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HORÆ PAULINÆ;

OR

The Truth

OF THE

SCRIPTURE HISTORY OF ST PAUL
EVINCED:

CLERGYMAN'S COMPANION

IN

VISITING THE SICK;

AND

TRACTS.

BY WILLIAM PALEY, D. D.

ARCHDEACON OF CARLISLE.

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HOR. E. PAULINE

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CLERGYMEN & COMPANION

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TRACTS

BY WILLIAM PALLET, M.D.

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1852

TO
THE RIGHT REVEREND
JOHN LAW, D. D.
LORD BISHOP OF KILLALA AND ACHONRY,
AS A TESTIMONY
OF ESTEEM FOR HIS VIRTUES AND LEARNING,
AND OF GRATITUDE
FOR THE LONG AND FAITHFUL FRIENDSHIP
WITH WHICH
THE AUTHOR HAS BEEN HONOURED
BY HIM,
THIS ATTEMPT TO CONFIRM
THE EVIDENCE OF THE CHRISTIAN HISTORY
IS INSCRIBED
BY HIS AFFECTIONATE
AND
MOST OBLIGED SERVANT,
W. PALEY.

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THE CLERGYMAN'S COMPANION IN
VISITING THE SICK.

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THE
TRUTH

OF THE

SCRIPTURE HISTORY OF ST PAUL EVINCED.

CHAPTER I.

EXPOSITION OF THE ARGUMENT.

THE volume of Christian Scriptures contains thirteen letters purporting to be written by St Paul ; it contains also a book, which, amongst other things, professes to deliver the history, or rather memoirs of the history, of this same person. By assuming the genuineness of the letters, we may prove the substantial truth of the history ; or, by assuming the truth of the history, we may argue strongly in support of the genuineness of the letters. But I assume neither the one nor the other. The reader is at liberty to suppose these writings to have been lately discovered in the library of the Escorial, and to come to our hands destitute of any extrinsic or collateral evidence whatever ; and the argument I am about to offer is calculated to show, that a comparison of the different writings would, even under these circumstances, afford good reason to believe the persons and transactions to have been real, the letters authentic, and the narration in the main to be true.

Agreement or conformity between letters bearing the name of an ancient author, and a received history of that author's life, does not necessarily establish the credit of either: because,

1. The history may, like Middleton's Life of Cicero, or Jortin's Life of Erasmus, have been wholly, or in part, compiled from the letters: in which case it is manifest that the history adds nothing to the evidence already afforded by the letters; or,

2. The letters may have been fabricated out of the history: a species of imposture which is certainly practicable; and which, without any accession of proof or authority, would necessarily produce the appearance of consistency and agreement; or,

3. The history and letters may have been founded upon some authority common to both; as upon reports and traditions which prevailed in the age in which they were composed, or upon some ancient record now lost, which both writers consulted; in which case also, the letters, without being genuine, may exhibit marks of conformity with the history; and the history, without being true, may agree with the letters.

Agreement therefore, or conformity, is only to be relied upon so far as we can exclude these several suppositions. Now the point to be noticed is, that in the three cases above enumerated, conformity must be the effect of *design*. Where the history is compiled from the letters, which is the first case, the design and composition of the work are in general so confessed, or made so evident by comparison, as to leave us in no danger of confounding the production with original history, or of mistaking it for an independent authority. The agreement, it is probable, will be close and uniform, and will easily be perceived to result from the in-

tention of the author, and from the plan and conduct of his work.—Where the letters are fabricated from the history, which is the second case, it is always for the purpose of imposing a forgery upon the public; and in order to give colour and probability to the fraud, names, places, and circumstances found in the history, may be studiously introduced into the letters, as well as a general consistency be endeavoured to be maintained. But here it is manifest, that whatever congruity appears, is the consequence of meditation, artifice, and design.—The third case is that wherein the history and the letters, without any direct privity or communication with each other, derive their materials from the same source; and, by reason of their common original, furnish instances of accordance and correspondency. This is a situation in which we must allow it to be possible for ancient writings to be placed; and it is a situation in which it is more difficult to distinguish spurious from genuine writings, than in either of the cases described in the preceding suppositions; inasmuch as the congruities observable are so far accidental, as that they are not produced by the immediate transplanting of names and circumstances out of one writing into the other. But although, with respect to each other, the agreement in these writings be mediate and secondary, yet is it not properly or absolutely undesigned: because, with respect to the common original from which the information of the writers proceeds, it is studied and factitious. The case of which we treat must, as to the letters, be a case of forgery: and when the writer who is personating another, sits down to his composition—whether he have the history with which we now compare the letters, or some other record, before him; or whether he have only loose tradition and reports to go

by—he must adapt his imposture, as well as he can, to what he finds in these accounts; and his adaptations will be the result of counsel, scheme, and industry: art must be employed; and vestiges will appear of management and design. Add to this, that in most of the following examples, the circumstances in which the coincidence is remarked are of too particular and domestic a nature, to have floated down upon the stream of general tradition.

Of the three cases which we have stated, the difference between the first and the two others is, that in the first the design may be fair and honest, in the others it must be accompanied with the consciousness of fraud; but in all there is design. In examining, therefore, the agreement between ancient writings, the character of truth and originality is undesignedness: and this test applies to every supposition; for, whether we suppose the history to be true, but the letters spurious; or, the letters to be genuine, but the history false; or, lastly, falsehood to belong to both—the history to be a fable, and the letters fictitious: the same inference will result—that either there will be no agreement between them, or the agreement will be the effect of design. Nor will it elude the principle of this rule, to suppose the same person to have been the author of all the letters, or even the author both of the letters and the history; for no less design is necessary to produce coincidence between different parts of a man's own writings, especially when they are made to take the different forms of a history and of original letters, than to adjust them to the circumstances found in any other writing.

With respect to those writings of the New Testament which are to be the subject of our present consideration, I think that, as to the authenticity of the epistles, this argument, where it is sufficiently

sustained by instances, is nearly conclusive; for I cannot assign a supposition of forgery, in which coincidences of the kind we inquire after are likely to appear. As to the history, it extends to these points:—It proves the general reality of the circumstances: it proves the historian's knowledge of these circumstances. In the present instance it confirms his pretensions of having been a cotemporary, and in the latter part of his history a companion of St Paul. In a word, it establishes the substantial truth of the narration; and *substantial* truth is that which, in every historical inquiry, ought to be the first thing sought after and ascertained: it must be the ground-work of every other observation.

The reader then will please to remember this word *undesignedness*, as denoting that upon which the construction and validity of our argument chiefly depend.

As to the proofs of undesignedness, I shall in this place say little; for I had rather the reader's persuasion should arise from the instances themselves, and the separate remarks with which they may be accompanied, than from any previous formula or description of argument. In a great plurality of examples, I trust he will be perfectly convinced that no design or contrivance whatever has been exercised; and if some of the coincidences alleged appear to be minute, circuitous, or oblique, let him reflect that this very indirectness and subtlety is that which gives force and propriety to the example. Broad, obvious, and explicit agreements, prove little; because it may be suggested that the insertion of such is the ordinary expedient of every forgery: and though they may occur, and probably will occur, in genuine writings, yet it cannot be proved that they are peculiar to these.

Thus what St Paul declares in chap. xi. of 1 Cor. concerning the institution of the eucharist—"For I have received of the Lord that which I also delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat; this is my body, which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of me,"—though it be in close and verbal conformity with the account of the same transaction preserved by St Luke, is yet a conformity of which no use can be made in our argument; for if it should be objected that this was a mere recital from the gospel, borrowed by the author of the epistle, for the purpose of setting off his composition by an appearance of agreement with the received account of the Lord's supper, I should not know how to repel the insinuation. In like manner, the description which St Paul gives of himself in his epistle to the Philippians (iii. 5.)—"Circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews; as touching the law, a Pharisee; concerning zeal, persecuting the Church; touching the righteousness which is in the law, blameless,"—is made up of particulars so plainly delivered concerning him in the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle to the Romans, and the Epistle to the Galatians, that I cannot deny but that it would be easy for an impostor, who was fabricating a letter in the name of St Paul, to collect these articles into one view. This, therefore, is a conformity which we do not adduce. But when I read in the Acts of the Apostles, that when "Paul came to Derbe and Lystra, behold a certain disciple was there, named Timotheus, the son of a certain woman *which was a Jewess*;" and when, in an epistle addressed to Timothy, I find him re

mind of his "having known the Holy Scriptures *from a child*," which implies that he must, on one side or both, have been brought up by Jewish parents; I conceive that I remark a coincidence which shows, by its very *obliquity*, that scheme was not employed in its formation. In like manner, if a coincidence depend upon a comparison of dates, or rather of circumstances from which the dates are gathered—the more intricate that comparison shall be; the more numerous the intermediate steps through which the conclusion is deduced; in a word, the more *circuitous* the investigation is, the better, because the agreement which finally results is thereby farther removed from the suspicion of contrivance, affectation, or design. And it should be remembered, concerning these coincidences, that it is one thing to be minute, and another to be precarious; one thing to be unobserved, and another to be obscure; one thing to be circuitous or oblique, and another to be forced, dubious, or fanciful. And this distinction ought always to be retained in our thoughts.

The very particularity of St Paul's epistles; the perpetual recurrence of names of persons and places; the frequent allusions to the incidents of his private life, and the circumstances of his condition and history; and the connexion and parallelism of these with the same circumstances in the Acts of the Apostles, so as to enable us, for the most part, to confront them with one another; as well as the relation which subsists between the circumstances, as mentioned or referred to in the different epistles—afford no inconsiderable proof of the genuineness of the writings, and the reality of the transactions. For as no advertency is sufficient to guard against slips and contradictions, when circumstances are multiplied, and when they

are liable to be detected by cotemporary accounts equally circumstantial, an impostor, I should expect, would either have avoided particulars entirely, contenting himself with doctrinal discussions, moral precepts, and general reflections;* or if, for the sake of imitating St Paul's style, he should have thought it necessary to intersperse his composition with names and circumstances, he would have placed them out of the reach of comparison with the history. And I am confirmed in this opinion by the inspection of two attempts to counterfeit St Paul's epistles, which have come down to us; and the only attempts of which we have any knowledge, that are at all deserving of regard. One of these is an epistle to the Laodiceans, extant in Latin, and preserved by Fabricius in his collection of apocryphal scriptures. The other purports to be an epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians, in answer to an epistle from the Corinthians to him. This was translated by Scroderus, from a copy in the Armenian language which had been sent to W. Whiston, and was afterwards, from a more perfect copy, procured at Aleppo, published by his sons, as an appendix to their edition of Moses Chorenensis. No Greek copy exists of either: they are not only not supported by

* This, however, must not be misunderstood. A person writing to his friends, and upon a subject in which the transactions of his own life were concerned, would probably be led in the course of his letter, especially if it was a long one, to refer to passages found in his history. A person addressing an epistle to the public at large, or under the form of an epistle delivering a discourse upon some speculative argument, would not, it is probable, meet with an occasion of alluding to the circumstances of his life at all; he might, or he might not; the chance on either side is nearly equal. This is the situation of the catholic epistle. Although, therefore, the presence of these allusions and agreements be a valuable accession to the arguments by which the authenticity of a letter is maintained, yet the want of them certainly forms no positive objection.

ancient testimony, but they are negatived and excluded; as they have never found admission into any catalogue of apostolical writings, acknowledged by, or known to, the early ages of Christianity. In the first of these I found, as I expected, a total *evitation* of circumstances. It is simply a collection of sentences from the canonical epistles, strung together with very little skill. — The second, which is a more versute and specious forgery, is introduced with a list of names of persons who wrote to St Paul from Corinth; and is preceded by an account sufficiently particular of the manner in which the epistle was sent from Corinth to St Paul, and the answer returned. But they are names which no one ever heard of: and the account it is impossible to combine with any thing found in the Acts, or in the other epistles. It is not necessary for me to point out the internal marks of spuriousness and imposture which these compositions betray; but it was necessary to observe, that they do not afford those coincidences which we propose as proofs of authenticity in the epistles which we defend.

Having explained the general scheme and formation of the argument, I may be permitted to subjoin a brief account of the manner of conducting it.

I have disposed the several instances of agreement under separate numbers; as well to mark more sensibly the divisions of the subject, as for another purpose, viz. that the reader may thereby be reminded that the instances are independent of one another. I have advanced nothing which I did not think probable; but the degree of probability by which different instances are supported, is undoubtedly very different. If the reader, therefore, meets with a number which contains an in-

stance that appears to him unsatisfactory, or founded in mistake, he will dismiss that number from the argument, but without prejudice to any other. He will have occasion also to observe, that the coincidences discoverable in some epistles are much fewer and weaker, than what are supplied by others. But he will add to his observation this important circumstance—that whatever ascertains the original of one epistle, in some measure establishes the authority of the rest. For, whether these epistles be genuine or spurious, every thing about them indicates that they come from the same hand. The diction, which it is extremely difficult to imitate, preserves its resemblance and peculiarity throughout all the epistles. Numerous expressions and singularities of style, found in no other part of the New Testament, are repeated in different epistles; and occur in their respective places, without the smallest appearance of force or art. An involved argumentation, frequent obscurities, especially in the order and transition of thought, piety, vehemence, affection, bursts of rapture, and of unparalleled sublimity, are properties, all, or most of them, discernible in every letter of the collection. But although these epistles bear strong marks of proceeding from the same hand, I think it is still more certain that they were originally separate publications. They form no continued story; they compose no regular correspondence; they comprise not the transactions of any particular period; they carry on no connexion of argument; they depend not upon one another; except in one or two instances, they refer not to one another. I will farther undertake to say, that no study or care has been employed to produce or preserve an appearance of consistency amongst them. All which observations show that they were not intended by

the person, whoever he was, that wrote them, to come forth or be read together: that they appeared at first separately, and have been collected since.

The proper purpose of the following work is to bring together, from the Acts of the Apostles, and from the different epistles, such passages as furnish examples of undesigned coincidence; but I have so far enlarged upon this plan, as to take into it some circumstances found in the epistles, which contributed strength to the conclusion, though not strictly objects of comparison.

It appeared also a part of the same plan, to examine the difficulties which presented themselves in the course of our inquiry.

I do not know that the subject has been proposed or considered in this view before. Ludovicus, Capellus, Bishop Pearson, Dr Benson, and Dr Lardner, have each given a continued history of St Paul's life, made up from the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles joined together. But this, it is manifest, is a different undertaking from the present, and directed to a different purpose.

If what is here offered shall add one thread to that complication of probabilities by which the Christian history is attested, the reader's attention will be repaid by the supreme importance of the subject; and my design will be fully answered.

CHAPTER II.

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

No. I.

THE first passage I shall produce from this epistle and upon which a good deal of observation will be founded, is the following :

“ But now I go unto Jerusalem, to minister unto the saints; for it hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem.” Rom. xv 25, 26.

In this quotation three distinct circumstances are stated—a contribution in Macedonia for the relief of the Christians of Jerusalem, a contribution in Achaia for the same purpose, and an intended journey of St Paul to Jerusalem. These circumstances are stated as taking place at the same time and that to be the time when the epistle was written. Now let us inquire whether we can find these circumstances elsewhere; and whether, if we do find them, they meet together in respect of date. Turn to the Acts of the Apostles, chap. xx. ver. 23. and you read the following account: “ When he had gone over those parts (viz. Macedonia), and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece, and there abode three months; and when the Jews laid wait for him, as he was about to sail into Syria, he proposed to return through Macedonia. From this passage, compared with the account of St Paul’s travels given before, and from the sequel of the chapter, it appears that upon St Paul’s second

visit to the peninsula of Greece, his intention was, when he should leave the country, to proceed from Achaia directly by sea to Syria; but that to avoid the Jews, who were lying in wait to intercept him in his route, he so far changed his purpose as to go back through Macedonia, embark at Philippi, and pursue his voyage from thence towards Jerusalem. Here therefore is a journey to Jerusalem; but not a syllable of any contribution. And as St Paul had taken several journeys to Jerusalem before, and one also immediately after his *first* visit into the peninsula of Greece (Acts xviii. 21.), it cannot from hence be collected in which of these visits the epistle was written, or, with certainty, that it was written in either. The silence of the historian, who professes to have been with St Paul at the time (xx. 6.), concerning any contribution, might lead us to look out for some different journey, or might induce us perhaps to question the consistency of the two records, did not a very accidental reference, in another part of the same history, afford us sufficient ground to believe that this silence was omission. When St Paul made his reply before Felix, to the accusations of Tertullus, he alleged, as was natural, that neither the errand which brought him to Jerusalem, nor his conduct whilst he remained there, merited the calumnies with which the Jews had aspersed him. "Now after many years (*i. e.* of absence) *I came to bring alms to my nation and offerings*; whereupon certain Jews from Asia found me purified in the temple, neither with multitude nor with tumult, who ought to have been here before thee, and object, if they had aught against me." Acts xxiv. 17—19. This mention of alms and offerings certainly brings the narrative in the Acts nearer to an accordancy with the epistle; yet no one, I am

persuaded, will suspect that this clause was put into St Paul's defence, either to supply the omission in the preceding narrative, or with any view to such accordancy.

After all, nothing is yet said or hinted concerning the *place* of the contribution; nothing concerning Macedonia and Achaia. Turn therefore to the First Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xvi. ver. 1—4. and you have St Paul delivering the following directions: "Concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given orders to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye; upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come. And when I come, whomsoever you shall approve by your letters, them will I send to bring your liberality unto Jerusalem; and if it be meet that I go also, they shall go with me." In this passage we find a contribution carrying on at Corinth, the capital of Achaia, for the Christians of Jerusalem: we find also a hint given of the possibility of St Paul going up to Jerusalem himself, after he had paid his visit into Achaia: but this is spoken of rather as a possibility than as any settled intention; for his first thought was, "Whomsoever you shall approve by your letters, them will I *send* to bring your liberality to Jerusalem:" and in the sixth verse he adds, "That ye may bring me on my journey *whithersoever* I go." This epistle purports to be written after St Paul had been at Corinth; for it refers throughout to what he had done and said amongst them whilst he was there. The expression, therefore, "when I come," must relate to a *second* visit; against which visit the contribution spoken of was desired to be in readiness.

But though the contribution in Achaia be expressly mentioned, nothing is here said concerning

any contribution in Macedonia. Turn, therefore, in the third place, to the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. viii. ver. 1—4. and you will discover the particular which remains to be sought for: "Moreover, brethren, we do you to wit of the grace of God bestowed on the churches of Macedonia; how that, in a great trial of affliction, the abundance of their joy and their deep poverty abounded unto the riches of their liberality: for to their power, I bear record, yea, and beyond their power, they were willing of themselves; praying us, with much entreaty, that we would receive the gift, and take upon us the fellowship of the ministering to the saints." To which add, chap. ix. ver. 2.: "I know the forwardness of your mind, for which I boast of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year ago." In this epistle we find St Paul advanced as far as Macedonia, upon that second visit to Corinth which he promised in his former epistle: we find also, in the passages now quoted from it, that a contribution was going on in Macedonia at the same time with, or soon however following, the contribution which was made in Achaia; but for whom the contribution was made does not appear in this epistle at all; that information must be supplied from the first epistle.

Here therefore, at length, but fetched from three different writings, we have obtained the several circumstances we inquired after, and which the Epistle to the Romans brings together, viz. a contribution in Achaia for the Christians of Jerusalem; a contribution in Macedonia for the same; and an approaching journey of St Paul to Jerusalem. We have these circumstances—each by some hint in the passage in which it is mentioned, or by the date of the writing in which the passage occurs—

fixed to a particular time ; and we have that time turning out, upon examination, to be in all the *same* ; namely, towards the close of St Paul's second visit to the peninsula of Greece. This is an instance of conformity beyond the possibility, I will venture to say, of random writing to produce. I also assert, that it is in the highest degree improbable that it should have been the effect of contrivance and design. The imputation of *design* amounts to this : that the forger of the Epistle to the Romans inserted in it the passage upon which our observations are founded, for the purpose of giving colour to his forgery by the appearance of conformity with other writings which were then extant. I reply, in the first place, that, if he did this to countenance his forgery, he did it for the purpose of an argument which would not strike one reader in ten thousand. Coincidences so circuitous as this answer not the ends of forgery ; are seldom, I believe, attempted by it. In the second place I observe, that he must have had the Acts of the Apostles, and the two Epistles to the Corinthians, before him at the time. In the Acts of the Apostles (I mean that part of the Acts which relates to this period), he would have found the journey to Jerusalem ; but nothing about the contribution. In the First Epistle to the Corinthians he would have found a contribution going on in Achaia for the Christians of Jerusalem, and a distant hint of the possibility of the journey ; but nothing concerning a contribution in Macedonia. In the Second Epistle to the Corinthians he would have found a contribution in Macedonia accompanying that in Achaja ; but no intimation for whom either was intended, and not a word about the journey. It was only by a close and attentive collation of the three writings, that he could have picked out the circumstances which he

has united in his epistle ; and by a still more nice examination, that he could have determined them to belong to the same period. In the third place, I remark, what diminishes very much the suspicion of fraud, how aptly and connectedly the mention of the circumstances in question, viz. the journey to Jerusalem, and of the occasion of that journey, arises from the context, “ Whensoever 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 first I be somewhat filled with your company. *But now I go unto Jerusalem, to minister unto the saints ; for it hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem.* 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 also to minister unto them in carnal things. When therefore I have performed this, and have sealed them to this fruit, I will come by you into Spain.” Is the passage in *Italics* like a passage foisted in for an extraneous purpose ? Does it not arise from what goes before, by a junction as easy as any example of writing upon real business can furnish ? Could any thing be more natural than that St Paul, in writing to the Romans, should speak of the time when he hoped to visit them ; should mention the business which then detained him ; and that he purposed to set forwards upon his journey to them, when that business was completed ?

NO. II.

By means of the quotation which formed the subject of the preceding number, we collect, that the Epistle to the Romans was written at the conclu-

sion of St Paul's second visit to the peninsula of Greece; but this we collect, not from the epistle itself, nor from any thing *declared* concerning the time and place in any part of the epistle, but from a comparison of circumstances referred to in the epistle, with the order of events recorded in the Acts, and with references to the same circumstances, though for quite different purposes, in the two epistles to the Corinthians. Now would the author of a forgery, who sought to gain credit to a spurious letter by congruities, depending upon the time and place in which the letter was supposed to be written, have left that time and place to be made out, in a manner so obscure and indirect as this is? If therefore coincidences of circumstances can be pointed out in this epistle, depending upon its date, or the place where it was written, whilst that date and place are only ascertained by other circumstances, such coincidences may fairly be stated as *undesigned*. Under this head I adduce

Chap. xvi. 21—23. "Timotheus, my work-fellow, and Lucius, and Jason, and Sosipater, my kinsmen, salute you. I Tertius, who wrote this epistle, salute you in the Lord. Gaius, mine host, and of the whole church, saluteth you; and Quartus, a brother." With this passage I compare Acts xx. 4. "And there accompanied him into Asia, Sopater of Berea; and, of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus; and Gaius of Derbe, and Timotheus; and, of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus." The Epistle to the Romans, we have seen, was written just before St Paul's departure from Greece, after his second visit to that peninsula: the persons mentioned in the quotation from the Acts are those who accompanied him in that departure. Of seven whose names are joined in the salutation of the church of Rome, three, viz. Sosipa-

ter, Gaius, and Timothy, are proved, by this passage in the Acts, to have been with St Paul at the time. And this is perhaps as much coincidence as could be expected from reality, though less, I am apt to think, than would have been produced by design. Four are mentioned in the Acts who are not joined in the salutation; and it is in the nature of the case probable, that there should be many attending St Paul in Greece who knew nothing of the converts at Rome, nor were known by them. In like manner, several are joined in the salutation who are not mentioned in the passage referred to in the Acts. This also was to be expected. The occasion of mentioning them in the Acts was their proceeding with St Paul upon his journey. But we may be sure that there were many eminent Christians with St Paul in Greece, besides those who accompanied him into Asia.*

But if any one shall still contend that a forger of the epistle, with the Acts of the Apostles before him, and having settled this scheme of writing a letter

* Of these Jason is one, whose presence upon this occasion is very naturally accounted for. Jason was an inhabitant of Thessalonica in Macedonia, and entertained St Paul in his house upon his first visit to that country. Acts xvii. 7.—St Paul, upon this his second visit, passed through Macedonia on his way to Greece, and, from the situation of Thessalonica, most likely through that city. It appears, from various instances in the Acts, to have been the practice of many converts to attend St Paul from place to place. It is therefore highly probable, I mean that it is highly consistent with the account in the history, that Jason, according to that account a zealous disciple, the inhabitant of a city at no great distance from Greece, and through which, as it should seem, St Paul had lately passed, should have accompanied St Paul into Greece, and have been with him there at this time. Lucius is another name in the epistle. A very slight alteration would convert Λουκιος into Λουκας, Lucius into Luke, which would produce an additional coincidence: for, if Luke was the author of the history, he was with St Paul at the time; inasmuch as describing the voyage which took place soon after the writing of this epistle, the historian uses the first person—"We sailed away from Philippi," Acts xx. 6.

as from St Paul upon his second visit into Greece; would easily think of the expedient of putting in the names of those persons who appeared to be with St Paul at the time, as an obvious recommendation of the imposture: I then repeat my observations; first, that he would have made the catalogue more complete; and secondly, that with this contrivance in his thoughts, it was certainly his business, in order to avail himself of the artifice, to have stated in the body of the epistle, that Paul was in Greece when he wrote it, and that he was there upon his second visit. Neither of which he has done, either directly, or even so as to be discoverable by any circumstance found in the narrative delivered in the Acts.

Under the same head, viz. of coincidences depending upon date, I cite from the epistle the following salutation: "Greet Priscilla and Aquila, my helpers in Jesus Christ, 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." Chap. xvi. 3.—It appears, from the Acts of the Apostles, that Priscilla and Aquila had originally been inhabitants of Rome; for we read, Acts xviii. 2. that "Paul found a certain Jew, named Aquila, lately come from Italy with his wife Priscilla, because that Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from *Rome*." They were connected, therefore, with the place to which the salutations are sent. That is one coincidence; another is the following: St Paul became acquainted with these persons at Corinth during his first visit into Greece. They accompanied him upon his return into Asia; were settled for some time at Ephesus, Acts xviii. 19—26. and appear to have been with St Paul when he wrote from that place his First Epistle to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. xvi. 19. Not long after the writing of which epistle St Paul went

from Ephesus into Macedonia, and, "after he had gone over those parts," proceeded from thence upon his second visit into Greece, during which visit, or rather at the conclusion of it, the epistle to the Romans, as hath been shown, was written. We have therefore the time of St Paul's residence at Ephesus after he had written to the Corinthians, the time taken up by his progress through Macedonia (which is indefinite, and was probably considerable), and his three months' abode in Greece; we have the sum of those three periods allowed for Aquila and Priscilla going back to Rome, so as to be there when the epistle before us was written. Now what this quotation leads us to observe is, the danger of scattering names and circumstances in writings like the present, how implicated they often are with dates and places, and that nothing but truth can preserve consistency. Had the notes of time in the Epistle to the Romans fixed the writing of it to any date prior to St Paul's first residence at Corinth, the salutation of Aquila and Priscilla would have contradicted the history, because it would have been prior to his acquaintance with these persons. If the notes of time had fixed it to any period during *that* residence at Corinth, during his journey to Jerusalem when he first returned out of Greece, during his stay at Antioch, whither he went down to Jerusalem, or during his second progress through the Lesser Asia upon which he proceeded from Antioch, an equal contradiction would have been incurred; because from Acts xviii. 2—18, 19—26. it appears, that during all this time Aquila and Priscilla were either along with St Paul, or were abiding at Ephesus. Lastly, had the notes of time in this epistle, which we have seen to be perfectly incidental, compared with the notes of time in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, which are equally

incidental, fixed this epistle to be either contemporary with that, or prior to it, a similar contradiction would have ensued; because, first, when the epistle to the Corinthians was written, Aquila and Priscilla were along with St Paul, as they joined in the salutation of that church, 1 Cor. xvi. 19.; and because, secondly, the history does not allow us to suppose, that between the time of their becoming acquainted with St Paul, and the time of St Paul's writing to the Corinthians, Aquila and Priscilla could have gone to Rome, so as to have been saluted in an epistle to that city; and then come back to St Paul at Ephesus, so as to be joined with him in saluting the church of Corinth. As it is, all things are consistent. The Epistle to the Romans is posterior even to the Second Epistle to the Corinthians; because it speaks of a contribution in Achaia being completed, which the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. viii. is only soliciting. It is sufficiently therefore posterior to the First Epistle to the Corinthians, to allow time in the interval for Aquila and Priscilla's return from Ephesus to Rome.

Before we dismiss these two persons, we may take notice of the terms of commendation in which St Paul describes them, and of the agreement of that encomium with the history. "My helpers in Christ Jesus, who have for my life laid down their necks; unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles." In the eighteenth chapter of the Acts we are informed, that Aquila and Priscilla were Jews; that St Paul first met with them at Corinth; that for some time he abode in the same house with them; that St Paul's contention at Corinth was with the unbelieving Jews, who at first "opposed and blasphemed, and afterwards with one accord raised an insur-

rection against him ;" that Aquila and Priscilla adhered, we may conclude, to St Paul throughout this whole contest ; for, when he left the city, they went with him, Acts xviii. 18. Under these circumstances, it is highly probable that they should be involved in the dangers and persecutions which St Paul underwent from the Jews, being themselves Jews ; and, by adhering to St Paul in this dispute, deserters, as they would be accounted, of the Jewish cause. Farther, as they, though Jews, were assisting to St Paul in preaching to the Gentiles at Corinth, they had taken a decided part in the great controversy of that day, the admission of the Gentiles to a parity of religious situation with the Jews. For this conduct alone, if there was no other reason, they may seem to have been entitled to " thanks from the churches of the Gentiles." They were Jews taking part with Gentiles. Yet is all this so indirectly intimated, or rather so much of it left to inference, in the account given in the Acts, that I do not think it probable that a forger either could or would have drawn his representation from thence ; and still less probable do I think it, that, without having seen the Acts, he could, by mere accident, and without truth for his guide, have delivered a representation so conformable to the circumstances there recorded.

The two congruities last adduced depended upon the time, the two following regard the place, of the epistle.

1. Chap. xvi. 23. " Erastus, the chamberlain of the city, saluteth you"—of what city? We have seen, that is, we have inferred from circumstances found in the epistle, compared with circumstances found in the Acts of the Apostles, and in the two epistles to the Corinthians, that our epistle was written during St Paul's second visit to the penin-

sula of Greece. Again, as St Paul, in his epistle to the church of Corinth, 1 Cor. xvi. 3. speaks of a collection going on in that city, and of his desire that it might be ready against he came thither; and as in this epistle he speaks of that collection being ready, it follows that the epistle was written either whilst he was at Corinth, or after he had been there. Thirdly, since St Paul speaks in this epistle of his journey to Jerusalem, as about instantly to take place; and as we learn, Acts xx. 3. that his design and attempt was to sail upon that journey immediately from Greece, properly so called, *i. e.* as distinguished from Macedonia; it is probable that he was in this country when he wrote the epistle, in which he speaks of himself as upon the eve of setting out. If in Greece, he was most likely at Corinth; for the two Epistles to the Corinthians show that the principal end of his coming into Greece was to visit that city, where he had founded a church. Certainly we know no place in Greece in which his presence was so probable: at least, the placing of him at Corinth satisfies every circumstance. Now, that Erastus was an inhabitant of Corinth, or had some connexion with Corinth, is rendered a fair subject of presumption, by that which is accidentally said of him in the Second Epistle to Timothy, chap. ~~iii.~~ 20. "Erastus abode at Corinth." St Paul complains of his solitude, and is telling Timothy what was become of his companions: "Erastus abode at Corinth; but Trophimus have I left at Miletum, sick." Erastus was one of those who had attended St Paul in his travels, Acts xix. 22.; and when those travels had, upon some occasion, brought our apostle and his train to Corinth, Erastus staid there, for no reason so probable as that it was his home. I allow that this coincidence is not so precise as some others,

yet I think it too clear to be produced by accident; for, of the many places which this same epistle has assigned to different persons, and the innumerable others which it might have mentioned, how came it to fix upon Corinth for Erastus? And, as far as it is a coincidence, it is certainly undesigned on the part of the author of the Epistle to the Romans; because he has not told us of what city Erastus was the chamberlain; or, which is the same thing, from what city the epistle was written, the setting forth of which was absolutely necessary to the display of the coincidence, if any such display had been thought of: nor could the author of the Epistle to Timothy leave Erastus at Corinth, from any thing he might have read in the Epistle to the Romans, because Corinth is no where in that epistle mentioned either by name or description.

2. Chap. xvi. 1—3. "I commend unto you Phœbe, 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 myself also." Cenchrea adjoined to Corinth; St Paul therefore, at the time of writing the letter, was in the neighbourhood of the woman whom he thus recommends. But, farther, that St Paul had before this been at Cenchrea itself, appears from the eighteenth chapter of the Acts; and appears by a circumstance as incidental, and as unlike design, as any that can be imagined. "Paul after this tarried there (viz. at Corinth) yet a good while, and then took his leave of his brethren, and sailed thence into Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila, having shorn his head *in Cenchrea*, for he had a vow." xviii. 18. The shaving of the head denoted the expiration of the Nazaritic vow. The historian, therefore, by

the mention of this circumstance, virtually tells us that St Paul's vow was expired before he set forward upon his voyage, having deferred probably his departure until he should be released from the restrictions under which his vow laid him. Shall we say that the author of the Acts of the Apostles feigned this anecdote of St Paul at Cenchrea, because he had read in the Epistle to the Romans that "Phœbe, a servant of the church of Cenchrea, had been a succourer of many, and of him also?" or shall we say that the author of the Epistle to the Romans, out of his own imagination, created Phœbe "a servant of the church at Cenchrea," because he read in the Acts of the Apostles that Paul had "shorn his head" in that place?

NO. III.

Chap. i. 13. "Now I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that *oftentimes I purposed to come unto you*, but was let hitherto, that I might have some fruit among you also, even as among other Gentiles." Again, xv. 23, 24. "But now having no more place in these parts, and having a great desire these many years (*πολλὰ*, oftentimes) to come unto you, whensoever 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; but now I go up unto Jerusalem, to minister to the saints. When, therefore, I have performed this, and have sealed to them this fruit, I will come by you into Spain."

With these passages compare Acts xix. 21. "After these things were ended (*viz.* at Ephesus), Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem; saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome."

Let it be observed that our epistle purports to have been written at the conclusion of St Paul's second journey into Greece: that the quotation from the Acts contains words said to have been spoken by St Paul at Ephesus, some time before he set forwards upon that journey. Now I contend that it is impossible that two independent fictions should have attributed to St Paul the same purpose, especially a purpose so specific and particular as this, which was not merely a general design of visiting Rome after he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, and after he had performed a voyage from these countries to Jerusalem. The conformity between the history and the epistle is perfect. In the first quotation from the epistle, we find that a design of visiting Rome had long dwelt in the apostle's mind: in the quotation from the Acts, we find that design expressed a considerable time before the epistle was written. In the history, we find that the plan which St Paul had formed was, to pass through Macedonia and Achaia; after that, to go to Jerusalem; and, when he had finished his visit there, to sail for Rome. When the epistle was written, he had executed so much of his plan as to have passed through Macedonia and Achaia; and was preparing to pursue the remainder of it, by speedily setting out towards Jerusalem: and in this point of his travels he tells his friends at Rome, that, when he had completed the business which carried him to Jerusalem, he would come to them. Secondly, I say that the very inspection of the passages will satisfy us that they were not made up from one another.

“ Whensoever 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: but now I go up to Jerusalem, to minister

to the saints. When, therefore, I have performed this, and have sealed to them this fruit, I will come by you into Spain."—This from the Epistle.

"Paul proposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem; saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome."—This from the Acts.

If the passage in the epistle was taken from that in the Acts, why was *Spain* put in? If the passage in the Acts was taken from that in the epistle, why was *Spain* left out? If the two passages were unknown to each other, nothing can account for their conformity but truth. Whether we suppose the history and the epistle to be alike fictitious, or the history to be true but the letter spurious, or the letter to be genuine but the history a fable, the meeting with this circumstance in both, if neither borrowed it from the other, is, upon all these suppositions, equally inexplicable.

No. IV.

The following quotation I offer for the purpose of pointing out a geographical coincidence, of so much importance, that Dr Lardner considered it as a confirmation of the whole history of St Paul's travels.

Chap. xv. 19. "So that from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the Gospel of Christ."

I do not think that these words necessarily import that St Paul had penetrated into Illyricum, or preached the Gospel in that province; but rather that he had come to the confines of Illyricum, (*μὲχρι τῆς Ἰλλυρικῆς*), and that these confines were the external boundary of his travels. St Paul considers Jerusalem as the centre, and is here viewing

the circumference to which his travels extended. The form of expression in the original conveys this idea—*απο Ἰερουσαλημ και κυκλω μεχρι τω Ἰλλυρικω*. Illyricum was the part of this circle which he mentions in an epistle to the Romans, because it lay in a direction from Jerusalem towards that city, and pointed out to the Roman readers the nearest place to them, to which his travels from Jerusalem had brought him. The name of Illyricum no where occurs in the Acts of the Apostles; no suspicion, therefore, can be received that the mention of it was borrowed from thence. Yet I think it appears, from these same Acts, that St Paul, before the time when he wrote his Epistle to the Romans, had reached the confines of Illyricum; or, however, that he might have done so, in perfect consistency with the account there delivered. Illyricum adjoins upon Macedonia; measuring from Jerusalem towards Rome, it lies close behind it. If, therefore, St Paul traversed the whole country of Macedonia, the route would necessarily bring him to the confines of Illyricum, and these confines would be described as the extremity of his journey. Now the account of St Paul's second visit to the peninsula of Greece, is contained in these words: "He departed for to go into Macedonia; and when he had gone over these parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece." Acts xx. 2. This account allows, or rather leads us to suppose, that St Paul, in going over Macedonia (*διελθων τα μιση εκεινα*), had passed so far to the west, as to come into those parts of the country which were contiguous to Illyricum, if he did not enter into Illyricum itself. The history, therefore, and the epistle so far agree, and the agreement is much strengthened by a coincidence of time. At the time the epistle was written, St Paul might say, in con-

formity with the history, that he had "come in^d to Illyricum;" much before that time, he could not have said so; for, upon his former journey to Macedonia, his route is laid down from the time of his landing at Philippi to his sailing from Corinth. We trace him from Philippi to Amphipolis and Apollonia; from thence to Thessalonica; from Thessalonica to Berea; from Berea to Athens; and from Athens to Corinth: which track confines him to the eastern side of the peninsula, and therefore keeps him all the while at a considerable distance from Illyricum. Upon his second visit to Macedonia, the history, we have seen, leaves him at liberty. It must have been, therefore, upon that second visit, if at all, that he approached Illyricum; and this visit, we know, almost immediately preceded the writing of the epistle. It was natural that the apostle should refer to a journey which was fresh in his thoughts.

No. V.

Chap. xv. 30. "Now I beseech you, brethren, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, and for the love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God for me, that I may be delivered from them that do not believe, in Judæa."—With this compare Acts xx. 22, 23.:

"And now, behold, I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befall me there, save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, saying that bonds and afflictions abide me."

Let it be remarked, that it is the same journey to Jerusalem which is spoken of in these two passages; that the epistle was written immediately before St Paul set forwards upon this journey from

Achaia; that the words in the Acts were uttered by him when he had proceeded in that journey as far as Miletus, in Lesser Asia. This being remembered, I observe that the two passages, without any resemblance between them that could induce us to suspect that they were borrowed from one another, represent the state of St Paul's mind, with respect to the event of the journey, in terms of substantial agreement. They both express his sense of danger in the approaching visit to Jerusalem: they both express the doubt which dwelt upon his thoughts concerning what might there befall him. When, in his epistle, he entreats the Roman Christians, "for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, and for the love of the Spirit, to strive together with him in their prayers to God for him, that he might be delivered from them which do not believe, in Judæa," he sufficiently confesses his fears. In the Acts of the Apostles we see in him the same apprehensions, and the same uncertainty: "I go bound in the spirit to Jerusalem; *not knowing* the things that shall befall me there." The only difference is, that in the history his thoughts are more inclined to despondency than in the epistle. In the epistle he retains his hope "that he should come unto them with joy by the will of God;" in the history, his mind yields to the reflection, "that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city that bonds and afflictions awaited him." Now that his fears should be greater, and his hopes less, in this stage of his journey than when he wrote his epistle, that is, when he first set out upon it, is no other alteration than might well be expected; since those prophetic intimations to which he refers, when he says, "the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city," had probably been received by him in the course of his

journey, and were probably similar to what we know he received in the remaining part of it at Tyre, xxi. 4. ; and afterwards from Agabus at Cæsarea, xxi. 11.

NO. VI.

There is another strong remark arising from the same passage in the epistle ; to make which understood, it will be necessary to state the passage over again, and somewhat more at length.

“ I beseech you, brethren, for the Lord Jesus Christ’s sake, and for the love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God for me, that I may be delivered from them that do not believe, in Judæa—that I may come unto you with joy by the will of God, and may with you be refreshed.”

I desire the reader to call to mind *that* part of St Paul’s history which took place after his arrival at Jerusalem, and which employs the seven last chapters of the Acts ; and I build upon it this observation—that supposing the Epistle to the Romans to have been a forgery, and the author of the forgery to have had the Acts of the Apostles before him, and to have there seen that St Paul, in fact, “ was *not* delivered from the unbelieving Jews,” but on the contrary, that he was taken into custody at Jerusalem, and brought to Rome a prisoner—it is next to impossible that he should have made St Paul express expectations so contrary to what he saw had been the event ; and utter prayers, with apparent hopes of success, which he must have known were frustrated in the issue.

This single consideration convinces me, that no concert or confederacy whatever subsisted between

the Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles; and that whatever coincidences have been or can be pointed out between them, are unsophisticated, and are the result of truth and reality.

It also convinces me, that the epistle was written not only in St Paul's lifetime, but before he arrived at Jerusalem; for the important events relating to him which took place after his arrival at that city, must have been known to the Christian community soon after they happened: they form the most public part of his history. But had they been known to the author of the epistle—in other words, had they then taken place—the passage which we have quoted from the epistle would not have been found there.

NO. VII.

I now proceed to state the conformity which exists between the argument of this epistle and the history of its reputed author. It is enough for this purpose to observe, that the object of the epistle, that is, of the argumentative part of it, was to place the Gentile convert upon a parity of situation with the Jewish, in respect of his religious condition; and his rank in the divine favour. The epistle supports this point by a variety of arguments; such as, that no man of either description was justified by the works of the law—for this plain reason, that no man had performed them; that it became therefore necessary to appoint another medium or condition of justification, in which new medium the Jewish peculiarity was merged and lost; that Abraham's own justification was anterior to the law, and independent of it; that the Jewish converts were to consider the law as now dead, and themselves as married to

another; that what the law in truth could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God had done by sending his Son; that God had rejected the unbelieving Jews, and had substituted in their place a society of believers in Christ, collected indifferently from Jews and Gentiles. Soon after the writing of this epistle, St Paul, agreeably to the intention intimated in the epistle itself, took his journey to Jerusalem. The day after he arrived there, he was introduced to the church. What passed at this interview is thus related, Acts xxi. 19.: "When he had saluted them, he declared particularly what things God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry; and, when they heard it, they glorified the Lord; and said unto him, Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe; and they are all zealous of the law; and they are *informed of thee*, that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying, that they ought not to circumeise their children, neither to walk after the customs." St Paul disclaimed the charge; but there must have been something to have led to it.* Now it is only to suppose that St Paul openly professed the principles which the epistle contains; that, in the course of his ministry he had uttered the sentiments which he is here made to write; and the matter is accounted for. Concerning the accusation which public rumour had brought against him to Jerusalem, I will not say that it was just; but I will say, that if he was the author of the epistle before us, and if his preaching was consistent with his writing, it was extremely natural: for though it be not a necessary, surely it is an easy inference, that if the Gentile convert, who did not observe the law of Moses, held as advantageous a situation in his religious

interests as the Jewish convert who did, there could be no strong reason for observing that law at all. The remonstrance therefore of the church of Jerusalem, and the report which occasioned it, were founded in no very violent misconstruction of the apostle's doctrine. His reception at Jerusalem was exactly what I should have expected the author of this epistle to have met with. I am entitled therefore to argue, that a separate narrative of effects experienced by St Paul, similar to what a person might be expected to experience who held the doctrines advanced in this epistle, forms a proof that he did hold these doctrines; and that the epistle bearing his name, in which such doctrines are laid down, actually proceeded from him.

NO. VIII.

This number is supplemental to the former. I propose to point out in it two particulars in the conduct of the argument, perfectly adapted to the historical circumstances under which the epistle was written; which yet are free from all appearance of contrivance, and which it would not, I think, have entered into the mind of a sophist to contrive.

1. The Epistle to the Galatians relates to the same general question as the epistle to the Romans. St Paul had founded the church of Galatia: at Rome he had never been. Observe now a difference in his manner of treating of the same subject, corresponding with this difference in his situation. In the Epistle to the Galatians he puts the point in a great measure upon *authority*: "I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ, unto another Gospel." Gal. i. 6. "I certify you, brethren, that the Gospel which was preached of me, is not

after man; for I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." Chap. i. 11, 12. "I am afraid, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain." iv. 11, 12. "I desire to be present with you now, for I stand in doubt of you." iv. 20. "Behold, I, Paul, say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing." v. 2. "This persuasion cometh not of him that called you." v. 8. This is the style in which he accosts the Galatians. In the epistle to the converts of Rome, where his authority was not established, nor his person known, he puts the same points entirely upon *argument*. The perusal of the epistle will prove this to the satisfaction of every reader; and as the observation relates to the whole contents of the epistle, I forbear adducing separate extracts. I repeat therefore, that we have pointed out a distinction in the two epistles, suited to the relation in which the author stood to his different correspondents.

Another adaptation, and somewhat of the same kind, is the following:

2. The Jews, we know, were very numerous at Rome, and probably formed a principal part amongst the new converts; so much so, that the Christians seem to have been known at Rome rather as a denomination of Jews, than as any thing else. In an epistle consequently to the Roman believers, the point to be endeavoured after by St Paul was to reconcile the *Jewish* converts to the opinion, that the Gentiles were admitted by God to a parity of religious situation with themselves, and that without their being bound by the law of Moses. The Gentile converts would probably accede to this opinion very readily. In this epistle, therefore, though directed to the Roman church

in general, it is in truth a Jew writing to Jews. Accordingly you will take notice, that as often as his argument leads him to say any thing derogatory from the Jewish institution, he constantly follows it by a softening clause. Having (ii. 28, 29.) pronounced, not much perhaps to the satisfaction of the native Jews, "that he is not a Jew which is one outwardly, neither that circumcision which is outward in the flesh;" he adds immediately, "What advantage then hath the Jew, or what profit is there in circumcision? *Much every way.*" Having in the third chapter, ver. 28. brought his argument to this formal conclusion, "that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law," he presently subjoins, ver. 31. "Do we then make void the law through faith? God forbid! *Yea, we establish the law.*" In the seventh chapter, when in the sixth verse he had advanced the bold assertion, "that now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held;" in the very next verse he comes in with this healing question, "What shall we say then? Is the law sin? God forbid! Nay, I had not known sin but by the law." Having in the following words insinuated, or rather more than insinuated, the inefficacy of the Jewish law, viii. 3. "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;" after a digression indeed, but that sort of a digression which he could never resist, a rapturous contemplation of his Christian hope, and which occupies the latter part of this chapter; we find him in the next, as if sensible that he had said something which would give offence, returning to his Jewish brethren in terms of the warmest affection and respect. "I say the truth in Christ Jesus; I lie not; my conscience

also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost, that I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart: for I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ, *for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh, who are Israelites, to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises; whose are the fathers; and of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came.*" When, in the thirty-first and thirty-second verses of this ninth chapter, he represented to the Jews the error of even the best of their nation, by telling them that "Israel, which followed after the law of righteousness, had not attained to the law of righteousness, because they sought it not by faith, but as it were by the works of the law, for they stumbled at that stumbling-stone," he takes care to annex to this declaration these conciliating expressions: "Brethren, *my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved: for I bear them record that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge.*" Lastly, having, ch. x. 20, 21. by the application of a passage in Isaiah, insinuated the most ungrateful of all propositions to a Jewish ear, the rejection of the Jewish nation as God's peculiar people; he hastens, as it were, to qualify the intelligence of their fall by this interesting expostulation: "I say, then, hath God cast away his people (*i. e.* wholly and entirely)? *God forbid!* for I also am an Israelite of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin. *God hath not cast away his people which he foreknew;*" and follows this thought, throughout the whole of the eleventh chapter, in a series of reflections calculated to sooth the Jewish converts, as well as to procure from their Gentile brethren respect to the Jewish institution. Now all this is perfectly natural. In

a real St Paul writing to real converts, it is what anxiety to bring them over to his persuasion would naturally produce; but there is an earnestness and a personality, if I may so call it, in the manner, which a cold forgery, I apprehend, would neither have conceived nor supported.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

NO. I.

BEFORE we proceed to compare this epistle with the history, or with any other epistle, we will employ one number in stating certain remarks applicable to our argument, which arise from a perusal of the epistle itself.

By an expression in the first verse of the seventh chapter, "now concerning the things whereof ye wrote unto me," it appears, that this letter to the Corinthians was written by St Paul in answer to one which he had received from them; and that the seventh, and some of the following chapters, are taken up in resolving certain doubts, and regulating certain points of order, concerning which the Corinthians had in their letter consulted him. This alone is a circumstance considerably in favour of the authenticity of the epistle: for it must have been a far-fetched contrivance in a forgery, first to have feigned the receipt of a letter from the church of Corinth, which letter does not appear; and then to have drawn up a fictitious answer to it, relative to a great variety of doubts and inquiries, purely economical and domestic; and which, though like-

ly enough to have occurred to an infant society, in a situation and under an institution so novel as that of a Christian church then was, it must have very much exercised the author's invention, and could have answered no imaginable purpose of forgery, to introduce the mention of at all. Particulars of the kind we refer to, are such as the following: The rule of duty and prudence relative to entering into marriage, as applicable to virgins, to widows; the case of husbands married to unconverted wives, of wives having unconverted husbands; that case where the unconverted party chooses to separate, where he chooses to continue the union; the effect which their conversion produced upon their prior state, of circumcision, of slavery; the eating of things offered to idols, as it was in itself, as others were affected by it; the joining in idolatrous sacrifices; the decorum to be observed in their religious assemblies, the order of speaking, the silence of women, the covering or uncovering of the head, as it became men, as it became women. These subjects, with their several subdivisions, are so particular, minute, and numerous, that though they be exactly agreeable to the circumstances of the persons to whom the letter was written, nothing, I believe, but the existence and reality of those circumstances could have suggested to the writer's thoughts.

But this is not the only nor the principal observation upon the correspondence between the church of Corinth and their apostle, which I wish to point out. It appears, I think, in this correspondence, that although the Corinthians had written to St Paul, requesting his answer and his directions in the several points above enumerated, yet that they had not said one syllable about the enormities and disorders which had crept in

amongst them, and in the blame of which they all shared; but that St Paul's information concerning the irregularities then prevailing at Corinth had come round to him from other quarters. The quarrels and disputes excited by their contentious adherence to their different teachers, and by their placing of them in competition with one another, were not mentioned in their *letter*, but communicated to St Paul by more private intelligence: "It hath been declared unto me, 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 saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ." (i. 11, 12.) The incestuous marriage "of a man with his father's wife," which St Paul reprehends with so much severity in the fifth chapter of our epistle, and which was not the crime of an individual only, but a crime in which the whole church, by tolerating and conniving at it, had rendered themselves partakers, did not come to St Paul's knowledge by the *letter*, but by a rumour which had reached his ears: "*It is reported commonly* that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not so much as named among 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." (v. 1, 2.) Their going to law before the judicature of the country, rather than arbitrate and adjust their disputes among themselves, which St Paul animadverts upon with his usual plainness, was not intimated to him in the *letter*, because he tells them his opinion of this conduct before he comes to the contents of the letter. Their litigiousness is censured by St Paul in the sixth chapter of his epistle, and it is only at the beginning of the seventh chap-

ter that he proceeds upon the articles which he found in their letter; and he proceeds upon them with this preface: "Now concerning the things whereof ye wrote unto me," (vii. 1.); which introduction he would not have used if he had been already discussing any of the subjects concerning which they had written. Their irregularities in celebrating the Lord's supper, and the utter perversion of the institution which ensued, were not in the letter, as is evident from the terms in which St Paul mentions the notice he had received of it: "Now in this that I declare unto you, I praise you not, that ye come together not for the better, but for the worse; for first of all, when ye come together in the church, *I hear* that there be divisions among you, and *I partly believe it.*" Now, that the Corinthians should, in their own letter, exhibit the fair side of their conduct to the apostle, and conceal from him the faults of their behaviour, was extremely natural, and extremely probable: but it was a distinction which would not, I think, have easily occurred to the author of a forgery; and much less likely is it, that it should have entered into his thoughts to make the distinction *appear* in the way in which it does appear, viz. not by the original letter, not by any express observation upon it in the answer, but distantly by marks perceivable in the manner, or in the order, in which St Paul takes notice of their faults.

NO. II.

Our epistle purports to have been written after St Paul had already been at Corinth: "I, brethren, *when I came unto you*, came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom," (ii. 1.); and in many other places to the same effect. It purports

also to have been written upon the eve of another visit to that church: "I will come to you shortly, if the Lord will," (iv. 19.); and again, I "will come to you when I shall pass through Macedonia," (xvi. 5.) Now the history relates that St Paul did in fact visit Corinth *twice*: once as recorded at length in the eighteenth, and a second time as mentioned briefly in the twentieth chapter of the Acts. The same history also informs us, Acts xx. 1. that it was from Ephesus St Paul proceeded upon his second journey into Greece. Therefore, as the epistle purports to have been written a short time preceding that journey; and as St Paul, the history tells us, had resided more than two years at Ephesus, before he set out upon it, it follows that it must have been from Ephesus, to be consistent with the history, that the epistle was written; and every note of *place* in the epistle agrees with this supposition. "If, after the manner of men, I have fought with beasts at *Ephesus*, what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not?" (xv. 32.) I allow that the apostle might say this, wherever he was; but it was more natural and more to the purpose to say it, if he was at Ephesus at the time, and in the midst of those conflicts to which the expression relates. "The churches of Asia salute you." (xvi. 10.) Asia, throughout the Acts of the Apostles and the epistles of St Paul, does not mean the whole of Asia Minor or Anatolia, nor even the whole of the proconsular Asia, but a district in the anterior part of that country, called Lydian Asia, divided from the rest, much as Portugal is from Spain, and of which district *Ephesus* was the capital. "Aquila and Priscilla salute you." (xvi. 19.) Aquila and Priscilla were at *Ephesus* during the period within which this epistle was written. (Acts xviii. 18. 26.) "I

will tarry at *Ephesus* until Pentecost." (xvi. 8.) This, I apprehend, is in terms almost asserting that he was at *Ephesus* at the time of writing the epistle.—“A great and effectual door is opened unto me.” (xvi. 9.) How well this declaration corresponded with the state of things at *Ephesus*, and the progress of the Gospel in these parts, we learn from the reflection with which the historian concludes the account of certain transactions which passed there: “So mightily grew the word of God and prevailed,” (Acts xix. 20.); as well as from the complaint of *Demetrius*, “that not only at *Ephesus*, but also throughout all *Asia*, this *Paul* hath persuaded, and turned away much people.” (xix. 26.)—“And there are many adversaries,” says the epistle. (xvi. 9.) Look into the history of this period: “When divers were hardened and believed not, but spake evil of that way before the multitude, he departed from them, and separated the disciples.” The conformity therefore upon this head of comparison, is circumstantial and perfect. If any one think that this is a conformity so obvious, that any forger of tolerable caution and sagacity would have taken care to preserve it, I must desire such a one to read the epistle for himself; and, when he has done so, to declare whether he has discovered one mark of art or design; whether the notes of *time* and *place* appear to him to be inserted with any reference to each other, with any view of their being compared with each other, or for the purpose of establishing a visible agreement with the history, in respect of them.

NO. III.

Chap. iv. 17—19. “For this cause I have 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 teach every where in every church. Now some are puffed up, as though I would not come unto you; but I will come unto you shortly, if the Lord will."

With this I compare Acts xix. 21, 22.: "After these things were ended, Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and *Achaia*, to go to Jerusalem; saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome; so he sent unto Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him, *Timotheus* and *Erastus*."

Though it be not said, it appears I think with sufficient certainty, I mean from the history, independently of the epistle, that Timothy was sent upon this occasion into *Achaia*, of which Corinth was the capital city, as well as into Macedonia: for the sending of Timothy and Erastus is, in the passage where it is mentioned, plainly connected with St Paul's own journey: *he sent them before him*. As he therefore purposed to go into *Achaia* himself, it is highly probable that they were to go thither also. Nevertheless, they are said only to have been sent into Macedonia, because Macedonia was in truth the country to which they went immediately from Ephesus; being directed, as we suppose, to proceed afterwards from thence into *Achaia*. If this be so, the narrative agrees with the epistle; and the agreement is attended with very little appearance of design. One thing at least concerning it is certain: that if this passage of St Paul's history had been taken from his letter, it would have sent Timothy to Corinth by name, or expressly however into *Achaia*.

But there is another circumstance in these two passages much less obvious, in which an agreement

holds without any room for suspicion that it was produced by design. We have observed that the sending of Timothy into the peninsula of Greece was connected in the narrative with St Paul's own journey thither; it is stated as the effect of the same resolution. Paul purposed to go into Macedonia; "so he sent two of them that ministered unto him, Timotheus and Erastus." Now in the epistle also you remark, that, when the apostle mentions his having sent Timothy unto them, in the very next sentence he speaks of his own visit: "for this cause have I sent unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved son, &c. Now some are puffed up, as though I would not come to you; but I will come to you shortly, if God will." Timothy's journey, we see, is mentioned in the history and in the epistle, in close connexion with St Paul's own. Here is the same order of thought and intention; yet conveyed under such diversity of circumstance and expression, and the mention of them in the epistle so allied to the occasion which introduces it, *viz.* the insinuation of his adversaries that he would come to Corinth no more, that I am persuaded no attentive reader will believe, that these passages were written in concert with one another, or will doubt but that the agreement is unsought and uncontrived.

But, in the Acts, Erastus accompanied Timothy in this journey, of whom no mention is made in the epistle. From what has been said in our observations upon the Epistle to the Romans, it appears probable that Erastus was a Corinthian. If so, though he accompanied Timothy to Corinth, he was only returning home, and Timothy was the messenger charged with St Paul's orders.—At any rate, this discrepancy shows that the passages were not taken from one another.

NO. IV.

Chap. xvi. 10, 11.—“ 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.”

From the passage considered in the preceding number it appears, that Timothy was sent to Corinth, either with the epistle, or before it: “ for this cause have I sent unto you Timotheus.” From the passage now quoted we infer, that Timothy was not sent *with* the epistle; for had he been the bearer of the letter, or accompanied it, would St Paul in that letter have said, “ *If* Timothy come?” Nor is the sequel consistent with the supposition of his carrying the letter; for if Timothy was with the apostle when he wrote the letter, could he say, as he does, “ I look for him with the brethren?” I conclude therefore, that Timothy had left St Paul to proceed upon his journey before the letter was written. Farther, the passage before us seems to imply, that Timothy was not expected by St Paul to arrive at Corinth, till after they had received the letter. He gives them directions in the letter how to treat him when he should arrive: “ If he come,” act towards him so and so. Lastly, the whole form of expression is most naturally applicable to the supposition of Timothy’s coming to Corinth, not directly from St Paul, but from some other quarter; and that his instructions had been, when he should reach Corinth, to return. Now, how stands this matter in the history? Turn to the nineteenth chapter and twenty-first verse of the Acts, and you will find that Timothy did not, when

sent from Ephesus, where he left St Paul, and where the present epistle was written, proceed by a straight course to Corinth, but that he went round through Macedonia. This clears up every thing; for, although Timothy was sent forth upon his journey before the letter was written, yet he might not reach Corinth till after the letter arrived there; and he would come to Corinth, when he did come, not directly from St Paul at Ephesus, but from some part of Macedonia. Here, therefore, is a circumstantial and critical agreement, and unquestionably without design; for neither of the two passages in the epistle mentions Timothy's journey into Macedonia at all, though nothing but a circuit of that kind can explain and reconcile the expressions which the writer uses.

NO. V.

Chap. i. 12. "Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ."

Also, iii. 6. "I have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase."

This expression, "I have planted, Apollos watered," imports two things; first, that Paul had been at Corinth before Apollos; secondly, that Apollos had been at Corinth after Paul, but before the writing of this epistle. This implied account of the several events, and of the order in which they took place, corresponds exactly with the history. St Paul, after his first visit into Greece, returned from Corinth into Syria by the way of Ephesus; and, dropping his companions Aquila and Priscilla at Ephesus, he proceeded forwards to Jerusalem; from Jerusalem he descended to Antioch; and from thence made a progress through

some of the upper or northern provinces of the Lesser Asia, Acts xviii. 19. 23.: during which progress, and consequently in the interval between St Paul's first and second visit to Corinth, and consequently also before the writing of this epistle, which was at Ephesus two years at least after the apostle's return from his progress, we hear of Apollos, and we hear of him at Corinth. Whilst St Paul was engaged, as hath been said, in Phrygia and Galatia, Apollos came down to Ephesus; and being, in St Paul's absence, instructed by Aquila and Priscilla, and having obtained letters of recommendation from the church at Ephesus, he passed over to Achaia; and when he was there, we read that he "helped them much which had believed through grace, for he mightily convinced the Jews, and that publicly." Acts xviii. 27, 28. To have brought Apollos into Achaia, of which Corinth was the capital city, as well as the principal Christian church; and to have shown that he preached the Gospel in that country, would have been sufficient for our purpose. But the history happens also to mention Corinth by name, as the place in which Apollos, after his arrival in Achaia, fixed his residence: for, proceeding with the account of St Paul's travels, it tells us, that while Apollos was at Corinth, Paul, having passed through the upper coasts, came down to Ephesus, xix. 1. What is said therefore of Apollos in the epistle, coincides exactly, and especially in the point of chronology, with what is delivered concerning him in the history. The only question now is, whether the allusions were made with a regard to this coincidence? Now, the occasions and purposes for which the name of Apollos is introduced in the Acts and in the Epistles, are so independent and so remote, that it is impossible to discover the smallest reference from

one to the other. Apollos is mentioned in the Acts, in immediate connexion with the history of Aquila and Priscilla, and for the very singular circumstance of his "knowing only the baptism of John." In the epistle, where none of these circumstances are taken notice of, his name first occurs, for the purpose of reproving the contentious spirit of the Corinthians; and it occurs only in conjunction with that of some others: "Every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ." The second passage in which Apollos appears, "I have planted, Apollos watered," fixes, as we have observed, the order of time amongst three distinct events: but it fixes this, I will venture to pronounce, without the writer perceiving that he was doing any such thing. The sentence fixes this order in exact conformity with the history; but it is itself introduced solely for the sake of the reflection which follows:—"Neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase."

No. VI.

Chap. iv. 11, 12. "Even unto this present hour we both hunger and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place; and labour, working with our own hands."

We are expressly told, in the history, that at Corinth St Paul laboured with his own hands: "He found Aquila and Priscilla; and, because he was of the same craft, he abode with them, and wrought; for by their occupation they were tent-makers." But, in the text before us, he is made to say, that "he laboured *even unto the present hour*," that is, to the time of writing the epistle at

Ephesus. Now, in the narration of St Paul's transactions at Ephesus, delivered in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts, nothing is said of his working with his own hands; but in the twentieth chapter we read, that upon his return from Greece, he sent for the elders of the church of Ephesus, to meet him at Miletus; and in the discourse which he there addressed to them, amidst some other reflections which he calls to their remembrance, we find the following: "I have coveted no man's silver, or gold, or apparel; yea, you yourselves also know, that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me." The reader will not forget to remark, that though St Paul be now at Miletus, it is to the elders of the church of Ephesus he is speaking, when he says, "Ye yourselves know that these hands have ministered to my necessities;" and that the whole discourse relates to his conduct during his last preceding residence at Ephesus. That manual labour, therefore, which he had exercised at Corinth, he continued at Ephesus; and not only so, but continued it during that particular residence at Ephesus, near the conclusion of which this epistle was written; so that he might with the strictest truth say at the time of writing the epistle, "*Even unto this present hour we labour, working with our own hands.*" The correspondency is sufficient, then, as to the undesignedness of it. It is manifest to my judgment, that if the history, in this article, had been taken from the epistle, this circumstance, if it appeared at all, would have appeared in its *place*, that is, in the direct account of St Paul's transactions at Ephesus. The correspondency would not have been effected, as it is, by a kind of reflected stroke, that is, by a reference in a subsequent speech, to what in the narrative was omitted. Nor is it likely, on the

other hand, that a circumstance which is not extant in the history of St Paul at Ephesus, should have been made the subject of a factitious allusion, in an epistle purporting to be written by him from that place; not to mention that the allusion itself, especially as to time, is too oblique and general to answer any purpose of forgery whatever.

NO. VII.

Chap. ix. 20. "And unto the Jews, I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law."

We have the disposition here described, exemplified in two instances which the history records: one, Acts xvi. 3. "Him (Timothy) would Paul have to go forth with him, and took and circumcised him, *because of the Jews in those quarters; for they knew all that his father was a Greek.*" This was before the writing of the epistle. The other, Acts xxi. 23. 26. and after the writing of the epistle: "Do this that we say to thee: we have four men which have a vow on them; them take, and purify thyself with them, that they may shave their heads; and all may know that those things, whereof they were informed concerning thee, are nothing; but that thou thyself also walkest orderly, and keepest the law.—Then Paul took the men, and the next day, *purifying himself with them, entered into the temple.*" Nor does this concurrence between the character and the instances look like the result of contrivance. St Paul, in the epistle, describes, or is made to describe his own accommodating conduct towards Jews and towards Gentiles, towards the weak and over-scrupulous, towards men indeed of every variety of character; "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; to the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak; I am made all things to all men, that I might gain some." This is the sequel of the text which stands at the head of the present number. Taking therefore the whole passage together, the apostle's condescension to the Jews is mentioned only as a part of his general disposition towards all. It is not probable that this character should have been made up from the instances in the Acts, which relate solely to his dealings with the Jews. It is not probable that a sophist should take his hint from those instances, and then extend it so much beyond them: and it is still more incredible that the two instances, in the Acts, circumstantially related and interwoven with the history, should have been fabricated in order to suit the character which St Paul gives of himself in the epistle.

NO. VIII.

Chap. i. 14—17. "I thank God that I baptized none of you but Crispus and Gaius, lest any should say that I baptized in my own name; and I baptized also the household of Stephanas: besides, I know not whether I baptized any other; for Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel."

It may be expected, that those whom the apostle baptized with his own hands, were converts distinguished from the rest by some circumstance, either of eminence, or of connexion with him. Accordingly, of the three names here mentioned, Crispus, we find, from Acts xviii. 8. was a "chief ruler of the Jewish synagogue at Corinth, who believed in

the Lord, with all his house." Gaius, it appears from Romans xvi. 23. was St Paul's host at Corinth, and the host he tells us, "of the whole church." The household of Stephanas, we read in the sixteenth chapter of this epistle, "were the first fruits of Achaia." Here therefore is the propriety we expected: and it is a proof of reality not to be contemned; for their names appearing in the several places in which they occur, with a mark of distinction belonging to each, could hardly be the effect of chance, without any truth to direct it: and on the other hand, to suppose that they were picked out from these passages, and brought together in the text before us, in order to display a conformity of names, is both improbable in itself, and is rendered more so by the purpose for which they are introduced. They come in to assist St Paul's exculpation of himself, against the possible charge of having assumed the character of the founder of a separate religion, and with no other visible, or, as I think, imaginable design.*

* Chap. i. 1. "Paul called to be an apostle of Jesus Christ, through the will of God, and Sosthenes, our brother, unto the church of God which is at Corinth." The only account we have of any person who bore the name of Sosthenes, is found in the eighteenth chapter of the Acts. When the Jews at Corinth had brought Paul before Gallio, and Gallio had dismissed their complaint as unworthy of his interference, and had driven them from the judgment-seat; "then all the Greeks," says the historian, "took Sosthenes, the chief ruler of the synagogue, and beat him before the judgment-seat." The Sosthenes here spoken of was a Corinthian; and, if he was a Christian, and with St Paul when he wrote this epistle, was likely enough to be joined with him in the salutation of the Corinthian church. But here occurs a difficulty. If Sosthenes was a Christian at the time of this uproar, why should the *Greeks* beat him? The assault upon the Christians was made by the *Jews*. It was the *Jews* who had brought Paul before the magistrate. If it had been the *Jews* also who had beaten Sosthenes, I should not have doubted but that he had been a favourer of St Paul, and the same person who is joined with him in the epistle. Let us see therefore whether there be not some error in our present text. The Alexan-

No. IX.

Chap. xvi. 10, 11. "Now, if Timotheus come, let no man despise him."—Why *despise* him? This charge is not given concerning any other messenger whom St Paul sent; and, in the different epistles, many such messengers are mentioned. Turn to 1 Timothy, chap. iv. 12. and you will find that Timothy was a *young man*, younger probably than those who were usually employed in the Christian mission; and that St Paul, apprehending lest he should, on that account, be exposed to contempt, urges upon him the caution which is there inserted, "Let no man despise thy youth."

drian manuscript gives πάντες alone, without οἱ Ἕλληνες, and is followed in this reading by the Coptic version, by the Arabic version, published by Erpenius, by the Vulgate, and by Bede's Latin version. Three Greek manuscripts again, as well as Chrysostom, give οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, in the place of οἱ Ἕλληνες. A great plurality of manuscripts authorize the reading which is retained in our copies. In this variety it appears to me extremely probable that the historian originally wrote πάντες alone, and that οἱ Ἕλληνες, and οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι have been respectively added as explanatory of what the word πάντες was supposed to mean. The sentence, without the addition of either name, would run very perspicuously thus, "καὶ ἀπηλάσεν αὐτοὺς ἀπο τοῦ βήματος· ἐπιλαβόμενοι δὲ πάντες Σωσθίνην τὸν ἀρχισυναγωγόν, ἐτυπτον ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος·" and he drove them away from the judgment-seat; and they all," viz. the crowd of Jews whom the judge had bid begone, "took Sosthenes, and beat him before the judgment-seat." It is certain that, as the whole body of the people were Greeks, the application of *all* to them was unusual and hard. If I was describing an insurrection at Paris, I might say *all* the Jews, *all* the Protestants, or *all* the English acted so and so; but I should scarcely say *all* the French, when the whole mass of the community were of that description. As what is here offered is founded upon a various reading, and that in opposition to the greater part of the manuscripts that are extant, I have not given it a place in the text.

No. X.

Chap. xvi. 1. "Now, concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye."

The churches of Galatia and Phrygia, were the last churches which St Paul had visited before the writing of this epistle. He was now at Ephesus, and he came thither immediately from visiting these churches: "He went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia, in order, strengthening all the disciples. And it came to pass that Paul having passed through the upper coasts," (viz. the above-named countries, called the upper coasts, as being the northern part of Asia Minor), "came to Ephesus." Acts xviii. 23.; xix. 1. These therefore, probably, were the last churches at which he left directions for their public conduct during his absence. Although two years intervened between his journey to Ephesus and his writing this epistle, yet it does not appear that during that time he visited any other church. That he had not been silent when he was in Galatia, upon this subject of contribution for the poor, is farther made out from a hint which he lets fall in his epistle to that church; "Only they (viz. the other apostles) would that we should remember the poor, the same also which I was forward to do."

No. XI.

Chap. iv. 18. "Now, some are puffed up, as though I would not come unto you."

Why should they suppose that he would not come? Turn to the first chapter of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and you will find that

he had already *disappointed* them: "I was minded to come unto you before, that you might have a second benefit; 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 toward Judea. When I, therefore, was thus minded, did I use lightness? Or the things that I purpose, do I purpose according to the flesh, that with me there should be yea, yea, and nay, nay? But, as God is true, our word toward you was not yea and nay." It appears from this quotation, that he had not only intended, but that he had promised them a visit before; for, otherwise, why should he apologize for the change of his purpose, or express so much anxiety lest this change should be imputed to any culpable fickleness in his temper; and lest he should thereby seem to them, as one whose word was not, in any sort, to be depended upon? Besides which, the terms made use of plainly refer to a promise, "*Our word toward you was not yea and nay.*" St Paul therefore had signified an intention which he had not been able to execute; and this seeming breach of his word, and the delay of his visit, had, with some who were evil affected towards him, given birth to a suggestion that he would come no more to Corinth.

NO. XII.

Chap. v. 7, 8. "For even Christ, our passover, is sacrificed for us; therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth."

Dr Benson tells us, that from this passage, compared with chapter xvi. 8. it has been conjectured that this epistle was written about the time of the

Jewish passover ; and to me the conjecture appears to be very well founded. The passage to which Dr Benson refers us is this : " I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost." With this passage he ought to have joined another in the same context : " And it may be that I will abide, yea, and winter with you ;" for from the two passages laid together, it follows that the epistle was written before Pentecost, yet after winter ; which necessarily determines the date to the part of the year within which the passover falls. It was written before Pentecost, because he says, " I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost." It was written after winter, because he tells them, " It may be that I may abide, yea, and winter with you." The winter which the apostle purposed to pass at Corinth, was undoubtedly the winter next ensuing to the date of the epistle ; yet it was a winter subsequent to the ensuing Pentecost, because he did not intend to set forwards upon his journey till after that feast. The words, " let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth," look very like words suggested by the season ; at least they have, upon that supposition, a force and significancy which do not belong to them upon any other ; and it is not a little remarkable, that the hints casually dropped in the epistle concerning particular parts of the year, should coincide with this supposition.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

NO. I.

I WILL not say that it is impossible, having seen the First Epistle to the Corinthians, to construct a second with ostensible allusions to the first; or that it is impossible that both should be fabricated, so as to carry on an order and continuation of story, by successive references to the same events. But I say, that this, in either case, must be the effect of craft and design. Whereas, whoever examines the allusions to the former epistle which he finds in this, whilst he will acknowledge them to be such as would rise spontaneously to the hand of the writer, from the very subject of the correspondence, and the situation of the corresponding parties, supposing these to be real, will see no particle of reason to suspect, either that the clauses containing these allusions were *insertions* for the purpose, or that the several transactions of the Corinthian church were feigned, in order to form a train of narrative, or to support the appearance of connexion between the two epistles.

1. In the First Epistle, St Paul announces his intention of passing through Macedonia, in his way to Corinth: "I will come to you when I shall pass through Macedonia." In the Second Epistle, we find him arrived in Macedonia, and about to pursue his journey to Corinth. But observe the manner in which this is made to appear: "I know the forwardness of your mind, for which I boast of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready

a year ago, and your zeal hath provoked very many: yet have I sent the brethren, lest our boasting of you should be in vain in this behalf; that, as I said, ye may be ready; lest, haply, if they of Macedonia come with me, and find you unprepared, we (that we say not you) be ashamed in this same confident boasting." (Chap. ix. 2, 3, 4.) St Paul's being in Macedonia at the time of writing the epistle, is, in this passage, inferred only from his saying, that he had boasted to the Macedonians of the alacrity of his Achaian converts; and the fear which he expresses, lest, if any of the Macedonian Christians should come with him unto Achaia, they should find his boasting unwarranted by the event. The business of the contribution is the sole cause of mentioning Macedonia at all. Will it be insinuated that this passage was framed merely to state that St Paul was now in Macedonia; and, by that statement, to produce an apparent agreement with the purpose of visiting Macedonia, notified in the First Epistle? Or will it be thought probable, that, if a sophist had meant to place St Paul in Macedonia, for the sake of giving countenance to his forgery, he would have done it in so oblique a manner as through the medium of a contribution? The same thing may be observed of another text in the epistle, in which the name of Macedonia occurs: "Furthermore, when I came to Troas to preach the Gospel, and a door was opened unto me of the Lord, I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not Titus, my brother; but taking my leave of them, I went from thence into Macedonia." I mean, that it may be observed of this passage also, that there is a reason for mentioning Macedonia, entirely distinct from the purpose of showing St Paul to be *there*. Indeed, if the passage before us show that point at all, it shows it so obscurely,

that Grotius, though he did not doubt that Paul was now in Macedonia, refers this text to a different journey. Is this the hand of a forger, meditating to establish a false conformity? The text, however, in which it is most strongly implied that St Paul wrote the present epistle from Macedonia, is found in the fourth, fifth, and sixth verses of the seventh chapter: "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; without were fightings, within were fears: nevertheless, God, that comforteth those that are cast down, comforted us by the coming of Titus." Yet even here, I think, no one will contend, that St Paul's coming to Macedonia, or being in Macedonia, was the principal thing intended to be told; or that the telling of it, indeed, was any part of the intention with which the text was written; or that the mention even of the name of Macedonia was not purely incidental, in the description of those tumultuous sorrows with which the writer's mind had been lately agitated, and from which he was relieved by the coming of Titus. The first five verses of the eighth chapter, which commend the liberality of the Macedonian churches, do not, in my opinion, by themselves, prove St Paul to have been at Macedonia at the time of writing the epistle.

2. In the First Epistle, St Paul denounces a severe censure against an incestuous marriage, which had taken place amongst the Corinthian converts, with the connivance, not to say with the approbation, of the church; and enjoins the church to purge itself of this scandal, by expelling the offender from its society: "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 done this deed; in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord." (Chap. v. 1—5.) In the Second Epistle we find this sentence executed, and the offender to be so affected with the punishment, that St Paul now intercedes for his restoration: "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." (2 Cor. chap. ii. 7, 8.) Is this whole business feigned for the sake of carrying on a continuation of story through the two epistles? The church also, no less than the offender, was brought by St Paul's reproof to a deep sense of the impropriety of their conduct. Their penitence, and their respect to his authority, were, as might be expected, exceeding grateful to St Paul: "We were comforted not by Titus's coming only, but by the consolation wherewith he was comforted in you, when he told us your earnest desire, your mourning, your fervent mind towards 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 sorrowed to repentance: for ye were made

sorry after a godly manner, that ye might receive damage by us in nothing." (Chap. vii. 7—9.) That this passage is to be referred to the incestuous marriage, is proved by the twelfth verse of the same chapter: "Though I wrote unto you, I did it not for his cause that had done the wrong, nor for his cause that suffered wrong; but that our care for you, in the sight of God, might appear unto you." There were, it is true, various topics of blame noticed in the First Epistle; but there was none, except this of the incestuous marriage, which could be called a transaction between private parties, or of which it could be said that one particular person had "done the wrong," and another particular person "had suffered it." Could all this be without foundation? or could it be put into the second epistle, merely to furnish an obscure sequel to what had been said about an incestuous marriage in the first?

3. In the sixteenth chapter of the First Epistle, a collection for the saints is recommended to be set forwards at Corinth: "Now, concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, so do ye." (Chap. xvi. 1.) In the ninth chapter of the Second Epistle, such a collection is spoken of, as in readiness to be received: "As touching the ministering to the saints, it is superfluous for me to write to you, for I know the forwardness of your mind, for which I boast of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year ago, and your zeal hath provoked very many." (Chap. ix. 1, 2.) This is such a continuation of the transaction as might be expected; or, possibly it will be said, as might easily be counterfeited; but there is a circumstance of nicety in the agreement between the two epistles, which, I am convinced, the author of a forgery would not have hit upon, or which, if he had hit upon it, he

would have set forth with more clearness. The Second Epistle speaks to the Corinthians as having begun this eleemosynary business a year before: "This is expedient for you, who have begun before, not only to do, but also to be forward a year ago." (Chap. viii. 10.) "I boast of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year ago." (Chap. ix. 2.) From these texts it is evident, that something had been done in the business a year before. It appears, however, from other texts in the epistle, that the contribution was not yet collected or paid; for brethren were sent from St Paul to Corinth, "to make up their bounty." (Chap. ix. 5.) They are urged "to perform the doing of it." (Chap. viii. 11.) "And every man was exhorted to give as he purposed in his heart." (Chap. ix. 7.) The contribution, therefore, as represented in our present epistle, was in readiness, yet not received from the contributors; was begun, was forward long before, yet not hitherto collected. Now this representation agrees with one, and only with one, supposition, namely, that every man had laid by in store, had already provided the fund, from which he was afterwards to contribute—the very case which the First Epistle authorizes us to suppose to have existed; for in that epistle St Paul had charged the Corinthians, "upon the first day of the week, every one of them, to lay by in store as God had prospered him."* (1 Cor. chap. xvi. 2.)

* The following observations will satisfy us concerning the purity of our apostle's conduct in the suspicious business of a pecuniary contribution.

1. He disclaims the having received any inspired authority for the directions which he is giving: "I speak not by commandment, but by occasion of the forwardness of others, and to prove the sincerity of your love." (2 Cor. chap. viii. 8.) Who that had a sinister purpose to answer by the recommending of subscriptions, would thus distinguish, and thus lower the credit of his own recommendation?

2. Although he asserts the general right of Christian ministers to a maintenance from their ministry, yet he protests

NO. II.

In comparing the Second Epistle to the Corinthians with the Acts of the Apostles, we are soon brought to observe, not only that there exists no vestige either of the epistle having been taken from the history; or the history from the epistle; but also that there appears in the contents of the epistle positive evidence, that neither was borrowed from the other. Titus, who bears a conspicuous part in the epistle, is not mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles at all. St Paul's sufferings, enumerated chap. xi. 24. "of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one; thrice was I beaten with

against the making use of this right in his own person: "Ever 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, *i. e.* my professions of disinterestedness, void." (1 Cor. chap. ix. 14, 15.)

3. He repeatedly proposes that there should be associates with himself in the management of the public bounty; not colleagues of his own appointment, but persons elected for that purpose by the contributors themselves. "And when I come, whomsoever ye shall approve by your letters, them will I send to bring your liberality unto Jerusalem; and if it be meet that I go also, they shall go with me." (1 Cor. chap. xvi. 3, 4.) And in the Second Epistle, what is here proposed, we find actually done, and done for the very purpose of guarding his character against any imputation that might be brought upon it, in the discharge of a pecuniary trust: "And we have sent with him the brother, whose praise is in the Gospel throughout all the churches; and not that only, but who was also chosen of the churches to travel with us with this grace (gift) which is administered by us to the glory of the same Lord, and the declaration of your ready mind: avoiding this, that no man should blame us in this abundance which is administered by us; providing for things honest, not only in the sight of the Lord, but also in the sight of men; *i. e.* not resting in the consciousness of our own integrity, but, in such a subject, careful also to approve our integrity to the public judgment. (2 Cor. chap. viii. 18, —21.)

rods; once was I stoned; thrice I suffered shipwreck; a night and a day I have been in the deep," cannot be made out from his history as delivered in the Acts; nor would this account have been given by a writer, who either drew his knowledge of St Paul from that history, or who was careful to preserve a conformity with it. The account in the epistle of St Paul's escape from Damascus, though agreeing in the main fact with the account of the same transaction in the Acts, is related with such difference of circumstance, as renders it utterly improbable that one should be derived from the other. The two accounts, placed by the side of each other, stand as follows:

2 Cor. chap. xi. 32, 33.

In Damascus, the governor under Aretas the king, kept the city of the Damascenes with a garrison, desirous to apprehend *me*; and through a window in a basket was I let down by the wall, and escaped his hands.

Acts, chap. ix. 23—25.

And after many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him; but their laying in wait was known of Saul, and they watched the gates day and night to kill him; then the disciples took him by night, and let him down by the wall in a basket.

Now if we be satisfied in general concerning these two ancient writings, that the one was not known to the writer of the other, or not consulted by him; then the accordances which may be pointed out between them, will admit of no solution so probable, as the attributing of them to truth and reality, as to their common foundation.

NO. III.

The opening of this epistle exhibits a connexion with the history, which alone would satisfy my mind that the epistle was written by Saint Paul, and by St Paul in the situation in which the his-

tory places him. Let it be remembered, that in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts, St Paul is represented as driven away from Ephesus, or as leaving however Ephesus, in consequence of an uproar in that city, excited by some interested adversaries of the new religion. The account of the tumult is as follows: "When they heard these sayings," viz. Demetrius's complaint of the danger to be apprehended from St Paul's ministry to the established worship of the Ephesian goddess, "they were full of wrath, and cried out, saying, Great is Diana of the Ephesians. And the whole city was filled with confusion; and having caught Gaius and Aristarchus, Paul's companions in travel, they rushed with one accord into the theatre: And when Paul would have entered in unto the people, the disciples suffered him not; and certain of the chief of Asia, which were his friends, sent unto him, desiring that he would not adventure himself into the theatre. Some, therefore, cried one thing, and some another: for the assembly was confused, and the more part knew not wherefore they were come together. And they drew Alexander out of the multitude, the Jews putting him forward; and Alexander beckoned with his hand, and would have made his defence unto the people; but, when they knew that he was a Jew, all with one voice, about the space of two hours, cried out, Great is Diana of the Ephesians.—And after the uproar was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia." When he was arrived in Macedonia, he wrote the Second Epistle to the Corinthians which is now before us; and he begins his epistle in this wise: "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: and our hope of you is steadfast, knowing that, as ye are partakers 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, insomuch that we despaired even of life: but we had the sentence of death in ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, 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." Nothing could be more expressive of the circumstances in which the history describes St Paul to have been, at the time when the epistle purports to be written; or rather, nothing could be more expressive of the sensations arising from these circumstances, than this passage. It is the calm recollection of a mind emerged from the confusion of instant danger. It is that devotion and solemnity of thought, which follows a recent deliverance. There is just enough of particularity in the passage to shew that it is to be referred to the tumult at Ephesus: "We would not, brethren, have you ignorant of our trouble *which came to us in Asia*." And there is nothing more; no mention of Demetrius, of the seizure of St Paul's friends, of the interference of the town-clerk, of the occasion or nature of the danger which

St Paul had escaped, or even of the city where it happened ; in a word, no recital from which a suspicion could be conceived, either that the author of the epistle had made use of the narrative in the Acts ; or, on the other hand, that he had sketched the outline, which the narrative in the Acts only filled up. That the forger of an epistle, under the name of St Paul, should borrow circumstances from a history of St Paul then extant ; or, that the author of a history of St Paul should gather materials from letters bearing St Paul's name, may be credited : but I cannot believe that any forger whatever should fall upon an expedient so refined, as to exhibit sentiments adapted to a situation, and to leave his readers to seek out that situation from the history ; still less that the author of a history should go about to frame facts and circumstances, fitted to supply the sentiments which he found in the letter. It may be said, perhaps, that it does not appear from the history that any danger threatened St Paul's life in the uproar at Ephesus, so imminent as that from which in the epistle he represents himself to have been delivered. This matter, it is true, is not stated by the historian in form ; but the personal danger of the apostle, we cannot doubt, must have been extreme, when the " whole city was filled with confusion ;" when the populace had " seized his companions ;" when, in the distraction of his mind, he insisted upon " coming forth amongst them ;" when the Christians who were about him " would not suffer him ;" when " his friends, certain of the chief of Asia, sent to him, desiring that he would not adventure himself in the tumult ;" when, lastly, he was obliged to quit immediately the place and the country, " and when the tumult was ceased, to depart into Macedonia." All which particulars are found in the

narration, and justify St Paul's own account, "that he was pressed out of measure, above strength, insomuch that he despaired even of life; that he had the sentence of death in himself;" *i. e.* that he looked upon himself as a man condemned to die.

NO. IV.

It has already been remarked, that St Paul's original intention was to have visited Corinth in his way to Macedonia: "I was minded to come unto you before, and to pass by you into Macedonia." 2 Cor. chap. i. 15, 16. It has also been remarked, that he changed his intention, and ultimately resolved upon going through Macedonia *first*. Now upon this head there exists a circumstance of correspondency between our epistle and the history, which is not very obvious to the reader's observation; but which, when observed, will be found, I think, close and exact. Which circumstance is this: that though the change of St Paul's intention be expressly mentioned only in the second epistle, yet it appears, both from the history and from this second epistle, that the change had taken place before the writing of the first epistle; that it appears however from neither, otherwise than by an inference, unnoticed perhaps by almost every one who does not sit down professedly to the examination.

First, then, how does this point appear from the history? In the nineteenth chapter of the Acts, and the twenty-first verse, we are told, that "Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem. So he sent into Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him, Timotheus and Erastus; but

he himself stayed in Asia for a season." A short time after this, and evidently in pursuance of the same intention, we find (chap. xx. 1, 2.) that "Paul departed from Ephesus for to go into Macedonia: and that, when he had gone over those parts, he came into Greece." The resolution therefore of passing first through Macedonia, and from thence into Greece, was formed by St Paul previously to the sending away of Timothy. The order in which the two countries are mentioned, shows the direction of his intended route; "when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia." Timothy and Erastus, who were to precede him in his progress, were sent by him from Ephesus into Macedonia. He himself a short time afterwards, and, as hath been observed, evidently in continuation and pursuance of the same design, "departed for to go into Macedonia." If he had ever, therefore, entertained a different plan of his journey, which is not hinted in the history, he must have changed that plan before this time. But, from the seventeenth verse of the fourth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians we discover, that Timothy had been sent away from Ephesus before that epistle was written: "For this cause have I sent unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved son." The change therefore of St Paul's resolution, which was prior to the sending away of Timothy, was necessarily prior to the writing of the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

Thus stands the order of dates, as collected from the history, compared with the First Epistle. Now let us inquire, secondly, how this matter is represented in the epistle before us. In the sixteenth verse of the first chapter of this epistle, St Paul speaks of the intention which he had once entertained of visiting Achaia, in his way to Ma-

cedonia: "In this confidence I was minded to come unto you before, that ye might have a second benefit; and to pass by you into Macedonia." After protesting, in the seventeenth verse, against any evil construction that might be put upon his laying aside of this intention, in the twenty-third verse he discloses the cause of it: "Moreover I call God for a record upon my soul, that, to spare you, I came not as yet unto Corinth." And then he proceeds as follows: "But I determined this with myself, that I would not come again to you in heaviness: for, if I make you sorry, who is he then that maketh me glad, but the same which is made sorry by me? *And I wrote this same unto you*, lest when I came I should have sorrow from them of whom I ought to rejoice; having confidence in you all, that my joy is the joy of you all; for, out of much affliction and anguish of heart, *I wrote unto you with many tears*; not that ye 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." In this quotation, let the reader first direct his attention to the clause marked by Italics, "and I wrote this same unto you," and let him consider, whether, from the context, and from the structure of the whole passage, it be not evident that this writing was after St Paul had "determined with himself, that he would not come again to them in heaviness?" whether, indeed, it was not in consequence of this determination, or at least with this determination upon his mind? And, in the next place, let him consider, whether the sentence, "I determined this with myself, that I would not come again to you in heaviness," do

not plainly refer to that postponing of his visit, to which he had alluded in the verse but one before, when he said, "I call God for a record upon my soul, that, to spare you, I came not as yet unto Corinth:" and whether this be not the visit of which he speaks in the sixteenth verse, wherein he informs the Corinthians, "that he had been minded to pass by them into Macedonia;" but that, for reasons which argued no levity or fickleness in his disposition, he had been compelled to change his purpose. If this be so, then it follows that the writing here mentioned was posterior to the change of his intention. The only question, therefore, that remains, will be, whether this writing relate to the letter which we now have under the title of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, or to some other letter not extant? And upon this question I think Mr Locke's observation decisive; namely, that the second clause marked in the quotation by Italics, "I wrote unto you with many tears," and the first clause so marked, "I wrote this same unto you," belong to one writing, whatever that was; and that the second clause goes on to advert to a circumstance which is found in our present First Epistle to the Corinthians; namely, the case and punishment of the incestuous person. Upon the whole, then, we see, that it is capable of being inferred from St Paul's own words, in the long extract which we have quoted, that the First Epistle to the Corinthians was written after St Paul had determined to postpone his journey to Corinth; in other words, that the change of his purpose with respect to the course of his journey, though expressly mentioned only in the Second Epistle, had taken place before the writing of the First; the point which we made out to be implied in the history, by the order of the events there recorded,

and the allusions to those events in the First Epistle. Now this is a species of congruity of all others the most to be relied upon. It is not an agreement between two accounts of the same transaction, or between different statements of the same fact, for the fact is not stated; nothing that can be called an account is given; but it is the junction of two conclusions, deduced from independent sources, and deducible only by investigation and comparison.

This point, viz. the change of the route, being prior to the writing of the First Epistle, also falls in with, and accounts for, the manner in which he speaks in that epistle of his journey. His first intention had been, as he here declares, to "pass by them into Macedonia:" that intention having been previously given up, he writes, in his First Epistle, "that he would not see them now by the way," *i. e.* as he must have done upon his first plan; but that he trusted to tarry a while with them, and possibly to abide, yea and winter with them. 1 Cor. chap. xvi. 5, 6. It also accounts for a singularity in the text referred to, which must strike every reader: "I will come to you when I pass through Macedonia; for I do pass through Macedonia." The supplemental sentence, "for I do pass through Macedonia," imports that there had been some previous communication upon the subject of the journey; and also that there had been some vacillation and indecisiveness in the apostle's plan: both which we now perceive to have been the case. The sentence is as much as to say, "This is what I at last resolve upon." The expression, "ὅταν Μακεδονίαν διέλθω," is ambiguous; it may denote either "when I pass, or when I shall have passed, through Macedonia:" the considerations offered above fix it to the latter sense. Lastly, the point we have endeavoured

voured to make out, confirms, or rather, indeed, is necessary to the support of a conjecture, which forms the subject of a number in our observations upon the First Epistle, that the insinuation of certain of the church of Corinth, that he would come no more amongst them, was founded on some previous disappointment of their expectations.

NO. V.

But if St Paul had changed his purpose before the writing of the First Epistle, why did he defer explaining himself to the Corinthians, concerning the reason of that change, until he wrote the Second? This is a very fair question; and we are able, I think, to return to it a satisfactory answer. The real cause, and the cause at length assigned by St Paul for postponing his visit to Corinth, and not travelling by the route which he had at first designed, was the disorderly state of the Corinthian church at the time, and the painful severities which he should have found himself obliged to exercise, if he had come amongst them during the existence of these irregularities. He was willing therefore to try, before he came in person, what a letter of authoritative oburgation would do amongst them, and to leave time for the operation of the experiment. That was his scheme in writing the First Epistle. But it was not for him to acquaint them with the scheme. After the Epistle had produced its effect (and to the utmost extent, as it should seem, of the apostle's hopes); when he had wrought in them a deep sense of their fault, and an almost passionate solicitude to restore themselves to the approbation of their teacher; when Titus (chap. vii. 6, 7. 11.) had brought him intelligence "of their earnest desire, their mourning, their fervent mind towards

him, of their sorrow and their penitence ; what carefulness, what clearing of themselves, what indignation, what fear, what vehement desire, what zeal, what revenge," his letter, and the general concern occasioned by it, had excited amongst them ; he then opens himself fully upon the subject. The affectionate mind of the apostle is touched by this return of zeal and duty. He tells them that he did not visit them at the time proposed, lest their meeting should have been attended with mutual grief ; and with grief to him embittered by the reflection, that he was giving pain to those, from whom alone he could receive comfort : " I determined this with myself, that I would not come again to you in heaviness ; for, if I make you sorry, who is he that maketh me glad but the same which is made sorry by me ?" (chap. ii. 1, 2.) ; that he had written his former epistle to warn them beforehand of their fault, " lest when he came he should have sorrow of them of whom he ought to rejoice," (chap. ii. 3.) ; that he had the farther view, though perhaps unperceived by them, of making an experiment of their fidelity, " to know the proof of them, whether they are obedient in all things," (chap. ii. 9.) This full discovery of his motive came very naturally from the apostle, after he had seen the success of his measures, but would not have been a seasonable communication before. The whole composes a train of sentiment and of conduct resulting from real situation, and from real circumstance, and as remote as possible from fiction or imposture.

NO. VI.

Chap. xi. 9. " When I was present with you and wanted, I was chargeable to no man : for that which was lacking to me, the brethren which came

from Macedonia supplied." The principal fact set forth in this passage, the arrival at Corinth of brethren from Macedonia during St Paul's first residence in that city, is explicitly recorded, Acts, chap. xviii. 1. 5. "After these things Paul departed from Athens, and came to Corinth. And when Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia, Paul was pressed in spirit, and testified to the Jews that Jesus was Christ."

NO. VII.

The above quotation from the Acts proves that Silas and Timotheus were assisting to St Paul in preaching the Gospel at Corinth. With which correspond the words of the epistle (chap. i. 19.): "For the Son of God, Jesus Christ, who was preached among you by us, even by me, and Silvanus, and Timotheus, was not yea and nay, but in him was yea." I do admit that the correspondency, considered by itself, is too direct and obvious; and that an impostor with the history before him might, and probably would, produce agreements of the same kind. But let it be remembered, that this reference is found in a writing, which from many discrepancies, and especially from those noted NO. II., we may conclude, was not composed by any one who had consulted, and who pursued the history. Some observation also arises upon the variation of the name. We read Silas in the Acts, Silvanus in the epistle. The similitude of these two names, if they were the names of different persons, is greater than could easily have proceeded from accident; I mean that it is not probable, that two persons placed in situations so much alike, should bear names so nearly resembling each other.* On the other hand, the

* That they were the same person is farther confirmed by 1 Thess. chap. i. 1. compared with Acts, chap. xvii. 10.

difference of the name in the two passages negatives the supposition of the passages, or the account contained in them, being transcribed either from the other.

NO. VIII.

Chap. ii. 12, 13. "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 found not Titus my brother; but taking my leave of them, I went from thence into Macedonia."

To establish a conformity between this passage and the history, nothing more is necessary to be presumed, than that St Paul proceeded from Ephesus to Macedonia, upon the same course by which he came back from Macedonia to Ephesus, or rather to Miletus in the neighbourhood of Ephesus; in other words, that in his journey to the peninsula of Greece, he went and returned the same way. St Paul is now in Macedonia, where he had lately arrived from Ephesus. Our quotation imports that in his journey he had stopped at Troas. Of this the history says nothing, leaving us only the short account, that "Paul departed from Ephesus, for to go into Macedonia." But the history says, that in his *return* from Macedonia to Ephesus, "Paul sailed from Philippi to Troas; and that, when the disciples came together on the first day of the week to break bread, Paul preached unto them all night; that from Troas he went by land to Assos; from Assos, taking ship and coasting along the front of Asia Minor, he came by Mitylene to Miletus." Which account proves, first, that Troas lay in the way by which St Paul passed between Ephesus and Macedonia; secondly, that he had disciples

there. In one journey between these two places, the epistle, and in another journey between the same places, the history, makes him stop at this city. Of the first journey he is made to say, "that a door was in that city opened unto me of the Lord;" in the second, we find disciples there collected around him, and the apostle exercising his ministry, with, what was even in him, more than ordinary zeal and labour. The epistle, therefore, is in this instance confirmed, if not by the terms, at least by the probability of the history; a species of confirmation by no means to be despised, because, as far as it reaches, it is evidently uncontrived.

Grotius, I know, refers the arrival at Troas, to which the epistle alludes, to a different period, but I think very improbably; for nothing appears to me more certain, than that the meeting with Titus, which St Paul expected at Troas, was the same meeting which took place in Macedonia, viz. upon Titus's coming out of Greece. In the quotation before us he tells the Corinthians, "When I came to Troas, I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not Titus my brother; but, taking my leave of them, I went from thence into Macedonia." Then in the seventh chapter he writes, "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 them that are cast down, comforted us by the coming of Titus." These two passages plainly relate to the same journey of Titus, in meeting with whom St Paul had been disappointed at Troas, and rejoiced in Macedonia. And amongst other reasons which fix the former passage to the coming of Titus out of Greece, is the consideration, that it was nothing to the Co-

rinthians that St Paul did not meet with Titus at Troas, were it not that he was to bring intelligence from Corinth. The mention of the disappointment in this place, upon any other supposition, is irrelative.

No. IX.

Chap. xi. 24, 25. "Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one; thrice was I beaten with rods; once was I stoned; thrice I suffered shipwreck; a night and a day I have been in the deep."

These particulars cannot be extracted out of the Acts of the Apostles; which proves, as hath been already observed, that the epistle was not framed from the history; yet they are consistent with it, which, considering how numerically circumstantial the account is, is more than could happen to arbitrary and independent fictions. When I say that these particulars are *consistent* with the history, I mean, first, that there is no article in the enumeration which is contradicted by the history: secondly, that the history, though silent with respect to many of the facts here enumerated, has left space for the existence of these facts, consistent with the fidelity of its own narration.

First, No contradiction is discoverable between the epistle and the history. When St Paul says, *thrice* was I beaten with rods, although the history record only *one* beating with rods, viz. at Philippi, Acts xvi. 22. yet is there no contradiction. It is only the omission in one book of what is related in another. But had the history contained accounts of *four* beatings with rods, at the time of writing this epistle, in which St Paul says that he had only suffered three, there would have been a

contradiction properly so called. The same observation applies generally to the other parts of the enumeration, concerning which the history is silent: but there is one clause in the quotation particularly deserving of remark; because, when confronted with the history, it furnishes the nearest approach to a contradiction, without a contradiction being actually incurred, of any I remember to have met with. "Once," saith St Paul, "was I stoned." Does the history relate that St Paul, prior to the writing of this epistle, had been stoned more than once? The history mentions distinctly one occasion upon which St Paul was stoned, viz. at Lystra in Lycaonia. "Then came thither certain Jews from Antioch and Iconium, who persuaded the people; and, having stoned Paul, drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead." (Chap. xiv. 19). And it mentions also another occasion in which "an assault was made both of the Gentiles, and also of the Jews with their rulers, to use them despitefully and to stone them; but they were aware of it," the history proceeds to tell us, "and fled into Lystra and Derbe." This happened at Iconium, prior to the date of the epistle. Now had the assault been completed; had the history related that a stone was thrown, as it relates that preparations were made both by Jews and Gentiles to stone Paul and his companions; or even had the account of this transaction stopped, without going on to inform us that Paul and his companions were "aware of their danger and fled," a contradiction between the history and the epistle would have ensued. Truth is necessarily consistent; but it is scarcely possible that independent accounts, not having truth to guide them, should thus advance to the very brink of contradiction without falling into it.

Secondly, I say, that if the Acts of the Apostles be silent concerning many of the instances enumerated in the epistle, this silence may be accounted for, from the plan and fabric of the history. The date of the epistle synchronizes with the beginning of the twentieth chapter of the Acts. The part, therefore, of the history, which precedes the twentieth chapter, is the only part in which can be found any notice of the persecutions to which St Paul refers. Now it does not appear that the author of the history was with St Paul until his departure from Troas, on his way to Macedonia, as related chap. xvi. 10.; or rather indeed the contrary appears. It is in this point of the history that the language changes. In the seventh and eighth verses of this chapter the third person is used. "After *they* were come to Mysia, *they* assayed to go into Bithynia, but the Spirit suffered them not; and *they* passing by Mysia came to Troas:" and the third person is in like manner constantly used throughout the foregoing part of the history. In the tenth verse of this chapter, the first person comes in: "After Paul had seen the vision, immediately *we* endeavoured to go into Macedonia; assuredly gathering that the Lord had called *us* to preach the Gospel unto them." Now, from this time to the writing of the epistle, the history occupies four chapters; yet it is in these, if in any, that a regular or continued account of the apostle's life is to be expected: for how succinctly his history is delivered in the preceding part of the book, that is to say, from the time of his conversion to the time when the historian joined him at Troas, except the particulars of his conversion itself, which are related circumstantially, may be understood from the following observations:—

The history of a period of sixteen years is comprised in less than three chapters; and of these a material part is taken up with discourses. After his conversion, he continued in the neighbourhood of Damascus, according to the history, for a certain considerable, though indefinite, length of time, according to his own words (Gal. i. 18.) for three years; of which no other account is given than this short one, that "straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God; that all that heard him were amazed, and said, Is not this he that destroyed them which called on this name in Jerusalem? that he increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus; and that, after many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him." From Damascus he proceeded to Jerusalem: and of his residence there nothing more particular is recorded, than that "he was with the apostles, coming in and going out; that he spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed against the Grecians, who went about to kill him." From Jerusalem, the history sends him to his native city of Tarsus.* It seems probable, from the order and disposition of the history, that St Paul's stay at Tarsus was of some continuance; for we hear nothing of him, until, after a long apparent interval, and much inter-jacent narrative, Barnabas, desirous of Paul's assistance upon the enlargement of the Christian mission, went to Tarsus "for to seek him."† We cannot doubt but that the new apostle had been busied in his ministry; yet of what he did, or what he suffered, during this period, which may include three or four years, the history professes not to

* Acts, chap. ix. 30.

† Chap. xi. 25.

deliver any information. As Tarsus was situated upon the sea-coast, and as, though Tarsus was his home, yet it is probable he visited from thence many other places, for the purpose of preaching the Gospel, it is not unlikely, that in the course of three or four years he might undertake many short voyages to neighbouring countries, in the navigating of which we may be allowed to suppose that some of those disasters and shipwrecks befell him, to which he refers in the quotation before us, "thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep." This last clause I am inclined to interpret of his being obliged to take to an open boat, upon the loss of the ship, and his continuing out at sea in that dangerous situation, a night and a day. St Paul is here recounting his sufferings, not relating miracles. From Tarsus, Barnabas brought Paul to Antioch, and there he remained a year: but of the transactions of that year no other description is given than what is contained in the last four verses of the eleventh chapter. After a more solemn dedication to the ministry, Barnabas and Paul proceeded from Antioch to Cilicia, and from thence they sailed to Cyprus, of which voyage no particulars are mentioned. Upon their return from Cyprus, they made a progress together through the Lesser Asia; and though two remarkable speeches be preserved, and a few incidents in the course of their travels circumstantially related, yet is the account of this progress, upon the whole, given professedly with conciseness: for instance, at Iconium it is said that they abode a long time;* yet of this long abode, except concerning the manner in which they were driven away, no memoir is inserted in the

* Chap. xiv. 3.

history. The whole is wrapped up in one short summary, "They spake boldly in the Lord, which gave testimony unto the word of his grace, and granted signs and wonders to be done by their hands." Having completed their progress, the two apostles returned to Antioch, "and there they abode long time with the disciples." Here we have another large portion of time passed over in silence. To this succeeded a journey to Jerusalem, upon a dispute which then much agitated the Christian church, concerning the obligation of the law of Moses. When the object of that journey was completed, Paul proposed to Barnabas to go again and visit their brethren in every city where they had preached the word of the Lord. The execution of this plan carried our apostle through Syria, Cilicia, and many provinces of the Lesser Asia; yet is the account of the whole journey dispatched in four verses of the sixteenth chapter.

If the Acts of the Apostles had undertaken to exhibit regular annals of St Paul's ministry, or even any continued account of his life, from his conversion at Damascus to his imprisonment at Rome, I should have thought the omission of the circumstances referred to in our epistle, a matter of reasonable objection. But when it appears from the history itself, that large portions of St Paul's life were either passed over in silence, or only slightly touched upon, and that nothing more than certain detached incidents and discourses is related; when we observe also, that the author of the history did not join our apostle's society till a few years before the writing of the epistle, at least that there is no proof in the history that he did so; in comparing the history with the epistle, we shall not be surprised by the discovery of omissions; we shall ascribe it to truth that there is no contradiction.

NO. X.

Chap. iii. 1. "Do we begin again to commend ourselves? or need we, as some others, epistles of commendation to you?"

"As some others." Turn to Acts xviii. 27. and you will find that, a short time before the writing of this epistle, Apollos had gone to Corinth with letters of commendation from the Ephesian Christians: "and when Apollos was disposed to pass into Achaia, the brethren wrote, exhorting the disciples to receive him." Here the words of the epistle bear the appearance of alluding to some specific instance, and the history supplies that instance; it supplies at least an instance as apposite as possible to the terms which the apostle uses, and to the date and direction of the epistle in which they are found. The letter which Apollos carried from Ephesus, was precisely the letter of commendation which St Paul meant; and it was to Achaia, of which Corinth was the capital, and indeed to Corinth itself (Acts, chap. xix. 1.) that Apollos carried it; and it was about two years before the writing of this epistle. If St Paul's words be rather thought to refer to some general usage which then obtained among Christian churches, the case of Apollos exemplifies that usage; and affords that species of confirmation to the epistle, which arises from seeing the manners of the age, in which it purports to be written, faithfully preserved.

NO. XI.

Chap. xiii. 1. "This is the third time I am coming to you:" *τρίτον τῦτο ἔρχομαι.*

Do not these words import that the writer had been at Corinth twice before? Yet, if they import this, they overset every congruity we have been endeavouring to establish. The Acts of the Apostles record only two journeys of St Paul to Corinth. We have all along supposed, what every mark of time except this expression indicates, that the epistle was written between the first and second of these journeys. If St Paul had been already twice at Corinth, this supposition must be given up; and every argument or observation which depends upon it falls to the ground. Again, the Acts of the Apostles not only record no more than two journeys of St Paul to Corinth, but do not allow us to suppose that more than two such journeys could be made or intended by him within the period which the history comprises; for from his first journey into Greece to his first imprisonment at Rome, with which the history concludes, the apostle's time is accounted for. If therefore the epistle was written after the second journey to Corinth, and upon the view and expectation of a third, it must have been written after his first imprisonment at Rome; *i. e.* after the time to which the history extends. When I first read over this epistle with the particular view of comparing it with the history, which I chose to do without consulting any commentary whatever, I own that I felt myself confounded by this text. It appeared to contradict the opinion, which I had been led by a great variety of circumstances to form, concerning the date and occasion of the epistle. At length however it occurred to my thoughts to inquire, whether the passage did necessarily imply that St Paul had been at Corinth twice; or whether, when he says, "this is the third time I am coming to you," he might mean only that this was

the third time that he was ready, that he was prepared, that he intended to set out upon his journey to Corinth. I recollected that he had once before this purposed to visit Corinth, and had been disappointed in this purpose; which disappointment forms the subject of much apology and protestation, in the first and second chapters of the epistle. Now, if the journey in which he had been disappointed was reckoned by him one of the times in which "he was coming to them," then the present would be the third time, *i. e.* of his being ready and prepared to come; although he had been actually at Corinth only *once* before. This conjecture being taken up, a farther examination of the passage and the epistle produced proofs, which placed it beyond doubt. "This is the third time I am coming to you:" in the verse following these words he adds, "I told you before, and foretell you, as if I were present *the second time*; and being absent, now I write to them which heretofore have sinned, and to all other, that, if I come again, I will not spare." In this verse, the apostle is declaring beforehand what he would do in his intended visit: his expression therefore, "as if I were present the second time," relates to that visit. But if his future visit would only make him present among them a second time, it follows that he had been already there but once.—Again, in the fifteenth verse of the first chapter, he tells them, "In this confidence, I was minded to come unto you before, that ye might have a *second* benefit:" Why a second, and not a third benefit? why διωτρῆσαν, and not τρίτην χάριν, if the τρίτον ερχομαι in the fifteenth chapter meant a *third* visit? for, though the visit in the first chapter be that visit in which he was disappointed, yet, as it is evident from the epistle that he had never been at Corinth

from the time of the disappointment to the time of writing the epistle, it follows, that if it was only a second visit in which he was disappointed then, it could only be a second visit which he proposed now. But the text which I think is decisive of the question, if any question remain upon the subject, is the fourteenth verse of the twelfth chapter: "Behold the third time I am ready to come to you:" Ἰδὲ τρίτον ἑτοιμῶς ἔχω εἰσελθεῖν. It is very clear that the *τρίτον ἑτοιμῶς ἔχω εἰσελθεῖν* of the twelfth chapter, and the *τρίτον ταῦτο ἐρχομαι* of the thirteenth chapter, are equivalent expressions, were intended to convey the same meaning, and to relate to the same journey. The comparison of these phrases gives us St Paul's own explanation of his own words; and it is that very explanation which we are contending for, viz. that *τρίτον ταῦτο ἐρχομαι* does not mean that he was coming a third time, but that this was the third time he was in readiness to come, *τρίτον ἑτοιμῶς ἔχων*. I do not apprehend, that after this it can be necessary to call to our aid the reading of the Alexandrian manuscript, which gives *ἑτοιμῶς ἔχω εἰσελθεῖν* in the thirteenth chapter as well as in the twelfth; or of the Syriac and Coptic versions, which follow that reading; because I allow that this reading, besides not being sufficiently supported by ancient copies, is probably paraphrastic, and has been inserted for the purpose of expressing more unequivocally the sense, which the shorter expression *τρίτον ταῦτο ἐρχομαι* was supposed to carry. Upon the whole, the matter is sufficiently certain; nor do I propose it as a new interpretation of the text which contains the difficulty, for the same was given by Grotius long ago: but I thought it the clearest way of explaining the subject, to describe the manner in which the difficulty, the solution, and the proofs of that solution, successively presented themselves

to my inquiries. Now, in historical researches, a reconciled inconsistency becomes a positive argument. First, because an impostor generally guards against the appearance of inconsistency: and secondly, because, when apparent inconsistencies are found, it is seldom that any thing but truth renders them capable of reconciliation. The existence of the difficulty proves the want or absence of that caution, which usually accompanies the consciousness of fraud; and the solution proves, that it is not the collusion of fortuitous propositions which we have to deal with, but that a thread of truth winds through the whole, which preserves every circumstance in its place.

No. XII.

Chap. x. 14—16. “We are come as far as to you also, in preaching the gospel of Christ; not boasting of things without our measure, that is, of other men’s labours; but having hope, when your faith is increased, that we shall be enlarged by you, according to our rule, abundantly to preach the gospel in the regions beyond you.”

This quotation affords an indirect, and therefore unsuspecting, but at the same time a distinct and indubitable recognition of the truth and exactness of the history. I consider it to be implied by the words of the quotation, that Corinth was the extremity of St Paul’s travels *hitherto*. He expresses to the Corinthians his hope, that in some future visit he might “preach the Gospel to the regions beyond them;” which imports that he had not hitherto proceeded “beyond them,” but that Corinth was as yet the farthest point or boundary of his travels.—Now, how is St Paul’s first journey into Europe, which was the only one he had taken

before the writing of the epistle, traced out in the history? Sailing from Asia, he landed at Philippi; from Philippi, traversing the eastern coast of the peninsula, he passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia to Thessalonica; from thence through Berea to Athens, and from Athens to Corinth, *where he stopped*; and from whence, after a residence of a year and a half, he sailed back into Syria. So that Corinth was the last place which he visited in the peninsula; was the place from which he returned into Asia; and was, as such, the boundary and limit of his progress. He could not have said the same thing, viz. "I hope hereafter to visit the regions beyond you," in an epistle to the Philippians, or in an epistle to the Thessalonians, inasmuch as he must be deemed to have already visited the regions beyond *them*, having proceeded from those cities to other parts of Greece. But from Corinth he returned home; every part therefore beyond that city, might properly be said, as it is said in the passage before us, to be unvisited. Yet is this propriety the spontaneous effect of truth, and produced without meditation or design.

CHAPTER V.

THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

NO. I.

THE argument of this epistle in some measure proves its antiquity. It will hardly be doubted, but that it was written whilst the dispute concerning the circumcision of Gentile converts was fresh in men's minds; for, even supposing it to have been a forgery, the only credible motive that

can be assigned for the forgery, was to bring the name and authority of the apostle into this controversy. No design could be so insipid, or so unlikely to enter into the thoughts of any man, as to produce an epistle written earnestly and pointedly upon one side of a controversy, when the controversy itself was dead, and the question no longer interesting to any description of readers whatever. Now the controversy concerning the circumcision of the Gentile Christians was of such a nature, that, if it arose at all, it must have arisen in the beginning of Christianity. As Judea was the scene of the Christian history; as the Author and preachers of Christianity were Jews; as the religion itself acknowledged and was founded upon the Jewish religion, in contradistinction to every other religion then professed amongst mankind; it was not to be wondered at, that some of its teachers should carry it out in the world rather as a sect and modification of Judaism, than as a separate original revelation; or that they should invite their proselytes to those observances in which they lived themselves. This was likely to happen: but if it did not happen *at first*; if, whilst the religion was in the hands of Jewish teachers, no such claim was advanced, no such condition was attempted to be imposed, it is not probable that the doctrine would be started, much less that it should prevail, in any future period. I likewise think, that those pretensions of Judaism were much more likely to be insisted upon, whilst the Jews continued a nation, than after their fall and dispersion; whilst Jerusalem and the temple stood, than after the destruction brought upon them by the Roman arms, the fatal cessation of the sacrifice and the priesthood, the humiliating loss of their country, and, with it, of the great rites and symbols of

their institution. It should seem therefore, from the nature of the subject, and the situation of the parties, that this controversy was carried on in the interval between the preaching of Christianity to the Gentiles, and the invasion of Titus; and that our present epistle, which was undoubtedly intended to bear a part in this controversy, must be referred to the same period.

But, again, the epistle supposes that certain designing adherents of the Jewish law had crept into the churches of Galatia; and had been endeavouring, and but too successfully, to persuade the Galatic converts, that they had been taught the new religion imperfectly and at second hand; that the founder of their church himself possessed only an inferior and deputed commission, the seat of truth and authority being in the apostles and elders of Jerusalem; moreover, that whatever he might profess amongst them, he had himself at other times, and in other places, given way to the doctrine of circumcision. The epistle is unintelligible without supposing all this. Referring therefore to this, as to what had actually passed, we find St Paul treating so unjust an attempt to undermine his credit, and to introduce amongst his converts a doctrine which he had uniformly reprobated, in terms of great asperity and indignation. And in order to refute the suspicions which had been raised concerning the fidelity of his teaching, as well as to assert the independency and divine original of his mission, we find him appealing to the history of his conversion, to his conduct under it, to the manner in which he had conferred with the apostles when he met with them at Jerusalem: alleging, that so far was his doctrine from being derived from them, or they from exercising any superiority over him, that they had simply assented to what he had

already preached amongst the Gentiles, and which preaching was communicated not by them to him, but by himself to them; that he had maintained the liberty of the Gentile church, by opposing, upon one occasion, an apostle to the face, when the timidity of his behaviour seemed to endanger it; that from the first, that all along, that to that hour, he had constantly resisted the claims of Judaism; and that the persecutions which he daily underwent, at the hands or by the instigation of the Jews, and of which he bore in his person the marks and scars, might have been avoided by him, if he had consented to employ his labours in bringing, through the medium of Christianity, converts over to the Jewish institution, for then "would the offence of the cross have ceased." Now an impostor who had forged the epistle for the purpose of producing St Paul's authority in the dispute, which, as hath been observed, is the only credible motive that can be assigned for the forgery, might have made the apostle deliver his opinion upon the subject in strong and decisive terms, or might have put his name to a train of reasoning and argumentation upon that side of the question which the imposture was intended to recommend. I can allow the possibility of such a scheme as that. But for a writer, with this purpose in view, to feign a series of transactions supposed to have passed amongst the Christians of Galatia, and then to counterfeit expressions of anger and resentment excited by these transactions; to make the apostle travel back into his own history, and into a recital of various passages of his life, some indeed directly, but others obliquely, and others even obscurely bearing upon the point in question; in a word, to substitute narrative for argument, expostulation and complaint for dogmatic positions and controversial reasoning,

in a writing properly controversial, and of which the aim and design was to support one side of a much agitated question—is a method so intricate, and so unlike the methods pursued by all other impostors, as to require very flagrant proofs of imposition to induce us to believe it to be one.

NO. II.

In this number I shall endeavour to prove,

1. That the Epistle to the Galatians, and the Acts of the Apostles, were written without any communication with each other.

2. That the Epistle, though written without any communication with the history, by recital, implication, or reference, bears testimony to many of the facts contained in it.

First, The Epistle, and the Acts of the Apostles, were written without any communication with each other.

To judge of this point, we must examine those passages in each, which describe the same transaction; for, if the author of either writing derived his information from the account which he had seen in the other, when he came to speak of the same transaction, he would follow that account. The history of St Paul, at Damascus, as read in the Acts, and as referred to by the Epistle, forms an instance of this sort. According to the Acts, Paul (after his conversion) was certain days with the “disciples which were at Damascus. And straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God. But all that heard him were amazed, and said, Is not this he which destroyed them which called on this name in Jerusalem, and came hither for that intent, that he might bring them bound unto the chief priests?

But Saul increased the more in strength, confounding the Jews which were at Damascus, proving that this is very Christ. And after that many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him. But their laying wait was known of Saul; and they watched the gates day and night to kill him. Then the disciples took him by night, and let him down by the wall in a basket. And when Saul was come to Jerusalem, he assayed to join himself to the disciples." Acts, chap. ix. 19—26.

According to the Epistle, "When it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace, to reveal his own Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen, immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me; but I went into Arabia, and returned again to Damascus: then, after three years, I went up to Jerusalem."

Beside the difference observable in the terms and general complexion of these two accounts, "the journey into Arabia," mentioned in the epistle, and omitted in the history, affords full proof that there existed no correspondence between these writers. If the narrative in the Acts had been made up from the Epistle, it is impossible that this journey should have been passed over in silence; if the Epistle had been composed out of what the author had read of St Paul's history in the Acts, it is unaccountable that it should have been inserted.*

* N. B. The Acts of the Apostles simply inform us that St Paul left Damascus in order to go to Jerusalem, "after many days were fulfilled." If any one doubt whether the words "many days" could be intended to express a period which included a term of three years, he will find a complete instance of the same phrase used with the same latitude in the first book of Kings, chap. 2, 38, 39. "And Shimei dwelt at Jerusalem *many days*: and it came to pass at the end of *three years*, that two of the servants of Shimei ran away."

The journey to Jerusalem related in the second chapter of the Epistle ("then, fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem") supplies another example of the same kind. Either this was the journey described in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, when Paul and Barnabas were sent from Antioch to Jerusalem, to consult the apostles and elders upon the question of the Gentile converts; or it was some journey of which the history does not take notice. If the first opinion be followed, the discrepancy in the two accounts is so considerable, that it is not without difficulty they can be adapted to the same transaction: so that, upon this supposition, there is no place for suspecting that the writers were guided or assisted by each other. If the latter opinion be preferred, we have then a journey to Jerusalem, and a conference with the principal members of the church there, circumstantially related in the Epistle, and entirely omitted in the Acts; and we are at liberty to repeat the observation, which we before made, that the omission of so material a fact in the history is inexplicable, if the historian had read the Epistle; and that the insertion of it in the Epistle, if the writer derived his information from the history, is not less so.

St Peter's visit to Antioch, during which the dispute arose between him and St Paul, is not mentioned in the Acts.

If we connect with these instances, the general observation, that no scrutiny can discover the smallest trace of transcription or imitation either in things or words, we shall be fully satisfied in this part of our case; namely, that the two records, be the facts contained in them true or false, come to our hands from independent sources.

Secondly, I say that the epistle, thus proved to have been written without any communication with the history, bears testimony to a great variety of particulars contained in the history.

1. St Paul in the early part of his life had addicted himself to the study of the Jewish religion, and was distinguished by his zeal for the institution, and for the traditions which had been incorporated with it. Upon this part of his character the history makes St Paul speak thus: "I am verily a man which am a Jew, born in Tarsus, a city of Cilicia, yet brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel, and taught according to the perfect manner of the law of the fathers; and was zealous towards God, as ye all are this day." Acts chap. xxii. 3.

The epistle is as follows: "I profited in the Jews' religion above many my equals in mine own nation, being more exceedingly zealous of the traditions of my fathers." Chap. i. 14.

2. St Paul, before his conversion, had been a fierce persecutor of the new sect. "As for Saul he made havock of the church; entering into every house, and, haling men and women, committing them to prison." Acts, chap. viii. 3.

This is the history of St Paul, as delivered in the Acts: in the recital of his own history in the epistle, "Ye have heard," says he, "of my conversation in times past in the Jews' religion, how that beyond measure I persecuted the church of God." Chap. i. 13.

3. St Paul was miraculously converted on his way to Damascus. "And as he journeyed he came near to Damascus: and suddenly there shine round about him a light from heaven; and he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And he said

Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said, I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest; it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. And he, trembling and astonished, said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" Acts, chap. ix. 3—6. With these compare the epistle, chap. i. 15—17.: "When it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen; immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood, neither went I up to Jerusalem, to them that were apostles before me; but I went into Arabia, and returned again unto Damascus."

In this quotation from the epistle, I desire it to be remarked how incidentally it appears that the affair passed at *Damascus*. In what may be called the direct part of the account, no mention is made of the place of his conversion at all: a casual expression at the end, and an expression brought in for a different purpose, alone fixes it to have been at Damascus; "I returned again to Damascus." Nothing can be more like simplicity and undesignedness than this is. It also draws the agreement between the two quotations somewhat closer, to observe, that they both state St Paul to have preached the gospel immediately upon his call: "And straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God." Acts, chap. ix. 20. "When it pleased God to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen, immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood." Gal. chap. i. 15.

4. The course of the apostle's travels after his conversion was this: He went from Damascus to Jerusalem, and from Jerusalem into Syria and Cilicia. "At Damascus the disciples took him by night, and let him down by the wall in a bas-

ket; and when Saul was come to Jerusalem, he assayed to join himself to the disciples." Acts, chap. ix. 25. Afterwards, "when the brethren knew the conspiracy formed against him at Jerusalem, they brought him down to Cæsarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus, a city in Cilicia." Chap. ix. 30. In the epistle, St Paul gives the following brief account of his proceedings within the same period: "After three years I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days; afterwards I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia." The history had told us that Paul passed from Cæsarea to Tarsus: if he took this journey by land, it would carry him through Syria into Cilicia; and he would come, after his visit at Jerusalem, "into the regions of Syria and Cilicia," in the very order in which he mentions them in the epistle. This supposition of his going from Cæsarea to Tarsus, *by land*, clears up also another point. It accounts for what St Paul says in the same place concerning the churches of Judea: "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 persecuted us in times past, now preacheth the faith, which once he destroyed; and they glorified God in me." Upon which passage I observe, first, that what is here said of the churches of Judea, is spoken in connexion with his journey into the regions of Syria and Cilicia. Secondly, that the passage itself has little significancy, and that the *connexion* is inexplicable, unless St Paul went through Judea*

* Dr Doddridge thought that the Cæsarea here mentioned was not the celebrated city of that name upon the Mediterranean Sea, but Cæsarea Philippi, near the borders of Syria, which lies in a much more direct line from Jerusalem to Tarsus than the other. The objection to this, Dr Benson

(though probably by a hasty journey) at the time that he came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia. Suppose him to have passed by land from Cæsarea to Tarsus, all this, as hath been observed, would be precisely true.

5. Barnabas was with St Paul at Antioch. "Then departed Barnabas to Tarsus, for to seek Saul; and when he had found him, he brought him unto Antioch. And it came to pass that a whole year they assembled themselves with the church." Acts, chap. xi. 25, 26. Again, and upon another occasion, "they (Paul and Barnabas) sailed to Antioch: and there they continued a long time with the disciples." Chap. xiv. 26.

Now what says the epistle? "When Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed: and the other Jews dissembled likewise with him; insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation." Chap. ii. 11, 13.

6. The stated residence of the apostles was at Jerusalem. "At that time there was a great persecution against the church which was at Jerusalem; and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles." Acts, chap. viii. 1. "They (the Christians at Antioch) determined that Paul and Barnabas should go up to Jerusalem, unto the apostles and elders, about this question." Acts, chap. xv. 2.—With these accounts agrees the declaration in the epistle: "Neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me," chap. i. 17.: for this declaration implies, or rather assumes it to be known, that Jerusalem was the place where the apostles were to be met with.

remarks, is, that Cæsarea, without any addition, usually denotes Cæsarea Palestinæ.

7. There were at Jerusalem two apostles, or at the least two eminent members of the church, of the name of James. This is directly inferred from the Acts of the Apostles, which in the second verse of the twelfth chapter relates the death of James, the brother of John; and yet in the fifteenth chapter, and in a subsequent part of the history, records a speech delivered by James in the assembly of the apostles and elders. It is also strongly implied by the form of expression used in the epistle: "Other apostles saw I none, save James, the *Lord's brother*;" *i. e.* to distinguish him from James the brother of John.

To us who have been long conversant in the Christian history, as contained in the Acts of the Apostles, these points are obvious and familiar; nor do we readily apprehend any greater difficulty in making them appear in a letter purporting to have been written by St Paul, than there is in introducing them into a modern sermon. But, to judge correctly of the argument before us, we must discharge this knowledge from our thoughts. We must propose to ourselves the situation of an author who sat down to the writing of the epistle without having seen the history; and then the concurrences we have deduced will be deemed of importance. They will at least be taken for separate confirmations of the several facts, and not only of these particular facts, but of the general truth of the history.

For, what is the rule with respect to corroborative testimony which prevails in courts of justice, and which prevails only because experience has proved that it is a useful guide to truth? A principal witness in a cause delivers his account: his narrative, in certain parts of it, is confirmed by witnesses who are called afterwards. The credit

derived from their testimony belongs not only to the particular circumstances in which the auxiliary witnesses agree with the principal witness, but in some measure to the whole of his evidence; because it is improbable that accident or fiction should draw a line which touched upon truth in so many points.

In like manner, if two records be produced, manifestly independent, that is, manifestly written without any participation of intelligence, an agreement between them, even in few and slight circumstances, (especially if, from the different nature and design of the writings, few points only of agreement, and those incidental, could be expected to occur), would add a sensible weight to the authority of both, in every part of their contents.

The same rule is applicable to history, with at least as much reason as any other species of evidence.

NO. III.

But although the references to various particulars in the epistle, compared with the direct account of the same particulars in the history, afford a considerable proof of the truth not only of these particulars but of the narrative which contains them; yet they do not show, it will be said, that the epistle was written by St Paul: for admitting (what seems to have been proved) that the writer, whoever he was, had no recourse to the Acts of the Apostles, yet many of the facts referred to, such as St Paul's miraculous conversion, his change from a virulent persecutor to an indefatigable preacher, his labours amongst the Gentiles, and his zeal for the liberties of the Gentile church, were so notorious as to occur readily to the mind of any Chris-

tian, who should choose to personate his character, and counterfeit his name; it was only to write what every body knew. Now I think that this supposition—viz. that the epistle was composed upon general information, and the general publicity of the facts alluded to, and that the author did no more than weave into his work what the common fame of the Christian church had reported to his ears—is repelled by the particularity of the recitals and references. This particularity is observable in the following instances; in perusing which, I desire the reader to reflect, whether they exhibit the language of a man who had nothing but general reputation to proceed upon, or of a man actually speaking of himself and of his own history, and consequently of things concerning which he possessed a clear, intimate, and circumstantial knowledge.

1. The history, in giving an account of St Paul after his conversion, relates, “that, after many days,” effecting, by the assistance of the disciples, his escape from Damascus, “he proceeded to Jerusalem.” Acts, chap. ix. 25. The epistle, speaking of the same period, makes St Paul say, that “he went into Arabia,” that he returned again to Damascus, that after three years he went up to Jerusalem. Chap. i. 17, 18.

2. The history relates, that, when Saul was come from Damascus, “he was with the disciples coming in and going out.” Acts, chap. ix. 28. The epistle, describing the same journey, tells us “that he went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days.” Chap. i. 18.

3. The history relates, that when Paul was come to Jerusalem, “Barnabas took him and brought him to the apostles.” Acts, chap. ix. 27. The epistle, “that he saw Peter; but other of the

apostles saw he none, save James, the Lord's brother." Chap. i. 19.

Now this is as it should be. The historian delivers his account in general terms, as of facts to which he was not present. The person who is the subject of that account, when he comes to speak of these facts himself, particularizes time, names, and circumstances.

4. The like notation of places, persons, and dates, is met with in the account of St Paul's journey to Jerusalem, given in the second chapter of the epistle. It was fourteen years after his conversion; it was in company with Barnabas and Titus; it was then that he met with James, Cephas, and John; it was then also that it was agreed amongst them, that they should go to the circumcision, and he unto the Gentiles.

5. The dispute with Peter, which occupies the sequel of the second chapter, is marked with the same particularity. It was at Antioch; it was after certain came from James; it was whilst Barnabas was there, who was carried away by their dissimulation. These examples negative the insinuation, that the epistle presents nothing but indefinite allusions to public facts.

NO. IV.

Chap. iv. 11—16. "I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain. 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 the flesh*, ye despised not, nor rejected; but received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus. Where is then the blessedness you

spake of? for I bear you record, that, if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them unto me. Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?"

With this passage compare 2 Cor. chap. xii. 1, —9. : "It is not expedient for me, doubtless, to glory; I will come to visions and revelations of the Lord. 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 a one was caught up to the third heaven; and I knew such a man (whether in the body or out of the body I cannot tell, God knoweth), how that he was caught up into Paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter. Of such a one will I glory, yet of myself will I not glory, but in mine infirmities: for, though I would desire to glory, I shall not be a fool; for I will say the truth. But now I forbear, lest any man should think of me above that which he seeth me to be, or that he heareth of me. And lest I should be exalted above measure, through the abundance of the revelations, there 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."

There can be no doubt but that "the temptation which was in the flesh," mentioned in the Epistle to the Galatians, and "the thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet him," men-

tioned in the Epistle to the Corinthians, were intended to denote the same thing. Either therefore it was, what we pretend it to have been, the same person in both, alluding, as the occasion led him, to some bodily infirmity under which he laboured; that is, we are reading the real letters of a real apostle; or it was that a sophist, who had seen the circumstance in one epistle, contrived, for the sake of correspondency, to bring it into another; or, lastly, it was a circumstance in St Paul's personal condition, supposed to be well known to those into whose hands the epistle was likely to fall; and, for that reason, introduced into a writing designed to bear his name. I have extracted the quotations at length, in order to enable the reader to judge accurately of the manner in which the mention of this particular comes in, in each; because that judgment, I think, will acquit the author of the epistle of the charge of having studiously inserted it, either with a view of producing an apparent agreement between them, or for any other purpose whatever.

The context by which the circumstance before us is introduced, is in the two places totally different, and without any mark of imitation: yet in both places does the circumstance rise aptly and naturally out of the context, and that context from the train of thought carried on in the epistle.

The Epistle to the Galatians, from the beginning to the end, runs in a strain of angry complaint of their defection from the apostle, and from the principles which he had taught them. It was very natural to contrast with this conduct, the zeal with which they had once received him; and it was not less so to mention, as a proof of their former disposition towards him, the indulgence which, whilst he was amongst them, they had shown to his infir-

mity: "My temptation which was in the flesh ye despised not, nor rejected, but received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus. Where is then the blessedness you spake of," *i.e.* the benedictions which you bestowed upon me? "for I bear you record, that, if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me."

In the two epistles to the Corinthians, especially in the second, we have the apostle contending with certain teachers in Corinth, who had formed a party in that church against him. To vindicate his personal authority, as well as the dignity and credit of his ministry amongst them, he takes occasion (but not without apologizing repeatedly for the folly, that is, for the indecorum of pronouncing his own panegyric)* to meet his adversaries in their boastings: "Whereinsoever 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 the 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." Being led to the subject, he goes on, as was natural, to recount his trials and dangers, his incessant cares and labours in the Christian mission. From the proofs which he had given of his zeal and activity in the service of Christ, he passes (and that with the same view of establishing his claim to be considered as "not a whit behind the

* "Would to God you would bear with me a little in my folly, and indeed bear with me!" Chap. xi. 1.

"That which I speak, I speak it not after the Lord, but as it were foolishly, in this confidence of boasting." Chap. xi. 17.

"I am become a fool in glorying, ye have compelled me." Chap. xii. 11.

very chiefest of the apostles") to the visions and revelations which from time to time had been vouchsafed to him. And then, by a close and easy connexion, comes in the mention of his infirmity: "Lest I should be exalted," says he, "above measure, through the abundance of revelations, there was given to me a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me."

Thus then, in both epistles, the notice of his infirmity is suited to the place in which it is found. In the Epistle to the Corinthians, the train of thought draws up to the circumstance by a regular approximation. In this epistle, it is suggested by the subject and occasion of the epistle itself. Which observation we offer as an argument to prove that it is not, in either epistle, a circumstance industriously brought forward for the sake of procuring credit to an imposture.

A reader will be taught to perceive the force of this argument, who shall attempt to introduce a *given* circumstance into the body of a writing. To do this without abruptness, or without betraying marks of design in the transition, requires, he will find, more art than he expected to be necessary, certainly more than any one can believe to have been exercised in the composition of these epistles.

NO. V.

Chap. iv. 29. "But as then he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the spirit, even so it is now."

Chap. v. 11. "And I, brethren, if I yet preach circumcision, why do I yet suffer persecution? Then is the offence of the cross ceased."

Chap. vi. 17. "From henceforth, let no man trouble me, for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus."

From these several texts it is apparent, that the persecutions which our apostle had undergone, were from the hands or by the instigation of the Jews; that it was not for preaching Christianity in opposition to heathenism, but it was for preaching it as distinct from Judaism, that he had brought upon himself the sufferings which had attended his ministry. And this representation perfectly coincides with that which results from the detail of St Paul's history, as delivered in the Acts. At Antioch, in Pisidia, the word of the Lord was published throughout all the region; but the *Jews stirred up* the devout and honourable women and the chief men of the city, and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts.—(Acts, chap. xiii. 50.) Not long after, at Iconium, "a great multitude of the Jews and also of the Greeks believed, but the *unbelieving Jews* stirred up the Gentiles, and made their minds evil affected against the brethren. (Chap. xiv. 1, 2.) "At Lystra there came certain Jews from Antioch and Iconium, who persuaded the people; and, having stoned Paul, drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead." (Chap. xiv. 19.) The same enmity, and from the same quarter, our apostle experienced in Greece: "At Thessalonica, some of them (the Jews) believed, and consorted with Paul and Silas: and of the devout Greeks a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few: but *the Jews which believed not*, moved with envy, took unto them certain lewd fellows of the baser sort, and gathered a company, and set all the city in an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason, and sought to bring them out to the people." (Acts, chap. xvii. 4, 5.) Their perse-

cutors follow them to Berea : " When the *Jews* of Thessalonica had knowledge that the word of God was preached of Paul at Berea, they came thither also, and stirred up the people." (Chap. xvii. 13.) And lastly at Corinth, when Gallio was deputy of Achaia, "*the Jews* made insurrection with one accord against Paul, and brought him to the judgment-seat." I think it does not appear that our apostle was ever set upon by the Gentiles, unless they were first stirred up by the Jews, except in two instances ; in both which the persons who began the assault were immediately interested in his expulsion from the place. Once this happened at Philippi, after the cure of the Pythoness : " When the masters saw the hope of their gains was gone, they caught Paul and Silas, and drew them into the market-place unto the rulers." (Chap. xvi. 19.) And a second time at Ephesus, at the instance of Demetrius, a silversmith which made silver shrines for Diana, " who called together workmen of like occupation, and said, Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth ; moreover ye see and hear that not only at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded away much people, saying, that they be no Gods which are made with hands ; so that not only this our craft is in danger to be set at nought, but also that the temple of the great goddess Diana should be despised, and her magnificence should be destroyed, whom all Asia and the world worshippeth."

NO. VI.

I observe an agreement in a somewhat peculiar rule of Christian conduct, as laid down in this epistle, and as exemplified in the Second Epistle

to the Corinthians. It is not the repetition of the same general precept, which would have been a coincidence of little value; but it is the general precept in one place, and the application of that precept to an actual occurrence in the other. In the sixth chapter and first verse of this epistle, our apostle gives the following direction: "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye, which are spiritual, restore such a one in the spirit of meekness." In 2 Cor. chap. ii. 6—8. he writes thus: "Sufficient to such a man" (the incestuous person mentioned in the First Epistle) "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 over-much sorrow: wherefore I beseech you that ye would confirm your love towards him." I have little doubt but that it was the same mind which dictated these two passages.

NO. VII.

Our epistle goes farther than any of St Paul's epistles; for it avows in direct terms the supersession of the Jewish law, as an instrument of salvation, even to the Jews themselves. Not only were the Gentiles exempt from its authority, but even the Jews were no longer either to place any dependency upon it, or consider themselves as subject to it on a religious account. "Before faith came, we were kept under the law, shut up unto the faith which should afterwards be revealed; wherefore the law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith; but, after that faith is come, *we are no longer under a schoolmaster.*" (Ch. iii. 23—25.) This was undoubtedly spoken of Jews, and to Jews. In like

manner, chap. iv. 1—5. “Now I say that the heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant, though he be lord of all; but is under tutors and governors until the time appointed of the father: even so we, when we were children, were in bondage under the elements of the world; but when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to *redeem them that were under the law*, that we might receive the adoption of sons.” These passages are nothing short of a declaration, that the obligation of the Jewish law, considered as a religious dispensation, the effects of which were to take place in another life, had ceased, with respect even to the Jews themselves. What then should be the conduct of a Jew (for such St Paul was) who preached this doctrine? To be consistent with himself, either he would no longer comply, in his own person, with the directions of the law; or, if he did comply, it would be for some other reason than any confidence which he placed in its efficacy as a religious institution. Now so it happens, that whenever St Paul’s compliance with the Jewish law is mentioned in the history, it is mentioned in connexion with circumstances which point out the motive from which it proceeded; and this motive appears to have been always exoteric, namely, a love of order and tranquillity, or an unwillingness to give unnecessary offence. Thus, Acts, chap. xvi. 3. “Him (Timothy) would Paul have to go forth with him, and took and circumcised him, *because of the Jews which were in those quarters.*” Again, Acts, chap. xxi. 26. when Paul consented to exhibit an example of public compliance with a Jewish rite by purifying himself in the temple, it is plainly intimated that he did this to satisfy “many thousands of Jews who believed, and who were all

zealous of the law." So far the instances related in one book, correspond with the doctrine delivered in another.

NO. VIII.

Chap. i. 18. "Then, after three years, I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days."

The shortness of St Paul's stay at Jerusalem is what I desire the reader to remark. The direct account of the same journey in the Acts, chap. ix. 28. determines nothing concerning the time of his continuance there: "And he was with them (the apostles) coming in, and going out, at Jerusalem; and he spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed against the Grecians: but they went about to slay him; which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Cæsarea." Or rather this account, taken by itself, would lead a reader to suppose that St Paul's abode at Jerusalem had been longer than fifteen days. But turn to the twenty-second chapter of the Acts, and you will find a reference to this visit to Jerusalem, which plainly indicates that Paul's continuance in that city had been of short duration: "And it came to pass, that when I was come again to Jerusalem, even while I prayed in the temple, I was in a trance, and saw him saying unto me, Make haste, get thee quickly out of Jerusalem, for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me." Here we have the general terms of one text so explained by a distant text in the same book, as to bring an indeterminate expression into a close conformity with a specification delivered in another book: a species of consistency not, I think, usually found in fabulous relations.

NO. IX.

Chap. vi. 11. "Ye see how large a letter I have written unto you with mine own hand."

These words imply that he did not always write with his own hand; which is consonant to what we find intimated in some other of the epistles. The Epistle to the Romans was written by Tertius: "I, Tertius, who wrote this epistle, salute you in the Lord." (Chap. xvi. 22.) The First Epistle to the Corinthians, the Epistle to the Colossians, and the Second to the Thessalonians, have all, near the conclusion, this clause, "The salutation of me, Paul, with mine own hand;" which must be understood, and is universally understood to import, that the rest of the epistle was written by another hand. I do not think it improbable that an impostor, who had remarked this subscription in some other epistle, should invent the same in a forgery; but that is not done here. The author of this epistle does not imitate the manner of giving St Paul's signature; he only bids the Galatians observe how large a letter he had written to them with his own hand. He does not say this was different from his ordinary usage; that is left to implication. Now to suppose that this was an artifice to procure credit to an imposture, is to suppose that the author of the forgery, because he knew that others of St Paul's were *not* written by himself, therefore made the apostle say that this was: which seems an odd turn to give to the circumstance, and to be given for a purpose which would more naturally and more directly have been answered, by subjoining the salutation or signature in the form in which it is found in other epistles.*

* The words *πηλικοις γραμμασι* may probably be meant to describe the character in which he wrote, and not

NO. X.

An exact conformity appears in the manner in which a certain apostle or eminent Christian, whose name was James, is spoken of in the epistle and in the history. Both writings refer to a situation of his at Jerusalem, somewhat different from that of the other apostles; a kind of eminence or presidency in the church there, or at least a more fixed and stationary residence. Chap. ii. 12. "When Peter was at Antioch, before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles." This text plainly attributes a kind of pre-eminency to James; and, as we hear of him twice in the same epistle dwelling at Jerusalem, chap. i. 19. and ii. 9. we must apply it to the situation which he held in that church. In the Acts of the Apostles divers intimations occur, conveying the same idea of James's situation. When Peter was miraculously delivered from prison, and had surprised his friends by his appearance among them, after declaring unto them how the Lord had brought him out of prison, "Go show," says he, "these things unto James, and to the brethren." (Acts, chap. xii. 17.) Here James is manifestly spoken of in terms of distinction. He appears again with like distinction in the twenty-first chapter and the seventeenth and eighteenth verses: "And when we (Paul and his company) were come to Jerusalem, the day following, Paul went in with us unto James, and all the

the length of the letter. But this will not alter the truth of our observation. I think, however, that as St Paul, by the mention of his own hand, designed to express to the Galatians the great concern which he felt for them, the words, whatever they signify, belong to the whole of the epistle; and not, as Grotius, after St Jerome, interprets it, to the few verses which follow.

elders were present." In the debate which took place upon the business of the Gentile converts, in the council at Jerusalem, this same person seems to have taken the lead. It was he who closed the debate, and proposed the resolution in which the council ultimately concurred: "Wherefore my sentence is, that we trouble not them which from among the Gentiles are turned to God."

Upon the whole, that there exists a conformity in the expressions used concerning *James*, throughout the history, and in the epistle, is unquestionable. But admitting this conformity, and admitting also the undesignedness of it, what does it prove? It proves that the circumstance itself is founded in truth; that is, that James was a real person, who held a situation of eminence in a real society of Christians at Jerusalem. It confirms also those parts of the narrative which are connected with this circumstance. Suppose, for instance, the truth of the account of Peter's escape from prison was to be tried upon the testimony of a witness who, among other things, made Peter, after his deliverance, say, "Go show these things to James, and to the brethren;" would it not be material, in such a trial, to make out by other independent proofs, or by a comparison of proofs, drawn from independent sources, that there was actually at that time, living at Jerusalem, such a person as James; that this person held such a situation in the society amongst whom these things were transacted, as to render the words which Peter is said to have used concerning him, proper and natural for him to have used? If this would be pertinent in the discussion of oral testimony, it is still more so in appreciating the credit of remote history.

It must not be dissembled, that the comparison of our epistle with the history presents some diffi-

culties, or, to say the least, some questions of considerable magnitude. It may be doubted, in the first place, to what journey the words which open the second chapter of the epistle, "then, fourteen years afterwards, I went unto Jerusalem," relate. That which best corresponds with the date, and that to which most interpreters apply the passage, is the journey of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, when they went thither from Antioch, upon the business of the Gentile converts; and which journey produced the famous council and decree recorded in the fifteenth chapter of Acts. To me this opinion appears to be encumbered with strong objections. In the epistle Paul tells us that "he went up by revelation." (Chap. ii. 2.)—In the Acts, we read that he was sent by the church of Antioch: "After no small dissension and disputation, they determined that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them, should go up to the apostles and elders about this question." (Acts, chap. xv. 2.) This is not very reconcileable. In the epistle St Paul writes that, when he came to Jerusalem, "he communicated that gospel which he preached among the Gentiles, but privately to them which were of reputation." (Chap. ii. 2.) If by "that gospel" he meant the immunity of the Gentile Christians from the Jewish law, (and I know not what else it can mean), it is not easy to conceive how he should communicate that privately, which was the object of his public message. But a yet greater difficulty remains, viz. that in the account which the epistle gives of what passed upon this visit at Jerusalem, no notice is taken of the deliberation and decree which are recorded in the Acts, and which, according to that history, formed the business for the sake of which the journey was undertaken. The mention of the council

and of its determination, whilst the apostle was relating his proceedings at Jerusalem, could hardly have been avoided, if in truth the narrative belonged to the same journey. To me it appears more probable that Paul and Barnabas had taken some journey to Jerusalem, the mention of which is omitted in the Acts. Prior to the apostolic decree we read that "Paul and Barnabas abode at Antioch a long time with the disciples." (Acts, chap. xiv. 28.) Is it unlikely that, during this long abode, they might go up to Jerusalem and return to Antioch? Or would the omission of such a journey be unsuitable to the general brevity with which these memoirs are written, especially of those parts of St Paul's history which took place before the historian joined his society?

But, again, the first account we find in the Acts of the Apostles of St Paul's visiting Galatia, is in the sixteenth chapter and the sixth verse: "Now when they had gone through Phrygia and the region of Galatia, they assayed to go into Bithynia." The progress here recorded was subsequent to the apostolic decree; therefore that decree must have been extant when our epistle was written. Now, as the professed design of the epistle was to establish the exemption of the Gentile converts from the law of Moses, and as the decree pronounced and confirmed that exemption, it may seem extraordinary that no notice whatever is taken of that determination, nor any appeal made to its authority. Much however of the weight of this objection, which applies also to some other of St Paul's epistles, is removed by the following reflections.

1. It was not St Paul's manner, nor agreeable to it, to resort or defer much to the authority of the other apostles, especially whilst he was insisting, as he does strenuously throughout this epistle

insist, upon his own original inspiration. He who could speak of the very chiefest of the apostles in such terms as the following—"of those who seemed to be somewhat (whatsoever they were it maketh no matter to me, God accepteth no man's person), for they who seemed to be somewhat in conference added nothing to me"—he, I say, was not likely to support himself by their decision.

2. The epistle argues the point upon principle; and it is not perhaps more to be wondered at, that in such an argument St Paul should not cite the apostolic decree, than it would be that, in a discourse designed to prove the moral and religious duty of observing the Sabbath, the writer should not quote the thirteenth canon.

3. The decree did not go the length of the position maintained in the epistle; the decree only declares that the apostles and elders at Jerusalem did not impose the observance of the Mosaic law upon the Gentile converts, as a condition of their being admitted into the Christian church. Our epistle argues that the Mosaic institution itself was at an end, as to all effects upon a future state, even with respect to the Jews themselves.

4. They whose error St Paul combated, were not persons who submitted to the Jewish law, because it was imposed by the authority, or because it was made part of the law of the Christian church; but they were persons who, having already become Christians, afterwards voluntarily took upon themselves the observance of the Mosaic code, under a notion of attaining thereby to a greater perfection. This, I think, is precisely the opinion which St Paul opposes in this epistle. Many of his expressions apply exactly to it: "Are ye so foolish? having begun in the spirit, are ye now made perfect in the flesh?" (Chap. iii. 3.)

“Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law?” (Chap. iv. 21.) “How turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage?” (Chap. iv. 9.) It cannot be thought extraordinary that St Paul should resist this opinion with earnestness; for it both changed the character of the Christian dispensation, and derogated expressly from the completeness of that redemption which Jesus Christ had wrought for them that believed in him. But it was to no purpose to allege to such persons the decision at Jerusalem; for that only showed that they were not bound to these observances by any law of the Christian church: they did not pretend to be so bound: nevertheless they imagined that there was an efficacy in these observances, a merit, a recommendation to favour, and a ground of acceptance with God for those who complied with them. This was a situation of thought to which the tenor of the decree did not apply. Accordingly, St Paul’s address to the Galatians, which is throughout adapted to this situation, runs in a strain widely different from the language of the decree: “Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law,” (chap. v. 4.); *i. e.* whosoever places his dependence upon any merit he may apprehend there to be in legal observances. The decree had said nothing like this; therefore it would have been useless to have produced the decree in an argument of which this was the burden. In like manner as in contending with an anchorite, who should insist upon the superior holiness of a recluse, ascetic life, and the value of such mortifications in the sight of God, it would be to no purpose to prove that the laws of the church did not require these vows, or even to prove that the laws of the

church expressly left every Christian to his liberty. This would avail little towards abating his estimation of their merit, or towards settling the point in controversy.*

* Mr Locke's solution of this difficulty is by no means satisfactory. "St Paul," he says, "did not remind the Galatians of the apostolic decree, because they already had it." In the first place, it does not appear with certainty that they had it; in the second place, if they had it, this was rather a reason, than otherwise, for referring them to it. The passage in the Acts, from which Mr Locke concludes that the Galatic churches were in possession of the decree, is the fourth verse of the sixteenth chapter: "And as they" (Paul and Timothy) "went through the cities, they delivered them the decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem." In my opinion, this delivery of the decree was confined to the churches to which St Paul came, in pursuance of the plan upon which he set out, "of visiting the brethren in every city where he had preached the word of the Lord;" the history of which progress, and of all that pertained to it, is closed in the fifth verse, when the history informs that, "so were the churches established in the faith, and increased in number daily." Then the history proceeds upon a new section of the narrative, by telling us, that "when they had gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia, they assayed to go into Bithynia." The decree itself is directed to "the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia;" that is, to churches already founded, and in which this question had been stirred. And I think the observation of the noble author of the *Miscellanea Sacra* is not only ingenious, but highly probable, viz. that there is, in this place, a dislocation of the text, and that the fourth and fifth verses of the sixteenth chapter ought to follow the last verse of the fifteenth, so as to make the entire passage run thus: "And they went through Syria and Cilicia," (to the Christians of which countries the decree was addressed,) "confirming the churches; and as they went through the cities, they delivered them the decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem; and so were the churches established in the faith, and increased in number daily." And then the sixteenth chapter takes up a new and unbroken paragraph: "Then came he to Derbe and Lystra," &c. When St Paul came, as he did into Galatia, to preach the Gospel, for the first time, in a new place, it is not probable that he would make mention of the decree, or rather letter, of the church of Jerusalem, which presupposed Christianity to be known, and which related to certain doubts that had arisen in some established Christian communities.

Another difficulty arises from the account of Peter's conduct towards the Gentile converts at Antioch, as given in the epistle, in the latter part of the second chapter; which conduct, it is said, is consistent neither with the revelation communicated to him, upon the conversion of Cornelius, nor with the part he took in the debate at Jerusalem. But, in order to understand either the difficulty or the solution, it will be necessary to state and explain the passage itself. "When Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed; for, before 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, insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation: but when I saw they walked not uprightly, 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?" Now the question that produced the dispute to which these words relate, was not whether the Gentiles were capable of being admitted into the Christian covenant; that had been fully settled: nor was it whether it should be accounted essential to the profession of Christianity that they should

The second reason which Mr Locke assigns for the omission of the decree, viz. "that St Paul's sole object in the epistle was to acquit himself of the imputation that had been charged upon him of actually preaching circumcision," does not appear to me to be strictly true. It was not the sole object. The epistle is written in general opposition to the judalizing inclinations which he found to prevail amongst his converts. The avowal of his own doctrine, and of his steadfast adherence to that doctrine, formed a necessary part of the design of his letter, but was not the whole of it.

conform themselves to the law of Moses; that was the question at Jerusalem: but it was, whether, upon the Gentiles becoming Christians, the Jews might henceforth eat and drink with them, as with their own brethren. Upon this point St Peter betrayed some inconstancy; and so he might, agreeably enough to his history. He might consider the vision at Joppa as a direction for the occasion, rather than as universally abolishing the distinction between Jew and Gentile; I do not mean with respect to final acceptance with God, but as to the manner of their living together in society: at least he might not have comprehended this point with such clearness and certainty, as to stand out upon it against the fear of bringing upon himself the censure and complaint of his brethren in the church of Jerusalem, who still adhered to their ancient prejudices. But Peter, it is said, compelled the Gentiles *Ἰσθῆζισιν*—"Why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" How did he do that? The only way in which Peter appears to have compelled the Gentiles to comply with the Jewish institution, was by withdrawing himself from their society. By which he may be understood to have made this declaration; "We do not deny your right to be considered as Christians; we do not deny your title in the promises of the gospel, even without compliance with our law: but if you would have us Jews live with you as we do with one another, that is, if you would in all respects be treated by us as Jews, you must live as such yourselves." This, I think, was the compulsion which St Peter's conduct imposed upon the Gentiles, and for which St Paul reproved him.

As to the part which the historian ascribes to St Peter in the debate at Jerusalem, beside that it

was a different question which was there agitated from that which produced the dispute at Antioch, there is nothing to hinder us from supposing that the dispute at Antioch was prior to the consultation at Jerusalem; or that Peter, in consequence of this rebuke, might have afterwards maintained firmer sentiments.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

NO. I.

THIS Epistle, and the Epistle to the Colossians, appear to have been transmitted to their respective churches by the same messenger: "But that ye also may know my affairs, and how I do, Tychicus, a beloved brother and faithful minister in the Lord, shall make known to you all things; whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that ye might know our affairs, and that he might comfort your hearts." Ephes. chap. vi. 21, 22. This text, if it do not expressly declare, clearly I think intimates, that the letter was sent by Tychicus. The words made use of in the Epistle to the Colossians are very similar to these, and afford the same implication, that Tychicus, in conjunction with Onesimus, was the bearer of the letter to that church: "All my state shall Tychicus declare unto you, who is a beloved brother, and a faithful minister, and fellow servant in the Lord; whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that he might know your estate, and comfort your hearts; with Onesimus, a faithful and beloved brother, who is

one of you. They shall make known unto you all things which are done here." Colos. chap. iv. 7—9. Both epistles represent the writer as under imprisonment for the gospel; and both treat of the same general subject. The Epistle therefore to the Ephesians, and the Epistle to the Colossians, import to be two letters written by the same person, at, or nearly at, the same time, and upon the same subject, and to have been sent by the same messenger. Now, every thing in the sentiments, order, and diction of the two writings, corresponds with what might be expected from this circumstance of identity or cognation in their original. The leading doctrine of both epistles is the union of Jews and Gentiles under the Christian dispensation; and that doctrine in both is established by the same arguments, or, more properly speaking, illustrated by the same similitudes: * "one head," "one body," "one new man," "one temple," are in both epistles the figures under which the society of believers in Christ, and their common relation to him as such, is represented. † The ancient, and, as had been thought, the indeli-

* St Paul, I am apt to believe, has been sometimes accused of inconclusive reasoning, by our mistaking that for reasoning which was only intended for illustration. He is not to be read as a man, whose own persuasion of the truth of what he taught always or solely depended upon the views under which he represents it in his writings. Taking for granted the certainty of his doctrine, as resting upon the revelation that had been imparted to him, he exhibits it frequently to the conception of his readers under images and allegories, in which, if an analogy may be perceived, or even sometimes a poetic resemblance be found, it is all perhaps that is required.

† Compare	{	Ephes. i. 22.	}	with	{	Colos. i. 18.
		iv. 13.				ii. 19.
		ii. 15.				iii. 10, 11.
Also	{	Ephes. ii. 14, 15.	}	with	{	Colos. ii. 14.
		ii. 16.				i. 18—21.
		ii. 20.				ii. 7.

ble distinction between Jew and Gentile, in both epistles, is declared to be "now abolished by his cross." Beside this consent in the general tenor of the two epistles, and in the run also and warmth of thought with which they are composed, we may naturally expect in letters produced under the circumstances in which these appear to have been written, a closer resemblance of style and diction, than between other letters of the same person but of distant dates, or between letters adapted to different occasions. In particular we may look for many of the same expressions, and sometimes for whole sentences being alike; since such expressions and sentences would be repeated in the second letter (whichever that was) as yet fresh in the author's mind from the writing of the first. This repetition occurs in the following examples:*

Ephes. ch. i. 7. "In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins."†

Colos. ch. i. 14. "In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins."‡

Besides the sameness of the words, it is farther remarkable that the sentence is, in both places, preceded by the same introductory idea. In the Epistle to the Ephesians it is the "beloved" (*ηγαπημενω*); in that to the Colossians it is "his dear Son" (*υιω της αγαπης αυτου*), "in whom we

* When *verbal* comparisons are relied upon, it becomes necessary to state the original; but that the English reader may be interrupted as little as may be, I shall in general do this in the notes.

† Ephes. chap. i. 7. *Εν ω̄ εχομεν την απολυτρωσιν δια του αιματος αυτου, την αφισιν των παραπτωματος.*

‡ Colos. chap. i. 14. *Εν ω̄ εχομεν την απολυτρωσιν δια του αιματος αυτου, την αφισιν των αμαρτιων.* However it must be observed, that in this latter text many copies have not *δια του αιματος αυτου*.

have redemption." The sentence appears to have been suggested to the mind of the writer by the idea which had accompanied it before.

Ephes. ch. i. 10. "All things both which are in heaven and which are in earth, even in him."*

Colos. ch. i. 20. "All things by him, whether they be things in earth, or things in heaven."†

This quotation is the more observable, because the connecting of things in earth with things in heaven is a very singular sentiment, and found no where else but in these two epistles. The words also are introduced and followed by a train of thought nearly alike. They are introduced by describing the union which Christ had effected, and they are followed by telling the Gentile churches that they were incorporated into it.

Ephes. ch. iii. 2. "The dispensation of the grace of God, which is given me to you ward."‡

Colos. ch. i. 25. "The dispensation of God, which is given to me for you."§

Of these sentences it may likewise be observed that the accompanying ideas are similar. In both places they are immediately preceded by the mention of his present sufferings; in both places they are immediately followed by the mention of the mystery which was the great subject of his preaching.

* Ephes. ch. i. 10. Τα τε εν τοις υρανοις και τα επι της γης, εν αυτω.

† Colos. ch. i. 20. Δι' αυτου, ειτε τα επι της γης, ειτε τα εν τοις υρανοις.

‡ Ephes. ch. iii. 2. Την οικονομιαν χαριτος του Θεου της δοθεισης μοι εις υμας.

§ Colos. ch. i. 25. Την οικονομιαν του Θεου, την δοθεισαν μοι εις υμας.

Ephes. ch. v. 19. "In psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord."*

Colos. ch. iii. 16. "In psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord."†

Ephes. ch. vi. 22. "Whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that ye might know our affairs, and that he might comfort your hearts."‡

Colos. ch. iv. 8. "Whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that he might know your estate, and comfort your hearts."§

In these examples, we do not perceive a cento of phrases gathered from one composition, and strung together in the other; but the occasional occurrence of the same expression to a mind a second time revolving the same ideas.

2. Whoever writes two letters, or two discourses, nearly upon the same subject, and at no great distance of time, but without any express recollection of what he had written before, will find himself repeating some sentences, in the very order of the words in which he had already used them: but he will more frequently find himself employing

* Ephes. ch. v. 19. Ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις, καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς, ἀδοντες καὶ ψαλλοντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ.

† Colos. ch. iii. 16. Ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς, ἐν χαρίτι ἀδοντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ.

‡ Ephes. ch. vi. 22. Ὁν ἐπέμψα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰς αὐτὸ τούτο, ἵνα γνηῶσι τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν, καὶ παρακαλισηταὶ καρδίας ὑμῶν.

§ Colos. ch. iv. 8. Ὁν ἐπέμψα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰς αὐτὸ τούτο, ἵνα γνηῶσι τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν, καὶ παρακαλισηταὶ καρδίας ὑμῶν.

some principal terms, with the order inadvertently changed, or with the order disturbed by the intermixture of other words and phrases expressive of ideas rising up at the time: or in many instances repeating not single words, nor yet whole sentences, but parts and fragments of sentences. Of all these varieties the examination of our two epistles will furnish plain examples: and I should rely upon this class of instances more than upon the last; because, although an impostor might transcribe into a forgery entire sentences and phrases, yet the dislocation of words, the partial recollection of phrases and sentences, the intermixture of new terms and new ideas with terms and ideas before used, which will appear in the examples that follow, and which are the natural properties of writings produced under the circumstances in which these epistles are represented to have been composed—would not, I think, have occurred to the invention of a forger; nor, if they had occurred, would they have been so easily executed. This studied variation was a refinement in forgery which I believe did not exist; or, if we can suppose it to have been practised in the instances adduced below, why, it may be asked, was not the same art exercised upon those which we have collected in the preceding class?

Ephes. ch. i. 19. ch. ii. 5. "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 principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but in that which is to come. And hath put all things under his feet: and gave him to be the head over all things, to the church, which is

his body, the fulness of all things, that filleth all in all); and you hath he quickened, who were dead in trespasses and sins, (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; among whom also we 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 wherewithal he loved us,) even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ.*

Colos. ch. ii. 12, 13. "Through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead: and you, being dead in your sins and the uncircumcision of the flesh, hath he quickened together with him." †

Out of the long quotation from the Ephesians, take away the parentheses, and you have left a sentence almost in terms the same as the short quotation from the Colossians. The resemblance is more visible in the original than in our translation; for what is rendered in one place, "the working,"

* Ephes. ch. i. 19, 20.; ii. 1. 5. *Τους πιστευοντας κατά την ενεργίαν του κρατους της ισχυος αυτου, ἣν ενεργησεν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, ἐγειρας αυτον ἐκ νεκρων και ἐκαθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ αυτου ἐν τοις ἰπουρανοις—και ὑμας οντας νεκρους τοις παραπτωμασι και ταις ἁμαρτιας—και οντας ἡμας νεκρους τοις παραπτωμασι, συνζωοποιησεν τῷ Χριστῷ.*

† Colos. ch. ii. 12, 13. *Δια της πιστιως της ενεργιας του Θεου του ἐγειραντος αυτον ἐκ των νεκρων. Και ὑμας νεκρους οντας ἐν τοις παραπτωμασι και τῇ ἀκροβυστιᾷ της σαρκος ὑμων, συνζωοποιησεν συν αυτῷ.*

and in another the "operation," is the same Greek term *ενεργια*: in one place it is, *τους πιστιουοντας κατὰ την ενεργειαν*; in the other, *δια της πιστιως της ενεργειας*. Here, therefore, we have the same sentiment, and nearly in the same words; but, in the Ephesians, twice broken or interrupted by incidental thoughts, which St Paul, as his manner was, enlarges upon by the way,* and then returns to the thread of his discourse. It is interrupted the first time by a view which breaks in upon his mind of the exaltation of Christ; and the second time by a description of heathen depravity. I have only to remark that Griesbach, in his very accurate edition, gives the parentheses very nearly in the same manner in which they are here placed; and that without any respect to the comparison which we are proposing.

Ephes. ch. iv. 2—4. "With all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love; endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace. There is one body and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling." †

Colos. ch. iii. 12—15. "Put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering, forbearing one another and forgiving one another; if any man have a quarrel against any, even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye; and,

* Vide Locke in loc.

† Ephes. chap. iv. 2—4. Μετα πασης ταπεινοφροσυνης και πραοτητος, μετα μακροθυμιας, ανιχομενοι αλληλων εν αγαπη' σπουδαζοντες τηρειν την ινοτητα του πνιματος εν τω συνδεσμοι της ειρηνης. 'Εν σωμα και εν πνιμα, καθως και εκληθητε εν μιαι ελπιδι της κλησειω υμων.

above all these things, put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness; and let the peace of God rule in your hearts, to the which also ye are called in one body."*

In these two quotations the words ταπεινοφροσυνη, πραοτης, μακροθυμια, ανεχομενοι αλληλων, occur in exactly the same order: αγαπη is also found in both, but in a different connexion: συνδισμος της ιερνης answers to συνδισμος της τελιοτητος: εκληθητε εν ινι σωματι to εν σωμα καθως και εκληθητε εν μια ελπιδι: yet is this similitude found in the midst of sentences otherwise very different.

Ephes. ch. iv. 16. "From whom the whole body fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body."†

Colos. ch. ii. 19. "From which all the body, by joints and bands, having nourishment ministered and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God."‡

* Colos. chap. iii. 12—15. Ενδυσασθε ουν ως εκλεκτοι του Θεου αγιοι και ηγαπημενοι, σπλαγχνα οικτιρμων, χρηστοτητα, ταπεινοφροσυνην, πραοτητα, μακροθυμιαν ανεχομενοι αλληλων, και χαριζομενοι ιαυτοις, ιαν τις προς τινα εχη μομφην καθως και ο Χριστος εχαρισατο υμιν, ουτω και υμεις επι πασι δε τουτοις την αγαπην, ητις εστι συνδισμος της τελιοτητος και η ιερνη του Θεου βραβεινιτω εν ταις καρδιαις υμων, εις η και εκληθητε εν ινι σωματι.

† Ephes. chap. iv. 16. Εξ ου παν το σωμα συναρμολογουμενον και συμβιβασζομενον δια πασης αφης της επιχορηγιας κατ' ενεργειαν εν μετρω ενος εκαστου μέρους την αυξησιν του σωματος ποιιται.

‡ Colos. chap. ii. 19. Εξ ου παν το σωμα δια των αφων και συνδισμων επιχορηγουμενον και συμβιβασζομενον, αυξει την αυξησιν του Θεου.

In these quotations are read *ἐξ ὅυ παν τὸ σωμα συμβιβαζομενον* in both places: *επιχορηγουμενον* answering to *επιχορηγιας*: *δια των ἄφων* τὸ *δια πασης ἄφης*: *αυξει την αυξησιν* τὸ *ποιιται την αυξησιν*: and yet the sentences are considerably diversified in other parts.

Ephes. ch. iv. 32. "And be kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God, for Christ's sake, hath forgiven you."*

Colos. ch. iii. 13. "Forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel against any; even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye."†

Here we have "forgiving one another, even as God, for Christ's sake (*εν Χριστω*), hath forgiven you," in the first quotation, substantially repeated in the second. But in the second the sentence is broken by the interposition of a new clause, "if any man have a quarrel against any:" and the latter part is a little varied; instead of "God in Christ," it is "Christ hath forgiven you."

Ephes. ch. iv. 22—24. "That ye put off concerning the former conversation the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts, and be renewed in the spirit of your mind; and that ye put on the new man, which, after God, is created in righteousness and true holiness."‡

* Eph. chap. iv. 32. Γινισθε δι εις αλληλους χρηστοι, ευσπλαγχοι, χαριζομενοι ἑαυτοις, καθως και ὁ Θεος εν Χριστω εχαρισατο ὑμιν.

† Colos. chap. iii. 13. Ανιχομενοι αλληλων, και χαριζομενοι ἑαυτοις, εαν τις προς τινα εχη μομφην καθως και ὁ Χριστος εχαρισατο ὑμιν, ουτω και ὑμεις.

‡ Ephes. chap. iv. 22—24. Αποθισθαι ὑμας κατα την προτιραν αναστροφην, τον παλαιον ανθρωπον τον φθειρομενον κατα τας επιθυμιας της απατης ανανιουσ-

Colos. ch. iii. 9, 10. "Seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds, and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge, after the image of him that created him."*

In these quotations, "putting off the old man and putting on the new," appears in both. The idea is farther explained by calling it a renewal; in the one, "renewed in the spirit of your mind;" in the other, "renewed in knowledge." In both, the new man is said to be formed according to the same model; in the one, he is "after God created in righteousness and true holiness;" in the other, "he is renewed after the image of him that created him." In a word, it is the same person writing upon a kindred subject, with the terms and ideas which he had before employed still floating in his memory.†

Ephes. chap. v. 6—8. "Because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience: be not ye therefore partakers with them; for ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord; walk as children of light."‡

βαί δε τῷ πνεύματι τῷ νοῦς ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐνδυσασθαι τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν κατὰ Θεοῦ κτισθέντα ἐν δικαιοσυνῇ καὶ ὁσιότητι τῆς ἀληθείας.

* Colos. chap. iii. 9, 10. Ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον σὺν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν καινόν, τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτισάντος αὐτόν.

† In these comparisons, we often perceive the reason why the writer, though expressing the same idea, uses a different term; namely, because the term before used is employed in the sentence under a different form: thus, in the quotations under our eye, the new man is *καινὸς ἄνθρωπος* in the Ephesians, and *τὸν καινόν* in the Colossians; but then it is because *τὸν καινόν* is used in the next word, *ἀνακαινούμενον*.

‡ Ephes. chap. v. 6—8. Διὰ ταῦτα γὰρ ἐρχεται ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας. Μὴ

Colos. ch. iii. 6—8. "For which things' sake the wrath of God cometh on the children of disobedience; in the which ye also walked some time, when ye lived in them. But now ye also put off all these."*

These verses afford a specimen of that *partial* resemblance which is only to be met with when no imitation is designed, when no studied recollection is employed, but when the mind, exercised upon the same subject, is left to the spontaneous return of such terms and phrases, as, having been used before, may happen to present themselves again. The sentiment of both passages is throughout alike: half of that sentiment, the denunciation of God's wrath, is expressed in identical words; the other half, viz. the admonition to quit their former conversation, in words entirely different. †

Ephes. ch. v. 15, 16. "See then that ye walk circumspectly; not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time." †

Colos. ch. iv. 5. "Walk in wisdom towards them that are without, redeeming the time." ‡

This is another example of that mixture which we remarked of sameness and variety in the language of one writer. "Redeeming the time"

οὐν γινισθε συμμητοχοὶ αὐτῶν. Ἡτι γὰρ ποτε σκοτος, νῦν δὲ φῶς ἐν Κυρίῳ ὡς τεκνὰ φωτὸς περιπατεῖτε.

* Colos. ch. iii. 6—8. Δι' ἃ ἐρχεται ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας· ἐν οἷς καὶ ὑμεῖς περιπατήσατε ποτε, ὅτε ἐζητε ἐν αὐτοῖς. Νῦν δὲ ἀποθισθε καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ πάντα.

† Ephes. ch. v. 15, 16. Βλεπίτε οὐν πῶς ἀκριβῶς περιπατεῖτε· μὴ ὡς ἀσοφοὶ, ἀλλ' ὡς σοφοὶ, ἐξαγοραζόμενοι τὸν καιρὸν.

‡ Colos. ch. iv. 5. Ἐν σοφίᾳ περιπατεῖτε πρὸς τοὺς ἕξω, τὸν καιρὸν ἐξαγοραζόμενοι.

(*εξαγοραζομενοι τον καιρον*), is a literal repetition. "Walk not as fools, but as wise," (*περιπατιτε μη ως ασφοι, αλλ' ως σοφοι*), answers exactly in sense, and nearly in terms, to "walk in wisdom," (*εν σοφια περιπατιτε*). *Περιπατιτε ακριβως* is a very different phrase, but is intended to convey precisely the same idea as *περιπατιτε προς τους εξω*. *Ακριβως* is not well rendered "circumspectly." It means what in modern speech we should call "correctly;" and when we advise a person to behave "correctly," our advice is always given with a reference "to the opinion of others," *προς τους εξω*. "Walk correctly, redeeming the time," *i.e.* suiting yourselves to the difficulty and ticklishness of the times in which we live, "because the days are evil."

Ephes. ch. vi. 19, 20. "And (praying) for me, that utterance may be given unto me, that I may open my mouth boldly to make known the mystery of the gospel, for which I am an ambassador in bonds, that therein I may speak boldly, as I ought to speak."*

Colos. ch. iv. 3, 4. "Withal praying also for us that God would open unto us a door of utterance to speak the mystery of Christ, for which I am also in bonds, that I may make it manifest as I ought to speak."†

* Ephes. ch. vi. 19, 20. *Και υπερ εμου, ινα μοι δοθει λογος εν ανοιξει του στοματος μου εν παρρησια, γνωρισαι το μυστηριον του ευαγγελιου, υπερ ου πιστευω εν αλυσει, ινα εν αυτω παρρησιασωμαι, ως δει με λαλησαι.*

† Colos. ch. iv. 3, 4. *Προσιυχομενοι αμα και πρι ημων, ινα ο Θεος ανοιξη ημιν θυραν του λογου, λαλησαι το μυστηριον του Χριστου δι' ο και διδιδμαι, ινα φκηρωσω αυτο, ως δει με λαλησαι.*

In these quotations, the phrase "as I ought to speak" (ὡς δεῖ με λαλῆσαι), the words "utterance" (λογος), "a mystery" (μυστηριον), "open" (ανοιξη and εν ανοιξει), are the same. "To make known the mystery of the Gospel" (γνωρισαι το μυστηριον), answers to "make it manifest" (ινα φανερωσω αυτο); "for which I am an ambassador in bonds" (υπιρ ευ πιστευω εν αλυσει), to "for which I am also in bonds" (δι' ο και διδμαι).

Ephes. ch. v. 22. *Wives, submit yourselves to 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 yet 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 man leave his father and his mother, and be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery; but I speak concerning Christ and the church. Nevertheless, let every one of you in particular, so love his wife even as himself; and the wife see that she reverence her husband. Children, obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right. Honour thy father and thy mother (which is the first commandment with promise), that it may be well with thee,*

and that thou mayest live long on the earth. *And ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath, but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart; with good will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men; knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free. And, ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening; knowing that your master also is in heaven, neither is there respect of persons with him.*" *

† Colos. ch. iii. 18. "Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as it is fit in the Lord.

* Ephes. ch. v. 22. Ἄι γυναῖκες, τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν ὑπότασσιθε, ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ.

† Colos. ch. iii. 18. Ἄι γυναῖκες, ὑπότασσιθε τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν, ὡς ἀνηκῖν ἐν Κυρίῳ.

Ephes. Ὅι ἀνδρες, ἀγαπατε τὰς γυναῖκας ἑαυτῶν.

Colos. Ὅι ἀνδρες, ἀγαπατε τὰς γυναῖκας.

Ephes. Τὰ τέκνα, ὑπακούετε τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὑμῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ· τοῦτο γὰρ ἴστι δίκαιον.

Colos. Τὰ τέκνα, ὑπακούετε τοῖς γονεῦσι κατὰ πάντα· τοῦτο γὰρ ἴστιν ἐναρξιστον τῷ Κυρίῳ.

Ephes. Καὶ οἱ πατερες, μὴ παροργίζετε τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν.

Colos. Ὅι πατερες, μὴ ἐριθίζετε * τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν.

Ephes. Ὅι δούλοι, ὑπακούετε τοῖς κυρίοις κατὰ σκέρκα μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρομου, ἐν ἀπλοτητι τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν, ὡς τῷ Χριστῷ· μὴ κατ' οφθαλμοδουλιαν,

* παροργίζετε, lectio non spernenda; Griesbach.

Husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter against them. Children, obey your parents in all things, for this is well pleasing unto the Lord. Fathers, provoke not your children to anger, lest they be discouraged. Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh: not with eye-service, as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God; and whatever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men, knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance: for ye serve the Lord Christ. But he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done; and there is no respect of persons. Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a master in heaven."

The passages marked by Italics in the quotation from the Ephesians, bear a strict resemblance, not only in signification but in terms, to the quotation from the Colossians. Both the words and the order of the words are in many clauses a duplicate of one another. In the Epistle to the Colossians, these passages are laid together; in that to the Ephesians, they are divided by intermediate mat-

*ὡς ἀνθρωπαρισκοὶ, ἀλλ' ὡς δούλοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ποι-
 ούντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκ ψυχῆς· μετ' ἰστοίας
 δουλεύοντες ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις· ἰδοὺτες
 ὅτι ὅταν τι ἕκαστος ποιῆσῃ ἀγαθόν, τοῦτο κομίζεται
 παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, ἢ ἡ δούλος, ἢ ἡ ἐλεύθερος.*

Colos. Ὅι δούλοι, ὑπακούετε κατὰ πάντα τοῖς
 κατὰ σάρκα κυρίοις, μὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοδουλείαις, ὡς ἀνθρω-
 παρισκοὶ, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπλοτητι καρδίας, φοβούμενοι τὸν
 Θεὸν καὶ πάν ὅ, τι ἂν ποιῆτε, ἐκ ψυχῆς ἐργαζισθε,
 ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις· ἰδοὺτες ὅτι ἀπο-
 Κυρίου ἀποληψισθε τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν τῆς κληρονομίας·
 τῷ γὰρ Κυρίῳ Χριστῷ δουλεύετε.

ter, especially by a long digressive allusion to the mysterious union between Christ and his church; which possessing, as Mr Locke hath well observed, the mind of the apostle, from being an incidental thought, grows up into the principal subject. The affinity between these two passages in signification, in terms, and in the order of the words, is closer than can be pointed out between any parts of any two epistles in the volume.

If the reader would see how the same subject is treated by a different hand, and how distinguishable it is from the production of the same pen, let him turn to the second and third chapters of the First Epistle of St Peter. The duties of servants, of wives, and of husbands, are enlarged upon in that epistle, as they are in the Epistle to the Ephesians; but the subjects both occur in a different order, and the train of sentiment subjoined to each is totally unlike.

3. In two letters issuing from the same person, nearly at the same time, and upon the same general occasion, we may expect to trace the influence of association in the order in which the topics follow one another. Certain ideas universally or usually suggest others. Here the order is what we call natural, and from such an order nothing can be concluded. But when the order is arbitrary, yet alike, the concurrence indicates the effect of that principle, by which ideas, which have been once joined, commonly revisit the thoughts together. The epistles under consideration furnish the two following remarkable instances of this species of agreement.

Ephes. ch. iv. 24. "And that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness; wherefore putting away

lying, speak every man truth with his neighbour, for we are members one of another."*

Colos. ch. iii. 9. "Lie not one to another; seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds; and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge."†

The vice of "lying," or a correction of that vice, does not seem to bear any nearer relation to the "putting on the new man," than a reformation in any other article of morals. Yet these two ideas, we see, stand in both epistles in immediate connexion.

Ephes. ch. v. 20, 21, 22. "Giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; submitting yourselves one to another, in the fear of God. Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord."‡

Colos. ch. iii. 17. "Whatsoever ye do, in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by him.

* Ephes. ch. iv. 24, 25. *Και ενδυσασθαι τον καινον ανθρωπον, τον κατα Θεον κτισθεντα εν δικαιοσυνη και οσιοτητι της αληθειας; διο αποθιμεινοι το ψευδος, λαλιτε αληθειαν ικαστος μετα των πλησιον αυτων; οτι ισμιν αλληλων μελη.*

† Colos. ch. iii. 9. *Μη ψευδεσθε εις αλληλους, απικδυσαμενοι τον παλαιον ανθρωπον, συνταις πραξιαις αυτου, και ενδυσουμενοι τον νιον, τον ανακαινυμενον εις ιστηνωσιν.*

‡ Eph. ch. v. 20, 21, 22. *Ευχριστουντες παντοτε υπερ παντων, εν ονοματι του Κυριου ημων Ιησου Κριστου, τω Θεω και πατρι, υποτασσομενοι αλληλοις εν φοβω Θεου. Αι γυναικις, τοις ιδιοις ανδρασιν υποτασσεσθε, ως τω Κυριω.*

Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as it is fit in the Lord." *

In both these passages, submission follows giving of thanks, without any similitude in the ideas which should account for the transition.

It is not necessary to pursue the comparison between the two epistles farther. The argument which results from it stands thus: No two other epistles contain a circumstance which indicates that they were written at the same, or nearly at the same time. No two other epistles exhibit so many marks of correspondency and resemblance. If the original which we ascribe to these two epistles be the true one, that is, if they were both really written by St Paul, and both sent to their respective destination by the same messenger, the similitude is, in all points, what should be expected to take place. If they were forgeries, then the mention of Tychicus in both epistles, and in a manner which shows that he either carried or accompanied both epistles, was inserted for the purpose of accounting for their similitude: or else the structure of the epistles was designedly adapted to the circumstance: or lastly, the conformity between the contents of the forgeries, and what is thus directly intimated concerning their date, was only a happy accident. Not one of these three suppositions will gain credit with a reader who peruses the epistles with attention, and who reviews the several examples we have pointed out, and the observations with which they were accompanied.

* Colos. ch. iii. 17. *Και παν ὃ, τι ἀν ποιητε, ἐν λόγῳ, ἢ ἐν ἔργῳ, πάντα ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, ἐυχαιριστοῦντες τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ δι' αὐτοῦ. Ἄι γυναῖκες, ὑπετάσσεσθε τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν, ὡς ἀνήκεν ἐν Κυρίῳ.*

No. II.

There is such a thing as a peculiar word or phrase cleaving, as it were, to the memory of a writer or speaker, and presenting itself to his utterance at every turn. When we observe this, we call it a *cant* word, or a *cant* phrase. It is a natural effect of habit; and would appear more frequently than it does, had not the rules of good writing taught the ear to be offended with the iteration of the same sound, and oftentimes caused us to reject, on that account, the word which offered itself first to our recollection. With a writer who, like St Paul, either knew not these rules, or disregarded them, such words will not be avoided. The truth is, an example of this kind runs through several of his epistles, and in the epistle before us *abounds*; and that is in the word *riches* (*πλουτος*), used metaphorically as an augmentative of the idea to which it happens to be subjoined. Thus, “the *riches* of his glory,” “his *riches* in glory,” “*riches* of the glory of his inheritance,” “*riches* of the glory of this mystery,” Rom. ch. ix. 23. Ephes. ch. iii. 16. Ephes. ch. i. 18. Colos. ch. i. 27.: “*riches* of his grace,” twice in the Ephesians, ch. i. 7. and ch. ii. 7.; “*riches* of the full assurance of understanding,” Colos. ch. ii. 2.; “*riches* of his goodness,” Rom. ch. ii. 4.: “*riches* of the wisdom of God,” Rom. ch. xi. 33.; “*riches* of Christ,” Ephes. ch. iii. 8. In a like sense the adjective, Rom. ch. x. 12. “*rich* unto all that call upon him;” Ephes. ch. ii. 4. “*rich* in mercy;” 1 Tim. ch. vi. 18. “*rich* in good works.” Also the adverb, Colos. ch. iii. 16. “let the word of Christ dwell in you *richly*.” This figurative use of the word, though so familiar to St Paul, does not occur in any part

of the New Testament, except once in the Epistle of St James, ch. ii. 5. "Hath not God chosen the *poor* of this world, *rich* in faith?" where it is manifestly suggested by the antithesis. I propose the frequent, yet seemingly unaffected use of this phrase, in the epistle before us, as one internal mark of its genuineness.

No. III.

There is another singularity in St Paul's style, which, wherever it is found, may be deemed a badge of authenticity; because, if it were noticed, it would not, I think, be imitated, inasmuch as it almost always produces embarrassment and interruption in the reasoning. This singularity is a species of digression which may properly, I think, be denominated *going off at a word*. It is turning aside from the subject upon the occurrence of some particular word, forsaking the train of thought then in hand, and entering upon a parenthetical sentence in which that word is the prevailing term. I shall lay before the reader some examples of this, collected from the other epistles, and then propose two examples of it which are found in the Epistle to the Ephesians. 2 Cor. ch. ii. 14. at the word *savour*: "Now thanks be unto God, which always causeth us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the *savour* 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 *savour* of death unto death, and to the other the *savour* 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." Again, 2 Cor. ch. iii. 1. at

the word *epistle*: "Need we, as some others, *epistles* of commendation to you, or 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, ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in the fleshy tables of the heart.") The position of the words in the original, shows more strongly than in the translation, that it was the occurrence of the word *επιστολη* which gave birth to the sentence that follows: 2 Cor. chap. iii. 1. *Εἰ μὴ χρῆζομεν, ὡς τινες, συστατικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἢ ἐξ ὑμῶν συστατικῶν; ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡμῶν ὑμῖν ἐστὶ, ἐγγεγραμμένη ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, γινωσκόμενη καὶ ἀναγιγνωσκόμενη ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων· φανερῶν ὅτι ἐστὶ ἐπιστολὴ Χριστοῦ διακονηθεῖσα ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἐγγεγραμμένη ἢ μελανι, ἀλλὰ πνεύματι Θεοῦ ζῶντος· οὐκ ἐν πλάξιν λιθίναις, ἀλλ' ἐν πλάξιν καρδίας σαρκινῆς.*

Again, 2 Cor. ch. iii. 12. &c. at the word *vail*: "Seeing then that we have such hope, we use great plainness of speech: and not as Moses, which put a *vail* over his face, that the children of Israel could not steadfastly look to the end of that which is abolished. But their minds were blinded; for until this day remaineth the same *vail* untaken away in the reading of the Old Testament, which *vail* is done away in Christ; but even unto this day, when Moses is read, the *vail* is upon their heart: nevertheless, when it shall turn to the Lord, the *vail* 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, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord. Therefore, see-

ing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not."

Who sees not that this whole allegory of the *vail* arises entirely out of the occurrence of the word, in telling us that "Moses put a *vail* over his face," and that it drew the apostle away from the proper subject of his discourse, the dignity of the office in which he was engaged; which subject he fetches up again almost in the words with which he had left it: "therefore, seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not." The sentence which he had before been going on with, and in which he had been interrupted by the *vail*, was, "Seeing then that we have such hope, we use great plainness of speech."

In the Epistle to the Ephesians, the reader will remark two instances in which the same habit of composition obtains; he will recognize the same pen. One he will find, chap. iv. 8—11. at the word *ascended*: "Wherefore he saith, When he *ascended* up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men. (Now that he *ascended*, what is it but that he also descended first unto the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that *ascended* up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things.) And he gave some, apostles," &c.

The other appears, chap. v. 12—15. at the word *light*: "For it is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret: but all things that are reprov'd, are made manifest by the *light*; (for whatsoever doth make manifest, is *light*; wherefore he saith, Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee *light*;) see then that ye walk circumspectly."

NO. IV.

Although it does not appear to have ever been disputed that the epistle before us was written by St Paul, yet it is well known that a doubt has long been entertained concerning the persons to whom it was addressed. The question is founded partly in some ambiguity in the external evidence. Marcion, a heretic of the second century, as quoted by Tertullian, a father in the beginning of the third, calls it the Epistle to the Laodiceans. From what we know of Marcion, his judgment is little to be relied upon; nor is it perfectly clear that Marcion was rightly understood by Tertullian. If, however, Marcion be brought to prove that some copies in his time gave *ἡ Λαοδικεία* in the superscription, his testimony, if it be truly interpreted, is not diminished by his heresy; for, as Grotius observes, "*cur meâ re mentiretur nihil erat causæ.*" The name *ἡ Ἐφεσῶν*, in the first verse, upon which word singly depends the proof that the epistle was written to the Ephesians, is not read in all the manuscripts now extant. I admit, however, that the external evidence preponderates with a manifest excess on the side of the received reading. The objection therefore principally arises from the contents of the epistle itself, which, in many respects, militate with the supposition that it was written to the church of Ephesus. According to the history, St Paul had passed two whole years at Ephesus, Acts, chap. xix. 10. And in this point, viz. of St Paul having preached for a considerable length of time at Ephesus, the history is confirmed by the two Epistles to the Corinthians, and by the two Epistles to Timothy. "I will tarry at *Ephesus* until Pentecost," 1 Cor. ch. xvi. ver. 8. "We

would not have you ignorant of our trouble which came to us in *Asia*," 2 Cor. ch. i. 8. "As I besought thee to abide still at *Ephesus*, when I went into Macedonia," 1 Tim. ch. i. 3. "And in how many things he ministered to me at *Ephesus* thou knowest well," 2 Tim. ch. i. 18. I adduce these testimonies, because, had it been a competition of credit between the history and the epistle, I should have thought myself bound to have preferred the epistle. Now, every epistle which St Paul wrote to churches which he himself had founded, or which he had visited, abounds with references, and appeals to what had passed during the time that he was present amongst them; whereas there is not a text in the Epistle to the Ephesians, from which we can collect that he had ever been at Ephesus at all. The two Epistles to the Corinthians, the Epistle to the Galatians, the Epistle to the Philippians, and the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, are of this class; and they are full of allusions to the apostle's history, his reception, and his conduct whilst amongst them; the total want of which, in the epistle before us, is very difficult to account for, if it was in truth written to the church of Ephesus, in which city he had resided for so long a time. This is the first and strongest objection. But farther, the Epistle to the Colossians was addressed to a church in which St Paul had never been. This we infer from the first verse of the second chapter: "For I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh." There could be no propriety in thus joining the Colossians and Laodiceans with those "who had not seen his face in the flesh," if they did not also belong to the

same description.* Now, his address to the Colossians, whom he had not visited, is precisely the same as his address to the Christians to whom he wrote in the epistle which we are now considering: "We give thanks to God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, praying always for you, *since we heard of your faith* in Christ Jesus, and of the love which ye have to all the saints," Col. ch. i. 3. Thus, he speaks to the Colossians, in the epistle before us, as follows: "Wherefore I also, *after I heard of your faith* in the Lord Jesus, and love unto all the saints, cease not to give thanks for you in my prayers," chap. i. 15. The terms of this address are observable. The words "having heard of your faith and love," are the very words, we see, which he uses towards strangers; and it is not probable that he should employ the same in addressing a church in which he had long exercised his ministry, and whose "faith and love" he must have personally known.† The Epistle to the Romans was written before St Paul had been at Rome; and his address to them runs in the same strain with that just now quoted: "I thank my God, through Jesus Christ, for you all, that your faith is *spoken* of throughout the whole world:" Rom. ch. i. 8. Let us now see what was the

* Dr Lardner contends against the validity of this conclusion; but, I think, without success. *Lardner*, vol. xiv. p. 473. edit. 1757.

† Mr Locke endeavours to avoid this difficulty, by explaining "*their faith*," of which St Paul had heard, to mean the steadfastness of their persuasion that they were called into the kingdom of God, without subjection to the Mosaic institution. But this interpretation seems to me extremely *hard*; for, in the manner in which faith is here joined with love, in the expression, "your faith and love," it could not be meant to denote any particular tenet which distinguished one set of Christians from others; forasmuch as the expression describes the general virtues of the Christian profession. Vide *Locke* in loc.

form in which our apostle was accustomed to introduce his epistles, when he wrote to those with whom he was already acquainted. To the Corinthians it was this: "I thank my God always on your behalf, for the grace of God which is given you by Christ Jesus," 1 Cor. ch. i. 4. To the Philippians: "I thank my God upon every remembrance of you," Phil. ch. i. 3. To the Thesalonians: "We give thanks to God always for you all, making mention of you in our prayers, remembering without ceasing your work of faith, and labour of love," 1 Thess. ch. i. 3. To Timothy: "I thank God, whom I serve from my forefathers with pure conscience, that without ceasing I have remembrance of thee in my prayers night and day," 2 Tim. ch. i. 3. In these quotations, it is usually his *remembrance*, and never his *hearing* of them, which he makes the subject of his thankfulness to God.

As great difficulties stand in the way supposing the epistle before us to have been written to the church of Ephesus, so I think it probable that it is actually the Epistle to the Laodiceans, referred to in the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Colossians. The text which contains that reference is this: "When this epistle is read among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans, and that ye likewise read the epistle from Laodicea," ch. iv. 16. The "epistle from Laodicea" was an epistle sent by St Paul to that church, and by them transmitted to Colosse. The two churches were mutually to communicate the epistles they had received. This is the way in which the direction is explained by the greater part of commentators, and is the most probable sense that can be given to it. It is also probable that the epistle alluded to was an epistle which had

been received by the church of Laodicea *lately*. It appears then, with a considerable degree of evidence, that there existed an epistle of St Paul's nearly of the same date with the Epistle to the Colossians, and an epistle directed to a church (for such the church of Laodicea was) in which St Paul had never been. What has been observed concerning the epistle before us, shows that it answers perfectly to that character.

Nor does the mistake seem very difficult to account for. Whoever inspects the map of Asia Minor will see, that a person proceeding from Rome to Laodicea would probably land at Ephesus, as the nearest frequented sea-port in that direction. Might not Tychicus then, in passing through Ephesus, communicate to the Christians of that place the letter with which he was charged? And might not copies of that letter be multiplied and preserved at Ephesus? Might not some of the copies drop the words of designation *εἰς τὴν Λαοδικείαν*,* which it was of no consequence to an Ephesian to retain? Might not copies of the letter come

* And it is remarkable that there seem to have been some ancient copies without the words of designation, either the words *in Ephesus*, or the words *in Laodicea*. St Basil, a writer of the fourth century, speaking of the present epistle, has this very singular passage: "And writing to the Ephesians, as truly united to him who is through knowledge, he (Paul) calleth them in a peculiar sense *such who are*; saying *to the saints who are and (or even) the faithful in Christ Jesus*; for so those before us have transmitted it, and we have found it in ancient copies." Dr Mill interprets (and, notwithstanding some objections that have been made to him, in my opinion rightly interprets) these words of Basil, as declaring that this father had seen certain copies of the epistle in which the words "in Ephesus" were wanting. And the passage, I think, must be considered as Basil's fanciful way of explaining what was really a corrupt and defective reading; for I do not believe it possible that the author of the epistle could have originally written *ἀγαπίοις τοῖς ὑμῖν*, without any name of place to follow it.

out into the Christian church at large from Ephesus; and might not this give occasion to a belief that the letter was written to that church? And lastly, might not this belief produce the error which we suppose to have crept into the inscription?

NO. V.

As our epistle purports to have been written during St Paul's imprisonment at Rome, which lies beyond the period to which the Acts of the Apostles brings up his history; and as we have seen and acknowledged that the epistle contains no reference to any transaction at Ephesus during the apostle's residence in that city, we cannot expect that it should supply many marks of agreement with the narrative. One coincidence however occurs, and a coincidence of that minute and less obvious kind, which, as hath been repeatedly observed, is of all others the most to be relied upon.

Chap. vi. 19, 20. we read, "praying for me, that I may open my mouth boldly, to make known the mystery of the gospel, for which I am an ambassador in bonds." "*In bonds,*" *ἐν ἄλυσιν*, in a chain. In the twenty-eighth chapter of the Acts we are informed, that Paul, after his arrival at Rome, was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him. Dr Lardner has shown that this mode of custody was in use amongst the Romans, and that whenever it was adopted, the prisoner was bound to the soldier by a single chain: in reference to which St Paul, in the twentieth verse of this chapter, tells the Jews, whom he had assembled, "For this cause therefore have I called for you to see you, and to speak with you, because that for the hope of Israel I am bound *with this chain,*" *τὴν ἄλυσιν ταύτην περικιμαι*. It is in exact

conformity therefore with the truth of St Paul's situation at the time, that he declares of himself in the epistle, *πρῆσεν ἐν ἀλυσσι*. And the exactness is the more remarkable, as *ἀλυσσις* (a chain) is no where used in the singular number to express any other kind of custody. When the prisoner's hands or feet were bound together, the word was *δισμοι* (bonds), as in the twenty-sixth chapter of the Acts, where Paul replies to Agrippa, "I would to God that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were both almost and altogether such as I am, except *these bonds*," *παρεκτος των δισμων τουτων*. When the prisoner was confined between two soldiers, as in the case of Peter, Acts, chap. xii. 6. two chains were employed; and it is said upon his miraculous deliverance, that the "chains" (*ἀλυσσις*, in the plural) "fell from his hands." *Δισμοι*, the noun, and *δισμαι* the verb, being general terms, were applicable to this in common with any other species of personal coercion; but *ἀλυσσις*, in the singular number, to none but this.

If it can be suspected that the writer of the present epistle, who in no other particular appears to have availed himself of the information concerning St Paul delivered in the Acts, had, in this verse, borrowed the word which he read in that book, and had adapted his expression to what he found there recorded of St Paul's treatment at Rome; in short, that the coincidence here noted was effected by craft and design; I think it a strong reply to remark, that in the parallel passage of the Epistle to the Colossians, the same allusion is not preserved: the words there are, "praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance to speak the mystery of Christ, for which *I am also in bonds*," *δι' ὃ και δισμαι*. After what has been shown in a preceding number, there can

be little doubt but that these two epistles were written by the same person. If the writer, therefore, sought for, and fraudulently inserted the correspondency into one epistle, why did he not do it in the other? A real prisoner might use either general words which comprehended this amongst many other modes of custody; or might use appropriate words which specified this, and distinguished it from any other mode. It would be accidental which form of expression he fell upon. But an impostor, who had the art, in one place, to employ the appropriate term for the purpose of fraud, would have used it in both places.

CHAPTER VII.

THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

NO. I.

WHEN a transaction is referred to in such a manner, as that the reference is easily and immediately understood by those who are beforehand, or from other quarters, acquainted with the fact, but is obscure, or imperfect, or requires investigation, or a comparison of different parts, in order to be made clear to other readers, the transaction so referred to is probably real; because, had it been fictitious, the writer would have set forth his story more fully and plainly, not merely as conscious of the fiction, but as conscious that his readers could have no other knowledge of the subject of his allusion than from the information of which he put them in possession.

The account of Epaphroditus, in the Epistle to the Philippians, of his journey to Rome, and of the business which brought him thither, is the

article to which I mean to apply this observation. There are three passages in the epistle which relate to this subject. The first, chap. i. 7. "Even as it is meet for me to think this of you all, because I have you in my heart, inasmuch as both in my bonds, and in the defence and confirmation of the gospel, ye all are, *συγκοινωνοι με της χαριτος*, joint contributors to the gift which I have received."* Nothing more is said in this place. In the latter part of the second chapter, and at the distance of half the epistle from the last quotation, the subject appears again; "Yet I supposed it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother and companion in labour, and fellow-soldier, but your messenger, and *he that ministered to my wants*: for he longed after you all, and was full of heaviness, because that ye had heard that he had been sick: for indeed he was sick nigh unto death; but God had mercy on him, and not on him only, but on me also, lest I should have sorrow upon sorrow. I sent him therefore the more carefully, that when ye see him again ye may rejoice, and that I may be the less sorrowful. Receive him therefore in the Lord with all gladness; and hold such in reputation: because for the work of Christ he was nigh unto death, not regarding his life *to supply your lack of service toward me*." Chap. ii. 25—30. The matter is here dropped, and no farther mention made of it till it is taken up near the conclusion of the epistle as follows: "But I rejoice in the Lord greatly, that now at the

* Pearce, I believe, was the first commentator who gave this sense to the expression; and I believe also, that his exposition is now generally assented to. He interprets in the same sense the phrase in the fifth verse, which our translation renders "your fellowship in the gospel;" but which in the original is not *κοινωνια του ευαγγελιου*, or *κοινωνια εν τω ευαγγελιη*, but *κοινωνια εις το ευαγγελιον*.

last your care of me hath flourished again, wherein ye were also careful, but ye lacked opportunity. Not that I speak in respect of want; for I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content. I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound: every where, and in all things, I am instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound, and to suffer need. I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me. Notwithstanding, ye have well done that ye did communicate with my affliction. Now, ye Philippians, know also, that in the beginning of the gospel, when I departed from Macedonia, no church communicated with me, as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only. For even in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my necessity. Not because I desire a gift; but I desire fruit that may abound to your account. But I have all, and abound: I am full, having received of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you." Chap. iv. 10—18.

To the Philippian reader, who knew that contributions were wont to be made in that church for the apostle's subsistence and relief, that the supply which they were accustomed to send to him had been delayed by the want of opportunity, that Epaphroditus had undertaken the charge of conveying their liberality to the hands of the apostle, that he had acquitted himself of this commission at the peril of his life, by hastening to Rome under the oppression of a grievous sickness; to a reader who knew all this beforehand, every line in the above quotations would be plain and clear. But how is it with a stranger? The knowledge of these several particulars is necessary to the perception and explanation of the references; yet that knowledge must be gathered from a comparison of passages lying at a great distance from one another. Texts

must be interpreted by texts long subsequent to them, which necessarily produces embarrassment and suspense. The passage quoted from the beginning of the epistle contains an acknowledgment, on the part of the apostle, of the liberality which the Philippians had exercised towards him; but the allusion is so general and indeterminate, that, had nothing more been said in the sequel of the epistle, it would hardly have been applied to this occasion at all. In the second quotation, Epaphroditus is declared to have "ministered to the apostle's wants," and "to have supplied their lack of service towards him;" but *how*, that is, at whose expense, or from what fund he "ministered," or what was "the lack of service" which he supplied, are left very much unexplained, till we arrive at the third quotation, where we find that Epaphroditus "ministered to St Paul's wants," only by conveying to his hands the contributions of the Philippians: "I am full, having received of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you;" and that "the lack of service which he supplied" was a delay or interruption of their accustomed bounty, occasioned by the want of opportunity: "I rejoiced in the Lord greatly, that now at the last your care of me hath flourished again; wherein ye were also careful, but ye lacked opportunity." The affair at length comes out clear, but it comes out by piecemeal. The clearness is the result of the reciprocal illustration of divided texts. Should any one choose therefore to insinuate, that this whole story of Epaphroditus, or his journey, his errand, his sickness, or even his existence, might, for what we know, have no other foundation than in the invention of the forger of the epistle; I answer, that a forger would have set forth his story connectedly, and also more fully and more per-

spicuously. If the epistle be authentic, and the transaction real, then every thing which is said concerning Epaphroditus, and his commission, would be clear to those into whose hands the epistle was expected to come. Considering the Philippians as his readers, a person might naturally write upon the subject, as the author of the epistle has written; but there is no supposition of forgery with which it will suit.

NO. II.

The history of Epaphroditus supplies another observation: "Indeed he was sick, nigh unto death; but God had mercy on him, and not on him only, but on me also, lest I should have sorrow upon sorrow." In this passage, no intimation is given that Epaphroditus's recovery was miraculous. It is plainly, I think, spoken of as a natural event. This instance, together with one in the Second Epistle to Timothy ("Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick,") affords a proof that the power of performing cures, and, by parity of reason, of working other miracles, was a power which only visited the apostles occasionally, and did not at all depend upon their own will. Paul undoubtedly would have healed Epaphroditus if he could. Nor, if the power of working cures had awaited his disposal, would he have left his fellow traveller at Miletum sick. This, I think, is a fair observation upon the instances adduced; but it is not the observation I am concerned to make. It is more for the purpose of my argument to remark, that forgery, upon such an occasion, would not have spared a miracle; much less would it have introduced St Paul professing the utmost anxiety for the safety of his friend, yet acknowledging

himself unable to help him; which he does, almost expressly, in the case of Trophimus, for he "left him sick;" and virtually in the passage before us, in which he felicitates himself upon the recovery of Epaphroditus, in terms which almost exclude the supposition of any supernatural means being employed to effect it. This is a reserve which nothing but truth would have imposed.

NO. III.

Chap. iv. 15, 16. "Now, ye Philippians, know also, that in the beginning of the Gospel, when I departed from Macedonia, no church communicated with me, as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only. For even in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my necessity."

It will be necessary to state the Greek of this passage, because our translation does not, I think, give the sense of it accurately.

Οἰδατε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς, Φιλιππησιοὶ, ὅτι ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὅτι ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, ὑδὲμία μοι ἐκκλησία ἐκοινωνήσιν, εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ ληψείως, εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς μόνοι· ὅτι καὶ ἐν Θεσσαλονικῇ καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δις εἰς τὴν χρεῖαν μοι ἐπέμψατε.

The reader will please to direct his attention to the corresponding particulars ὅτι and ὅτι καὶ, which connect the words ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὅτι ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, with the words ἐν Θεσσαλονικῇ, and denote, as I interpret the passage, two distinct donations, or rather donations at two distinct periods, one at Thessalonica, ἅπαξ καὶ δις, the other after his departure from Macedonia, ὅτι ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας.* I would render the passage, so as

* Luke, ch. ii. 15. Καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἀπελθὼν ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν οἱ ἀγγελοὶ, "as the angels were

to mark these different periods, thus: "Now, ye Philippians, know also, that in the beginning of the gospel, when I was departed from Macedonia, no church communicated with me, as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only: And that also in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my necessity." Now with this exposition of the passage compare 2 Cor. chap. xi. 8, 9.: "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 that which was lacking to me, the brethren which came from Macedonia supplied."

It appears from St Paul's history, as related in the Acts of the Apostles, that upon leaving Macedonia he passed, after a very short stay at Athens, into Achaia. It appears, secondly, from the quotation out of the Epistle to the Corinthians, that in Achaia he accepted no pecuniary assistance from the converts of that country; but that he drew a supply for his wants from the Macedonian Christians. Agreeably whereunto it appears, in the third place, from the text which is the subject of the present number, that the brethren in Philippi, a city of Macedonia, had followed him with their munificence, *ὅτι ἐξήλθον ἀπο Μακεδονίας*, when he

gone away," i. e. *after* their departure, *οἱ ποιμεις ιππον προς αλληλους*. Matth. ch. xii. 43. 'Οταν δε το ακαθαρτον πνιυμα ἐξελθη ἀπο του ανθρωπου, when the unclean spirit is gone, i. e. *after* his departure, *διερχεται*. John, ch. xiii. 30. 'Οτι ἐξηλθε (Ιουδας) "when he was gone," i. e. *after* his departure, *λεγει Ιησους*. Acts, ch. x. 7. *ὡς δε απηλθεν ο αγγελος ο λαλων τω Κορνηλιω*, "and when the angel which spake unto him was departed," i. e. *after* his departure, *φωνησας δυο των οικιτων, &c.*

was departed from Macedonia, that is, when he was *come into Achaia*.

The passage under consideration affords another circumstance of agreement deserving of our notice. The gift alluded to in the Epistle to the Philippians is stated to have been made "in the beginning of the gospel." This phrase is most naturally explained to signify the first preaching of the gospel in these parts; viz. on that side of the *Ægean Sea*. The succours referred to in the Epistle to the Corinthians, as received from Macedonia, are stated to have been received by him upon his first visit to the peninsula of Greece. The dates therefore assigned to the donation in the two epistles agree; yet is the date in one ascertained very incidentally, namely, by the considerations which fix the date of the epistle itself; and in the other, by an expression ("the beginning of the gospel") much too general to have been used if the text had been penned with any view to the correspondency we are remarking.

Farther, the phrase, "in the *beginning* of the gospel," raises an idea in the reader's mind that the gospel had been preached there more than once. The writer would hardly have called the visit to which he refers the "beginning of the gospel," if he had not also visited them in some other stage of it. The fact corresponds with this idea. If we consult the sixteenth and twentieth chapters of the Acts, we shall find, that St Paul, before his imprisonment at Rome, during which this epistle purports to have been written, had been *twice* in Macedonia, and each time at Philippi.

NO. IV.

That Timothy had been long with St Paul at Philippi, is a fact which seems to be implied in this epistle twice. First, he joins in the salutation with which the epistle opens: "Paul and Timotheus, the servants of Jesus Christ, to all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi." Secondly, and more directly, the point is inferred from what is said concerning him, chap. ii. 19.: "But I trust in the Lord Jesus to send Timotheus shortly unto you, that I also may be of good comfort when I know your state; for I have no man like minded, who will naturally care for your state; for all seek their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's; but *ye know the proof of him*, that as a son with the father, he hath served with me in the gospel." Had Timothy's presence with St Paul at Philippi, when he preached the gospel there, been expressly remarked in the Acts of the Apostles, this quotation might be thought to contain a contrived adaptation to the history; although, even in that case, the averment, or rather the allusion in the epistle, is too oblique to afford much room for such suspicion. But the truth is, that in the history of St Paul's transactions at Philippi, which occupies the greatest part of the sixteenth chapter of the Acts, no mention is made of Timothy at all. What appears concerning Timothy in the history, so far as relates to the present subject, is this: "When Paul came to Derbe and Lystra, behold a certain disciple was there, named Timotheus, whom Paul would have to go forth with him." The narrative then proceeds with the account of St Paul's progress through various provinces of the Lesser Asia, till

it brings him down to Troas. At Troas he was warned in a vision to pass over into Macedonia. In obedience to which he crossed the Ægean Sea to Samothracia, the next day to Neapolis, and from thence to Philippi. His preaching, miracles, and persecutions at Philippi, follow next; after which, Paul and his company, when they had passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, came to Thessalonica, and from Thessalonica to Berea. From Berea the brethren sent away Paul; "but Silas and *Timotheus* abode there still." The itinerary, of which the above is an abstract, is undoubtedly sufficient to support an inference that Timothy was along with St Paul at Philippi. We find them setting out together upon this progress from Derbe, in Lycaonia; we find them together near the conclusion of it, at Berea in Macedonia. It is highly probable, therefore, that they came together to Philippi, through which their route between these two places lay. If this be thought probable, it is sufficient. For what I wish to be observed is, that in comparing, upon this subject, the epistle with the history, we do not find a recital in one place of what is related in another; but that we find, what is much more to be relied upon, an oblique allusion to an implied fact.

NO. V.

Our epistle purports to have been written near the conclusion of St Paul's imprisonment at Rome, and after a residence in that city of considerable duration. These circumstances are made out by different intimations, and the intimations upon the subject preserve among themselves a just consistency, and a consistency certainly unmeditated. First, the apostle had already been a prisoner at Rome so

long, as that the reputation of his bonds, and of his constancy under them, had contributed to advance the success of the gospel: "But I would ye should understand, brethren, that the things which happened unto me have fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the Gospel; so that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace, and in all other places; and many of the brethren in the Lord waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to speak the word without fear." Secondly, the account given of Epaphroditus imports, that St Paul, when he wrote the epistle, had been in Rome a considerable time: "He longed after you all, and was full of heaviness, because that ye had heard that he had been sick." Epaphroditus was with St Paul at Rome. He had been sick. The Philippians had heard of his sickness, and he again had received an account how much they had been affected by the intelligence. The passing and repassing of these advices must necessarily have occupied a large portion of time, and must have all taken place during St Paul's residence at Rome. Thirdly, after a residence at Rome thus proved to have been of considerable duration, he now regards the decision of his fate as nigh at hand. He contemplates either alternative; that of his deliverance, ch. ii. 23. "Him therefore (Timothy) I hope to send *presently*, so soon as I shall see how it will go with me; but I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly:" that of his condemnation, ver. 17. "Yea, and if I be offered* upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all." This consistency is material, if

* Ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ σπινδομαι ἵνα τῇ θυσίᾳ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, if my blood be poured out as a libation upon the sacrifice of your faith.

the consideration of it be confined to the epistle. It is farther material, as it agrees with respect to the duration of St Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, with the account delivered in the Acts, which, having brought the apostle to Rome, closes the history by telling us "that he dwelt there *two whole years* in his own hired house."

NO. VI.

Chap. i. 23. "For I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ; which is far better."

With this compare 2 Cor. chap. v. 8.: "We are confident and willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord."

The sameness of sentiment in these two quotations is obvious. I rely however not so much upon that, as upon the similitude in the train of thought which in each epistle leads up to this sentiment, and upon the suitability of that train of thought to the circumstances under which the epistles purport to have been written. This, I conceive, bespeaks the production of the same mind, and of a mind operating upon real circumstances. The sentiment is in both places preceded by the contemplation of imminent personal danger. To the Philippians he writes, in the twentieth verse of this chapter, "According to my earnest expectation and my hope, that in nothing I shall be ashamed, but that with all boldness, as always, *so now also*, Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life or by death." To the Corinthians, "Troubled on every side, yet not distressed; perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed; always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord

Jesus." This train of reflection is continued to the place from whence the words which we compare are taken. The two epistles, though written at different times, from different places, and to different churches, were both written under circumstances which would naturally recall to the author's mind the precarious condition of his life, and the perils which constantly awaited him. When the Epistle to the Philippians was written, the author was a prisoner at Rome, expecting his trial. When the Second Epistle to the Corinthians was written, he had lately escaped a danger in which he had given himself over for lost. The epistle opens with a recollection of this subject, and the impression accompanied the writer's thoughts throughout.

I know that nothing is easier than to transplant into a forged epistle a sentiment or expression which is found in a true one; or, supposing both epistles to be forged by the same hand, to insert the same sentiment or expression in both. But the difficulty is to introduce it in just and close connexion with a train of thought going before, and with a train of thought apparently generated by the circumstances under which the epistle is written. In two epistles, purporting to be written on different occasions, and in different periods of the author's history, this propriety would not easily be managed.

NO. VII.

Chap. i. 29, 30.; ii. 1, 2. "For unto you is given, in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake; having the same conflict which *ye saw in me*, and now hear to be in me. If there be, therefore, any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship

of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies; fulfil ye my joy, that ye be like minded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind."

With this compare Acts xvi. 22.: "And the multitude (at Philippi) rose up against them (Paul and Silas); and the magistrates rent off their clothes, and commanded to beat them; and when they had laid many stripes upon them, they cast them into prison, charging the jailor to keep them safely; who, having received such a charge, thrust them into the inner prison, and made their feet fast in the stocks."

The passage in the epistle is very remarkable. I know not an example in any writing of a juster pathos, or which more truly represents the workings of a warm and affectionate mind, than what is exhibited in the quotation before us.* The apostle reminds his Philippians of their being joined with himself in the endurance of persecution for the sake of Christ. He conjures them by the ties of their common profession and their common sufferings, "to fulfil his joy;" to complete, by the unity of their faith, and by their mutual love, that joy with which the instances he had received of their zeal and attachment had inspired his breast. Now if this was the real effusion of St Paul's mind, of which it bears the strongest internal character, then we have in the words "the same conflict which ye saw in me," an authentic confirmation of so much of the apostle's history in the Acts, as relates to his transactions at Philippi; and, through that, of the intelligence and general fidelity of the historian.

* The original is very spirited: *Εἰ τις ἦν παρακλήσις ἐν Χριστῷ, ἢ τι παραμυθιον ἀγάπης, ἢ τις κοινωνία Πνεύματος, ἢ τινα σπλαγχνὰ καὶ οἰκτιρισμοί, πληροῦσατέ με τὴν χαρὰν.*

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

NO. I.

THERE is a circumstance of conformity between St Paul's history and his letters, especially those which were written during his first imprisonment at Rome, and more especially the epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians, which being too close to be accounted for from accident, yet too indirect and latent to be imputed to design, cannot easily be resolved into any other original than truth. Which circumstance is this, that Saint Paul in these epistles attributes his imprisonment not to his preaching of Christianity, but to his asserting the right of the Gentiles to be admitted into it without conforming themselves to the Jewish law. This was the doctrine to which he considered himself as a martyr. Thus, in the epistle before us, chap. i. 24. (I Paul) "who now rejoice in my sufferings for you"—*for you,* i. e. for those whom he had never seen; for a few verses afterwards he adds, "I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you and for them in Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh." His suffering therefore for *them* was, in their general capacity of Gentile Christians, agreeably to what he explicitly declares in his Epistle to the Ephesians, iv. 1.: "For this cause, I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ, *for you Gentiles.*" Again, in the epistle now under consideration, iv. 3.: "Withal praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utter-

ance to speak the *mystery* of Christ, for which I am also in bonds." What that "mystery of Christ" was, the Epistle to the Ephesians distinctly informs us: "Whereby when ye read ye may understand my knowledge in the *mystery of Christ*, which, in other ages, was not made known unto the sons of men, as it is now revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit, *that the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of his promise in Christ by the gospel.*" This, therefore, was the *confession* for which he declares himself to be in bonds. Now let us inquire how the occasion of St Paul's imprisonment is represented in the history. The apostle had not long returned to Jerusalem from his second visit into Greece, when an uproar was excited in that city by the clamour of certain Asiatic Jews, who, "having seen Paul in the temple, stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him." The charge advanced against him was, that "he taught all men every where against the people, and the law, and this place; and farther, brought Greeks also into the temple, and polluted that holy place." The former part of the charge seems to point at the doctrine, which he maintained, of the admission of the Gentiles, under the new dispensation, to an indiscriminate participation of God's favour with the Jews. But what follows makes the matter clear. When, by the interference of the chief captain, Paul had been rescued out of the hands of the populace, and was permitted to address the multitude who had followed him to the stairs of the castle, he delivered a brief account of his birth, of the early course of his life, of his miraculous conversion; and is proceeding in this narrative, until he comes to describe a vision which was presented to him, as he was praying in the temple; and which bid him

depart out of Jerusalem, "for I will send thee far hence *unto the Gentiles.*" Acts, xxii. 21. "They gave him audience," says the historian, "*unto this word*; and then lift up their voices, and said, Away with such a fellow from the earth!" Nothing can show more strongly than this account does, what was the offence which drew down upon St Paul the vengeance of his countrymen. His mission to the Gentiles, and his open avowal of that mission, was the intolerable part of the apostle's crime. But although the real motive of the prosecution appears to have been the apostle's conduct towards the Gentiles; yet, when his accusers came before a Roman magistrate, a charge was to be framed of a more legal form. The profanation of the temple was the article they chose to rely upon. This, therefore, became the immediate subject of Tertullus's oration before Felix, and of Paul's defence. But that he all along considered his ministry amongst the Gentiles as the actual source of the enmity that had been exercised against him, and in particular as the cause of the insurrection in which his person had been seized, is apparent from the conclusion of his discourse before Agrippa: "I have appeared unto thee," says he, describing what passed upon his journey to Damascus, "for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness, both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee, delivering thee from the people and from the Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee, to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me. Whereupon, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision; but showed

first unto them of Damascus, and of Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance. *For these causes* the Jews caught me in the temple, and went about to kill me." The seizing, therefore, of St Paul's person, from which he was never discharged till his final liberation at Rome; and of which, therefore, his imprisonment at Rome was the continuation and effect, was not in consequence of any general persecution set on foot against Christianity; nor did it befall him simply as professing or teaching Christ's religion, which James and the elders at Jerusalem did as well as he, (and yet, for any thing that appears, remained at that time unmolested); but it was distinctly and specifically brought upon him by his activity in preaching to the Gentiles, and by his boldly placing them upon a level with the once-favoured and still self-flattered posterity of Abraham. How well St Paul's letters, purporting to be written during this imprisonment, agree with this account of its cause and origin, we have already seen.

NO. II.

Chap. iv. 10. "Aristarchus my fellow-prisoner saluteth you, and Marcus, sister's son to Barnabas, (touching whom ye received commandments: If he come unto you, receive him;) and Jesus, which is called Justus, who are of the circumcision."

We find Aristarchus as a companion of our apostle in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts, and the twenty-ninth verse: "And the whole city of Ephesus was filled with confusion; and having caught Gaius and *Aristarchus*, men of Macedonia,

Paul's companions in travel, they rushed with one accord into the theatre." And we find him upon his journey with St Paul to Rome, in the twenty-seventh chapter, and the second verse: "And when it was determined that we should sail into Italy, they delivered Paul and certain other prisoners unto one named Julius, a centurion of Augustus's band: and, entering into a ship of Adramyttium, we launched, meaning to sail by the coast of Asia; one *Aristarchus, a Macedonian of Thessalonica, being with us.*" But might not the author of the epistle have consulted the history; and, observing that the historian had brought Aristarchus along with Paul to Rome, might he not for that reason, and without any other foundation, have put down his name amongst the salutations of an epistle purporting to be written by the apostle from that place? I allow so much of possibility to this objection, that I should not have proposed this in the number of coincidences clearly undesigned, had Aristarchus stood alone. The observation that strikes me in reading the passage is, that together with Aristarchus, whose journey to Rome we trace in the history, are joined Marcus and Justus, of whose coming to Rome the history says nothing. Aristarchus alone appears in the history, and Aristarchus alone would have appeared in the epistle, if the author had regulated himself by that conformity. Or if you take it the other way; if you suppose the history to have been made out of the epistle, why the journey of Aristarchus to Rome should be recorded, and not that of Marcus and Justus, if the ground-work of the narrative was the appearance of Aristarchus's name in the epistle, seems to be unaccountable.

"Marcus, *sister's son* to Barnabas." Does not this hint account for Barnabas's adherence to Mark

in the contest that arose with our apostle concerning him? "And some days after Paul said unto Barnabas, Let us go again and visit our brethren in every city where we have preached the word of the Lord, and see how they do; and *Barnabas determined to take with them John, whose surname was Mark*; but Paul thought not good to take him with them, who departed from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work; and the contention was so sharp between them, that they departed asunder one from the other; and so Barnabas took Mark and sailed unto Cyprus." The history which records the dispute has not preserved the circumstance of Mark's relationship to Barnabas. It is no where noticed but in the text before us. As far, therefore, as it applies, the application is certainly undesigned.

"*Sister's son to Barnabas.*" This woman, the mother of Mark, and the sister of Barnabas, was, as might be expected, a person of some eminence amongst the Christians of Jerusalem. It so happens that we hear of her in the history. "When Peter was delivered from prison, he came to the house of *Mary the mother of John, whose surname was Mark*, where many were gathered together praying." Acts, xii. 12. There is somewhat of coincidence in this; somewhat bespeaking real transactions amongst real persons.

NO. III.

The following coincidence, though it bear the appearance of great nicety and refinement, ought not, perhaps, to be deemed imaginary. In the salutations with which this, like most of St Paul's epistles, concludes, "we have Aristarchus, and Marcus, and Jesus, which is called Justus, *who are*

of the circumcision," iv. 10, 11. Then follow also, "Epaphras, Luke the beloved physician, and Demas." Now as this description, "who are of the circumcision," is added after the first three names, it is inferred, not without great appearance of probability, that the rest, amongst whom is Luke, were not of the circumcision. Now, can we discover any expression in the Acts of the Apostles, which ascertains whether the author of the book was a Jew or not? If we can discover that he was not a Jew, we fix a circumstance in his character, which coincides with what is here, indirectly indeed, but not very uncertainly, intimated concerning Luke: and we so far confirm both the testimony of the primitive church, that the Acts of the Apostles was written by St Luke, and the general reality of the persons and circumstances brought together in this epistle. The text in the Acts, which has been construed to show that the writer was not a Jew, is the nineteenth verse of the first chapter, where, in describing the field which had been purchased with the reward of Judas's iniquity, it is said, "that it was known unto all the dwellers at Jerusalem; insomuch as that field is called in *their* proper tongue, Aceldama, that is to say, The field of blood." These words are by most commentators taken to be the words and observation of the historian, and not a part of St Peter's speech, in the midst of which they are found. If this be admitted, then it is argued that the expression "in *their* proper tongue," would not have been used by a Jew, but is suitable to the pen of a Gentile writing concerning Jews.* The reader will judge of the probability of this conclusion, and we urge the coincidence no farther than

* Vide Benson's Dissertation, vol. i. p. 318. of his works, ed. 1756.

that probability extends. The coincidence, if it be one, is so remote from all possibility of design, that nothing need be added to satisfy the reader upon that part of the argument.

NO. IV.

Chap. iv. 9. "With Onesimus, a faithful and beloved brother, *who is one of you.*"

Observe how it may be made out that Onesimus was a Colossian. Turn to the Epistle to Philemon, and you will find that Onesimus was the servant or slave of Philemon. The question therefore will be, to what city Philemon belonged. In the epistle addressed to him this is not declared. It appears only that he was of the same place, whatever that place was, with an eminent Christian named Archippus. "Paul, a prisoner of Jesus Christ, and Timothy our brother, unto Philemon our dearly beloved and fellow-labourer; and to our beloved Apphia, and *Archippus* our fellow-soldier, and to the church in thy house." Now turn back to the Epistle to the Colossians, and you will find Archippus saluted by name amongst the Christians of that church. "Say to Archippus, Take heed to the ministry which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it," (iv. 17.) The necessary result is, that Onesimus also was of the same city, agreeably to what is said of him, "he is one of you." And this result is the effect either of truth which produces consistency without the writer's thought or care, or of a contexture of forgeries confirming and falling in with one another by a species of fortuity of which I know no example. The supposition of design, I think, is excluded, not only because the purpose to which the design must have been directed, viz. the veri-

fication of the passage in our epistle, in which it is said concerning Onesimus, "he is one of you," is a purpose, which would be lost upon ninety-nine readers out of a hundred; but because the means made use of are too circuitous to have been the subject of affectation and contrivance. Would a forger, who had this purpose in view, have left his readers to hunt it out, by going forward and backward from one epistle to another, in order to connect Onesimus with Philemon, Philemon with Archippus, and Archippus with Colosse? all which he must do before he arrives at his discovery, that it was truly said of Onesimus, "he is one of you."

CHAPTER IX.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

NO. I.

It is known to every reader of Scripture, that the First Epistle to the Thessalonians speaks of the coming of Christ in terms which indicate an expectation of his speedy appearance: "For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that *we* which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then *we which are alive and remain*, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds—But ye, brethren, are not in darkness, that that day should overtake you as a thief." (Chap. iv. 15, 16, 17.; ch. v. 4.)

Whatever other construction these texts may bear, the idea they leave upon the mind of an ordinary reader, is that of the author of the epistle looking for the day of judgment to take place in his own time, or near to it. Now the use which I make of this circumstance, is to deduce from it a proof that the epistle itself was not the production of a subsequent age. Would an impostor have given this expectation to St Paul, after experience had proved it to be erroneous? or would he have put into the apostle's mouth, or, which is the same thing, into writings purporting to come from his hand, expressions, if not necessarily conveying, at least easily interpreted to convey, an opinion which was then known to be founded in mistake? I state this as an argument to shew that the epistle was contemporary with St Paul, which is little less than to show that it actually proceeded from his pen. For I question whether any ancient forgeries were executed in the lifetime of the person whose name they bear; nor was the primitive situation of the church likely to give birth to such an attempt.

NO. II.

Our epistle concludes with a direction that it should be publicly read in the church to which it was addressed: "I charge you by the Lord, that this epistle be read unto all the holy brethren." The existence of this clause in the body of the epistle is an evidence of its authenticity; because to produce a letter purporting to have been publicly read in the church of Thessalonica, when no such letter in truth had been read or heard of in that church, would be to produce an imposture destructive of itself. At least, it seems unlikely that the

author of an imposture would voluntarily, and even officiously, afford a handle to so plain an objection.—Either the epistle was publicly read in the church of Thessalonica during St Paul's lifetime, or it was not. If it was, no publication could be more authentic, no species of notoriety more unquestionable, no method of preserving the integrity of the copy more secure. If it was not, the clause we produce would remain a standing condemnation of the forgery, and one would suppose, an invincible impediment to its success.

If we connect this article with the preceding, we shall perceive that they combine into one strong proof of the genuineness of the epistle. The preceding article carries up the date of the epistle to the time of St Paul; the present article fixes the publication of it to the church of Thessalonica. Either therefore the church of Thessalonica was imposed upon by a false epistle, which in St Paul's lifetime they received and read publicly as his, carrying on a communication with him all the while, and the epistle referring to the continuance of that communication; or other Christian churches, in the same lifetime of the apostle, received an epistle purporting to have been publicly read in the church of Thessalonica, which nevertheless had not been heard of in that church; or, lastly, the conclusion remains, that the epistle now in our hands is genuine.

NO. III.

Between our epistle and the history the accordancy in many points is circumstantial and complete. The history relates, that, after Paul and Silas had been beaten with many stripes at Philippi, shut up in the inner prison, and their feet made

fast in the stocks, as soon as they were discharged from their confinement they departed from thence, and, when they had passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, came to Thessalonica, where Paul opened and alleged that Jesus was the Christ, Acts xvi. 23, &c. The epistle written in the name of Paul and Sylvanus (Silas), and of Timotheus, who also appears to have been along with them at Philippi (vide Phil. No. iv.), speaks to the church of Thessalonica thus: "Even after that we had suffered before, and were shamefully entreated, as ye know, at Philippi, we were bold in our God to speak unto you the gospel of God with much contention." (ii. 2.)

The history relates, that after they had been some time at Thessalonica, "the Jews who believed not set all the city in an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason where Paul and Silas were, and sought to bring them out to the people." Acts xvii. 5. The epistle declares, "when we were with you, we told you before that we should suffer tribulation; even as it came to pass, and ye know." (iii. 4.)

The history brings Paul and Silas and Timothy together at Corinth, soon after the preaching of the Gospel at Thessalonica:—"And when Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia (to Corinth), Paul was pressed in spirit." Acts xviii. 5. The epistle is written in the name of these three persons, who consequently must have been together at the time, and speaks throughout of their ministry at Thessalonica as a recent transaction: "We, brethren, *being taken from you for a short time*, in presence, not in heart, endeavoured the more abundantly to see your face, with great desire." (ii. 17.)

The harmony is indubitable; but the points of history in which it consists, are so expressly set forth in the narrative, and so directly referred to in the epistle, that it becomes necessary for us to show that the facts in one writing were not copied from the other. Now, amidst some minuter discrepancies, which will be noticed below, there is one circumstance which mixes itself with all the allusions in the epistle, but does not appear in the history any where; and that is, of a visit which St Paul had intended to pay to the Thessalonians during the time of his residing at Corinth: "Wherefore we would have come unto you (even I Paul) once and again; but Satan hindered us." (ii. 18.) "Night and day praying exceedingly that we might see your face, and might perfect that which is lacking in your faith. Now God himself and our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, direct our way unto you." (iii. 10, 11.) Concerning a design which was not executed, although the person himself, who was conscious of his own purpose, should make mention in his letters, nothing is more probable than that his historian should be silent, if not ignorant. The author of the epistle could not, however, have learnt this circumstance from the history, for it is not there to be met with; nor, if the historian had drawn his materials from the epistle, is it likely that he would have passed over a circumstance, which is amongst the most obvious and prominent of the facts to be collected from that source of information.

NO. IV.

Chap. iii. 1—7. "Wherefore when we could no longer forbear, we thought it good *to be left at Athens alone*, and sent Timotheus, our brother,

and minister of God, to establish you, and to comfort you concerning your faith;—but now when Timothy came from you unto us, and brought us good tidings of your faith and charity, we were comforted over you in all our affliction and distress by your faith.”

The history relates, that when Paul came out of Macedonia to Athens, Silas and Timothy staid behind at Berea: “The brethren sent away Paul to go as it were to the sea; but Silas and Timothy abode there still; and they that conducted Paul brought him to Athens.” Acts, chap. xvii. 14, 15. The history farther relates, that after Paul had tarried some time at Athens, and had proceeded from thence to Corinth, whilst he was exercising his ministry in that city, Silas and Timothy came to him from Macedonia. Acts, ch. xviii. 5. But to reconcile the history with the clause in the epistle, which makes St Paul say, “I thought it good to be left at Athens alone, and to send Timothy unto you,” it is necessary to suppose that Timothy had come up with St Paul at Athens; a circumstance which the history does not mention. I remark, therefore, that although the history do not expressly notice this arrival, yet it contains intimations which render it extremely probable that the fact took place. First, as soon as Paul had reached Athens, he sent a message back to Silas and Timothy “for to come to him with all speed.” Acts, ch. xvii. 15. Secondly, his stay at Athens was on purpose that they might join him there: “Now whilst Paul *waited for them at Athens*, his spirit was stirred in him.” Acts, ch. xvii. 16. Thirdly, his departure from Athens does not appear to have been in any sort hastened or abrupt. It is said, “after these things,” viz. his disputation with the Jews, his conferences

with the philosophers, his discourse at Areopagus, and the gaining of some converts, "he departed from Athens and came to Corinth." It is not hinted that he quitted Athens before the time that he had intended to leave it; it is not suggested that he was driven from thence, as he was from many cities, by tumults or persecutions, or because his life was no longer safe. Observe then the particulars which the history *does* notice—that Paul had ordered Timothy to follow him without delay, that he waited at Athens on purpose that Timothy might come up with him, that he staid there as long as his own choice led him to continue. Laying these circumstances which the history does disclose together, it is highly probable that Timothy came to the apostle at Athens, a fact which the epistle, we have seen, virtually asserts when it makes Paul send Timothy back from Athens to Thessalonica. The *sending back of Timothy into Macedonia* accounts also for his not coming to Corinth till after Paul had been fixed in that city for some considerable time. Paul had found out Aquila and Priscilla, abode with them and wrought, being of the same craft; and reasoned in the synagogue every sabbath day, and persuaded the Jews and the Greeks. Acts, ch. xviii. 1—5. All this passed at Corinth, before Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia. Acts, chap. xviii. 5. If this was the first time of their coming up with him after their separation at Berea, there is nothing to account for a delay so contrary to what appears from the history itself to have been St Paul's plan and expectation. This is a conformity of a peculiar species. The epistle discloses a fact which is not preserved in the history; but which makes what is said in the history more significant,

probable, and consistent. The history bears marks of an omission; the epistle by reference furnishes a circumstance which supplies that omission.

NO. V.

Chap. ii. 14. "For ye, brethren, became followers of the churches of God which in Judea are in Christ Jesus; for ye also have suffered like things of your own countrymen, even as they have of the Jews."

To a reader of the Acts of the Apostles, it might seem, at first sight, that the persecutions which the preachers and converts of Christianity underwent, were suffered at the hands of their old adversaries the Jews. But, if we attend carefully to the accounts there delivered, we shall observe, that though the opposition made to the gospel usually originated from the enmity of the Jews, yet in almost all places the Jews went about to accomplish their purpose, by stirring up the Gentile inhabitants against their converted countrymen. Out of Judea they had not power to do much mischief in any other way. This was the case at Thessalonica in particular: "The Jews which believed not, moved with envy, set all the city in an uproar." Acts, chap. xvii. ver. 5. It was the same a short time afterwards at Berea: "When the Jews of Thessalonica had knowledge that the word of God was preached of Paul at Berea, they came thither also, and stirred up the people." Acts, ch. xvii. 18. And before this our apostle had met with a like species of persecution, in his progress through the Lesser Asia: in every city "the unbelieving Jews stirred up the Gentiles, and made their minds evil-affected against the brethren." Acts, ch. xiv. 2. The epistle therefore represents the case ac-

curately as the history states it. It was the Jews always who set on foot the persecutions against the apostles and their followers. He speaks truly therefore of them, when he says in this epistle, "they both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and have *persecuted us*—forbidding us to speak unto the Gentiles." (ii. 15, 16.) But out of Judea it was at the hands of the Gentiles, it was "of their own countrymen," that the injuries they underwent were immediately sustained: "Ye have suffered like things of your own countrymen, even as they have of the Jews."

NO. VI.

The apparent discrepancies between our epistle and the history, though of magnitude sufficient to repel the imputation of confederacy or transcription, (in which view they form a part of our argument), are neither numerous, nor very difficult to reconcile.

One of these may be observed in the ninth and tenth verses of the second chapter: "For ye remember, brethren, our labour and travel; for labouring night and day, because we would not be chargeable unto any of you, we preached unto you the gospel of God. Ye are witnesses, and God also, how holily, and justly, and unblamably we behaved ourselves among you that believe." A person who reads this passage is naturally led by it to suppose, that the writer had dwelt at Thessalonica for some considerable time; yet of St Paul's ministry in that city, the history gives no other account than the following: that "he came to Thessalonica, where was a synagogue of the Jews; that, as his manner was, he went in unto them, and *three sabbath days* reasoned with them out of the Scrip-

tures ; that some of them believed, and consorted with Paul and Silas." The history then proceeds to tell us, that the Jews which believed not, set the city in an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason, where Paul and his companions lodged ; that the consequence of this outrage was, that " the brethren immediately sent away Paul and Silas by night unto Berea." Acts, ch. xvii. 1—10. From the mention of his preaching three sabbath days in the Jewish synagogue, and from the want of any farther specification of his ministry, it has usually been taken for granted that Paul did not continue at Thessalonica more than three weeks. This, however, is inferred without necessity. It appears to have been St Paul's practice, in almost every place that he came to, upon his first arrival to repair to the synagogue. He thought himself bound to propose the gospel to the Jews first; agreeably to what he declared at Antioch in Pisidia ; " it was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you." Acts, ch. xiii. 46. If the Jews rejected his ministry, he quitted the synagogue, and betook himself to a Gentile audience. At Corinth, upon his first coming thither, he reasoned in the synagogue every sabbath ; " but when the Jews opposed themselves, and blasphemed, he departed thence," expressly telling them, " From henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles ; and he remained in that city a year and six months." Acts, ch. xviii. 6—11. At Ephesus, in like manner, for the space of three months he went into the synagogue ; but " when divers were hardened and believed not, but spake evil of that way, he departed from them and separated the disciples, disputing daily in the school of one Tyrannus ; and this continued by the space of two years." Acts, ch. xix. 9, 10. Upon inspect-

ing the history, I see nothing in it which negatives the supposition, that St Paul pursued the same plan at Thessalonica which he adopted in other places; and that, though he resorted to the synagogue only three sabbath days, yet he remained in the city, and in the exercise of his ministry amongst the Gentile citizens, much longer; and until the success of his preaching had provoked the Jews to excite the tumult and insurrection by which he was driven away.

Another seeming discrepancy is found in the ninth verse of the first chapter of the epistle: "For they themselves show of us what manner of entering in we had unto you, and how *ye turned to God from idols to serve the living and true God.*" This text contains an assertion, that, by means of St Paul's ministry at Thessalonica, many idolatrous Gentiles had been brought over to Christianity. Yet the history, in describing the effects of that ministry, only says, that "some of the Jews believed, and of the devout Greeks a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few." (ch. xvii. 4.) The devout Greeks were those who already worshipped the one true God; and therefore could not be said, by embracing Christianity, "to be turned to God from idols."

This is the difficulty. The answer may be assisted by the following observations: The Alexandrian and Cambridge manuscripts read (for τῶν σεβόμενων Ἑλλήνων πολὺ πλῆθος) τῶν σεβόμενων καὶ Ἑλλήνων πολὺ πλῆθος in which reading they are also confirmed by the Vulgate Latin. And this reading is, in my opinion, strongly supported by the considerations, first, that οἱ σεβόμενοι alone, i. e. without Ἕλληνας, is used in this sense in the same chapter—Paul being come to Athens διαλεγασθε ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς σεβόμενοις: secondly,

that *σεβομανοι* and *Ἕλληνας* no where come together. The expression is redundant. The *οἱ σεβομανοι* must be *Ἕλληνας*. Thirdly, that the *καὶ* is much more likely to have been left out *incuriâ manûs* than to have been put in. Or, after all, if we be not allowed to change the present reading, which is undoubtedly retained by a great plurality of copies, may not the passage in the history be considered as describing only the effects of St Paul's discourses during the three sabbath days in which he preached in the synagogue? and may it not be true, as we have remarked above, that his application to the Gentiles at large, and his success amongst them, was posterior to this?

CHAPTER X.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

NO. I.

IT may seem odd to allege obscurity itself as an argument, or to draw a proof in favour of a writing from that which is naturally considered as the principal defect in its composition. The present epistle, however, furnishes a passage, hitherto unexplained, and probably inexplicable by us, the existence of which, under the darkness and difficulties that attend it, can be accounted for only upon the supposition of the epistle being genuine; and upon that supposition is accounted for with great ease. The passage which I allude to is found in the second chapter: "That day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdi-

tion, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God. Remember ye not that **WHEN I WAS YET WITH YOU I TOLD YOU THESE THINGS?** *And now ye know what withholdeth, that he might be revealed in his time; for the mystery of iniquity doth already work, only he that now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way; and then shall that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming.*" It were superfluous to prove, because it is in vain to deny, that this passage is involved in great obscurity, more especially the clauses distinguished by Italics. Now the observation I have to offer is founded upon this, that the passage expressly refers to a conversation which the author had previously holden with the Thessalonians upon the same subject:—"Remember ye not, that when I was yet with you *I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth.*" If such conversation actually passed; if, whilst "he was yet with them, he *told* them those things," then it follows that the epistle is authentic. And of the reality of this conversation it appears to be a proof, that what is said in the epistle might be understood by those who had been present to such conversation, and yet be incapable of being explained by any other. No man writes unintelligibly on purpose. But it may easily happen, that a part of a letter which relates to a subject, upon which the parties had conversed together before, which refers to what had been before *said*, which is in truth a portion or continuation of a former discourse, may be utterly without meaning to a stranger who should pick up the letter upon the road, and yet be per-

fectly clear to the person to whom it is directed, and with whom the previous communication had passed. And if, in a letter which thus accidentally fell into my hands, I found a passage expressly referring to a former conversation, and difficult to be explained without knowing that conversation, I should consider this very difficulty as a proof that the conversation had actually passed, and consequently that the letter contained the real correspondence of real persons.

NO. II.

Chap. iii. 8. "Neither did we eat any man's bread for nought, but wrought with labour night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you: not because we have no power, but to make ourselves an ensample unto you to follow."

In a letter, purporting to have been written to another of the Macedonic churches, we find the following declaration:

"Now, ye Philippians, know also, that in the beginning of the gospel, when I departed from Macedonia, *no church communicated with me as concerning giving and receiving but ye only.*"

The conformity between these two passages is strong and plain. They confine the transaction to the same period. The epistle to the Philippians refers to what passed "in the beginning of the gospel," that is to say, during the first preaching of the gospel on that side of the Ægean Sea. The epistle to the Thessalonians speaks of the apostle's conduct in that city upon "his first entrance in unto them," which the history informs us was in the course of his first visit to the peninsula of Greece.

As St Paul tells the Philippians, "that no church communicated with him, as concerning giving and receiving, but they only," he could not, consistently with the truth of this declaration, have received any thing from the neighbouring church of Thessalonica. What thus appears by general implication in an epistle to another church, when he writes to the Thessalonians themselves, is noticed expressly and particularly: "Neither did we eat any man's bread for nought, but wrought night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you."

The texts here cited further also exhibit a mark of conformity with what St Paul is made to say of himself in the Acts of the Apostles. The apostle not only reminds the Thessalonians that he had not been chargeable to any of them, but he states likewise the motive which dictated this reserve; "not because we have not power, but to make ourselves an ensample unto you to follow us. (ch. iii. 9.) This conduct, and, what is much more precise, the end which he had in view by it, was the very same as that which the history attributes to St Paul in a discourse, which it represents him to have addressed to the elders of the church of Ephesus: "Yea, ye yourselves also know that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me. I have *showed* you all things, how *that so labouring ye ought to support the weak.*" Acts, ch. xx. 34. The sentiment in the epistle and in the speech is in both parts of it so much alike, and yet the words which convey it show so little of imitation or even of resemblance, that the agreement cannot well be explained without supposing the speech and the letter to have really proceeded from the same person.

NO. III.

Our reader remembers the passage in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, in which St Paul spoke of the coming of Christ: "This we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive, and remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them which are asleep: for the Lord himself shall descend from heaven, and the dead in Christ shall rise first; then we which are alive and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, and so shall we be ever with the Lord.—But ye, brethren, are not in darkness, that that day should overtake you as a thief." 1 Thess. iv. 15—17. and ch. v. 4. It should seem that the Thessalonians, or some however amongst them, had from this passage conceived an opinion (and that not very unnaturally) that the coming of Christ was to take place instantly, ὅτι ἐπιστηκεν;* and that this persuasion had produced, as it well might, much agitation in the church. The apostle therefore now writes, amongst other purposes, to quiet this alarm, and to rectify the misconstruction that had been put upon his words:—"Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, *nor by letter as from us*, as that the day of Christ is at hand." If the allusion which we contend for be admitted, namely, if it be admitted that the passage in the second epistle relates to the passage in

* Ὅτι ἐπιστηκεν, nempe hoc anno, says Grotius, ἐπιστηκεν hic dicitur de re præsentī, ut Rom. viii. 38. 1 Cor. iii. 22. Gal. i. 4. Heb. ix. 9.

the first, it amounts to a considerable proof of the genuineness of both epistles. I have no conception, because I know no example, of such a device in a forgery, as first to frame an ambiguous passage in a letter, then to represent the persons to whom the letter is addressed as mistaking the meaning of the passage, and lastly, to write a second letter in order to correct this mistake.

I have said that this argument arises out of the text, *if* the allusion be admitted: for I am not ignorant that many expositors understand the passage in the second epistle, as referring to some forged letters, which had been produced in St Paul's name, and in which the apostle had been made to say that the coming of Christ was then at hand. In defence, however, of the explanation which we propose, the reader is desired to observe,—

1. The strong fact, that there exists a passage in the first epistle, to which that in the second is capable of being referred, *i. e.* which accounts for the error the writer is solicitous to remove. Had no other epistle than the second been extant, and had it under these circumstances come to be considered, whether the text before us related to a forged epistle or to some misconstruction of a true one, many conjectures and many probabilities might have been admitted in the inquiry, which can have little weight when an epistle is produced containing the very sort of passage we were seeking, that is, a passage liable to the misinterpretation which the apostle protests against.

2. That the clause which introduces the passage in the second epistle bears a particular affinity to what is found in the passage cited from the first epistle. The clause is this: "We beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ,

and *by our gathering together unto him.*" Now in the first epistle the description of the coming of Christ is accompanied with the mention of this very circumstance of his saints being collected round him. "The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel and with the trump of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first; then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, *to meet the Lord in the air.*" 1 Thess. chap. iv. 16, 17. This I suppose to be the "gathering together unto him" intended in the second epistle; and that the author, when he used these words, retained in his thoughts what he had written on the subject before.

3. The second epistle is written in the joint name of Paul, Silvanus, and Timotheus, and it cautions the Thessalonians against being misled "by letter as from us" (*ὡς δι' ἡμῶν*). Do not these words, *δι' ἡμῶν*, appropriate the reference to some writing which bore the name of these three teachers? Now this circumstance, which is a very close one, belongs to the epistle at present in our hands; for the epistle which we call the First Epistle to the Thessalonians contains these names in its superscription.

4. The words in the original, as far as they are material to be stated, are these: *εις το μη ταχως σαλυθηται υμας απο τω νοου, μητι θροισθαι, μητι δια πνιματος, μητι δια λογου, μητι δι' επιστολης, ὡς δι' ἡμῶν, ὡς ὅτι ενιστηκειν ἡ ἡμερα τω Χριστω.* Under the weight of the preceding observations may not the words *μητι δια λογου, μητι δι' επιστολης, ὡς δι' ἡμῶν*, be construed to signify *quasi nos quid tale aut dixerimus aut scripsimus*,* intimating that

* Should a contrary interpretation be preferred, I do not think that it implies the conclusion that a false epistle had

their words had been mistaken, and that they had in truth said or written no such thing?

CHAPTER XI.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

FROM the third verse of the first chapter, "as I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus when I went into Macedonia," it is evident that this epistle was written soon after St Paul had gone to Macedonia from Ephesus. Dr Benson fixes its date to the time of St Paul's journey recorded in the beginning of the twentieth chapter of the Acts: "And after the uproar (excited by Demetrius at Ephesus) was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia." And in this opinion Dr Benson is followed by Michaelis, as he was preceded by the greater part of the commentators who have considered the question. There is, however, one objection to the hypothesis, which these learned men appear to me to have overlooked; and it is no other than this, that the superscription of the

then been published in the apostle's name. It will completely satisfy the allusion in the text to allow, that some one or other at Thessalonica had pretended to have been told by St Paul and his companions, or to have seen a letter from them in which they had said, that the day of Christ was at hand. In like manner as, Acts xv. 1. 24. it is recorded that some had pretended to have received instructions from the church at Jerusalem, which had been received, "to whom they gave no such commandment." And thus Dr Benson interpreted the passage *μητι θροισθαι, μητι δια πνιματος, μητι δια λογου, μητι δι' επιστολης, ως δι' ημων*, "nor be dismayed by any revelation, or discourse, or epistle, which any one shall pretend to have heard or received from us."

Second Epistle to the Corinthians seems to prove, that at the time St Paul is supposed by them to have written this epistle to Timothy, Timothy in truth was with St Paul in Macedonia. Paul, as it is related in the Acts, left Ephesus "for to go into Macedonia." When he had got into Macedonia, he wrote his Second Epistle to the Corinthians. Concerning this point there exists little variety of opinion. It is plainly indicated by the contents of the epistle. It is also strongly implied that the epistle was written *soon* after the apostle's arrival in Macedonia; for he begins his letter by a train of reflection, referring to his persecutions in Asia as to recent transactions, as to dangers from which he had lately been delivered. But in the salutation with which the epistle opens, *Timothy was joined with St Paul*, and consequently could not at that time be "left behind at Ephesus." And as to the only solution of the difficulty which can be thought of, viz. that Timothy, though he was left behind at Ephesus upon St Paul's departure from Asia, yet might follow him so soon after, as to come up with the apostle in Macedonia, before he wrote his epistle to the Corinthians; that supposition is inconsistent with the terms and tenor of the epistle throughout. For the writer speaks uniformly of his intention to return to Timothy at Ephesus, and not of his expecting Timothy to come to him in Macedonia: "These things write I unto thee, *hoping to come unto thee shortly*; but if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself." Chap. iii. 14, 15. "*Till I come, give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine.*" Chap. iv. 13.

Since, therefore, the leaving of Timothy behind at Ephesus, when Paul went into Macedonia, suits not with any journey into Macedonia recorded in

the Acts, I concur with Bishop Pearson in placing the date of this epistle, and the journey referred to in it, at a period subsequent to St Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, and consequently subsequent to the era up to which the Acts of the Apostles brings his history. The only difficulty which attends our opinion is, that St Paul must, according to us, have come to Ephesus after his liberation at Rome, contrary as it should seem to what he foretold to the Ephesian elders, "that they should see his face no more." And it is to save the infallibility of this prediction, and for no other reason of weight, that an earlier date is assigned to this epistle. The prediction itself, however, when considered in connexion with the circumstances under which it was delivered, does not seem to demand so much anxiety. The words in question are found in the twenty-fifth verse of the twentieth chapter of the Acts: "And now, behold, I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more." In the twenty-second and twenty-third verses of the same chapter, *i. e.* two verses before, the apostle makes this declaration: "And now, behold, I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befall me there; save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, saying that bonds and afflictions abide me." This "witnessing of the Holy Ghost" was undoubtedly prophetic and supernatural. But it went no farther than to foretell that bonds and afflictions awaited him. And I can very well conceive, that this might be all which was communicated to the apostle by extraordinary revelation, and that the rest was the conclusion of his own mind, the desponding inference which he drew from strong and repeated intimations of approaching danger. And

the expression "I know," which St Paul here uses, does not, perhaps, when applied to future events affecting himself, convey an assertion so positive and absolute as we may at first sight apprehend. In the first chapter of the Epistle to the Philippians and the twenty-fifth verse, "I know," says he, "that I shall abide and continue with you all, for your furtherance and joy of faith." Notwithstanding this strong declaration, in the second chapter and twenty-third verse of this same epistle, and speaking also of the very same event, he is content to use a language of some doubt and uncertainty: "Him therefore I hope to send presently, so soon as *I shall see how it will go with me*. But *I trust* in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly." And a few verses preceding these, he not only seems to doubt of his safety, but almost to despair; to contemplate the possibility at least of his condemnation and martyrdom: "Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all."

NO. I.

But can we show that St Paul visited Ephesus after his liberation at Rome? or rather, can we collect any hints from his other letters which make it probable that he did? If we can, then we have a *coincidence*. If we cannot, we have only an unauthorized supposition, to which the exigency of the case compels us to resort. Now, for this purpose, let us examine the Epistle to the Philippians and the Epistle to Philemon. These two epistles purport to be written whilst St Paul was yet a prisoner at Rome. To the Philippians he writes as follows: "I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly." To Philemon, who was a

Colossian, he gives this direction; "But withal, prepare me also a lodging, for I trust that through your prayers I shall be given unto you." An inspection of the map will show us that Colosse was a city of the Lesser Asia, lying eastward, and at no great distance from Ephesus. Philippi was on the other, *i. e.* the western side of the *Ægean* Sea. If the apostle executed his purpose; if, in pursuance of the intention expressed in his letter to Philemon, he came to Colosse soon after he was set at liberty at Rome, it is very improbable that he would omit to visit Ephesus, which lay so near to it, and where he had spent three years of his ministry. As he was also under a promise to the church of Philippi to see them "shortly;" if he passed from Colosse to Philippi, or from Philippi to Colosse, he could hardly avoid taking Ephesus in his way.

NO. II.

Chap. v. 9. "Let not a widow be taken into the number under threescore years old."

This accords with the account delivered in the sixth chapter of the Acts. "And in those days, when the number of the disciples was multiplied, there arose a murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews, *because their widows were neglected in the daily ministrations.*" It appears that, from the first formation of the Christian church, provision was made out of the public funds of the society for the indigent *widows* who belonged to it. The history, we have seen, distinctly records the existence of such an institution at Jerusalem, a few years after our Lord's ascension; and is led to the mention of it very incidentally, *viz.* by a dispute, of which it was the occasion, and which produced

important consequences to the Christian community. The epistle, without being suspected of borrowing from the history, refers, briefly indeed, but decisively, to a similar establishment, subsisting some years afterwards at Ephesus. This agreement indicates that both writings were founded upon real circumstances.

But, in this article, the material thing to be noticed is the mode of expression: "Let not a widow be taken into the number."—No previous account or explanation is given, to which these words, "into the number," can refer; but the direction comes concisely and unpreparedly: "Let not a widow be taken into the number." Now this is the way in which a man writes, who is conscious that he is writing to persons already acquainted with the subject of his letter; and who, he knows, will readily apprehend and apply what he says by virtue of their being so acquainted: but it is not the way in which a man writes upon any other occasion; and least of all, in which a man would draw up a feigned letter, or introduce a suppositious fact. *

* It is not altogether unconnected with our general purpose to remark, in the passage before us, the selection and reserve which St Paul recommends to the governors of the church of Ephesus in the bestowing relief upon the poor, because it refutes a calumny which has been insinuated, that the liberality of the first Christians was an artifice to catch converts; or one of the temptations, however, by which the idle and mendicant were drawn into this society: "Let not a widow be taken into the number under threescore years old, having been the wife of one man, well reported of for good works; if she have brought up children, if she have lodged strangers, if she have washed the saints' feet, if she have relieved the afflicted, if she have diligently followed every good work. But the younger widows refuse." (v. 9, 10, 11.) And, in another place, "If any man or woman that believeth have widows, let them relieve them, and let not the church be charged; that it may relieve them that are widows indeed." And to the same effect, or rather more to our present purpose, the Apostle writes in the Second Epistle to the Thes.

No. III.

Chap. iii. 2, 3. "A bishop then must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach; not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre; but patient, not a brawler, not covetous; one that ruleth well his own house."

"*No striker*:" That is the article which I single out from the collection, as evincing the antiquity at least, if not the genuineness, of the epistle; because it is an article which no man would have made the subject of caution, who lived in an advanced era of the church. It agreed with the infancy of the society, and with no other state of it. After the government of the church had acquired the dignified form which it soon and naturally assumed, this injunction could have no place. Would a person who lived under a hierarchy, such as the Christian hierarchy became when it had settled into a regular establishment, have thought it necessary to prescribe concerning the qualification of a bishop, "that he should be no striker?" And this injunction would be equally alien from the imagination of the writer, whether he wrote in his own character, or personated that of an apostle.

salonians: "Even when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat," *i. e.* at the public expense. "For we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, *working not at all*, but are busy-bodies. Now them that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread." Could a designing, or dissolute poor take advantage of bounty regulated with so much caution; or could the mind which dictated those sober and prudent directions be influenced in his recommendations of public charity by any other than the properest motives of beneficence?

No. IV.

Chap. v. 23. "Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities."

Imagine an impostor sitting down to forge an epistle in the name of St Paul. Is it credible that it should come into his head to give such a direction as this; so remote from every thing of doctrine or discipline, every thing of public concern to the religion or the church, or to any sect, order, or party in it, and from every purpose with which such an epistle could be written? It seems to me that nothing but reality, that is, the real valetudinary situation of a real person, could have suggested a thought of so domestic a nature.

But if the peculiarity of the advice be observable, the place in which it stands is more so. The context is this: "Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins: keep thyself pure. Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities. Some men's sins are open beforehand, going before to judgment; and some men they follow after." The direction to Timothy about his diet stands between two sentences, as wide from the subject as possible. The train of thought seems to be broken to let it in. Now when does this happen? It happens when a man writes as he remembers; when he puts down an article that occurs the moment it occurs, lest he should afterwards forget it. Of this the passage before us bears strongly the appearance. In actual letters, in the negligence of real correspondence, examples of this kind frequently take place; seldom, I believe, in any other production. For

the moment a man regards what he writes as a *composition*, which the author of a forgery would, of all others, be the first to do, notions of order, in the arrangement and succession of his thoughts, present themselves to his judgment, and guide his pen.

NO. V.

Chap. i. 15, 16. "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief. Howbeit, for this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first Jesus Christ might show forth all long-suffering, for a pattern to them which should hereafter believe in him to life everlasting."

What was the mercy which St Paul here commemorates, and what was the crime of which he accuses himself, is apparent from the verses immediately preceding: "I thank Christ Jesus our Lord, who hath enabled me, for that he counted me faithful, putting me into the ministry; *who was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious*: but I obtained *mercy*, because I did it ignorantly in unbelief." (ch. i. 12, 13.) The whole quotation plainly refers to St Paul's original enmity to the Christian name, the interposition of Providence in his conversion, and his subsequent designation to the ministry of the gospel: and by this reference affirms indeed the substance of the apostle's history delivered in the Acts. But what in the passage strikes my mind most powerfully, is the observation that is raised out of the fact. "For this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first Jesus Christ might show forth all long-suffering, for a pattern to them which should hereafter

believe on him to life everlasting." It is a just and solemn reflection, springing from the circumstances of the author's conversion, or rather from the impression which that great event had left upon his memory. It will be said, perhaps, that an impostor acquainted with St Paul's history, may have put such a sentiment into his mouth; or, what is the same thing, into a letter drawn up in his name. But where, we may ask, is such an impostor to be found? The piety, the truth, the benevolence of the thought, ought to protect it from this imputation. For, though we should allow that one of the great masters of the ancient tragedy could have given to his scene a sentiment as virtuous and as elevated as this is, and at the same time as appropriate, and as well suited to the particular situation of the person who delivers it; yet whoever is conversant in these inquiries will acknowledge, that to do this in a fictitious production is beyond the reach of the understandings which have been employed upon any *fabrications* that have come down to us under Christian names.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

NO. I.

It was the uniform tradition of the primitive church, that St Paul visited Rome twice, and twice there suffered imprisonment; and that he was put to death at Rome at the conclusion of his second imprisonment. This opinion concerning St Paul's *two* journeys to Rome is confirmed by a great variety of hints and allusions in the epistle before us,

compared with what fell from the apostle's pen in other letters purporting to have been written from Rome. That our present epistle was written whilst St Paul was a *prisoner*, is distinctly intimated by the eighth verse of the first chapter: "Be not thou therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me his prisoner." And whilst he was a prisoner at *Rome*, by the sixteenth and seventeenth verses of the same chapter: "The Lord give mercy unto the house of Onesiphorus; for he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain: but when he was in Rome he sought me out very diligently and found me." Since it appears from the former quotation that St Paul wrote this epistle in confinement, it will hardly admit of doubt that the word *chain*, in the latter quotation, refers to that confinement; the chain by which he was *then* bound, the custody in which he was then kept. And if the word "chain" designate the author's confinement at the time of writing the epistle, the next words determine it to have been written from Rome: "He was not ashamed of my chain; but when he was in Rome, he sought me out very diligently." Now that it was not written during the apostle's first imprisonment at Rome, or during the same imprisonment in which the epistles to the Ephesians, the Colossians, the Philippians, and Philemon, were written, may be gathered, with considerable evidence, from a comparison of these several epistles with the present.

I. In the former epistles the author confidently looked forward to his liberation from confinement, and his speedy departure from Rome. He tells the Philippians (ch. ii. 24.), "I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly." Philemon he bids to prepare for him a lodging; "for I trust," says he, "that through your prayers I shall

be given unto you." (ver. 22.) In the epistle before us he holds a language extremely different: "I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day." (ch. iv. 6—8.)

II. When the former epistles were written from Rome, Timothy was with St Paul; and is joined with him in writing to the Colossians, the Philippians, and to Philemon. The present epistle implies that he was absent.

III. In the former epistles Demas was with St Paul at Rome: "Luke, the beloved physician, and Demas greet you." In the epistle now before us: "Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world, and is gone to Thessalonica."

IV. In the former epistles, Mark was with St Paul, and joins in saluting the Colossians. In the present epistle, Timothy is ordered to bring him with him, "for he is profitable to me for the ministry." (ch. iv. 11.)

The case of Timothy and of Mark might be very well accounted for, by supposing the present epistle to have been written *before* the others; so that Timothy, who is here exhorted "to come shortly unto him," (ch. iv. 9.) might have arrived, and that Mark, "whom he was to bring with him," (ch. iv. 11.) might have also reached Rome in sufficient time to have been with St Paul when the four epistles were written; but then such a supposition is inconsistent with what is said of Demas, by which the posteriority of this to the other epistles is strongly indicated: for in the other epistles Demas was with St Paul, in the present he hath "forsaken him, and is gone to

Thessalonica." The opposition also of sentiment, with respect to the event of the persecution, is hardly reconcilable to the same imprisonment.

The two following considerations, which were first suggested upon this question by Ludovicus Capellus, are still more conclusive.

1. In the twentieth verse of the fourth chapter St Paul informs Timothy, "that Erastus abode at Corinth," *Εραστος μείνει εν Κορινθω*. The form of expression implies, that Erastus had staid behind at Corinth, when St Paul left it. But this could not be meant of any journey from Corinth which St Paul took prior to his first imprisonment at Rome; for when Paul departed from Corinth, as related in the twentieth chapter of the Acts, Timothy was with him: and this was the last time the apostle left Corinth before his coming to Rome; because he left it to proceed on his way to Jerusalem; soon after his arrival at which place he was taken into custody, and continued in that custody till he was carried to Cæsar's tribunal. There could be no need therefore to inform Timothy that "Erastus staid behind at Corinth" upon this occasion, because, if the fact was so, it must have been known to Timothy, who was present, as well as to St Paul.

2. In the same verse our epistle also states the following article: "Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick." When St Paul passed through Miletum on his way to Jerusalem, as related Acts xx. Trophimus was not left behind, but accompanied him to that city. He was indeed the occasion of the uproar at Jerusalem in consequence of which St Paul was apprehended; for "they had seen," says the historian, "before with him in the city, Trophimus an Ephesian, whom they supposed that Paul had brought into the temple." This was

evidently the last time of Paul's being at Miletus before his first imprisonment; for, as hath been said, after his apprehension at Jerusalem, he remained in custody till he was sent to Rome.

In these two articles we have a journey referred to, which must have taken place subsequent to the conclusion of St Luke's history, and of course after St Paul's liberation from his first imprisonment. The epistle, therefore, which contains this reference, since it appears from other parts of it to have been written while St Paul was a prisoner at Rome, proves that he had returned to that city again, and undergone there a second imprisonment.

I do not produce these particulars for the sake of the support which they lend to the testimony of the fathers concerning St Paul's *second* imprisonment, but to remark their consistency and agreement with one another. They are all resolvable into one supposition: and although the supposition itself be in some sort only negative, viz. that the epistle was not written during St Paul's first residence at Rome, but in some future imprisonment in that city; yet is the consistency not less worthy of observation: for the epistle touches upon names and circumstances connected with the date and with the history of the first imprisonment, and mentioned in letters written during that imprisonment, and so touches upon them, as to leave what is said of one consistent with what is said of others, and consistent also with what is said of them in different epistles. Had one of these circumstances been so described as to have fixed the date of the epistle to the first imprisonment, it would have involved the rest in contradiction. And when the number and particularity of the articles which have been brought together under this head are consi-

dered; and when it is considered also, that the comparisons we have formed amongst them, were in all probability neither provided for, nor thought of, by the writer of the epistle, it will be deemed something very like the effect of truth, that no invincible repugnancy is perceived between them.

NO. II.

In the Acts of the Apostles, in the sixteenth chapter, and at the first verse, we are told that Paul “came to Derbe and Lystra, and behold a certain disciple was there, named Timotheus, the son of a certain woman which was a Jewess, and believed; but his father was a Greek.” In the epistle before us, in the first chapter, and at the fourth verse, St Paul writes to Timothy thus: “Greatly desiring to see thee, being mindful of thy tears, that I may be filled with joy, when I call to remembrance the unfeigned faith that is in thee, which dwelt first in thy grandmother Lois, and thy mother Eunice; and I am persuaded that in thee also.” Here we have a fair unforced example of coincidence. In the history, Timothy was the “son of a Jewess that believed;” in the epistle, St Paul applauds “the faith which dwelt in his mother Eunice.” In the history it is said of the mother, “that she was a Jewess, and believed;” of the father, “that he was a Greek.” Now when it is said of the mother *alone* “that she believed,” the father being nevertheless mentioned in the same sentence, we are led to suppose of the father that he did not believe, *i. e.* either that he was dead, or that he remained unconverted. Agreeably hereunto, whilst praise is bestowed in the epistle upon one parent, and upon her sincerity in the faith, no notice is taken of the other. The mention of the grandmother is the

addition of a circumstance not found in the history ; but it is a circumstance which, as well as the names of the parties, might naturally be expected to be known to the apostle, though overlooked by his historian.

NO. III.

Chap. iii. 15. " And that from a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation."

This verse discloses a circumstance which agrees exactly with what is intimated in the quotation from the Acts, adduced in the last number. In that quotation it is recorded of Timothy's mother, " that she was a Jewess." This description is virtually, though, I am satisfied, undesignedly, recognized in the epistle, when Timothy is reminded in it, " that from a child he had known the Holy Scriptures." " The Holy Scriptures" undoubtedly meant the Scriptures of the Old Testament. The expression bears that sense in every place in which it occurs. Those of the New had not yet acquired the name ; not to mention, that in Timothy's childhood, probably, none of them existed. In what manner then could Timothy have known " from a child" the Jewish Scriptures, had he not been born, on one side or on both, of Jewish parentage ? Perhaps he was not less likely to be carefully instructed in them, for that his mother alone professed that religion.

NO. IV.

Chap. ii. 22. " Flee also *youthful* lusts : but follow righteousness, faith, charity, peace, with them that call on the Lord out of a pure heart."

“*Flee also youthful lusts.*” The suitability of this precept to the age of the person to whom it is addressed, is gathered from 1 Tim. chap. iv. 12.: “Let no man despise thy youth.” Nor do I deem the less of this coincidence, because the propriety resides in a single epithet; or because this one precept is joined with, and followed by a train of others, not more applicable to Timothy than to any ordinary convert. It is in these transient and cursory allusions that the argument is best founded. When a writer dwells and rests upon a point in which some coincidence is discerned, it may be doubted whether he himself had not fabricated the conformity, and was endeavouring to display and set it off. But when the reference is contained in a single word, unobserved perhaps by most readers, the writer passing on to other subjects, as unconscious that he had hit upon a correspondency, or unsolicitous whether it were remarked or not, we may be pretty well assured that no fraud was exercised, no imposition intended.

NO. V.

Chap. iii. 10, 11. “But thou hast fully known my doctrine, manner of life, purpose, faith, long-suffering, charity, patience, persecutions, afflictions, which came unto me at *Antioch*, at *Iconium*, at *Lystra*; what persecutions I endured; but out of them all the Lord delivered me.”

The Antioch here mentioned was not Antioch the capital of Syria, where Paul and Barnabas resided “a long time;” but Antioch in Pisidia, to which place Paul and Barnabas came in their first apostolic progress, and where Paul delivered a memorable discourse, which is preserved in the thirteenth chapter of the Acts. At this Antioch the history

relates, that the " Jews stirred up the devout and honourable women, and the chief men of the city, and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts. But they shook off the dust of their feet against them, and came into *Iconium* And it came to pass in *Iconium*, that they went both together into the synagogue of the Jews, and so spake, that a great multitude both of the Jews and also of the Greeks believed; but the unbelieving Jews stirred up the Gentiles, and made their minds evil-affected against the brethren. Long time therefore abode they speaking boldly in the Lord, which gave testimony unto the word of his grace, and granted signs and wonders to be done by their hands. But the multitude of the city was divided; and part held with the Jews, and part with the apostles. And when there was an assault made both of the Gentiles and also of the Jews, with their rulers, to use them despitefully and to stone them, they were aware of it, and fled unto *Lystra* and *Derbe*, cities of *Lycania*, and unto the region that lieth round about, and there they preached the Gospel And there came thither certain Jews from *Antioch* and *Iconium*, who persuaded the people, and having stoned Paul, drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead. Howbeit, as the disciples stood round about him, he rose up and came into the city; and the next day he departed with *Barnabas* to *Derbe*: and when they had preached the gospel to that city, and had taught many, they returned again to *Lystra*, and to *Iconium*, and to *Antioch*." This account comprises the period to which the allusion in the epistle is to be referred. We have so far therefore a conformity between the history and the epistle, that St Paul is asserted in the history to have suffered persecutions in the three

cities, his persecutions at which are appealed to in the epistle; and not only so, but to have suffered these persecutions, both in immediate succession, and in the order in which the cities are mentioned in the epistle. The conformity also extends to another circumstance. In the apostolic history Lystra and Derbe are commonly mentioned together: in the quotation from the epistle, Lystra is mentioned, and not Derbe. And the distinction will appear on this occasion to be accurate; for St Paul is here enumerating his persecutions: and although he underwent grievous persecutions in each of the three cities through which he passed to Derbe, at Derbe itself he met with none: "The next day he departed," says the historian, "to Derbe; and when they had preached the gospel to that city, and had taught many, they returned again to Lystra." The epistle, therefore, in the names of the cities, in the order in which they are enumerated, and in the place at which the enumeration stops, corresponds exactly with the history.

But a second question remains, namely, how these persecutions were "known" to Timothy, or why the apostle should recall these in particular to his remembrance, rather than many other persecutions with which his ministry had been attended. When some time, probably three years afterwards, (*vide* Pearson's *Annales Paulinas*), St Paul made a second journey through the same country, "in order to go again and visit the brethren in every city where he had preached the word of the Lord," we read, Acts, chap. xvi. 1. that "when he came to Derbe and Lystra, behold a certain disciple was there named Timotheus." One or other, therefore, of these cities was the place of Timothy's abode. We read moreover that he was well reported of by the brethren that were at Lys-

tra and Iconium; so that he must have been well acquainted with these places. Also again, when Paul came to Derbe and Lystra, Timothy was already a disciple: "Behold, a certain disciple was there named Timotheus." He must therefore have been converted *before*. But since it is expressly stated in the epistle, that Timothy was converted by St Paul himself, that he was "his own son in the faith;" it follows that he must have been converted by him upon his former journey into those parts; which was the very time when the apostle underwent the persecutions referred to in the epistle. Upon the whole, then, persecutions at the several cities named in the epistle are expressly recorded in the Acts: and Timothy's knowledge of this part of St Paul's history, which knowledge is appealed to in the epistle, is fairly deduced from the place of his abode, and the time of his conversion. It may farther be observed, that it is probable from this account, that St Paul was in the midst of those persecutions when Timothy became known to him. No wonder then that the apostle, though in a letter written long afterwards, should remind his favourite convert of those scenes of affliction and distress under which they first met.

Although this coincidence, as to the names of the cities, be more specific and direct than many which we have pointed out; yet I apprehend there is no just reason for thinking it to be artificial: for had the writer of the epistle sought a coincidence with the history upon this head, and searched the Acts of the Apostles for the purpose, I conceive he would have sent us at once to Philippi and Thessalonica, where Paul suffered persecution, and where, from what is stated, it may easily be gathered that Timothy accompanied him, rather than have appealed to persecutions as known to Timo-

thy, in the account of which persecutions Timothy's presence is not mentioned; it not being till after one entire chapter, and in the history of a journey three years future to this, that Timothy's name occurs in the Acts of the Apostles for the first time.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE EPISTLE TO TITUS.

NO. I.

A VERY characteristic circumstance in this epistle is the quotation from Epimenides, chap. i. 12. : "One of themselves, even a prophet of their own, said, The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies."

Κρητις αι ψευσται, κακα θηρια, γαστρις αργαι.

I call this quotation characteristic, because no writer in the New Testament, except St Paul, appealed to heathen testimony; and because St Paul repeatedly did so. In his celebrated speech at Athens, preserved in the seventeenth chapter of the Acts, he tells his audience, that "in God we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring."

— τε γαρ και γινος εσμεν.

The reader will perceive much similarity of manner in these two passages. The reference in the speech is to a heathen poet; it is the same in the epistle. In the speech, the apostle urges his

hearers with the authority of a poet of *their own*; in the epistle, he avails himself of the same advantage. Yet there is a variation, which shows that the hint of inserting a quotation in the epistle was not, as it may be expected, borrowed from seeing the like practice attributed to St Paul in the history; and it is this, that in the epistle the author cited is called a *prophet*, “one of themselves, even a *prophet of their own*.” Whatever might be the reason for calling Epimenides a prophet; whether the names of poet and prophet were occasionally convertible; whether Epimenides in particular had obtained that title, as Grotius seems to have proved; or whether the appellation was given to him, in this instance, as having delivered a description of the Cretan character, which the future state of morals among them verified: whatever was the reason (and any of these reasons will account for the variation, supposing St Paul to have been the author), one point is plain, namely, if the epistle had been forged, and the author had inserted a quotation in it merely from having seen an example of the same kind in a speech ascribed to St Paul, he would so far have imitated his original as to have introduced his quotation in the same manner; that is, he would have given to Epimenides the title which he saw there given to Aratus. The other side of the alternative is, that the history took the hint from the epistle. But that the author of the Acts of the Apostles had not the Epistle to Titus before him, at least that he did not use it as one of the documents or materials of his narrative, is rendered nearly certain by the observation, that the name of Titus does not once occur in his book.

It is well known, and was remarked by St Jerome, that the apophthegm in the fifteenth chap-

ter of the Corinthians, "Evil communications corrupt good manners," is an Iambic of Menander's:

Φθισιουσιν ηθη χρησθ' ὁμιλῖαι κακαι.

Here we have another unaffected instance of the same turn and habit of composition. Probably there are some hitherto unnoticed; and more, which the loss of the original authors renders impossible to be now ascertained.

NO. II.

There exists a visible affinity between the Epistle to Titus and the First Epistle to Timothy. Both letters were addressed to persons left by the writer to preside in their respective churches during his absence. Both letters are principally occupied in describing the qualifications to be sought for, in those whom they should appoint to offices in the church; and the ingredients of this description are in both letters nearly the same. Timothy and Titus are likewise cautioned against the same prevailing corruptions, and in particular, against the same misdirection of their cares and studies. This affinity obtains, not only in the subject of the letters, which, from the similarity of situation in the persons to whom they were addressed, might be expected to be somewhat alike, but extends, in a great variety of instances, to the phrases and expressions. The writer accosts his two friends with the same salutation, and passes on to the business of his letter by the same transition.

"Unto Timothy, *my own son in the faith*: Grace, mercy, and peace, from God our Father and Jesus Christ our Lord. *As I besought thee*

to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia," &c. 1 Tim. chap. i. 2, 3.

"To Titus, mine own son after the common faith: Grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour. For this cause left I thee in Crete." Titus, chap. i. 4, 5.

If Timothy was not to "give heed to fables and endless genealogies, which minister questions," (1 Tim. chap. i. 4.); Titus also was to "avoid foolish questions, and genealogies, and contentions," (chap. iii. 9.); and was to "rebuke them sharply, not giving heed to Jewish fables." (chap. i. 14.) If Timothy was to be a pattern (*τυπος*), (1 Tim. chap. iv. 12.); so was Titus, (chap. ii. 7.) If Timothy was to "let no man despise his youth," (1 Tim. chap. iv. 12.); Titus also was to "let no man despise him," (chap. ii. 15.) This verbal consent is also observable in some very peculiar expressions, which have no relation to the particual character of Timothy or Titus.

The phrase, "it is a faithful saying," (*πιστος ε λεγος*), made use of to preface some sentence upon which the writer lays a more than ordinary stress, occurs three times in the First Epistle to Timothy, once in the Second, and once in the epistle before us, and in no other part of St Paul's writings; and it is remarkable that these three epistles were probably all written towards the conclusion of his life; and that they are the only epistles which were written after his first imprisonment at Rome.

The same observation belongs to another singularity of expression, and that is in the epithet "sound" (*υγιαινων*), as applied to words or doctrine. It is thus used, twice in the First Epistle to Timothy, twice in the Second, and three times in the Epistle to Titus, beside two cognate ex-

pressions, *ὕγιαίνοντας τῇ πίστει* and *λογον ὑγίης*; and it is found, in the same sense, in no other part of the New Testament.

The phrase, "God our Saviour," stands in nearly the same predicament. It is repeated three times in the First Epistle to Timothy, as many in the Epistle to Titus, and in no other book of the New Testament occurs at all, except once in the Epistle of Jude.

Similar terms, intermixed indeed with others, are employed in the two epistles, in enumerating the qualifications required in those who should be advanced to stations of authority in the church.

"A bishop must be blameless, *the husband of one wife*, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach, *not given to wine*, no striker, *not greedy of filthy lucre*; but patient, not a brawler, not covetous; one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity." * 1 Tim. ch. iii. 2—4.

"If any be *blameless, the husband of one wife*, having faithful children, not accused of riot, or unruly. For a bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God; not self-willed, not soon angry, *not given to wine*, no striker, *not given to filthy lucre*; but a lover of hospitality, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate." † Titus, chap. i. 6—8.

* "Διὲν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνεπίληπτον εἶναι, μίας γυναῖκος ἀνδρᾶ, νηφαλίον, σωφρονα, κοσμίον, φιλοξένον, διδασκτικόν, μὴ παροῖνον, μὴ πληκτὴν, μὴ αἰσχροκίρδῃ· ἀλλ' ἐπιμικῆ, ἀμαχόν, ἀφιλαργυρόν· τὰ ἴδια οἶκῳ καλῶς προϊστάμενον, τίκνα ἔχοντα ἐν ὑποταγημίᾳ πάσης σιμνοτήτος."

† "Εἰ τις ἴστιν ἀνεγκλήτος, μίας γυναῖκος ἀνὴρ, τίκνα ἔχων πίστα, μὴ ἐν κατηγορίᾳ ἀσωτίας, ἢ ἀνυ-

The most natural account which can be given of these resemblances, is to suppose that the two epistles were written nearly at the same time, and whilst the same ideas and phrases dwelt in the writer's mind. Let us inquire, therefore, whether the notes of time, extant in the two epistles, in any manner favour this supposition.

We have seen that it was necessary to refer the First Epistle to Timothy to a date subsequent to St Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, because there was no journey into Macedonia prior to that event, which accorded with the circumstance of leaving "Timothy behind at Ephesus." The journey of St Paul from Crete, alluded to in the epistle before us, and in which Titus "was left in Crete to set in order the things that were wanting," must, in like manner, be carried to the period which intervened between his first and second imprisonment. For the history, which reaches, we know, to the time of St Paul's first imprisonment, contains no account of his going to Crete, except upon his voyage as a prisoner to Rome; and that this could not be the occasion referred to in our epistle is evident from hence, that when St Paul wrote this epistle, he appears to have been at liberty; whereas, after that voyage, he continued for two years at least in confinement. Again, it is agreed that St Paul wrote his First Epistle to Timothy from Macedonia: "As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went (or came) into Macedonia." And that he was in these parts, *i.e.* in this peninsula, when he wrote the Epistle to

ποτακτα. Δει γαρ τον επισκοπον ανγκλητον ειναι, ως Θεου οικονομον, μη αυθαδη, μη οργιλον, μη παρεινον, μη πληκτην, μη αισχροκερδη' αλλα φιλοξενον, φιλαγαθον, σωφρονα, δικαιον, οσιον, εγκρατη."

Titus, is rendered probable by his directing Titus to come to him to Nicopolis: "When I shall send Artemas unto thee, or Tychicus, be diligent (make haste) to come unto me to Nicopolis: for I have determined there to winter." The most noted city of that name was in Epirus, near to Actium. And I think the form of speaking, as well as the nature of the case, renders it probable that the writer was at Nicopolis, or in the neighbourhood thereof, when he dictated this direction to Titus.

Upon the whole, if we may be allowed to suppose that St Paul, after his liberation at Rome, sailed into Asia, taking Crete in his way; that from Asia and from Ephesus, the capital of that country, he proceeded into Macedonia, and crossing the peninsula in his progress, came into the neighbourhood of Nicopolis; we have a route which falls in with every thing. It executes the intention expressed by the apostle of visiting Colosse and Philippi as soon as he should be set at liberty at Rome. It allows him to leave "Titus at Crete," and "Timothy at Ephesus, as he went into Macedonia;" and to write to both not long after from the peninsula of Greece, and probably the neighbourhood of Nicopolis: thus bringing together the dates of these two letters, and thereby accounting for that affinity between them, both in subject and language, which our remarks have pointed out. I confess that the journey which we have thus traced out for St Paul, is in a great measure hypothetic: but it should be observed, that it is a species of consistency, which seldom belongs to falsehood, to admit of an hypothesis, which includes a great number of independent circumstances without contradiction.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON,

NO. I.

THE singular correspondency between this epistle and that to the Colossians has been remarked already. An assertion in the Epistle to the Colossians, viz. that "Onesimus was one of them," is verified, not by any mention of Colosse, any the most distant intimation concerning the place of Philemon's abode, but singly by stating Onesimus to be Philemon's servant, and by joining in the salutation Philemon with Archippus; for this Archippus, when we go back to the Epistle to the Colossians, appears to have been an inhabitant of that city, and, as it should seem, to have held an office of authority in that church. The case stands thus. Take the Epistle to the Colossians alone, and no circumstance is discoverable which makes out the assertion, that Onesimus was "one of them." Take the Epistle to Philemon alone, and nothing at all appears concerning the place to which Philemon or his servant Onesimus belonged. For any thing that is said in the epistle, Philemon might have been a Thessalonian, a Philippian, or an Ephesian, as well as a Colossian. Put the two epistles together, and the matter is clear. The reader perceives a *junction* of circumstances, which ascertains the conclusion at once. Now, all that is necessary to be added in this place is, that this correspondency evinces the genuineness of one epistle, as well as of the other. It is like compar-

ing the two parts of a cloven tally. Coincidence proves the authenticity of both.

NO. II.

And this coincidence is perfect ; not only in the main article of showing, by implication, Onesimus to be a Colossian, but in many dependent circumstances.

1. " I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, whom *I have sent again,*" (ver. 10—12.) It appears from the Epistle to the Colossians, that, in truth, Onesimus was sent at that time to Colosse : " All my state shall Tychicus declare, whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, *with Onesimus, a faithful and beloved brother.*" Colos. chap. iv. 7—9.

2. " I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, whom *I have begotten in my bonds,*" (ver. 10.) It appears from the preceding quotation, that Onesimus was with St Paul when he wrote the Epistle to the Colossians ; and that he wrote that epistle *in imprisonment* is evident from his declaration in the fourth chapter and third verse : " Praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance, to speak the mystery of Christ, for which I am also *in bonds.*"

3. St Paul bids Philemon prepare for him a lodging : " For I trust," says he, " that through your prayers I shall be given unto you." This agrees with the expectation of speedy deliverance, which he expressed in another epistle written during the same imprisonment : " Him" (Timothy) " I hope to send presently, so soon as I shall see how it will go with me : *but I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly.*" Phil. chap. ii. 23, 24.

4. As the letter to Philemon, and that to the Colossians, were written at the same time, and sent by the same messenger, the one to a particular inhabitant, the other to the church of Colosse, it may be expected that the same or nearly the same persons would be about St Paul, and join with him, as was the practice, in the salutations of the epistle. Accordingly we find the names of Aristarchus, Marcus, Epaphras, Luke, and Demas, in both epistles. Timothy, who is joined with St Paul in the superscription of the Epistle to the Colossians, is joined with him in this. Tychicus did not salute Philemon, because he accompanied the epistle to Colosse, and would undoubtedly there see him. Yet the reader of the Epistle to Philemon will remark one considerable diversity in the catalogue of saluting friends, and which shows that the catalogue was not copied from that to the Colossians. In the Epistle to the Colossians, Aristarchus is called by St Paul, his fellow-prisoner, Colos. chap. iv. 10. ; in the Epistle to Philemon, Aristarchus is mentioned without any addition, and the title of fellow-prisoner is given to Epaphras.*

And let it also be observed, that notwithstanding the close and circumstantial agreement between the two epistles, this is not the case of an opening left in a genuine writing, which an impostor is induced to fill up ; nor of a reference to some writing not extant, which sets a sophist at work to supply the loss, in like manner as, because

* Dr Benson observes, and perhaps truly, that the appellation of fellow-prisoner, as applied by St Paul to Epaphras, did not imply that they were imprisoned together *at the time* ; any more than your calling a person your fellow-traveller imports that you are then upon your travels. If he had, upon any former occasion, travelled with you, you might afterwards speak of him under that title. It is just so with the term fellow-prisoner.

St Paul was supposed (Colos. chap. iv. 16.) to allude to an epistle written by him to the Laodiceans, some person has from thence taken the hint of uttering a forgery under that title. The present, I say, is not that case; for Philemon's name is not mentioned in the Epistle to the Colossians; Onesimus's servile condition is no where hinted at, any more than his crime, his flight, or the place or time of his conversion. The story therefore of the epistle, if it be a fiction, is a fiction to which the author could not have been guided by any thing he had read in St Paul's genuine writings.

NO. III.

Ver. 4, 5. "I thank my God, making mention of thee always in my prayers, hearing of thy love and faith, which thou hast toward the Lord Jesus, and toward all saints."

"*Hearing of thy love and faith.*" This is the form of speech which St Paul was wont to use towards those churches which he had not seen, or then visited: see Rom. chap. i. 8.; Ephes. chap. i. 15.; Col. chap. i. 3, 4. Toward those churches and persons, with whom he was previously acquainted, he employed a different phrase; as, "I thank my God always on your behalf," (1 Cor. chap. i. 4.; 2 Thess. chap. i. 3.); or, "upon every remembrance of you," (Phil. chap. i. 3.; 1 Thess. chap. i. 2, 3.; 2 Tim. chap. i. 3.); and never speaks of *hearing of them*. Yet I think it must be concluded, from the nineteenth verse of this epistle, that Philemon had been converted by St Paul himself: "Albeit, I do not say to thee how *thou owest unto me* even thine own self besides." Here then is a peculiarity. Let us inquire whether the epistle supplies any circumstance which will ac-

count for it. We have seen that it may be made out, not from the epistle itself, but from a comparison of the epistle with that to the Colossians, that Philemon was an inhabitant of Colosse: and it farther appears, from the Epistle to the Colossians, that St Paul had never been in that city: "I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh." Col. ch. ii. 1. Although, therefore, St Paul had formerly met with Philemon at some other place, and had been the immediate instrument of his conversion, yet Philemon's faith and conduct afterwards, inasmuch as he lived in a city which St Paul had never visited, could only be known to him by fame and reputation.

NO. IV.

The tenderness and delicacy of this epistle have long been admired: "Though I might be much bold in Christ to enjoin thee that which is convenient, yet for love's sake I rather beseech thee, being such an one as Paul the aged, and now also a prisoner of Jesus Christ; I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, whom I have begotten in my bonds." There is something certainly very melting and persuasive in this, and every part of the epistle. Yet, in my opinion, the character of St Paul prevails in it throughout. The warm, affectionate, authoritative teacher, is interceding with an absent friend for a beloved convert. He urges his suit with an earnestness, befitting perhaps not so much the occasion, as the ardour and sensibility of his own mind. Here also, as every where, he shows himself conscious of the weight and dignity of his mission; nor does he suffer Philemon for a mo-

ment to forget it: "I *might* be much bold in Christ to enjoin thee that which is convenient." He is careful also to recall, though obliquely, to Philemon's memory, the sacred obligation under which he had laid him, by bringing to him the knowledge of Jesus Christ: "I do not say to thee how thou owest to me even thine own self besides." Without laying aside, therefore, the apostolic character, our author softens the imperative style of his address, by mixing with it every sentiment and consideration that could move the heart of his correspondent. Aged and in prison, he is content to supplicate and entreat. Onesimus was rendered dear to him by his conversion, and his services: the child of his affliction, and "ministering unto him in the bonds of the gospel." This ought to recommend him, whatever had been his fault, to Philemon's forgiveness: "Receive him as myself, as my own bowels." Every thing, however, should be voluntary. St Paul was determined that Philemon's compliance should flow from his own bounty: "Without thy mind would I do nothing, that thy benefit should not be as it were of necessity, but willingly;" trusting nevertheless to his gratitude and attachment for the performance of all that he requested, and for more: "Having confidence in thy obedience, I wrote unto thee, knowing that thou wilt also do more than I say."

St Paul's discourse at Miletus; his speech before Agrippa; his Epistle to the Romans, as hath been remarked (NO. VIII.); that to the Galatians, chap. iv. 11—20.; to the Philippians, chap. i. 29. chap. ii. 2.; the Second to the Corinthians, chap. vi. 1—13.; and indeed some part or other of almost every epistle, exhibit examples of a similar application to the feelings and affections of the persons whom he addresses. And it is observable,

that these pathetic effusions, drawn for the most part from his own sufferings and situation, usually precede a command, soften a rebuke, or mitigate the harshness of some disagreeable truth.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS OF THE EPISTLES.

SIX of these *subscriptions* are false or improbable ; that is, they are either absolutely contradicted by the contents of the epistle, or are difficult to be reconciled with them.

I. The subscription of the First Epistle to the Corinthians states that it was written from Philippi, notwithstanding that, in the sixteenth chapter and the eighth verse of the epistle, St Paul informs the Corinthians that he will “ tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost ; and notwithstanding that he begins the salutations in the epistle by telling them “ the churches of Asia salute you ; ” a pretty evident indication that he himself was in Asia at this time.

II. The Epistle to the Galatians is by the subscription dated from Rome ; yet, in the epistle itself, St Paul expresses his surprise “ that they were *so soon* removing from him that called them ; ” whereas his journey to Rome was ten years posterior to the conversion of the Galatians. And what, I think, is more conclusive, the author, though speaking of himself in this more than any other epistle, does not once mention his bonds, or call himself a prisoner ; which he had not failed to do in every one of the four epistles written from that city, and during that imprisonment.

III. The First Epistle to the Thessalonians was written, the subscription tells us, from Athens; yet the epistle refers expressly to the coming of Timotheus from Thessalonica (ch. iii. 6.); and the history informs us, Acts, xviii. 5. that Timothy came out of Macedonia to St Paul at *Corinth*.

IV. The Second Epistle to the Thessalonians is dated, and without any discoverable reason, from Athens also. If it be truly the *second*; if it refer, as it appears to do (ch. ii. 2.), to the first, and the first was written from Corinth, the place must be erroneously assigned, for the history does not allow us to suppose that St Paul, after he had reached Corinth, went back to Athens.

V. The First Epistle to Timothy the subscription asserts to have been sent from Laodicea; yet, when St Paul writes, "I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, *προσευχομενος εις Μακεδονιαν* (when I set out for Macedonia)," the reader is naturally led to conclude, that he wrote the letter upon his arrival in that country.

VI. The Epistle to Titus is dated from Nicopolis in Macedonia, whilst no city of that name is known to have existed in that province.

The use, and the only use, which I make of these observations, is to show how easily errors and contradictions steal in where the writer is not guided by original knowledge. There are only eleven distinct assignments of date to St Paul's Epistles, (for the four written from Rome may be considered as plainly cotemporary); and of these, six seem to be erroneous. I do not attribute any authority to these subscriptions. I believe them to have been conjectures founded sometimes upon loose traditions, but more generally upon a consideration of some particular text, without sufficiently comparing it with other parts of the epistle,

with different epistles, or with the history. Suppose then that the subscriptions had come down to us as authentic parts of the epistles, there would have been more contrarieties and difficulties arising out of these final verses, than from all the rest of the volume. Yet, if the epistles had been forged, the whole must have been made up of the same elements as those of which the subscriptions are composed, viz. tradition, conjecture, and inference; and it would have remained to be accounted for, how, whilst so many errors were crowded into the concluding clauses of the letters, so much consistency should be preserved in other parts.

The same reflection arises from observing the oversights and mistakes which learned men have committed, when arguing upon allusions which relate to time and place, or when endeavouring to digest scattered circumstances into a continued story. It is indeed the same case; for these subscriptions must be regarded as ancient scholia, and as nothing more. Of this liability to error I can present the reader with a notable instance; and which I bring forward for no other purpose than that to which I apply the erroneous subscriptions. Ludovicus Capellus, in that part of his *Historia Apostolica Illustrata*, which is entitled *De Ordine Epist. Paul.*, writing upon the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, triumphs unmercifully over the want of sagacity in Baronius, who, it seems, makes St Paul write his Epistle to Titus from Macedonia upon his second visit into that province; whereas it appears from the history, that Titus, instead of being at Crete, where the epistle places him, was at that time sent by the apostle from Macedonia to Corinth. "Animadvertere est," says Capellus, "magnam hominis illius ἀβελτιαν, qui vult Titum a Paulo in Cretam abductum, il-

licque relictum, cum inde Nicopolim navigaret, quem tamen agnoscit a Paulo ex Macedonia missum esse Corinthum." This probably will be thought a detection of inconsistency in Baronius. But what is the most remarkable is, that in the same chapter in which he thus indulges his contempt of Baronius's judgment, Capellus himself falls into an error of the same kind, and more gross and palpable than that which he reproves. For he begins the chapter by stating the Second Epistle to the Corinthians and the First Epistle to Timothy to be nearly cotemporary; to have been both written during the apostle's second visit into Macedonia; and that a doubt subsisted concerning the immediate priority of their dates: "Posterior ad eosdem Corinthios Epistola, et Prior ad Timotheum certant de prioritate, et sub iudice lis est; utraque autem scripta est paulo postquam Paulus Epheso discessisset, adeoque dum Macedoniam peragraret, sed utra tempore præcedat, non liquet." Now, in the first place, it is highly improbable that the two epistles should have been written either nearly together, or during the same journey through Macedonia; for, in the Epistle to the Corinthians, Timothy appears to have been *with* St Paul; in the epistle addressed to him, to have been left behind at Ephesus, and not only left behind, but directed to continue there, till St Paul should return to that city. In the second place, it is inconceivable that a question should be proposed concerning the priority of date of the two epistles; for, when St Paul, in his Epistle to Timothy, opens his address to him by saying, "As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus when I went into Macedonia," no reader can doubt but that he here refers to the *last* interview which had passed between them; that he had not seen him

since: whereas if the epistle be posterior to that to the Corinthians, yet written upon the same visit into Macedonia, this could not be true; for as Timothy was along with St Paul when he wrote to the Corinthians, he must, upon this supposition, have passed over to St Paul in Macedonia, after he had been left by him at Ephesus, and must have returned to Ephesus again before the epistle was written. What misled Ludovicus Capellus was simply this,—that he had entirely overlooked Timothy's name in the superscription of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. Which oversight appears not only in the quotation which we have given, but from his telling us, as he does, that Timothy came from Ephesus to St Paul at *Corinth*, whereas the superscription proves that Timothy was already with St Paul when he wrote to the Corinthians from Macedonia.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CONCLUSION.

IN the outset of this inquiry, the reader was directed to consider the Acts of the Apostles, and the thirteen Epistles of St Paul, as certain ancient manuscripts lately discovered in the closet of some celebrated library. We have adhered to this view of the subject. External evidence of every kind has been removed out of sight; and our endeavours have been employed to collect the indications of truth and authenticity, which appeared to exist in the writings themselves, and to result from a comparison of their different parts. It is not however necessary to continue this supposition longer.

The testimony which other remains of cotemporary, or the monuments of adjoining, ages afford to the reception, notoriety, and public estimation of a book, form, no doubt, the first proof of its genuineness. And in no books whatever is this proof more complete, than in those at present under our consideration. The inquiries of learned men, and, above all, of the excellent Lardner, who never overstates a point of evidence, and whose fidelity in citing his authorities has in no one instance been impeached, have established, concerning these writings, the following propositions:

1. That in the age immediately posterior to that in which St Paul lived, his letters were publicly read and acknowledged.

Some of them are quoted or alluded to by almost every Christian writer that followed, by Clement of Rome, by Hermas, by Ignatius, by Polycarp, disciples or cotemporaries of the apostles; by Justin Martyr, by the churches of Gaul, by Irenæus, by Athénagoras, by Theophilus, by Clement of Alexandria, by Hermias, by Tertullian, who occupied the succeeding age. Now when we find a book quoted or referred to by an ancient author, we are entitled to conclude, that it was read and received in the age and country in which that author lived. And this conclusion does not, in any degree, rest upon the judgment or character of the author making such reference. Proceeding by this rule, we have, concerning the First Epistle to the Corinthians in particular, within forty years after the epistle was written, evidence, not only of its being extant at Corinth, but of its being known and read at Rome. Clement, bishop of that city, writing to the church of Corinth, uses these words: "Take into your hands the epistle of the blessed Paul the apostle. What did he at first write unto

you in the beginning of the gospel? Verily he did by the Spirit admonish you concerning himself and Cephas, and Apollos, because that even then you did form parties."* This was written at a time when probably some must have been living at Corinth, who remembered St Paul's ministry there and the receipt of the epistle. The testimony is still more valuable, as it shows that the epistles were preserved in the churches to which they were sent, and that they were spread and propagated from them to the rest of the Christian community. Agreeably to which natural mode and order of their publication, Tertullian, a century afterwards, for proof of the integrity and genuineness of the apostolic writings, bids "any one, who is willing to exercise his curiosity profitably in the business of their salvation, to visit the apostolical churches, in which their very authentic letters are recited, *ipsæ authenticæ literæ eorum recitantur.*" Then he goes on: "Is Achaia near you? You have Corinth. If you are not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi, you have Thessalonica. If you can go to Asia, you have Ephesus; but if you are near to Italy, you have Rome."† I adduce this passage to show, that the distinct churches or Christian societies to which St Paul's epistles were sent, subsisted for some ages afterwards; that his several epistles were all along respectively read in those churches; that Christians at large received them from those churches, and appealed to those churches for their originality and authenticity.

Arguing in like manner from citations and allusions, we have, within the space of a hundred and fifty years from the time that the first of St Paul's epistles was written, proofs of almost all of

* See Lardner, vol. xii. p. 22.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 598.

them being read, in Palestine, Syria, the countries of Asia Minor, in Egypt, in that part of Africa which used the Latin tongue, in Greece, Italy, and Gaul.* I do not mean simply to assert, that within the space of a hundred and fifty years, St Paul's epistles were read in those countries, for I believe that they were read and circulated from the beginning; but that proofs of their being so read occur within that period. And when it is considered how few of the primitive Christians wrote, and of what was written how much is lost, we are to account it extraordinary, or rather as a sure proof of the extensiveness of the reputation of these writings, and of the general respect in which they were held, that so many testimonies, and of such antiquity, are still extant. "In the remaining works of Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, there are perhaps more and larger quotations of the small volume of the New Testament, than of all the works of Cicero in the writings of all characters for several ages."* We must add, that the epistles of Paul come in for their full share of this observation; and that all the thirteen epistles, except that to Philemon, which is not quoted by Irenæus or Clement, and which probably escaped notice merely by its brevity, are severally cited, and expressly recognized as St Paul's, by each of these Christian writers. The Ebionites, an early though inconsiderable Christian sect, rejected St Paul and his epistles;† that is, they rejected these epistles, not because they were not, but because they were St Paul's; and because, adhering to the obligation of the Jewish law, they chose to dispute his doctrine and authority. Their suffrage as to the genuineness

* See Lardner's Recapitulation, vol. xii. p. 53.

† Lardner, vol. ii. p. 808.

of the epistles does not contradict that of other Christians. Marcion, an heretical writer in the former part of the second century, is said by Tertullian to have rejected three of the epistles which we now receive, viz. the two Epistles to Timothy and the Epistle to Titus. It appears to me not improbable, that Marcion might make some such distinction as this, that no apostolic epistle was to be admitted which was not read or attested by the church to which it was sent; for it is remarkable that, together with these epistles to private persons, he rejected also the catholic epistles. Now the catholic epistles and the epistles to private persons agree in the circumstance of wanting this particular species of attestation. Marcion, it seems, acknowledged the Epistle to Philemon, and is upbraided for his inconsistency in doing so by Tertullian,* who asks "why, when he received a letter written to a single person, he should refuse two to Timothy and one to Titus composed upon the affairs of the church?" This passage so far favours our account of Marcion's objection, as it shows that the objection was supposed by Tertullian to have been founded in something which belonged to the nature of a private letter.

Nothing of the works of Marcion remains. Probably he was, after all, a rash, arbitrary, licentious critic, (if he deserved indeed the name of critic), and who offered no reason for his determination. What St Jerome says of him intimates this, and is besides founded in good sense: Speaking of him and Basilides, "If they had assigned any reasons," says he, "why they did not reckon these epistles," viz. the First and Second to Timothy and the Epistle to Titus, "to be the apostle's,

* Lardner, vol. xiv. p. 455.

we would have endeavoured to have answered them, and perhaps might have satisfied the reader: but when they take upon them, by their own authority, to pronounce one epistle to be Paul's and another not, they can only be replied to in the same manner." * Let it be remembered, however, that Marcion received ten of these epistles. His authority, therefore, even if his credit had been better than it is, forms a very small exception to the uniformity of the evidence. Of Basilides we know still less than we do of Marcion. The same observation, however, belongs to him, viz. that his objection, as far as appears from this passage of St Jerome, was confined to the three private epistles. Yet is this the only opinion which can be said to disturb the consent of the first two centuries of the Christian era; for as to Tatian, who is reported by Jerome alone to have rejected some of St Paul's epistles, the extravagant or rather delirious notions into which he fell, take away all weight and credit from his judgment—If, indeed, Jerome's account of this circumstance be correct; for it appears from much older writers than Jerome, that Tatian owned and used many of these epistles. †

II. They who in those ages disputed about so many other points, agreed in acknowledging the Scriptures now before us. Contending sects appealed to them in their controversies with equal and unreserved submission. When they were urged by one side, however they might be interpreted or misinterpreted by the other, their authority was not questioned. "Reliqui omnes," says Irenæus, speaking of Marcion, "falso scientiæ nomine inflati, scripturas quidem confitentur, interpretationes vero convertunt." ‡

* Lardner, vol. xiv. p. 458.

† Lardner, vol. i. p. 313.

‡ Iren. advers. Hær. quoted by Lardner, vol. xv. p. 425.

III. When the genuineness of some other writings which were in circulation, and even of a few which are now received into the canon, was contested, these were never called into dispute. Whatever was the objection, or whether in truth there ever was any real objection, to the authenticity of the Second Epistle of Peter, the Second and Third of John; the Epistle of James, or that of Jude, or to the book of the Revelation of St John; the doubts that appeared to have been entertained concerning them, exceedingly strengthen the force of the testimony as to those writings about which there was no doubt: because it shows, that the matter was a subject, amongst the early Christians, of examination and discussion; and that where there was any room to doubt, they did doubt.

What Eusebius hath left upon the subject is directly to the purpose of this observation. Eusebius, it is well known, divided the ecclesiastical writings which were extant in his time into three classes: the "*ἀναντιρρήσια*, uncontradicted," as he calls them in one chapter; or, "scriptures universally acknowledged," as he calls them in another: the "controverted, yet well known and approved by many;" and "the spurious." What were the shades of difference in the books of the second, or of those in the third class; or what it was precisely that he meant by the term *spurious*, it is not necessary in this place to inquire. It is sufficient for us to find, that the thirteen epistles of St Paul are placed by him in the first class without any sort of hesitation or doubt.

It is farther also to be collected from the chapter in which this distinction is laid down, that the method made use of by Eusebius, and by the Christians of his time, viz. the close of the third century, in judging concerning the sacred authority of

any books, was to inquire after and consider the testimony of those who lived near the age of the apostles.*

IV. That no ancient writing, which is attested as these epistles are, hath had its authenticity disproved, or is in fact questioned. The controversies which have been moved concerning suspected writings, as the epistles, for instance, of Phalaris, or the eighteen epistles of Cicero, begin by showing that this attestation is wanting. That being proved, the question is thrown back upon internal marks of spuriousness or authenticity; and in these the dispute is occupied. In which disputes it is to be observed, that the contested writings are commonly attacked by arguments drawn from some opposition which they betray to "authentic history," to "true epistles," to the "real sentiments or circumstances of the author whom they personate;"† which authentic history, which true epistles, which real sentiments themselves, are no other than ancient documents, whose early existence and reception can be proved, in the manner in which the writings before us are traced up to the age of their reputed author, or to ages near to his. A modern who sits down to compose the history of some ancient period, has no stronger evidence to appeal to for the most confident assertion, or the most undisputed fact, that he delivers, than writings, whose genuineness is proved by the same medium through which we evince the authenticity of ours. Nor, whilst he can have recourse to such authorities as these, does he apprehend any uncertainty

* Lardner, vol. viii. p. 106.

† See the tracts written in the controversy between Tunstall and Middleton, upon certain suspected epistles ascribed to Cicero.

in his accounts, from the suspicion of spuriousness or imposture in his materials.

V. It cannot be shewn that any forgeries, properly so called,* that is, writings published under the name of the person who did not compose them, made their appearance in the first century of the Christian era, in which century these epistles undoubtedly existed. I shall set down under this proposition the guarded words of Lardner himself: "There are no quotations of any books of them (spurious and apocryphal books) in the apostolical fathers, by whom I mean Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Hermas, Ignatius, and Polycarp, whose writings reach from the year of our Lord 70 to the year 108. *I say this confidently, because I think it has been proved.*" Lardner, vol. xii. p. 158.

Nor when they did appear were they much used by the primitive Christians. "Irenæus quotes not any of these books. He mentions some of them, but he never quotes them. The same may be said of Tertullian: he has mentioned a book called 'Acts of Paul and Thecla;' but it is only to condemn it. Clement of Alexandria and Origen have mentioned and quoted several such books, but never as authority, and sometimes with express marks of dislike. Eusebius quoted no such books in any of his works. He has mentioned them indeed, but how? Not by way of approbation, but to show that they were of little or no value; and that they never were received by the sounder part of Christians." Now, if with this, which is advanced after the most minute and diligent examination, we compare what the same cau-

* I believe that there is a great deal of truth in Dr Lardner's observation, that comparatively few of those books which we call apocryphal, were strictly and originally forgeries. See Lardner, vol. xii. p. 167.

tious writer had before said of our received Scriptures, "that in the works of three only of the above-mentioned fathers, there are more and larger quotations of the small volume of the New Testament, than of all the works of Cicero in the writers of all characters for several ages;" and if with the marks of obscurity or condemnation, which accompanied the mention of the several apocryphal Christian writings, when they happened to be mentioned at all, we contrast what Dr Lardner's work completely and in detail makes out concerning the writings which we defend, and what, having so made out, he thought himself authorized in his conclusion to assert, that these books were not only received from the beginning, but received with the greatest respect; have been publicly and solemnly read in the assemblies of Christians throughout the world, in every age from that time to this; early translated into the languages of divers countries and people; commentaries writ to explain and illustrate them; quoted by way of proof in all arguments of a religious nature; recommended to the perusal of unbelievers, as containing the authentic account of the Christian doctrine;—when we attend, I say, to this representation, we perceive in it not only full proof of the early notoriety of these books, but a clear and sensible line of discrimination, which separates these from the pretensions of any others.

The epistles of St Paul stand particularly free of any doubt or confusion that might arise from this source. Until the conclusion of the fourth century, no intimation appears of any attempt whatever being made to counterfeit these writings; and then it appears only of a single and obscure instance. Jerome, who flourished in the year 392, has this expression: "Legunt quidam et ad Laodicenses;

sed ab omnibus exploditur;" there is also an Epistle to the Laodiceans, but it is rejected by every body.* Theodoret, who wrote in the year 423, speaks of this epistle in the same terms.† Beside these, I know not whether any ancient writer mentions it. It was certainly unnoticed during the first three centuries of the church; and when it came afterwards to be mentioned, it was mentioned only to show, that, though such a writing did exist, it obtained no credit. It is probable that the forgery to which Jerome alludes, is the epistle which we now have under that title. If so, as hath been already observed, it is nothing more than a collection of sentences from the genuine epistles; and was perhaps, at first, rather the exercise of some idle pen, than any serious attempt to impose a forgery upon the public. Of an Epistle to the Corinthians under St Paul's name, which was brought into Europe in the present century, antiquity is entirely silent. It was unheard of for sixteen centuries; and at this day, though it be extant, and was first found in the Armenian language, it is not, by the Christians of that country, received into their Scriptures. I hope, after this, that there is no reader who will think there is any competition of credit, or of external proof, between these and the received Epistles; or rather, who will not acknowledge the evidence of authenticity to be confirmed by the want of success which attended imposture.

When we take into our hands the letters which the suffrage and consent of antiquity hath thus transmitted to us, the first thing that strikes our attention is the air of reality and business, as well as of seriousness and conviction, which pervades

* Lardner, vol. x. p. 103.

† Lardner, vol. xi. p. 88.

the whole. Let the sceptic read them. If he be not sensible of these qualities in them, the argument can have no weight with him. If he be; if he perceive in almost every page the language of a mind actuated by real occasions, and operating upon real circumstances, I would wish it to be observed, that the proof which arises from this perception is not to be deemed occult or imaginary, because it is incapable of being drawn out in words, or of being conveyed to the apprehension of the reader in any other way, than by sending him to the books themselves.

And here, in its proper place, comes in the argument which it has been the office of these pages to unfold. St Paul's epistles are connected with the history by their particularity, and by the numerous circumstances which are found in them. When we descend to an examination and comparison of these circumstances, we not only observe the history and the epistles to be independent documents unknown to, or at least unconsulted by, each other, but we find the substance, and oftentimes very minute articles, of the history, recognized in the epistles, by allusions and references, which can neither be imputed to *design*, nor, without a foundation in truth, be accounted for by accident; by hints and expressions, and single words dropping as it were fortuitously from the pen of the writer, or drawn forth, each by some occasion proper to the place in which it occurs, but widely removed from any view to consistency or agreement. These, we know, are effects which reality naturally produces, but which, without reality at the bottom, can hardly be conceived to exist.

When therefore, with a body of external evidence, which is relied upon, and which experience

proves may safely be relied upon, in appreciating the credit of ancient writings, we combine characters of genuineness and originality which are not found, and which, in the nature and order of things cannot be expected to be found in spurious compositions; whatever difficulties we may meet with in other topics of the Christian evidence, we can have little in yielding our assent to the following conclusions: That there was such a person as St Paul; that he lived in the age which we ascribe to him; that he went about preaching the religion of which Jesus Christ was the founder; and that the letters which we now read were actually written by him upon the subject, and in the course of that his ministry.

And if it be true that we are in possession of the very letters which St Paul wrote, let us consider what confirmation they afford to the Christian history. In my opinion they substantiate the whole transaction. The great object of modern research is to come at the epistolary correspondence of the times. Amidst the obscurities, the silence, or the contradictions of history, if a letter can be found, we regard it as the discovery of a land-mark; as that by which we can correct, adjust, or supply the imperfections and uncertainties of other accounts. One cause of the superior credit which is attributed to letters is this, that the facts which they disclose generally come out *incidentally*, and therefore without design to mislead the public by false or exaggerated accounts. This reason may be applied to St Paul's epistles with as much justice as to any letters whatever. Nothing could be farther from the intention of the writer than to record any part of his history. That his history was *in fact* made public by these letters, and has by the same means been transmit-

ted to future ages, is a secondary and unthought-of effect. The sincerity therefore of the apostle's declarations cannot reasonably be disputed; at least we are sure that it was not vitiated by any desire of setting himself off to the public at large. But these letters form a part of the muniments of Christianity, as much to be valued for their contents as for their originality. A more inestimable treasure the care of antiquity could not have sent down to us. Beside the proof they afford of the general reality of St Paul's history, of the knowledge which the author of the Acts of the Apostles had obtained of that history, and the consequent probability that he was, what he professes himself to have been, a companion of the apostle's; beside the support they lend to these important inferences, they meet specifically some of the principal objections upon which the adversaries of Christianity have thought proper to rely. In particular they show,—

I. That Christianity was not a story set on foot amidst the confusions which attended and immediately preceded the destruction of Jerusalem; when many extravagant reports were circulated, when men's minds were broken by terror and distress, when amidst the tumults that surrounded them inquiry was impracticable. These letters show incontestably, that the religion had fixed and established itself before this state of things took place.

II. Whereas it hath been insinuated, that our Gospels may have been made up of reports and stories which were current at the time, we may observe that, with respect to the Epistles, this is impossible. A man cannot write the history of his own life from reports; nor, what is the same thing, be led by reports to refer to passages and transactions in which he states himself to have

been immediately present and active. I do not allow that this insinuation is applied to the historical part of the New Testament with any colour of justice or probability; but I say, that to the Epistles it is not applicable at all.

III. These letters prove that the converts to Christianity were not drawn from the barbarous, the mean, or the ignorant set of men which the representations of infidelity would sometimes make them. We learn from letters the character not only of the writer, but, in some measure, of the persons to whom they are written. To suppose that these letters were addressed to a rude tribe, incapable of thought or reflection, is just as reasonable as to suppose Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding to have been written for the instruction of savages. Whatever may be thought of these letters in other respects, either of diction or argument, they are certainly removed as far as possible from the habits and comprehension of a barbarous people.

IV. St Paul's history, I mean so much of it as may be collected from his letters, is so *implicated* with that of the other apostles, and with the substance indeed of the Christian history itself, that I apprehend it will be found impossible to admit St Paul's story (I do not speak of the miraculous part of it) to be true, and yet to reject the rest as fabulous. For instance, can any one believe that there was such a man as Paul, a preacher of Christianity in the age which we assign to him, and *not* believe that there was also at the same time such a man as Peter and James, and other apostles, who had been companions of Christ during his life, and who after his death published and avowed the same things concerning him which Paul taught? Judea, and especially Jerusalem, was the scene of Christ's mi-

nistry. The witnesses of his miracles lived there. St Paul, by his own account, as well as that of his historian, appears to have frequently visited that city; to have carried on a communication with the church there; to have associated with the rulers and elders of that church, who were some of them apostles; to have acted, as occasions offered, in correspondence, and sometimes in conjunction with them. Can it, after this, be doubted, but that the religion and the general facts relating to it, which St Paul appears by his letters to have delivered to the several churches which he established at a distance, were at the same time taught and published at Jerusalem itself, the place where the business was transacted; and taught and published by those who had attended the founder of the institution in his miraculous, or pretendedly miraculous ministry?

It is observable, for so it appears both in the Epistles and from the Acts of the Apostles, that Jerusalem, and the society of believers in that city, long continued the centre from which the missionaries of the religion issued, with which all other churches maintained a correspondence and connexion, to which they referred their doubts, and to whose relief, in times of public distress, they remitted their charitable assistance. This observation I think material, because it proves that this was not the case of giving our accounts in one country of what is transacted in another, without affording the hearers an opportunity of knowing whether the things related were credited by any, or even published, in the place where they are reported to have passed.

V. St Paul's letters furnish evidence (and what better evidence than a man's own letters can be desired?) of the soundness and sobriety of his judg-

ment. His caution in distinguishing between the occasional suggestions of inspiration, and the ordinary exercise of his natural understanding, is without example in the history of human enthusiasm. His morality is every where calm, pure, and rational; adapted to the condition, the activity, and the business of social life, and of its various relations; free from the over-scrupulousness and austerities of superstition, and from, what was more perhaps to be apprehended, the abstractions of quietism, and the soarings and extravagancies of fanaticism. His judgment concerning a hesitating conscience; his opinion of the moral indifferency of many actions, yet of the prudence and even the duty of compliance, where non-compliance would produce evil effects upon the minds of the persons who observed it, is as correct and just as the most liberal and enlightened moralist could form at this day. The accuracy of modern ethics has found nothing to amend in these determinations.

What Lord Lyttelton has remarked of the preference ascribed by St Paul to inward rectitude of principle above every other religious accomplishment, is very material to our present purpose. "In his First Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xiii. 1—3. St Paul has these words: *Though I speak with the tongue of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.* Is this the language of enthusiasm? Did ever enthusiast prefer that universal benevolence which comprehend-

eth all moral virtues, and which, as appeareth by the following verses, is meant by charity here? did ever enthusiast, I say, prefer that benevolence" (which we may add is attainable by every man) "to faith and to miracles, to those religious opinions which he had embraced, and to those supernatural graces and gifts which he imagined he had acquired; nay, even to the merit of martyrdom? Is it not the genius of enthusiasm to set moral virtues infinitely below the merit of faith; and, of all moral virtues, to value that least which is most particularly enforced by St Paul, a spirit of candour, moderation, and peace? Certainly neither the temper nor the opinions of a man subject to fanatic delusions are to be found in this passage." *Lord Lyttelton's Considerations on the Conversion, &c.*

I see no reason therefore to question the integrity of his understanding. To call him a visionary, because he appealed to visions, or an enthusiast, because he pretended to inspiration, is to take the whole question for granted. It is to take for granted that no such visions or inspirations existed; at least it is to assume, contrary to his own assertions, that he had no other proofs than these to offer of his mission, or of the truth of his relations.

One thing I allow, that his letters every where discover great zeal and earnestness in the cause in which he was engaged; that is to say, he was convinced of the truth of what he taught; he was deeply impressed, but not more so than the occasion merited, with a sense of its importance. This produces a corresponding animation and solicitude in the exercise of his ministry. But would not these considerations, supposing them to be well founded, have holden the same place, and produced the same effect, in a mind the strongest and the most sedate?

VI. These letters are decisive as to the sufferings of the author; also as to the distressed state of the Christian church, and the dangers which attended the preaching of the gospel.

“Whereof I Paul am made a minister; who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh, for his body’s sake, which is the church.” Col. ch. i. 24.

“If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable.” 1 Cor. ch. xv. 19.

“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?” 1 Cor. ch. xv. 30. &c.

“If children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ; if so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified together. For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.” Romans, ch. viii. 17, 18.

“Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written, For thy sake we are killed all the day long, we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter.” Rom. ch. viii. 35, 36.

“Rejoicing in hope, *patient in tribulation*, continuing instant in prayer.” Rom. ch. xii. 12.

“Now concerning virgins I have no commandment of the Lord; yet I give my judgment as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful. I suppose therefore that this is good *for the present distress*; I say that it is good for a man so to be.” 1 Cor. ch. vii. 25, 26.

“For unto you it is given, in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake, having the same conflict which ye saw in me, and now hear to be in me.” Phil. ch. i. 29, 30.

“God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.”

“From henceforth let no man trouble me, for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus.” Gal. ch. vi. 14. 17.

“Ye became followers of us, and of the Lord, having received the word in much affliction, with joy of the Holy Ghost.” 1 Thess. ch. i. 6.

“We ourselves glory in you in the churches of God, for your patience and faith in all your persecutions and tribulations that ye endure.” 2 Thess. chap. i. 4.

We may seem to have accumulated texts unnecessarily; but beside that the point which they are brought to prove is of great importance, there is this also to be remarked in every one of the passages cited, that the allusion is drawn from the writer by the argument or the occasion; that the notice which is taken of his sufferings, and of the suffering condition of Christianity, is perfectly incidental, and is dictated by no design of stating the facts themselves. Indeed they are not stated at all; they may rather be said to be assumed. This is a distinction upon which we have relied a good deal in former parts of this treatise; and, where the writer's information cannot be doubted, it always, in my opinion, adds greatly to the value and credit of the testimony.

If any reader require from the apostle more direct and explicit assertions of the same thing, he

will receive full satisfaction in the following quotations.

“ 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 save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned; thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep; in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, 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 painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness.” 2 Cor. ch. xi. 23, —28.

Can it be necessary to add more? “ 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. Even unto this present hour we both hunger and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place; and labour, working with our own hands: being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer it; being defamed, we entreat: we are made as the filth of the earth, and are the offscouring of all things unto this day.” 1 Cor. ch. iv. 9—13. I subjoin this passage to the former, because it extends to the other apostles of Christianity much of that which St Paul declared concerning himself.

In the following quotations, the reference to the author's sufferings is accompanied with a specification of time and place, and with an appeal for the truth of what he declares to the knowledge of the persons whom he addresses: “ Even after that

we had suffered before, and were shamefully entreated, as ye know, at *Philippi*, we were bold in our God to speak unto you the gospel of God with much contention." 1 Thess. ch. ii. 2.

"But thou hast fully known my doctrine, manner of life, purpose, faith, long-suffering, persecutions, afflictions, which came unto me at *Antioch*, at *Iconium*, at *Lystra*; what persecutions I endured: but out of them all the Lord delivered me." 2 Tim. ch. iii. 10, 11.

I apprehend that to this point, as far as the testimony of St Paul is credited, the evidence from his letters is complete and full. It appears under every form in which it could appear, by occasional allusions and by direct assertions, by general declarations and by specific examples.

VII. St Paul in these letters asserts, in positive and unequivocal terms, his performance of miracles strictly and properly so called.

"He therefore that ministereth to you the Spirit, and worketh miracles (*ενεργων δυναμεις*) among you, doth he it by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?" Gal. ch. iii. 5.

"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 (*εν δυναμει σημειων και τερατων*), by the power of the Spirit of God: so that from Jerusalem, and round about unto *Illyricum*, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ." Rom. ch. xv. 18, 19.

"Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs and wonders

* i. e. "I will speak of nothing but what Christ hath wrought by me;" or, as Grotius interprets it, "Christ hath wrought so great things by me, that I will not dare to say what he hath not wrought."

and mighty deeds," (ἐν σημείοις καὶ τέρασι καὶ δυνάμει).* 2 Cor. ch. xii. 12.

These words, signs, wonders, and mighty deeds, (σημεία, καὶ τέρατα, καὶ δυνάμεις,) are the specific appropriate terms throughout the New Testament, employed when public sensible miracles are intended to be expressed. This will appear by consulting, amongst other places, the texts referred to in the note; † and it cannot be known that they are ever employed to express any thing else.

Secondly, these words not only denote miracles as opposed to natural effects, but they denote visible, and what may be called external, miracles, as distinguished,

First, from *inspiration*. If St Paul had meant to refer only to secret illuminations of his understanding, or secret influences upon his will or affections, he could not, with truth, have represented them as "signs and wonders wrought by him," or "signs and wonders and mighty deeds wrought amongst them."

* To these may be added the following indirect allusions, which, though if they had stood alone, *i. e.* without plainer texts in the same writings, they might have been accounted dubious; yet, when considered in conjunction with the passages already cited, can hardly receive any other interpretation than that which we give them.

"My speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of men's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit, and of power: that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God." 1 Cor. ch. ii. 4—6.

"The gospel, 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." Ephes. ch. iii. 7.

"For he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me towards the Gentiles." Gal. ch. ii. 8.

"For our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance." 1 Thess. ch. i. 5.

† Mark xvi. 20. Luke xxiii. 8. John ii. 11. 23.; iii. 2.; iv. 48. 54.; xi. 49. Acts ii. 22.; iv. 3.; v. 12.; vi. 8.; vii. 16.; xiv. 3.; xv. 12. Heb. ii. 4.

Secondly, from *visions*. These would not, by any means, satisfy the force of the terms, "signs, wonders, and mighty deeds;" still less could they be said to be "*wrought* by him," or "*wrought amongst* them:" nor are these terms and expressions any where applied to visions. When our author alludes to the supernatural communications which he had received, either by vision or otherwise, he uses expressions suited to the nature of the subject, but very different from the words which we have quoted. He calls them revelations, but never signs, wonders, or mighty deeds. "I will come," says he, "to visions and *revelations* of the Lord;" and then proceeds to describe a particular instance, and afterwards adds, "lest I should be exalted above measure through the abundance of the revelations, there was given me a thorn in the flesh."

Upon the whole, the matter admits of no softening qualification or ambiguity whatever. If St Paul did not work actual, sensible, public miracles, he has knowingly, in these letters, borne his testimony to a falsehood. I need not add, that, in two also of the quotations, he has advanced his assertion in the face of those persons amongst whom he declares the miracles to have been wrought.

Let it be remembered that the Acts of the Apostles describe various particular miracles wrought by St Paul, which in their nature answer to the terms and expressions which we have seen to be used by St Paul himself.

Here then we have a man of liberal attainments, and in other points of sound judgment, who had addicted his life to the service of the gospel. We see him, in the prosecution of his purpose, travel-

ling from country to country, enduring every species of hardship, encountering every extremity of danger, assaulted by the populace, punished by the magistrates, scourged, beat, stoned, left for dead ; expecting, wherever he came, a renewal of the same treatment, and the same dangers ; yet, when driven from one city, preaching in the next ; spending his whole time in the employment, sacrificing to it his pleasures, his ease, his safety ; persisting in this course to old age, unaltered by the experience of perverseness, ingratitude, prejudice, desertion ; unsubdued by anxiety, want, labour, persecutions ; unwearied by long confinement, undismayed by the prospect of death. Such was St Paul. We have his letters in our hands ; we have also a history purporting to be written by one of his fellow-travellers, and appearing, by a comparison with these letters, certainly to have been written by some person well acquainted with the transactions of his life. From the letters, as well as from the history, we gather not only the account which we have stated of *him*, but that he was one out of many who acted and suffered in the same manner ; and that of those who did so, several had been the companions of Christ's ministry, the ocular witnesses, or pretending to be such, of his miracles, and of his resurrection. We moreover find this same person referring in his letters to his supernatural conversion, the particulars and accompanying circumstances of which are related in the history ; and which accompanying circumstances, if all or any of them be true, render it impossible to have been a delusion. We also find him positively, and in appropriated terms, asserting that he himself worked miracles, strictly and properly so called, in support of the mission which he executed ; the history, meanwhile, recording various passages of

his ministry, which come up to the extent of this assertion. The question is, whether falsehood was ever attested by evidence like this. Falsehoods, we know, have found their way into reports, into tradition, into books; but is an example to be met with, of a man voluntarily undertaking a life of want and pain, of incessant fatigue, of continual peril; submitting to the loss of his home and country, to stripes and stoning, to tedious imprisonment, and the constant expectation of a violent death, for the sake of carrying about a story of what was false, and of what, if false, he must have known to be so?

THE
CLERGYMAN'S COMPANION
IN
VISITING THE SICK.

CONTAINING,

- I. RULES FOR VISITING THE SICK.
- II. THE OFFICE FOR THE VISITATION OF THE SICK.
- III. THE COMMUNION OF THE SICK.
- IV. A GREAT VARIETY OF OCCASIONAL PRAYERS FOR THE SICK; COLLECTED FROM THE WRITINGS OF SOME OF THE MOST EMINENT DIVINES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
THE OFFICES OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE
BAPTISM,

WITH ADDITIONS AND ALTERATIONS.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REVOLUTION

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

IN THE YEAR 1776

BY

WILLIAM BRADENBURGH

OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

PRINTED AND SOLD BY

ROBERT A. DODD

AT THE SIGN OF THE ANCHOR

IN THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

1776

THE HISTORY OF THE

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OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

1776

PREFACE.

This collection has been so much esteemed that it has passed through nine editions. Having now become exceedingly scarce, it was thought proper to reprint it.

The Rules for Visiting the Sick, in five sections, are extracted chiefly from the works of Bishop Taylor. The occasional prayers are taken from the devotional tracts of Bishop Patrick, Mr Kettlewell, and other pious and judicious divines. But in this edition, the antiquated style of those writers is corrected and improved; at the same time, a spirit of rational piety, and unaffected simplicity, are carefully preserved.

A prayer by Dr Stonehouse, and four by Mr Merrick, the celebrated translator of the Psalms, are added to the old collection.

The offices of Public and Private Baptism, though no ways relating to the Visitation of the Sick, are retained; as, in the present form, they will be convenient for the Clergy in the course of their parochial duty.

PREFACE

CANON LXVII.

MINISTERS TO VISIT THE SICK.

WHEN any person is dangerously sick in any parish, the minister or curate, having knowledge thereof, shall resort unto him, or her, (if the disease be not known, or probably suspected, to be infectious), to instruct and comfort them in their distress, according to the order of Communion, if he be no preacher; or, if he be a preacher, then as he shall think most needful and convenient.

It is recommended to the Clergy to write out the prayers, which are to be used by the sick themselves, or by the persons whose devotions they wish to assist, and to leave the copies with them.

THE MANNER
OF
VISITING THE SICK;

OR,

THE ASSISTANCE THAT IS TO BE GIVEN TO SICK AND
DYING PERSONS BY THE MINISTRY OF THE CLERGY.

SECTION I.

IN all the days of our spiritual warfare, from our baptism to our burial, God has appointed his servants the ministers of the church, to supply the necessities of the people, by ecclesiastical duties; and prudently to guide, and carefully to judge concerning, souls committed to their charge.

And, therefore, they who all their lifetime derive blessings from the Fountain of Grace, by the channels of ecclesiastical ministers, ought then more especially to do it in the time of their sickness, when their needs are more prevalent, according to that known apostolical injunction, "Is any man sick among you, let him send for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him," &c.

The sum of the duties and offices respectively implied in these words, may be collected from the following rules.

SECTION II.

Rules for the Manner of Visiting the Sick.

1. LET the minister be sent to, not when the sick is in the agonies of death, as it is usual to do, but before his sickness increases too much upon him; for when the soul is confused and disturbed by the violence of the distemper, and death begins to stare the man in the face, there is little reason to hope for any good effect from the spiritual man's visitation. For how can any regular administration take place, when the man is all over in a disorder? how can he be called upon to confess his sins, when his tongue falters, and his memory fails him? how can he receive any benefit by the prayers which are offered up for him, when he is not able to give attention to them? or how can he be comforted upon any sure grounds of reason or religion, when his reason is just expiring, and all his notions of religion together with it? or when the man, perhaps, had never any real sentiments of religion before?

It is, therefore, a matter of sad consideration, that the generality of the world look upon the minister, in the time of their sickness, as the sure forerunner of death; and think his office so much relates to another world, that he is not to be treated with, as long as there is any hope of living in this. Whereas it is highly requisite the minister be sent for, when the sick person is able to be conversed with and instructed; and can understand, or be taught to understand, the case of his soul, and the rules of his conscience, and all the several bearings of religion, with respect to God, his neighbour, and himself. For to prepare a soul for its change is a work of great difficulty; and the

Intercourses of the minister with the sick have so much variety in them, that they are not to be transacted at once. Sometimes there is need of special remedies against impatience, and the fear of death; not only to animate, but to make the person desirous and willing to die. Sometimes it is requisite to awaken the conscience by "the terrors of the Lord;" to open by degrees all the labyrinths of sin, (those innumerable windings and turnings which insensibly lead men into destruction), which the habitual sensualist can never be able to discover, unless directed by the particular grace of God, and the assistance of a faithful and judicious guide. Sometimes there is need of the balm of comfort, to pour in "oil and wine" (with the good Samaritan) into the bleeding wound, by representing the tender mercies of God, and the love of his Son Jesus Christ, to mankind; and at other times it will be necessary to "reprove, rebuke, and exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine;" so that a clergyman's duty, in the visitation of the sick, is not over at once: but at one time he must pray; at another he must assist, advise, and direct; at another, he must open to him the nature of repentance, and exhort him to a confession of his sins, both to God and man, in all those cases which require it; and, at another time, he must give him absolution, and the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord.

And, indeed, he that ought to watch all the periods of his life, in the days of his health, lest he should be surprised and overcome, had need, when he is sick, be assisted and called upon, and reminded of the several parts of his duty in every instant of his temptation.

The want of this makes the visitations of the clergy fruitless, because they are not suffered to

imprint those proper effects upon the sick, which are needful in so important a ministration.

2. When the minister is come, let him discourse concerning the causes of sickness, and by a general argument move him to a consideration of his condition. Let him call upon him first, in general terms, "to set his house in order," "to trim and adorn his lamp," and "to prepare himself for another world;" and then let him perform the customary duties of prayer, and afterwards descend to all other particulars, as occasion shall offer, and circumstances require.

3. According to the condition of the man, and the nature of his sickness, every act of the visitation is to be proportioned. If his condition be full of pain and infirmity, the exhortation ought to be shortened, and the minister more "instant in prayer;" and the little service the sick man can do for himself should be supplied by the charitable care of his guide, who is in such a case to speak more to God for him than to talk to him: "Prayer of the righteous," when it is "fervent," hath a promise to "prevail much in behalf of the sick" person; but exhortations must prevail by their own proper weight, and not by the passion of the speaker; and, therefore, should be offered when the sick is able to receive them. And even in this assistance of prayer, if the sick man joins with the minister, the prayers should be short, fervent, and ejaculatory, apt rather to comply with his weak condition, than wearisome to his spirits, in tedious and long offices. But in case it appears he hath sufficient strength to go along with the minister, he is then more at liberty to offer up long petitions for him.

After the minister hath made this preparatory entrance to this work of much time and deli-

beration, he may descend to the particulars of his duty in the following method.

SECTION III.

Of instructing the sick Man in the Nature of Repentance, and Confession of his Sins.

THE first duty to be rightly stated to the sick man, is that of repentance; in which the minister cannot be more serviceable to him, than by laying before him a regular scheme of it, and exhorting him at the same time to a free and ingenuous declaration of the state of his soul. For unless they know the manner of his life, and the several kinds and degrees of those sins which require his penitential sorrow or restitution, either they can do nothing at all, or nothing of advantage and certainty. Wherefore the minister may move him to this in the following manner :

Arguments and Exhortations to move the sick Man to Repentance, and Confession of his Sins.

1. That repentance is a duty indispensably necessary to salvation. That to this end, all the preachings and endeavours of the prophets and apostles are directed. That our Saviour "came down from heaven," on purpose "to call sinners to repentance."* That as it is a necessary duty at all times, so more especially in the time of sickness, when we are commanded in a particular manner to "set our house in order." That it is a work of great difficulty, consisting in general of a "change of mind," and a "change of life." Upon

* Matt. ix. 13.

which account it is called in Scripture, "a state of regeneration, or new birth;" a "conversion from sin to God;" a "being renewed in the spirit of our minds;" a "putting off the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts of the flesh," and a "putting on the new man, which is created in righteousness and true holiness." That so great a change as this is not to be effected at once, but requires the utmost self-denial and resolution to put it in execution, consisting in general of the following particulars:—1. A sorrowful sense of our sins: 2. An humble confession of them: 3. An unfeigned abhorrence and forsaking of them, and turning to the Lord our God with all our hearts: 4. A patient continuance in well-doing to the end of our lives.

These are the constituent and essential parts of a true repentance; which may severally be displayed from the following motives of reason and Scripture, as opportunity shall serve, and the sick man's condition permit.

The first part of a true repentance is a sorrowful sense of our sins, which naturally produceth this good effect, as we may learn from St Paul (2 Cor. vii. 10.) where he tells us, that "godly sorrow worketh repentance." Without it, to be sure, there can be no such thing; for, how can a man repent of that which he is not sorry for? or, how can any one sincerely ask pardon and forgiveness for what he is not concerned or troubled about?

A sorrowful sense, then, of our sins, is the first part of a true repentance, the necessity whereof may be seen from the grievous and abominable nature of sin; as, 1. That it made so wide a separation betwixt God and man, that nothing but the blood of his only begotten Son could suffice to atone for its intolerable guilt: 2. That it carries

along with it the basest ingratitude, as being done against our heavenly Father, "in whom we live, and move, and have our being:" 3. That the consequence of it is nothing less than eternal ruin, in that "the wrath of God is revealed against all impenitent sinners;" and "the wages of sin is death,"—not only temporal but eternal.

From these and the like considerations, the penitent may further learn, that to be sorry for our sins is a great and important duty. That it does not consist in a little trivial concern, a superficial sigh, or tear, or calling ourselves sinners, &c. ; but in a real, ingenuous, pungent, and afflicting sorrow: for, can that which cast our parents out of Paradise at first, that brought down the Son of God afterwards from heaven, and put him at last to such a cruel and shameful death, be now thought to be done away by a single tear or a groan? Can so base a piece of ingratitude, as rebelling against the Lord of glory, who gives us all we have, be supposed to be pardoned by a slender submission? Or can that which deserves the torment of hell, be sufficiently atoned for by a little indignation and superficial remorse?

True repentance, therefore, is ever accompanied with a deep and afflicting sorrow; a sorrow that will make us so irreconcilable to sin, as that we shall choose rather to die than to live in it. For so the bitterest accents of grief are all ascribed to a true repentance in Scripture; such as a "weeping sorely," or "bitterly;" a "weeping day and night;" a "repenting in dust and ashes;" a "putting on sackcloth;" "fasting and prayer," &c. Thus holy David: "I am troubled, I am bowed down greatly, I go mourning all the day long, and that by reason of mine iniquities, which are gone over my head, and, as a heavy burden, are too heavy

for me to bear :” Ps. xxxviii. 4. 6. Thus Ephraim could say : “ After that I was instructed, I smote upon my thigh : I was ashamed, yea, even confounded, because I did bear the reproach of my youth :” Jer. xxxi. 19.

And this is the proper satisfaction for sin which God expects, and hath promised to accept ; as, Psalm li. 17. “ The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit : a broken and contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.”

2. The next thing requisite in a true repentance, is confession of sins, which naturally follows the other ; for if a man be so deeply afflicted with sorrow for his sins, he will be glad to be rid of them as soon as he can ; and the way for this, is humbly to confess them to God, who hath promised to forgive us if we do.” “ I said, I will confess my sins unto the Lord,” saith the Psalmist ; “ and so thou forgavest the wickedness of my sin :” Ps. xxxii. 6. So, Prov. xxviii. 13. and 1 John i. 9. “ If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.” So the returning prodigal went to his father with an humble confession of his baseness, and was received into favour again. Luke xv. 18, 19.

And because the number of our sins are like the hairs of our head, or the sand of the sea, and almost as various too in their kinds as their numbers ; confession must needs be a very extensive duty, and require the strictest care and examination of ourselves : for “ who can tell how oft he offendeth ?” saith David : “ O cleanse thou me from my secret faults !”

The penitent, therefore, should be reminded, that his confession be as minute and particular as it can ; since the more particular the confession is,

to be sure, the more sincere and safe the repentance.

3. A third thing requisite in a true repentance, is an unfeigned abhorrence and forsaking of sin, and turning to the Lord our God with all our hearts.

For so we find them expressly joined together by St Paul, when he *charges* those whom by vision he was sent to convert, to change * their mind, and "turn to God, and do works meet for repentance:" Acts xxvi. 20. And a little before he says, he was sent "to open their eyes and turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins:" ver. 18. And we shall always find, when we are commanded to cease from evil, it is in order to do good.

The penitent, therefore, must be reminded, not only to *confess* and be *sorry* for his sins, but likewise to *forsake* them. For it is he only "who confesseth and forsaketh his sins, that shall have mercy:" Prov. xxviii. 13. And this forsaking must not be only for the present, during his sickness, or for a week, a month, or a year; but for his whole life, be it never so protracted; which is the

4. Last thing requisite in a true repentance, viz. "a patient continuance in well-doing to the end of our lives." For as the holy Jesus assures us, that "he that endureth unto the end shall be saved;" so does the Spirit of God profess, that "if any man draw back, his soul shall have no pleasure in him:" Heb. x. 38. Hence we are said to "be partakers of Christ, if we hold the beginning of our confidence steadfast to the end," Heb. iii. 14.

* ἀπήγγελλον μετανοεῖν.

but not else; for it is to "him only that overcometh, and keepeth his works to the end," that our Saviour hath promised a reward: Rev. ii. 26. Hence our religion is said to be a continual warfare, and we must be constantly "pressing forward toward the mark of our high calling," with the apostle, lest we fail of the prize.

And this it is which makes a death-bed repentance so justly reckoned to be very full of hazard; such as none who defer it till then, can depend upon with any real security. For let a man be never so seemingly penitent in the day of his visitation, yet none but God can tell whether it be sincere or not; since nothing is more common than for those who expressed the greatest signs of a lasting repentance upon a sick-bed, to forget all their vows and promises of amendment as soon as God had removed the judgment, and restored them to their former health. "It happened to them according to the true proverb," as St Peter says, "The dog is turned to his own vomit again, and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire:" 2 Pet. ii. 22.

The sick penitent, therefore, should be often reminded of this:—that nothing will be looked upon as true repentance, but what would terminate in a holy life: that, therefore, he ought to take great heed, that his repentance be not only the effect of his present danger, but that it be lasting and sincere, "bringing forth works meet for repentance," should it please God mercifully to prove him by a longer life.

But here it is much to be feared, that after all his endeavours to bring men to a sight of themselves, and to repent them truly of their sins, the spiritual man will meet with but very little encouragement: for if we look round the world, we

shall find the generality of men to be of a rude indifference, and a seared conscience, and mightily ignorant of their condition with respect to another world, being abused by evil customs and principles, apt to excuse themselves, and to be content with a certain general and indefinite confession; so that if you provoke them never so much to acknowledge their faults, you shall hardly ever extort any thing farther from them than this, viz. "That they are sinners, as every man hath his infirmity, and they as well as any; but, God be thanked! they have done no injury to any man, but are in charity with all the world." And, perhaps they will tell you, "they are no swearers, no adulterers, no rebels, &c. but that, God forgive them! they must needs acknowledge themselves to be sinners in the main," &c. And if you can open their breast so far, it will be looked upon as sufficient: to go any farther, will be to do the office of an accuser, not of a friend.

But, which is yet worse, there are a great many persons who have been so used to an habitual course of sin, that the crime is made natural and necessary to them, and they have no remorse of conscience for it, but think themselves in a state of security very often when they stand upon the brink of damnation. This happens in the cases of drunkenness, and lewd practices, and luxury, and idleness, and mispending of the Sabbath, and in lying and vain jesting, and slandering of others; and particularly in such evils as the laws do not punish, nor public customs shame, but which are countenanced by potent sinners, or wicked fashions, or good-nature and mistaken civilities.

In these and the like cases, the spiritual man must endeavour to awaken their consciences by such means as follow.—

Arguments and general Heads of Discourse, by way of Consideration, to awaken a stupid Conscience, and the careless Sinner.

1. And here let the minister endeavour to affect his conscience, by representing to him,—

That Christianity is a holy and strict religion : that the promises of heaven are so great, that it is not reasonable to think a small matter and a little duty will procure it for us : that religious persons are always the most scrupulous ; and that to feel nothing, is not a sign of life, but of death : that we live in an age in which that which is called and esteemed a holy life, in the days of the apostles and primitive Christianity would have been esteemed indifferent, sometimes scandalous, and always cold : that when we have “done our best, all our righteousness is but as filthy rags ;” and we can never do too much to make our calling and election sure : that every good man ought to be suspicious of himself, fearing the worst that he may provide for the best : that even St Paul, and several other remarkable saints, had at some times great apprehensions of failing of the “mighty prize of their high calling :” that we are commanded to “work out our salvation with fear and trembling ;” inasmuch as we shall be called to an account, not only for our sinful words and deeds, but even for our very thoughts : that if we keep all the commandments of God, and “yet offend in one point (*i. e.* wilfully and habitually), we are guilty of all ;” James ii. 10. : that no man can tell how oft he offendeth, the best of lives being full of innumerable blemishes in the sight of God, however they may appear before men : that no man ought to judge of the state of his soul by the

character he has in the world; for a great many persons go to hell, who have lived in a fair reputation here; and a great many, on the other hand, go to heaven, who have been loaded with infamy and reproach: that the work of religion is a work of great difficulty, trial, and temptation: that "many are called, but few are chosen;" that "strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, that leadeth to life, and few there be that find it:" and lastly, that, "if the righteous themselves shall scarcely be saved," there will be no place for the unrighteous and sinner to appear in, but of horror and amazement.

By these and such like motives to consideration, the spiritual man is to awaken the careless sinner, and to bring him to repentance and confession of his sins; and if either of himself, or by this means, the sick man is brought to a right sense of his condition; then,

2. Let the minister proceed to assist him in understanding the number of his sins, *i. e.* the several kinds of them, and the various ways of prevaricating with the Divine commandments. Let him make him sensible how every sin is aggravated, more or less, according to the different circumstances of it; as by the greatness or smallness of the temptation, the scandal it gives to others, the dishonour it does to religion, the injury it brings along with it to those whom it more immediately concerns; the degrees of boldness and impudence, the choice in acting it, the continuance in it, the expense, desires, and habit of it, &c.

3. Let the sick man, in the scrutiny of his conscience and confession of his sins, be carefully reminded to consider those sins which are no where condemned but in the *court of conscience*: for there are certain secret places of darkness, artificial

blinds of the devil, which he uses to hide our sins from us, and to incorporate them into our affections, by the general practice of others, and the mistaken notions of the world: as, 1. Many sins before men are accounted honourable; such as fighting a duel, returning evil for evil, blow for blow, &c. 2. Some things are not forbidden by the law of man, as lying in ordinary discourse, jeering, scoffing, intemperate eating, ingratitude, circumventing another in contracts, outwitting and overreaching in bargains, extorting and taking advantage of the necessities or ignorance of other people, importunate entreaties and temptations of persons to many instances of sin, as intemperance, pride, and ambition, &c.; all which, therefore, do strangely blind the understanding and captivate the affections of sinful men, and lead them into a thousand snares of the devil which they are not aware of. 3. Some others do not reckon that they sin against God, if the laws have seized upon the person: and many who are imprisoned for debt, think themselves disengaged from payment; and when they pay the penalty, think they owe nothing for the scandal and disobedience. 4. Some sins are thought not considerable, but go under the titles of sins of infirmity, or inseparable accidents of mortality; such as idle thoughts, foolish talking, loose revellings, impatience, anger, and all the events of evil company. 5. Lastly, Many things are thought to be no sins; such as mispending of their time, whole days or months of useless or impertinent employment, long gaming, winning men's money in great portions, censuring men's actions, curiosity, equivocating in the prices of buying and selling, rudeness in speech or behaviour, speaking uncharitable truths, and the like.

These are some of those artificial veils and coverings, under the dark shadow of which the enemy of mankind makes very many to lie hid from themselves, blinding them with false notions of honour, and the mistaken opinions and practices of the world, with public permission and impunity, or (it may be) a temporal penalty; or else with prejudice, or ignorance and infirmity, and direct error in judgment.

Now, in all these cases, the ministers are to be inquisitive and strictly careful, that such kind of fallacies prevail not over the sick; but that those things, which passed without observation before, may now be brought forth, and pass under the severity of a strict and impartial censure, religious sorrow and condemnation.

4. To this may be added a general display of the neglect and omission of our duty; for in them lies the bigger half of our failings: and yet, in many instances, they are undiscerned; because our consciences have not been made tender and perceptible of them. But whoever will cast up his accounts, even with a superficial eye, will quickly find that he hath left undone, for the generality, as many things which he ought to have done, as he hath committed those he ought not to have done: such as the neglect of public or private prayer, of reading the Scriptures, and instructing his family, or those that are under him, in the principles of religion: the not discountenancing sin to the utmost of his power, especially in the personages of great men: the not "redeeming the time," and "growing in grace," and doing all the good he can in his generation: the frequent omissions of the great duty of charity, in visiting the sick, relieving the needy, and comforting the afflicted: the want of obedience, duty, and respect to parents:

the doing the work of God negligently, or not discharging himself with that fidelity, care, and exactness, which is incumbent upon him in the station wherein the providence of God hath placed him, &c.

5. With respect to those sins which are committed against man, let the minister represent to the sick man that he can have no assurance of his pardon, unless he is willing to make all suitable amends and satisfaction to his offended and injured brethren; as for instance, if he hath lived in enmity with any, that he should labour to be reconciled to them; if he is in debt, that he should do his utmost to discharge it; or if he hath injured any one in his substance or credit, that he should endeavour to make restitution in kind for the one, and all possible satisfaction for the other, by humbling himself to the offended person, and beseeching him to forgive him.

6. If the sick person be of evil report, the minister should take care, some way or other, to make him sensible of it, so as to show an effectual sorrow and repentance. This will be best done by prudent hints, and insinuations, of recalling those things to his mind whereof he is accused by the voice of fame, or to which the temptations, perhaps, of his calling, more immediately subject him. Or if he will not understand, when he is secretly prompted, he must be asked in plain terms concerning these matters. He must be told of the evil things which are spoken of him in public, and of the usual temptations of his calling.

And it concerns the minister to follow this advice, without partiality, or fear, or interest, or respect of persons, in much simplicity and prudence, having no other consideration before him, but the conscientious discharge of his duty, and the salvation of the person under his care.

7. The sick person is likewise to be instructed concerning his faith, whether he has a reasonable notion of the articles of the Christian religion, as they are excellently summed up in the Apostle's Creed.

8. With respect to his temporal concerns, the sick is to be advised to set every thing in order, and (if he hath not already) to make his will as soon as he can. For if he recovers, this cannot be detrimental; but if he dies, it will be of great comfort and satisfaction to him. And here it must be remembered, that he distribute every thing according to the exact rules of justice, and with such a due care as to prevent all law-suits and contentions for the future: and, if he be able, he is to be admonished to do something likewise out of charity, and for the sake of his poor brethren.

9. In all the course of his visitation, the minister should frequently be exhorting the sick man to patience and a blessed resignation to the will of God; and not to look upon his sickness as barely the effect of second causes, but as inflicted on him by Divine Providence for several wise and good ends: As, for the trial of his faith; the exercise of his patience; the punishment of his sins; the amendment of his life; or for the example of others, who, seeing his good behaviour in such a day of calamity, may glorify their Father which is in heaven: or else, that it is for the increase of his future welfare, in order to raise him the higher in glory hereafter, by how much the lower he hath been depressed here.

10. When the spiritual man hath thus discharged his duty, and the sick hath made himself capable of it, by a religious and holy conformity to all the fore-mentioned particulars respecting his condition and circumstances, he may then give him

the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. And it is the minister's office to invite sick and dying persons to this holy sacrament, provided they discover a right sense of their duty. And,

Note, That the Holy Sacrament is not to be administered to dying persons, when they have no use of their reason to join the minister in his celebration of it. For the sacraments operate not of themselves, but as they are made efficacious by the joint consent and will, and religious acts and devotion, of the party that receives them. And therefore all fools, and distracted persons, and children, and lethargical and apoplectical people, or that are any ways senseless and incapable of human and reasonable acts, are to be assisted only by prayers.

Note also, That in cases of necessity, where the sacrament cannot be so conveniently administered, the sick may be admonished to receive it spiritually, *i. e.* by representing the symbols of the body and blood of our Lord to his mind, and applying them to himself by faith, with the same preparations of faith and repentance, as if they were really present. For no doubt but God, in such a case, who considers all things with exact justice, and chiefly respects the sincerity of our hearts and intentions, will excuse the absence of the outward and visible sign, when necessity, and not contempt or neglect, was the occasion of it.

SECTION IV.

Of applying spiritual Remedies to the unreasonable Fears and Dejections of the Sick.

It sometimes happens that good men, especially such as have tender consciences, impatient of the

least sin, to which they are arrived by a long habit of grace, and a continual observation of their ways, over-act their part, and turn their tenderness into scruples, and are too much dejected and doubtful concerning their future salvation. In such a case, the minister is to represent to them, that the man who is jealous of himself, is always in the safest condition ; that if he fears on his death-bed, it is but what happens to most considering men ; and that therefore to fear nothing then, is either a singular felicity, or a dangerous presumption.

But to restrain the extravagance of fear, let him be reminded of the terms of the gospel :—that it is a covenant of grace and mercy to all : that “ Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners :” that he continues “ our Advocate in heaven,” and daily “ intercedes” with his Father for us : that the whole heavenly host rejoices at the conversion of a sinner : that the angels are deputed by God, to be our guardians against violent surprises and temptations : that there are different degrees of glory in heaven ; so that, if we arrive not at the greatest, we may yet hope, by divine mercy, that we should not be excluded the less : that God hath promised to hear the “ prayers of the righteous” for his servants : that he labours with us by his Spirit, and as it were “ beseeches us, in Christ’s stead, to be reconciled to him ;” 2 Cor. v. 20. : that, of all his attributes, he glories in none so much as in the titles of mercy and forgiveness : that therefore we do injustice to the Father of mercies, if we retain such hard thoughts and suspicions of him : that God calls upon us to forgive our brother “ seventy times seven ;” and yet all that is but like the forgiving “ an hundred pence,” for his sake, who forgives us “ ten thousand talents :” and therefore if we are ordered to

show such an unrestrained temper of forgiveness, it is only to animate us to trust in God's much more unbounded mercy.

By these and the like arguments, the spiritual man may raise the drooping spirits of good men, in their causeless dejections. But because there are many other cases of the like nature, which the physician of souls will meet with in visiting his neighbours, especially such as are of melancholy dispositions, it may not be improper to mark the principal of them here, and to prescribe the remedies.

Considerations to be offered to Persons under Religious Melancholy.

1. Some truly religious persons are under sad apprehensions of not being in the favour of God, because they find their devotions to be very often cold, their prayers distracted, and their delight in spiritual matters not to be so great and permanent, as their pleasure and satisfaction are in the things of the world.

Now to such as have made religion the great business of their lives, who have endeavoured to cure those distracted thoughts they complain of, and to inflame their souls with divine love, it may be offered, that the different degrees of affection with which men serve God, do very often depend upon the difference of their tempers and constitutions; since some are naturally so dull and heavy as to be little affected with any thing; whilst others are of such a tender make, as to be affected almost with every thing, so as to be soon exalted with joy, or depressed with sorrow: that sickness, losses, and all afflictions, and even religion itself, in its long and continual exercise of self-denial and

thoughtfulness, do naturally produce such a tenderness of spirit, that the best of men have never been able at all times to keep their affections at an equal height: that the zeal and warmth with which some are affected, is not always an argument of their goodness: that a sensible pleasure in religious exercises, wherein the passions are affected, is not so acceptable to God as a reasonable service: that distraction of thought in the service of God is owing, for the most part, to bodily weakness; and therefore, if we do not give way to it, but do all we can to suppress those wandering thoughts, we may be assured we shall never be blamed for being subject to that which, by reason of the weakness of our nature, we cannot help: that the first motions of our mind, as it is impossible to hinder them, are reckoned by all divines not to be sinful, provided we do not encourage them.

2. Some are extremely dejected, because, upon strict examination of themselves, they find, as they think, all their religion to be owing to their fears; and fear being a slavish and sordid passion, they are apt to conclude, that all those services which are not the result of a more noble principle, will be rejected by God, since, as he is all love, and goodness, and perfection, he will not be pleased, they think, with any sacrifice, but what is offered by love.

And to this sad purpose, some have interpreted Rev. xxi. 8. to belong to them, where the fearful are joined together with the most abominable, who shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone.

To cure the depraved and unhappy notions of such as these, it may be argued; that it is plain from Scripture, that the first beginnings of, or movements towards, an holy life, are usually owing

to the passion of fear: that to this, both our Saviour and his apostles do all along address themselves in their earnest entreaties of mankind to turn from the ways of sin to God.—“Fear him,” saith our Saviour, “who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell,” Matth. x. 28. ; so chap. vi. 15. ; Mark xvi. 16. And to this purpose the apostle says, “Work out your salvation with fear and trembling,” Phil. ii. 12. ; and 2 Cor. v. 11. “Knowing the terrors of the Lord,” saith he, “we persuade men.” And in most of the Scripture proofs, we shall find the chief argument of religion to be urged from a fear of punishment for the neglect thereof: so that to be dejected, and render our lives comfortless on this account, were the most unreasonable extravagance; since this were to suppose, that God hath implanted the passion of fear in us in vain; or, what is worse, only to vex and torment us; and that our Saviour and his apostles, persuading us to be religious from the terrors of the Lord, had deceived and misled us.

And as for that text, Rev. xxi. 8.—“The fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone,” &c. ; it is plain, that by the fearful in this place is meant, either such as refuse to embrace the Christian religion, or who, having embraced it, are afraid to continue steadfast to the end, on account of the cross; and therefore cannot be supposed to have any reference to those who are “working out their salvation with fear and trembling,” according to the direction of the gospel. Not but that we are to intermix with this fear an entire love and affection to God, to the utmost of our powers.

3. Some very pious but unhappy persons are grievously tormented with wicked and blasphemous thoughts, so as to fall under the greatest agonies of mind; and often to be so near distraction, as to choose death rather than life.

For the relief and comfort of these, the minister should suggest to them, that such horrid and frightful thoughts are either occasioned through melancholy prevailing over their spirits, and disordering the frame of their minds; or else from the malice of the devil, and the spirits of darkness, who do all they can to shake our faith, and to embitter the Christian life.

If to the former we ascribe such horrid thoughts, they may be comforted upon assurance, that they will not be imputed to them as their sin, any more than a fever or any bodily distemper will, which they did not willingly procure, and which they have tried all means to remove.

If to the latter, they may be encouraged rather to rejoice; as nothing is a greater sign of their being high in the favour of God, than when they are under the most violent temptations of the devil. "My brethren, count it all joy," saith Saint James, "when ye fall into divers temptations;" chap. i. 2. To that effect, they may be taught to consider, that the way to heaven is justly said to be by the gates of hell: that the "same afflictions are accomplished in their brethren which are in the world," who in various kinds are tempted of the tempter; 1 Pet. v. 9.: that Satan "desired to have Saint Peter to sift him as wheat;" Luke xxii. 31.: that our Saviour himself was tempted by him, and the best of men have always been most obnoxious to his malice; and that to live in carnal security, without any molestations from him, is the most dangerous state: that the

being so much concerned and afflicted at such evil thoughts, is a certain argument of a good disposition, since the wicked and profane are rather pleased than tormented with them.

Arguments of this kind are the most proper to be offered to such unhappy persons: but in case their faith and hope be totally overcome by the devil, and they fall into direct despair, it will be necessary then to endeavour the cure of so great an evil and temptation, by the addition of the following exercise.

An Exercise against Despair.

Let the minister suggest to them, that God is not willing that *any should perish*, but desirous that all should come to his glory: that for this end we were created: that he is so far from being "extreme to mark what is done amiss," that he will not refuse the returning prodigal, nor reject the worst of criminals, upon their sincere repentance: that the thief upon the cross is a demonstrable proof of this, and a standing example to prevent the greatest sinner from despair: that if God is so merciful and condescending to the vilest transgressors, much rather may we hope to be pardoned for our weakness and infirmities; for, he "knoweth whereof we are made, he remembereth that we are but dust;" nay, he hath assured us, that he "will not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax;" that all sins shall be forgiven the sons of men, except one, which is the sin against the Holy Ghost; "the sin unto death," as Saint John calls it.

But that no man commits a sin against the Holy Ghost, if he be afraid he hath, or desires that he may not; for such penitential passions are against

the very nature and definition of that sin: that although forgiveness of sins is consigned to us in baptism, and baptism is but once; yet, forgiveness of sins being the special grace of the gospel, it is secured to us for our life, and ebbs and flows according as we discompose or renew the performance of our baptismal vow; therefore it is certain, that no man ought to despair of pardon, but he who hath voluntarily renounced his baptism, or willingly estranged himself from that covenant: that if it were not so, then all preaching and prayers were in vain, and all the conditions of the gospel invalid; and there could be no such thing as repentance, nor indeed scarce a possibility of any one's being saved, if all were to be concluded in a state of damnation, who had committed sin after baptism.

To have any fears, therefore, on this account, were the most extravagant madness; for Christ "died for sinners," and "God hath comprehended all under sin, that" through him "he might have mercy upon all;" Rom. xi. 32. And it was concerning baptized Christians that Saint John said, "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, and he is the propitiation for our sins:" and concerning lapsed Christians, Saint Paul gave instruction, that "if any man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such a man in the spirit of meekness, considering lest ye also be tempted." The Corinthian Christian committed incest, and was pardoned; and Simon Magus, after he was baptized, offered to commit the sin we call simony, and yet Peter bade him pray for pardon: and Saint James tells us, that "if the sick man send for the elders of the church, and they pray over him, and he confess his sins, they shall be forgiven him;" chap. v. 14.

That even in the case of very great sins, and great judgments inflicted upon sinners, wise and good men have declared their sense to be, that God vindicated his justice in that temporal punishment; and so it was supposed to have been done in the case of Ananias, &c. : that nothing can be more absurd than to think that so great and good a God, who is so desirous of saving all, as appears by his word, by his sending his Son, by his oaths and promises, by his very nature and daily overtures of mercy, should condemn any, without the greatest provocations of his majesty, and perseverance in them.

Upon the strength of these arguments, the despairing person may be further taught to argue thus with himself:—

I consider that the ground of my trouble is my sin; and were it not for that, I should have no reason to be troubled: but since the “whole world lieth in wickedness,” and since there cannot be a greater demonstration of a man’s abhorrence of sin, than to be so deeply affected with sorrow for it; I therefore will erect my head with a holy hope, and think that God will also be merciful to me a sinner, as he is to the rest of mankind. I know that the mercies of God are infinite; that he sent his Son into the world on purpose to redeem such as myself; and that he hath repeatedly promised “to give to them that ask, and to be found of them that seek him;” and therefore I will not distrust his goodness, nor look upon the great God of heaven and earth to be worse than his word. Indeed, if from myself I were to derive my title to heaven, then my sins were a just argument of despair; but now that they bring me to Christ, that they drive me to an appeal to God’s mercy, they cannot infer a just cause of despair. I am sure it is a stranger

thing, that the Son of God should come down from heaven, and take upon him our nature, and live and die in the most ignominious state of it, than that a sinful man, washed by the blood of Christ, and his own tears and humiliation, should be admitted to pardon, and made "partaker of the kingdom of heaven:" and it were stranger yet, that he should do so much for man, and that a man that desires, that labours after it to the utmost of his power, that sends up strong cries and prayers, and is still within the covenant of grace, should inevitably miss that end for which our Saviour did and suffered so much.

It is certain, that of all the attributes that belong to God, there is none more essential to his nature, and which he takes more delight in, than his mercy; and it is as certain also, there must be proper objects for this boundless and immense attribute of God; and the most proper, if not only, objects of mercy in the creation, are the children of men; and of men, surely those who are most grieved and wearied with the burden of their sins. I, therefore, who am as pitiful an object of mercy as any, will cheerfully hope, that God will both forgive me here, and give me the blessing of eternal life hereafter: for I know that *eternal life is purely the gift of God*, and therefore have less reason still to despair. For if my sins were fewer, and my unworthiness of such a glory were less, yet still I could not receive it but as a free gift and donation of God, and so I may now; and it is not expectation beyond the hopes of possibility, to look and wait for such a gift at the hands of the God of mercy. The best of men deserve it not; and I, who am the worst, may have it given me. I know that I have sinned grievously and frequently against my heavenly Father: but I have repented, I have

begged pardon, I have confessed and forsaken my sins, and have done all that is possible for me, to make atonement. I cannot undo what is done; and I perish, if there be no such thing as a remedy, or remission of sins. But then I know my religion must perish together with my hope, and the word of God itself must fail as well as I. But I cannot, I dare not, entertain such a thought. I firmly believe that most encouraging article of faith, *the remission of sins*; and since I do that which all good men call repentance, I will also humbly hope for a remission of mine, and a joyful resurrection.

I know that the devil is continually lying in wait to seduce and destroy the souls of men; wherefore I will fortify my spirits, and redouble my guard, and call upon God to enable me to resist all the fiery darts of this malicious adversary.

Or perhaps this exceeding dejection, or malady of mind, may arise from the distemper and weakness of my body; or at most, I hope, it is only a disease of judgment, not an intolerable condition, I am fallen into: and since I have heard of a great many others who have been in the same condition with myself, and yet recovered, I will also take courage to hope that God will relieve me in his good time, and not leave my soul for ever in this hell of depraved fancy and wicked imagination. In fine, I will raise up my dejected spirits, and cast all my care upon God, and depend upon him for the event, which I am sure will be just; and I cannot but think, from the same reason, full of mercy. However, now I will use all the spiritual arts of reason and religion, to make me more and more desirous of loving God; that if I miscarry, charity also shall fail, and something that loves God shall perish, and be damned; which if

it be impossible (as I am sure it is), then I may have just reason to hope I shall do well.

These considerations may be of service to "bind up the broken-hearted," and to strengthen the "bruised reed" of a good man's spirit, in so great and terrible a dejection. But as cases of this nature are very rare, so the arguments here made use of are rarely to be insisted upon; and never, but to well-disposed persons, or reformed penitents, or to such as, in the general course of their life, have lived pretty strictly, and conformably to the rules of religion. For if the man be a vicious person, and hath gone on in a continual course of sin, to the time of his sickness, these considerations are not proper. Let him inquire, in the words of the first disciples after Pentecost, "Men and brethren, what shall we do to be saved?" And if we can but entertain so much hope, as to enable him to do as much of his duty as he can for the present, it is all that can be provided for him. And the minister must be infinitely careful, that he does not attempt to comfort vicious persons with the comfort of God's elect, lest he prostitute holy things, and encourage vice, and render his discourses deceitful; and the man unhappily find them to be so when he descends into the regions of darkness.

But because very few are tempted with too great fears of miscarrying, but the generality, even of the most profligate sort, are rather inclined to unwarrantable assurances of their future salvation, it will highly concern the ministers to prevent in time so great and reigning an imposition of the devil.

Wherefore to the former considerations to awaken the careless sinner and a stupid conscience, the following may be added, upon occasion, to

check the overweening thoughts of the presumptuous.

SECTION V.

Considerations against Presumption.

AND here, let the bold and arrogant sinner further know, that a man cannot think too meanly of himself, but may very easily run into the contrary extreme: that the growths in grace are long, difficult, uncertain, often interrupted, consisting of great variety, and almost innumerable parts and distinctions, which a careless person can never discover: that the more a man presumes, the greater reason he hath to fear; because the confidence of such men is generally like that of children and young people, who have no other reason, but that they understand not the dangers and follies of their self-conceits: that "the heart of man is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked;" deceiving itself, and deceiving others, in innumerable instances; and being often "in the gall of bitterness," when the man appears with the fairest outside to the world: that it is certain, all "have sinned and come short of the glory of God;" but not so certain, that any one's repentance is real, and effective to salvation: that virtue and vice are oftentimes so near neighbours, that we pass into each other's borders without observation, and think we do justice, when we are cruel; or call ourselves liberal, when we are loose and foolish in our expenses, &c.

That the self-accusing publican was justified, rather than the self-confident Pharisee: that if Adam in Paradise, David in his house, Solomon in the temple, Peter in the family of Christ, Judas

among the twelve apostles, and Nicholas among the deacons, and if the angels in heaven itself, did fall so atrociously, then we have all the reason in the world “not to be high-minded, but to fear;” and when we are most confident of ourselves, “to take heed lest we fall;” there being nothing so likely to occasion it as pride, and a great opinion of ourselves, which ruined the angels, which God resists, which all men despise, and which betray us into carelessness, and a wretched, undiscerning, and unwary spirit.

These are the main parts of ecclesiastical duties and offices in the visitation of the sick; which being severally performed, as occasion requires, it remains only that the minister pray over the sick, and remind him to do all the good actions he is capable of; to call upon God for pardon, to put his whole trust in him; to be patient and resigned; and even to renounce every ill thought or word, or indecent action, which the violence of his sickness may have caused in him; to beg of God to give him his Holy Spirit, to guide him in his agony, and to send his holy angels to guard him in his passage.

Whatsoever is besides this, concerns the standers-by, that they do all in their respective offices diligently and temperately: that they join in prayer with the minister, with much charity and devotion: that they make no outcries or exclamations on the departure of the soul; nor any positive judgment concerning the dying man—by his dying quietly or violently, with great fears or a cheerful confidence, with sense or without, like a lamb or like a lion, with convulsions and terrible agonies, or like the silent and well-spent flame of an expiring taper. For these may happen severally, according to the constitution of the persons, and

the nature of the distemper that befalls them ; or else according as God pleases to dispense the grace, or the punishment, for reasons only known to himself.

Let us lay our hand upon our mouth, and adore the mysteries of the divine wisdom and providence, and pray to God to give the dying man rest and pardon ; and to ourselves grace to live well, and the blessings of a holy and happy death.

THE ORDER

FOR THE

VISITATION OF THE SICK.

When any Person is sick, notice shall be given thereof to the Minister of the parish, who, coming into the sick Person's house, shall say,

Peace be to this house, and to all that dwell in it.

When he cometh into the sick man's presence, he shall say,
kneeling down,

Remember not, Lord, our iniquities, nor the iniquities of our forefathers. Spare us, good Lord, spare thy people, whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood, and be not angry with us for ever.

Answer. Spare us, good Lord.

Then the Minister shall say,

Let us pray.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

OUR Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil. *Amen.*

Minister. O Lord, save thy servant,

Answer. Which putteth *his* trust in thee.

Min. Send *him* help from thy holy place;

Answ. And evermore mightily defend *him.*

Min. Let the enemy have no advantage of *him*;

Answ. Nor the wicked approach to hurt *him.*

Min. Be unto *him*, O Lord, a strong tower,

Answ. From the face of *his* enemy.

Min. O Lord, hear our prayers:

Answ. And let our cry come unto thee.

Minister.

O LORD, look down from heaven; behold, visit, and relieve this thy servant. Look upon *him* with the eyes of thy mercy; give *him* comfort and sure confidence in thee; defend *him* from the danger of the enemy, and keep *him* in perpetual peace and safety, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

HEAR US, Almighty and most merciful God and Saviour; extend thy accustomed goodness to this thy servant, who is grieved with sickness. Sanctify, we beseech thee, this thy fatherly correction to *him*; that the sense of *his* weakness may add strength to *his* faith, and seriousness to *his* repentance: that, if it shall be thy good pleasure to restore *him* to *his* former health, *he* may lead the residue of *his* life in thy fear, and to thy glory: or else give *him* grace so to take thy visitation, that, after this pain-

ful life is ended, *he* may dwell with thee in life everlasting; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then shall the Minister exhort the sick Person after this form, or other like.

DEARLY beloved, know this, that Almighty God is the Lord of life and death, and of all things to them pertaining, as youth, strength, health, age, weakness, and sickness. Wherefore, whatsoever your sickness is, know you certainly, that it is God's visitation. And for what cause soever this sickness is sent unto you; whether it be to try your patience; for the example of others; and that your faith may be found in the day of the Lord, laudable, glorious, and honourable, to the increase of glory and endless felicity; or else it be sent unto you, to correct and amend in you whatsoever doth offend the eyes of your heavenly Father: know you certainly, that if you truly repent of your sins, and bear your sickness patiently, trusting in God's mercy for his dear Son Jesus Christ's sake, and render unto him humble thanks for his fatherly visitation, submitting yourself wholly unto his will, it shall turn to your profit, and help you forward in the right way that leadeth unto everlasting life.

If the Person visited be very sick, then the Curate may end his exhortation in this place, or else proceed.

TAKE, therefore, in good part the chastisement of the Lord; for (as St Paul saith, in the twelfth chapter to the Hebrews), "whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth; and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. If ye endure chastening, God deal-eth with you as with sons: for, what son is he whom the father chasteneth not? But if ye be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards, and not sons. Furthermore,

we have had fathers of our flesh, which corrected us, and we gave them reverence; shall we not much rather be in subjection unto the Father of spirits, and live? For they verily, for a few days, chastened us after their own pleasure; but he for our profit, that we might be partakers of his holiness." These words (*good brother*) are written in holy Scriptures for our comfort and instruction, that we should patiently and with thanksgiving bear our heavenly Father's correction, whensoever, by any manner of adversity, it shall please his gracious goodness to visit us. And there should be no greater comfort to Christian persons, than to be made like unto Christ, by suffering patiently adversities, troubles, and sicknesses. For he himself went not up to joy, but first he suffered pain: He entered not into his glory before he was crucified. So, truly, our way to eternal joy, is to suffer here with Christ; and our door to enter into eternal life, is gladly to die with Christ, that we may rise again from death, and dwell with him in everlasting life. Now therefore, taking your sickness, which is thus profitable for you, patiently; I exhort you, in the name of God, to remember the profession which you made unto God in your baptism. And forasmuch as, after this life, there is an account to be given unto the righteous Judge, by whom all must be judged without respect of persons; I require you to examine yourself, and your estate, both towards God and man; so that, accusing and condemning yourself, and your own faults, you may find mercy at your heavenly Father's hand for Christ's sake, and not be accused and condemned in that fearful judgment. Therefore I shall rehearse to you the Articles of our Faith, that you may know whether you believe as a Christian man should, or no.

Here the Minister shall rehearse the Articles of the Faith, saying thus :

Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth ?

And in Jesus Christ his only-begotten Son, our Lord ? And that he was conceived by the Holy Ghost ; born of the Virgin Mary ; that he suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried ; that he went down into hell, and also did rise again the third day ; that he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, and from thence shall come again, at the end of the world, to judge the quick and the dead ?

And dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost ; the holy Catholic church ; the communion of saints ; the remission of sins ; the resurrection of the flesh ; and everlasting life after death ?

The sick person shall answer,

All this I steadfastly believe.

Then shall the Minister examine whether he repent him truly of his sins, and be in charity with all the world ; exhorting him to forgive, from the bottom of his heart, all persons that have offended him, and, if he have offended any other, to ask them forgiveness ; and where he hath done injury or wrong to any man, that he make amends to the utmost of his power. And if he hath not before disposed of his goods, let him then be admonished to make his will, and to declare his debts, what he oweth, and what is owing unto him ; for the better discharge of his conscience, and the quietness of his executors. But men should often be put in remembrance to take order for settling of their temporal estates, whilst they are in health.

These words, before rehearsed, may be said before the Minister begins his prayer, as he shall see cause.

The Minister should not omit earnestly to move such sick Persons as are of ability, to be liberal to the poor.

Here shall the sick Person be moved to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with

any weighty matter. After which confession, the Priest shall absolve him (if he humbly and heartily desire it) after this sort :

OUR Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his church to absolve all sinners, who truly repent, and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences ! And by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. *Amen.*

And then the Priest shall say the collect following :

Let us pray.

O MOST merciful God, who, according to the multitude of thy mercies, dost so put away the sins of those who truly repent, that thou rememberest them no more ; open thine eye of mercy upon this thy servant, who most earnestly desireth pardon and forgiveness. Renew in *him*, most loving Father, whatsoever hath been decayed by the fraud and malice of the devil, or by *his* own carnal will and frailness ; preserve and continue this sick member in the unity of the church ; consider *his* contrition, accept *his* tears, assuage *his* pain, as shall seem to thee most expedient for *him*. And, forasmuch as *he* putteth *his* full trust only in thy mercy, impute not unto *him* his former sins, but strengthen *him* with thy blessed Spirit ; and when thou art pleased to take *him* hence, take *him* unto thy favour, through the merits of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then shall the Minister say this Psalm.

In te, Domine, speravi.—Psalm lxxi.

IN thee, O Lord, have I put my trust ; let me never be put to confusion : but rid me, and de-

liver me in thy righteousness ; incline thine ear unto me, and save me.

Be thou a strong hold, whereunto I may always resort : thou hast promised to help me, for thou art my house of defence, and my castle.

Deliver me, O my God, out of the hand of the ungodly ; out of the hand of the unrighteous and cruel man.

For thou, O Lord, art the thing that I long for : thou art my hope, even from my youth.

Through thee have I been holden up ever since I was born : thou art he that took me out of my mother's womb ; my praise shall always be of thee.

I am become as it were a monster to many ; but my sure trust is in thee.

O let my mouth be filled with thy praise ; that I may sing of thy glory and honour all the day long.

Cast me not away in the time of age : forsake me not when my strength faileth me.

For mine enemies speak against me ; and they that lay wait for my soul, take their counsel together, saying, God hath forsaken him ; persecute him, and take him, for there is none to deliver him.

Go not far from me, O God : my God, haste thee to help me.

Let them be confounded and perish, that are against my soul : let them be covered with shame and dishonour, that seek to do me evil.

As for me I will patiently abide always ; and will praise thee more and more.

My mouth shall daily speak of thy righteousness and salvation : for I know no end thereof.

I will go forth in the strength of the Lord God ; and will make mention of thy righteousness only.

Thou, O God, hast taught me from my youth up until now : therefore will I tell of thy wondrous works.

Forsake me not, O God, in mine old age, when I am grey-headed, until I have showed thy strength unto this generation, and thy power to all them that are yet for to come.

Thy righteousness, O God, is very high, and great things are they that thou hast done : O God, who is like unto thee ?

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost ;

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. *Amen.*

Adding this :

O SAVIOUR of the world, who by thy cross and precious blood hast redeemed us, save us, and help us, we humbly beseech thee, O Lord.

Then shall the minister say :

THE Almighty Lord, who is a most strong tower to all them that put their trust in him ; to whom all things in heaven, in earth, and under the earth, do bow and obey ; be now and evermore thy defence, and make thee know and feel, that there is no other name under heaven given to man, in whom, and through whom, thou mayest receive health and salvation, but only the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

And after that shall say :

UNTO God's gracious mercy and protection we commit thee. The Lord bless thee, and keep thee. The Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee. The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace, both now and evermore. *Amen.*

O

THE
COMMUNION OF THE SICK.

FORASMUCH as all mortal men be subject to many sudden perils, diseases, and sicknesses, and ever uncertain what time they shall depart out of this life; therefore, to the intent they may be always in readiness to die, whensoever it shall please Almighty God to call them, the Curates shall diligently, from time to time, (but especially in time of pestilence, or other infectious sickness), exhort their parishioners to the often receiving the Holy Communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, when it shall be publicly administered in the church; that, so doing, they may, in case of sudden visitation, have the less cause to be disquieted for lack of the same. But if the sick Person be not able to come to the church, and yet is desirous to receive the Communion in his house; then he must give timely notice to the Curate, signifying also how many there are to communicate with him (which shall be three, or two at the least), and having a convenient place in the sick man's house, with all things necessary, so prepared, that the Curate may reverently minister, he shall there celebrate the Holy Communion, beginning with the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, here following:

The Collect.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, maker of mankind, who dost correct those whom thou dost love, and chastisest every one whom thou dost receive; we beseech thee to have mercy upon this thy ser-

vant visited with thine hand, and to grant that *he* may take *his* sickness patiently, and recover *his* bodily health (if it be thy gracious will); and whenever *his* soul shall depart from the body, it may be without spot presented unto thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

The Epistle, Heb. xii. 5.

MY son, despise not thou the chastening of the Lord, nor faint when thou art rebuked of him: for whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth; and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.

The Gospel, St John v. 24.

VERILY, verily, I say unto you, he that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life.

After which, the Priest shall proceed according to the form prescribed for the Holy Communion, beginning at these words: [Ye that do truly].

At the time of the distribution of the Holy Sacrament, the Priest shall first receive the Communion himself, and afterward minister unto them that are appointed to communicate with the sick, and last of all to the sick Person.

But if a man, either by reason of extremity of sickness, or for want of warning in due time to the Curate, or for lack of company to receive with him, or by any other just impediment, do not receive the Sacrament of Christ's body and blood, the Curate shall instruct him, that if he do truly repent him of his sins, and steadfastly believe Jesus Christ hath suffered death upon the cross for him, and shed his blood for his redemption, earnestly remembering the benefits he hath thereby, and giving him hearty thanks therefor, he doth eat and drink the body and blood of our Saviour Christ profitably to his soul's health, although he do not receive the sacrament with his mouth.

When the sick Person is visited, and receiveth the Holy Communion all at one time, then the Priest, for more expedition, shall cut off the form of the visitation, at the Psalm [in thee, O Lord, have I put my trust], and go straight to the Communion.

In the time of the plague, sweat, or other such-like contagious times of sickness or diseases, when none of the parish

or neighbours can be gotten to communicate with the sick in their houses, for fear of the infection; upon special request of the diseased, the Minister only may communicate with him.

At the time of the celebration of the Communion, the communicants being conveniently placed for receiving of the Holy Sacrament, the Priest shall say this exhortation:

DEARLY beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come to the Holy Communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, must consider how St Paul exhorteth all persons diligently to try and examine themselves, before they presume to eat of that bread, and drink of that cup. For as the benefit is great, if with a true penitent heart and lively faith we receive that Holy Sacrament, (for then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood; then we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us; we are one with Christ, and Christ with us); so is the danger great, if we receive the same unworthily: for then we are guilty of the body and blood of Christ our Saviour; we eat and drink our own damnation, not considering the Lord's body; we kindle God's wrath against us; we provoke him to plague us with divers diseases, and sundry kinds of death. Judge therefore yourselves, brethren, that ye be not judged of the Lord; repent ye truly for your sins past; have a lively and steadfast faith in Christ our Saviour; amend your lives, and be in perfect charity with all men; so shall ye be meet partakers of these holy mysteries. And above all things, ye must give most humble and hearty thanks to God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for the redemption of the world by the death and passion of our Saviour Christ, both God and man, who did humble himself even to the death upon the cross, for us miserable sinners, who lay in darkness and the shadow

of death that he might make us the children of God, and exalt us to everlasting life. And to the end that we should always remember the exceeding great love of our Master and only Saviour Jesus Christ, thus dying for us, and the innumerable benefits which by his precious blood-shedding he hath obtained to us, he hath instituted and ordained holy mysteries, as pledges of his love, and for a continual remembrance of his death, to our great and endless comfort. To Him, therefore, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, let us give (as we are most bounden) continual thanks; submitting ourselves wholly to his holy will and pleasure, and studying to serve him in true holiness and righteousness all the days of our life. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest say to them that come to receive the Holy Communion,

YE that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and are in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead a new life, following the commandments of God, and walking from henceforth in his holy ways; draw near with faith, and take this Holy Sacrament to your comfort; and make your humble confession to Almighty God, meekly kneeling upon your knees.

Then shall this general confession be made, in the name of all those that are minded to receive the Holy Communion, by one of the Ministers, both he and all the people kneeling humbly upon their knees, and saying;

ALMIGHTY God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, maker of all things, judge of all men, we acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness which we from time to time most grievously have committed, by thought, word, and deed, against thy Divine Majesty, provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us. We do earnestly

repent, and are heartily sorry for these our misdoings; the remembrance of them is grievous to us, the burden of them is intolerable. Have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us, most merciful Father: for thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, forgive us all that is past; and grant we may ever hereafter serve and please thee in newness of life, to the honour and glory of thy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest (or the Bishop, being present) stand up, and, turning himself to the people, pronounce this absolution:

ALMIGHTY God our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them that with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him, have mercy upon you, pardon and deliver you from all your sins, confirm and strengthen you in all goodness, and bring you to everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest say,

HEAR what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith unto all that truly turn to him:

Come unto me, all ye that travail and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you. Matt. xi. 28.

So God loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, to the end that all that believe in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. John iii. 16.

Hear also what St Paul saith:

This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be received, That Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners. 1 Tim. i. 15.

Hear also what St John saith:

If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the propitiation for our sins. 1 John ii. 1, 2.

After which, the Priest shall proceed, saying,

Lift up your hearts.

Answ. We lift them up unto the Lord.

Priest. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

Answ. It is meet and right so to do.

Then shall the Priest say,

It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father,* Almighty, Everlasting God.

Here shall follow the proper preface, according to the time, if there be any specially appointed; or else immediately shall follow,

THEREFORE with angels and archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious name, evermore praising thee, and saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts! heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Glory be to thee, O Lord most high. *Amen.*

PROPER PREFACES.

On Christmas-day, and seven days after.

BECAUSE thou didst give Jesus Christ, thine only Son, to be born as at this time for us, who by the operation of the Holy Ghost was made very man of the substance of the Virgin Mary his mother, and that without spot of sin, to make us clean from all sin: therefore with angels, &c.

On Easter-day, and seven days after.

BUT chiefly are we bound to praise thee for the glorious resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our

* These words [Holy Father] must be omitted on Trinity Sunday.

Lord: for he is the very paschal lamb which was offered for us, and hath taken away the sins of the world; who by his death hath destroyed death, and by his rising to life again, hath restored us to everlasting life: therefore, &c.

On Ascension-day, and seven days after.

THROUGH thy most dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, who, after his most glorious resurrection, manifestly appeared to all his apostles, and in their sight ascended up into heaven to prepare a place for us; that where he is, thither we might also ascend, and reign with him in glory: therefore, &c.

On Whitsunday, and six days after.

THROUGH Jesus Christ our Lord, according to whose most true promise the Holy Ghost came down as at this time from heaven, with a sudden great sound, as it had been a mighty wind, in the likeness of fiery tongues, lighting upon the apostles, to teach them, and to lead them to all truth, giving them both the gift of divers languages, and also boldness with fervent zeal constantly to preach the gospel unto all nations, whereby we have been brought out of darkness and error into the clear light and true knowledge of thee, and of thy Son Jesus Christ: Therefore, &c.

On the feast of Trinity only.

WHO art one God, one Lord; not one only Person, but three Persons in one substance. For that which we believe of the glory of the Father, the same we believe of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, without any difference or inequality: Therefore, &c.

After each of which prefaces, shall immediately be sung or said :

THEREFORE with angels and archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious name, evermore praising thee, and saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts ! heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Glory be to thee, O Lord most high. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest, kneeling down at the Lord's table, say, in the name of all them that shall receive the Communion, this prayer following :

WE do not presume to come to this thy table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We are not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy table. But thou art the same Lord, whose property is always to have mercy : grant us, therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us. *Amen.*

When the Priest, standing before the table, hath so ordered the bread and wine, that he may with the more readiness and decency break the bread before the people, and take the cup into his hands, he shall say the prayer of Consecration, as followeth :

ALMIGHTY God, our heavenly Father, who of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption, who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and did institute, and in his holy gospel

command us, to continue a perpetual memory of that his precious death, until his coming again; hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee, and grant that we, receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood; who, in the same night that he was betrayed,* took bread, and when he had given thanks,† he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat;‡ this is my body, which is given for you: do this in remembrance of me. Likewise after supper,§ he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for this|| is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins: do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me. *Amen.*

Then shall the Minister first receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and then proceed to deliver the same to the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in like manner (if any be present), and after that to the people also in order, into their hands, all meekly kneeling. And when he delivereth the bread to any one, he shall say:

THE body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life! Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee; and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving.

* Here the Priest is to take the paten into his hands.

† And here to break the bread.

‡ And here to lay his hands upon all the bread.

§ Here he is to take the cup into his hand.

|| And here to lay his hand upon every vessel (be it chalice or flaggon) in which there is any wine to be consecrated.

And the Minister that delivereth the cup to any one,
shall say :

THE blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life ! Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.

If the consecrated bread or wine be all spent before all have communicated, the Priest is to consecrate more, according to the form before prescribed ; beginning at [Our Saviour Christ in the same night, &c.] for the blessing of the bread, and [Likewise after supper, &c.] for the blessing of the cup.

When all have communicated, the Minister shall return to the Lord's table, and reverently place upon it what remaineth of the consecrated elements, covering the same with a fair linen cloth.

Then shall the Priest say the Lord's Prayer, the people repeating after him every petition.

OUR Father which art in heaven ; Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation ; but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

After this shall be said as followeth :

O Lord and heavenly Father, we thy humble servants entirely desire thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving ; most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we and all thy whole church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion. And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and

lively sacrifice unto thee ; humbly beseeching thee, that all we who are partakers of this holy communion, may be filled with thy grace and heavenly benediction. And although we be unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice ; yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service ; not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord ; by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end.
Amen.

Or this :

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, we most heartily thank thee, for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, who have duly received these holy mysteries with the spiritual food of the most precious body and blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ ; and dost assure us thereby of thy favour and goodness towards us ; and that we are very members incorporate in the mystical body of thy Son, which is the blessed company of all faithful people ; and are also heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom, by the merits of the most precious death and passion of thy dear Son. And we most humbly beseech thee, O heavenly Father, so to assist us with thy grace, that we may continue in that holy fellowship, and do all such good works as thou hast prepared for us to walk in, through Jesus Christ our Lord ; to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

Then shall be said or sung :

GLORY be to God on high, and in earth peace, good will towards men. We praise thee, we bless

thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee, for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.

O Lord, the only-begotten Son Jesus Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us: thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us: thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer: thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us:

For thou only art holy, thou only art the Lord; thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. *Amen.*

Then the Priest, or Bishop (if he be present), shall let them depart with this blessing:

THE peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord; and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be among you, and remain with you always. *Amen.*

PROPER COLLECTS

THAT MAY BE USED WITH ANY OF THE PRAYERS
FOR THE SICK.

LET thy merciful ears, O Lord, be open to the prayers of thy humble servants; and, that we may obtain our petitions, make us to ask such things as shall please thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

IN the midst of life, we are in death: of whom may we seek for succour, but of thee, O Lord,

who for our sins art justly displeas'd? Yet, O Lord God most holy, O Lord most mighty, O holy and most merciful Saviour, deliver us not into the bitter pains of eternal death. Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our heart; shut not thy merciful ears to our prayers; but spare us, Lord most holy, O God most mighty, O holy and merciful Saviour, thou most worthy Judge Eternal, suffer us not at the last hour, for any pains of death, to fall from thee. *Amen.*

O MERCIFUL God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the resurrection and the life, we beseech thee to raise us from the death of sin to the life of righteousness, that, at the general resurrection in the last day, we may be found acceptable in thy sight, and may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in thy eternal glory; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

GRANT, we beseech thee, Almighty God, that we, who for our evil deeds do worthily deserve to be punished, by the comfort of thy grace may mercifully be relieved, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

O most mighty God, and merciful Father, who hast compassion upon all men, and hatest nothing that thou hast made, who wouldest not the death of a sinner, but that he should rather turn from his sin, and be saved; mercifully forgive us our trespasses; relieve and comfort us, who are grieved and wearied with the burden of our sins. Thy property is always to have mercy; to thee only it appertaineth to forgive sins: Spare us therefore, good Lord, spare us, whom thou hast redeemed. Enter not into judgment with thy servants, who are vile earth, and miserable sinners; but so turn

thine anger from us, who meekly acknowledge our vileness, and truly repent us of our faults, and so make haste to help us in this world, that we may ever live with thee in the world to come; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

O God, the Creator and Preserver of all mankind, we humbly beseech thee for all sorts and conditions of men, that thou wouldest be pleased to make thy ways known unto them, thy saving health among all nations. More especially we pray for the good estate of the Catholic church, that it may be so guided and governed by thy good Spirit, that all who profess and call themselves Christians, may be led into the way of truth, and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life. Finally, we commend to thy fatherly goodness all those who are any ways afflicted in mind, body, or estate, (especially *him* for whom our prayers are desired); that it may please thee to comfort and relieve them according to their several necessities, giving them patience under their sufferings, and a happy issue out of all their afflictions: and this we beg for Jesus Christ his sake.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, who art always more ready to hear than we to pray, and art wont to give more than either we desire or deserve; pour down upon us the abundance of thy mercy, forgiving us those things whereof our conscience is afraid, and giving us those good things which we are not worthy to ask, but through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ our Lord.

O God, merciful Father, that despisest not the sighing of a contrite heart, nor the desire of such

as be sorrowful; mercifully assist our prayers that we make before thee in all our troubles and adversities whensoever they oppress us; and graciously hear us, that those evils which the craft and subtlety of the devil or man worketh against us be brought to nought, and by the providence of thy goodness they may be dispersed; that we thy servants, being hurt by no persecutions (or afflictions), may evermore give thanks unto thee in thy holy church; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

WE beseech thee, O Father, mercifully to look upon our infirmities, and for the glory of thy name turn from us all those evils that we most righteously have deserved; and grant that in all our troubles we may put our whole trust and confidence in thy mercy, and evermore serve thee in holiness and pureness of living, to thy honour and glory; through our only mediator and advocate, Jesus Christ our Lord.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, who of thy tender love to mankind has sent thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, to take upon him our flesh, and to suffer death upon the cross, that all mankind should follow the example of his great humility; mercifully grant, that we may both follow the example of his patience, and also be made partakers of his resurrection; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

ALMIGHTY God, the fountain of all wisdom, who knowest our necessities before we ask, and our ignorance in asking, we beseech thee to have compassion upon our infirmities; and those things which for our unworthiness we dare not, and for our blindness we cannot ask, vouchsafe to give

us for the worthiness of thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

PRAYERS FOR THE SICK.

A general Prayer for the Acceptance of our Devotions for the Sick.

(From Bishop Andrews.)

O LORD, it is a great presumption that one sinner should dare to commend another to thy Divine Majesty. And who would not fear to undertake it? But thy commandment it is, "That we should pray for the sick members of thy church, and mourn with them that mourn:" and thou hast promised that our prayers thus made, thou wilt receive. And now behold, O Lord, we that are no way meet, but unworthy, utterly unworthy, to ask for aught for ourselves, charity and compassion so binding us, are enforced to become suitors to thee for others, even for this thy servant, now afflicted by thee. Of thee we hope; of thee we desire; to thee we pray, in the most meek and humble manner, and even from the bottom of our hearts. O Lord, that which thou mightest justly deny to our unworthiness, deny not, we beseech thee, to thine own gracious goodness. O Lord, forgive us our sins; O Lord, forgive us our sins, our great and grievous sins, oft and many times committed, long and many years continued; so that we may be meet to pray for others, and our prayers be made unto thee in an acceptable time.

Graciously look upon our afflictions.

Pitifully behold the sorrows of our hearts.

Mercifully forgive the sins of thy people.

Favourably with mercy hear our prayers.

Both now and ever vouchsafe to hear us, O Christ.

Graciously hear us, O Christ; graciously hear us, O Lord Christ. *Amen.*

Particular Prayers for the Sick.

(From Bishop Patrick.)

O MOST gracious God, who by thy Son Jesus Christ hast united us all in one body, that we should love one another, and if one member suffers, all the members should suffer with it; we humbly implore thy tender mercies towards this thy servant, of whose afflicted condition we desire to have a compassionate sense and feeling.

Look graciously upon *him*, O Lord, and visit *him* with thy salvation. Vouchsafe *him* such consolations from above, as we should desire for ourselves, were we in *his* extremity. Give *him* a true penitent heart for all the offences that *he* hath at any time committed; together with a lively faith in thy Son Jesus, who came into the world to save sinners. Give *him* the comfort of a holy hope, that thou acceptest *his* repentance, and faithful devotion to thee. Support *him* by this hope under all *his* pain, and enable *him* patiently to submit to thy fatherly correction. Send *him* help now in time of need, both for *his* soul and for *his* body. Bless the means for *his* recovery; and, if it be thy good pleasure, restore *him* speedily to *his* former health, and inspire *him* with a serious resolution to serve thee more zealously all *his* days.

Or if thou hast otherwise resolved in thy wise counsels, deliver *him* from the fear of death, assist *him* in *his* last agony, give *him* an easy and cheerful passage out of this life, and send thy holy

angels to conduct *him* into rest and peace with our Lord Jesus, for the same Jesus Christ's sake. *Amen.*

(From Bishop Taylor.)

I.

ALMIGHTY GOD, Father of mercies, the God of peace and comfort, of rest and pardon, we thy servants, in duty to thee, and charity to our *brother*, humbly beg mercy of thee for *him*, to descend upon *his* body and *his* soul. We come to thee in the name of Jesus, praying thee to pardon the sins of this thy servant, and to bury them in the grave of Him that died for us, that they may never rise up in judgment against *him*, nor bring *him*, in the day of trial, to shame and confusion of face. *Amen.*

II.

GIVE thy servant, O Lord, patience in *his* sorrows, comfort in *his* sickness, and restore *him* to health, if it seem good to thee. And, however thou shalt determine concerning *him*, yet make *his* repentance perfect, and *his* faith strong, and *his* hope steadfast, and *his* passage safe; that when thou shalt call *his* soul from the body, it may enter into the rest of the sons of God, and the bosom of blessedness, and be with the holy Jesus. *Amen.*

III.

O LORD, thou knowest all the necessities, and all the infirmities of thy servant: fortify *his* soul with spiritual joys, and perfect resignation; and take from *him* all inordinate affections to this world; and enlarge his heart with desires of being with thee, in thy heavenly kingdom.

IV.

LORD, let not any pain or passion discompose the order of *his* thoughts, or *his* duty; and lay no more upon thy servant than thou wilt make *him* able to bear; and, together with the temptation, do thou provide a way to escape; even by the mercies of a longer and more holy life, or by the mercies of a blessed death; even as it pleaseth thee, O Lord, so let it be. *Amen.*

V.

LORD, let the tenderness of *his* conscience, and the Spirit of God, call to mind *his* sins, that they may be confessed and repented of; and let thy powerful grace remove from *his* soul every root of bitterness; and in the union of the holy Jesus, and in the love of God, and in the communion of all the saints, let *his* soul be presented to thee blameless, and entirely pardoned, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A larger Form of Prayer for the Sick.

(From Bishop Patrick.)

O LORD, the Father of our spirits, who givest us life, and breath, and all things, and hast not thought a crown of everlasting life too much to promise us; we believe that thou wilt not deny us what is needful and fit for us, both for our souls and our bodies, in our passage through this world, to that of honour, glory, and immortality. In this confidence, we more particularly recommend this thy sick servant to thy infinite and most compassionate mercy. Settle in *his* soul a steadfast faith, that thou dost not willingly grieve the children of men, but intendest good to *him* by this thy fatherly correction.

And now since all other pleasures and enjoyments fail *him*, represent thyself more effectually unto *him*, as the only support and stay of his hope, and rock of salvation. Wherein soever *he* hath neglected thee, or committed any offence against thee, make *him* deeply sensible of it, and heartily sorrowful for all his transgressions. And as *he* earnestly desires pardon and forgiveness of thee, so work in *him* a serious resolution to live more circumspectly and righteously for the time to come. Assist *him* graciously, O Lord, that *he* may give a proof of *his* sincere intentions hereafter to submit *himself* in all things to thy will, by his patient submission to thy fatherly correction. O, that *he* may so quietly, so meekly, so humbly, and cheerfully resign *his* will unto thee, to suffer what thou inflictest, that *he* may be the more disposed to do readily whatsoever thou commandest. For which end, make *him* thoroughly apprehensive of thy sovereign power and authority over all creatures. Possess *him* with a great reverence of thy wisdom and justice, with an entire confidence in thy goodness and love, with a thankful remembrance of all thy past mercies to *him*, that so *he* may the better endure what thou layest upon *him* at present, and may ever follow thy directions, and submit to thy orders, and delight to do thy will, O God.

Bless the remedies which are used for restoring *him* to *his* former health, that *he* may live to perform *his* duty with greater care: or, if thou hast otherwise appointed, accept graciously of *his* purposes of amendment, and dispose *him* to return back *his* spirit willingly unto thee who gavest it; and with great humility and deep sense of *his* own undeservings, to expect thy mercy declared in Christ Jesus. Fix *his* mind steadfastly upon *him*, who hath led the way through the grave unto bea-

ven, that *he* may not be affrighted with the approaches of death, but, looking beyond it to that high and holy place where the Lord Jesus is, may rejoice in hope of eternal glory.

And grant that every one of us, in our best state of health, may consider perpetually how frail and weak we are; that so we may not abuse ourselves by an intemperate use of any sensual pleasures, nor load our minds with the cares of this life, nor spend our days in a vain pursuit of the honour and glory of this world; but may pass all the time of our sojourning here, in fear; and may live so righteously and soberly in this present world, as becomes those who expect shortly to give an account to thee, who wilt judge all men according to their works. Hear us, O Lord, we most humbly beseech thee, through Christ Jesus our merciful and compassionate Redeemer. *Amen.*

Assist us mercifully, O Lord, in these our supplications and prayers, and dispose the way of thy servants towards the attainment of everlasting salvation, that among all the changes and chances of this mortal life, they may ever be defended by thy most gracious and ready help; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

(From Doctor Hammond.)

O LORD, bless, keep, and defend this thy servant with thy heavenly grace and benediction, that *he* may continue thine for ever, and daily increase in thy Holy Spirit more and more, until *he* comes to thy everlasting kingdom.

Let thy mighty hand and out-stretched arm, O Lord, be ever *his* defence; thy mercy and loving-kindness in Jesus Christ thy dear Son, *his* salvation;

thy true and holy word, *his* instruction ; thy grace and Holy Spirit, *his* comfort and consolation, both now, and at the hour of death.

Now the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ ; to whom be glory for ever and ever.* *Amen.*

PROPER PSALMS FOR THE SICK.

I.

O LORD, rebuke me not in thine indignation : neither chasten me in thy displeasure. *Psalms* vi. 1.

2. Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for I am weak : O Lord, heal me, for my bones are vexed. *Psalms* vi. 2.

3. My soul also is sore troubled : but, Lord, how long wilt thou punish me ? *Psalms* vi. 3.

4. Thine arrows stick fast in me : and thy hand presseth me sore. *Psalms* xxxviii. 2.

5. There is no health in my flesh, because of thy displeasure : neither is there any rest in my bones, by reason of my sin. *Psalms* xxxviii. 3.

6. For my wickednesses are gone over my head, and are like a sore burden too heavy for me to bear. *Psalms* xxxviii. 4.

7. I am feeble and sore smitten : I have roared for the very disquietness of my heart. *Psalms* xxxviii. 8.

* Heb. xiii, 20, 21.

8. My heart panteth, my strength hath failed me, and the sight of mine eyes is gone from me. *Psalm xxxviii. 10.*

9. Therefore is my spirit vexed within me; my heart within me is desolate. *Psalm cxliii. 4.*

10. Turn thee, O Lord, and deliver my soul: O save me for thy mercies' sake. *Psalm vi. 4.*

11. Hide not thy face from me in the time of my trouble: incline thine ears unto me when I call: O, hear me, and that right soon. *Psalm cii. 2.*

12. For my days are consumed away like smoke; my heart is smitten down and withered like grass. *Psalm cii. 3, 4.*

13. And that because of thine indignation and wrath: for thou hast lifted me up, and cast me down. *Psalm cii. 10.*

14. But I said, O my God, take me not away in the midst of my age; forsake me not when my strength faileth me. *Psalm cii. 24.*

15. Wherefore in thee, O Lord, have I put my trust: let me never be put to confusion. *Psalm lxxi. 1.*

II.

PSALM LI.

HAVE mercy upon me, O God, after thy great goodness: according to the multitude of thy mercies, do away mine offences.

2. Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity: and cleanse me from my sin.

3. For I acknowledge my faults; and my sin is ever before me.

4. Against thee only have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight: that thou mightest be justified in thy saying, and clear when thou art judged.

5. Behold, I was shapen in wickedness, and in sin hath my mother conceived me.

6. But, lo, thou requirest truth in the inward parts : and thou shalt make me to understand wisdom secretly.

7. Thou shalt purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean : thou shalt wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.

8. Thou shalt make me hear of joy and gladness : that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice.

9. Turn thy face from my sins : and put out all my misdeeds.

10. Make me a clean heart, O God : and renew a right spirit within me.

11. Cast me not away from thy presence : and take not thy Holy Spirit from me.

12. O, give me the comfort of thy help again ; and stablish me with thy free Spirit.

13. Then shall I teach thy ways unto the wicked : and sinners shall be converted unto thee.

III.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, and consider my desire : hearken unto me for thy truth and righteousness' sake. *Psalm cxliiii. 1.*

2. And enter not into judgment with thy servant : for in thy sight shall no man living be justified. *Psalm cxliiii. 2.*

3. The sacrifice of God is a troubled spirit : a broken and contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise. *Psalm li. 17.*

4. Lord, thou knowest all my desire : and my groaning is not hid from thee. *Psalm xxxviii. 9.*

5. I stretch forth my hands unto thee : my soul gaspeth unto thee, as a thirsty land. *Psalm cxliiii. 6.*

6. Hear me, O Lord, and that soon, for my spirit waxeth faint: hide not thy face from me, lest I be like unto them that go down into the pit. *Psalm cxliii. 7.*

7. Haste thee to help me, O Lord God of my salvation. *Psalm xxxviii. 22.*

8. For thou art a place to hide me in: thou shalt preserve me from trouble: thou shalt compass me about with songs of deliverance. *Psalm xxxii. 8.*

9. Into thy hands I commend my spirit: for thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth. *Psalm xxxi. 5.*

Glory be to the Father, &c.

As it was in the beginning, &c.

A Declaration of Forgiveness.

(From Bishop Cosins).

I DO most humbly desire all, and every one whom I have offended, that they would vouchsafe to forgive me: and I do freely and heartily forgive all the world, whereinsoever any hath offended me, or done me any manner of injury whatsoever, even as I desire to be forgiven of God, and to be absolved from my sins, for the merits of my blessed Redeemer.

OCCASIONAL PRAYERS FOR THE SICK.

A Prayer for a Person in the Beginning of his Sickness.

(From Bishop Taylor.)

O ALMIGHTY God, merciful and gracious, who in thy justice didst send sorrow and tears, sickness

and death, into the world, as a punishment for man's sins, and hast comprehended all under sin, and this sad covenant of sufferings,—not to destroy us, but that thou mightest have mercy upon all, making thy justice to minister to mercy, short afflictions to an eternal weight of glory; as thou hast been pleased to turn the sins of this thy servant into sickness, so turn, we beseech thee, *his* sickness to the advantage of holiness and religion, of mercy and pardon, of faith and hope, of grace and glory. Thou hast now called *him* to suffer. Lord, relieve *his* sorrow and support *his* spirit, direct *his* thoughts and sanctify *his* sickness, that the punishment of *his* sin may be to *him* a school of virtue. Make *him* behave as a son under discipline, humbly and obediently, evenly and patiently, that *he* may be brought by this means nearer to thee; that if *he* shall recover *his* former health, *he* may return to the world with greater strength of spirit, to run a new race of stricter holiness, and more severe religion; or if *he* shall pass hence through the gates of death, *he* may rejoice in the hope of being admitted into that heavenly society, in which all thy saints and servants shall be comprehended to eternal ages. Grant this, for Jesus Christ's sake, our blessed Lord and Saviour. Amen.

A Prayer for Thankfulness in Sickness.

O God, wonderful both in thy mercies and judgments, grant that the sense of thy servant's present afflictions may not cause *him* to forget thy former mercies, which thou hast bestowed upon *him*: O, therefore, let the remembrance of those many and great blessings that *he* hath so long enjoyed at thy hand, be now the proper motives and

incentives to the virtues of patience and humility, causing *him* cheerfully to resign *himself* to thy blessed will under all the dispensations of thy providence, though ever so hard; and patiently to wait for the return of thy loving-kindness in Jesus, which is better than life. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Blessing on the means used for a Sick Person's Recovery.

(From Mr Kettlewell.)

O GRACIOUS Lord, by whose word man lives, and not by any human means alone; direct, we pray thee, the counsels of those who prescribe to this thy servant, and prosper the medicines which are used to procure *him* ease and strength; but let not *his* confidence in them lessen any thing of *his* dependence on thee, but make *him* sensible that every good gift is from thee, and that it is thou that givest us help in time of need. To whom, therefore, but to thee, should we flee in the day of our visitation? since it is thy blessing only that maketh the means we use effectual; and, however vain the use of them is without thee, if thou biddest them, the things or accidents which we do not think of, or regard, shall recover us. O, therefore, as their part, who administer to *him*, is the care, so let thine, O God, be the blessing, and *his* the comfort: and as *he* regards them as thy instruments, so let *him* own thee for the Author of *his* mercies, and to thee give thanks, and pay *his* vows and services: through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

*A Prayer for a Sick Person when there appears
some Hope of Recovery.*

(From Bishop Patrick.)

WE thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast heard our prayers for thine afflicted servant, and given *him* some respite and hopes of recovery from this great illness. Blessed be thy goodness, that *he* hath not made *his* bed in the dust, but is likely to continue still amongst us, in the land of the living. Blessed be thy goodness for so great (and lately unexpected) mercy to *him*.

And, O thou Preserver of man! who hast begun to revive and quicken *him* again; go on to perfect *his* cure, and forsake not the work of thy own hands. Repair all the decays in *his* outward man, that *his* mind may also recover its former strength, to praise and bless thy goodness to *him*.

And visit *him*, in the mean time, with thy heavenly consolation from above. Fill *him* with comfortable thoughts of thy love, and of the tender compassionate care which our Lord Jesus takes of all his afflicted servants. Endue *him* still with more patient submission to thy will, and enable *him* both quietly to wait upon thee, till thou hast finished *his* recovery, and also to continue steadfastly resolved to serve thee more faithfully with *his* restored strength; through Jesus Christ, our blessed Saviour and Redeemer. *Amen.*

*Another, in behalf of the Sick Person, when he finds
any Abatement of his Distemper.*

ACCEPT, O Lord, of the unfeigned thanks of thy servant for abating the fury of *his* present distem-

per, and giving *him* some hopes of raising *him* up again to praise thee in the great congregation.

It is a great mercy, O Lord, and owing to thy goodness only, that *his* senses are preserved entire, and that *he* hath some respite, after so much uneasiness and pain, through the violence of *his* illness.

O perfect, if it be thy blessed will, what thou hast begun in *him*, and say to the distemper, "It is enough."

Teach *him* hence to look up to thee continually, as the rock of *his* salvation, whence only *he* is to expect comfort and support: and give *him* grace always to make such a right use of thy favours, that *he* may daily find *himself* surrounded by the light of thy countenance, and enjoy the blessings of thy heavenly benediction in all *his* ways, whether in adversity or prosperity, in sickness or in health. Even so, blessed Lord, continue to assist, strengthen, comfort, and bless *him*, both now and for evermore, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

A Prayer for One who is dangerously ill.

O ALMIGHTY God, "gracious, and merciful, and long-suffering, whose compassions fail not;" look down, we beseech thee, upon the low and distressed state of thy servant, now lying in the extremity of sickness. The harder *his* illness presses upon *him*, the louder does it call upon thee for help. O be merciful therefore unto *him*, according to the necessity of *his* case, and according to the multitude of thy tender mercies in Jesus Christ. Rebuke the distemper, that it prevail not over *him* to death; but turn its malevolent aspect into a joyous expectation of life. In as great danger as *he* is, yet if thou wilt, O Lord, we know thou canst make

him whole; if thou speakest the word, it shall be done. In submission, therefore, to thy most wise and good disposal of all things, we beg this mercy at thy hands, that thou wouldest let "this" bitter "cup pass away" from thy servant, and cause "a way for" *him* "to escape" out of this dangerous condition. "O spare *him* a little, and *his* soul shall live." *Amen.*

A Prayer for a sick Person when Sickness continues long upon him.

(From Bishop Patrick.)

Look down, O Lord, we humbly beseech thee, with an eye of compassion on thy poor distressed servant, who hath lain so long under this severe affliction; and by how much the outward man is decayed and brought low by the tediousness of the distemper's continuing on *him*, by so much the more do thou be pleased to support *him* in the inner man by the gracious assistance of thy Holy Spirit. Give *him* unfeigned repentance for all the errors of *his* past life, and steadfast faith in thy Son Jesus Christ; a comfortable assurance of the truth of all his precious promises, a lively hope of that immortal bliss in which he reigns for evermore, and a strong sense of thy fatherly love to *him*, and care over *him*, which may make *him* heartily love thee, and entirely confide in thee, and absolutely resign both soul and body to thy wise disposal.

We know there is nothing too hard for thee; but that if thou wilt, thou canst bring *him* up even from the gates of death, and grant *him* a longer continuance among us. May it be thy good pleasure, O most gracious God, still to continue *him* here; spare *him*, O Lord, and deliver *him* also speedily from this misery, under which *he* hath so

long groaned. Bless all the means that are used for *his* recovery and for the support of *his* spirits, and give *him* refreshment during this tedious sickness. Release *him* from *his* pain, or grant *him* some ease, or else increase and strengthen *his* patience. Help *him*, in remembrance of thy past loving-kindness, to trust in thy goodness and submit to thy wisdom, and bear with an equal mind what thou thinkest fit to lay upon *him*; so that approving *himself* to thee in these and all other virtues, while thou triest *him* by so sore an affliction, he may say at the last, with the holy Psalmist, "It was good for me that I was in trouble."

Unto thy infinite mercies we recommend *him*, and to the compassionate kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ, who we hope will hear all the prayers of *his* friends for *him*, every where, and send his Holy Spirit to be *his* comforter, and his good angels to be *his* guardians, and direct those who are to advise and prescribe the means of *his* restoration, and bring *him* to praise thee again in the assemblies of thy saints upon earth; or (if thou hast otherwise disposed in thy wise counsels) to praise thee in the great assembly of saints and angels in heaven; through Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour, to whom, with thee and the Holy Spirit, be all praise, love, and obedience, world without end.
Amen.

Prayer for the Grace of Patience, and a suitable Behaviour in a sick Person to Friends and Attendants.

HELP thy servant, O thou merciful Redeemer and lover of souls, to undergo this load of affliction, which thou hast laid upon *him*, with patience. "Lead *him*" gently by the hand to "the waters

of comfort," and let "thy rod" and "thy staff support" *him*, now that *he* is obliged to "walk in the valley and shadow of death."

Let *him* consider thee, O blessed Jesus, in all thy weary pilgrimage and sufferings here upon earth, before thou enteredst into glory, "that *he* be not weary and faint in *his* mind."

If relief does not come from thee so soon as *he* expects or desires, enable *him* still to hold out with long-suffering, and to wait with patience for it. And whatsoever thou doest with *him*, O Lord, let *him* be "dumb, and not open *his* mouth" to murmur or repine, because it is "thy doing." Make *him* acquiesce and rest satisfied, even in the bitterest dispensations of thy providence; and let no pains or sufferings ever drive *him* from thee, considering that no "temptation hath befallen *him*" but "what is common to men."

And, together with this patience towards thee, give *him* patience, O merciful Lord, towards all those who kindly and charitably minister to *him*, and attend about *him*.

Keep *him* from being humorsome, and showing crossness to their good counsels, or from being causelessly angry and exceptionous against their kind endeavours. If any evil accidents or indiscretions happen, let *him* not presently be outrageous to aggravate them, or break out into any reproachful or unseemly behaviour against them; but let *him* be pleased with the least expression of their kindness, and interpret every thing favourably; and on all occasions let *him* make it *his* study to oblige those who are obliging to *him* in this time of necessity, receiving with thankfulness their good offices, and praying God to reward them, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake. *Amen.*

A Prayer for spiritual Improvement by Sickness.

(From Dr Inet.)

O MERCIFUL Father, who scourgest those whom thou lovest, and chastisest those whom thou wilt receive; let thy loving correction purify thy servant, and make *him* great in thy favour by *his* present humiliation. O let *him* learn "thy statutes" in this school of "affliction;" let *him* "seek thee early" in it; and when *his* "heart is overwhelmed, lead *him* to the rock of salvation."

Let thy "rod" awaken *him* from *his* former security in sin, and let *him* sensibly find that thou "chastisest *him* for *his* profit, that *he* may be partaker of thy holiness."

Teach *him*, by this proof of thy fatherly correction, to be more dutiful for the time to come; to repent of *his* former offences, and to "redeem the time past," by a double diligence for the future, if thou shalt in mercy raise *him* up again. Let the remainder of *his* life be thine, and let nothing separate *him* from thy love and service; but let it be *his* whole care and study to provide oil for *his* lamp, and prepare for eternity; that so "all the days of *his* appointed time *he* may wait till *his* change come," and be ready whensoever *his* Lord shall call *him*. *Amen.*

For a sick Person who is about to make his Will.

O LORD, who putttest into our hearts good desires, and hast inclined thy servant to "set *his* house in order," as well in relation to *his* temporal as *his* spiritual concerns, grant that *he* may do it with exact justice, according to the rules of our own religion, and the dictates of right reason. *He*

unfeignedly thanks thee for thy great mercies, in having so liberally provided for *him*, that he may be rather helpful than chargeable to any, and die a benefactor, and not in debt.

We charitably hope, that what *he* is now about to dispose of, was all procured by fair and righteous dealings, that *he* may comfortably feel, that "it is more blessed to give than to receive."

Let *him* be ready, with good Zaccheus, to make restitution in the best manner *he* is able, and to say with Samuel :

"Behold, here I am ; witness against me before the Lord ; whose ox have I taken, or whose ass have I taken, or whom have I defrauded ; whom have I oppressed, or of whose hand have I received any bribe to blind mine eyes therewith ; and I will restore it."

Lord, give *him* strength to order all things in as due and regular a manner as if *he* were well. Let his memory be perfect, and *his* judgment sound, and *his* heart so rightly disposed, that *he* may do nothing amiss, or through partiality, but that justice and integrity may be seen through the whole conduct of *his* will.

(If rich, add this.)

Let the light of *his* charity likewise shine gloriously before men, that out of the abundance thou hast been pleased to bless *him* with, he may plentifully give to the poor and distressed, though no otherwise related to *him* but as they are members of Jesus Christ, and brethren and sisters of the same communion.

Let *him*, O let *him*, now, O Lord, and at all times, if thou shouldst graciously continue *him* here any longer, make to "*himself*" such friends of the unrighteous mammon, that when these fail,

they may receive *him* into everlasting habitations." *Amen.*

A Prayer for a sick Penitent.

(From Mr Kettlewell.)

RIGHTEOUS art thou, O God, in all the pains and sorrows which punish our sins and try our patience, and we have none to accuse and complain of for the same but ourselves. This is the acknowledgment which thy servant makes, whom thou hast now afflicted. *He* receives it as the chastisement of a sinner, and is willing to bear chastisement for *his* sins, that he may thereby be reclaimed from them. Correct *him*, O Lord, that thou mayest not condemn *him*; and let *him* be judged by thee for *his* sins, and judge *himself* for them here, that *he* may have nothing but mercy without judgment to receive at thine hands hereafter.

But judge *him*, O God, with mercy, and not in thine anger. Judge *him* not according as *his* sins have deserved, but according as *his* weakness can bear, and according as thy compassions are wont to mitigate thy judgments: and let *his* afflictions work in *him* a true repentance, "not to be repented of," and prove a happy means, in the hand of thy mercy, to reclaim *him* perfectly from all the errors into which *he* hath fallen; and to confer that rest and peace upon *his* soul, which is denied to *his* body; for our dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ's sake.

Thou smitest *him*, O gracious God, that thou mayest cure *him*; and punishest *his* sin, that thou mayest thereby amend and reclaim the sinner: and *he* is weary of *his* sins, which have brought upon *him* all these sorrows, and which, as *he* seems

now deeply sensible, will bring infinitely worse, unless *he* prevent the same by *his* timely and sincere repentance.

Help *him*, therefore, to search them out; and when *he* sees them, let *him* not stop at any one, but steadfastly resolve to renounce and amend all: Let thy love make *him* hate every evil way, and render *his* purposes against them strong and resolute, and *his* care in fulfilling the same, vigilant and patient; and grant that the remainder of *his* days may be one continual amendment of *his* former errors, and dedication of *himself* to thy service. He desires life, only that he may serve thee: Lord, continue and confirm him in this purpose.

Lord, cure *his* folly by his misery; and teach *him*, by the loss of *his* ease, to purchase the blessing of true repentance, and the comfortable hopes of thy merciful acceptance thereof; through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a sick Person who intends to receive the blessed Sacrament.

O THOU infinite and eternal Spirit, from whom every good motion of our hearts proceedeth; who both quickenest the dead, and after thou hast given life, givest the increase: increase, we beseech thee, the good seeds of thy grace, which thou hast sown in the heart of thy servant, by inclining *him* to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord, in which thou art more immediately present, to illuminate the faithful, and to comfort and refresh all that are "weary and heavy-laden with their sins."

O, cause thy face thus comfortably to shine upon thy distressed servant, who now intends to draw

near to thee in this sacrament, as thou hast commanded *him*.

Help *him*, in the mean time, O Lord, to fit and prepare *himself* for this holy communion: fill *his* soul with reverence and godly fear; with earnest desires and longings after divine life; with serious repentance for all *his* past offences, and hearty resolutions of living for ever after unto Jesus, who died for *him*. O, let him meditate upon his bleeding Saviour with a "broken and a contrite heart," which thou hast promised "not to despise:" forgive *him* all that is past, and give *him* grace for the future, to "live more soberly, righteously, and piously, in this present world," if it shall be thy good pleasure to continue *him* in it.

A Prayer for a sick Person that wants Sleep.

(From Bishop Patrick.)

ADORED be thy love, thy wonderful love, O most gracious God, who hast so many ways expressed thy bounty towards us. Thy mercies in Christ Jesus surpass all our thoughts; we are not able to number all the other blessings thou hast bestowed upon us. How much do we owe thee for the quiet sleep of but one night! We see, in this thy poor afflicted servant, how much we ought to thank thee for this single blessing, that our eyes, when we would close them, are not held waking.

Pardon, good Lord, our ingratitude for this and all the rest of thy undeserved mercies: and be pleased graciously also to visit *him*, who still languishes on *his* sick-bed, looking up to thee from whom cometh our help. Renew *his* wasted spirits with comfortable sleep; compose *him* to a sweet and undisturbed rest; refresh him thereby so sensibly, that *he* may be restored to such a de-

gree of strength, as may make him able, in some measure, affectionately to acknowledge thy goodness, when thou hast dealt so bountifully with *him*: or if thou delayest to bestow that blessing on *him*, in the multitude of *his* thoughts within *him*, let thy comforts delight *his* soul. If *he* still continues without any rest, grant that *his* mind may rest, and repose itself in the bosom of thy dearest love, and may feel the most sensible consolations from heaven, not only quieting, but greatly rejoicing *his* heart. Preserve the use of *his* understanding, and let the enemy have no advantage of *him*; but make *him* able to say, "I will wait patiently for the Lord, till he incline his ear unto me, and hear my cry.—O, hear *his* prayer, O Lord, and give ear unto *his* cry: O, spare *him*, that *he* may recover strength before *he* go hence;"* for Jesus Christ's sake. *Amen.*

A Prayer to be said when the sick Person grows light-headed.

(From Bishop Patrick.)

O LORD, look down from heaven, in pity and compassion, upon this thine afflicted servant, who is not able now to look up to thee: the more sorrowful *his* condition grows, the fitter object *he* is of thine infinite mercies; who acceptest, we humbly hope, of the submission *he* made of *himself*, in the beginning of *his* sickness, to thine almighty wisdom and goodness. And therefore, since it is thy pleasure to suffer *his* distemper to proceed to this dangerous extremity, do thou no less graciously love *him*, and delight in *him*, than if *he* could still give up *himself* to thy blessed will.

* Psalm xl. 1. and xxxix. 12, 13.

And hear, O most merciful Father, our prayers in *his* behalf, when *he* can no longer commend *himself* to thy mercies. Pardon, good Lord, pardon all *his* sins; impute not to *him* any of *his* former follies; lay not to *his* charge *his* not improving, or misusing, *his* reason and understanding, which we earnestly, but humbly, entreat thee to restore to *him*, together with such a measure of thy divine grace, as may quicken and assist *him* to employ *his* thoughts to the best purposes, especially in meditating on thy mercies, in studying thy praise, and in exhorting all others to love thee, to trust in thee, and sincerely obey thee.

And while *he* remains thus deprived of *his* reason, be pleased to quiet and compose *his* spirits, or to prevent all furious motions there, or quickly to abate such violent passions, if any arise: for which end, be pleased to remove all frightful imaginations far from *him*, and suffer not the evil one to approach *him*; preserve *him* from doing any harm, either to *himself* or to any others. "Forsake *him* not, O Lord our God, be not far from *him*. Make haste to help *him*, O Lord our salvation." *

"So will we give thanks unto thee for ever."

"We will still be praising thee, and showing forth thy loving kindness to those who succeed us:"

"That they may set their hope in thee our God, and not forget thy works, but keep thy commandments." *Amen.*

* Psalm xxxviii. 21, 22.

A Prayer for a Person when danger is apprehended by excessive Sleep.

(From Mr Kettlewell.)

O MERCIFUL God, let not this deep sleep, which is fallen on thy servant, prove the sleep of death : make it the sleep of a recovering person, to relieve and revive *him* ; and awake *him* out of it in thy due time, to offer thee praise, and to labour still among us in doing thee honour and service.

But if thou art pleased to take *him* to thyself, Lord, remember and accept of all *his* former prayers and repentance, faith and patience.

Look not upon *his* sins, but to pardon them ; nor on *his* weaknesses, but to pity them : and when *he* awakes in the next world, let *him* find *himself* surrounded with light and bliss, instead of gloominess and sorrow, and awake to eternal life.

Lord, hear us for this thy weak servant in distress. Hear our prayers for *him*, who seems not able now to offer up any prayers to thee for *himself*. And accept both *him* and us to the blessed enjoyment of thy love ; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Person lying insensible on a Sick-bed.

O THOU Preserver of men, who knowest the frailty of our constitutions ; how soon our senses may fail us, and our understanding depart from us ; to what accidents, distempers, and decays, our weak nature is subject ; even such as may make the most acute and judicious quickly become as fools ; and the ablest and strongest, weak and insensible ; O look

down, we beseech thee, upon thy servant, who now lies in such a weak and insensible condition.

The less able *he* is to assist *himself*, the more need hath *he* of our prayers, and of thy tender mercy to *him*. O thou great Creator of the world, who broughtest light out of darkness, and madest all things out of nothing, and canst restore our dead bodies again after they are mouldered into dust, be pleased to repel the clouds of darkness which now have taken away the light of our *brother's* understanding, and rendered *him* a companion for the dead.

Quicken *him* again, O Lord, and restore *him* to *his* former senses, that *his* soul may bless and praise thy holy name.

Hear our petitions, O Lord, and receive our prayers for our *brother*, that this image of death may not be converted into death itself, but that *he* may live to proclaim thy power, and to celebrate thy praises longer upon earth.

But if it be thy will to remove *him* hence in this insensible condition, O pardon, we beseech thee, all *his* offences, and accept of the preparation and repentance that *he* was able to make before the distemper prevailed upon *him* in so deadly a manner. Receive *him*, O Lord, into the arms of thy mercy, and accept *him*, for thy well-beloved Son's sake; that so this short night may quickly be turned into everlasting day; and, after these dark shadows are removed, *he* may find *himself* in a heaven of happiness, where, "in thy light, *he* may see light" for ever. *Amen.*

A Prayer for One who hath been a notoriously wicked Liver.

O LORD GOD, of infinite goodness and compassion, whose mercies are over all thy works; who makest the sun to shine, and the rain to descend, upon the "unjust" as well as the "just," and art kind even to the most unthankful; we humbly beseech thee to look down in mercy upon this thy unworthy servant, who hath so long "trampled upon the riches of thy goodness, not knowing that it should lead to repentance."

Let thy rod, therefore, awaken *him* now to a sense of *his* condition, whom thy goodness hath not reclaimed, and let *him* still find mercy at thy hands, notwithstanding *his* continual abuse of it.

Thou hast promised, O Lord, that, "when the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness which he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive." O make good this thy promise to thy servant here, who stands in so much need of it.

"Hide thy face from *his* sins, and blot out all *his* iniquities:" though they be "red as scarlet," yet do thou make them "white as snow," by repentance, which we beg of thee to give *him*, and to accept, though late, through thine infinite mercies.

Simon Magus, though in the "gall of bitterness, and the bond of iniquity," was exhorted to repent, and to pray for pardon: and therefore we hope the gate of life is still open for our *brother*, though *he* hath so long shut *himself* out of it, by going on in a course that leadeth to the "chambers of death."

Blessed Lord, let thy terrors at length awaken *him* out of this lethargical condition, before *he*

is overtaken by thy judgments. Afflict *him* here, that thou mayest spare *him* hereafter. Soften *his* heart, that *he* may bewail *his* ill-spent life, like Mary Magdalen, with tears of contrition.

O quicken *him* to a sense of *his* duty, and of *his* danger, before it be too late: and when thou hast brought *him* to *his* right mind, receive *him*, we beseech thee, as the compassionate father did his prodigal son, or the shepherd his lost sheep.

Thou, O Lord, who didst pardon the thief upon the cross, hear our prayers for our *brother*, in these *his* great, and, for any thing we know, *his* last agonies.

And, as the fore-mentioned instances are lively significations of thine unbounded goodness, and were written for our comfort and instruction, that none should despair of pardon; so with the greatest confidence we now recommend this our distressed *brother* to thy divine protection, beseeching thee to forgive all that is past, and to receive *him* at last into thine "everlasting habitation." *Amen.*

A Prayer for One who is hardened and impenitent.

LORD God Almighty, who art the "Father of our spirits," and who "turnest the hearts of men as thou pleasest; who hast mercy on whom thou wilt have mercy, and whom thou wilt thou hardenest;" let thy merciful ears be open, we pray thee, to the supplications which we now offer to thy Divine Majesty, in the behalf of this thy servant, who appears insensible of *his* sin and folly, and on whom all means to lead *him* to repentance have hitherto seemed vain and ineffectual. Take from *him*, we humbly entreat thee, all ignorance and hardness of heart: remove from *him* all prejudice against, and contempt of, thy sacred word and

ministry: let *him* no longer "make a mock of sin," but be sensible that the wisdom he has hitherto gloried in, is the greatest and most dangerous folly. Open thou *his* eyes, that *he* may "see the wonderful things of thy law." Show thy mercy upon *him*, and grant *him* thy salvation. Convince *him* of the vanity and madness, as well as danger, of *his* past ways.

His understanding, we fear, is now darkened, and *his* heart hardened through the deceitfulness of sin: O, do thou enlighten *his* dark mind, and let *him* at last see the beauties of holiness, which have so long been hidden from *his* eyes. Take from *him* this "stony heart, and give *him* a heart of flesh." Awaken *his* slumbering and inattentive soul, that it may delight in things agreeable to its nature, and be employed in things that make for its everlasting peace. O give *him* understanding, and *he* shall yet live. Thou that canst revive souls which are dead in sin and trespasses, and make even such as lie in the grave of corruption to become glorious saints and even martyrs for religion, hear our prayers for our *brother*, who seems to be on the brink of destruction; and pity poor sinners that have not pity on themselves.

It is the unhappiness of being long accustomed to sin, that we are not soon made sensible of our errors, nor easily made to know them. It is the pride of our nature to be unwilling to acknowledge our faults, and to confess our sins: but let thy grace, O God, teach us to deny this ungodly lust. Do thou humble in us all high and vain imaginations; suppress all proud thoughts and haughty opinions of ourselves. Give us all (and particularly thy servant, for whom we are now interceding) a sense of our own vileness; give us unfeigned repentance for all the errors of our life

past; that, being cast down, thou mayest raise us up, and become merciful to us, miserable sinners.

Let us all find, by blessed experience, that "we grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ;" and that "his commandments" are not "grievous" to us, but rather the delight and desire of our souls; that so at last we may be presented to him "holy and unblamable, and un-reprovable in his sight." *Amen.*

A Prayer for a sick Woman that is with Child.

O God, the help of all that put their trust in thee, the support of the weak, and the relief of the needy; look with pity upon this woman thy servant, who at best acknowledgeth herself but a weak and helpless creature, but much more so now in her present condition, when thou hast added weakness to weakness, and made her to travail with much sickness, together with the burden of child-bearing.

O Lord, be thou graciously pleased to proportion thy strength to her weakness, and as pains and sorrow take hold upon her, inspire her with fresh vigour and courage to rely upon thee, her only support in time of need, and the rock of her salvation.

Let her not be disquieted with the fear of any evil, since none can happen unto her without thy permission; but give her grace patiently to resign herself to thy blessed will in all things, who knowest what is best for her, and wilt lay no more upon her, we trust, than thou wilt enable her to bear.

Bring strength, O Lord, out of weakness, and health out of sickness; and make her, in thy good time, a joyful mother of a hopeful child, which may do good in its generation, and be an instrument of thy glory here, and a blessed inhabitant of thy heavenly kingdom hereafter. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Woman in the time of her Travail.

(From Bishop Patrick.)

O most mighty Lord, who hast given us innumerable pledges of thy love, and encouraged us to trust in thee for ever, and to expect with quiet and patient minds the issue of thy wise and good providence; we most humbly commend thy servant, in this her extremity, to thy care and blessing; beseeching thee to give her a gracious deliverance, and to ease her of the burden wherewith she labours. We ourselves are monuments of that mercy which we beg of thee. Thou didst preserve our weak and imperfect frame, before we were born. Thou hast succoured and supported us ever since, many times beyond our hopes, and always beyond our deservings. We commit ourselves and every thing belonging unto us, most heartily into thy hands; remembering that thou hast the same power and goodness still, by which we came into the light of the living. We cannot desire to be better provided for, than as thy infinite wisdom judgeth most convenient for us: unto that we refer ourselves, beseeching thee, if it be thy good pleasure, that her deliverance may be as speedy as her cries unto thee; or her patience as great and long as her pains. Thou who ripenest the fruits of the earth, and then givest us the gathering of them to our comfort, blast not, we beseech thee, the fruit of the womb; but bring it to maturity, and deliver it safe into thy servant's hand as a new pledge of thy goodness to her, to be an instrument of thy glory, and a future comfort and blessing to thy servant, who travails in so much pain with it now. Or if thou hast otherwise determined, Lord, give her grace to submit to thy holy will, and to rest satisfied in thy wise appoint-

ments, and never to distrust thy goodness and care over her. Hear us, O Father of mercies, and pardon hers and all our offences, and pity our infirmities: make us more thankful for what we have received, and more fit for the blessing which we now request; and prepare us for all thy future mercies, either in this life, or in the next, through thy infinite love and compassion declared to us, in Christ Jesus our Lord. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Woman who cannot be delivered without Difficulty and Hazard.

O LORD God of all comfort and consolation, who art the refuge of the distressed, and the help of all that depend upon thee; we thy unworthy servants do now offer up our supplications at the throne of thy majesty, in the behalf of this thy servant, who is in great pain and misery. Thou hast been pleased to bring the child to the birth, but there is not strength to bring forth. On this account, thy servant is in violent agonies, crying out in her pangs, and pouring out her soul to thee in prayer. O grant that "it may be in an acceptable time."

"Thou art our salvation; thou shalt preserve us from trouble; thou shalt compass us about with songs of deliverance." O let thy servant feel these blessed effects of thy goodness; and as thou hast brought to the birth, enable her, we beseech thee, to bring forth, that she may rejoice in the workmanship of thy hands, and tell of all thy wondrous works.

Consider the low estate of thine handmaid, and deliver her soul from death, her eyes from tears, and her feet from falling. "Gracious art thou, O Lord, and righteous; thou preservest the simple, and helpest those that are in misery." Help

thy servant therefore now, we humbly entreat thee, who stands in so much need of it. Accept her tears, and assuage her pain, as shall seem most expedient for her. And forasmuch as she putteth her whole trust in thee, give her strength and patience proportionable to all her pains and agonies. Support her spirits under them, and, if thou pleasest, carry her safely through the same, and "make her to hear of joy and gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice."

"Restore unto her, O Lord, the joy of thy salvation, and uphold her with thy free Spirit; then shall she teach transgressors thy way, and sinners shall be converted unto thee. Deliver her" from this great affliction, "O God, thou God of her salvation, and her tongue shall sing aloud of thy righteousness."

* Thy mercies and power are still the same, and will be the same for ever. O let them now be shown in this thy servant's delivery, as they have been formerly on the like occasion; that so, by having fresh instances of thy loving-kindness, she may still praise thee more and more.

O perfect her repentance, and pardon her sins. Give her patience whilst she lives, and peace when she dies, and, after death, the happiness of a blessed eternity, which thou hast promised and prepared for all that love and fear thee; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

*A Prayer for Grace and Assistance for a Woman
after Delivery, but still in Danger.*

(From Mr Kettlewell.)

O FATHER of mercies, what thanks can we worthily give unto thee for thine unspeakable goodness

* This is to be omitted, if it be the first child.

to this thy servant, and her helpless infant, and for the wondrous things which thou hast done for her ! The pangs of death compassed her, and she found trouble and sorrow. The mouth of the pit was opened, and ready to shut itself upon her : but thou hast graciously assuaged her pains, and turned her sorrows into joy.

Lord, we will ever adore and magnify thy mercy, which has dealt so lovingly with her, and praise thy truth and faithfulness, which have not suffered her hopes to fail. We will never forget how mindful thou hast been of the low estate of thy handmaid ; for she has been supported by thy power, O blessed God, in her greatest weakness. She has tasted thy goodness in the midst of all her pangs and sorrows.

Perfect, O Lord, that deliverance to her which thou hast most graciously begun, and let her not be lost, after the wonders which thou hast already done for her.

Continue her patience, and her humble dependence on thee, under the pains and accidents to which she is still exposed. Support her spirits, and raise her up again in thy due time. Thy mercy and power are still the same, and will be the same for ever. O let them still be shown for her recovery, as they have been already for her delivery ; let them be shown upon her, that she may praise thee more and more.

But if, in thy paternal providence, whereunto we pray she may willingly commit herself, thou hast determined otherwise concerning her, thy blessed will be done. Dispose her either to life or death, as thou pleasest, only in both to thy mercy : and whether living or dying, let her still please thee, and be thou her portion. O perfect her repentance, and give her patience whilst she lives,

and peace when she dies, and after that, the happiness of a blessed eternity, which thou hast prepared for all that truly fear thee ; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

If the child be living, this may be added :

PRESERVE likewise her tender infant, O Father of mercies, and let its own weakness, and our cries, commend it to thy care.

Keep it also afterwards in health and safety, and as it increases in years and stature, let it increase in wisdom, and in thy fear. We beg not for it wealth or greatness, but wisdom to know and to serve thee. For, O Lord, we do not desire life, either for ourselves or it, but that we may live to thee, and grow daily in love and thankfulness for all thy mercies, and in faith and patience, and all holy obedience, which may fit us for the happiness which thou hast promised ; through Jesus Christ our only Saviour and Redeemer. *Amen.*

Prayers for a Sick Child.

[Visitation Office.]

O **ALMIGHTY** God and merciful Father, to whom alone belong the issues of life and death ; look down from heaven, we humbly beseech thee, with the eyes of mercy upon this child, now lying upon the bed of sickness : visit *him*, O Lord, with thy salvation ; deliver *him* in thy good appointed time from *his* bodily pain, and save *his* soul for thy mercy's sake ; that if it shall be thy good pleasure to prolong *his* days here on earth, *he* may live to thee, and be an instrument of thy glory, by serving thee faithfully, and doing good in *his* generation ; or else receive *him* into those heavenly habitations, where the souls of them that sleep in the Lord

Jesus enjoy perpetual rest and felicity. Grant this, for thy mercy's sake; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

(From Mr Kettlewell.)

LORD, pity the troubles and weakness of this infant, and pity our sorrows, who are afflicted with it, and for it. Ease it of its pains, and strengthen it when it lies struggling for life. Raise it up again, if it shall please thee, to grow in years and stature, in wisdom and virtue; and thereby to comfort us, and glorify thee.

We believe, O Almighty Father, that thou knowest best what is fit, both for it and us, and wilt do what is fit for both; and therefore we leave it to thee, to dispose of it as thou pleasest. But whether it be to life or death, let it be thine in both, and either preserve it to be thy true and faithful servant here on earth, or take it to the blessedness of thy children in the kingdom of heaven; through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Person who, from a state of Health, is suddenly seized with the Symptoms of Death.

O most gracious Father, Lord of heaven and earth, Judge of the living and of the dead, behold thy servants turning to thee for pity and mercy, in behalf of ourselves and this thy servant. It was but lately that we beheld *him* in as promising a state of health and life, as any one of us seems to be in at present, and therefore our concern is so much the greater to behold so sudden a change, and so unlooked-for an instance of our mortality.

We know, O Lord, thou canst bring back from the brink of the grave, and as suddenly raise thy servant again as thou hast cast *him* down, and there-

fore we think it not too late to implore thy mercy upon *him* for *his* recovery ; at least we beg of thee to spare *him* a little, that he may recover *his* strength, and have time to make *his* peace with thee, “ before *he* go hence, and be no more seen.” But if it be thy will to remove *him* at this time into another world, O let the miracles of thy compassion, and thy wonderful mercy, supply to *him* the want of the usual measures of time, that *he* may fit *himself* for eternity. And let the greatness of *his* calamity be a means to procure *his* pardon for those defects and degrees of unreadiness which this sudden stroke hath caused. And teach us all, we beseech thee, from this unexpected fate of our *brother*, to be continually upon our guard, and to watch and pray, since we know not the hour when the “ Master of the house cometh,” whether “ in the evening, or at midnight, or in the morning.”

Lord, thou hast now called thy servant before *he* was aware of it ; Oh, give *him* such a great and effectual repentance in this exigence, that in a short time it may be sufficient to do the work of many days. Thou regardest, O Lord, the sincerity of our hearts more than the measures of time, in our conversion ; accept therefore, we beseech thee, the few minutes of thy servant's unfeigned tears and humiliation for *his* sins, as if they were hours and days of a longer preparation ; and let it be thy pleasure to rescue *him* from all the evils he deserves, and all the evils *he* fears, that in the songs of eternity which angels and saints shall sing to the glory of thy name, this also may be reckoned amongst thine invaluable mercies, that thou hast redeemed *his* soul from death, and made *him* partaker of eternal life ; through Jesus Christ our Lord.
Amen.

*A Prayer for a sick Person, when there appeareth
small Hope of Recovery.*

[Visitation Office.]

O FATHER of mercies and God of all comfort, our only help in time of need; we fly unto thee for succour in behalf of this thy servant, here lying under thy hand in great weakness of body. Look graciously upon *him*, O Lord; and the more the outward man decayeth, strengthen *him*, we beseech thee, so much the more continually with thy grace and Holy Spirit in the inner man. Give *him* unfeigned repentance for all the errors of *his* life past, and steadfast faith in thy Son Jesus, that *his* sins may be forgiven and *his* pardon sealed in heaven, before *he* go hence, and be no more seen. We know, O Lord, that there is no work impossible with thee, and that, if thou wilt, thou canst even yet raise *him* up, and grant him a longer continuance among us. Yet forasmuch as in all appearance the time of *his* dissolution draweth near, so fit and prepare *him*, we beseech thee, against the hour of death, that after *his* departure hence in peace, and in thy favour, *his* soul may be received into thine everlasting kingdom; through the mediation of Jesus Christ thy Son, our Saviour. *Amen.*

*A general Prayer for Preparation and Readiness
to die.*

Lord, "what is our life, but a vapour, which appeareth for a little time, and then vanisheth away?" Even at the longest, how short and transitory! and when we think ourselves most secure, yet we know not what a day may bring forth; nor how soon

thou mayest come, before we are aware, to call us to our last account.

Quickly shall we be as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again. Quickly shall we be snatched away hence, and our place here shall know us no more.

Our bodies shall soon lie down in the grave, and our souls be summoned to appear before the tribunal of Christ, to receive our everlasting doom! And yet, O Lord, how do the generality of mankind live in this world, as if they were never to leave it! How unmindful are we all of our departure! how improvident of our time! how careless of our souls, and negligent in our preparations for eternity! so that thou mightest justly cut us off in the midst of our sins, and our unpreparedness to appear before thee. But, O God of all comfort and mercy, remember not our sins against thee, but remember thy own love to us in Jesus Christ, and thy tender mercies which have been ever of old. O, remember how short our time is, and "so teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom."

In the days of our health and prosperity, let us, from the example of our *brother's* weakness, remember our own approaching fate; and let *him*, from the sudden change of health to sickness, consider how few and evil all *his* days have been, and that there is no satisfaction in any thing, but in knowing thee, O God. Lord, what have we to do in this world, but to devote ourselves wholly to thy service, and to make ready for the world to come? O, that we may all of us be mindful of this "one thing necessary," that we may finish our "work," before we finish our "course."

Quicken thy servant, O Lord, into a powerful and serious consideration of these things, now thou

hast brought *him* into more intimate acquaintance with them. Instruct and assist *him* in this great work of preparation to die. Show *him* how to do it, and help *him* with good success to perform it; that when the time of *his* dissolution draweth near, *he* may have nothing else to do, but to resign *himself* willingly and cheerfully into thy hands, as into the hands of a merciful Creator, there to remain with thee for ever in that blessed place where sin and sickness and death shall be no more. *Amen.*

A commendatory Prayer for a Sick Person at the point of Departure.

[Visitation Office.]

O ALMIGHTY God, with whom do live the spirits of just men made perfect; we humbly commend the soul of this thy servant our dear *brother* into thy hands, as into the hands of a faithful Creator and most merciful Saviour; humbly beseeching thee, that it may be acceptable in thy sight. And teach us, who survive, by this and other daily instances of mortality, to see how frail and uncertain our own condition is, and so to number our days that we may seriously apply our hearts to that holy and heavenly wisdom, which may bring us to life everlasting; through Jesus Christ thy Son, our Lord. *Amen.*

A Litany for a Sick Person, at the time of Departure.

(From Bishop Andrews.)

O God, the Father of heaven,
Have mercy upon *him*:
Keep and defend *him*.

O God the Son, Redeemer of the world,
Have mercy upon *him* :
Save and deliver *him*.

O God the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the
Father and the Son,
Have mercy upon *him* :
Strengthen and comfort *him*.

O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity,
Have mercy upon *him*.

Remember not, Lord, *his* offences ; call not to
mind the offences of *his* forefathers ; but spare *him*,
good Lord, spare thy servant, whom thou hast
redeemed with thy precious blood, and be not
angry with *him* for ever.

From thy wrath and indignation ; from the fear
of death ; from the guilt and burden of *his* sins,
and from the dreadful sentence of the last judg-
ment ;

Good Lord, deliver *him*.

From the sting of conscience ; from impatience,
distrust, or despair ; and from the extremity of
sickness or agony, which may any ways withdraw
his mind from thee ;

Good Lord, deliver *him*.

From the powers of darkness ; from the illusions
and assaults of our ghostly enemy ; and from the
bitter pangs of eternal death ;

Good Lord, deliver *him*.

From all danger and distress ; from all terrors
and torments ; from all pains and punishments,
both of the body and of the soul ;

Good Lord, deliver *him*.

By thy manifold and great mercies ; by the
manifold and great mercies of Jesus Christ thy
Son ; by his agony and bloody sweat ; by his strong
crying and tears ; by his bitter cross and passion ;
by his resurrection and ascension ; by his interces-

sion and mediation; and by the graces and comforts of the Holy Ghost;

Good Lord, deliver *him*.

In this time of extremity; in *his* last and greatest need; in the hour of death, and in the day of judgment;

Good Lord, deliver *him*.

We sinners do beseech thee to hear us, O Lord God; that it may please thee to be *his* defender and keeper; to remember *him* with the favour thou bearest unto thy people, and to visit *him* with thy salvation:

We beseech thee to hear us, Good Lord.

That it may please thee to save and deliver *his* soul from the power of the enemy, to receive it to thy mercy, and to give *him* a quiet and joyful departure:

We beseech thee to hear us, Good Lord.

That it may please thee to be merciful, and to forgive all the sins and offences, which at any time of *his* life *he* hath committed against thee:

We beseech thee to hear us, Good Lord.

That it may please thee not to lay to *his* charge what in the lust of the flesh, or in the lust of the eye, or in the pride of life, *he* hath committed against thee:

We beseech thee to hear us, Good Lord.

That it may please thee not to lay to *his* charge, what in the fierceness of *his* wrath, or in vain and idle words, *he* hath committed against thee:

We beseech thee to hear us, Good Lord.

That it may please thee to make *him* partaker of all thy mercies and promises, in Christ Jesus:

We beseech thee to hear us, Good Lord.

That it may please thee to grant *his* body rest and peace, and a part in the blessed resurrection of life and glory:

We beseech thee to hear us, Good Lord.

That it may please thee to vouchsafe *his* soul the enjoyment of everlasting happiness, with all the blessed saints, in thy heavenly kingdom :

We beseech thee to hear us, Good Lord.

Son of God, we beseech thee to hear us.

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world ;

Grant *him* thy peace.

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world ;

Have mercy upon *him*.

O Saviour of the world, &c. } as in p. 360.
Unto thy gracious, &c. }

*Form of recommending the Soul to God, in her
Departure from the Body.*

(From Bishop Cosins.)

INTO thy merciful hands, O Lord, we commend the soul of this thy servant, now departing from the body. Receive *him*, we humbly beseech thee, into the arms of thy mercy, into the glorious society of thy saints in heaven. *Amen.*

GOD the Father, who hath created thee ; God the Son, who hath redeemed thee ; God the Holy Ghost, who hath infused his grace into thee ; be now and evermore thy defence, assist thee in this thy last trial, and bring thee to everlasting life. *Amen.*

(From Bishop Taylor.)

I.

O HOLY and most gracious Jesus, we humbly recommend the soul of thy servant into thy hands, thy most merciful hands : let thy blessed angels

stand in ministry about thy servant, and protect *him* in *his* departure. *Amen.*

II.

LORD, receive the soul of this thy servant: enter not into judgment with *him*; spare *him* whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood, and deliver *him* from all evil and mischief, from the crafts and assaults of the devil, from the fear of death, and from everlasting condemnation. *Amen.*

III.

LORD, impute not unto *him* the follies of *his* youth, nor any of the errors of *his* life; but strengthen *him* in *his* agony, and carry *him* safely through the last distress. Let not *his* faith waver, nor *his* hope fail, nor *his* charity be diminished; let *him* die in peace, and rest in hope, and rise in glory. *Amen.*

O SAVIOUR of the world, who by thy cross and precious blood hast redeemed us; save and help this thy departing servant, we humbly beseech thee, O Lord. *Amen.*

UNTO thy gracious mercy and protection we commit *him*. O Lord, bless *him*, and keep *him*. Make thy face to shine upon *him*, and be gracious unto *him*. Lift up thy countenance upon *him*, and give *him* peace, both now and evermore. *Amen.*

A consolatory Form of Devotion that may be used with the Friends or Relations of the Deceased.

“SORROW not, brethren, for them which are asleep, even as others, who have no hope.

“ For if we believe that Jesus died, and rose again ; even so them also which sleep in Jesus, will God bring with him.” 1 Thess. iv. 13, 14.

“ It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth good unto him.” 1 Sam. iii. 18.

“ The righteous is taken away from the evil to come.” Isaiah lvii. 1.

“ Though the righteous be prevented with death, yet shall he be in rest.

“ The honourable age is not that which standeth in length of days, nor that which is measured by number of years :

“ But wisdom is the grey hair unto men, and an unspotted life is old age.” Wisd. iv. 7, 8, 9.

“ Precious in the sight of the Lord, is the death of his saints.” Psalm cxvi. 15.

“ Yea, blessed are the dead, which die in the Lord ; even so saith the Spirit ; for they rest from their labours.” Rev. xiv. 13.

Let us pray.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

OUR Father which art in heaven : hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. *Amen.*

“ Lord, thou hast been our refuge from one generation to another.

Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever the earth and the world were made, thou art God from everlasting, and world without end.

Thou turnest man to destruction ; again thou sayest, Come again, ye children of men.

For a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday, seeing that is past as a watch in the night.

As soon as thou scatterest them, they are even as a sleep, and fade away suddenly like the grass.

In the morning it is green, and groweth up ; but in the evening it is cut down, dried up, and withered.

For we consume away in thy displeasure, and are afraid of thy wrathful indignation.

Thou hast set our misdeeds before thee, and our secret sins in the light of thy countenance.

For when thou art angry, all our days are gone ; we bring our years to an end, as it were a tale that is told.

So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom.

Turn thee again at last, and be gracious to thy servants.

Comfort *them* again, now after the time that thou hast afflicted *them*, and for the present occasion, wherein *they* suffer adversity.

O satisfy *them* with thy mercy, and that soon ; so shall *they* rejoice, and be glad all the days of *their* life."

Most just art thou, O God, in all thy dealings with us ; " our punishment is less than our iniquities deserve ;" and therefore we desire to submit with all humility and patience to this dispensation of thy divine providence. Be pleased so to sanctify it to this family, that thy grace and mercy may more abundantly flow upon thy servants. Thy property it is to bring good out of evil : O turn that evil, which is now befallen this house, to the

benefit of every one of us, that so we may be able to say, from happy experience, that "the house of mourning is better than the house of feasting," while the death of our *brother*, through thy blessing, shall conduce and minister to our spiritual advantage.

Let the sight of *his* change make us the more mindful of our own, and the sense of our loss make us cleave more steadfastly to thee, O God. Let the remembrance of *his* virtues make us follow *his* example, and the hope we have of *his* being blessed, cause us to "press," with the more earnestness, "towards the mark, for the prize of our high calling in Christ Jesus."

Thou knowest, O Lord, the weakness and frailty of our nature, and therefore we beseech thee to give thy servants, who are more nearly concerned in this visitation, a constant supply of thy good Spirit, to enable them to bear it with humility, patience, resignation, and submission to thy divine will, as becometh the gospel of Jesus Christ. O that no repining thoughts may rise in their hearts to discompose their duty towards thee, or towards their neighbour: but help them rather to think wherein they have offended thee, and carefully to amend it; to place their affections more steadfastly on those immoveable things which are above, and freely resign all their thoughts and desires unto thee; saying, with holy Job, "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord." And let the death of thy servant strike us all with such a lively sense of our mortality, as may cause us so thoroughly to die to sin, and live to grace, that when we die, we may rest in him, as our hope is this our *brother* doth.

We evidently see "that death is the end of all men;" grant us therefore grace to lay it to heart, to despise the world, "to abhor that which is evil,

and cleave to that which is good;" to delight in thy word, to study thy will, to observe thy law, and to take all possible care to promote thy honour, and our own salvation; that when "we go the way of all earth, we may be comforted by thy presence," and admitted into thy heavenly kingdom. *Amen.*

Assist us mercifully, O Lord, in these our supplications and prayers, and dispose the way of thy servants towards the attainment of everlasting salvation; that among all the changes and chances of this mortal life, they may ever be defended by thy most gracious and ready help; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

The Lord bless us and keep us, the Lord lift up the light of his countenance upon us, and give us peace, now and for evermore. *Amen.*

OCCASIONAL PRAYERS AND DEVOTIONS FOR THE SICK
AND UNFORTUNATE IN EXTRAORDINARY CASES.

A Prayer for a Person whose Illness is chiefly brought on him by some calamitous Disaster or Loss, as of Estate, Relations, or Friends, &c.

(From Bishop Patrick.)

O MOST gracious and glorious God, supreme Judge and Governor of the world, "in whom we live, and move, and have our being," and from whom all the blessings we enjoy, and "every good and perfect gift cometh," grant us, we humbly beseech thee, such a measure of thy grace, that whenever thou art pleased to remove any of thy blessings from us, we may bear it with a perfect re-

signation to thy divine will; and with all patience, humility, and contentedness of spirit, consider how unworthy we are of the least of thy mercies.

More particularly, O Lord, we beseech thee to give this peaceableness, and contentedness of mind, to this thy servant, whom thou hast so sensibly afflicted, by taking so near and dear a blessing from *him*. O give *him* such a portion of thy blessed Spirit, and such a lively sense of *his* duty, that *he* may have power to surmount all the difficulties *he* labours under, and freely to resign all *his* thoughts and desires unto thee, submitting *himself* entirely to thy good providence, and resolving by thy gracious assistance, to rest contented with whatsoever thou in thy wisdom appointest for *him*. Thou knowest, O Lord, the weakness and frailty of our nature, and therefore be pleased to comfort *him* in this bed of sickness; establish *him* with the light of thy countenance; and grant that no repining thoughts may increase *his* illness, or discompose *his* duty towards thee, or *his* neighbour; but enable *him* to think wherein *he* hath offended thee, and carefully to amend *his* errors; to set *his* affections on things above, and not on things below, and to lay up for *himself* treasures in heaven, even the treasures of a good life, which no disasters or calamities shall ever be able to take from *him*. Grant this, O heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Person who by any calamitous Disaster hath broken any of his Bones, or is very much bruised and hurt in his Body.

(From Mr Jenks.)

O LORD, the only disposer of all events, thou hast taught us that "affliction cometh not forth of the

dust, neither doth trouble spring out of the ground;" but that the disasters which befall us are by thy appointment. Thou art just in all thou bringest upon us: and though thy "judgments are far above out of our sight," yet we know "that they are right, and that it is in very faithfulness thou causest us to be afflicted." "Why then should a living man complain, a man for the punishment of his sins?" Let these considerations prevail with thy servant to submit to thy dispensations. Make *him* resolve to bear the effects of thy displeasure, and to consider it as the just desert of *his* sins. O Lord, give *him* patience, and strength, and grace, proportionable to this great trial; and enable *him* so to conduct *himself* under it, that after the affliction is removed *he* may find cause to say, "it was good for *him* to be afflicted." Thou that hast torn and smitten, thou art able to heal and to comfort. Be pleased to remember *him* in this *his* low estate. Cause *him* to "search and try *his* ways, and turn to thee, and bring forth fruits meet for repentance."

We know, O Lord, thou canst raise *him* up from the deepest affliction: O, let it be thy gracious will, to glorify thy power and mercy in *his* recovery; or, however thou shalt think fit to dispose of this "vile body," grant *him*, O God, a mind entirely resigned to thy will, and satisfied with thy dispensations. O, make this calamity the messenger of thy love to *his* soul, and the happy means of *his* conversion; through Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Person that is afflicted with grievous Pains of his Body.

(From Mr Jenks.)

O LORD, thou art a merciful God, and dost not willingly afflict the children of men; but when

necessity requires, thou chastisest us for our profit, that we may be partakers of thy holiness. Remove, we beseech thee, this affliction from thy servant, or enable *him* to bear what thou art pleased to lay upon *him*. Lord, all *his* desire is before thee, and *his* groaning is not hid from thee. Regard *his* affliction, when thou hearest *his* cry. Enter not into judgment with *him*, nor deal with *him* according to *his* sins, but according to thy mercy in Jesus Christ. O gracious Father, sanctify to *him* what thou hast laid upon *him*, that *his* present affliction may work out for *him* an eternal weight of glory. Support *him* under *his* pains, till it shall please thee to grant *him* ease and comfort. And, however thou shalt deal with *him*, let *him* not repine at thy correction, nor sin in charging thee foolishly. Make *him* sensible, that thou doest nothing but what is wise and just; nothing but what thy servant shall one day have cause to bless and praise thee for doing. And let this consideration teach *him* to glorify thee in the time of *his* visitation, by an humble submission to thy will, and a sincere reformation under thy providential dispensations; that thou mayest visit *him* in mercy and love, show *him* the joy of thy salvation; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A Prayer for One who is troubled with acute Pains of the Gout, Stone, Colic, or any other bodily Distemper.

(From Mr Spinkes.)

O BLESSED God, just and holy, who dost not willingly afflict the children of men; withhold not, we beseech thee, thy assistance from this thy servant in the extremity of *his* pain. *His* sorrows are increased, and *his* soul is full of trouble. *He* has

none to flee unto, for the ease and mitigation of *his* agonies, but to thee, O Lord. *He* freely owns that *his* sufferings are infinitely less than he has deserved; yet, since they pierce deep, and are become almost too heavy for *him* to bear, we presume to call upon thee for aid; and to entreat thee, not to punish *him* according to *his* deserts, "For if thou shouldest be extreme to mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide it?" Spare *him* therefore for thy mercy's sake; and correct *him* "not in thine anger, lest thou bring *him* to nothing." Endue *him* with that patience which may enable *him* cheerfully to submit to thy chastisement; and grant *him* an unfeigned repentance for all *his* sins. Comfort *his* soul, which melteth away for very heaviness, and let thy loving mercy come unto *him*. Sanctify this thy fatherly correction to *him*, that it may be for thy glory, and *his* advantage. And when thy gracious ends in afflicting *him* shall be accomplished, which we know are not for "thy pleasure," but for *his* profit, give *him*, we beseech thee, a fresh occasion to rejoice in thy saving health; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Person in the Small-Pox, or any such-like raging infectious Disease.

O GRACIOUS and merciful Father, the only giver of health, look down, we beseech thee, with an eye of compassion, upon thy miserable and disconsolate servant, from whom thou hast taken this great and valuable blessing; and, instead of it, hast filled every part of *his* body with a sore disease.

Teach *him*, O Lord, and teach us all from hence, to consider how soon the beauty of life is blasted, like a flower, and our "strength dried up

like a potsherd," that we may not put our trust in any of these transitory things, but in thee only, the living God, who art able to save and to destroy, to kill and to make alive.

Our *brother*, whom we now behold a spectacle of misery, was lately, like one of us, in perfect health. But now "thou makest *his* beauty to consume away, as it were a moth fretting a garment. Thine arrows stick fast in *him*, and thy hand presseth *him* sore; so that there is no soundness in *his* flesh, because of thine anger; neither is there any rest in *his* bones by reason of *his* sin.

"O reject *him* not utterly, but take thy plague away from *him*. Return, O Lord, and that speedily; for *his* spirit faileth. O leave *him* not in *his* distress; for though the world may forsake *him*, *his* sure trust is in thee. To thee, O Lord, does *he* cry; to thee doth *he* stretch forth *his* hands; *his* soul thirsteth after thee as a barren and dry land. Lord, all *his* desire is before thee, and *his* groaning is not hid from thee. Comfort *him* therefore again now after the time that thou hast afflicted *him*, and for the days wherein *he* hath suffered adversity."

Put a stop, O Lord, we beseech thee, to this raging infection, and say to the destroying angel, "It is enough." Protect us under the shadow of thy wings, that we may not "be afraid of any terror by night; nor for the arrow that flieth by day; nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness; nor for the sickness that destroyeth in the noon-day;" but that, with ease in our minds, and health in our bodies, we may serve thee cheerfully all the days of our life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Person in a Consumption, or any lingering Disease.

(From Mr Jenks.)

O MERCIFUL God, thou hast long kept thy servant under thy chastening hand ; thou hast made *him* acquainted with grief ; and *his* sickness is even become *his* familiar companion : yet, O blessed Lord, grant that *he* may not be impatient under thy chastisement, who art pleased to wait so long for the return of a sinner ; but let *him* remember that thou hast kind intentions, even in thy bitterest dispensations ; that thou “ chastenest *him* whom thou lovest, and scourgest every son whom thou receivest.” Teach *him*, O gracious Father, to see love in thy rod, and justice in all thy dealings ; that *he* may humble *himself* under thy mighty hand ; that *he* may think it good for *him* to have been afflicted, and patiently wait for thy loving-kindness.

Yet, that *his* faith may not fail, nor *his* patience be overcome, give *him* ease and relaxation from *his* pain, and a happy conclusion of this long visitation. In the mean time, grant that *he* may neither despise thy chastening, nor faint under thy rebukes ; but employ the time which thou lendest, and improve the affliction which thou continuest, as a gracious opportunity for *his* spiritual advantage ; that, under the decays of the body, the inner man may be renewed day by day ; and that whatever appertains to *his* everlasting salvation, may be promoted and perfected through the riches of thy grace, and the multitude of thy mercies in Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Person who is lame in his Sickness.

(From Mr Lewis.)

O ALMIGHTY God, who "art eyes to the blind and feet to the lame," have pity, we entreat thee, on thy servant: help *him* in *his* distress, and bless, we pray thee, the means made use of for *his* cure. Make *him* sensible of thy design in visiting *him* with this affliction; cause *him* to remember, how in *his* strength and health *he* followed *his* own devices, and the desire of *his* own heart; and let *him* see, that thou hast lifted up thy hand against *him*, for this very purpose, that *he* may learn to walk more humbly with thee, and turn *his* feet to thy testimonies. Deliver *him* from the painful confinement under which *he* labours, and grant *him* again the happiness of enjoying the comforts of life, and of worshipping thee in thy sanctuary, with the "voice of joy and praise." But, O Lord, not our will, but thine be done. Thou knowest better what is good for us, than we ourselves; and it is in wisdom that thou afflictest us. Give thy servant patience, that *he* may bear *his* pains without murmuring, and wait the time of *his* deliverance from them without uneasiness; satisfy *him* of thy care over *him*, and thy tender regard to *him*: and in thy good time restore *him* to *his* former strength and vigour, that *he* may give thanks to thee in the great congregation; through Jesus Christ our Saviour. *Amen.*

A Prayer for One that is bed-ridden.

(From Mr Lewis.)

O LORD our God, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort, have compassion, we entreat

thee, on the helpless condition of thy servant: support *his* spirits, which are ready to droop under affliction: refresh *his* mind, which is apt to be uneasy and melancholy at the thought of perpetual confinement. Give sleep to *his* eyes, and rest to *his* weary thoughts. Cause *him* to meditate on thee in the night watches; to “commune with *his* own heart;” and, in *his* solitude, “to search and try *his* ways,” that *he* may see wherein *he* hath erred, and may turn unto thee with all *his* soul, and with all *his* strength. Let this affliction be the means of preparing *him* for the enjoyment of thy presence, in which is fulness of joy; and let *him* be the more patient under it for that reason. Make *him* thankful that thou hast by this expedient preserved *him* from the company of those whose evil communication might have corrupted *his* heart, and hast taken *him* out of a world, by the snares and temptations of which *he* might have been prevailed upon to forsake thee, and turn from the way of thy commandments. Grant, O Lord, that *he* may not render *himself* unworthy of thy favour, by murmuring and repining; but that *he* may use the leisure and opportunity now given *him*, to make *his* peace with thee, and be fitted for the enjoyment of an inheritance among the saints in light; through thy mercy in Jesus Christ, our Saviour and Redeemer. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Person troubled in Mind, or in Conscience.

[Visitation Office.]

O BLESSED Lord, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comforts, we beseech thee, look down in pity and compassion upon this thine afflicted servant. Thou writest bitter things against *him*,

and makest *him* to possess *his* former iniquities: thy wrath lieth hard upon *him*, and *his* soul is full of trouble. But, O merciful God, who hast given us thy holy word for our learning, that we through patience, and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope; give *him* a right understanding of *himself*, and of thy threatenings and promises; that *he* may neither cast away *his* confidence in thee, nor place it any where but in thee. Give *him* strength against all temptations, and heal all *his* infirmities. Break not the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax. Shut not up thy tender mercies in displeasure, but make *him* hear of joy and gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice. Deliver *him* from the fear of the enemy; lift up the light of thy countenance upon *him*, and give *him* peace, through the mediation of Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Another for the same, or for One under deep Melancholy and Dejection of Spirit.

(From Mr Jenks.)

O most gracious Lord, thou knowest our frame, and art full of compassion to thy servants under their trouble and oppression; look down upon us, we humbly beseech thee, with thy wonted pity, and remember the work of thy hands, our disconsolate *brother*. Thy wrath lies hard upon *him*; and all thy waves are gone over *him*; thy terrors oppress *his* mind, and disturb *his* reason. O thou that speakest the winds and waves into obedience and calmness, settle and quiet *his* discomposed thoughts; speak peace and satisfaction to *his* troubled mind, and give *him* comfort and sure confidence in the sense of thy pardon and love. Lord, help *his* unbelief, and increase *his* faith. Though

he walk in the valley and shadow of death, let "thy rod and thy staff support and protect *him*." In the multitude of the thoughts and sorrows that *he* hath in *his* heart, let thy comfort refresh *his* soul. Let in a beam of thy heavenly light, to dispel the clouds and darkness in which *his* mind is involved. O direct to the means most proper for *his* help, and so bless and prosper them, that they may effectually promote *his* recovery out of this deplorable state. Incline *his* ears to wholesome counsels, and dispose *his* heart to receive due impressions. O gracious Father, pity *his* frailty, forgive *his* sin, and rebuke *his* distemper, that *his* disquieted soul may return to its rest. O, raise *him* up, and show thy mercy upon *him*, for the sake of Jesus Christ, our blessed Saviour and Redeemer. *Amen.*

For the same.

(From Bishop Patrick.)

PRESERVE this thy servant, O gracious Father, from dishonouring thee and *his* religion, by distrusting thy power, or thy goodness.

Remove all troublesome imaginations from *him*, and give *him* a clear understanding of thee, and of *himself*, that no causeless fears and jealousies may overwhelm *him*, nor *his* heart sink within *him* from any sadness and dejection of spirit. Compose, we beseech thee, *his* disturbed thoughts; quiet *his* disordered mind, and appease all the tumults of *his* soul, by a sweet sense of thy tender mercies, and of the love of thy Son Jesus Christ to mankind. Keep *him* from forming any rash conclusions concerning thy providence; and give *him* so much light and judgment amid all the darkness and confusion of *his* thoughts, that *he*

may not think *himself* forsaken by thee; but may firmly believe, that if *he* does the best *he* can, thou requirest no more. And enable *him*, O Lord, to look forwards to that region of light and glory, whither our Saviour is gone before, to prepare a place for all thy faithful servants.

Strengthen *his* weak and feeble endeavours. Support *his* fainting spirit, and cause it humbly to hope in thee. Confirm and establish every good thought, desire, and purpose, which thou hast wrought in *him*. Make *him* to grow in wisdom, faith, love, and willing obedience. Conduct *him* hereafter so easily and steadily, peaceably and quietly, so cheerfully and securely, in thy ways, that *he* may glorify thee whilst *he* lives, and when *he* leaves this troublesome world, may resign *his* soul into thy merciful hands, with a pious confidence and a hope of a joyful resurrection; through the merits of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A Prayer for One under Fears and Doubts concerning his spiritual Condition, or under perplexing Thoughts and Scruples about his Duty.

(From Mr Kettlewell.)

O LORD our God, we offer up our humble supplication to thee in behalf of this thy servant, whose soul is disquieted within *him* by *his* fears and anxiety respecting the safety of *his* condition. Remove from *him*, we entreat thee, all frightful apprehensions, all perplexing doubts and scruples about *his* duty. Make *him* satisfied and settled in a right understanding of all thy precepts, and careful in the observance of them; and dispel, by the light of thy countenance, all that darkness which obscures *his* soul, that *he* may not be unnecessarily

dejected, and distrustful of *himself*, or dishonourably jealous of thee. Deliver *him* from all those offences which make *him* so much a stranger to peace and comfort; and cause *him* to place *his* chief satisfaction and delight in obeying thy commandments, and in meditating on thy mercy; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

A Prayer for one who is disturbed with wicked and blasphemous Thoughts.

(From Mr Lewis.)

O LORD GOD, the Father of our spirits, to whom all hearts are open, and all desires known; we humbly entreat thee to succour and relieve this thy servant, who labours under the burden of wicked thoughts. Let thy power and goodness be shown in healing *his* disordered mind. Cleanse the thoughts of *his* heart by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit. Suffer them not to be defiled by any profane or blasphemous suggestions, but heal the soul of thy servant, by enabling *him* to stifle and suppress all such thoughts as tend to rob *him* of *his* peace, or deprive *him* of the comforts of religion. Enable *him* to be of an equal and steady temper, to be mild and gentle in *his* behaviour, and to keep *his* hopes and fears within due bounds. Make *him* sensible of the wise and kind reasons of these afflictions; that if they are duly improved, they may be powerful preservatives of *his* soul against the prevailing sins of a licentious age; may lessen *his* inclinations to the enjoyments of this life, and deaden *his* appetite to sensual pleasure, and the perishing goods of this world; that these afflictions may dispose *him* to compassionate the sufferings of others, and make *him* more thoroughly feel *his* own infirmities, and the want of divine as-

sistance. Open *his* eyes, that *he* may see and know the wise and gracious dispensations of thy providence; and, by humbling *himself* under them, may at length be lifted up and made a partaker of that peace and joy which thou bestowest on all thy faithful servants. Grant this for the sake of Jesus Christ, our only Mediator and Redeemer.

A Prayer for One who is afflicted with a profane Mistrust of Divine Truths, and blasphemous Thoughts.

(From Mr Kettlewell.)

O most gracious God, in whose hand is the soul of every living creature; protect this thy servant, we humbly and earnestly entreat thee, against all doubts and mistrusts of thy truth, against all irreligious thoughts and suggestions.

Never suffer them, O Lord, to weaken *his* faith, or to hinder *him* from performing *his* duty. Preserve *him* not only from the sin, but, if it seem good to thine infinite wisdom, from the temptation and the sorrow, which may attend them.

But, if it be thy blessed will to continue these terrifying thoughts for *his* trial and humiliation, Lord, make *him* sensible that they will not be imputed to *him* as sin, if, as soon as *he* perceives them, *he* rejects them with horror and indignation.

During this trial, let *him* learn to depend upon thee, that, as often as these profane thoughts arise in *his* mind, *he* may find grace to overcome them, and without the least indulgence or delay to cast them out; and that *he* may learn to show patience under them, as under every other affliction and trial of thy appointment, trusting to thy grace to assist *him*, and to thy goodness to deliver *him*; through Jesus Christ our Saviour. *Amen.*

*A Prayer for One under the dread of God's wrath
and everlasting Damnation.*

(From Mr Lewis.)

O ALMIGHTY GOD, the aid of all that need, and the helper of all that flee to thee for succour, accept, we beseech thee, our humble supplications for this thy servant, labouring under the dismal apprehensions of thy wrath.

O Lord, enter not into judgment with *him*: make *him* sensible that, though the wages of sin are death, the gift of God is eternal life; that thou hatest the death of a sinner, and art not willing that any should perish; that thou always punishest less than we deserve, and in the midst of judgment rememberest mercy. Revive *his* soul with a sense of thy love, and the hopes of obtaining thy pardon, and the joy of thy salvation; that *he* may be raised from this dejection, and show with gladness what thou hast done for *his* soul. All this we humbly beg for Jesus Christ's sake. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Lunatic.

(From Mr Jenks.)

O LORD, the only wise God, from whom we have received all the faculties of our souls; thou art holy and righteous in all thy dispensations, though the reason of them is frequently unknown to us. Dispel, we humbly beseech thee, if it be agreeable to thine infinite wisdom, the clouds in which the soul of thy servant is now involved; that *he* may regain *his* understanding, and the right use of *his* faculties. Heal *his* disordered mind; settle and quiet *his* passions; pacify and compose *his* imagination.

O prosper the means which are used for *his* recovery. Make *him* tractable in the use of remedies, and willing to comply with the advice of *his* friends. But if no means can effect his cure, let *him* possess *his* soul in peace and composure, and in every interval of reason address *his* prayer to thee; that, when *his* earthly tabernacle shall be dissolved, *he* may rejoice in his former inability to pursue the pleasures of the world, and be presented unto thee pure and undefiled, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A Prayer for natural Fools, or Madmen.

(From Mr Kettlewell.)

O ALMIGHTY and most merciful Father, pity, we entreat thee, this thy unhappy creature, who knows not *his* own wants, nor how to ask for thy mercies. Compassionate, O Lord, *his* infirmities, and supply *his* necessities. Let thy wisdom prevent those evils which *he* cannot foresee, or wants understanding to remove; but especially keep *him* from doing any thing that may be hurtful either to *himself* or others.

Let *his* mind, on all occasions, be quiet and peaceable; and, as far as *his* faculties extend, exercised in piety and devout meditations. O hear our cry when we call upon thee: hear us for *him* who is not able to pray for *himself*; grant him thy fatherly care at present, and thy peace at the last; through the mediation of thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

PROPER PSALMS FOR A SICK PERSON AT SEA.

I.

1. SAVE me, O God, for the waters are come in, even unto my soul.

2. I am come into deep waters, so that the floods run over me. *Psalm lxi. 1, 2.*

3. The floods are risen, O Lord, the floods have lift up their voice; the floods lift up their waves.

4. The waves of the sea are mighty, and rage horribly: but yet the Lord who dwelleth in heaven, is mightier. *Psalm xciii. 4, 5.*

5. He maketh the storm to cease, so that the waves thereof are still.

6. Wherefore unto thee, O Lord, do I cry in my trouble: deliver me out of my distress. *Psalm cvii. 28.*

7. Thou shalt show us wonderful things in thy righteousness, O God of our salvation: thou that art the hope of all the ends of the earth, and of them that remain in the broad sea. *Psalm lxxv. 5.*

8. Through thee have I been holden up ever since I was born; thou art he that took me out of my mother's womb; my praise shall always be of thee. *Psalm lxxi. 5, 6.*

9. I will cry unto thee, Thou art my father, my God, and the rock of my salvation. *Psalm lxxxix. 26.*

10. Withdraw not thou thy mercy from me, O Lord; let thy loving-kindness and truth always preserve me.

11. For innumerable troubles are come about me: my sins have taken such hold upon me, that I am not able to look up; yea, they are more in number than the hairs of my head, and my heart hath failed me.

12. O Lord, let it be thy pleasure to deliver me: make haste, O Lord, to help me. *Psalm xl. 11, 12, 15.*

II.

1. Out of the deep have I called unto thee, O Lord; Lord, hear my voice.

2. O let thine ears consider well the voice of my complaint. *Psalm cxxx. 1, 2.*

3. For I am helpless and poor, and my heart is wounded within me. *Psalm cix. 21.*

4. My heart is disquieted within me, and the fear of death is fallen upon me.

5. Fearfulness and trembling are come upon me, and an horrible dread hath overwhelmed me. *Psalm lv. 4, 5.*

6. I go hence like the shadow that departeth, and am driven away like a grasshopper. *Psalm cix. 22.*

7. O God, thou knowest my foolishness, and my sins are not hidden from thee. *Psalm lxix. 5.*

8. Thou hast laid me in the lowest pit; in a place of darkness, and in the deep.

9. Thine indignation lieth hard upon me, and thou hast vexed me with all thy storms. *Psalm lxxxviii. 5, 6.*

10. Thou breakest me with a tempest, and my roarings are poured out like waters. *Job ix. 17. iii. 24.*

11. O reject me not utterly, and be not exceeding wroth against thy servant. *Lament. v. 22.*

12. For my soul is full of trouble, and my life draweth nigh unto hell. *Psalm lxxxviii. 2.*

13. I am brought into so great trouble and misery that I go mourning all the day long.

14. For my loins are filled with a sore disease, and there is no whole part in my body. *Psalm xxxviii. 6, 7.*

15. My wounds stink and are corrupt, through my foolishness. *Psalm xxxviii. 5.*

16. Behold, O Lord, I am in distress; my bowels are troubled, my heart is turned within me, for I have grievously transgressed. *Lament. i. 20.*

17. O remember not the sins and offences of my youth; but according to thy mercy think thou upon me, O Lord, for thy goodness. *Psalm xxv. 6.*

18. Cast me not away in the time of age; forsake me not, when my strength faileth me. *Psalm lxxi. 8.*

19. Take thy plague away from me: I am even consumed by the means of thy heavy hand.

20. When thou with rebukes dost chasten man for sin, thou makest his beauty to consume away, like as it were a moth fretting a garment: every man therefore is but vanity.

21. Hear my prayer, O Lord, and with thine ears consider my calling; hold not thy peace at my tears.

22. For I am a stranger with thee, and a sojourner, as all my fathers were.

23. O spare me a little, that I may recover my strength, before I go hence, and be no more seen. *Psalm xxxix. 11—13.*

A Prayer for a sick Seaman.

O most great and glorious Lord, the "salvation of all that dwell on the earth, and of them that remain in the broad sea;" under whose powerful protection we are alike secure in every place, and without whose providence over us we can no where be in safety; look down, we beseech thee, upon us, thy unworthy servants, who are called to "behold thy wonders in the deep," and to perform our several duties in the great waters.

"Thou art our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble;" and therefore we fly unto thee for succour in all our necessities. Extend thy accustomed goodness to our distressed brother, whom thou hast been pleased to visit with the rod of affliction.

“ The waves of death encompass him about, and the sorrows of hell take hold upon him.”

O leave him not to himself, nor let him be given over “ to a spirit of slumber” and darkness; but “ open his eyes, that he may see the wondrous things of thy law,” and the necessity of a speedy and sincere repentance; so that, from the sickness of his body, he may derive health and salvation to his soul, which is the great end of all thy righteous judgments, and of all our afflictions.

Let him seriously consider and reflect within himself, from this visitation, “ what a dreadful thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God;” and let him hence learn, if it shall please thee to raise him up again, to preserve a more awful sense of thy divine majesty upon his spirit, “ and to live more soberly, righteously, and piously, in this present world.”

We know, O Lord, that “ many are the enemies of peace,” and that “ the whole world lieth in wickedness:” but let him not “ follow a multitude to do evil,” nor “ give his consent to the enticement of sinners;” but being perfectly “ redeemed from all vain conversation, and renewed in the spirit of his mind,” let him “ walk before thee with a perfect heart,” and spend the residue of his days in thy faith and fear.

Or if thou hast determined otherwise concerning him, be pleased to give him sufficient grace, and strength, and time, to “ make his calling and election sure, before he go hence and be no more seen:” revive his drooping spirits, fortify his heart, and as he decays in the outer, strengthen him in the inner man, by setting before him the hopes of a blessed immortality “ as an anchor of the soul, both sure and steadfast.” *Amen.*

A Prayer for a sick Soldier or Seaman.

O most mighty Lord, the fountain of health and life, strength and courage, the aid and support of all that fly unto thee for succour, with whom is no respect of persons, but every one that feareth thee (whether he be rich or poor, learned or unlearned) is accepted by thee; we beseech thee mercifully to look down upon our brother, who is now fallen under the rod of thy displeasure.

We know, O Lord, that all thy judgments are principally intended for our good in the end, by the reformation of our lives and manners; and therefore we most humbly beseech thee to let thy present judgment have that good effect upon our brother, that he may lead the rest of his life as a faithful soldier of Jesus Christ, and not continue to harden his heart against all the powerful and repeated instances of thy mercies and judgments towards him.

If thou hast designed this sickness shall terminate in his death, O be pleased to fit and prepare him for it; or if otherwise in mercy thou hast determined to spare him, O let him not return to any of his former sinful courses, but let him always keep in mind the promise which he made to thee in baptism, of renouncing the world, the flesh, and the devil; and which, we hope, he now again heartily renews in this his day of visitation.

We know, O Lord, that many temptations will unavoidably assault him in the state of life wherein he is engaged, and therefore we most humbly beseech thee to give him such a portion of thy blessed Spirit, as may enable him to fight with as much resolution and courage against his spiritual enemies, as the nature of his post obliges him to do,

upon just occasions, against his temporal ; ever remembering, that the greatest of conquests is that which is made upon ourselves ; and that no victory is so truly honourable, as that which is obtained over our vicious inclinations.

Wherefore give him grace, we beseech thee, O Lord, “ to abhor that which is evil, and to cleave to that which is good.” Let him religiously avoid all blasphemy and profaneness, all drunkenness, riot, and lasciviousness ; and let him carefully follow the rule our Saviour hath set him, “ of doing violence to no man, accusing no man falsely, and being content with his own wages ;” so that, having “ put on the whole armour of God, he may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil ;” and whenever thou shalt be pleased to put an end to his warfare, (either now or hereafter), he may cheerfully resign his soul into thy hands, in these comfortable words of the apostle : “ I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith ; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give unto all those that love and fear him, and put their trust in his mercy.” *Amen.*

A Prayer to be used by a Person afflicted with a Distemper of long Continuance.

(By Dr Stonehouse.)

O LORD GOD Almighty, I am wonderfully made, and all my powers of body and mind were produced and are supported by thee. “ Thou killest and makest alive : thou woundest, and makest whole.”

I own and reverence thine hand in my present affliction. I acknowledge that thou art righteous in all that befalls me ; for I have sinned ; and

thou chastenest me less than my iniquities deserve. In punishment thou showest mercy, continuest to me many comforts, prolongest my opportunities of reflection and amendment, and givest hope of that pardon which I so much want, and at this time earnestly entreat.

I desire, in this poor condition of my health, to search and try my ways, and turn unto thee, O Lord, by deep humility, sincere repentance, and faith in the great Redeemer: and may the fruit of this and every affliction be to take away sin, and make my heart better.

O God, if it be thy merciful will, direct me to, and prosper, some means for the removal of my disorder, that I may yet be capable of glorifying thee in my station, and, by farther endeavours for thy service upon earth, be fitter for immortality.

Support me, gracious Lord, that my soul may not be quite cast down, and too much disquieted within me. Assist me to cherish penitent, believing, serious thoughts and affections. Grant me such resignation to thy will, such patience and meekness towards men, as my Divine Master requireth, and as he himself manifested while he was a sufferer on earth. Forgive all the harshness and sinfulness of my temper, and keep it from increasing upon me. May I learn, from what I now feel, to pity all who are sick, in pain, or otherwise afflicted, and do all in my power to assist and relieve them.

If by this affliction thou intendest to bring me down to the grave, prepare me, by thy grace, for my removal hence, and entrance on the unseen eternal state: and may all the sufferings of the present life work out for me a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

O I am thankful for any degree of ease and comfort which I have this day enjoyed. Grant me, this night, such refreshing rest, that I may be better able to discharge the duties and bear the burden of another day, if thou art pleased to indulge me with it. If my eyes are kept waking, may my meditations be comfortable and useful to me.

Pity my weakness, merciful and heavenly Father, and hear my imperfect petitions, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who was once a man of sorrow, and is still touched with the feeling of our infirmities; to whom, as our merciful High Priest and powerful Intercessor, be glory for evermore. *Amen.*

A Prayer to be used on the Death of a Friend.

(By Mr Merrick.)

O ALMIGHTY GOD, who dost not willingly grieve the children of men, but in thy visitations rememberest mercy, teach me by thy grace to bear the loss of that dear person whom thou hast taken from me with patience and resignation, and to make a right use of the affliction which thy fatherly hand hath laid upon me. Thou hast given, and thou hast taken away: blessed be thy holy name! Make me thankful, O Lord, for the comforts and blessings which I still enjoy; and sanctify to my soul all the sufferings, which in the course of this mortal life thou shalt appoint for me. Let the death of friends and relations help to keep me always mindful of my own mortality. And grant, that by thy grace I may here apply my heart to wisdom, and may hereafter by thy mercy be received into that everlasting kingdom, where all tears shall be wiped from all faces, and

sorrow and sighing shall flee away. Hear me, O merciful Father, for the sake of thy son Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

A Prayer to be used by a Person troubled in Mind.

ALMIGHTY God, who beholdest with compassion and mercy the weaknesses and frailties of us thy sinful creatures; look down on me, I beseech thee, and deliver me, if it be thy blessed will, from the distress of mind under which I labour. Strengthen my judgment, and inform my understanding, that I may rightly know my duty; and grant that I may act on all occasions, and in every circumstance of life, in the manner most acceptable to thee. Pardon my secret sins and infirmities, and preserve me from all wilful neglects and offences. If thou seest it consistent with thy glory, and with the everlasting welfare of my soul, fill me with that fervency of affection towards thee, and with that measure of spiritual comfort and assurance, which may preserve my mind in a frame of cheerfulness and composure. But if trouble and bitterness of mind be more expedient for me, continue to me both this and all other afflictions which thou seest most conducive to my future happiness, and grant that I may bear them with patience and resignation. Let thine Holy Spirit direct and support me under every trial, and enable me so to walk in thy faith and fear, that I may at last be received into thy heavenly kingdom, through the merits and mediation of thy Son Jesus Christ, our blessed Lord and Saviour. *Amen.*

A Prayer to be used by an Old Person.

O GRACIOUS Lord, my Maker and my Preserver, I give thee thanks for the long continuance which

thou hast granted me in this world, in order that I may be the better prepared for another. Enable me by thy grace to make a right use of the time afforded me, and give me a true and deep repentance of the sins which I have committed. Support me by thy help under the infirmities of age; keep me from covetousness, and fretfulness, and from all unreasonable fears and cares. Give me that degree of ease and health which thou seest most convenient for me; wean my affections and desires from the things of this life, and keep me continually prepared for death; through Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

A Prayer for a Person condemned to die.

(From Dr Inet.)

O most just and holy Lord God, who bringest to light the hidden things of darkness, and by thy just and wise providence dost bring sin to shame and punishment; disappointing the hopes of wicked men; visiting their sins upon them in this present life, that thou mayest deter others from the evil of their ways, and save their souls in the day of judgment; O Lord, in mercy look down upon this thy servant, who now is before thee to confess thy justice in making *him* a sad example to others. *He* with sorrow and shame confesseth it would be just with thee, should death eternal be the wages of *his* sins, and everlasting sorrow the recompense of *his* iniquity. *He* has, we confess, O Lord, despised thy mercy, and abused thy goodness, and has therefore no reason to expect any other than to be made an everlasting sacrifice to thy justice. When thou hast, by the ministry of thy word, and the interposition of thy providence, called *him* to repentance, *he* has slighted thine admonitions. O,

how just therefore would it be now in thee to disregard *his* cry, in this day of trouble, when distress and anguish are come upon *him*! *He* confesses that *he* hath hardened *his* heart, notwithstanding all thy importunities to *him* to repent and live; that *he* has still gone on from one wickedness to another, eagerly repeating the works of darkness, and even hating to be reformed; that *he* has notoriously broken *his* baptismal vows, and given encouragement to others to blaspheme our holy faith; and that on these accounts *he* has nothing to expect but that thou shouldst deal with *him* according to *his* sins, and reward *him* according to the multitude of *his* offences. But thou, O God, hast been pleased to declare, that with thee is mercy and plenteous redemption; that thou desirest not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should repent and live. Thou hast so loved the world, that thou gavest thy only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. O, let not *him*, whom we are now commending to thy mercy, for ever perish and be lost. Have compassion upon a miserable sinner, who owns *he* deserves eternally to die; and let *him* find mercy in *his* distress. Pardon, we earnestly entreat thee, *his* wilful and *his* heedless follies, *his* errors, and *his* crying and notorious sins; particularly that for which *he* is now to die. O Lord, thou God of mercy, who art abundant in goodness, have pity on the work of thine own hands. Bury *his* sins in *his* grave, and, however they may rise up in this world to disgrace *him*, let them never rise up in the next to condemn *him*: and whatever *he* suffers here, let *him* hereafter be in the number of those whose unrighteousness is forgiven, and whose sin is covered. However men, in the execution of justice, and to deter others

from being guilty of the like wickedness, may kill his body; let neither *his* body nor *his* soul be destroyed in hell, but be delivered from eternal condemnation, for the sake of Jesus Christ, who died to save sinners. *Amen.*

A Prayer of Preparation for Death.

O ALMIGHTY GOD, Maker and Judge of all men, have mercy upon me, thy weak and sinful creature; and if by thy most wise and righteous appointment the hour of death be approaching towards me, enable me to meet it with a mind fully prepared for it, and to pass through this great and awful trial in the manner most profitable for me. O let me not leave any thing undone which may help to make my departure safe and happy, or to qualify me for the highest degree of thy favour that I am capable of attaining. Pardon the sins which I have committed against thee by thought, word, and deed, and all my neglects of duty. Pardon the sins which I have committed against my neighbour; and if others have wronged or offended me, incline my heart freely and fully to forgive them. Cleanse my soul from all its corruptions, and transform it into the likeness of thy Son Jesus Christ; that I may behold thy face in glory, and be made partaker of thy heavenly kingdom. And, O merciful Father, give me that supply of spiritual comfort, which thou seest needful for me in my present condition: and grant that, when my change comes, I may die with a quiet conscience, with a well grounded assurance of thy favour, and a joyful hope of a blessed resurrection; through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

THE MINISTRATION
OF
PUBLIC BAPTISM OF INFANTS.

TO BE USED IN CHURCHES.

The people are to be admonished, that it is most convenient that baptism should not be administered but upon Sundays and other holy days, when the most number of persons come together; as well for that the congregation there present, may testify the receiving of them that be newly baptized into the number of Christ's church; as also because, in the baptism of infants, every man present be put in remembrance of his own profession made to God in his baptism. For which cause also it is expedient that baptism be ministered in the vulgar tongue. Nevertheless, (if necessity so require), children may be baptized on any other day.

And note, That there shall be for every male child to be baptized, two godfathers and one godmother; and for every female, one godfather and two godmothers.

When there are children to be baptized, the parent shall give knowledge thereof over night, or in the morning before the beginning of morning prayer, to the Curate. And then the godfathers and godmothers, and the people with the children, must be ready at the font, either immediately after the last lesson at morning prayer, or else immediately after the last lesson at evening prayer, as the Curate by his discretion shall appoint. And the Priest coming to the font (which is then to be filled with pure water), and standing there, shall say,

Q. HATH this child been already baptized, or no?

If they answer *No*, then shall the Priest proceed as follows;

DEARLY beloved, forasmuch as all men are conceived and born in sin, and that our Saviour

Christ saith, none can enter into the kingdom of God, except he be regenerate and born anew of water and of the Holy Ghost; I beseech you to call upon God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that of his bounteous mercy he will grant *this child* that thing which by nature *he* cannot have, that *he* may be baptized with water and the Holy Ghost, and received into Christ's holy church, and be made a lively *member* of the same.

Then shall the Priest say,

Let us pray.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, who of thy great mercy didst save Noah and his family in the ark from perishing by water, and also didst safely lead the children of Israel thy people through the Red Sea, figuring thereby thy holy baptism; and, by the baptism of thy well beloved Son Jesus Christ in the river Jordan, didst sanctify water to the mystical washing away of sin; we beseech thee for thine infinite mercies, that thou wilt mercifully look upon *this child*; wash *him* and sanctify *him* with the Holy Ghost, that *he*, being delivered from thy wrath, may be received into the ark of Christ's church; and being steadfast in faith, joyful through hope, and rooted in charity, may so pass the waves of this troublesome world, that finally *he* may come to the land of everlasting life, there to reign with thee world without end, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

ALMIGHTY and immortal God, the aid of all that need, the helper of all that flee to thee for succour, the life of them that believe, and the resurrection of the dead; we call upon thee for *this infant*, that *he*, coming to thy holy baptism, may receive

remission of *his* sins by spiritual regeneration. Receive *him*, O Lord, as thou hast promised by thy well-beloved Son, saying, Ask, and ye shall have; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. So give now unto us that ask; let us that seek, find; open the gate unto us that knock; that *this infant* may enjoy the everlasting benediction of thy heavenly washing, and may come to the eternal kingdom which thou hast promised by Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest stand up, and shall say,

Hear the words of the Gospel written by St Mark, in the tenth chapter, at the thirteenth verse:

“THEY brought young children to Christ, that he should touch them; and his disciples rebuked those that brought them. But when Jesus saw it, he was much displeased, and said unto them, Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein. And he took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them.”

After the Gospel is read, the Minister shall make this brief exhortation upon the words of the Gospel.

BELoved, ye hear in this Gospel the words of our Saviour Christ, that he commanded the children to be brought unto him; how he blamed those that would have kept them from him; how he exhorted all men to follow their innocency. Ye perceive how by his outward gesture and deed he declared his good will towards them; for he embraced them in his arms, he laid his hands upon them, and blessed them.

Doubt ye not, therefore, but earnestly believe, that he will likewise favourably receive *this present infant*; that he will embrace *him* with the arms of his mercy; that he will give unto *him* the blessing of eternal life, and make *him partaker* of his everlasting kingdom. Wherefore we being thus persuaded of the good will of our heavenly Father towards *this infant*, declared by his Son Jesus Christ, and nothing doubting but that he favourably alloweth this charitable work of ours, in bringing *this infant* to his holy baptism, let us faithfully and devoutly give thanks unto him, and say,—

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, heavenly Father, we give thee humble thanks that thou hast vouchsafed to call us to the knowledge of thy grace and faith in thee: increase this knowledge, and confirm this faith in us evermore. Give thy Holy Spirit to *this infant*, that *he* may be born again, and be made an heir of everlasting salvation; through our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Spirit, now and for ever. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest speak unto the godfathers and godmothers in this wise:

DEARLY beloved, ye have brought *this child* here to be baptized; ye have prayed that our Lord Jesus Christ would vouchsafe to receive *him*, to release *him* of *his* sins, to sanctify *him* with the Holy Ghost, to give *him* the kingdom of heaven, and everlasting life. You have heard also, that our Lord Jesus Christ hath promised also in his gospel, to grant all these things that ye have prayed for; which promise he for his part will most surely keep and perform. Wherefore after this promise made by Christ, *this infant* must also faith-

fully, for *his* part, promise by you that are *his* sureties, (until *he* come of age to take it upon *himself*), that *he* will renounce the devil and all his works, and constantly believe God's holy word, and obediently keep his commandments.

I demand therefore,

Dost thou, in the name of this child, renounce the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the same, and the carnal desires of the flesh, so that thou wilt not follow nor be led by them?

Answ. I renounce them all.

Minister.

Dost thou believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth?

And in Jesus Christ his only begotten Son, our Lord? And that he was conceived by the Holy Ghost; born of the Virgin Mary; that he suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried; that he went down into hell, and also did rise again the third day; that he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; and from thence shall come again, at the end of the world, to judge the quick and the dead?

And dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy Catholic church; the communion of saints; the remission of sins; the resurrection of the flesh; and everlasting life after death?

Answ. All this I steadfastly believe.

Minister.

WILT thou then be baptized in this faith?

Answ. This is my desire.

Minister.

WILT thou then obediently keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of thy life?

Ans. I will.

Then the Priest shall say,

O MERCIFUL God, grant that the old Adam in *this child* may be so buried, that the new man may be raised up in *him*. *Amen.*

Grant that all carnal affections may die in *him*, and that all things belonging to the spirit may live and grow in *him*. *Amen.*

Grant that *he* may have power and strength to have victory, and to triumph against the devil, the world, and the flesh. *Amen.*

Grant that whosoever is here dedicated to thee by our office and ministry, may also be endued with heavenly virtues, and everlastingly rewarded, through thy mercy, O blessed Lord God, who dost live and govern all things, world without end. *Amen.*

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, whose most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, for the forgiveness of our sins, did shed out of his most precious side both water and blood, and gave commandment to his disciples, that they should go and teach all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; regard, we beseech thee, the supplications of thy congregation; sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin; and grant that *this child* now to be baptized therein, may receive the fulness of thy grace, and ever remain in the number of thy faithful and elect children; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then the Priest shall take the Child into his hands, and shall say to the godfathers and godmothers,

Name this child.

And then naming it after them (if they shall certify him that the child may well endure it), he shall dip it in the water discreetly and warily, saying,

N., I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. *Amen.*

But if they certify that the Child is weak, it shall suffice to pour water upon it, saying the aforesaid words,

N., I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest say,

WE receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock,* and do sign *him* with the sign of the cross, in token that hereafter *he* shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under his banner, against sin, the world, and the devil, and to continue Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto *his* life's end. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest say,

SEEING now, dearly beloved brethren, that *this child* is regenerate and grafted into the body of Christ's church, let us give thanks unto Almighty God for these benefits, and with one accord make our prayers unto him, that *this child* may lead the rest of *his* life according to this beginning.

Then shall be said, all kneeling,

OUR Father, which art in heaven; Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be

* Here the Priest shall make a cross upon the Child's forehead.

done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. *Amen.*

Then shall the Priest say,

WE yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate *this infant* with thy Holy Spirit, to receive *him* for thine own *child* by adoption, and to incorporate *him* into thy holy church. And we humbly beseech thee to grant, that *he*, being dead unto sin, and living unto righteousness, and being buried with Christ in his death, may crucify the old man, and utterly abolish the whole body of sin: and that as *he is* made *partaker* of the death of thy Son, *he* may also be *partaker* of his resurrection; so that finally, with the residue of thy holy church, *he* may be an *inheritor* of thine everlasting kingdom, through Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then, all standing up, the Priest shall say to the godfathers and godmothers this exhortation following:

FORASMUCH as *this child* hath promised by you *his* sureties to renounce the devil and all his works, to believe in God, and to serve Him; ye must remember that it is your parts and duties to see that *this infant* be taught, so soon as *he* shall be able to learn, what a solemn vow, promise, and profession, *he hath* here made by you. And that *he* may know these things the better, ye shall call upon *him* to hear sermons; and chiefly ye shall provide that *he* may learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in the vulgar tongue, and all other things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health;

and that *this child* may be virtuously brought up to lead a godly and Christian life; remembering always, that baptism doth represent unto us our profession; which is, to follow the example of our Saviour Christ, and to be made like unto him; that as he died, and rose again, for us; so should we, who are baptized, die from sin, and rise again unto righteousness, continually mortifying all our evil and corrupt affections, and daily proceeding in all virtue and godliness of living.

Then shall he add, and say,

YE are to take care that *this child* be brought to the bishop, to be confirmed by him, so soon as *he* can say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in the vulgar tongue, and be further instructed in the Church Catechism set forth for that purpose.

It is certain by God's word, that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved.

To take away all scruple concerning the use of the sign of the cross in baptism; the true explication thereof, and the just reasons for the retaining of it, may be seen in the XXXth Canon, first published in the year MDCIV.

THE MINISTRATION

OF

PRIVATE BAPTISM OF CHILDREN

IN HOUSES.

The Curate of the parish shall often admonish the people, that they defer not the baptism of their children longer than the first or second Sunday next after their birth, or other holy day falling between, unless upon a great and reasonable cause, to be approved by the Curate.

And also they shall warn them that, without like great cause and necessity, they procure not their children to be baptized at home in their houses. But when need shall compel them so to do, then Baptism shall be administered on this fashion :

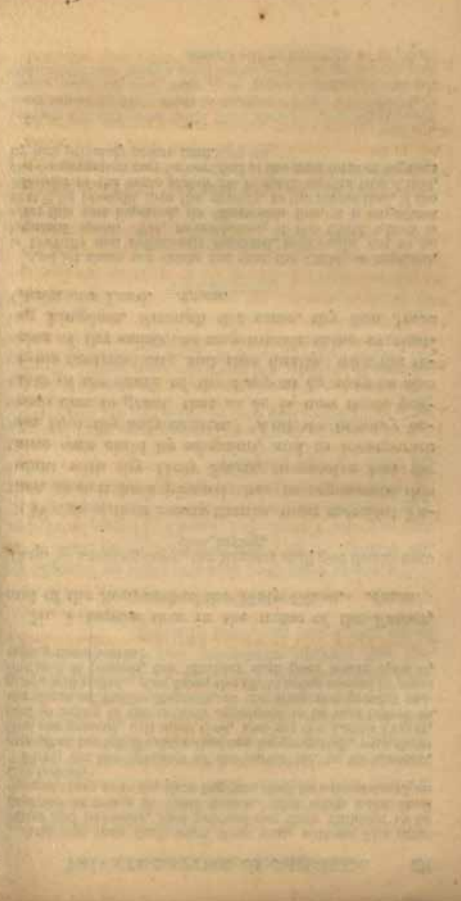
First; let the Minister of the parish (or, in his absence, any other lawful Minister that can be procured), with them that are present, call upon God, and say the Lord's Prayer, and so many of the collects appointed to be said before in the form of Public Baptism, as the time and present exigence will suffer. And then, the Child being named by some one that is present, the Minister shall pour water upon it, saying these words :

N., I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. *Amen.*

Then, all kneeling down, the Minister shall give thanks unto God, saying,

WE yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant with thy Holy Spirit, to receive *him* for thine own child by adoption, and to incorporate *him* into thy holy church. And we humbly beseech thee to grant, that as *he* is now made partaker of the death of thy Son, so *he* may be also of his resurrection; and that finally, with the residue of thy saints, *he* may inherit thine everlasting kingdom, through the same, thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

And let them not doubt but that the Child, so baptized, is lawfully and sufficiently baptized, and ought not to be baptized again. Yet, nevertheless, if the Child which is after this sort baptized, do afterwards live, it is expedient that it be brought into the church, to the intent that, if the Minister of the same parish did himself baptize that Child, the congregation may be certified of the true form of baptism by him privately before used.



DEFENCE

OF THE

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE PROPRIETY OF REQUIRING A
 SUBSCRIPTION TO ARTICLES OF FAITH, IN REPLY TO
 A LATE ANSWER FROM THE CLARENDON PRESS.

THE fair way of conducting a dispute, is to exhibit one by one the arguments of your opponent, and with each argument, the precise and specific answer you are able to give it. If this method be not so common, nor found so convenient, as might be expected, the reason is, because it suits not always with the designs of a writer, which are no more perhaps than to make a *book*; to confound some arguments, and to keep others out of sight; to leave what is called an impression upon the reader, without any care to inform him of the proofs or principles by which his opinion should be governed. With such views it may be consistent to dispatch objections, by observing of some "that they are old," and therefore, like certain drugs, have lost, we may suppose, their strength; of others, that "they have long since received an answer;" which implies, to be sure, a confutation: to attack straggling remarks, and decline the main reasoning, as "mere declamation;" to pass by one passage because it is "long-winded," another because the answerer "has neither leisure nor

inclination to enter into the discussion of it;" to produce extracts and quotations, which taken alone, imperfectly, if at all, express their author's meaning; to dismiss a stubborn difficulty with a "reference," which ten to one the reader never looks at; and, lastly, in order to give the whole a certain fashionable air of candour and moderation, to make a concession* or two which nobody thanks him for, or yield up a few points which it is no longer any credit to maintain.

How far the writer with whom we have to do is concerned in this description, his readers will judge; he shall receive, however, from us, that justice which he has not shown the author of the "Considerations," to have his arguments fully and distinctly stated and examined.

After complaining, as is usual on these occasions, of disappointment and dissatisfaction; the answerer sets out with an argument which comprises, we are told, in a "narrow compass," the whole merits of the question betwixt us; and which is neither more nor less than this, that "it is necessary that those who are to be ordained teachers in the church should be sound in the faith, and consequently that they should give to those who ordain them some proof and assurance that they are so, and that the method of this proof should be settled by public authority." Now the perfection of this sort of reasoning is, that it comes as well from the mouth of the pope's professor of divinity in the university of Bologna, as from the Clarendon press. A church has only, with our author, to call her creed the "faithful word," and it follows from Scripture that "we must hold it fast." Her dissatisfied sons, let her only deno-

* Such as, that "if people keep their opinions to themselves, no man will hurt them," and the like. Answer, p. 45.

minate as he does,* “vain talkers and deceivers,” and St Paul himself commands us to “stop their mouths.” Every one that questions or opposes her decisions she pronounces, with him, a heretic, and “a man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject.” In like manner, calling her tenets “sound doctrine,” or taking it for granted that they are so, (which the conclave at Rome can do as well as the convocation at London), and “soundness in the faith being a necessary qualification in a Christian teacher,” there is no avoiding the conclusion, that every “Christian teacher” (in, and out of the church too, if you can catch him, “soundness in the faith” being alike “necessary” in all) must have these tenets strapped about his neck by oaths and subscriptions. An argument which thus fights in any cause, or on either side, deserves no quarter. I have said, that this reasoning, and these applications of Scripture, are equally competent to the defenders of popery—they are more so. The popes, when they assumed the power of the apostles, laid claim also to their infallibility; and in this they were consistent. Protestant churches renounce with all their might this infallibility, whilst they apply to themselves every expression that describes it, and will not part with a jot of the authority which is built upon it. But to return to the terms of the argument. “Is it necessary that a Christian teacher should be sound in the faith?”

1. Not in nine instances out of ten to which the test is now extended. Nor,

2. If it were, is this the way to make him so; there being as little probability that the determinations of a set of men whose good fortune had advanced them to high stations in the church should

be right, as the conclusions of private inquirers. Nor,

3. Were they actually right, is it possible to conceive how they can, upon this author's principles, produce the effect contended for, since "we set them not up as a rule of faith;" * since "they do not decide matters for us, nor bind them upon us;" since "they tie no man up from altering his opinion," are "no ways inconsistent with the right of private judgment," are, in a word, of no more authority than an old sermon; nor, consequently, much more effectual, either for the producing or securing of "soundness in the faith."

The answerer, not trusting altogether to the strength of his "argument," endeavours next to avail himself of a "concession" which he has gained, he imagines, from his adversary, and which he is pleased to look upon "as in a manner giving up the main point." Our business, therefore, will be to show what this concession, as he calls it, amounts to, and wherein it differs from the "main point," the requisition of subscription to established formularies. It is objected to the Articles of the church of England, that they are at variance with the actual opinions both of the governors and members of that church; so much so, that the men who most faithfully and explicitly maintain these articles, get persecuted for their singularity, excluded from orders, driven from universities, and are compelled to preach the established religion in fields and conventicles. Now this objection, which must cleave to every *fixed* formulary, might, we conceive, be removed, if a test was substituted, supposing any test to be insisted upon, which could adapt itself to the opinions, and keep pace with the improvements, of each succeed-

* Pages 10, 11. 13. 29.

ing age. This, in some measure, would be the case, if the governors of the church for the time being, were authorized to receive from candidates for orders declarations of their religious principles in their own words, and allowed, at their discretion, to admit them into the ministry. Bishops being taken out of the lump of the community, will generally be of the same leaven, and partake both of the opinions and moderation of the times they live in. This is the most that can be made of the concession; and how this gives up the "main point," or indeed any thing, it is not easy to discover.

The next paragraph of the Answer attacks the account which the Considerations have given of the "rise" and "progress" of the custom in question; "the reverse of which," the answerer tells us, "is the truth," and by way of proof gives his own account of the matter, which, so far from being the "reverse," is in effect, or very nearly, the same.

The reader shall see the two accounts side by side, and is desired to judge whether the author of the Considerations, so far from being confuted in this point, is even contradicted.

"The protestants, aware how greatly they were misrepresented and abused, began to think it necessary to repel the various calumnies that had been cast upon them, by setting forth some public Constitutions or Confessions, as a declaration of their faith and worship. And to make such declaration still more authentic, they likewise engaged themselves in a mutual bond of conformity to all these constitutions." Considerations, page 6.

"As some who set up for reformers had broached many erroneous and pestilent doctrines; the Lutherans first, and after their example, other protestant churches, thought fit to draw up Confessions of Faith. And this they did partly to acquit themselves of the scandal of abetting wild and seditious enthusiasts, and declaring what were their real doctrines; partly" (observe how tenderly this is introduced) "to prevent such enthusiasts on the one hand, and popish emissaries on the other, from intruding themselves into the ministry." Answer, pages 6, 7.

Now, were the "origin" of a custom of more consequence than it is to a question concerning the "propriety" of it, can any one doubt who credits even the answerer's own account, but that the motive assigned in the Considerations both did exist, and was the principal motive? There is one account, indeed, of the "origin" of this custom, which, were it true, would directly concern the question. "This practice," our author tells us in another part of his Answer,* "is said to be derived from the apostles themselves." I care not what "is said." It is impossible that the practice complained of, the imposition of articles of faith by "fallible" men, could originate from the "apostles," who, under the direction by which they acted, were "infallible."†

But this practice, from whatever "root of bitterness" it sprung, has been one of the chief causes, we assert, of the divisions and distresses which we

* Page 19.

† How a creed is to be made, as the Considerations recommend, in which all parties shall agree, our author cannot understand. I will tell him how; by adhering to Scripture terms: and this will suit the best idea of a Creed (a summary or compendium of a larger volume), and the only fair purpose of one, *instruction*.

It is observed in the Considerations, that the multiplicity of the propositions contained in the 39 Articles is alone sufficient to shew the impossibility of that consent which the church imposes and requires.—Now, what would any man guess is the answer to this? Why, "that there are no less than three propositions in the very first verse of St John's Gospel." Had there been "three thousand" it would have been nothing to the purpose: where propositions are received upon the authority of the proposer, it matters not how many of them there are; the doubt is not increased with the number; the same reason which establishes one, establishes all. But is this the case with a system of propositions which derives no evidence from the proposer? which must each stand upon its own separate and intrinsic proof?—We thought it necessary to oppose note to note in the place in which we found it; though neither here nor in the Answer is it much connected with the text.

read of in ecclesiastical history. The matter of fact our author does not, because he cannot, deny. He rather chooses to insinuate that "such divisions and disturbances were not owing to the governors of the church, but to the perverse disputings of heretics and schismatics." He *must* know that there is oppression as well as resistance, provocation as well as resentment, abuse of power as well as opposition to it: and it is too much to take for granted, without one syllable of proof, that those in possession of power have been always in the right, and those who withstood them in the wrong. "Divisions" and "disturbances" have in fact, and in all ages, arisen on this account, and it is a poor shift to say, because it may always be said, that such only are chargeable with these mischiefs as refused to submit to whatever their superiors thought proper to impose.*

Nor is it much better when he tells us, "that these subtillties of metaphysical debate, which we complain of in our Articles, were introduced by the several heretics of those times;" especially as it is evident that, whoever first introduced, it is the governors of the church who still continue them.

But our author cannot conceive what all this, as relating to "creeds" only and "confessions," to the "terms of communion" rather than of admission into the ministry, is to the purpose. Will he

* The following sentiment of our author is too curious to be omitted: "Possibly too he (the author of the Considerations) may think that insurrections and rebellions in the state are not owing to the unruliness of factious subjects, but to kings and rulers: but most reasonable men, I believe, will think otherwise."—A common reader may think this observation of the answerer a little beside the question. But the answerer may say, with Cicero and Dr King, "Suscepto negotio, majus mihi quiddam proposui, in quo meam in Republicam voluntatem populus perspicere posset."—Motto to Dr K.'s Oration in 1749.

then give up "creeds" and "confessions?" or will his church thank him for it if he does? a church which, by transfusing the substance of her Articles into the form of her public worship, has in effect made the "terms of communion" and of admission into the ministry the same. This question, like every other, however naked you may strip it by abstraction, must always be considered with a reference to the practice you wish to reform.

The author of the considerations contends very properly, that it is one of the first duties a Christian owes to his Master "to keep his mind open and unbiassed" in religious inquiries. Can a man be said to do this, who must bring himself to assent to opinions proposed by another? who enters into a profession where both his subsistence and success depend upon his continuance in a particular persuasion? In answer to this we are informed, that these Articles are no "rule of faith;" (what! not to those who subscribe them?) that "the church deprives no man of his right of private judgment," (she cannot—she hangs, however, a dead weight upon it); that it is "a very unfair state of the case, to call subscription a declaration of our full and final persuasion in matters of faith;" though if it be not a "full" persuasion, what is it? and ten to one it will be "final," when such consequences attend a change. That "no man is hereby tied up from impartially examining the word of God," *i. e.* with the "impartiality" of a man who must "eat" or "starve," according as the examination turns out; an "impartiality" so suspected, that a court of justice would not receive his evidence under half of the same influence: "nor from altering his opinion if he finds reason so to do;" which few, I conceive, will "find," when the alteration must cost them so dear. If

one could give credit to our author in what he says here, and in some other passages of his Answer, one would suppose that, in his judgment at least, subscription restrained no man from adopting what opinion he pleased, provided "he does not think himself bound openly to maintain it:" that "men may retain their preferments, if they will but keep their opinions to themselves." If this be what the church of England means, let her say so. This is indeed what our author admits here, and yet, from the outcry he has afterwards raised against all who continue in the church whilst they dissent from her Articles, one would not suppose there was a pardon left for those, who "keep even to themselves an opinion" inconsistent with any one proposition they have subscribed. The fact is, the gentleman has either shifted his opinion in the course of writing the Answer, or had put down these assertions, not expecting that he should have occasion afterwards to contradict them.

It seemed to add strength to this objection, that the judgment of most thinking men being in a progressive state, their opinions of course must many of them change; the evil and iniquity of which the answerer sets forth with great pleasantry, but has forgot at the same time to give us any remedy for the misfortune; except the old woman's receipt, to leave off thinking for fear of thinking wrong.

But our church "preaches," it seems, "no other gospel than that which she received," nor propounds any other Articles for gospel," nor "fixes any standards or criterions of faith, separate from this gospel; and so she herself fully declares;" and we are to take her "word" for it, when the very complaint is, that she has never "acted" up to this declaration, but in direct contradiction to it. When she puts forth a system of propositions

conceived in a new dialect, and in unscriptural terms; when she ascribes to these the same evidence and certainty as to Scripture itself, or decrees and acts as if they were equally evident and certain; she incurs, we apprehend, the charge which these expressions imply. She claims indeed "authority in controversies of faith," but "only so far," says her apologist, as "to judge for herself what should be her own terms of communion, and what qualifications she shall require in her own ministers." All which, in plainer English, comes to this; that two or three men, betwixt two and three centuries ago, fixed a multitude of obscure and dubious propositions, which many millions after must bring themselves to believe, before they be permitted to share in the provision which the state has made (and to which all of every sect contribute) for regular opportunities of public worship, and the giving and receiving of public instruction. And this our author calls the magistrate's "judging for himself,"* and exercising the "same right as all other persons have to judge for themselves." For the reasonableness of it, however, he has nothing to offer, but that it "is no more than what other churches, popish" too, to strengthen the argument, "as well as protestant," have done before. He might have added, seeing "custom" is to determine the matter, that it has been "customary" too from early ages for Christians to anathematize and burn each other for difference of opinion in some points of faith, and for difference of practice in some points of ceremony.

We now accompany the learned answerer to what he is pleased to call the "main question," and which he is so much "puzzled to keep in

sight." The argument* in favour of subscription, and the arbitrary exclusion of men from the church or ministry, drawn from the nature of a society and the rights incidental to society, our author resigns to its fate, and to the answer which has been given it in the Considerations. He contends only, that the conduct of the apostles in admitting the eunuch and the centurion upon a general profession of their faith in Christ, "has nothing to do with the case of subscription," as they were admitted, not into the ministry, but only the communion of the church. Now, in the first place, suppose the eunuch or centurion had taken upon them, as probably they did, to teach Christianity, would they have been inhibited by the apostles as not having given sufficient "proof or assurance of their soundness in the faith?" And if not, what becomes of the necessity of such "assurances from a Christian teacher?" In the second place, suppose you consider the church as one society, and its teachers as another, is it probable that those who were so tender in keeping any one out of the first, would have thought the argument we were encountering, or any thing else, a pretence for a right of arbitrary exclusion from the latter? The case of Cornelius, says our author, is "extraordinary; while St Peter was preaching to him, the Holy Ghost fell upon all them which heard the word." And is not this author ashamed to own, that any are excluded from the communion, or even ministry of the church, who would have been entitled by their faith "to the gifts of the Holy Ghost?"

* What would any man in his wits think of this argument, if upon the strength of it they were to make a law, that none but red-haired people should be admitted into orders, or even into churches.

The answerer in the next paragraph acknowledges, that to admit converts into the church upon this one article of faith, that Jesus is the Messiah, was indeed the practice of the apostles; * but then he tells us, what must sound a little odd to a Christian ear, and comes the more awkwardly from this author, whom, if you turn over a page, you will find quoting the "practice of the apostles" with a vengeance; he tells us, I say, "that no argument can be drawn from the practice of the apostles." † Now with regard to the "practice of the apostles," and the application of it to ourselves, the case seems to be this (the very reverse, observe, of our author's rule), that we are always bound not "to go beyond" the precedent, though, for want of the same authority, we may not always "advance up to it." It surely at least becomes us to be cautious of "proceeding," where they, in the plenitude of their commission, thought proper to "stop."

It is alleged in the Considerations, that annexing emoluments to the profession of particular opinions, is a strong and dangerous inducement to prevarication; and the danger is the greater, as prevarication in one instance has a tendency to re-

* Although the question, whether to believe that Jesus is the Messiah be not the only necessary article of faith, is a question in which we have no concern; our author, with the best inclination in the world, not being able to fix such an opinion upon us; yet I cannot help observing, that he has put two of the oddest constructions upon the terms of the propositions that ever entered into the fancy of man to conceive. One is, which you may be sure he intends for his adversaries, ‡ "that it is necessary to believe Jesus to be a true prophet, yet not necessary to believe one doctrine that he has taught." The other, which he means for himself, is, that "by the Messiah we are to understand the only begotten Son of God, anointed, and sent by the Father to make propitiation for the sins of the whole world."

† Page 16.

‡ Page 16.

lax the most sacred obligations, and make way for perfidy in every other. But "this," it seems, "has nothing to do with the question." * Why, it is the very question, Whether the magistrate ought to confine the provision he makes for religion to those who assent, or declare their assent, to a particular system of controverted divinity; and this is one direct objection against it. But "must the magistrate then," exclaims our alarmed adversary, "establish no tithes, no rich benefices, no dignities, or bishoprics?" As many as he pleases, only let him not convert them into snares and traps by idle and unnecessary conditions. "But must he admit all persons indiscriminately to these advantages?" The author of the Considerations has told him, that he may require conformity to the liturgy, rites, and offices he shall prescribe; he may trust his officers with a discretion as to the religious principles of candidates for orders, similar to what they now exercise with regard to their qualifications; he may censure extravagant preaching when it "appears;" precautions surely sufficient either to keep the "wildest sectaries" out of the church, or prevent their doing any mischief if they get in. The exclusion of papists is a separate consideration. The laws against popery, as far as they are justifiable, proceed upon principles with which the author of the Considerations has nothing to do. Where, from the particular circumstances of a country, attachments and dispositions hostile and dangerous to the state, are accidentally or otherwise connected with certain opinions in religion, it may be necessary to lay encumbrances and restraints upon the profession or propagation of such opinions. Where a great part of any sect or reli-

gious order of men are enemies to the constitution, and you have no way of distinguishing those who are not so, it is right perhaps to fence the whole order out of your civil and religious establishment: it is the right at least of self-defence, and of extreme necessity. But even this is not on account of the religious opinions themselves, but as they are probable marks, and the only marks you have, of designs and principles which it is necessary to disarm. I would observe, however, that in proportion as this connexion between the civil and religious principles of the papists is dissolved, in the same proportion ought the state to mitigate the hardships and relax the restraints to which they are made subject.

If we complain of severities, of pains and penalties, the answerer cannot discover "whom or what we mean:" and lest his reader should, by a figure extremely well known in the craft of controversy, he proposes a string of questions in the person of his adversary, to which he gives his own peremptory and definitive NO.* We will take a method, not altogether so compendious, but, we trust, somewhat more satisfactory. We will repeat the same questions, and let the church and state answer for themselves. First then,

"Does our church or our government inflict any corporal punishment, or levy any fines or penalties on those who will not comply with the terms of her communion?"—"Be it enacted, that all and every person or persons that shall neglect or refuse to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the usage of the Church of England, and yet, after such neglect or refusal, shall execute any office or offices, civil or military, after the times be

expired wherein he or they ought to have taken the same, shall, upon conviction thereof, besides the loss of the office, forfeit the sum of five hundred pounds :” * Stat. 25. Car. II. c. 2. Now, although starving be no “corporal punishment,” nor the loss of all a man has a “fine,” or “penalty,” yet depriving men of the common benefits of society, and rights even of lay subjects, because “they will not comply with the terms of church communion,” is a “severity” that might have deserved from our author some other apology besides the mere suppression of the fact.

2. “Doth it deny them the right or privilege of worshipping God in their own way?”—“Whoever shall take upon him to preach, or teach, in any meeting, assembly, or conventicle, and shall thereof be convicted, shall forfeit for the first offence twenty pounds, and for every other offence forty pounds :” Stat. 22. Car. II. c. 1.—“No person shall presume to consecrate or administer the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper before he be ordained priest, after the manner of the church of England, on pain of forfeiting one hundred pounds for every such offence :” Stat. 13. and 14. Car. II. c. 4. These laws are in full force against all who do not subscribe to the 39 Articles of the church of England, except the 34th, 35th, and 36th, and part of the 20th Article.

3. “Are men denied the liberty of free debate?”—“If any person, having been educated in, or at any time having made profession of, the Christian faith within the realm, shall, by writing, printing, teaching, or advised speaking, deny any one of the persons of the Holy Trinity to be God,

* This and the Corporation Act, an otherwise excellent person calls, the laws which secure both our civil and religious liberties. Blackstone’s Comm. vol. iv. p. 432.

—he shall for the first offence be disabled to hold any office or employment, or any profit appertaining thereto; for the second offence, shall be disabled to prosecute any action or information in any court of law or equity, or to be guardian of any child, or executor or administrator of any person, or capable of any legacy or deed of gift, or to bear any office for ever within this realm, and shall also suffer imprisonment for the space of three years from the time of such conviction :” Stat. 9. & 10. Will. III. c. 52.

It has been thought to detract considerably from the pretended use of these subscriptions, that they excluded none but the conscientious; a species of men more wanted, we conceive, than formidable to any religious establishment. This objection applies equally, says our answerer,* to the “oaths of allegiance and supremacy;” and, so far as it does apply, it ought to be attended to; and the truth is, these oaths might in many instances be spared, without either danger or detriment to the community. There is, however, an essential difference between the two cases: a scruple concerning the oath of allegiance implies principles which may excite to acts of hostility against the state; a scruple about the truth of the Articles, implies no such thing.†

Our author, good man, “is well persuaded, that the generality of the clergy, when they offer themselves for ordination, consider seriously what office they take upon them, and firmly believe what they subscribe to.” I am persuaded much otherwise. But as this is a “fact,” the reader, if he be wise,

* Page 22.

† The answerer might have found a parallel below in some other oaths, which he does not care to speak of, viz. the case of college statutes, page 34. of the Considerations.

will neither take the answerer's word for it nor mine; but form his own judgment from his own observation. Bishop Burnet complained above sixty years ago, that "the greater part," even then, "subscribed the Articles without ever examining them,* and others did it because they must do it." Is it probable, that, in point either of seriousness or orthodoxy, the clergy are much mended since?

The pleas offered in support of this practice of subscription come next to be considered. "One of these is drawn from the sacred writings being capable of such a variety of senses, that men of widely different persuasions shelter themselves under the same forms of expression." Our author, after quarrelling with this representation of the plea, gives his readers, in its stead, a long quotation from the archdeacon of Oxford's Charge.† What he is to gain by the change, or the quotation, I cannot perceive, as the same 1st query still recurs, "Is it true, that the Scriptures are in reality so differently interpreted in points of real consequence?" In answer to which, the archdeacon of Oxford, we are told, "has shown that points of real consequence are differently interpreted," and "the plainest texts explained away," and has "instanced in the first chapter of St John's Gospel." The plea, we conceive, is not much indebted to the archdeacon of Oxford. But be these Scriptures interpreted as they will, each man has still a right to interpret them for himself. The Church of Rome, who always pushed her conclusions with a courage and consistency unknown to the timid patrons of protestant imposition, saw immediately,

* Burnet's History of his Own Times. Conclusion.

† See this whole Charge answered in the London Chronicle by Priscilla. The Lord hath sold Sisera into the hand of a woman!

that as the laity had no right to interpret the Scriptures, they could have no occasion to read them, and therefore very properly locked them up from the intrusion of popular curiosity. Our author cites the above mentioned query from the Considerations as the *first* query, which would lead his reader to expect a *second*. The reader, however, may seek that second for himself, the answerer is not obliged to produce it—it stands thus: Suppose the Scriptures thus variously interpreted, does subscription mend the matter? The reader too is left to find an answer for himself.

The next, the strongest, the only tolerable plea for subscription is, “that all sorts of pestilent heresies might be taught from the pulpit, if no such restraint as this was laid upon the preacher.”* How far it is probable that this would be the consequence of removing the subscription, and by what other means it might be guarded against, has been hinted already, and will again be considered in another place. We will here only take notice of one particular expedient suggested in the Considerations, and which has often indeed elsewhere been proposed, namely, “that the church, instead of requiring subscription beforehand, to the present, or to any other Articles of faith, might censure her clergy afterwards, if they opposed or vilified them in their preaching.” The advantage of which scheme above the present is manifest, if it was only for this reason, that you distress and corrupt thousands now, for one that you would ever have occasion to punish. Our author, nevertheless, “is humbly of opinion, that it is much better to take proper precautions beforehand:” he must, with all his “humility,” know, that when it

has been proposed to take proper precautions of the press, by subjecting authors to an *imprimatur* before publication, instead of punishment after it; the proposal has been resented, as an open attack upon the rights and interests of mankind. The common sense and spirit of the nation could see and feel this distinction and the importance of it, in the case of publishers; and why preachers should be left in a worse situation, it is not very easy to say.

The example of the Arminian confession is, upon this occasion, recommended by the author of the Considerations; a confession which was compiled for the edification and instruction of the members of that church, without peremptorily insisting upon any one's assent to it. But it is the misfortune of the Arminian to be no national church—the misfortune, alas! of Christianity herself in her purest period; when she was under the government of the apostles; without alliance with the states of this world; when she composed, nevertheless, a church as real, we conceive, and as respectable, as any national church that has existed since.

Our author, who can much sooner make a distinction than see one, does not comprehend, it seems, any difference between confessions of faith and preaching, as to the use of unscriptural terms. Did a preacher, when he had finished his sermon, call upon his congregation to subscribe their names and assent to it, or never to come more within the doors of his church; there would, indeed, be some sort of resemblance betwixt the two cases: but as the hearers are at liberty to believe preachers or no, as they see, or he produces, reasons for what he says; there can be no harm, and there is a mani-

fest utility, in trusting him with the liberty of explaining his own meaning in his own terms.

We now come, and with the tenderest regret, to the case of those who continue in the church without being able to reconcile to their belief every proposition imposed upon them by subscription; over whose distress our author is pleased to indulge a wanton and ungenerous triumph. They had presumed, it seems, that it was some apology for their conduct, that they sincerely laboured to render to religion their best services, and thought their present stations the fairest opportunities of performing it. This may not, perhaps, amount to a complete vindication; it certainly does not fully satisfy even their own scruples: else where would be the cause of complaint? What need of relief, or what reason for their petitions? It might have been enough, however, to have exempted them from being absurdly and indecently compared with faithless hypocrites, with Papists, and Jesuits, who, for other purposes, and with even opposite designs, are supposed to creep into the church through the same door. For the fullest and fairest representation of their case, I refer our author to the excellent Hoadly; or, as Hoadly possibly may be no book in our author's library, will it provoke his "raillery" to ask, what he thinks might be the consequence, if all were at once to withdraw themselves from the church who were dissatisfied with her doctrines? Might not the church lose, what she can ill spare, the service of many able and industrious ministers? Would those she retained, be such as acquiesced in her decisions from inquiry and conviction? Would not many or most of them be those who keep out of the way of religious scruples by lives of secularity and voluptuousness? by mixing with the crowd in the most eager of

their pursuits after pleasure or advantage?—One word with the answerer before we part upon this head. Whence all this great inquisitiveness, this solicitude to be acquainted with the person, the opinions, and associates of his adversary? Whence that impertinent wish that he had been “more explicit in particular with regard to the doctrine of the Trinity?” Is it out of a pious desire to fasten some heresy, or the imputation of it, upon him? Is he “called out of the clouds” to be committed to the flames?*

The 40th page of the Answer introduces a paragraph of considerable length, the sum, however, and substance of which is this—that if subscription to articles of faith were removed, confusion would ensue; the people would be distracted with the disputes of their teachers, and the pulpits filled with controversy and contradiction. Upon this “fact” we join issue, and the more readily as this is a sort of reasoning we all understand. The extent of the legislator’s right may be an abstruse inquiry; but whether a law does more good or harm, is a plain question which every man can ask. Now, that distressing many of the clergy, and corrupting others; that keeping out of churches good Christians and faithful citizens; that making parties in the state, by giving occasion to sects

* We were unwilling to decline the defence of the persons here described, though the expression in the Considerations which brought on the attack, manifestly related to a different subject. The author of the Considerations speaks of “being bound” to “keep up” these forms until relieved by proper authority; of “ministerially” complying with what we are not able to remove: alluding, no doubt, to the case of Church Governors, who are the instruments of imposing a subscription which they may disapprove. But the answerer, taking it for granted, that “ministerially complying” meant the compliance of ministers, *i. e.* of clergymen officiating in their functions, has, by a quibble, or a blunder, transferred the passage to a sense for which it was not intended.

and separations in religion; that these are inconveniencies, no man in his senses will deny. The question therefore is, what advantage do you find in the opposite scale to balance these inconveniencies? The simple advantage pretended is, that you hereby prevent "yrrangling" and contention in the pulpit. Now, in the first place, I observe, that allowing this evil to be as grievous and as certain as you please, the most that can be necessary for the prevention of it is, to enjoin your preachers as to such points, silence and neutrality. In the next place, I am convinced that the danger is greatly magnified. We hear little of these points at present in our churches and public teaching, and it is not probable that leaving them at large would elevate them into more importance, or make it more worth men's while to quarrel about them. They would sleep in the same grave with many other questions, of equal importance with themselves, or sink back into their proper place, into topics of speculation, or matters of debate from the press. None but men of some reflection would be forward to engage in such subjects, and the least reflection would teach a man that preaching is not the proper vehicle of controversy. Even at present, says our author, "we speak and write what we please with impunity." And where is the mischief? or what worse could ensue if subscription were removed? Nor can I discover any thing in the disposition of the petitioning clergy that need alarm our apprehensions. If they are impatient under the yoke, it is not from a desire to hold forth their opinions to their congregations, but that they may be at liberty to entertain themselves, without offence to their consciences, or ruin to their fortunes.

Our author has added, by way of make-weight to his argument, "that many common Christians," he believes, "would be greatly scandalized if you take away their creeds and catechisms, and strike out of the liturgy such things as they have always esteemed essential."* Whatever reason there may be for this belief at present, there certainly was much greater at the Reformation, as the Popish ritual, which was then "taken away," had a fascination and antiquity which ours cannot pretend to. Many were probably "scandalized" at parting with their beads and their mass-books, that lived afterwards to thank those who taught them better things. Reflection, we hope, in some, and time, we are sure, in all, will reconcile men to alterations established in reason. If there be any danger, it is from some of the clergy, who, with the answerer, would rather suffer the "vineyard" to be overgrown with "weeds," than "stir the ground," or, what is worse, call these weeds "the fairest flowers in the garden." Such might be ready enough to raise a hue and cry against all innovators in religion, as "overturners of churches" and spoilers of temples.

But the cause which of all others stood most in the way of the late petitions for relief, was an apprehension that religious institutions cannot be disturbed without awakening animosities and dissensions in the state, of which no man knows the consequence. Touch but religion, we are told, and it bursts forth into a flame. Civil distractions may be composed by fortitude and perseverance, but neither reason nor authority can controul, there is neither charm nor drug which will assuage, the passions of mankind, when called forth

in the cause and to the battles of religion. We were concerned to hear this language from some who, in other instances, have manifested a constancy and resolution which no confusion, nor ill aspect of public affairs, could intimidate. After all, is there any real foundation for these terrors? Is not this whole danger, like the lion of the slothful, the creature of our fears, and the excuse of indolence? Was it proposed to make articles instead of removing them, there would be room for the objection. But it is obvious that subscription to the 39 Articles might be altered or withdrawn upon general principles of justice and expediency, without reviving one religious controversy, or calling into dispute a single proposition they contain. Who should excite disturbances? Those who are relieved will not; and, unless subscription were like a tax, which, being taken from one, must be laid with additional weight upon another, is it probable that any will complain that they are oppressed, because their brethren are relieved? Or that those who are "so strong in the faith" will refuse to "bear with the infirmities of the weak?" The few who upon principles of this sort opposed the application of the Dissenters, were repulsed from parliament with disdain, even by those who were no friends to the application itself.

The question concerning the object of worship is attended, I confess, with difficulty: it seems almost directly to divide the worshippers. But let the church pare down her excrescences till she comes to this question; let her discharge from her liturgy controversies unconnected with devotion; let her try what may be done for all sides, by worshipping God in that generality* of expres-

* If a Christian can think it an intolerable thing to worship one God through one mediator Jesus Christ, in company

sion in which he himself has left some points; let her dismiss many of her Articles, and convert those which she retains into terms of peace; let her recall the terrors she suspended over freedom of inquiry; let the toleration she allows to dissenters be made "absolute;" let her invite men to search the Scriptures; let her governors encourage the studious and learned of all persuasions:—Let her do this—and she will be secure of the thanks of her own clergy, and what is more, of their sincerity. A greater consent may grow out of inquiry than many at present are aware of; and the few who, after all, shall think it necessary to recede from our communion, will acknowledge the necessity to be inevitable; will respect the equity and moderation of the established church, and live in peace with all its members.

I know not whether I ought to mention, among so many more serious reasons, that even the gover-

with any such as differ from him in their notions about the metaphysical nature of Christ, or of the Holy Ghost, or the like; I am sorry for it. I remember the like objection made at the beginning of the Reformation by the Lutherans against the lawfulness of communicating with Zuinglius, and his followers; because they had not the same notion with them of the elements in the sacrament. And there was the same objection once against holding communion with any such as had not the same notions with themselves about the secret decrees of God relating to the predestination and reprobation of particular persons. But whatever those men may please themselves with thinking who are sure they are arrived at the perfect knowledge of the most abstruse points, this they may be certain of, that in the present state of the church, even supposing only such as are accounted orthodox to be joined together in one visible communion, they communicate together with a very great variety and confusion of notions, either comprehending nothing plain and distinct, or differing from one another as truly and as essentially as others differ from them all; nay, with more certain difference with relation to the object of worship than if all prayers were directed (as bishop Bull says, almost all were in the first ages) to God or the Father, through the Son.—Hoadly's Answer to Dr Hare's Sermon.

nors of the church themselves would find their ease and account in consenting to an alteration.—For, besides the difficulty of defending those decayed fortifications, and the indecency of deserting them, they either are or will soon find themselves in the situation of a master of a family, whose servants know more of his secrets than it is proper for them to know, and whose whispers and whose threats must be bought off at an expense which will drain the “apostolic chamber” dry.

Having thus examined in their order, and, as far as I understood them, the several answers* given by our author to the objections against the present mode of subscription, it now remains, by way of summing up the evidence, to bring “forward” certain other arguments contained in the Considerations, to which no answer has been attempted. It is contended, then,

I. That stating any doctrine in a confession of faith with a greater degree of “precision” than

* In his last note our author breaks forth into “astonishment” and indignation, at the “folly, injustice, and indecency” of comparing our church to the Jewish in our Saviour’s time, and even to the “tower of Babel;” mistaking the church, in this last comparison, for one of her monuments (which indeed, with most people of his complexion, stands for the same thing) erected to prevent our dispersion from that grand centre of catholic dominion, or, in the words of a late celebrated castle-builder, “to keep us together.” If there be any “indecency” in such a comparison, it must be chargeable on those who lead us to it, by making use of the same terms with the original architects, and to which the author of the Considerations evidently alludes. This detached note is concluded with as detached, and no less curious, an observation, which the writer thinks may be a “sufficient answer” to the whole, namely, that the author of the Considerations “has wrought no miracles for the conviction of the answerer and his associates.” For what purpose this observation can be “sufficient,” it is not easy to guess, except it be designed to insinuate, what may perhaps really be the case, that no less than a miracle will serve to cast out that kind of spirit which has taken so full possession of them, or ever bring them to a sound mind, and a sincere love of truth.

the Scriptures have done, is in effect to say that the Scriptures have not stated it with "precision" enough; in other words, that the Scriptures are not sufficient.—"Mere declamation."

II. That this experiment of leaving men at liberty, and points of doctrine at large, has been attended with the improvement of religious knowledge, where and whenever it has been tried. And to this cause, so far as we can see, is owing the advantage which protestant countries in this respect possess above their popish neighbours.—No answer.

III. That keeping people out of churches who might be admitted consistently with every end of public worship, and excluding men from communion who desire to embrace it upon the terms that God prescribes, is certainly not encouraging, but rather causing men to forsake, the assembling of themselves together.—No answer.

IV. That men are deterred from searching the Scriptures by the fear of finding there more or less than they looked for; that is, something inconsistent with what they have already given their assent to, and must at their peril abide by.—No answer.

V. That it is not giving truth a fair chance, to decide points at one certain time, and by one set of men, which had much better be left to the successive inquiries of different ages and different persons.—No answer.

VI. That it tends to multiply infidels amongst us, by exhibiting Christianity under a form and in a system which many are disgusted with, who yet will not be at the pains to inquire after any other.—No answer.

At the conclusion of his pamphlet our author is pleased to acknowledge, what few, I find, care any longer to deny, "that there are some things in our Articles and Liturgy which he should be glad to see amended, many which he should be willing to give up to the scruples of others," but that the heat and violence with which redress has been pursued, preclude all hope of accommodation and tranquillity—that "we had better wait, therefore, for more peaceable times, and be contented with our present constitution as it is," until a fairer prospect shall appear of changing it for the better.—After returning thanks in the name of the "fraternity," to him and to all who touch the burden of subscription with but one of their fingers, I would wish to leave with them this observation,—That as the man who attacks a flourishing establishment writes with a halter round his neck, few ever will be found to attempt alterations, but men of more spirit than prudence, of more sincerity than caution, of warm, eager, and impetuous tempers: that, consequently, if we are to wait for improvement till the cool, the calm, the discreet part of mankind begin it, till church governors solicit, or ministers of state propose it—I will venture to pronounce, that (without *His* interposition with whom nothing is impossible) we may remain as we are till the "renovation of all things."

REASONS FOR CONTENTMENT,

ADDRESSED

TO THE LABOURING PART OF THE
BRITISH PUBLIC.

HUMAN life has been said to resemble the situation of spectators in a theatre, where, whilst each person is engaged by the scene which passes before him, no one thinks about the place in which he is seated. It is only when the business is interrupted, or when the spectator's attention to it grows idle and remiss, that he begins to consider at all, who is before him or who is behind him, whether others are better accommodated than himself, or whether many be not much worse. It is thus with the various ranks and stations of society. So long as a man is intent upon the duties and concerns of his own condition, he never thinks of comparing it with any other; he is never troubled with reflections upon the different classes and orders of mankind, the advantages and disadvantages of each, the necessity or non-necessity of civil distinctions, much less does he feel within himself a disposition to covet or envy any of them. He is too much taken up with the occupations of his calling, its pursuits, cares, and business, to bestow unprofitable meditations upon the circumstances in which he sees others placed. And by this means a man of a sound and active mind has, in his very constitution, a remedy against the disturbance of

envy and discontent. These passions gain no admittance into his breast, because there is no leisure there or vacancy for the trains of thought which generate them. He enjoys, therefore, ease in this respect, and ease resulting from the best cause, the power of keeping his imagination at home; of confining it to what belongs to himself, instead of sending it forth to wander among speculations which have neither limits nor use, amidst views of unattainable grandeur, fancied happiness, of extolled, because unexperienced, privileges and delights.

The wisest advice that can be given is, never to allow our attention to dwell upon comparisons between our own condition and that of others, but to keep it fixed upon the duties and concerns of the condition itself. But since every man has not this power; since the minds of some men will be busy in contemplating the advantages which they see others possess; and since persons in laborious stations of life are wont to view the higher ranks of society, with sentiments which not only tend to make themselves unhappy, but which are very different from the truth; it may be an useful office to point out to them some of those considerations which, if they *will* turn their thoughts to the subject, they should endeavour to take fairly into the account.

And, first, We are most of us apt to murmur, when we see exorbitant fortunes placed in the hands of single persons; larger, we are sure, than they can want, or, as we think, than they can use. This is so common a reflection, that I will not say it is not natural. But whenever the complaint comes into our minds, we ought to recollect, that the thing happens in consequence of those very rules and laws which secure

to ourselves our property, be it ever so small. The laws which accidentally cast enormous estates into one great man's possession, are, after all, the self-same laws which protect and guard the poor man. Fixed rules of property are established for one as well as another, without knowing, beforehand, whom they may affect. If these rules sometimes throw an excessive or disproportionate share to one man's lot, who can help it? It is much better that it should be so, than that the rules themselves should be broken up; and you can only have one side of the alternative or the other. To abolish riches, would not be to abolish poverty; but, on the contrary, to leave it without protection or resource. It is not for the poor man to repine at the effects of laws and rules, by which he himself is benefited every hour of his existence; which secure to him his earnings, his habitation, his bread, his life; without which he, no more than the rich man, could either eat his meal in quietness, or go to bed in safety. Of the two, it is rather more the concern of the poor to stand up for the laws, than of the rich; for it is the law which defends the weak against the strong, the humble against the powerful, the little against the great; and weak and strong, humble and powerful, little and great, there would be, even were there no laws whatever. Beside, what, after all, is the mischief? The owner of a great estate does not eat or drink more than the owner of a small one. His fields do not produce worse crops, nor does the produce maintain fewer mouths. If estates were more equally divided, would greater numbers be fed, or clothed, or employed? Either, therefore, large fortunes are not a public evil, or, if they be in any degree an evil, it is to be borne with, for the sake of those fixed and general rules

concerning property, in the preservation and steadiness of which all are interested.

Fortunes, however, of any kind, from the nature of the thing, can only fall to the lot of a few. I say, "from the nature of the thing." The very utmost that can be done by laws and government, is to enable every man, who hath health, to procure a healthy subsistence for himself and a family. Where this is the case, things are at their perfection. They have reached their limit. Were the princes and nobility, the legislators and counsellors of the land, all of them the best and wisest men that ever lived, their united virtue and wisdom could do no more than this. They, if any such there be, who would teach you to expect more, give you no instance where more has ever been attained.

But Providence, which foresaw, which appointed, indeed, the necessity to which human affairs are subjected, (and against which it were impious to complain), hath contrived, that, whilst fortunes are only for a few, the rest of mankind may be happy without them. And this leads me to consider the comparative advantages and comforts which belong to the condition of those who subsist, as the great mass of every people do and must subsist, by personal labour, and the solid reasons they have for contentment in their stations. I do not now use the terms poor and rich: because that man is to be accounted poor, of whatever rank he be, and suffers the pains of poverty, whose expenses exceed his resources; and no man is, properly speaking, poor but he. But I, at present, consider the advantages of those laborious conditions of life, which compose the great portion of every human community.

And, first, It is an inestimable blessing of such situations, that they supply a constant train of employment both to body and mind. A husbandman, or a manufacturer, or a tradesman, never goes to bed at night without having his business to rise up to in the morning. He would understand the value of this advantage, did he know that the want of it composes one of the greatest plagues of the human soul: a plague by which the rich, especially those who inherit riches, are exceedingly oppressed. Indeed it is to get rid of it, that is to say, it is to have something to do, that they are driven upon those strange and unaccountable ways of passing their time, in which we sometimes see them, to our surprise, engaged. A poor man's condition supplies him with that which no man can do without, and with which a rich man, with all his opportunities and all his contrivance, can hardly supply himself—regular engagement, business to look forward to, something to be done for every day, some employment prepared for every morning. A few of better judgment can seek out for themselves constant and useful occupation. There is not one of you takes the pains in his calling, which some of the most independent men in the nation have taken, and are taking, to promote what they deem to be a point of great concern to the interests of humanity, by which neither they nor theirs can ever gain a shilling, and in which, should they succeed, those who are to be benefited by their service, will neither know nor thank them for it. I only mention this to show, in conjunction with what has been observed above, that, of those who are at liberty to act as they please, the wise prove, and the foolish confess, by their conduct, that a life of employment is the only life worth leading; and that the chief differ-

ence between their manner of passing their time and yours, is that they can choose the objects of their activity, which you cannot. This privilege may be an advantage to some, but for nine out of ten it is fortunate that occupation is provided to their hands, that they have it not to seek, that it is imposed upon them by their necessities and occasions; for the consequence of liberty in this respect would be, that, lost in the perplexity of choosing, they would sink into irrecoverable indolence, inaction, and unconcern; into that vacancy and tiresomeness of time and thought which are inseparable from such a situation. A man's thoughts must be going. Whilst he is awake, the working of his mind is as constant as the beating of his pulse. He can no more stop the one than the other. Hence if our thoughts have nothing to act upon, they act upon ourselves. They acquire a corrosive quality. They become in the last degree irksome and tormenting. Wherefore that sort of equitable engagement, which takes up the thoughts sufficiently, yet so as to leave them capable of turning to any thing more important, as occasions offer or require, is a most invaluable blessing. And if the industrious be not sensible of the blessing, it is for no other reason than because they have never experienced, or rather suffered, the want of it.

Again; Some of the necessities which poverty (if the condition of the labouring part of mankind must be so called) imposes, are not hardships but pleasures. Frugality itself is a pleasure. It is an exercise of attention and contrivance, which, whenever it is successful, produces satisfaction. The very care and forecast that are necessary to keep expenses and earnings upon a level, form, when not embarrassed by too great difficulties, an agree-

able engagement of the thoughts. This is lost amidst abundance. There is no pleasure in taking out of a large unmeasured fund. They who do that, and only that, are the mere conveyers of money from one hand to another.

A yet more serious advantage which persons in inferior stations possess, is the ease with which they provide for their children. All the provision which a poor man's child requires is contained in two words,—“industry and innocence.” With these qualities, though without a shilling to set him forwards, he goes into the world prepared to become an useful, virtuous, and happy man. Nor will he fail to meet with a maintenance adequate to the habits with which he has been brought up, and to the expectations which he has formed; a degree of success sufficient for a person of any condition whatever. These qualities of industry and innocence, which, I repeat again, are all that are absolutely necessary, every parent can give to his children without expense, because he can give them by his own authority and example; and they are to be communicated, I believe, and preserved, in no other way. I call this a serious advantage of humble stations; because, in what we reckon superior ranks of life, there is a real difficulty in placing children in situations which may in any degree support them in the class and in the habits in which they have been brought up with their parents: from which great, and oftentimes distressing perplexity, the poor are free. With health of body, innocence of mind, and habits of industry, a poor man's child has nothing to be afraid of; nor his father or mother any thing to be afraid of for him.

The labour of the world is carried on by *service*, that is, by one man working under another man's

direction. I take it for granted, that this is the best way of conducting business, because all nations and ages have adopted it. Consequently, service is the relation which, of all others, affects the greatest numbers of individuals, and in the most sensible manner. In whatever country, therefore, this relation is well and equitably regulated, in that country the poor will be happy. Now, how is the matter managed with us? Except apprenticeships, the necessity of which every one, at least every father and mother, will acknowledge, as the best, if not the only practicable, way of gaining instruction and skill, and which have their foundation in *nature*, because they have their foundation in the *natural* ignorance and imbecility of youth; except these, service in England is, as it ought to be, voluntary and by contract; a fair exchange of work for wages; an equal bargain, in which each party has his rights and his redress; wherein every servant chooses his master. Can this be mended? I will add, that a continuance of this connexion is frequently the foundation of so much mutual kindness and attachment, that very few friendships are more cordial, or more sincere; that it leaves oftentimes nothing in servitude except the name; nor any distinction but what one party is as much pleased with, and sometimes also as proud of, as the other.

What then (for this is the fair way of calculating) is there in higher stations to place against these advantages? What does the poor man see in the life or condition of the rich, that should render him dissatisfied with his own?

Was there as much in sensual pleasures, I mean in the luxuries of eating and drinking, and other gratifications of that sort, as some men's imaginations would represent there to be, but which no

man's experience finds in them, I contend, that even in these respects the advantage is on the side of the poor. The rich, who addict themselves to indulgence, lose their relish. Their desires are dead. Their sensibilities are worn and tired. Hence they lead a languid satiated existence. Hardly any thing can amuse, or rouse, or gratify them. Whereas the poor man, if something extraordinary fall in his way, comes to the repast with appetite; is pleased and refreshed; derives from his usual course of moderation and temperance, a quickness of perception and delight which the unrestrained voluptuary knows nothing of. Habits of all kinds are much the same. Whatever is habitual, becomes smooth and indifferent, and nothing more. The luxurious receive no greater pleasures from their dainties, than the peasant does from his homely fare.—But here is the difference: The peasant, whenever he goes abroad, finds a feast, whereas the epicure must be sumptuously entertained to escape disgust. They who spend every day in diversions, and they who go every day about their usual business, pass their time much alike. Attending to what they are about, wanting nothing, regretting nothing, they are both, whilst engaged, in a state of ease; but then, whatever suspends the pursuits of the man of diversion, distresses him, whereas to the labourer, or the man of business, every pause is a recreation. And this is a vast advantage which they possess who are trained and inured to a life of occupation, above the man who sets up for a life of pleasure. Variety is soon exhausted. Novelty itself is no longer new. Amusements are become too familiar to delight, and he is in a situation in which he can never change but for the worse.

Another article which the poor are apt to envy in the rich, is their *ease*. Now here they mistake the matter totally. They call inaction ease, whereas nothing is farther from it. Rest is ease. That is true; but no man can rest who has not worked. Rest is the cessation of labour. It cannot therefore be enjoyed, or even tasted, except by those who have known fatigue. The rich see, and not without envy, the refreshment and pleasure which rest affords to the poor, and choose to wonder that they cannot find the same enjoyment in being free from the necessity of working at all. They do not observe that this enjoyment must be purchased by previous labour, and that he who will not pay the price cannot have the gratification. Being without work is one thing; reposing from work is another. The one is as tiresome and insipid as the other is sweet and soothing. The one, in general, is the fate of the rich man, the other is the fortune of the poor. I have heard it said, that if the face of happiness can any where be seen, it is in the summer evening of a country village; where, after the labours of the day, each man at his door, with his children, amongst his neighbours, feels his frame and his heart at rest, every thing about him pleased and pleasing, and a delight and complacency in his sensations far beyond what either luxury or diversion can afford. The rich want this; and they want what they must never have.

As to some other things which the poor are disposed to envy in the condition of the rich, such as their state, their appearance, the grandeur of their houses, dress, equipage, and attendance, they only envy the rich these things because they do not know the rich. They have not opportunities of observing, with what neglect and insensibility the

rich possess and regard these things themselves. If they could see the great man in his retirement, and in his actual manner of life, they would find him, if pleased at all, taking pleasure in some of those simple enjoyments which they can command as well as he. They would find him amongst his children, in his husbandry, in his garden, pursuing some rural diversion, or occupied with some trifling exercise,—which are all gratifications, as much within the power and reach of the poor man as of the rich ; or rather more so.

To learn the art of contentment, is only to learn what happiness actually consists in. Sensual pleasures add little to its substance. Ease, if by that be meant exemption from labour, contributes nothing. One, however, constant spring of satisfaction, and almost infallible support of cheerfulness and spirits, is the exercise of domestic affections ; the presence of objects of tenderness and endearment in our families, our kindred, our friends. Now, have the poor any thing to complain of here ? Are they not surrounded by their relatives as generally as others ? The poor man has his wife and children about him ; and what has the rich more ? He has the same enjoyment of their society, the same solicitude for their welfare, the same pleasure in their good qualities, improvement, and success ; their connexion with him is as strict and intimate, their attachment as strong, their gratitude as warm. I have no propensity to envy any one, least of all the rich and great ; but if I were disposed to this weakness, the subject of my envy would be, a healthy young man, in full possession of his strength and faculties, going forth in a morning to work for his wife and children, or bringing them home his wages at night.

But was difference of rank or fortune of more importance to personal happiness than it is, it would be ill purchased by any sudden or violent change of condition. An alteration of circumstances, which breaks up a man's habits of life, deprives him of his occupation, removes him from his acquaintance, may be called an elevation of fortune, but hardly ever brings with it an addition of enjoyment. They to whom accidents of this sort have happened, never found them to answer their expectations. After the first hurry of the change is over, they are surprised to feel in themselves listlessness and dejection, a consciousness of solitude, vacancy, and restraint, in the place of cheerfulness, liberty, and ease. They try to make up for what they have lost, sometimes by a beastly sottishness, sometimes by a foolish dissipation, sometimes by a stupid sloth; all which effects are only so many confessions, that changes of this sort were not made for man. If any public disturbance should produce, not an equality (for that is not the proper name to give it), but a jumble of ranks and professions amongst us, it is not only evident what the rich would lose, but there is also this further misfortune, that what the rich lost the poor would not gain. I (God knows) could not get my livelihood by labour, nor would the labourer find any solace or enjoyment in my studies. If we were to exchange conditions to-morrow, all the effect would be, that we both should be more miserable, and the work of both be worse done. Without debating, therefore, what might be very difficult to decide, which of our two conditions was better to begin with, one point is certain, that it is best for each to remain in his own. The change, and the only change, to be desired, is that gradual and progressive improvement of our cir-

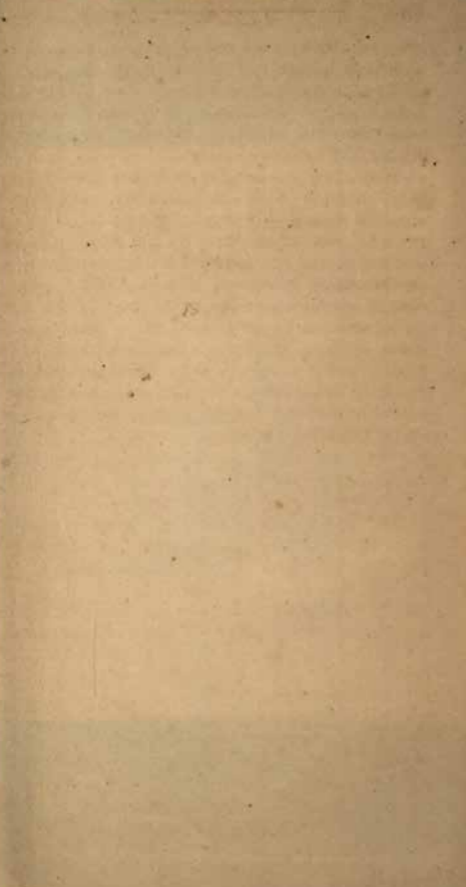
cumstances which is the natural fruit of successful industry; when each year is something better than the last; when we are enabled to add to our little household one article after another of new comfort or conveniency, as our profits increase, or our burden becomes less; and, what is best of all, when we can afford, as our strength declines, to relax our labours, or divide our cares. This may be looked forward to, and is practicable, by great numbers, in a state of public order and quiet; it is absolutely impossible in any other.

If, in comparing the different conditions of social life, we bring religion into the account, the argument is still easier. Religion smooths all inequalities, because it unfolds a prospect which makes all earthly distinctions nothing. And I do allow that there are many cases of sickness, affliction, and distress, which Christianity alone can comfort. But in estimating the mere diversities of station and civil condition, I have not thought it necessary to introduce religion into the inquiry at all; because I contend, that the man who murmurs and repines, when he has nothing to murmur and repine about but the mere want of independent property, is not only irreligious, but unreasonable, in his complaint; and that he would find, did he know the truth, and consider his case fairly, that a life of labour, such, I mean, as is led by the labouring part of mankind in this country, has advantages in it which compensate all its inconveniencies. When compared with the life of the rich, it is better in these important respects—It supplies employment, it promotes activity. It keeps the body in better health, the mind more engaged, and, of course, more quiet. It is more sensible of ease, more susceptible of pleasure. It is attended with greater alacrity of spirits, a more

constant cheerfulness and serenity of temper. It affords easier and more certain methods of sending children into the world in situations suited to their habits and expectations. It is free from many heavy anxieties which rich men feel; it is fraught with many sources of delight which they want.

If to these reasons for contentment the reflecting husbandman or artificer adds another very material one, that changes of condition, which are attended with a breaking up and sacrifice of our ancient course and habit of living, never can be productive of happiness, he will perceive, I trust, that to covet the stations or fortunes of the rich, or so, however, to covet them, as to wish to seize them by force, or through the medium of public uproar and confusion, is not only wickedness, but folly, as mistaken in the end as in the means; *that it is not only to venture out to sea in a storm, but to venture for nothing.*

THE END.



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