.
La question dont vous me parlez, se reduit à ceci, Comment l'unité de Dieu peut être prouvée? ou en d'autres termes, Comment on peut prouver qu'il n'y a qu'un Dieu?

Pour refuser cette question il est nécessaire de favoriser, avant que de venir aux preuves de l'unité de Dieu, ce qu'on entend par le mot de Dieu. L'idée ordinaire, & à ce que je croy, la véritable idée qu'ont de Dieu, ceux qui reconnaissent son existence, c'est, qu'il est un être infini, éternel, incorpore & tout parfait. Or cette idée une fois reconnue, il me semble fort aisé d'en déduire l'unité de Dieu. En effet un être qui est tout parfait, ou pour ainsi dire, parfaitement parfait, ne peut être qu'unique, parce qu'un être tout parfait ne saurait manquer d'aucun des attributs, perféctions ou degré des perféctions, qu'il lui importe plus de posséder, que d'en être privé. Car autrement il s'en faudroit d'autant qu'il ne fut entièrement parfait. Par exemple, avoir du pouvoir est une plus grande perfection que de n'en avoir point; avoir plus de pouvoir est une plus grande perfection, que d'en avoir moins; & avoir tout pouvoir (ce qui est être tout puissant) c'est une plus grande perfection que de ne l'avoir pas du tout. Cela pose; deux êtres tout puissans sont incompatibles; parce qu'on est obligé de supposer que l'un doit vouloir nécessairement ce que l'autre veut; & en ce cas-là, l'un des deux, dont la volonté est nécessairement déterminée par la volonté de l'autre, n'est pas libre; & n'a pas, par conséquent, cette perfection là: car il est mieux d'être libre, que d'être soumis à la détermination de la volonté d'un autre. Que s'ils ne font pas-tous deux reduits à la nécessité de vouloir toujours la même chose, alors l'un peut vouloir faire ce que l'autre ne voudrait pas qui fut fait, auquel cas la volonté de l'un prévautra sur la volonté de l'autre, & ainsi celui des deux, dont la puissance ne saurait seconder la volonté, n'est pas tout-puissant; car il ne peut pas faire autant que l'autre. Donc l'un des deux n'est pas tout-puissant. Donc il n'y a, ni ne saurait y avoir deux tout puissants, ni par conséquent deux Dieux.

Par le même idée de perfection nous venons à connaître, que Dieu est omniscient. Or dans la supposition de deux êtres distincts qui ont un pouvoir & une volonté distincte, c'est une imperfection de ne pouvoir pas chacun espérer séparément à l'autre. Mais si l'un des deux cache ses pensées à l'autre, cet autre n'est pas omniscient, car non seulement il ne connaît pas tout ce qui peut être conçu, mais il ne connaît pas même ce qu'un autre connoit.

On peut dire la même chose de la toute-presence de Dieu: il vaut mieux qu'il soit partout dans l'étendue infinie de l'espace, que d'être exclu de quelque partie de cet espace, car s'il est exclu de quelque endroit, il ne peut pas y operer, ni favoriser ce qu'on y fait, & par conséquent il n'est ni tout-puissant ni omniscient.

Que si pour anéantir les raifonisemens que je viens de faire, on dit que les deux Dieux qu'on suppose; ou les deux cent mille (car par la même raison qu'il peut y en avoir deux il y en peut avoir deux milliers, parce qu'on n'a plus aucun moyen d'en limiter le nombre) si l'on oppose, dif-je, que plusieurs Dieux ont une parfaite toute puissance qui est exactement la même, qu'ils ont aussi la même connaissance, la même volonté & qu'ils existent également dans le même lieu, c'est seulement multiplier le même être; mais dans le fonds & dans la verité de la chose on ne fait que reduire une pluralité supposée à une véritable unité. Car de supposer deux êtres intelligens, qui connoissent, veulent & font incessamment la même chose, & qui n'ont pas une existence séparée, c'est supposer en paroles une pluralité, mais par effetivement une simple unité. Car être infiniment divisé un par l'entendement, par la volonté, par l'action, & par le lieu; c'est être autant qu'un être intelligent peut être uni à lui même; & par conséquent, supposer que là, où il y a une telle union, il peut y avoir deux êtres, c'est supposer une division sans division, & une chose divisée d'avec elle-même.

Je me suis hazarde à vous écrire mes reflexions sur ce sujet, comme elles se sont présentées à mon esprit, sans les ranger dans un certain ordre qui pourrait servir peut-être à les mettre dans un plus grand jour si on leur donnait...
Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke,

not un peu plus d'entendue. Mais ceci doit paroitre devant des personnes d'une si grande penetration, que ce feroit les amener inutilmente que develop-
der davantage mes pensées. Telles qu'elles sont je vous prie de m'en écrire votre opinion & celle de ces Messieurs, afin que selon le jugement que vous en ferez, je puisse, pour ma propre satisfaction, les examiner de nouveau, & leur donner plus de force (ce que ma mauvaife santé & le peu le loisir qui me reste, ne me permettent pas de faire prefentement) ou bien les abandon-
ner tout-i-fait comme ne pouvant être d'aucun usage. Je suis,

Ostes, 2 Avril
1698.

Votre tres humble,
& tres obéissant Serveur,

J. Lock.

Joannis Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Iteras tas postremas recte mihi fuisse traditas jam intellexeris. Statim
eas viro magnifico prælegi: verum quia tunc occupator erat, alius
defignavit tempus magis opportunum prolissori colloquio, quod materie
gravitas mereri videtur. Paulic iraque abbinc diebus me denuo ad se voca-
vir; iremunque epistolam tuam legimus. Probat argumenta tua supposita
illa quam adhibes Dei definitione: ens enim undiquaque perfectum, feu,
quod eodem redit, omnes in se complectens perfectiones, non nifi unum esse
posse manifestum est. Verum ille quos argumentum, non ex definitione
Dei desumptum, sed ex ipso ratione naturali, & per quod deducamur in de-
finitionem Dei. Hac nempe methodo instituit demonstrationem summ.
I. Darur ens aexerum, independens, necessitate naturae sui existens, & sibi
ipi sufficiens. II. Ens tale est tantum unum, & plura iustammodi entia esse
nequeunt. III. Illud ens, quia est unicum, omnes in se complectitur per-
fectiones; arque hoc ens est Deus. Primam propositionem, ait vir magni-
ificus, te in trahatu tuo de intellectu Humano egregie adstructus, siemel plane
argumentum quis ibis in demonstratione sua ulius est, adeo ut suas cogita-
tiones in argumentatione tua expressas viderit. Tanto enim secundum
propositionem at te probatum videre desiderat: qua solide probata, terria
nullo negorio ex dubias prioribus deduci potest. Secundum at, omnes theo-
logos ac philosophos, quin & ipsum Cartesianum, non probare sed profu-
ponere. Non dubito, quin mihi omnem suam argumentationem communica-
tur sit; credo autem non id facturum, antequam tua argumenta viderit; ut
in cogitationes, quas ibis es meditans, cum suis conferre posse. Verum
hic ambigere quis posset, an non propositionum harum ordo mutarci, & que
nunc secunda est, terria, & quae nunc terria est, secunda esse debat: hoc
eft, an non, quando probatum est, dari ens aexerum, independentis, sibi ipi
sufficiens, exinde posse porro probari, illud in se omnes complecti perfectiones;
quia fieri nequit, us enti aexern, independenti, sibi sufficiens ultra
perfectio detur: atque ita probato, ens illud omnes in se complecti perfectiones,
porro inferius illud ens tantum esse unum. Verum huic methodo
hac obiectur difficultas, quod deprehendamus esse duas naturas tota efficiens
diverfas (loquor terminis eorum qui hanc movent difficultatem) cogitatione
nem & extensionem: supposito dari cogitationem aexern & independentem,
a qua ego dependens, statuere quis posset etiam esse extensionem sua
materiam aexern, sibi ipi sufficientem, & a cogitatione aexern minime de-
pendentem hic flatteretur duo entia aexern; & tamen ex positione materia
aexern & independenti minimse sequeurum, eam in se complecti omnes
perfectiones. Quare primo probandum videtur, ens aexerum & independen-
dens esse tantum unum, antequam omnes in se complecti perfectiones probari
posset.

Quod
and several of his Friends.

Quod si secunda propositio ens independens esse tantum unum non possit probari, nihil religioni, feu necessestatis ens illud unice colendi, decedere videtur: quia ego totus ab illo uno ente, quod me produxit, dependeo: ili ergo foli fum obligatus, illud ex toto corde, tota anima diligere, illui quae preceptis per omnia obedire debo. Si prater illud ens aliud forte exsattr, quia ab eo non dependeo, illud nequitum me spectat, neque ego ullam ad id relationem habeo, neque id ullam in me operationem exserere poteft. Ino neutronorum horum entium de altero ullam notitiam habere, aut ullam in alterum operationem edere possit. Quoniam enim ibi ipse est sufficient, ergo nec per alterius positionem aut remotionem ullam acquirere poteft majorem perfectionem, aut de sua perfectione quicquam amittere; alias ibi non est sufficient. Licet itaque veritatis scrutatorum fumopere gratum sit, evidentem demonstare possit, ens independens esse tantum unum: si tamen forte contingat, illud evident demonstari non possit, nihil tamen religiosi necessitatis & perfectioni proprieta decessurum videtur, quoniam ens a quo ego dependeo est tantum unum. Hac fuit erenmon viri magnifici lumma, quantum ego mentem ejus percepi.

Ego argumentationes tuae filum, in taceatu tuo de Intellecetu Humano non legi. Probasse te, ens aliud esse a quo dependes, illudque ens esse aternum & ibi ipse est sufficient, nullus dubito. Argumentum quo id probatur evidens est & clarum. Verum an ibidem probaveris, te ab uno ente tament dependere, neque fieri possit ut a pluribus dependeas, ignoro. Argumentatio viri magnifici quidem infert, me ab ente aternno dependere; fed nondum vidi ab ipso probatum ab uno tantum ente me dependere: quod tamen spectat primum propositionem. Nam in secunda ponitur, prater illud ens aternum a quo ego dependeo, aliud nullum esse ens aternum. Itaque simuliter hic praeulfponi videtur, me ab uno tantum ente dependere, faltam id nondum distincte probatum audivi: quod tamen primo probandum videtur, antequam ad probationem propositionis secundae procedatur. Tum & despicendum, an quidem ratio permittat, supponi materiam aternam ac ibi sufficientem: si enim ens ibi sufficientis & aternum, neceffario sit omni modo perfectum; sequitur, materiam, qua iners est substantia, omni motu ac vira deftinita, non possit concipii aternam ac ibi sufficientem.

Voluit Vir magnificus, ut ibi distinctius, qualem defideret probationem, praecriberem: verbis fuis te quam officiosissime salutari jussit; pro successo in tui gratiam labore gratias agit: dolet valetudinem tuum afflictam; & si ea minus permittat futubliribus indulgere cogitationibus, minime cupit ut te fatigis mediationibus, ibi ob valetudinem affliciorem molestis, aut valetudinis nocitis. Precatur interim tibi valetudinem firmam ac vegetam; & si ea permittat, ut de propositionis secunda, prout nunc a me ex mente illius propofita est, judicium tuum scribas, rem facies ibi gratissimam. Tu ipse judicabis de illius methodo, & quid refribendum sit. Hoc unum addo, ipsum lecha tua epistola nullum illius apographum petiisse, sed conditionibus, quas fluparis, acquevivisse: & si petitveto, ego modus negaflum: verum ea est humanitate, ut hoc a me flagitare noluerit. Verum tandem temporum est manum de tabula tollere. Vale, Vir amplissime.

Amstelod. 16 Maij, 1698.

P. à Limborch.

Vol. III.

Unuù Lettre
Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke,

Letter de Mr. Locke à Mr. Limborch.

Monseur,

Si ma fanté ne me permettoit pas de satisfaire commodement l'envie que j'ai d'exécuter les ordres de ce grand homme qui refoit si favorablement mes reflexions, toutes mediocres qu'elles font, il est pourtant vrai que je ne ferais la sacrifice pour une meilleure occasion que celle qui me porte à examiner le sujet où il m'a engagé, & qui me fournir le moyen de lui faire voir combien je suis prêt à luy obéir. Mais je ne prétends pas qu'en cette rencontre il me soit obligé d'un tel sacrifice; car si je ne hazarde point ma reputation auprès de luy, je suis fort assuré que ma fanté ne fera point interressée par ce que je vais écrire. Ayant à faire à un homme qui raisonne si nettement, & qui a si bien approfondi cette matiere, je n'aurais pas besoin de parler beaucoup pour me faire entendu. Son extreme penetration luy fera sentir d'abord le fondement de la preuve que je vais proposer, de force, que sans qu'il soit necessaire que je m'engage dans de longues deductions, il pourra juger si elle est bien ou ma fondée.

Je ne puis m'empecher de remarquer l'exactitude de son jugement par rapport à l'ordre qu'il a donné à ses propositions, & il est vrai comme il l'a fort bien remarqué qu'en mettant la troisième à la place de la seconde, les Theologiens, les Philosophes, & Descartes luy-même, s'appuient l'unié de Dieu dans la proveur.

Si par la question qui me fut d'abord proposée, j'eusse compris comme je fais presentement, quel etoit le but de cet habile homme, je n'aurais pas envoyé la Réponse que je vous ai envoyée, mais une beaucoup plus courte, & plus conforme à l'ordre de la nature & de la raison, où chaque chose paroit dans son meilleur jour.

Je croy que quiconque reflechira sur soymême, connoitra evidemment sans en pouvoir douter le moins du monde, qu'il y a eu de toute éternité un Etre intelligent. Je croy encore qu'il est evident à tout homme qui pense, qu'il y a auu un Etre infini. Or je dis qu'il ne peut y avoir qu'un Etre infini, & que cet Etre infini doit être aussi l'Etre éternel; parce que, ce qui est fini doit avoir été infini de toute éternité, car aucunes additions faites dans le temps, ne fauroient rendre une chose infinie, si elle ne l'est pas en elle même, & par elle même, de toute éternité. Telle étant la nature de l'infinit qui qu'on n'en peut rien ôter, & qu'on n'y peut rien ajouter. D'où il s'enfuit que l'infinit ne fauroit être séparé en plus d'un, ni être qu'un.

C'est la, selon moy, une preuve à priori que l'Etre éternel independent n'est qu'un; & si nous y joignions l'idée de toutes les perfections possibles, nous avons alors l'idée d'un Dieu éternel, infini, omniscient, & tout-puissant, &c.

Si ce raisonnement s'accorde avec les notions de l'excellent homme qui doit le voir, j'en ferai extremement satisfait. Et s'il ne s'en accommode pas, je regarderai comme une grande faveur s'il veut bien me communiquer la preuve que je tiendrait secrète, ou que je communiquerai comme venant de sa part, selon qu'il le jugera à propos. Je vous prie de l'affurer de mes tres humbles respects. Je suis, &c.

Oates, 21 May,
1698.

J. Locke.

Joanni Locke Philippus de Limborch, S. F. D.

Vir amplissime,

Viro magnifico postremas tuas ostendi: illo pro labore rogatuo suo à te species pro maximis agit gratias: non tamen in tua argumentatione acquisiec. Methodus illius primo loco probat, dari ens aliquod per se existens ac ibi sufficiens: deinde, illud ens effe tantum: tertio, illud ens in fo com-
complexi omnes perfeciones, ac proinde esse Deum. Tu vero in tua argumentatione præsupponis, omni homini attente meditandi evidens esse dari ens infinitum, cui nihil addi aut demi point: acquis id emi ipsi est ac supponere, dari ens undiquaque perfecum: quæ est tertia ipsius theésis; adeo ut ex præsupposita illius theési tertia probes secundum: cum secunda prius probari debeant, antequam ex illa posse concludi tertia. Hec fuit causa cur ego tibi considerandum dederim, an non ordo illius mutari debeat, & quæ illius tertia est non debeant esse secunda theésis: verum ut argumentatio procedat, non debere ea theésis præsupponi, sed ex prima theési probari: aut si illius methodus placeat, debeat præs ex eo, quod est ens externum ac sibi sufficiens probati illud esse unum; & hoc probato porro exinde deducti illud esse infinitum, seu undiquaque perfecum. Argumentationem suas mihi nondum communicavi: an communicaveris fiat, valde dubito. Ideem ipsum qui te scrupulus retinet: metuist iniquus theologorum consilium, qui omnim schola tua non hausta, atro carbone notare, ac infami exostrorum harenium nomenclatur traducere follet. Tentabo tanen, an prolixius colloquio, quod mecum in vituere vellet dixit, aliquatenus eisecre possum, quod scripto tradere gravatur. Vale, Vir amplissime.


Tui amantes,

P. à Limborch.

JOANNI LOCKE
PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S.P.D.

Vir amplissime,

Oft ultimum meum cum viro magnifico colloquium nulla ipsum conueniendi occasio fuit: aliquamdiu fructica laboravit. Colloquium habui cum quodam illius amico, qui inter alia dixit, minime sibi probati viri magnifici argumentationem, qua contendit, si supponamus dari cognitionem per se existentem, & praeterea extensionem seu materiam, quod neustriaulum alterius possit habere cognitionem: extensionem quidem (alipet) nullam habituram cognitionem cogitationis; fieri autem non posse, quin cogitationis cognitionem sit habitura extensionis: quia cum cogitari per se existat, sibiique sit sufficientis, etiam est infinita; ac proinde vi infinita fuerat cognitionis necessario cognoscit extensionem existentem. Sed cum regeremus, vim magnificum improbare methodum, qua enti per se existentis sibiique sufficientis probamin incelle alia attributa, antequam probabilam sit illud esse tantum unicum; respondet, necessario de tali ente debere affirmari illud esse infinitum, sed in fua natura; cogitationem quidem esse infinita fictitiosa; materiam infinita extensionis, si quidem per se existat. Sed inde sequi collogembe, etiam alia attributa posse probari: probata enim infinitate, etiam probati posse alia illi incess, sine quibus infinitas concepi nequeo. Quod non negavit. Atque ita mecum fentire videbatur unitatem ejusmodi entis tali methodo frusta quaeri, sed oportere thesim secundum esse tertiam. Crediderim ego virum magnificum hanc sibi investiganda veritati praefiripsi methodum, & cum ipse quae sibi satisfacient argumenta invenire nequest, ea apud altos querere. Difficile mihi videtur probati, ens neccesitate naturae fuerit existens esse tantum unum, antequam ex necessaria existentia, alia, quae eam necessario constitantur, attributa deduxeris. Si vir magnificus ea habeat, operae pretium forset ca erudito orbi communiare.

Nuper protefuro Vander Weyen traductum quendam Ritangelie edidit, illique prolixam ac virulentam contra D. Clericum praefixit praefationem, qua explicationem initii evangelii Joannis ad D. Clerico editam, recturare nominat. Ego agitatem & judicium in illo scripto desidero. In fine etiam contra me infirmitat, verum paucis, quia in Theologia mea Christiana scripti Burmannum pereaque, quia in sua Syropi Theologia haber de omnipotentia divina, descriptae ex Spinozae Cogitationis Metaphysicae. Ille non negaret, sed contendit Burmannum propretia non esse Spinoistar, quod ego nullo scripti.
Rogò ut magnificum virum meo nomine adaeas, dicaque me magnopere rogare ut suam methodum, qua unitatem entis per e existentis sibiique sufficiens adstituit, mihi indicare velit: quandoquidem mea ea de re argumentandi ratio ipso non penitus satisfaciat. Nollem ego in re tanti momenti falsa vel fallaci innixus fundamento mihimet imponere. Si quid stabilius, si quid rectius noverit, ut candidus imperti velit inixe rogito. Si rectum, si tacentum velit, pro me moque silentiis spondeas. Sin tantum beneficium orbis non invideat, in proxima, quae jam inter, libri mei editione palam faciam, agnito, si liber, vel velaro audire.

Cartesianorum quam in episcola tua reperio loquendi formulam nullacum capio. Quid enim bibi velit cogitatio infinita, plane me fugit. Nullo enim modo mihi in animum inducere possum cogitationem per e existere, sed rem vel subtantiam cogitationem, eamque esse de qua affirmari possit esse vel finitam vel infinitam. Qui alter loqui amat, necio quid obcuri vel fraudulentius sub tam dubia locutione continere mihi videntur, et omnia tenebris involvere; vel faltem quod sentiant clare et dilucide enuntiare non audere, favienses nominium hypothesin non undique fane. Sed de hoc forfan alias quando majus fuppetet etiam.

Quod de professo Vander Weeyn scribis non miror. Illius farinae homines sic solent, nec aliter possum; recte factis quod negotii.

Litteras suas quae Roterodamii harenct avide expecto et virum illum, cui eas ad me perferendas tradidi. Ex tua commendatione mihi erit gratissimus. Viros probos fovevos colendoque tempus exspectavint. Ignocantant alii meis erroribus; nemini propter opinionem diversificatem bellum indicò ignarus ego et fallibilis homunculo. Evangelicos furo ego chriilanos non papifta.

Hucque fruperam die supra notato, quo autem die episcola hanc finiri permittum et infra videbis.

Quod velim cum me chriilanos evangelicum, vel si mavis orthodoxum, non papiftam dico, paucis accipe. Inter chriilani nominis professeores duos ego tantum agnosco classis, evangelicos et papiftas. Hos qui tamquam infallilibes dominiu bibi arrogant in aliorum conficiencias: Ilos qui quarentes unice veritatem, iliae et libi et alii, argumentis solum rationibusque perfusam volunt; aliorum erroribus facile suis imbecillitatris hauud immemores; veniam fragilitate et ignorantia humanz dantes certeteneque vicissim.

Hyems
and several of his Friends.

Hyems jam ingravescens & pulmonibus meis inflata me brevi turbe expellere; & abitum suadet ingravescens suffus & anhelitus. Iter in Galliam dandum propositioni linguificere videtur: quid fier necio, sed ubicunque fuero totus ubique tuus sum. Saluto Uxorem tuam optimam liberofique amicofique nostros communes Veeenos, Guennelones, Clericos. Accipi nuper A De Guennellone epiftolam 3 Oetobris datam, pro qua nunc per te gratias reddere cupio, ipse prima data occasione reponentur. Vale, Vir amicifo mine, & me ama

Tui amantifimum, J. Locke.

18 Oetob.

Joanni Locke Philippus a Limborch, S.P.D.

Ampliffime Vir,

Uod litteris tuis haecemus non responferim valentudo minus prospera in caufa fuit. Aliquot hebdomadibus febircula laboravi, accufere dolores colici aceris admodum ac vehementes. Tandem benignitate divina convalui, & ad intermittentia studia reverterus sum.

Cartifianam illam loquenti formulam ego tecum non capio; cogitationem enim per se exifientem non percipio, fed quidem substantiam cogitarem; verum ne fententiam suam minus candide proponi querurus, itidem quibus illi eam explicare verbis uti neceffae habui: ego autem quando me explico, ita locui non foloe.

Quae de christianis evangelici & papifis differunt, optima funt & verifima. Ego utramque classem in omnibus christianorum facili reperiri credo. Nulnum enim corre um ita profulos corruptum nibi perfuadeo, ut nemo in tanto numero fit evangelico; licet enim eceus ipse professionem edat papifim, no nnulos tamen in eo later credo evangelicos, quibus dominatus ille in aliorum conscientias disflicet, ac disensionibus falubris abjudicare religio eff. Rursum licet eceus evangelicam caritatem profexitur, non adeo in omnibus & per omnia puratum, sperare autem, quin & degeneres aliquor in eo reperiantur, qui professionis fuerit obiit, tyrannidem animo fovent, libertatemque tentiendi quam fuii cupiunt alii invidunt. Ira ubique aizinis atritic permixta in hoc faculo habebimus. Evangelicos ego quocunque in ecei fion amo & fraterna charitate complector. Papifis licet eceus membra, tamquam fpiritus christianorum confidero, nec genuina eft corporis Christi membra agnofo, urpothe charitate, ex qua diversipulos suos agnofo vult Christus, deftitutos.

Bibliopolis Churchill tradetur falsiculus, quem ad te mittet, complectens Lithoriam Inquisitionis, quam cum epiftolata addicit Francifco Cadworthi Mansham tradi velim: addidi tria defensionis meae contra Joaninem Vifecymbolam exemplaria, quorum unum tibi, alterum Francifo, tertium De Cofta deslinavi. Adverfarius meus fec reformatum vocat: an evangelici an vero papifit fit, tu judicabis. Amicorum hortatur obiectus sum: verum bonas mehas horas melioribus studiis deslinavi, nec facile me infirmi moi feripits inde denou avelli patiar. Ut fias quo repficiam, quando de fpiritis imaginariis ultra polos loquit, adscribas lines aliquid ex tradi quodam Weyeney contra Spanhemium, quibus Spanhemio geographiae ignorantiam objicit, ipse adeo rudis, ut diercimen inter gradus longitudinis & latitudinis prorui ignorance. Hac funt ejus verba: † Ridere in calce & labes, leges quoq Diftiffatus, Histor. p. 298. Americae longitudinum protrudit (Spanhemius) ultra 180 gradus, Forte pars ejus in fpiritis imaginariis collocanda est, cum haecemus ab uno polo ad alium non ultra 180 gradus ponere geographi. Artfica & antarcticc terrae partibus nullas jam locos erit, ubi America ultra polus ignorantifimum protruduit. Cavatum creadas (Spanhemius) adeo creafpsi philosophanti, cum ad mathefim centum eff. Monticus ab

† Spanhemii Epift. ad amicum, & neciff. animadvers. p. 72. & feq.

amico,
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amico, reciiffhoc folio aliiud sibstituit; sed libellus jam toto Belgio disper-
fus erat, & in omnium officinis profabat. Vide cum quilibet heroë mihi res sit.
Hyemem hanc fine gravi incommodo ruri ut tranfigas voveo. Domino ac
Domina Matham, totique familia officiismissam à nobis dicas salutem. Ut-
or ac silia te plurimum salutant, imprimes ego

Amstelod. 9 Dec. 1698. Tui amantissime,

P. à Limborch.

Joanni Locke Philippus à Limborch, S. P. D.

Amplissime Vir,

Iteras tuas vir erudissimam fideliter mihi ante duos circiter menes tra-
didit. Edidit Wecyenus diffusionem Defensionis mez, verum adeo
dissolutam, maledicam, & nihil ad principale argumentum facientem, ut
sponte evanitura sit. Ego nolo mihi cum tam impotenti adversario quicquam
negoti eus. Ut exiguis aliquos specimen tibi referam, carpit quod dixi
indolem, qua à libibus abhorreco, mihi effe innatam; arque properes me
cr immunatur quod glorior de propriis meis viribus, fe vero omnita gratia divi-
nas adscribere jactat, idque dubius ut tribus primis foliis plus sexies repetit:
talis farinæ totus est liber. Si diixisse me natura effe propenium ad odium
Dei & proximi, fuissim illi orthodoxus. Hanc sibi indolem naturalem ag-
nociscit: actiones vero ejus ostendunt, regenerationem (quam sibi tribuit)
admodum esse imperfectam, parteraque irregeneratum multum predominari
reginæ. D. Clericus edidit Gallicē sua Parrhasiana, in quis de varis
diferir, & paucis etiam hunc hominem perstringit: verum accuratissimum il-
luis refutationem Latinam brevi editurus est. Prodiit etiam alterius docti
viri tractatus, quem tibi in Anglia offendid. Quanam de illo aliorum fu-
tura sint judicia brevi audiemus. Multa supponit tamen certa, quæ mihi
incertissima sunt aliis falsa habebuntur.

Legi nuper Camdeni Historiam Angliae sub Elizabetha, in cuius Parte II,
Anno 1579. hoc verba reperi: Exceranda Matthei Hammonis impetis, qua in
Hoab Christinumque ejus Norwicici tempore debacchata est, & cum illius viviscom-
burio, ut juro, extincta, oblivione potius est obruenda, quam memoranda. Velim
Camdenus paulo dillinctius impietatem illam indicaret, ut de crimini,
quod tam horrendo supplicio vindicatum fut, atrocitate contigisse posset.
Scimus innoxios quandoque errores à theologis blasphemiae & impietates
exercandas vocari, ut crudelitate qua in inventisse favissent praetextum
quartum. Frutina ego haètens in autoribus, qui mihi ad manum sunt, ex-
actiorem hujus Hammonii historiam quæviri: non dubito tamen quin ea in
scribitoribus Anglis reperiri possit. Si fine tuo incommodo explicato admiration
narrationem mihi suppeditare queas, rem feceris mihi longè gratissimam.
Plura illius generis collegii, quæ in ordinem redigere statur, non ut alios
traducam, sed ut omnes à favitia in differentes, quantum in me, detercem,
Guennelonus noftrar plurimum tibi salutem scribi jussit. Literas tradituras
eft nobili Muscoviae ad te perferendas, qui propedem hinc in Anglia tran-
scibat, quod tibi significari voluit. Salutant te ac Dominum & Dominam
Matham tamquam familiam uxor ac liberis: Francisci Matham epitoli mihi
pleracum, sed jam non est respondendi otium: a tali indole egregia quæ-
vis expeceto. Nominatim illi, ut & D. Cofta salutem dices à me

Amstelod. 23 Juniji, 1699. Tui amantissime,

P. à Limborch.

Joanni
Joannis Locke Philippi Limborch S.P.D.

Vir amplissime,

Iteras meas circa mensis Junii finem scriptas fidelter tibi esse traditas nullius dubito. Indicavit mihi D. Clericus tibi à te misitum D. Allix tractatum Anglicum, quo probare contendit, Paraphrasias Judaeos aeternam filii Dei generationem agnolit. Nuperrime hic prodiit tractatus ante plures annos, ut præfatio habet, et argumentum libri clari est offensit, ab autore ignoto scriptum, qui duos scriptores Rittersangelium & Voifimum, idem quod D. Allix afferentes, impugnat. Commoda mihi per nautam mihi notum oblatam occasione exemplar illius ad Biblioepam Churchill tibi porro tradendum mittit, ut hujus cum tractatu D. Allix collatione instituta, de tota controversia judices. Ego non video cauæ principalis aliquod creati periculum, etiam argumento hoc, ex Judæorum scriptis deprompto, propugnari non posset: nec ego tali argumento in disputatione contra Judæos multum tribuere ausim. Alia sunt majoris momenti, & quæ fortius stringunt: verum huc fine occultæ cum fidei hostibus consipirationis suspicione affirmari non patiuntur orthodoxæ fæmel decretis humanis definitez, jurati vindices, quibus piaculum est vel unum argumentum, licet elumbe ac stiramineum, modo æ claritate adhiberi sofitum, omittere, aut de illius evidentia ac robore vel minimum dubitare.

Aduere mihi nuper aliquot praetantissimi Angli, de quibus, an tibi noti sint, ignoro. Omnes mihi narraverunt T— quendam, juvenem Hibernum, & ut audio, non magnifice de s. scriptura divinitatis fidentientem aliquoties gloriam de honore, sibi ab aliquo viris eruditis in patria noftra exhibito: inter alia etiam amicitiam ac familiaritatem mecum contractam &c. Miror quid hominem, nuncumque mihi vium, quique ater an albus sit ignoro, moveat, falsa iactare familiae mecum habita colloquia. Quoniam autem iuxta mihi caufam præest suspicandâ, dimilia cœm de nostra amicitia in Anglia dilemitaturum, hac occasione id scribere tibi confultum duxi; ut quid simpliciter requiris illum falsi coarguere queas. Ante hac de D. Clerici amicitia multum gloriosa esset; ipsum hunc bi convenire, fed femel in alienis adibus: verum ita à Clerico exceptus est, ut de confessum illius secum minime gloriaris queat. Sub praelo jam habet D. Clericus aliquot epistolæ, quibus esse contra criminationes Cavel, Weeyen, aliorumque defendit. Semel hoc laborare defungii cupit, ideoque pluribus simul respondet. Vitam Epipopii à Marco Teute in Latinum fermone veram religii: quendam emendavi; omnia autem si emendare cupiam res magni effet laboris: addidi etiam quaedam, quibus Historia nostra extera plenus paulo explicatur: verum quoniam non Remonstrantissimi, sed solummodo vita Epipopii historiam confiripi, intra cancellos rerum ab ipso Epipopo gendarum continere me debui. Fortasse verio illa, qualificunque sint, brevi praesto subjicierunt. Vale, Vir amplissime: salutem dices Dominæ Matham totique familia, à me, uxore, & filia, qui omnes tibi salutem presentur.

Amstelod. 3 Augusl. 1699.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à Limborch.

Philippo à Limborch Joannes Locke S.P.D.

Vir amplissime,

Udiuìterius tractatum contra Rittersangelium quem mihi misisti accepi, Benigne mecum auctum erit si hoc nomine mihi ignoccas tarditatem responsi ad literas tuas tertio Auguflis datas. Nondum mihi vacui temporis Vol. III. x xx x fatis
638 Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke,

satis datum est ut Allixii librum hoc de argumento aggerderer, qui mirus
plerisque primo auditu vilus est, quod trinitatis doctrinam est synagoga hau-
rire pra le fert. Acingam me quamprimum jam per otium liceat ad utri-
usque lexionem; multi enim ut audio apud nos dictant quaestionem hanc
prius non intellectam jam primum in lucem produxi elf Allixium, & suis fun-
damentis innixam mundo obtulisse. Quas partes hac in controverbia habent
Judare, perpenfis utrinque argumentis jam videbimus.

Hibernum quem nominas vane hujufmodi gloriora avidum ex alius audivi;
fi de te tuque amicitia aliquid jacitit apud communes amicos familiareque
meos, quam omnino tibi ignotus sit ex me fecit.

Criminatares hujufmodi adversariares quibucum res est Domino Cle-
rico an neglegenda an refutandar hau facilis est statuere. Quidam enim non
alid quanunt nifi calumniandi rixandique anfam. Non dubito quin amicus
nofer fatis habet quod respondeat. Ego sane laudo tuum consilium qui
placide juxta ac folide refutaveris quae contra te maligne scripserat Weyenus.

De controverfam quae me aliquando exercerunt eventu etiam non mul-
tum habeam quod querar, piget tamen paenitetque tantum temporis mihi
suffugatum, quod alius studiis majore cum fructu poterat impendi. Si quae
norx orientur velications, eas inposuerum mihi neglegendas cenfeo.

Vitam Episcopi latinitate donatam lubens viderem; Belgica enim lingua
non fatis mihi nota, ut quam tu edideris legere possum. Non dubito quin
multa continet cito & juventa & utilia, aliis mores privatos refpicias, quae
retum eo tempore gelaturum hisioriam.

Hacceus ad tuas 3 Augusti datas, sed qua excusatione utar cum respicio
ad antiquiores, feliciter, mense Junio scriptas? Si delictum confutudine de-
linquendi defendi posfit, habeo quod dicam, nolfi tardatatem meam hoc in
genere. Fac ut soleas, & inverfascentem in me delinquantem morem tu confutu-
dine ignoscendi vincas.

Cum in novissimis tuis de viro magnifico ne verbum quidem, amici tui
opinione pronus amplector. Operose ab alius queritis, non quod domi habet,
se quod nufquam adhuc reperire potuist, & quod forfan reperiri posset.

Tractatus viri doet qui in Anglia videram apud vos editus nonum ad
manus meas pervenit: de fundamentis quibus tanquam certissimis superfir-
ctum conuenit minime mihi satisfecit, cum de ipsis coram disceptavimus.

Exaetiorem Hammoni hisioriam quaevi, nonnum autem reperi quenquam
qui eam mihi explicatus tradere posset, vel scriptorem aliquem indicare in
quo eam reperire licet. Non tamen desfitam. Laudo enim consilium tuum
in colligendis hujusmodi exemplis.

Guenloni noftri literas quas me expeetare jufseras nondum vidi, nec no-
bilem Mufcovitan cui tradende erant ad me freferenda. Quo infortunio hoc
acciderit nondum ficio. Doleo interim mihi ablataer occasionere fertandi quam
paratus eftm infervere pegrino, at tam caro amico adventantia. Illum uxor-
remque ipius, fecerumque ejus Vennium noftrum officiofimme meo nomine
quarto falutes: impermis autem uxorem liberofque tuos. Vale & me ut
facis ama.

Laud. 5 Sept. 1699.

Tui amantium,

J. LOCKE.

* Miro vire clariss. latuiffe quae super hac quaesitio meditatus est B. Spinoza Vide Epist. 39, 40, 41. & Oper. poslhum.
IOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S.P.D.

Vir amplissime,

Licit nihil mihi literis eius gratiarum sit, abe te tamen, ut amicum plurimis ac gravissimis distrauctum negotiis ad singulis meis respondendum constringi cupiam. Amicitia arithmetica illum scribenda & respondendi proportione non requirit, sed in promptro ac benevolo amici animo acuedictur, & bene feclum actum credit, quotiescumque amicus aliam ad gravissimus curis respirationem mactus vel tantiillum temporis, epistolio, licet breviori, impendit. Ego ex tuis te reecte valere latus intellexi : Deus hanc tibi dies continuat valutudinem. Anonymi librum contra Rittangelium reecte ad manus tuas perveniisse gaudeo. Ubi eum legeris & cum Allixii libro conterleris, rem mihi facies maximpore gratam, si vel tribus lineis judicium tuum de utroque ad me scrivias.

D. Clerici epistolae criticae, quibus pluribus qui calamum in ipsum firinctions simul respondet, brevi lucem videbunt. Adverbarios habet parum candidos, & corum quodam imperios admodum ac indocitos; praeterint illum qui ipsum & me non provocarus invast. Homo illa omnium imperios de omnibus judicium pronuntiat, quaeque minus intelligit magno cum supercilio carpit. Contra Clericum scribit, Philemon à Spencero vocari fabulam inquireretionem erat, quum quod Spencerus scribit de hicxto antiquitatum bibliarum libro, Philoni falsi tributno, quique nusquant in Philonis operibus exftat, ille de genuino Philine dicta putat. Et hic heros adae in Phileone hofpes Clericum male seide in Phileone citando accufare auet. Me fibi feditionem objicere putat, quando triumphum in hisbis imaginariis agere jubeo, innumerabili ex secunda gente Meneni turba currum faulnis acclamationibus profequente: ignarus fecundum gentem Meneni non sedito, sed folidos, quorum magna ubi6 e copia est, designare. Clerico contra tales adversarium simelem, quanquam non adeo gloriosum praper adversarii exigam eruditionem, eventum, qualem tu nuper omnium judicio conceiveus es, pravideo. Scripse de eo nuperrine ad me docus quidam Anglius, qui me praeterito anno vidit, his verbis: Non dubito quin jamudum audierit de indubitata victoria quam amicus tuus D. Locke retulit de Episcopo Vigorniensis, in ejus responsum ultima ad objeciones Episcopi contra librum de Intellectu Humano. Episcopus eam vidit, nec multo post mortuus est. Sed etiam si diuersi vivixerit, vix credo eum responsorum puife: omnia enim ipse adeo ad vivum demonstratur, ut nullus locis contradistiones reliquatur.


De magnifico viro nihil jam audio, nihil etiam ab ipso responsum expecto. Videtur aliquatenus congrueum meum vivare, fortasse quia me responsum flagitaturum credit: verum ego flatui eam amplius non urger, ne responsum, quod declinet, flagitando importunus videar.

Me Guenelloni, quae de eo scripsisti, praegiisse testes sunt literae ipsius, quius has inclusas voluit. Ipse de nobili illo Mufcovite pluribus ad te scribit. Salutem quam officioffinme a nobis dices Domine Matham tociue familiae. Salutant tie uxor & liber, impriues ego.
Vir amplissime,


Haec est Holinhead ad annum 21 Elizabethæ. Ei simile exemplum reperio in eodem historico ad annum Elizabethæ 25. Verba authoris hac sunt:

18 Die Septembri anno 1583, Johannes Lewes hereticus obstatitus, qui negavit deitatem Christi, & professed plures alias deoctandas hæreses, quaestiones erat praedecessoribus suis Hammoni combusstus est Norwiceni.

Luptet etiam duo alia exempla ejusmodi ex alio autorre suggere, quæ tibi etiam forte uti esse possunt in eo quod praecipit manibus habes argumento. Primum est viviscomburium Bartholomai Legati Londinensis, anno 1611, & Iacobi primi 9, ob varios errores, hæreses, & blasphemia dogmata afferentes & publicatae, præcipue in his tredicem positionibus sequentibus. Neque quod solum fidei Nicene illudque alterum Athanasii non continent veram professionem sibi christiana: vel quod ille ipse non vult profiteri suam fideam secundum illa fymbola. Quod Christus non est Deo Dei deus, non factus, sed & genitus & factus. Quod nulla sunt in Deitate perfone. Quod Christus non fuit Deus ab eterno, sed inceptit esse Deus quando carmen aedificavit ex virginis Maria. Quod mundus non fuit factus per Christum. Quod apostoli docent Christum esse verum hominem. Quod in Deo nulla sit generatio nifi creaturarum. Quod hac afferrent, Deus factus est homo, contraria est fidei regulae & blasphemiae enormis. Quod Christus non fuit ante plenitudinem temporis, nifi promisiione. Quod Christus non fuit aliter Deus quam unicus Deus. Quod Christus non fuit in forma Dei aequalis Deo, i.e. in substantia Dei, sed in justitia & dando salutem. Quod Christus deitate sua nulla operatur est miracula. Quod præceps Chriffo non sunt offerenda.

Hic Bartholomaeus Legate ab Episcopo Londinensi, assenitibus convenientibusque alios reverendos Episcopos, docetique clericos, hæreses condemnatis & brachio faculare traditi, & deinde igni committendos & combusstos in West-Smithfield Londini.

Eodem supplicio afferentes est Eduardus Wightman, in civitate Lichfield, anno 1611, ab Episcopo Coventria & Lichfield, hæreses damnatas, ob has sequentes opiniones:

1. Quod non est trinitas personarum, patris, filii, & spiritus sancti, in unitate deitatis.
2. Quod Jesus Christus non est verus naturalis filius Dei, Deus perfectus, et ejusdem substantiae exterinitatis & majestatis cum patre, respectu deitatis suae.

3. Quod Jesus Christus est homo solummodo, et mera creatura, et non Deus simul et homo in una persona.

4. Quod salutator nostra Christus non est sibi sempiternum, carmen humanum, ex substantia virginis Mariæ matris suæ; et quod promissio illa, Sempem multarum content rerum perpetuis, non adimpleta erat in Christo.

5. Quod perfona Spiritus sancti non est Deus, coaequalis, coaequens, coessentialis cum patre et filio.


7. Quod ille, nempe Eduardus Wightman, est propheta ille cujus mentio facta est xviii Deuteron. hic verbi: Suscitabo illis prophetam, &c. Et quod verba Iatæ, Ego solus tunc eram, & Lucæ, Cujus ventilabrum in manu ejus, pertinent propriis, et personaliter idem dicit Eduardo Wightman.

8. Quod ille, nempe Wightman, est perfona illa Spiritus sancti cujus mentio facta est in scriptura, et paracletus ille de quo loquitur Ioannes, e. xvi. evangelii sui.

9. Quod verba salvatoris nostri Christi de peccato blasphemia contra spiritum sanctum de suo perfona intelligenda sunt.

10. Quod Elias ille venturus, de quo loquitur, Malach. e. iv. suam perfomam designat.

11. Quod anima aæ vis in corpore dormit in somno primo mortis, et est mortalis respectu homini primæ mortis, ut corpus; et quod anima fervoratis nostri Jesus Christi in illo somno mortis dormivit aæ vis in corpore ejus.

12. Quod anima sanctorum defunctorum non sunt membra quæ possident ecclesiæ triumphantem in æterno.

13. Quod Paschobaptismus est ritus abominandus.

14. Quod celebratio consens dominicæ in elementis panis et vini in ecclesia essè non debet; necesse baptismi in elemento aæ vis, ut nunc in ecclesia Anglicana usus obintet. Sed baptismus in aqua administrati debet solis adultis a pagnanimo ad fidem converti.

15. Quod Deus ordinarit et mittit illum, sc. Eduardum Wightman, ad exequendum suam partem operis salutis mundi, ut sua doctrina sibiique monitis mundum liberaret ab hæreæ Nicolaitarum et Christus ordinatus fuit et miius ad mundum fervandum, et à peccato liberandum morte suæ, et Deo reconciliandum.

16. Quod christiana religio non integra, sed pars folum illius praedicatori et admitterit in ecclesia Anglicana.

Hæc ex lingua Anglicana nimiris fidus interpres verbatim pene neglegit latinity desitania, et sermonis proprietate transfluui, ut dogmata illâ hæretica et capellaria ex supputation illud meruerunt, tibi, ut apud nos memorix mandon, perfectè innovecerent. Si quæ alia hujus generis exemplo apud nos extendi, sic cupias, ex nostra historia erna am et de mittam.

Dum hæc præ manibus habere, altare hujus est gratissima sua, hujus mensis erit scripta epistola adjunctis dubuis aliis. Sentio te eundem semper quem fueras, facilem, dulcissimum amisit.


Land. 7 Octob. 1669.

Tuam antiffium,

J. LOCKE.

JOAN.


Amstelod. 6 Nov. 1699.

Tuis amantissimus,

P. À LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO À LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE S.P.D.

Rēcte quidem mones, Vir amplissime, errore feticinantis calami transportiti sunt charāteres numerales, & 12 scriptum pro 21: nam 21 Maij Hambontus passus est vivicomburium. Quereris inferior, idque non sēncausa, quod nomen autōris, ex quo historiam Legati & Wightmanni habuimus, omittērimus. Id autem negligentia non factum mea esse. Libelius profert Anglicē, cui titulus, The History of the first fourteen Years of King James i.e. Historia quatuordecim primorum annorum Jacobi Regis. Author nomen suum tacuit. Huic libello annēcitat ad finem tractārum cui titulus, A true Relation of the Commissioners and Warrant for the condemnation and burning of Bartholomew Legatt, and Edward Wightman, the one in West-Smithfield, the other in Litchfield, in the Year 1611, signed with King James’s own Hand.

De Mennonitis quod quærīs nondum alicuīd ex nostrīs historiēs eruerē mihi contigit quod tibi satisfaciat, vel lucem afferat: forsan quia idonei hic rure non ad manus sīnt scripторēs quos consuēmus. Ne tamen tibi in tantum defideratos opere quicquid quod in me est opis tibi defit, id negotii dedit in fine rei doctoque amico, ut sē qua opera reperi possit inter authores nostrōs illiōs rei monumenta, ut totum, quicquid est, exceptum ad me transmittere velit. Quamprimā, alicuīd testimōnia ad rem facientes mihi oblata forte, tibi consistet transeuntia curābo.

Allixii librum quamprimūm prodiit coēmi animo legendi, sed otiose haste nas pra manibus jacuit, nec dum five per valetudinem five per alias avocationes legere licuit, fpero propediem pinguis & fructuosus otium. Quid de eo audias interim mihi dicās. Quīdam apud nos valde paradoxaum credbunt doctrinae trinitatis. Judæis tribuere & stabilitamentum illius dogmatīs est synagoga petere. Allīi e contra dīcitant hoc jugulam causae effe, & hoc fundamentum stabiliērer orthodoxiam & everti omnia Unitariōrum argumenta. Quīd ipsa res doceat aveo videre, operem enim in hac causa ad Judæis & Rabbīnis olim non expectāvi. Sed lux semper gratissima undeque audīgerat.

Domina Matham reliquique ex hac familia te plurimum salviere jubent. Noquē omnes tibi tuitōque omnibus felicem annum exoptamus. Vale, Vir optime, & ut facis me ama

Oster, 6 Jan.
1700.

Tuam amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

Veennium, Guenellonem, Clericum, reliquique nostrōs quēfēo meo nomine officiosissime salutant, quibus omnibus felicem hujus facūli exitum & futūri introitum optō.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH S.P.D.

Vir amplissime,

Quod hacēnus ad amicissimas tuas filiāres, ulla tuī obliviōne factum credas nolim. Multa reponentia diffutūre; prācipue quidem trinitis ille causā tibi fatīs notus, & meror ināe contrāctus. Ego ad studia, hoc infelici cauō multum languentia, reverēs fum; recuperāta jam fanīitate, quō
Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke,
quæ valde affliëta fuit. Relegi epistolam tuam; video nihil eam continere quod promptum repromunt flagiet; attamen benevolus tuus affectus, quo propositum meum promovere contendis, citius merebatur repromun: tu autem tardatatem facile condonabis meori meo.


P & prudentius fuit, nesciusque ejusmodi farcasmos adversarius contra se hac suas indignationem, alias fatis aceram, non magis exaecerit. Audio plura illius exemplaria in Anglia facta; quare & te vixum esse nullus dubito.

Burmanni filios, dehortantibus nequiquam amisit, contra me tractatum scripsisse adjunxit, cunnum jam sub praesidio eis, ac brevi proditurum: Weeue, num habuerit continuum instigatorem, qui eum Burmannum pugnare non potuit, illius filios me in concitavisse, ut ipsi sub specio defendendii patris prae-, inane in se ac ingloriam laborem suicerent: non enim verba parentis sui, nec Spinoza, liberis editis eredore possint; neque inuicem eae deae e quæ in Spinoza, & parentis sui Synophi Theologi leguntur verba. Quodsi facti esset, quæ prolatis ex utroque autore testimonis, in dubium vocari nequeit. Ego talia scripta maxima animi serenitate contentum possit. Vale, Vir amplissime. Salvest Domina Matham cum tota familia. Omnes mei te salutant.

Amstelod. 11 Maii, 1700.

Tui amantissimus,

P. á Limborch.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS á LIMBORCH S.P.D.

Amplissime Vir,

A Ne hebdomadas aliquid tuo nomine mihi datus est praestantisimus tuus de Intellæctu Humano liber in linguam Gallicam versus. Pro eximio illo dono gratas tibi quis possum maximas ago. Nonsum eum legere potui; verum nunc infant ferax mea quibus ejus lectionem definiti. Matris enim quæ in illo tractatur gravitas ac varietas, quam ex capitum indice didici, summam animi attentionem, & continuatam minimeque interrup- tatem lectionem requirit. Itaque tempus quo quidem negotii commi- tatem habeo, illi impendam, ut tanto majore meo cum fructu eum evolvam. Legi in novellis nostratisbus, quod & D. Clericus literis tuis confirmavit, te ob anatem ingravecentem & valutidentum minus firmam honoratissimi muneri ante aliquid annos tibi demandati dimissionem obtinuisset. Equidem inßitutum tuum minime improbabum possit, quinimum laude dignum consoe, quod extremo viva tue dies procul a ferepit politico, qui, fidei & meditazione cum facris conferent lar, quam negotiis honosi quidem, attamen nihil ultra vixus hujus tranquilitatem spectantibus, implicatos habere malueris. Hanc tibi quietem ex animo gratulor, Deumque precor ut ferecultum tuam eximius, quibus vera paratur felicitas, donis magis magisque exornet, ac quic-
quicquid corporifici viribus decedit, vivaciore mentis acie & spiritus robore compenget.
Tandem prodit contra me Burmannorum Pietas, is libri titulus est: mole
ingens, verbofus, contumeliosis plurimis declamationibus & inve
devisis refer-
tus. Illi per D. Crucium, fratrem suum uterumum, à civitate Leideni in
collegium rerum maritimarum deputatum, mihi pietatis suae exemplar tradi
voluerunt. Legi illam fed cum nausfa; & nisi in me scripturam fuisset liber,
lectionem absolevere non potuisset. Illi in eo summis viribus probare nition-
tur, parentem suum à me Spinozismi accusatun; & eum prolixere excusare
contendunt. Ægerrime ferunt, parenti suo à me acribi imprudentiam, &
quod fine judicio Spinozam fecutus sit. Auent parentem suum hae ex Spi-
noza cum judicio exscriptisse, ut mere Cartesiana: Spinozam enim in eo
libro suam doctrinam nec aperte inculcasse, nec tete insinuasse, sed sola
Cartesii dogmata tradisit. Verum ego non credo Cartesianos hae quatuor
pro suis agnitos. 1. Tota natura naturata non est nisi unicum ens. 2. Pol-
sibilitas & contingentia non sunt affectiones rerum, sed intellectus nostris de-
fectus. 3. Si homines clare totum ordinem nature intelligerent, omnia
aque necessaria reperirent, ac omnia illa quae in Matheo tractatun. 4. De
extraordinaria Dei potestia qua miracula facit, non immerto valore dubi-
tari posset: quae tamen omnia in illo Spinoza libro diceris verbis reperien-
tur. Sarcaismi plurimis in parallelismum inter Spinozae & Burmanni verba
ludunt; verum nihil in eo reprehendere aut falsi arguere possum. Ego
illii libro nihil reponam, praestim cum ob molem suam non diffrahatur &
à nemine legatur.

Verticulus in me narratur scribere Cinna:
Non scribit, cujus carmina nemo legit.

Idem mihi cum Martiale dicere licet. Addo, quod quicunque meam contra
Weeyenum defensionem legiter, nova defensione non indigeb: qui eam
legere non vult, illi nec decem apologiis satisfecero. Vale, Vir amplissime,

Amstelod. 20 Julii,
1700.

P. à Limborch.

JOANNI LOCKI PHILIPPIUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

H AC æfstate binas ad te litteras dedi, quas ad manus tuas pervenisse spemo
Dolerem à aberrassent. Ut ad te utrum Vitam Epicopiis, ante plu-
res annos, uti nostii, à me linguæ Belgica scriptam & praefixam concionibus
aliquot Epicopiis, quorum exemplar illo tempore ad te mihi. Quoniam nunc
Latino sermonem prodit, à nostro Marco Teute cum in Anglia effer vera,
ilius ad te duo mittam exemplaria, quorum alterum filio Domini Matham
trades, alterum ut benigno à me recipias vultu rogo. Videbis ibi specimin
aliquo perfectionis in patria nostra, libertatis alylo institutum; unde quod
modo erga integras ecclesiæ, & ingenios veritatis confesseores, paffim fa-
vitum fuerit, facile colllges. Utinam & hodie omnes hanc fativiam deraffent
 tur! verum qua nunc fruimur quetem non moderatioribus Ecclesiarum
confillis, fed magistratus prudentia & benignitate deemus; quod nisi ignem
illorum zelum compesceret, eadem nos hodie quæ olim majoris nostrors
procella obueret. Jam magnam librum tui eruditioni partem maxima cum
voluptate legi. Omnia mihi mirifice placet. Verum quoniam non tanta
lingua Galilæa quam Latinæ cognitionem habeo, aliquando ut vimi phra-
siam Galilæarum intelligam, atque mentem tuam distincte percrepiam, bis
tere quaedam mihi relegenda sunt; quod lectionem mihi aliquanto tar-
rem reddit: verum molestiam hanc dilucida veritatis explicatione, argumenta-

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torunque
Amstelod. 30 Octob. 1700.

Tui amantissimus,

P. a Limborch.

Joannis Locke Philosophi a Limborch, S.P.D.

Amplissime Vir,

apopholos duces sequi praeftar, quam homines affectibus ac praejudiciis nimium indulgentes. Vale, Vir amplissime. Deus pristinam tibi restituit fami-
ratem, ut quoad vivis egregius tuus laboribus publico inferivere poitis. Salu-
tant te quam officiosissime uxor mea liberique. Salutem ab nobis dices Domi-
nae Maffham totique familiæ.

Amstelod. 18 Feb. 1701.

Tui amantissimis,

P.A.LIMBORCH;

PHILIPPO & LIMBORCH IOANNE LOCKE S.P.D.

Vir colendissime,

Ex ultimis tuis 18 præsentis Februarij datis probe fentio, quam firma,
quam immutabilis sit tua erga me amicitia, cum tribus ante misis ad
me filiæm literis quartas addere non deditatis es, fines reprehensio ualla-
tate & tam criminóse taciturnitatis. Ignocis video, ideoque valeutudinis
incommoda non causabor. Penultimas tuas cum faciculo librorum vel amif-
sas vel in iuvene male hærentes maxime doleo, quod crediderim te senfum
tuum de libro meo jam tum cum scribere perleptio liberius explicuissi.
Quod de iis quæ de libertate hominis in volendo scripserim aliquantum hæ-
fitas non miror. Totum illud argumentum in prima editione penitus omit-
tendum censui, fed noluerunt amici, quicquid ego de rei ipsius & novitate
& subtillitate contra afferrems, nelectores alii aluètati ratione nionibus, non
probe desperçto ubique animi mei senfum offenderentur, & ea quæ in isto pa-
rgero commentatus fum vel tanquam novatoris paradoxo, vel tanquam in-
confutile errantis phalmary negligierent si non plane condemnarent. Nec
nec me eventus penius f.follis, cum plures inter amicos familiariterque meos de
hoc uno subjecto mecum feruere fermones quam de omnibus reliquis totius
libri capitibus. Fatoor adhuc neminem fuile cui scruptud quo detineba-
tur, non exæmi, si modo dabatur otium senfum & pedetentim integram ma-
teriam à capite ad calcem mecum perpendendii: quod quidem rei veritati
non max quantulacunque mediocrítati tribuendum censeo. Quod si tibi
nova recensione, ut promissis, recurrenti aliquia objicienda occurrunt, per-
sufium tibi sit nihil acceptius mihi foque quam errores meos amica manu de-
tegi eoque ipso evellis: non enim famæ nec opinioni fed veritati foli litand
num censeo. Quicquid demum fuerit, disputationes nostras in unam ean-
demque fentiam terminatum iri pro certo habeo, cum utrique unam ean-
demque illibarum veritatem studiuóque quaerimus.

Gaudeo te Commentarium in Acta Apostolorum meditari, & ejusmodi in-
interpretandi methodum quo non hæreat in criticis observationibus & verbo-
rum cortice. Nullibi magis appareat, ut mihi videatur, fœcosp genialique re-
ligionis christianæ quam in ea historia. Quid enim magis genuinner sine-
runque evangeli senfum nobis indicare poitis, quem prime illa apostolorum
pradicationes quibus infideles, tam Gentiles quam Judaos, ad fidem Chrísti
convertebant?

Ad priores tuas ut aliquando veniam; Laudo consilium tuum quod Bur-
mannorum Pietati minime respondendum censueris: hujusmodi vitiligantium
opprobria omnino contemnenda.

Præmum nostrum in fermento est, nec quicquarn pene prodire videamus
prater disputationes politicæ ecclesiasticae. Quorum tandem res eva-
det nescio. Quid minus turbò video: exitum non video. Tranquillicitat
quantum poiffum fluendo. Deus optimus maximus ecclefsarum reformatarum
& totius Europæ libertatem confervet: Sic precatur

Oottis, 22 Febr. 1702.

Tuis observantissimis,

J.Locke.

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YYY 2

JOANNI
Nuper Transsilvani rigoris in causa religionis minime excusandi exemplum praebuere vere detestandum. Quidam minister Monenica jam ante annum quindecim synodo suspectus fuit locinianifmi, & illius Harcelos coram ordinibus Transsilvaniis a ministris ecclesiis publico accecutus. Itaque a muneris fuit functione suspensus fuit, adeo ut integro circiter biennio ecclesia illius publico religionis exercitio caruerit. Post longam actionem, cum ministri accusationem suam probare non possent, ipsa ad ecclesiis fuit remissi, eique injunctum, ut sibi ad dogmatas locinianos docendis caruerit, sub pena arbitraria. Ille ante triennium libellum edidit exigui admodum pretii, quo unionem inter omnes christianorum festas suaderat, etiam cum locinianis; qua occasione imprudentius quidam pro locinianis scriptit; & aliubi quedam occurrunt acuenda in genere rogatam. Libellus hic fi contemptus suisset, vix inventi locores: verum fuit genere illum faram vel minima injuria facile irritari. Itaque denuo delatum fuit ad Sarrapam diastras Volleno, & deputatis classis Volleno, qui exhibebit libello suppletius petatur, ubi hic homo, qui non tantum locinianas hæreticas opiniones clam & palam docuit; sed etiam audacissime edidit, & ipsequi, ifque intolerandos farsacos & blasphemos admissiur, ab ipso Sarrapa compeltatur coram proxima Synodo libellum huc palam revocaret & penitentiam ob commissa teffarit: ut libellus hic flammos tradatur, ac in toto provincia vetetur vendi, ac supprimatur: impensa quas classis ob hanc calum fultinet debeat ab ipso restitutionur, ips qui proper crimine commissum penitentiaria afferit. Sarrapa pictitio huic annuit, hominemque ad synodum ablegat. Synodus illi offerit quinque articulos subscribendo, quis contingat confesso quod contra mandatum Ordinis libellum illum edidisset, quod ipsum inobedientia illius penitentier, quod omnino libelli fuisse exemplaria esset suprassis; igitur quibus ipsa subscribere recusavit. Inhabitabilis aliquid ex minimis, in quo obtebaturus ut subscriberet; verum illi contempte recusavit. Polletia dictius compertum suisset, illos id adeo ardentior cupidissit, ut habebant restitui confitentem, & hic proprius fut confessione arbitratia piena obnoxiium. Hac gesta fuit media aetate anni 1630 OC XCVIII. Proximo Januario anno fequentis ad Sarrapam in carcerem elj conquestus, & post longam novem vel decem mensium incarceracionem tandem tententia judicis hinc hominem puniit, tenit vieta, & diurno carceris igualiter emaciatio, mulcta irragitur centum duetorum argumentorum, qui conficiunt libras veolas sterslingas circiter triginta; nunc diutiusque carcere pronuntiatur, non soluta pecunia. Ille cum solvere non esset, utporpum, in tertium, sextum & tenebro sum carcerem subterraneum detruendi; ubi postquam dubius hebdomadiimus pane & aqua viram toleravit, tandem allud ipse mandatum exhibetur menfæ Novembri proxime elapso, quo ipse errores libello ipsius contentos dissimulare prohiberit; sub penna si fecus pecavit & exili, fine utia ulteriori forma procedens: arsque ita è carcere dimissuri. Nunc mifer ad extremam inopia redacxus est: omni illius divitio, supellettali, quæ rami nequitiam explorare potuit mullena in quam condemnatus erat. Non postum excusare illius imprudentiam: verum nec postum quin debeter hanc savitiam, praeterim quando in extensione tententia leges imperatoria ex codicis aderuntur, ut felicer ad fundamenta quibus durum hae tententia insinuitur. Sic fensum ad detestandum illud inquisitionis tribunal relabitur.

libertatem consiliare in potestate agendi & non agendi, & quidem in eo solo: non putò id te restringere ad solas actiones externas, sed & externare ad internas, fei cogitationes nostras; illa enim non minus quam actiones externe subjectae sunt arbitrio nostrò: ideque confidentaneum est igit, quò in sequenti bus capillos illius scribìs. Porro jam inquisis, quòd præcipuum est, quòd sit il- lud, quòd hominem ad hoc aut illud agendum moveret. Ego haec fames ita me explicabis: bonum judicium, quòd voluptatem esse id quòd hominem allicebat; illique oppònens dolorem esse malum quòd homo aevatur: adeoque quodcumque hominis mutatur, id ab oculis considerari ut judicium, quòd vero aevatur & fugit ut molestum. Non negas tu illum quinimum id etiam urges, 9, 24, & secq. Verum ut distinctius ostendas, qua ratione voluptatem aut dolor hominem moverat, doces, 9, 26. & secq. Quòd voluntatem determinari ab inquitundinam, quòd homini in se experiri, aut ex praefectia doloris, aut ex ab sentia boni feu voluptatis, in qua vel torant, vel laetem partem suæ beatitudinis collocaret; quamdiu enim homo in illam suo accepiet, nullam illius mutationem quaerit; sed solummodo quando in illam suo non accepi, feu quando inquitundinam, illae ex praefectia doloris, illae ex ab sentia voluptatis, quam ut effectuatiform, pars rem consideraret, in se sentire. In his facile tibi argumento. Inde recte deducis, bonum in nobis exciper dat deperider, non tamen inde sequi majus bonum temper in nobis majus desideriium exciper. Quod verissimum est & tu recte probas. Unde porro deducis, libertatem hominis in eo consiliare, quòd pollust fupnersere impellationem cujusque deperider futur, plenamque habent libertatem unum pollst aliquis considerari, objecta eorum examinandi, quaestae ab omni parte observandi, ac inter se comparandi, antequam se determinet ad agendum. Et hoc secum agnisco. Inde jam in ter, indifferens, quòd non posse determinari per auctorem judicium quòd homo fert de bono & malo, cujus electionem sequendam credit, esse fumman natura intelligens imperfectionem.

In Remonstrantiam sepsiis parvo vox indifferens occurrit, quando de libertate hominis confirmatur: verum ea nunciam à nobis hoc fenfu acceptur, quòd posito illo ultimo judicium, in quo prope actus volitionis conficitur, milliomini hominis potestas agendi sit indifferens, & per voluntatem non determinari: sed, quòd ante illud voluntatis decretem homini libertatem habere in hac vel illam partem determinandi, & non ad unum tantum oppòsorum determinatums est: acceptere auctem voluntatis decreto, feu volendi acto in differentiate illa tellitur, & potestia ad agendum aut non agendum determinatur. Et ille eòm puro nos confessent. Reliqua capitis igitur jam recensent sunt magis illustrandis ac confirmandis inventur. Puce me hic fensionium tum de libertate hominis recte percepisse. Nec est quod illi quicquam opponam: ino quodam distinctius, & clarioribus quam haec stut, est terminus ac phrasibus posse exprimi didici. Sì non bene percepseris, aut si quid omiserim, quòd, ut fententia tua plene percepturar, omissi non debueris, rogo ut me erroris admones: nolim enim in sententia tue explicatione, quam prout eam percepri etiam meam esse agnosco, à mente tuæ aberrari. Si in quibusdam distinctius, quòd ego ignoror, amice tecum conferre gestito, ut exiguus qui forte refertus posse diffusus tollatur. Plures tecum de hoc capite contulisse non miror. Materie est intricata & diversus philosophorum ac theologorum sententia semper agitata. Primus enim judicium, Epistohias in tractate de libero arbitrio & contra Cameronem eam claritas explicat, ostendique intellectum & voluntatem non esse duas facultates revera inter se & ab anima distinctas, ut haec stus in scolos credimus futur, sed animam immediat per se quisque intelligenti et velle. Porro licet non istum tecum vocibus ac phrasibus ucturat, in fumma tamen rei, quantum ego percepio, est confusus. Gratias interim tibi ago, quòd multa me libri eodem editione docueris. Ego eum iterum evolvere statui; secunda enim lectio uno multo distinctius eum intelligere. Deum precor ut dio te nobis incommunem ac properea fruenter varietudine conservare. Uxor ac filia te salutare. Salveas quantum officiostume à me, uxore & filia, Domina Matham ejusque liberis. Vale.
M. Agno honori mihi esse ducu quod tu tantum lucubrationibus meis tribus, ut in suis perlegendi bonas suas horas locare velis: & eas tibi veritatis amatoris non displicuisse gaudeo. Cum ego libertatem consifìrette dico, §. 24. cap. 24. lib. ii. in potentia agendi & non agendi, neque quam id restringo ad folas actiones externas, uti confit vel §. 8. 38. aliisque illius capitis locis: de hoc iigitur inter nos convenit. Quando vero dictis quod quiescuit homo vult ab eo considerari ut iucundum, metuo ne voluntatem cum desiderio confundas. Quod a plerisque factum video, qui hoc argumentum tractant, non sive magno veritatis vel saltem perplicuitatis incommodo. Desideriam fertur in iucundum factum, sed voluntas fertur solum in actiones nostras, & ibi terminatur. Sed quia voluntas tara agit nisi ducente desiderio, idque pro uno cedemque acta plerumque sumuntur, cum toto coro difìent, §. 30. 40. Cupido enim pafto est muta a bono abstente. Volitio autem actus voluntatis vel anima imperium excentris in potentiis hominis operatis. Haux operationes animae, quia, illa qua cupit aliqual, & illa qua determinat vel imperat aliquid agendum, nisi diffinguantur probe, nihil dilucide, ut mihi videtur, de humana voluntate statui potest: iodeoque spero ignoces mihi quod de illa loquendi forma te manifestum velit, cum de summis rei a me omnino non diffinentias. In ufu vocis indifferens quod a veritatis differar non mirum est, dum in his scribendis nec aliis placita secutus sum, nec vel scripta omnino consularium, sed quae res ipsae me, quantum indagatio & meditatione affici poteram, docuerint, ea verissimul potui apofitissim explicantur. De terminorum iigitur ufu nulla inter nos erit disputatio, modo de re ipsa confert. Quamvis, ut libere dicam, iba antecedens indifferens hominis, quia homo, ante determinationem sive decretum voluntatis, supponitur libertatem habere de determinandi ad alterutram partem oppostiur, non omnino mihi videtur spactare ad quæstionem de libertate; quia libertas unice consiftat in potentia agendi vel non agendi secundum determinationem voluntatis. Disputatur autem an homo ante ultimum judicium intellectus libertatem habet se determinandi ad alterutram oppositori, mihi videtur omnino de nihil fave de re imposibili disputare. Quis enim rogaret, vel quorum atinet rogare, an homo potest ad alterutram partem oppositionum se determinare in statu, in quo se non possit omnino determinare? Nam ante judicium intellectus non potest se omnino determinare, iodeoque frustra quasitum in illo statu libertatem habet se determinandi in alterutram, ubi in neutram omnino partem potest se determinare. Ideoque omnes illæ lices, quæ agitassium de libertate se in alterutram partem determinandii ante judicium intellectus, mihi videntur (ignoces patenti) nullo modo pertinere ad quæstionem de libertate: quæ se supponi quidem debet nec potest, in statu in quo manifstum est quod homo uragens liberum non potest agere, cum libertas, ut dixi, constituit in sola potentia agendi vel non agendi consequenter & congrue ad determinationem voluntatis. Ira autem sapie ufu venit. Disputantium servor & partium abdum & caliginem obducent, dum undeque conquitis laqueis alter alterum innodox & absurdis inveriri consuet. Vide quam libere tecum amam, eandem a te libertatem vicissim expectans: si enim tu mea vel ego tus prreceptiones, perinde est veritatem quaerentibus, dummomo illius potior habetur sententia quæ verior, & in ea conferiantur. In allis libris mei partibus, dum percurra, si quid minus reæcet dictum vel cogitatum invenias, moneri imo & redargui a te cupio. Vale, Vir optime, & me ut facis amra.

Oates, 21 Maij, 1701.

Tu amantissimus,

J. Locke

Philip.
Vir amplissime,


Oates, 1 Jan. 1701.

J. Locke.

Joannis Locke Philippus de Limborch, S. P. D.

Amplissime Vir,

Legi, relegi, & serio expendi quae de libertate feribis; sed non deprehendi illum inter nos esse confensum, quem lector illo de potentia capire credidi. Quia intere unice veritatem querimus, paullo diffinindus terminos quibus usu sum explicabo, & si qui aptiores sint, illis lubens utar; amo enim perpiciacitatem; & in veritatis inquisitione omnem verborum ambiguitatem quantum fieri poest vitandam judico. Putas non reate dici nos velle jucundum, illud esse desiderium non voluntatem. Desiderium enim ferri in bonum absens; volitionem autem esse actum voluntatis vel animae imperium exercentis in potentias hominis operatrices. Facile ego hoc dicriminem admitto, & ut perpiciemur causa unicae verbo suam tribuamus significacionem utile esse exstimo. Verum ego puto nos duo velle finem & media qux ad finem ducunt. Multa desideramus qux tamen non volumus. Eft enim desiderium aliud completum, aliud incompletum; sicur & voluptas alia est completa, alia incompleta, quam barbaro vocabulo in scholiosis vocans velletatem, qua designamus non quiid homo proprium velet, sed quiid velit. Prudentis est ex multis desiderabilibus illud eligere sibique omnium suarum actionum finem proponere, quod undeque fuit perfectum, & in quo concurrunt omnes rationes qux rem desiderabilem facient. Quia illa electio non fit fine determinacione voluntatis, qux homo decernit hic bonum, qux omnibus aliis praerendum judicat, ibi omnium suarum actionum finem proponere. Ira ego credi rete poelle dicit hominis voluntatem in bonum ferri, idque bonum temer ab ipso apprehendit ut jucundum. Si vero credas actionem qux ferimur in bonum illud, impropre dici voluntatem, fed debere appellari desiderium, quia furtur in bonum absens, te termino non conteniam, modo de illius significacione conferre. Ut ergo omnis ambiguitas vitetur, dicamus desiderium ferri in bonum, voluntatem dirigere actiones. Sed caveamus ne quavis desideria confundamus, & desideria completa distingua- mus ab incompletis, quae velletates, voce in scholiosis uttata appellari solent. Si vero aliud apius vocabulum indicare poellis, eo lubens utar, ut omnis, quantum feri potest, obscureas & ambiguitas in femine nostro viterur.

Quod attinet vocem indifferentia, certum est nostros ea non raro esse in hac materia ufos; verum eam non adeo deperimus, quin si commodior nobis offeratur eam repudiari simus; eoque magis quia videmus philosopheos cartesianos ca senfu a nostro plane alieno uti; illis enim indifferentia est fluctuarius judicii; quando mens, ex rationum pro utraque parte aequilibrio, incerta est quid sit eligo mendum sit. Nobis vero indifferentia est vis illa animae, quae poefis omnis ad agendum requiris potest agere vel non agere. Verum in tota hac de libertate disputatione video sepe ludi verbis ambiguis, aut faltam in ambiguum senfumdetortis. Optandum foret omnia verba eodem significatu ab omnibus accipi; mutax inanes defectiones & hiperbolas vitari posse. Nunc quoniam in significacione verborum convenire non poffimus, necesse est quinque explicet, quoe significante unaquevoce, de qua contreditur, utatur. Circa rem ipfam video nos differentire, Dicis, idfa antecedens indifferentia, quia homo ante determinationem se decre- tum voluntatis sponsum libertatem habere se determinando ad alteram partem oppositorum, non omnino mihi videtur speere ad quaestionem de libertate; quia libertas unice confidist in potestia agendi vel non agendi secundum determinationem voluntatis. Mihi plane contrarium videtur, libertatem unice confisere in potentia quae homo actionem velindi potest determinare vel non determinare: & si eam homo ante voluntatis determinationem non habet quod non sit liber, neque ullus fatus consipi poest in qui liber dicer queat. Quia enim volunt actionum nostra domina est, caufe pro arbitrio moderatur, si determinatio voluntatis non sit libera, nec in actionibus nostra ulla eit libertas, quae actiones nostra voluntatis determinationem necesse fario sequuntur. Quare vix capio quid velis, cum dici ante ultimum judicium intelleclus homo non potest fe omnino determinare. Verum ante- quam hic fententiam meam explicem, quid per ultimum judicium intelleclus significetur propius explicantum est, ne hic propter ambiguitatem vocis in oratione nostra aliqua sit obscuritas. Communiter ultimum intelleclus judicium vocant, quod homo deernitin quid sit faciendum sit, idque vocant.
vocant ultimum judicium prætium intelléctus; verum hoc judicium non est tam ætus intelléctus quam voluntatis, vel faltem ætus mixtus, ad cujus complementum voluntas concurrerit. Judicium autem quod solius intelléctus ætus est, non ulterior procedit quam hoc oporret facere, hoc oporet etiam. Uterius si proceder, interceder aliquam ætio voluntatis. Quæ duæ ræm à multis confunduntur. Jam mea est sententia hominem, quando reæ ratione constertanæ agis, empter velle quod intelléctus judicat operare fieri; profei ræm etiam contra rationem agere, & voluntatem in contradictionem partem determinare: quin & antequam intelléctus post accuratum rationem examen judicaverit quid facere operar, profei bruto impetu agere non quod rationi constertaneum est, sed quod concupiscéntia dictat. Hic si homo non habet libertatem se determinandi aut non determinandi, & actionem suam suspenderi, videre necueo in quo libertas consuet. Eademn tuam esse putabam sententiam, idque colligebam ex §. 47. capitis supra nominati, ubi inter alia ais, animam quæ habet potentiam suspenderi, immotæcëm cujuscumque desiderii sui, sicuti evidenter patet ex experimentum, consequenter etiam habere libertatem ea succèrve utum post alterum considerandi, eorum objecula examinandi, ea ex omni parte obseruandi, & inter se comparandi; & in hoc colliger libertatem hominum: omneque erroris & victorium originem inde arcus, quod præcipientibus judicium, voluntatemque nostram eis nimium determinarem, & actiones nos acceperimus antequam bene examinaverimus quid agere nos oportet. Hac aliæque quæ ibi addis verificat esse judicium; itaque plane attentior. Verum hac cum iis quæ epiptola scribis, quod homæ ante judicium intellectus sit non posse omnino determinare, conciliare non possim. Fortasse men tem tuum non bene percepi. Rogò itaque, si grave non fit, ut olimd und e ratione hæc inter se conciliaride debeæm, & differēciam quod ego non plene percepti exiice. Nulli opinioni, nedum prærui aut voci, ita sum addicium, quin meliora monstranti cedere parasum sit; veritatem enim unice quero, quam si invenier, de errore triumphabo.

Hac scripseram, cum ad me exemplar Latinum tractatu tui de Intelléctu Humano affauer; pro quo eximio dono ego summas tibi habeo ac ago gratias. Statur ilium à capite ad calcem perlegere, & cum elegantissima versione Gallica conferre, quà proculubio Latinæ nonnuncupiam lucem fenereabirur: & quando integrum tractatum perlegere, candide tibi judicium meum scribam, non quia necesse est, sed quia id à me exigis, idque ego tibi petenti me debere agnosco. Verum quantum ex Gallice versionis lectio percepti, me sententia tua approbatorem habebis: si vero ad quadi habetur, ea tibi candide indicabo, ut plenorem eorum explicatio nem ex te eliciam. Deum precor ut tibi vitam ac vires continuas, ut egregiis tuis laboribus orbis literato porro prodeesse possis. Salutant te uxor ac filia. Salutem à nobis officiofissimam dices Domine Matham totaque familia. Vale

Amstelod. 19 Julii,
1701.

P. à Limborch.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH IOANNES LOCKE S.P.D.

Vor amplissime,

Quod omnium obscuritas & ambiguitas in verborum usu fit vitanda tecum plane fentio: verum liceat mihi adjicere, quod hoc fæpe non fit etiam à volentibus evitare obscuretam. Ideæ, quæ obverfantrt hominum mentibus, praferret eorum qui veritatem attentius quaerunt, multo plures sunt quam voces cujusvis linguae, quæ ad eas exprimendas parate sunt. Hinc fit quod homines (quibus integrum non est nova vocabula quoties opus est ad novas ideas significandas ad libitum procedere) eadem voce pro diversis ideis, praferret cognitare sint, ideantem utuntur: unde oritur non rerum sensu omnium obscuritas & incertus senfus, quando ad praecipititias accuratas veniendum Vol. III.
eff, quo non folum audientium sed & ipsorum etiam loquentium mentes im-
placatur. Inter alia quis propoffi, lib. iii. cap. xi. huic malo remedia, illud
mihi praecipuum videtur, ut ut diligenter colliquam omnes simplices idee
que ingreduntur compositionem cujuslibet ideae complexe cujus nomen
ufurpamus, eaque eodem voci affixas sedulo in animo tenemus. V. g. in
argumento quod praelectionibus habemus, si voluntas significat potestiam quam
homo habet incipiendi, siffendi, vel vitandi atque actionem mentis vel corporis
ui, ut ego fuisus explici, lib. ii. cap. xxi. § 5, &c. in quo tu eris
acquiscere videris: si hae, inquam, sit idea quam vox voluntas significat,
emque praefentem in animo habemus quando de voluntate loquarum, nihil
certum eff potest, quam quod voluntas terminatur solummodo in actionibus
nostris, nec potest, ulterius extendi ad rem aliquam aliam, nec ferri in bo-
num remorum & ablibens. Adeoque si contendis voluntatem ferri in bonum
ut finem, recedis ab ea idea quam huic voci assignavimus, aliquamque substi-
uit; unde fit quod tu & ego diversas res designamus quando de voluntate
loquarum, nec omnino possumus inter nos de voluntate differentes quicquam
profeceris, donec tu ideam indices cujus apud te vox voluntas significat eff, ut
de serere vocis, i.e. de re qua difference congruas.

Diffinitio de defiderium complete & incompleto, sive de voluntate completa & incom-
pleta, quae affers, nihil mihi videtur argumentum cujus juvare. Sive enim
tu autem fiat incompletem defiderium, vel incompleta voluntas, quod fane
prorsus, id namque efficieb ut fit verum, quam voluntas fertur in bonum. Dico me
dubicare an aliquo potest effi incompleta voluntas; voluntas enim hic, ni failior,
furnitur pro actu voluntatis, i.e. pro volutione. Volitionem in efficacem fac-
cile agnosco, et cum paraleticum manum paralysii solutam movere velit, in-
efficax fatare & sine succugg est illa volution, sed non incompleta. Actus enim
volendi hoc in causa quique completus est, ac olime quando manus voluntion
obsequatur. Itidem defiderium alicujus propofiri boni, quod proper ma-
quis bonum incompatibile propofret neglegimus, non eff incompletem defiderium,
vel incompleta voluntas, sed defiderium completum brevi terminatur, efficac
non procedens ut nos impellat ad volendum actiones quibus obibimur poter
illud bonum in quod irebatur breve illud defiderium: nec incompleta dico
potest voluntas ubi nulla omnia est volution, etiamque sollem voluntatem up-
pellere amem. Quod si brev illud defiderium efficeb procedatur, ut nos
ad volendum aliquam actionem excitat, voluntas illa non est incompleta, sed
completa actus volendi, etiam quae infusa uteriores ineffacit ad obimendam
bonum propofitum quod ceffante defiderio neglegitur. In his & hujusmodi
mentis actionibus adeo celeres sunt motus animi, & inter se conjunet, ut non
mirum sit, quod sepe, uti sit, confundatur, quse attentus considerant et si-
inguenda sunt, ut recte conceptus nostris formemus. Vis libere dicam
quod hae de re sentio. Homo fertur in bonum abilen sive finem. Multis
simul intellectui overestantibus bonis non subordinatis nec confidentibus, ho-
mo unum, neglegatis alios, sibique prope ut finem, i.e. ut prosequendum,
hoc facit voluntarie, adeoque voluntas fertur in illum actionem mentis, quia
unum prae reliquis sibi proponit ut finem, & in ea actione terminatur, docem
modo quo terminatur in computazione quod vult numerare, vel in motione
pedum quando vult ambulare. Ob hanc voluntarium propositionem illius
boni, ut finis, fateor non rario dictur vulgo quod voluntas fertur in eum
finem vel in id bonum, an propri & ut philosophicum decret iniquum, uti
judices.

Quanta fit vis confestitudinis in usu verborum, quae irrepit subinde nobis
infectis, pater, ut verum videtur, ex ipsis quae in epistolae tua sequuntur. In priore
epistolae libris & aperte mecum conferrand videris, quod actiones sunt aeni-
gnium sive substantiarum, & non potestiam sive facultatem; & ceterum hic
usitata loquenti formae & abduci pateris, dicisque quod voluntas est aequum
nostrarum domina easque pro arbitrio moderatur, & similia paullum in toto illo epi-
stolae tue paragrapho; quod id secundum nulla arbitrari mihi remum iis effet.
Hoc non dict quod adeo delicatus sit, ut hujusmodi loquenti formulas
nullo in loco pati possim; earum utus in termone familiaris, ut recte intelli-
ganuntur, non omnino viruperandus. Quando vero in deceptionibus philo-
osophicis pro fundamentis argumentorum, quae ipsis innescetur remum veritas,
omnino
omnia reiectiendae sunt metaphorice & tralatice hujusmodi locutiones, ne nos in errorem inducant: refugio ipse, ut re vera funt, propriis & non figuratis vocabulis exprimenda: v. g. dicere quod voluntas sit actionum nostrarum domina refugio pro arbitrio moderatur, & inde arguer quod nisi voluntas sit libera nulla erit in hominibus libertatis, est, ut mihi videtur, ex vi metaphorae illius nos in errorem conjicere. Libertas apud me est potestas hominis agendi vel non agendi secundum suam voluntatem; feliciter si homo potest agere hoc, si vult agere hoc; & abstinere est contra ab agendo hoc, quando vult abstinere ab agendo hoc, eo in caus liberal est homo. Hanc effe veram libertatis notionem videtur mihi constare ex is que a me dixtam ftn §. 8. & feqg. Quae fere est, inde omnino fqueurit libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati, uti monitav.i §. 14. Ima inde fqueurit quod illa antecedens indifferentia ante decretum voluntatis, Nullo modo, ut dixi, pertinent ad quasitatem de libertate. Si enim libertas sit potestate agendi actionem quam vult homo, & vicevers abstinendi ab eadem actionem, si ab ea homo vult abstinere: quid fact, rogo, ista antecedens indifferentia ad libertatem quae est potestas agendi vel non agendi consequenter ad voluntas determinationem?

Quandoquidem vero inciderit quaeliv de ista vestra antecedentis indifferentia, cui vos omnem inniti libertatem contenditis, de ea dicit mihi paullo distinctius inquirere. Hoc indifferentia definitur a te animi quae potest omnibus ad agendum requisit.e potest agere vel non agere. Jam hic rogo an intellectus, judicium, vel cogitatio sit unum ex requisitis ad agendum?

1. Si dicas quod intellectus, judgment, cum cogitatio sit unum ex requisitis ad agendum, vestra antecedens indifferentia nunquam efficit ut voluntas sit libera (quamvis cum in finem, ut inde adfirti potest voluntatis libertatis, excogitata & introdueta videtur) quia, ut dixi, aliqua actionem memel intellectus propria, voluntas non est in fature in quo potest agere vel non agere (in quo, ut mihi videtur, constitut libertas) necessario debet agere; nec potest abstinere ab agendo, i.e. a volendo, actionem illum feliciter, vel illius omittendo. Imo vero voluntas eio in fature non est indifferentis ad alterum partem oppositorum, nempe ad actionem propostam, vel ejus omittendo, quia determinat ad precedentem intellectus judicium, actionem illum vel ejus omittendo preferente.

2. Si dicas quod intellectus, judgment, sine cogitatio, non sit unum ex requisitis ad agendum. Videas quaeo, dum hominem hoc modo liberum reddere velis, an non agentem cæcum plane efficat & ut liberum facias ab eo intellectum removes, fine quo nec effe nec supponi poete libertas ualla. Ad res enim cogitatione & intellectu deferitur nulla omnino attinet libertas. Perpende igitur quaeso: necum cogita an libertas hominis recte fundari potest in ejusmodi fature qui excludit cogitationem, reddique lapidem aequae capaces libertatis? An illa indifferentia pertinenti potest ad questionem de libertate, quae seposita cogitatione nullum locum in subjecto relinquit libertati?

Hae omnia qua se habent ex mea libertatis notione, quam fuisse traditam invenies §. 8, 13. Quod si tu aliam isti voci sumpier tribus, forsan hab omnes evanescere difficultates. Sed tunc rogandas ut tuam libertatis definitiunem ad me mittas, si de diversis rebus sub codem nomine differentes nolimus sine frue habitam.

Ex his qua supra dixi mihi constare videtur quod libertas voluntatis nullatenus constipit in indifferentia hominis, sed folium modo in potentia agendi vel non agendi prot volum. Exemplo forsan res clarior erit. Homo v. g. amat vinum, judicat ibi bonum effe, ex voluntate sua bibit: nulla hic indifferentia est, & tamen libera profutus est hae action, quia si modo mutaverit voluntatem potest abstinere. Contra homo venum nec amat nec averfatur, nec judicat ibi bonum aut malum effe, supponamus quantam libet hominis indiffereni: ex voluntate abstiniet a vino in carceri ubi vinum non permittitur. Hae action, nempe abstiniet a poirone vini est voluntaria fector, sed non est libera: quoniam homo ille si mutet voluntatem, vinum tamen in eo cau bibere non potest. Vides igitur quod indifferentia potest effe sine libertate, & libertas sine indifferentia, & action voluntaria sine utraque.

Hac me res ipse per se plane docere videtur. Imo vero res ipse multus Vol. III.
forfan & simplicius nos docerent multa, si scholarum subtilitas in procedendi facultatibus, distinctionibus, atque forte inventis mirae acuta, non obtuleretur fasse rebus in se claris operarum & doctam habetur.

Dicis porro quod Libertas consitit in potentia quae homo actionem volendi potest determinare, vel non determinare. Si per actionem volendi determinare vel non determinare significas velle aut non velles libertas in eo consisteret non potest: quia aliqua actione homini proposita, homo non potest abstinere e voluntione, debet necessario velle aut actionem illam propositam, aut abstinentiam ab illa actione, quantumvis levis & instanthea precedat mentis cogitationem & necessario sequitur actus volendi, quia ario proposita vel eligitur vel neglegiatur: & ita voluntas praeecedente cogitatione tempus determinatur ad agentiam, i.e. ad volendum facili existentiam vel non existentiam actionis propositae. Quod si per potestatem quae homo actionem volendi potest determinare vel non determinare, significas potentiam quicquid temere volendi, vel fine pravia cogitatione, vel contra intellectus judicium, ut sequientia verba videntur innuere, ubi dicis, nisi determinatio voluntatis sit libera, & loquere de brute impetu: libertas in hujusmodi potentia non potest consisterre. Quia ut dixi, libertas supponit cogitationem. Ubi enim nulla est cogitatio nulla esse potest libertas, uti fuisse explici § 8, & 9. Porro libertas non potest consisterre in potentia determinandi actionem volendi contra judicium intellectus, quia homo non haber hujusmodi potentiam. Actione volendi hoc aut illud semper sequitur judicium intellectus, quia homo judicat nunc hoc & nunc illud esse melius. Ex quo facile est intelligere, quid velit, cum dico, ante ultimum judicium intellectus homo non potest omnino se determinare: hocque facile conciliare possum cum iis quae citas ex § 47, de fulfipenione impletionis cujuscumque defiderit, si modo memineris quod ante unamquamque volitionem praecluderem temper judicium aliquod intellectus de re agendae, judiciumque illud quod immediate praecluderet volitionem five actum volendi est eo in cafu ultimium judicium intellectus. Quod te in diversum abripiat mihi videtur hoc esse, nempe quod ultimum judicium intellectus viseris confundere cum maturo & receto judicio, si receto capio senum illius sententiae ubi hae verba lego: intellectus post accuratam rationem examin judicaverit quod facere oporteat, &. Sed id non est ultimum judicium de quo ego loquor. Loquor ego de eo judicio quod in omni volitioh immediate praecluderet volitionem, quod reueras est ultimum judicium five bene expensum sit & matura delibratione recocatum, five extemporaneum & subito impetu etnum, & quae voluntatem determinat, five fit five non sit ratione conscienteum.

Si meum senum in his fatis receto & clare expofoi, non apparebit tibi, crede, hae relegent in tanta nostrum opinionem diffusia, quantum credidi: pro certo habeo nos veritarum utrinque sincere carentes non possit diu de rebus ipsis diffinire, quanquam loquendi formule videantur nonnunc um in diversum abire. Sed de rebus ipsis cogeritibus facile erit phrasologia nebulas diffutere, ex quibus fere orientatur inter veritas unam et omnes controversiae.

En proximio epistolae tiba explicatio fenantiae mea pocentia, ut post, morem gesti. Ignoscat, rogo, quod tories citaverim librum meum, hoc feci brevitatis causa, ne hic in epistola ea rescriberem quae in libro impresso melius legeres.

De duabus versionibus monere te convenient, ut scribi inter se differentes reperias de senso meo ex Gallica dificación. Illam enim mihi auctor totam perlegi, & ubi a seno meo absens deprainendi, corrinct. Latinam nondum mihi legere contigit. Valeto & negotia non fatis suos concedentur. Vale, & ut facis me a ma

Oates, 12 Augus. 1701.

Tui amantissimum,

J. Locke.
argumento tanti faciunt, ut illa ablatas vel omissta nihil recte vel clare frature de libertate poisse exilimant. En agitur que §. 71. subjungenda cenfi. Ego Anglice scripsi: Gallice verit D. Coiffé, adeoque si probas Gallice versioni libri mie inferioris positis.

Liv. II. Chap. XXI. §. 71. après ces mots, par son propre jugement, ajoutez ce qui suit.

Je sait que certaines gens font confisier la Liberté dans une certaine Indifference de l'homme, antecedente à la determination de sa volonté. Je sousaisierais que ceux qui font tant de fond sur cette indiffernce antecedente, comme ils parlent, nous eussent dit nettement si cette indiffernce qu'ils supposent, precede la pensée & le jugement de l'entendement aussi bien que le decret de la volonté; car il est bien mal-aise de la placer entre ces deux termes, de ceux dire immediatement après le jugement de l'entendement, & devant la determination de la volonté, parce que la determination de la volonté suit immediatement le jugement de l'entendement: & d'ailleurs, placer la liberté dans une indifférence qui précédé la pensée & le jugement de l'entendement, c'est, ce me semble, faire confisier la liberté dans un état de temebras où nous ne pouvons voir ni dire ce que c'est: c'est du moins la placer dans un jusit incapable de liberté, qui n'a pas cété jusit capable de liberté qu'en consequence de la pensée, & du jugement qu'on reconnaît en lay. Comme je ne fais pas délicat en matière d'expressions, je confie à dire avec ceux qui aiment à parler ainsi, que la liberté est placée dans l'indifférence; mais c'est dans une sorte d'indifférence qui reste après le jugement de l'entendement, & même après la determination de la volonté: ce qui n'est pas une indifférence de l'homme (car après que l'homme a une fois sest cété qu'il est meilleur de faire ou de ne pas faire, il n'est plus indifférent) mais une indifférence des puissances actives ou operatives de l'homme, lesquelles demeurant tout autant capables d'agir, ou de ne pas agir après qu'avant le decret de la volonté, sont dans un état qu'on peut appeler, si l'on veut, indifférence: & aussi loin que s'étend cette indifférence, jusques la lhomme est libre, & pas au delà. Par exemple, j'ai la puissance de mouvoir ma main, ou de la laisser en repos: cette faculté opérative est indifférente au mouvement & au repos de ma main: je suis donc libre à cet égard. Ma volonté vient à determiner cette puissance operativa au repos, je suis encore libre, parce que l'indifférence de cette puissance operativa qui est en moy, d'agir ou de ne pas agir, reste encore; la puissance de mouvoir ma main n'étant nullement diminuée par la determination de ma volonté, qui a prescrit ordonne le repos; l'indifférence de cette puissance à agir ou ne pas agir, est justement telle qu'elle était auparavant, comme il paroit si la volonté veut en faire l'experience en ordonnant le contraire. Mais si pendant que ma main est en repos, elle vient à être saisie d'une doulourue paralytie, l'indifférence de cette puissance operativa est retrouvée, & ma liberté avec elle: je n'y plus de liberté à cet égard, mais je suis dans la nécessité de laisser ma main en repos. D'un autre cété si ma main est asse en mouvement par une convulsion, l'indifférence de cette faculté operativa s'echoue; & en cas la ma liberté est retrouvée: car je me trouve dans la nécessité de laisser mouvoir ma main. J'ai ajouté ceci pour faire voir dans quelle sorte d'indifférence il me paroit que la liberté confiste précieusement, & qu'elle ne peut confister dans aucune autre, réelle ou imaginaire.

**Joanni Locre Philippus à Limborch S. P. D.**

**Amplissime Vir,**

Quod tantum mea causa laborem sufceperis, ut prolissiori epistola sententiam tuam mihi diffinietis explicare non fueris gravatus. maximas tibi habeo gratias: legi, relegi, expendi epistolam tuam magna cur attentione. Quanto exactius cam expendo, tanto magis observare videror, nos cum sententias, quam pharibus ac 1oquendi modis dicerepare, & quandoque diversas ideam idem, nonnunquam cædem ideam diversa vocibus designare. Respondiiffem citius, verum consulti retplonum diffilui, donec integrum tuum tractatum perlegiflem. Eo jam perleco, & cum epistola tua collato, magis
magis magisque observavere videores, omnem qui inter nos apparat diffensum; non tam circa rem ipsam quam circa voces, ac diversam ejusdem rei explicanda rationem occupari. Quia vero non ubique phrasium mearam fenum recte percepiisse videris, et ut, quicquid fortasse adhuc inter nos rettac diffensum, paucis & in compendio comprehendi posset, primo fenum vocum ac phrasium quibus usus sum quanta possum perpsicidum explicab: deinde phrasibus claris & ambiguissimis non obnoxinis tentantiam meam quam praem brevitate exponam. Tandem inquiram in quibus consentiamus, & quis adhuc remaneat diffensum; utrumque ille in re ipfa, an vero in vocibus ac phrasibus, & diversa rem quo inquirimus explicab: iuris ratione confitatum. Ita puto, si fortasse nondum per omnia idem sentiamus, brevi omnem diffensionem sublatum iri, nec veritatem sincerum eam quarentibus diu absconditam fore.

Significationem voluntatis, quod sit potentia quam homo habet inceptur a, siben, vel utiend a aliqua actionem menis vel corporis, ego tunc agnoscio, & ab ea non recedam: a voluntate etiam distinguo defiderium quo idem in bonum abfens, neque id unquam sub notione voluntatis comprehendam. Agnoscio hic me minus exacte locurum, & defiderium at voluntate esse distinguent. Quod dixi, voluntate etiam ferri in finem, nihil aliud veluis nifi quod tu ipse in epistola tua dicis: Multis simili intelleciti observantibus benis non subordinatis nec concententibus, hominem non neglegibilis aliis si proponebat ut finem, & ut prosequentum: hic facit voluntaria. Hae ergo electio est actio voluntatis: quando hanc sibi electionem fecit homo, defiderium suo fertur in bonum illud quod sibi elegit; & voluntate sua dirigit actiones suas, quibus d e bonum defideraturn concurrurum credit.

Vox liberas mihi designat dominium quod homo habet in actionem suam: quo nempe potissim omnibus ad agendum requisitum potest aggregare & non agere: qui non est actionis suae dominus, seu agere non potest quod vult, non esset liber. Verum ego puto hoc ad omnes hominis actiones, fine ulla exceptioni, extendi, tam ad internas actiones mentis, quam externas corporis, adeo ut etiam actio volendi, quae est interna mentis actio, sit libera. Quod autem dixi voluntatem esse actionem nostrum dominam, nihil aliud veluis, nisi actiones nostras externas dirigis a volitione nostrae, adeo ut facias quod volumus, & non faciamus quod nolimus, nisi intercedat exhibito, aut coaditio: utraque enim illa libertatem destruit. Semel declaravi, creder e me animam seu mentem immediata, absque illis intermediiis facultatis, intelligere & velle: per intellectum itaque & voluntatem, quotiescumque tis vocibus uxor, aliud non intelligi nifi potentiam seu facultatem ipius animae qua elicit actionem intelligendi ac volendi, & quam actionem anima imitate exercet. Et hanc significationem te etiam admittere puto.

Superest ut dicam de indifferentia. De qua primo pramoneo, eam non esse nostram, uti tu credis, id est, a nobis inventam, aut mittere nobis adversam, ut pro eo tanquam necessario in hae quaestionis usurpanda contendam. Nihil minus. Nos diu illa voce non nifi nium libertatem definentes, eam ordinare vocavimus dominium quod homo in actionem suam habet. In disputatione autem contra illos theologos, qui intellectum ac voluntatem statuunt duas esse facultates realiter & ab anima & a se invicem distinctas, quam una tantum intelligit, nihil autem vult, altera tantum velit, nihil autem intelligit, hanc illorum sententiam hoc argumento oppugnavimus: quod per eam aut omnis libertas tollatur, aut omnis actio hominis redatur bruta ac irrationalis. Aut enim voluntas determinatur ab intellectu, adeo ut necessario velit quod intellectus illi praeficerit: arqui tum omnis actio necessaria est, quia omnis actio intellectus est necessaria: Aut non determinatur ab intellectu, fed seipsum determinat: arqui tum omnis actio voluntatis est bruta & irrationalis, quia supponitur voluntatem nihil intelligere, fed solummodo velle. Hujus argumenti estum ut evint, responderunt, radicem libertatis esse in intellectu; quia in intellectu est indifferentia, quae potest quodcumque objectum quod sibi offeratur apprehendere & judicare. Responderunt nostri, eam esse tantum indifferentiam passivam, qualis est in oculo, qui etiam quavis objecta sibi occurrentia potest videre eorum.
corumque imaginis recipere; quem tamem nemo propter divinitudinem libere videres; quia non possis, quin quod ibi videndum propositur videas: hoc non possis intellegas quin quod ibi clare proponitur comprehenderas; aut debitis de eo, pro quo utrique aequae gravitates militantes rationes. Si vero liberatas quaeratur in indifferentiis, oportere eam esse activam, quam hominum dominium habet in suam actionem. Extinde, quoniam aliis quoem indifferenter adhibebantur, nos, ut omnes in diffusando ambiguitatem viramus, diffinitiones causas addidimus quoem activa, dimQPQQeQ liberatem consisteret in indifferentiis activa, eamque refertur in voluntate. Vide ergo, nos non pro hac voce velle decertare, nec eam ad nobis esse exogogaram: sed nos vocem alii usus explicantur, & additiones voces activa significationem illius explanationem reddidisse. Interim non nego, nos posse quandoque etiam illa in scriptis nostris esse usus, quia xutram explicationem nostram accepta comodificationis vita fuit, & idem significare cum phraet anae ad nobis ustrupata, dominium in actiones nostras. Idque etiam consitex definitiones hujus indifferentis, quam in precedentiora mea epistola dedi; quod fit vis illa animi, qua positis omnibus ad agendum requiris poeest agere vel non agere: quod mihi aliquid nihil est, quod hominum dominium habet in actionem suam, ut possit prout ipse placuerit, vel agere vel non agere. Itaque inter omnia ad agendum requiris vel maxime colloclo intellectus judicium, quod procedere deberet; alias volendi actio mere effet irrationalis. Quando autem dixit quod possit agere & non agere, mens mea non est, quod sumi posset agere & non agere; aut nec agere nec non agere, fecit nec velle nec non velle: hoc enim contradictionor num est; sed quem potestias ad neutrum fit determinata, ac preinde ex duobus oppositis posset eligere quodcumque ipsi libitum fuerit; imo ubi jam se determinavit ad agendum, quod actionem suam siffere posse, & se rursus in partem oppositam determinare. Hoc est, quod dominium habet in suam actionem. Ubi hoc non posset non est liber. Sic recte mones, cum, qui volens in carceri a vino abstiner, non libere abstinerere, quia non habet facultatem vinum bibendi: nec qui volens in carceri manet, libere manere, quia non habet facultatem extundere. Sed vero alia est ratio actio nem internam quae sola mente peritamus. Ad illarum liberacionem nihil requiritur nisi liberam determinatam voluntatem. Sic qui in carceri concupiscit aliarius uxor est, saepe turpis concupiscendaria est ubi, itaque in animo fovere, libere concupiscit & peccar, liceat eam concupiscendaria intra folum delectationem moram, ut scholastici loquentur, consiffat; ideoque ad ejus confusionem ipsi exterius adulterii actus non requiritur. Per brumatum imperatur non intellige actionem voluntariam sine utra precedente cogitatione: sic enim concipere non hominem; sed praeipitam actionem, ante debitum & accuratum illius examen: sicci videntur multos homines velle mentem affectu fapes abripi, ut hoc aut aliquid agere velit, antequam omnes actiones circumstantias, rationesque ac argumenta quibus ad eam incitatur aut ab ea deterrerii posset, recte consideraverint. Hanc ergo tribue liberariem homini, ut, quando actio ipse posset esse, posset vel praeipitare judicium, vel nature omnes actiones circumstantias examinare, arquas sit vel bruto impetu, vel pravilo, iustum, ac debitero considerieri agere: quique liberaturis tum quemque ipse ob missionem crede. Nec hoc omittendum per indifferendum, me non intelligere flaram, in quo homo quasi in equilibrio est consitter, nec in unam partem magis proponent quam in aliam; tali enim flarium indifferente circa actiones morales in nullo homine repertur; temper in unam partem magis proponentem quam in aliam, in actionibus praefertim moralius, prout vel affectibus agimus, aut consuetudo ac habitus nos erga virtutem aut virtutem proiores reddidit: sed flaram in quo homo potestiam habet de determinandi in quacumque oppositorum partem velle: licet enim magis sit proponente in unam partem quam in aliam, non tamen dominium in actionem suam amisit, sed in alaram partem elegit se determinare potest. Verum quia vox indifferens accipi potest pro flarum, quo homo in neutram partem incitata, sed plane in equilibrio est constittus, licet ulla senfus directe explicationem nostrae adversetur, ad omnem vicandam amphibologiam, a voce illa abstinebo.
Ultimum intellecut judicium ego non confundo cum maturo & recto judicio;
sed ibi diffinguo ultimum judicium, quod sit vel matrum & rector, vel
pravum & potentium, quod ibi vocavi brutum impetum, quia illud magis
seuerius vehementer concupiscientiam carnalem, quam ductum rationis:
ururque est ultimum judicium, quando immediate actionem volendi ante-
ceddit, & inter illud actionemque volendi nihil alibi judicium interme-
dium est.

Ita explicatis terminis quibus usu sum, jam quanta postquam brevitate &
perspicuitate fententiam meam propoman. Eam his Theibus comprehendo.

1. Homo est agens liberum, & habet dominium in actiones suas, illas vel
faciendis, vel omittendis.

2. Intellecutus & voluntas non sunt duas facultates realiter ab anima homi-
nis & a fere invictem distinctae; sed anima per suam effentiam immediate
intelligit & vult.

3. Homo nihil vult aut facit, nisi desiderio boni, aut senso molestia ex ab-
fento boni deiderari excitatius.

4. Actum volendi antecedet actus intelligendi, quo homo judicium fert de
actione sua.

5. Judicium illud vel est prudens post adhibitum matrum rationem ab
utraque parte militantium examine: vel est praepitaturum, & ab affectu ma-
gis quam ratione dictatur.

6. Judicium hoc, quatenus est merus intelligendi actus, non procedit ul-
tra fusionem, hoc est eligibilis, secus, hoc confluentem est eligibile, hoc
confluentem est rejicie: aut inter eligibilis hoc magis hoc minus est eli-
 gibile; inter fugienda, hoc magis hoc minus oportet fugere.

7. Judicium quo homo decernit hoc est faciendum, et ipsa voluntatem vel
ad minimum, actus mixtus ex intellectione & volitione, & ad cujus conu-
summationem actus volendi concurrerit.

8. Actus intelligendi, quatenus est merus intelligendi actus, est necessa-
rius, & nihilum mente rationem ab homine perceperamus.

9. Actus volendi liber est, habetque homo dominium in illum, ac faculta-
tem eum vel eliciendi vel non eliciendi. Si quae ergo libertas in judicio est,
ca procedit non ab actu intelligendi, sed volendi.

10. Actionem interum, quæ sola mente perficientur, libertas consistit
in libera mentis determinatione, quæ actionem volendi vel eliciere potest,
vel cohiberre. Ad libertatem vero actionem externam, ad quam conu-
summationem concurrent debet membra externa, etiam requiritur ut ho-
mo habere facultatem eumdem potestatem faciendi quod vult, & omittendi, se
non faciendi, quod non vult: eum liberum & non impeditum membrorum
externorum usu.

Ita paucis explicata sententia mea, videamus nunc in quibus conveniamus,
& quas inter nos superflue diffinamus. Quando epistolam tuam confero cum
lib. ii. cap. xxii. de potentia, videor mihi posse dicere, nos in quinque primis
thesibus confinire, nec de iis inter nos illum esse diffinam. De ultima
etiam nulla est inter nos controversy, nisi forte quod tu libertatem in fola
potentia faciendo quod volumus, & non faciendi quod nolumus collocare
videris, cum ego eam etiam ad ipsius voluntatis determinationem, seu voli-
tionem actum extendam. De quo max. Utroque etiam poëtice ampliando
quod in epistola tua scribis; quod homo fertur in bonum abens, five finem;
& quod multis simul intellectui obversatibus bonus non subordinatis nec con-
sistentibus, homo umum neglecti alius ibi proponit ut finem, id est, ut pro-
sequendum; & hoc facit voluntarie: ideoque voluntas fertur in illum actio-
num mentis, quae unum pra reliquis ibi proponit ut finem; & in ea actione
terminatur: eam autem voluntatis actionem sequitur desiderium finis. Hac te-
nus ergo confessium. Videamus quoque in reliquis confinentiamus, & quas
superflue diffinamus.

Primo, non videmur convenire in definitione libertatis. Sic enim dicis:
libertas apud me est potestas hominis agendi vel non agendi secundum suum voluntatem.
Quæ definitione mihi angulta nimirum esse videtur: & si ea agnoscatur, tum cer-
tum est, libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati: sicur certum est, ani-
mam nunquam posse esse sine cogitatione, si vera sit definitio, anima est cogitatio. Ima si haec genuina sit definitio libertatis, fieri posset ut libertas conisteret cum summa necessitate. Ut mox offendam. Ego autem puto liberarem esse dominion quod homo habet in quanquamque suam actionem, eamque extendi non tantum ad aactiones, quas fact secundum suam voluntatem, sed et ad ipsum volendi actum, seu volitionem.

Quod ferox & lepimam thesin attiner, necfio quoque in illis consecratus, aut quis de illis inter nos sit diffensus. In potremo mea epistola idem jam affirmavi: verum tu nullam in tua epistola illius mentionem facis: itaque incertus sum quoque hic mecum fentias. Mibi evidens videtur, hominem judicium suum determinare, quia vult accursecre rationibus quas expendat: suspenderet autem judicium suum, quia nondum vult accursecre, sed rationes aut exactius expendere; aut an in fines plures, quibus judicium ejus inclinare posset, inquirere. Atque ita determinationem ultimi judicii, quo homo decernit hoc eff eligendum aut faciendum, si non totam, maximam saltem partem, esse actionem volendi.

Octava Theos, qua statuo, omnem actionem intellectus, quatenus merus intelligendi actus est, esse necessarium, necfio an inter nos controversia sit. Illam enim expresse affereere videris, lib. iv. cap. xiii. §. 2. & cap. xx. §. 16. At ea definitio Paulum explicanda est, ut paret, an aliquis de ea sit diffensus. Hic ergo obverso, quod res quas intellectus percipit, sunt vel mere theoretica, vel practica. Circa veritates theoreticas actio intellectus necessaria prorsus est: proposita veritatis clara & evidenti, intellectus necessario affinitur, ut homo necessario eam percipiat, illique affini sit propter: propositum argumentum verificabilius tantum, homo necessario opinatur: propositum utrique argumenti aequalis ponderis, homo, seu intellectus, necessario dubitat: omnino si haec intelligendi actiones ninturnum momentum rationum ab homine percepturum. Circa veritates practicas actio intelligendi, quatenus meru intelligendi actus est, & nulla intercedit actio volendi, etiam necessaria est, pro rationum enim momento quas intellectus expendet, judicat quid convenientius, qui minus conveniensi, quod ex ufu sit facere, vel non facere. Hoc judicium ducit quidem voluntatem, verum eam non plene determinat: est enim illud imperium tantum suasionis, cui voluntas potest non obtinere, vel hominem potest aliud volit; determinatio autem procedit ad voluntatem, qua homo decernit hoc eff faciendum, eaque determinatione sit, vel iusta suasionem intellectus, & tunc eff rationalis; vel fieri potest contra eam, & tunc eff irrationalis, hoc eff, procedit ab affecto carnali, & suasioni intellectus nequitiam aucturar: vel etiam potest eff praecepis & temeraria, ita ut maturum judicium antecervat. Hic videmur diffinere: Dicis enim hominem non habere potentialia determinandi actionem volendi contra judicium intellectus: actio intellectus habet ad illud, nempe sequitur judicium intellectus, quo homo judicat hoc & nunc illud eff melius. Idem enim videris affirmare in fine §. 71. dediti capitum. Sed remanere quando haec confero cum definitione voluntatis in tua epistola, quod sic potestam quam hominem habet incipienda, iidem, vel vitandi aliquam actionem mentalis vel corporis, & cum §. 47. cap. xxi. & aliqouod anteced. & feq. dubito an multum diligentiam, & an non magis diversitas fit in modo explicandi quam in re ipsa. Omnis enim mihi videris illic agnos cere libertatem quandam in judicando. Dicis enim illic, libertum esse mentis appetitionem suam objecta considerare, cas in tropicae penitus, & utrum prospere tradita diligenter examinare. In hoc libertas hominum constricta: & quae ibi porreque habet. Addis max: inhulsum nobis potestatem voluntatem revocandi ad professione bujus aut illius appetitionis. Hic mihi videtur fons esse omnis libertatis, & Ex eius enim quidovere videtur, libertatem etiam verari in judicio formando, imo ibi effe libertatis fontem. Unde colligo libertatem (juxta tuam explanationem) non solummodo confirmare in potestate faciendo quod volumn: sed etiam ante volitionem actum, imo ante judicium de actione sua, hominem esse liberum & libertatem suam exercere. Solummodo discrimen inter nos off, an judicium ultimum quo decernitur, non, hoc conveni facere, sed, hoc eff faciendum, se actio intelligenti mera; an vero ad id etiam concurret actio volendi? & an libertas ricate actio intelligenti, an volendi? five, an id quod in judicio, quod homines actio determinaturum, libertum eff, ridente in intellectione an voluntione? Si in co

Vol. II. A a a a a comitatur
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constitut discrimen; puto facile sententias nostras conciliari posse: quamvis
enim mihi perspicuum videatur, libertatem removere in actione volendi, ni-
thique esse liberum, quin sit etiam voluntarium; non tamen hic tanta
opere videmur posse differtis, quin facile ad confitemur reducatur.
Cum enim
uterque fratrumus, intellec tum & voluntatem non esse duas potestates reali-
ter ab anima & a se invicem diffinitas; sed hominem, feu animam, immediate
per suam effeintiam intellegere ac velle, fatis convenimus, quando uterque
agnoficium judicium hominis ultimum libere determinari: quando enim
adept potestia faciendo quod ultimum illum judicium libere à nobis determi-
naturum dictat, & non faciendo, feu ommendique quod ultimo illo judicio non
esse faciendum decernitur, homo plena fruitur libertate, solum modo con-
trovertitur, an illum judicium, quod homin liberum, & quo actiones ejus
determinatur, sit actio intelletus, an voluntatis? sic disquiseretur solummo-
duro utra explicatio cum philosophica: quae melius conciliari posset, in re
ipsa autem foret conuenens. Si vero dicamus, omnis actionem intellec tus
esse necessariam, & ultimum illum judicium practicum esse merum intellec
tum, ac per illum voluntatem determinari; non video, quomodo uta in
ominque relinqua sibi libertas. Actiones enim omnes determinatur à volun-
tate, nisi homo aut cohibeat quo minus facere posset quod vult, aut cogat
facere quod non vult; cohibito enim & coactio, ut rete observas, re-
pugnatur libertati: & quando nonnisi juris fere meret facimus quod volu-
mos. Si autem voluntas determinatur ab intellec tui, & intellec tus actio sit
necessary; omnia erant necessaria: nam à principio necessario, hoc est, ju-
dicio intellec tus determinatur voluntas; à voluntate actiones: itaque homo
ad actiones suas determinatus est; & licet potentiam habeat faciendo quod
vult, & non faciendo quod non vult; potentia tamen illa, per antecedentem
voluntatis determinacionem ad unum determinata est. Atque sic mera
in actionibus hominis reginarer necessitas. Prolixior paullo fui; sed proximita-
tem, ut perspicuam mentem meam explicarem, evadere, evitare vix potui. Si aci
mentem tuam non reque aut non plene percepi, aut me à veritate aberrare
credis, me libere nomen & infrastr, rogo: veritatem omnis unice fecer. Et
quoniam nunc plenius mentem meam explicavi, brevius quicquid tibi non
probet indicare posse. Ut vero plenius sententiam nostram percipias,
scanderem ut legas brevem Epistolam tracatum de Libero Arbitrio, qui exstat
in Vol. I. Part. II. p. 198. Operum ejus; & Epistolam illius, qua judicium
suum profect de loco quodam ethices non edito: quae est DOL. inter Epistol
as nostras Ecclesiasticas & Theologicas. Reliqua libri tui mihi valde proban-
tur, multuque me ex illius lectione proficiisse gratus agnoscio. Lectionem
ejus repetere flatus. Verum verius Gallica multum Latinam praebet; cum ego
subinde confilio, quando Latina obscurior est, five interpretis five typographi
culpa. Quae epistola tua incletur fum errata, & additamentum de indifferen-
tia, necio an in privam meum ufmusifum, an vero ut imprimatur. Ver-
rum ego puto te sententiam nostram de indifferentia non reque percepiile,
ideoque eam in hac epistolam plenius & distinctius explicavi. Sed tamen ma-
um de tabula. Vale, Vir amplissime. Uxor & filia te plurimum falvore
jubent. Salutem á nobis officiofissimam dicem D Malfam totique familia.
spicere possem quomodo inter fe & cum rei veritate confisere possint. Sed si singula quae in hoc argumento in aliorum scriptis subpositae possint dubia perfequii velit, & penicillatus ad trutinam revocare, in volumen abiret epistola: nec neum eft aliorum opiniones convellere (quarum ignarus in scribendo nec aliorum sententiam fugit, nec autoritatem fecundus fum) fed folum mea cogitata, quantum ex rebus iphis perfequire possit, rebus iphis conformare. Hec caufa eft porfet eft inconfultis autoribus, & mea mecum meditatus terminis & loquenti formulis hoc in subjeto familiaribus non fum usus. Hoc mihi ignoscendum poftulo. Nec Epifcopi acutiffimi, cujus memoria fumma apud me, in veneratione eft, mentionem hic fecifem, nifi te fuafore traduction ejus de libero arbitrio perlegifem quem tuum fecifti, tuamquam per omnia fententiam continere mihi notum fecifis.

Hec a me præfanda erant ne forfan videar aliorum scripta, qui me in hoc argumento praecellerunt infolenter nimis neglige, vel non fatis eorum authoritati tribuere: quod a meo animo, & a mea medioicrate, et eft esse deber remotiffimum. Fatoe, ego non fecor nomina, fed ubique veritati litam, cumque quacunque ducit unice sequor: ideoque gratias tibi ago maximas quod me ubi erras proximis in viam reducere conarius.

Primum & præcipuam quod in noviffima hac tua epiftola culpare videor, est mea definitio libertatis quam dicis nimis esse angustiam. An tu laxior est quam illa, quam ego lib. 2. e. xxii. 8. & 12. traditi, tum videbis unus cum tu illam proferes. Nam quod dicis libertatem esse dominium quod homo habet in quamcunque suam actionem, hoc mihi non videtur esse definitio libertatis, quam nihil aliud dicit nisi hominem habere dominium in actiones suas quod habet; quod hac tamen redd, libertatem esse libertatem quam homo habet in quamcunque suam actionem; quo evenire potest ut nulla omnino sit hominis libertas: scis enim esse aliquos qui negant hominem ullam in actiones suas habere dominium, sed omnia præteritor & inutilissimi duci fato. Quod si dicas te supponere hominem habere dominium in actiones suas, & in eo confisere libertatem; tunc rogo quid sit dominium hominis in actionis suas? Dominium enim, five sit vox tralatitiva, five ob aliquam aliam caufam, mihi videtur aequo qui non magis obfcura quam vox Liberras, ideoque non minus egem definitione. Et sic peregrin rogando donec pervenatur erit ad simplices ideas, ex quibus confiatur idea libertatis.

Video ex hac tua epiftola quanta sit vis confueudinmis, & qua confiantia non cogitantibus etiam & invitis irrept. Fateris, & candide fateris, voluntatem esse animae facultatem, & facultates non esse agentes: & tamen, ut alia omittam, hic dicis, si mea definitio libertatis agnoctatur, certum est libertatem nullum modo competere voluntati. Voluntati enim nullum modo competere potest libertas, nisi pro agente agnoctatur. Quippe agentium folummodo est libertas. Scio te Epifcopi exemplo po(f( teipsum excufare, qui in principio differentiationis fuerit rejsienis facultatem operationes sibi tamens re- habitur in argumentationes quibus supponuntur agentes: permittam tamen ut amice nonem ti hoc maxime caveas, multum in hac materia tibi facefles negotium, & tenebras sapitine tibi offundes.

Ad reliquas de quibus dubitare videris, ne in longitudinem molemque nimiam extendatur refponso, rectius me & comprehensius satisfacuerunt credo, si aliquas hic illic capitii xx. inferam explicationes quibus animi mei fenfund negligentius forfan vel obcularibus traditum clariorcum reddam, adeo ut extincti nanti etiam, uti fit, lectori impofterum pateat, modo quo tradita fustant memoria tenere non deriguetur. Hec cum tu attente perlegis, & cum reliquis que in illo capitex expofui contuleris, plene tibi satisfaciam iri spero. Quod si quae posset tibi remanenter dubia, & aliqua refiant que vel obfcura nimis, quorum te fugit fenfund, vel patef veritatis congrua, quibus aifemum prebere non potes, moreas rogo, ut aut eae autore corrigitam, aut ulterius explicando, veritatem sua propria luce nitentem tibi ante oculos ponam.
Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke,

Si qua sunt in epistolae tuae quae non fatis distincte responsum à me credas, ignoscas rogo valutudini parum firmæ, vale linguistis et ad scribendum minus aptum reddis. Quaestiones ex annexis explicativibus, ex quibus mentem meam percipies, perplicium tibi fore quid ad singulas dubitationes tuas respondi poffit. Vale, Vir optime, & ut facias me amas.

Oates, 19 Nov.
1701.

Tu studium solum.

J. Locke.

Joannis Locke Philippus à Limborch S.P.D.

Vir amplissimæ.

Quod legationem trahactus Episcopii de libero arbitrio tibi commendaverim, id eo fine non feci, ut viri illius autocratis contra te utare; nihil minus: feci enim in sincere veritatis inquisitione nullam valere autocratis humanam, sed tantum momento rationum quibus veritas adhibetur. Nec ego, licet Episcopii fententiam approbec, vellem illius autocratis confingit, ut omnia, etiam quæ salva principali veritate in dubium vocari poffunt, admittam, sedum pharisaibus ac loquentiis formulis ab ipso usu præsati aliaggi medi patiar. Sed illius legendi tibi audior fui, ut ex illo cognosceres, nos jam a multis tempore renuntiàlla illi sententiae quæ statuit animam intermedium facultatis agere; sed affererse tecum, animam immediate per seipsum intelligere ac velle. Unde cognosceri poffes, quando cum nonem loquendi uerum sustiner vos in intellectus ac voluntatis, nos illis non intelligere facultates realiter ad anima distinctor; sed ipsas intelligendi ac volendi actiones quas anima immediate ex seipso elicite. Hoc ego etiam brevioribus verbis signifcatum dedi in Theologia mea Christiana lib. ii. cap. xxiii. § 1, 2. Itaque si per incogitantes in inverted confutisside mihi forte excederet voluntates esse liberae, rogo ut id meo se mice accipias, ac si dixissem aetio volendi est libera, seu homo in elicienda actione volendi est libera: ac proinde pro verbis meis, si tua libertatis definitione aequatur, certum est libertatem nullum modo complectere voluntatis, hacs sublics, certum est aetiones volendi neustiquam esse liberae, seu hominem non libere velle. Gratias iterum tibi ago, quod incoherenter hanc meam locutionem mihi indicaveris: ego annuntiar ut in posterum omnem ambiguum locutionem vix, & ab inoleta loquendi confutisside non abripiar; ne ualla in verbis meis sit obfuscaturas.

Libertatem ego definiti per dominium in actiones: quia vox Domini tibi explicacione indignè videretur, simplicius dico libertatem esse facultatem hominis actionem suam vel eliciendi, vel non eliciendi: qui alterum tantum potest, non est libera. Per actionem autem ego intelligo actionem quamcumque, etiam actiones internas intelligenti ac volendi: circa quasquacunque actiones non habet homo hanc facultatem eas vel eliciendi, vel non eliciendi, sed alterum tantum potest, ha non sunt libere: & quia illi hanc facultatem tribuo circa actiones volendi, ideo eas liberas voco: quando hac facultate homo definitur est, libere nec vult, nec velle potest.

Utinam facultas esset coram tecum de omnibus his differendi, & ex ore tuo pleniorum omnium circa quæ hæc expositionem audieris: meamque sententiam, ac loquenti phraæs distincte explicandi, non dubito quin felicitas totum hanc questionem terminare possemus. Nunc etiam circa ea, quæ explanationis gratia addidisti, hæc quæ statuas judicium illud, quod format non amplius in homine libertas est non volendi, sit aetio mera intelligendi, eaque intelligenzi aetio sit libera vel necessaria: si in ea elicienda hominem libertum aequatur, non video quis inter nos, quoad summam rei, maneat diffusus. Sed coram possemus hæ distinctius & exactius expendere; ideo maxime per curremus, ut uterque in hac materia quanta fieri potest perspiciat nos explicamus, & difficulbatus hinc inde oboribtibus ocurramus. Nunc quoniam utriusque aetas id neustiquam permittit, quæ mihi, tem-
De Valeutudine fatis cons tant i quod scribis maxime lato r, & quod pal- pitario illa cordis molesta amplius non fuerit gaudeo. Quæ ad danita- tem tu endam faciunt tam recte & prudenter moderaris, ut sperem te diu ab illo alifique morbis tutum & sopitatem futurum; præcipue si diœcæ medici- tati venæ sectiœnem, si plethoram vel fentias vel metus, quotiescumque inde malum ingruit, addere velis.

Nunc demum si placet ad diu intermissæ studia redeamus. Habeo jam pro- manibus litteras tuas 3 Januarij datas, in quibus viderìs mihi dubitare, an ego statuam hominem esse in volendo vel in intelligendo liberum; ina enim qua- stiœnem tuam interpretœr: eriam tu rogas an actio volendi vel intelligendi sit libera? Ad quam quaœstioœnem sit respondœo:

1. Generaliter, nempe quod mea lententia homo in omnï aœtione tam volendi quam intelligendi liber est, si ab aœtione illa volendi aut intelligendi potuit abstinuiœs; si non, non.

2. Speculius, quod voluntatem, aliqui sunt causæ in quibus homo non potœst non velle, & in omnïs itis vel simiœdæ actœnem homo non est liber, quia non potœst non agere. In eœteris ubi potuit velle vel non velle liber est.

3. Quod actus intelligendi, in ista voce intelligendi suspicor latere amphibi- ologiœam, nam signiœcere potœst aœtione cogitandi de aliquo subjœcto; & in isto subiœcto homo plerumque liber est in itiœsmodì actione ingenii. V. g. possim cogitare de peccato Adami, vel inde amovere cogitationem meam ad urbem Romam, vel ad aræm bellicam praœentœsœ facœuli. In quibus omnïs & hujœmodi aliiœ infinitis liber sum, quia pro libitium meo possim de hoc vel illo cogitare vel non cogitare. Vel actus intelligendi potœst sumi pro ea aœtione qua pericipo aliquiœ esse verum, & in hac aœtione intelligendi, V. g. quod tres angulœ triangulo sunt æqualœ duobœ reœcis, homo non est liber, qui excœffœa demonstrœatione non potœst non hoc intelligere. Homo potœst plerumque non aœperire ocœulos, vel non aœditerere aciem ocœulorum ad hoc vel illud objectum, verum aœperis & conversis ad foœlem vel lunam ocœulis, necessario vidœt & splœdœorem & figœrum que foœert intœruit vidœdam. Quod de ocœulis dixi ad intellectœm transferœ liceœ. Par utriœcœ eœf ratio. Sed de his haœtœnœs. Si satisœœœœm tibi sit gaudeo. Sin dubia refœent œtere liberœrate tua, ego parœtus sum & in his & in omnïs quœntœm in me est tibi obœtrimœpare.

Oates 28 Sept. 1702.

J. Locke.
2. Similiter, quosdam esse causas, in quibus homo non potest non vele, & non agere; quia facultate non agend i deitiitar us est. Sed vero in omnibus actibus obdientiis ad ipsos praefiandis, & ob quos non praefitos pecuniarus, liberum credo, neque quemquam posse reum pecuniarum, ob non praesitum actum sibi minimem possibiltem, aut ob praesitum sibi inequivitabilem: nihil enim homini magis liberum esse debet, quam id ob quod pecuniarus reus redditur.

3. Hominem esse liberum, ut contemplationem vel cogitationem suam ab uno objecdo avertat & in aliud dirigat, arque hoc respe tout in actionibus in telsecatus liberum dici posse recum agnofo: Verum hae actio, si accurate loqui velimus, proprie est actio volendi, non intelligendi: avertit enim homo cogitationes suas ab uno objecdo, & in aliud dirigit, quia non vult priores cogitationes continuare, & quia vult novas incohere. Quod vero actio nem intelligendi attinet, qua homo aliquid perspicit esse verum, eam recte dicis non esse liberam: idque locum habet tam in percepindis is quae philosophi per fama intelligentiant cognosciri dicunt; ut, bis duo sunt quaator; idem non potest simul esse & non esse, &c. quam illis quae excusva demonstratione cognosciri optimi dicis: videl. tres angulos trianguli esse aequales duobus rectis. Idem etiam locum habere censo in aliis intelligendi actionibus, quando res est obfica aut dubia, &a nullae sunt rationes eam evidenter probantes, aut pro utraque fententia rationes sunt aequales ponderis; tum enim homo necessario aut fupenfus est, aut dubitat, aut leviser tantum afficitor, ita tamen ut tali posse se credat. Adeo ut intelligendi actio accommodata sit rationibus ac argumentis, quorum pondere in hanc aut illam partem inclinatur. Qualia plurima sunt in vita homina. Et actio illa intelligendi non mutatur, quamdui non accedunt novae rationes, aut rationum quibus rei veritas inittitur, clarior & evidentior percepi. Non nego tam in ejusmodi cognitione inevidentis fieri posse, quin & sepsi contingere, ut nulla accedente nova luces, aut magis distincta perceptione, homo aut eliciat plenum affension, & aut prius opinionem sium muter: verum illa mutatio judicii aut affension, non procedit ab acteцию aequalia intelligendi, sed volendi; quia nimirum homo, licet nova ratione minime illufratus judicium suum in alteram partem inclinare vult. Scimus affectus nostris valde inclinare judicium nostrum: itaque indulgingo affectui, cuipiam qui me in alteram partem impellit, eo etiam judicium & affensionem meum inclinare possum. Atque ita judicium huc meum erit actio mixta, partim intelligendi, partim volendi: quatenus intelligendi est actio, seu rem percipit, et necessaria: verum quiaquid in judicio liberum est procedit ab actio volendi: quatenus scilicet ego rationem aequalem accipiesce vero, ut judicium feram. Qualem actionem mixtam ego etiam credo idem nostram esse, prout explicui in Theol. mea . Chrift. lib. n. cap. ix. § 21, 22, 23. ibique plenus ostendo, quomodo actio intelligendi & volendi in hinc christianam concurrunt: solummodo ex inverterata locundis confudundine, usus sum vocibus intellectus & voluntatis, quibus actiones intelligendi & volendi designio, juxta ea quae jam declaveram lib. ii. cap. xxiii. § 1, 2. Hac sic distincte consideranda existimio: verum nolim ego multum contendere, utrum illa libertas etiam sit dicenda inesse actionis intelligendi, dummodo confrer hominem in actione illa liberum esse: & hominem libere ab una cogitatione se convertere in alteram. Distinctione tamen hae adhibita puero rem diluculdis explicari. Et sic etiam similibus tua ab oculis dsumptra plenus applicatur: quod enim homo non aperiat oculos, aut oculorum aciem non avtadert, hoc facta quia is vult: oculi autem quando aperiret & in obiectum dirigantur, illud quale & oculis repereret necessario conspicient: si in debita distantia oculis objectum, etiam necessario distincte videtur: si nimirum remotum sit, distincte videri non potest; sique homo liberaret habet procurando ut obiectum in tali distantia ipfi distincte apparet: sed si distincte contemplari velit, libertatem habet propius accedendi. In his puro nos contentire: arque ita in summa rei nullum esse diffusum, licet forimam in modo explicandi aliqua discrepantia sit. Vale, Vir amplissime, & salve ab uxorre, filia, & me.
Vir amplissime,

Postquam afflictā tua valetudo, praesertim in extrema feneñtute, nos admodum de te follicitos habuist, tandem gravior paullo nuntius nos recorderavit calore xfasii, qui tamen nunc apud nos colorem vernum non exciditis te nonnihil respirare, & meliuscule te habere. Utinam firmam tibi valudinem concedat benignum numen, ut quos vitæ tuae adicere dignabitur dies iis, quibus te confecerist, studiis impendas, & donec hujus vitæ uflura frueris doctissimis tuis lucubrationibus orbis christiano inservire possis! Quæ tu concordia christiana jecistis semina, licet nunc ab ingratiss simulcentur, grata posse rata tuaus fuos ferent. Quod licet mens mihi certe praefigiat, nilhilominus quando pervilia plurimorum, & pro auctoritate humana decenta ingenia considero, aegre sperare licet, eos depofitis praecipuis & affectibus, animo puro ac sincero momenta rationum quibus veritas nititur ponderatur, ac uni veritati candid ecefluros. Etiam reformaros, qui se opponendop Papatui nulla fe humana auctoritate conftrinxi velle aut poft, protestati sunt, nimiun humanæ auctoritati tribuere, scriptaque humana majorem quam par eli in veneratione habere, adus f dlgulis trieniis in patria nostra repertius, & cujas follemn repetitionem novellas nosfrates paucas ante hebdomadu nas nobis retulerunt, argumentum efl omni excipione majus: cujas quoniam nunc recens memoriam efl quia illius narrationem tibi non ingratam fore confido, licet res ipfa maxime disfliceat, eam diffinquus & cum pracipuis circumflantibus describatur. Jam anno CIO ICXXXV. Ordines Generales decreverunt, ut f dlgulis trieniis acta authentica fynodi Dordracen, qua Hage affervantur, ad deputatis ordinum & ecclefiarum insipiantur: postquam deinde anno CLI ICXXXVII. prodit nova bibliorum verfo, jufli ejusdem fynodi adornata, illius etiam exemplar, a tranltoribus & revisoriis, hunc in finem Lugdunum evocat, ultimo correctum, quod Lugduni Basavorum affervat, inspici foler. Redeunte itaque quoliber triennio deputati fynodorum Hollandiae Aufralis & Borassius corum convocant ex omnium provinciarum ecclesiarum, necnon ex ecclesia Waltonica. Hi paries con¬
scripti ubi convenire, praefid Ordinum Generalium adventum fratum indicant: precibus à paffore loci, si corus membrum fit, habitis, & literis credentialibus leatis, praefes & scriba eliguntur. Precedentis corum acta praegunter: exinde deputatus corum ad Ordines Generales mittuntur, ut scriptoria fynodalis vifionem petant, & ut aliqus & collegius fub ad eam deputant, locum & tempus itaquant, quin & per epifolam confules Lugdunenses pramoneant, & Collegii regement, unius elavis cuftodem, ut adfiri, quando Lugdunum convenient ad inspiciendum autographa versionis. His peraditis, certa à deputatis Ordinum conficiat hora comparent in Ord. Generalium camerae; primo funduntur preces, quibus Deo gratiae aguntur, quod eccleflam reformatam à variis erroribus purgaverit, quod fynodium ipsius conceferit, cujas acta authenticæ in precedente corum adhuc incorrupta confpexerunt; & quoniam nunc convenereut ut ea denuo inspiciant, oratur Deus ut gra¬
tiam hanc ipsius concedat, ut integraque ac incorrupta ab ipsis confpiciantur, perinde ut ante triennium confpeçta fuere. Postqueiam scripta inspeta sunt, gratiae Deo pro tanto beneficiio aguntur, idque deputatos denuo tute reli¬

ceterus illius membrum fuit, scripta inspexit, & in quorumdam amicorum gra-
tiam hanc historiolam scripto confignavit. Cui etiam confonante aliorum
qui foemnitori illi interfugerunt relationes. Non credo lege tanta cum ve-
neratione tantumque sumpitibus acta concilii Tridentini insipici. Ridenda
hoc forent, si quorumdam privatorum inconsiderato zelo agerentur; nunc,
quia autoritate publica sunt, dolenta sunt. Quid Gallica lypodus nuper-
ritus contra D. Clerici veritonem Gallicam Novi Teftamento ejusque notas
decreeveris, quam fivox illius fin criminationes, quam plene brevi scripto
cido eas D. Clericus refuaverit, ipse tibi aut jam scripit, aut brevi, ut
credo, scripturus est. Hac similitudine quando confidero, bene conscientia
studio acque reciscendum, & neglegitis hominum iniquorum molitionibus,
veritati ac paci indefesso studio unice itandum, laborumque notorum bene-
ditionem a solo Deo, qui e tenebris lucem eruerit potest, expevdandum et
certus sum. Illius te tutea commendo, illum oro ut omnia tibi largiatur
faulta ac salutaria, nec non honoratiissimae in qua vives familie. Salutant
 Domini ac Dominam Matham, una cum dignissima filia ac filio, uxor ac
filia. Salutem etiam a me dice D. Colte.


Tui amantissimus,

P. à Limborch.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Pudet me fane tam diurni silentii, nec ab infrima & plane fracta valetudine
fatis excusatum credo, etiam adfirma etiam aliqua tua reverentia
me a fcribendo aliquantulum detinuit fatis ex ipso morbo defedionem. Quorum
enim attinet te eruditoribus fermonibus aptrum & commerciis literarum
odo libroque animo dignis, agetantis querelis, laboriosissime verbis an-
helum scriptorum redolentibus fatigare? Juvar tamen experiri amicitiam
sum, veterem amicum etiam fenio & morbo mutilum ad sepulcrum usque
prosequi. Nihil fane jucundius, nec est quod magis animum debilem & lan-
guefcentem refocillar, quam confians & vegea amicorum benevolentia;
 magnam perfugium humanae fragilis, in quo reperitur magna pars volup-
tatis, cum reliqua plane infipida sunt & frustra follicitantur. Gratissimus igi-
tur mihi fuerunt epiftole tuae benevolentiae & amicitiae plane, nec quantum
ex illis folatii percepitem ex taciturnitate mea, fed ex voluptrate quam pro-
fitor, judicare debes. Ea enim infirmi corporis morbus est, hoc fientientis
grati & animi teflimonium.

Etiam si fervilium ingeniorum, humana venerantium, exempla cumulate
fatibus mihi obtulit longa dies, nec melior omnino mihi spes est de futuro;
donec placuerit Deo optimo maximo ex milesicordia tua fecundo filio fui a
ventu reftarare eccleliam ; maxime tamen mihi placuit hiliora ilia quam
in novissimis tus persequisiti. Actus ille triennalis cum omni tuo apparatu
partim ridiculo, partim superfluito, habet in te quod & stomachum & spe-
nem moveat; certe cum omnibus suis circumstantiis ina graphicpe depictit
confervar debet, etiam ubi commode fieri potest typis mandari & in public-
num prodire, ut quod privatim obtinet, ocultis hominum obvertetur, & pu-
detian qui sic facris illudunt, Deique nomen facrofantum, placitum inven-
tificum suis audacter praefigunt. Viam tibi in utilitatem religionis longam
validamque, & in uiam familie & amicorum tuorum animitus precor, ut &
omnia prospera tibi tueque. Optimam tuam feminam filiamque reliquique
amicos nofros meo nomine rogo officiofifime salutes. Hec tota fami-
lia te tuofque saluat. Vale, Vir amplissime, & me ama.

Oates, 4 Augus. 1704.

Tui amantissimam

J. LOCKE.

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