THE THEOLOGICAL WORKS

OF

THE FIRST

VISCOUNT BARRINGTON,

INCLUDING

THE MISCELLANEA SACRA,

THE ESSAY ON THE DISPENSATIONS,

AND

HIS CORRESPONDENCE WITH DR. LARDNER,

NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,

A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

WITH

A BRIEF MEMOIR OF HIS SON, SHUTE BARRINGTON,

THE LATE BISHOP OF DURHAM,

BY THE REV. GEO. TOWNSEND, M.A.

PREBENDARY OF DURHAM, AND VICAR OF NORTHALLERTON.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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LIFE
of
THE FIRST
LORD BARRINGTON.

John Shute,¹ first Viscount Barrington, was born in 1678, at Theobalds in Hertfordshire. He was the third son of Benjamin Shute, merchant, who was the youngest son of Francis Shute, Esq. of Upton, in the county of Leicester; and was lineally descended from Robert Shute, Esq., who was appointed one of the barons of the exchequer by Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1577. His ancestors were eminent for their virtue, and zeal in the cause of liberty; and several of them served the kings of England with honour as commanders in the wars of Normandy, when that duchy was annexed to the English crown.

¹ The Shute family is of Norman extraction. While Normandy continued to be annexed to the English crown, these were to be seen the remains of a castle bearing the name

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His mother was a daughter of the famous Mr. Caryll, author of the "Commentary on the Book of Job."

At the age of 16, Mr. Shute was sent to the university of Utrecht, where he distinguished himself greatly by his academical exercises, which have not only been printed, but have been cited with great commendation by some eminent writers on the Civil Law. After passing of Shute, which castle formerly belonged to the family. There were also other monuments in several towns of that Dutchy.

* Exercitatio Physica de Ventis. Utrecht, 1696, 4to.
  Dissertation Philosophica de Theocratia Morali, 1697.
  Dissertation Philosophica Inauguralis de Theocratia Civili, 1697.
  Oratio de studio Philosophiae conjungendo cum studio Juris Civilis, habita in inclyta Academia Trajectana, Kalendis Junii, 1698.

* Heineccius and Cocceius, the eminent civilians, have thus testified their high opinion of Mr. Shute's juvenile treatise De Theocratia Morali:

"Theocratiam quandam moralem, singulari dissertatione, Ultraji. 1697, pro fundamento juris naturae habuit Ioannes Shute, Anglus; ex qua dissertatione ingeniosa," &c. J. Gottlieb Heineccii Opera, Ed. tertia, Genevae, 1744.

"Imprimis vero mirum in modum me cepit nova principium hoc constituendi methodus, cujusdam et nobilitate et eruditione illustris juvenis Angli Ioannis Shute, quocum in Anglia degerem familiariter me usum esse impense et gratulor. Hic in dissertatione sua de Theocratia Morali, anno 1697, Ultraji. habitâ, terrarum orbem regnum aliquod constituere demonstrat, illudque vocat regnum morale; hujus regni constituit Deum Regem, cumque solum, id quod ex
four years at Utrecht, he returned to England, and applied himself with diligence to the study of the common law at the Inner Temple. In 1701 he began to write in favour of the Protestant dissenters, to which body he belonged. He published in this year, but without his name, a pamphlet in 4to, entitled, "The Interest of England considered in respect of Protestants dissenting from the Established Church." This was reprinted two years afterwards with considerable alterations and enlargements. As he dwells much in this pamphlet on the rights of the dissenters to toleration, it was probably the occasion of his being known to Mr. Locke, who afterwards honoured him with his friendship, notwithstanding the great disparity of their ages. This circumstance, which does the character of Mr. Shute so much credit, appears by an ode addressed to John Shute, Esq., in the year 1704, on occasion of the dangerous illness which terminated in the death of Mr. Locke.

ejus attributis, et imprimis independentiā probat, et hama-
num genus civium esse loco asserit; addit porro regum
illud quoque legibus gubernari, quæ ex voluntate divinā
fluunt, et vocantur leges naturæ, quibus si resistant cives,
immergeros habendos esse. Has autem leges claras esse
probat, et quidem ex Dei sanctissimā naturā; unde a Dei
omni sufficientiā cultus divini necessitatem inducit." Sam.
And must the man of wondrous mind,
Now his rich thoughts are just refin'd,
Forsake our longing eyes?
Reason at length submits to wear
The wings of Faith, and lo! they rear
Her chariot high, and nobly bear
Her prophet to the skies.

Go, Friend, and wait the prophet's flight,
Watch if his mantle chance to light,
And seize it for thine own.
Shute is the darling of his years,
Young Shute his better likeness bears;
All but his wrinkles and his hairs
Are copied in his son.

Thus when our follies or our faults
Call for the pity of thy thoughts,
Thy pen shall make us wise;
The sallies of whose youthful wit
Could pierce the British fogs with light,
And open half our eyes.

About two years after he had written the above-mentioned pamphlet, he published another, entitled, "The Rights of Protestant Dissenters," in two parts, which reached a second edition in 1705.

Mr. Shute's character was now so generally known, though only in his 24th year, and his influence with the dissenters was so considerable, that he was sent for by the cabinet council, when it had been determined by the Queen's
ministry that the important measure of the union of the two kingdoms should take place. The Lords Somers, Wharton, Halifax, and Sunderland were at this meeting, the first of whom opened the design and general view which they had in promoting this great object, and condescended so far, since they designed he should take a part in it, as to ask his opinion on this head. Mr. Shute having then expressed himself most warmly with regard to the national advantages to be expected from such a close connexion between the two kingdoms, Lord Somers said that it could not be carried without the assistance of the dissenters in England, and of the presbyterians in Scotland; for which reason they wished he would undertake a journey to Scotland for that purpose. Mr. Shute at first declined this service, because it was inconsistent with his professional views—the study of the common law—and also because he conceived that he could scarcely prevail with the presbyterians and dissenters to promote the Union, unless the corporation and test acts were repealed. To this it was replied, that on account of the sacrifices he would be obliged to make in foregoing the advantage of pursuing his professional engagements, he should, on his return from Scotland, have an employment to the amount of 1000l. per annum, and that there was little doubt that the test act would be repealed.
as soon as the Union took place; though this could not be previously proposed to Parliament. Mr. Shute, being encouraged by these assurances, soon afterwards went to Scotland, where he was greatly instrumental in promoting the Union, and continued there until it was ratified. After his return to England, he was, in 1706, appointed one of the commissioners of the customs. About the same time Francis Barrington, Esq. of Tofts in Essex,1 who had married Mr. Shute's first cousin, left him his estate in that county, upon condition of his taking the name and arms of Barrington.

In the year 1710 Mr. Barrington received a still more flattering proof of the high and honourable character which he bore, in a bequest left him by John Wildman, Esq. of Becket in Berkshire,2 who adopted him for his son after the Roman custom, leaving him his estate by a will dated in 1706, which declared that he gave it to

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1 This gentleman was grandson of Sir Thomas Barrington, of Barrington Hall, bart., and was descended from the Plantagenets by the marriage of Sir Thomas Barrington, knight, with Winifred, second daughter and coheirress of Henry Pole, Lord Montague, son of Sir Richard Pole, K. G., by Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Salisbury, sister and heirress of Edward, earl of Warwick, and daughter of George duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV. and Richard III.

2 He was son of Sir John Wildman, Postmaster General under King William, and who served in the Parliamentary army during the civil wars. This estate was once the property of Martin the regicide.
Lord Barrington.

him merely because he knew no man who was so worthy of it.

How high Mr. Barrington's character stood in the estimation, not only of the most zealous Whigs, but of those who differed from him most widely in religious and political sentiments, appears in the following extract from a letter of Dr. Swift to Archbishop King, dated Nov. 30, 1708:—"One Mr. Shute is named for secretary to Lord Wharton: he is a young man; but reckoned the shrewdest head in England; and the person in whom the presbyterians chiefly confide; and if money be necessary toward the good work* in Ireland, it is reckoned he can command as far as 100,000l. from the body of dissenters here. As to his principles, he is truly a moderate man, frequenting the church and the meeting indifferently."

In 1711 Mr. Barrington was displaced by the Tory administration from his office of commissioner of the customs; and in 1713 he published a pamphlet entitled, "A Dissuasive against Jacobitism;" for which there was so great a demand, that it reached a fourth edition.

1 Lord Wharton was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland; the appointment of Mr. Barrington, however, as his lordship's secretary did not take place.

* The repeal of the Sacramental Test, alluded to in another part of the Dean's letter.

On the accession of George the First Mr. Barrington had the honour of an audience with his Majesty, the first day after his arrival in London, in which he declined the offices of preferment which were graciously made him, because the schism and conformity acts (which took place in 1712) were yet unrepealed; and from thence he took an opportunity of stating the great grievance of these statutes to the body of dissenters. In the fifth year of this reign those two acts were repealed, after which, in 1717, Mr Barrington, who continued to be honoured with the personal confidence of his Majesty, was created Baron Barrington of Newcastle, and Viscount Barrington of Ardglass; and at the same time had a reversionary grant of the office of the Master of the Rolls in Ireland, which he surrendered the 10th of December, 1731.

We now come to that event in the life of Lord Barrington for which his conduct was most unjustly censured by his political opponents, by whose influence he was deprived of his seat in the House of Commons:—we allude to his connexion with the Harburgh lottery, the particulars of which we will now lay before the reader.

In the year 1720 a scheme was formed by Sir J. Eyles, Alderman Bayly, and others, for carrying on a trade between England and his
Majesty's electoral dominions, by means of a company, which was to have an exclusive charter, and also to be assisted by a lottery, which was necessary to defray the expense of deepening the river Elbe near the port of Harburg.

This charter was obtained at Hanover during his Lordship's absence, and in opposition to his opinion and advice. Accordingly, upon hearing that his name was inserted, he insisted that it should be omitted; but, afterwards, he received his Majesty's personal commands to be the sub-governor of the company, Prince Frederick being the governor."

This project, however, slept in some measure till the year 1722, when Sir Thomas Webster and Sir Charles Wager (two of the deputy governors) discovered the necessity of procuring a charter for the same purpose, under the great seal of England. On application, however, to the ministry for such a charter, it was refused; on which several of the directors withdrew themselves from the project.

When this disappointment was reported to the Harburgh company, it was still thought that they might obtain such a charter, upon more disadvantageous terms, and that they might pro-

1 There were several Germans named in this charter as well as English: amongst the latter Sir John Hartopp, bart., and Michael Foster, Esq., afterwards Mr. Justice Foster.
seed to advertise their lottery, which was to be drawn at Harburgh, agreeably to the powers granted under the electoral privy seal, for which step they had the sanction of the opinions of three counsel. On the appearance of the advertisement which mentioned these powers, the opposition in parliament treated the project as a Hanover job; and a committee was appointed to inquire into the Harburgh lottery, as well as into other foreign lotteries then carrying on in the city of London.\footnote{This committee, however, made no inquiry with regard to any of the foreign lotteries.}

Lord Barrington was now fully sensible that the storm would fall upon him as being sub-governor, and that his only defence would be to produce the electoral powers under which the lottery was to be drawn. He was told, however, in the strongest terms, by one of his Majesty's principal ministers, that the production of these papers would be highly disagreeable to his Majesty, in whose opinion it would be likely to produce the most fatal consequences to the electorate, or Great Britain, in that critical conjunction of affairs: it was also added, that after the House had proceeded to their censure, he should be publicly owned and justified. Lord Barrington had long been honoured with the personal confidence of his Majesty, and had
received considerable favours which he did not owe to the intervention of his ministers; he therefore submitted to the censures of Parliament, which he flattered himself would be imputed by the public to their real cause: but after his expulsion, he was neither owned, nor supported, according to the promise of the ministers.

The following statement of this affair, written by Sir Michael Foster, will more fully explain and justify the conduct of Lord Barrington:—

"His late Majesty, King George the First, was desirous to introduce trade and manufacture into his German dominions; and the town of Harburgh being thought a proper place for that purpose, a scheme was offered to him, which met with his approbation, for making the port of Harburgh capable of receiving ships of burden, and for carrying on the intended trade and manufacture principally at that place. Accordingly his Majesty, by charter under the great seal of the electorate, about midsummer 1720,

Before they proceeded to this, the House resolved as follows: "That the project called the Harburgh lottery, carried on in the city of London, is an infamous and fraudulent undertaking, whereby several unwary persons have been drawn in to their great loss; and that the manner of carrying on the same hath been a manifest violation of the laws of this kingdom: as also, that it appears to the House that the managers and agents of the said lottery did frequently, without any authority for so doing, make use of his Majesty's royal name to give countenance to the said infamous project, and induce his Majesty's subjects to engage or be concerned therein."
incorporated a number of gentlemen and merchants of London, for setting up and carrying on certain manufactures by a joint stock at Harborough; and divers privileges were granted to the company, whose capital was to be 500,000l.; and a charter for commerce was promised to that company.

"As soon as the manufacture charter was passed, and subscriptions taken in for raising the stock, shares sold at an exorbitant price, 40l. being commonly given for a share, on which only 2l. had been advanced; and some shares were sold at 80l. a share, so great was the madness of that memorable year!

"This exorbitant rise upon the stock put some gentlemen and merchants of London, who thought themselves not enough considered in the manufacture charter, upon soliciting for a separate charter for opening the port of Harborough, and carrying on the foreign commerce there; and agents on behalf of the manufacture company, with others on behalf of the separate charter, followed his Majesty to Hanover, each party for some time endeavouring to carry their respective points; the manufacture company to get likewise the charter for commerce, the other party to get a separate charter for commerce, exclusive of the manufacture company. At length both sides agreed to accept one charter for manufactures and commerce, which should take in the members of the old company, and those who
solicited for the separate commerce charter; and that the capital of the united company should be 1,500,000l. It was likewise agreed that the members of the old company should, over and above the 500,000l. already subscribed, be entitled to a certain share of the new stock upon advancing as before, 2l. on each share, and that the residue of the stock should be divided amongst the new members and their friends. One gentleman in particular secured to himself, as I am informed, no less than 300,000l. to be disposed of by him amongst his friends.

"At this time shares were commonly sold at 20l. a share; but before the end of the year Harburgh stock sunk, as all other projects of that kind did; and no money having been paid on the new stock, and no charter for commerce being passed, the gentlemen who solicited the new charter refused to be any farther concerned in the affair, since the opportunity for exorbitant profits was lost; and a new set of gentlemen and merchants, with the members of the old company, undertook to carry it on, and were incorporated by charter under the great seal of the electorate for opening the port, and carrying on the trade and manufactures at Harburgh.

"It was, as I have been informed, part of the original scheme, that the expense of opening the port, which was computed at 100,000l.,
should be defrayed by the profits of a lottery to be drawn at Harburgh. Accordingly, after the new charter was passed, his Majesty, by warrant under his sign manual and the privy seal of the electorate, empowered and required the company to lay before him a scheme for the lottery; which they did; and some time afterwards his Majesty, by a second warrant under his sign manual and privy seal of the electorate, signed his approbation of the scheme, and empowered the company to proceed upon it, and to deliver out tickets here (in London) for the lottery; and he named trustees to manage and direct the drawing at Harburgh. Before the lottery was opened, Lord Barrington, who was sub-governor of the company (his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales being named governor), thought it necessary to procure a British charter of incorporation, and measures were taken for that purpose with the British ministers; for hitherto every thing touching the company had been transacted with the German ministers.

"His Lordship, as I have reason to believe, was persuaded that the ministers intended that the company should have a British charter; and things went so far in that way, that a draught of a British charter was prepared and laid before the attorney-general. While things were in this state, some of the gentlemen in London concerned in the affair opened a subscription for
the lottery, Lord Barrington being then in the country. This step they took contrary to his Lordship's opinion and advice.

"Within a few days after the subscription for the lottery was opened, advertisements were published by some of the gentlemen who had formerly solicited the commerce charter, and afterwards, when the price of stock fell, had refused to accept their shares, treating the affair as a public cheat, and the matter was soon brought before the House of Commons.

"While it was there depending, I was, in Lord Barrington's absence, consulted by the gentlemen concerned, touching the best method for avoiding the storm which seemed to be gathering, and threatened the ruin of the company. My advice was, that the company should, without hesitation, lay their charter with the two warrants for the lottery before the House, and submit their case upon the foot of those powers: since it would appear by those powers, that what they had done in the affair was done by virtue of powers received from his Majesty. But this advice was soon laid aside, and the secretary was instructed to acquaint the House, as he did, that the company, having acted under powers received from his Majesty as elector, in an affair concerning his electorate, they did not think themselves at liberty to lay such powers before the House without his Majesty's permission.
This answer exactly suited the views of those people who intended to ruin the company, without seeming to do a thing which reflected dishonour on his Majesty.

"Accordingly the House was satisfied with the answer, so far as not to insist on a sight of the charter and warrants; and immediately came to a resolution that the persons concerned in the affair had acted therein without any authority from his Majesty; and Lord Barrington, who then served for Berwick-upon-Tweed, was expelled the House."

"This matter was made an occasion of bringing this severe censure on Lord Barrington, who was suspected to have formerly taken some steps very disagreeable to the reigning minister, Sir Robert Walpole. His Lordship was firmly attached to the administration during the time of Lord Sunderland’s ministry, and employed all his credit and influence with the dissenters, which was then very great, to keep that body in the same interest; but, upon the death of Lord Sunderland, Sir Robert Walpole, who for many years during Lord Sunderland’s administration had opposed every public measure, succeeded him as prime minister, and could not forget the part which Lord Barrington had acted against him.

* This very severe and unmerited sentence was passed upon his Lordship on the 15th February 1793."
Lord Barrington was, on the accession of George the First, chosen member of parliament for Berwick-upon-Tweed; and, in 1722, he was again returned to parliament for the same place. His Lordship does not appear to have been either an eloquent or a frequent speaker. On the 12th of April, 1717, he spoke in favour of the motion for a supply. On the 7th of January, 1718—19, he spoke in support of the bill for strengthening the Protestant succession, as he did also on the 17th of June, 1721, in favour of the subsidy to Sweden.

He died at Becket, in Berkshire, after an illness of only seven hours, on the 14th of December, 1734, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. He generally attended divine worship among the dissenters, and for many years received the sacrament at Pinner's Hall, when Dr. Jeremiah Hunt, an eminent and learned non-conformist divine, was pastor of the congregation that assembled there. He had formerly been an attendant on Mr. Thomas Bradbury, but quitted that gentleman on account of his bigotted zeal for imposing unscriptural terms upon the article of the Trinity. His Lordship had a high value for the sacred writings, and it

* He was buried on the 27th in the parish church of Shriwenham Berks, where a monument was erected to his memory with the following inscription:

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is plain from his theological works that he was eminently skilled in them. In 1725 he published in 2 volumes, 8vo., his Miscellanea Sacra, and the Essay on the Dispensations. A second edition of these works, with large additions and corrections, was pub-
lished 1770, in 3 vols. 8vo., by his son the late Bishop of Durham, then Bishop of Landaff.

In this work the noble author has traced, with great care and judgment, the methods taken by the apostles and first preachers of the gospel for propagating Christianity, and explained with great distinctness the several gifts of the Spirit, by which they were enabled to discharge that office; these he improved into an argument for the truth of the Christian religion, which is said to have staggered the infidelity of Mr. Anthony Collins.

1 This gentleman, who lived in Essex, often visited Lord Barrington at Tofts, his seat in that county, where Dr. Jeremiah Hunt also sometimes visited his Lordship. They therefore occasionally met there, and it is said to have been their custom after dinner to have a Greek Testament laid upon the table, as they were all men of letters, and had a taste for scriptural criticism. In one of their conversations, Mr. Collins observed, that he had a very great respect for the memory of St. Paul; and added, "I think so well of him, who was both a man of sense and a gentleman, that if he had asserted he had worked miracles himself, I would have believed him." Lord Barrington immediately, produced a passage in which that apostle asserts his having wrought miracles: Mr. Collins seemed somewhat disconcerted, and soon after took his hat and quit the company. When Lord Barrington, in another conversation, asked Mr. Collins what was the reason that, though he seemed himself to have very little faith in the doctrines of religion, he yet took great care that his servants should attend regularly at church, his reply was, that he did this to prevent their robbing or murdering him.
Life of the First.

We have said that Lord Barrington was the friend and disciple of Mr. Locke, and from him he derived those ideas of civil and religious liberty which he has so forcibly stated and maintained in many of his productions: no one, indeed, who is acquainted with the writings of that great and illustrious man, can fail to discover in the religious and political publications of Lord Barrington, the same clearness of ideas, the same closeness of reasoning, and the same unadorned perspicuity of style, which distinguish the works of Mr. Locke. Each indeed of his Lordship's productions is strongly marked with all the characteristic peculiarities of Mr. Locke's corresponding treatises: in the tract entitled "Revolution and Anti-Revolution Principles Stated and Compared," we find an able amplification of nearly all the most important positions in the famous treatise On Government: in the pamphlets on the Corporation and Test Acts, we plainly discern the same spirit of civil liberty, and the same arguments in support of it, which we find in the Letters on Toleration; and in the Miscellanea Sacra, and the Dissertations which accompany that interesting work, we are forcibly reminded of that just and cool, and candid mode of scriptural interpretation which pervades Mr. Locke's compositions on theological subjects; and he and his noble disciple have been the means of diffusing a very
general spirit of free and scriptural criticism,—
which, though too often perverted, has been
proved by experience to be well adapted to the
more perfect apprehension of the meaning of
Scripture, and which has consequently been
cultivated among all classes of theologians. As
his Lordship's attention was much directed to
the study of divinity, he had a strong sense of
the importance of free inquiry in matters of
religion: and it is needless to remind those
who are acquainted with the writings which
this edition of his works embraces, that when-
ever he advances any thing which is doubtful in
his own estimation, or which his arguments do
not conclusively establish, though they may
have great weight, he always expresses himself
with a becoming diffidence, the certain indica-
tion of a philosophical mind: he never gives or
requires a stronger assent to the conclusion
than the premises will justly warrant.

To the Miscellanea Sacra of Lord Barrington
may justly be ascribed the origin of that useful
and important work—"Benson's History of the
Planting of Christianity," in the course of which
the author frequently acknowledges his obli-
gations to his Lordship for many valuable
suggestions.

The following extracts from a funeral sermon,
preached at Farringdon and Becket, 'a few

' By Robert Mackewen, M.A., on 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8:
preached on 29th December, 1734.
days after his Lordship's decease, give an interesting account of his character; and as both the speaker and the hearers knew him well, we may be certain that the picture is fairly drawn:—

"I have all along laid a restraint upon my affections, which would have broken forth in admiring expressions of the eminent worth, learning, usefulness, Christian fortitude, and the public loss of that great and excellent person, the late Lord Viscount Barrington, whose death we lament.

"He was descended from worthy ancestors, several of whom served the Kings of England with honour, as commanders in the wars of Normandy, when Normandy was annexed to the crown. He had a graceful person, a happy constitution, and an extraordinary genius, improved by a happy, pious, and liberal education; and, if I am not mistaken, it will hereafter be accounted an honour to Utrecht, where he finished his academical studies, to have contributed to the forming so great a man; for he was a person of almost unequalled abilities, and many excellent and uncommon virtues. His great judgment, extensive knowledge, acute sagacity, and intense application, rendered him perhaps, on the whole, the most finished character in life.

"His principles of civil and religious liberty were rational, demonstrative, and immovable, and his happy faculty of communicating his
thoughts upon any subject made his conversation extremely agreeable and instructive to men of sense and taste: such admirable talents could not long be hid, and therefore he had an early and strict friendship with several persons of the greatest rank, learning; and virtue, which he never sought.

"The years of his retirement were devoted to the noblest purposes—the study of the sacred oracles, in which province he shone with a peculiar lustre: his profound skill and facility in handling these divine themes, by the happiest mixture of reason and oratory, was the admiration and delight of all that had a just relish of them; and, I speak it from knowledge, the contemplations which filled his own mind with the highest rational pleasure were—of the Supreme Being, His moral government, particular providence, and dispensations to mankind. We may view the picture of his mind in those pathetic and admirable lines written to his son and heir, whom he tenderly loved, a few weeks before his death.

"The study of morality is the noblest of all others—those eternal truths which regulate the conduct of God and man. This alone can be called the science of life; will instruct us how to act in this scene with happiness and usefulness; leave it with composure, and be associated in a future and better state to the best moralists
and philosophers that ever lived; with the wisest men and the greatest benefactors of mankind; with confessors and martyrs for truth and righteousness; with prophets and apostles; with Cherubim and Seraphim; with the Holy Spirit, that searches and knows the deep things of God; with Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant; with God the judge of all, who is before all, above all, and in us all.'

"His first and steady view was always truth; and right and fine genius, and just sentiment, gave him that distinguishing share in the esteem of the greatest and best men this nation ever knew."

He was created a peer of Ireland, by the bounty of King George the First, for his eminent services and unshaken loyalty to the illustrious house of Hanover and the British constitution, the support of which, with the extension of liberty and rational religion, was the constant and noble end of his thoughts and actions: and therefore he was prevailed upon, contrary to his inclinations, and in apparent prejudice to his health and affairs, to be a candidate at the last election (in 1727), and might have been chosen, would his principles have permitted him to have given a bribe of forty pounds; but he had too strict a regard to the interest of his

1 Wharton, Somers, Locke, King, Cowper, Nevil, Burnet, Clarke, Newton, with many others.
contrary to countenance corruption, and trifle with the sacredness of oaths.

"He was a person of unlimited Christian charity to men of all persuasions, free from every degree of superstition, and had the utmost abhorrence of all kinds of persecution, as perfectly unchristian; he was always zealous to serve his friend, and ready to forgive injuries; which generous Christian principle the worst treatment could never extinguish."

In taking a review of Lord Barrington's publications, our attention is claimed in the first place by his theological works, which will always remain the fairest and most durable monument of his literary reputation. Few writers in the last century possessed higher qualifications for the attainment of a profound and extensive knowledge of the Scriptures. Besides a deep sense of the importance of divine revelation, Lord Barrington had a mind richly furnished with classical literature and historical information; an intellect clear, alert, and highly disciplined in all the rules of severe and accurate argumentation; prompt in detecting fallacy, and skilful in exposing the points in which the reasonings of his opponent were weak or sophistical. Along with these high and rare endowments he possessed a style fit for the communication of his thoughts; chaste, sober, perspicuous, and flowing in the clear stream of unadorned
reason, without any rhetorical embellishments whatever.

Though he appears by no means unacquainted with the writings of the most eminent commentators and divines, yet it is plain from his works that he relied most upon the attentive examination of the original text of the Scriptures; and by "comparing spiritual things with spiritual," and making the Bible its own interpreter, he was enabled to make those original and just observations and expositions which the attentive reader will find in almost every page of his work; and which, if they are not always convincing, are yet urged with so much ingenuity and modesty, that they cannot fail to encourage and assist the reader in pursuing the inquiry for himself: and it may safely be asserted that they will make the greatest advances in those most important and pleasing investigations, who resolve to pursue them by the same means and in the same spirit as the noble author, whose example may be advantageously proposed as a model to all those who desire to possess an accurate acquaintance with the meaning of the sacred writings. The following passage from his first Essay1 is entitled to the attention of the reader:

"I cannot but despise the conduct of those

1 Vol. i. p. 65."
writers who will put on the appearance of assurance and certainty, in points where they are far from being at that certainty which they affect so much to be thought to have; and every one must have a much worse opinion of those who give themselves this air only to serve party or private views. The first proceeds from a degree of pride, to which human nature is more easily carried; while the second arises from a degree of dishonesty, which has been contracted by lower acts of it, repeated from time to time, till it is grown habitual, and ends in venturing on this high injury to mankind. The first moral virtues of a writer are to divest himself of these enormous passions; to search for truth alone, and to propose his conclusions to his reader with that degree of evidence and certainty, or of doubt and difficulty, which they have in his own mind. He is required to consider himself as accountable to God for misleading any man by the superiority of his talents; and as accountable to his reader for the insolvency of endeavouring to impose on him, by means of any real or imagined advantage he has over him. If these virtues were practised by every writer, we should receive more profit from the best, and less hurt from the worst, than we now reap from either of them; and writing would then be in the best state that this state of imperfection will allow."
In the tract entitled a "Dissuasive from Jacobitism," there is a seasonable and spirited address to the people of England, against the designs and principles of the Pretender. As a specimen of clear and compact reasoning, and of a bold and intrepid exposition of the important principles of civil liberty against Popish superstition and arbitrary power, this little pamphlet could hardly have been rivalled by any of its many contemporary treatises on the same subject: and of this the public encouragement (for it passed through seven editions) is an unquestionable proof. It would be uninteresting, except in a literary point of view, to give many extracts from a publication which was designed to serve a purpose of temporary interest; but there are some passages in this tract that refer to subjects which will always be important to the Protestants of these kingdoms: a few of these are here presented to the reader.

"If he (a Popish king) be a good-natured prince, his very tenderness and compassion for the souls of his subjects will make him destroy all heretics, lest they hinder or endanger the salvation of others: the greater his charity is, the less will be his humanity; and he will think nothing more cruel than to neglect the most effectual means of bringing all his people into the bosom of the true church."
"If his principles and temper be equally ill-natured, what will not his furious zeal prompt him to do for the interest of his religion?"

"The weaker any Popish prince is, the more will he be governed by his priests; who being everywhere as bad as such a religion can render them, will not fail to make him act up to all the persecuting principles of their church."

"The more wicked any prince is, the greater hold will his priests (who have an excellent knack of reconciling immorality and religion) have over him; they will indulge him in his worst vices, provided he will atone for them by extirpating heretics; a work so peculiarly charitable, as to hide a multitude of sins from their sight."

"The more godly any Popish prince is, the greater bigot will he be to his religion; and then the honour of his God, the interest of his church, and the securing his own salvation, will most heartily engage him in that pious design of rooting out all heretics from the earth."

"If he be a courageous and wise prince, and have all the good qualities imaginable, yet so long as he is tainted with the abominable superstition of Popery, his wisdom will be but the greater snare to his Protestant subjects; and his courage will the more effectually assist him in the execution of those measures, which his
wisdom shall have contrived for the extirpation of heretics; so that a prince who would otherwise be the greatest blessing, must in this case (so fatal is the influence of Popery) prove the heaviest curse to a Protestant nation.

"In a word, when a prince is persuaded (as the Papists are) that all, who are not of his church, are so hated by God, as to be condemned by him to everlasting misery; from that moment he will think it his duty and glory to imitate the Author of all perfections, and to pursue with all possible hatred those whom God himself hates: and then of whatever temper he be, he will not scruple to put those enemies of God to a temporal death, though to save even but one soul from death eternal; but much less, when it is to bring back a whole nation, that has long been in a state of damnation, into the bosom of that church, in which alone salvation is to be obtained.

"And as no Protestant can draw the least argument for his safety from the disposition of any Popish princes, so their oaths and engagements which they take for that purpose, are not more to be regarded than those of the most profligate villains; the latter, how little soever they may regard them, are yet under no obligation to break them; but the former are, if they will act up to the dictates of their infallible church; which has solemnly determined in the council of Con-
stance, that faith is not to be kept with heretics.‘ And therefore when the queen regent of Scotland, to justify her so frequent breaches of her engagements, declared, ‘that faith was not to be kept with heretics; and that she would take it on her conscience (notwithstanding all her promises) to kill all her Protestant subjects, she only acted like a most dutiful daughter of holy mother church.’ So when in the Irish massacre the Papists murdered all the Protestants who yielded on terms, with their passports and safeguards in their hands, they only followed the example of that infallible council, which most religiously burnt John Huss; and Jerom of Prague, notwithstanding their safe-conduct.

“Nay, all the oaths that Popish princes make to their Protestant subjects can serve to no other end than to hasten on their destruction; because they, thinking themselves under a prior and greater obligation to God to destroy heretics, must believe that breaking such oaths, and acting steadily and vigorously against them, is the only tie which they can lay upon them. Nor can they in the least boggle at such oaths, since they are taught, that it is no crime to make bold with the sacred name of God, when they

1 *History of the Reformation, Par. 2. pag. 410.
2 *This is taken out of Sir John Temple’s Authentic History.
act for His service, and lend Heaven their assistance to send its worst enemies, the heretics, to hell.

"In a word, the good of the Romish church (that is, the interest of its priests) being held as the supreme law by its blind votaries, every thing, though never so vile, if it contributes to that end, is esteemed an indispensable duty; and, in truth, the only duty that is so: hence it is, that fraud and force, to which upon all occasions they have recourse, are the two grand supports of the kingdom of Antichrist.

"As no Protestants can depend for a moment on the most solemn engagements of a Popish prince; so neither can their most important services avail them, so long as their prince is persuaded that the extirpation of heretics is a necessary duty: nay, generally those Protestants who have deserved best at their hands (such is the gratitude of Popish princes!) have soonest felt the effects of their unrelenting, persecuting spirit.

"Did not our Popish Queen Mary most solemnly promise the nation the continuance of their religion, and declare (calling God to witness her sincerity) that though for her own part she were of a different faith, yet she would content herself with the private exercise of her religion; and protect and support her Protestant subjects in the enjoyment of their rights? "
yet she was no sooner placed on the throne, but the visor was pulled off, and Smithfield glowed with piles of blazing heretics: and none, as our chronicles relate, felt the weight of her severity more sensibly than the Norfolk and Suffolk men, who, having so little understanding as to believe a protesting Popish queen, hazarded their lives to set the crown on her head; for which she in royal gratitude thought it her duty to give them the first crown of martyrdom: I say the first, because it is plain that nothing but death hindered her from destroying every Protestant in her dominions."

"If we look beyond our own country, and examine the conduct of our next Popish neighbours, we shall find that no treaties, no engagements, no oaths could ever restrain them from using the Protestants after the same barbarous manner. Could any thing be more villanous than the massacre at Paris, and other great cities in France? was there not all imaginable treachery employed to draw the Protestants into the snare? did not the queen-mother most solemnly assure them of her friendship, and the king himself highly caress all the heads of them, making innumerable protestations (always accompanied with oaths) of his sincere kindness for them? and as a finishing stroke, was not a marriage set on foot between his own sister and the king of Navarre, the heads of the Protes-
tants having the honour to be invited to the wedding? all which was done with no other design than to get them into his power, in order to murder them; for which pious service this most perfidious prince was most highly applauded by the pope, cardinals, prelates, &c.

"The conduct of the French clergy, and other zealots of that kingdom, shows that they are capable of coming into any measures for the extirpation of heresy; to effect which, they first ran into all the excesses of a popular sedition, and murdered two kings; one of whom (Henry III.) was willing to have come into any persecuting measures that were consistent with his own safety, and with his not delivering up his kingdom to the Spaniards; for which the priests were extremely zealous, hoping by the assistance of that nation, which then bid so fair for universal monarchy, to be able to extirpate all heretics, whether in or out of France. And after this, they ran into the other extreme of arbitrary power; so that France may now thank them for the loss of their ancient liberties; so resolved were they at any rate to get rid of the Protestants.

"The Papists prefer even Jews and Mahometans, nay, heathens themselves, before Protestants; for though they suppose their errors are alike damnable, yet the Protestants are represented as apostatising against the light of their
own reason, and industriously stifling that conviction which their arguments must afford the unprejudiced."

"To show how falsehood and cruelty go together, I cannot but take notice, that when the Popish clergy deliver over a Protestant, or any other heretic, to be burnt by the civil magistrate, they most earnestly intreat him not to put his life in danger; which is such an impudent mockery of God and man, as is not to be paralleled in history; and yet this is practised in all Popish countries, and the notoriety of the writ de haeretico comburendo could not hinder our Popish priests from using the same scandalous prevarication. And they in Richard IIId's time had the impudence to forge an act of Parliament for burning such as they styled heretics; and though the imposture was discovered in the next Parliament, yet so great an influence had the clergy over this bigoted nation, that they not only escaped the punishment due to such an audacious piece of villany, but in a short time after obtained that very act they had before so scandalously forged.

"Another instance of the malice and falsehood of Popish priests is their robbing those of their reputations whom they deprive of their lives; and they gave out that the Albigenses maintained that the devil ought to be worshipped
more than God; that matrimony was hell and damnation; and that in their religious assemblies their daily practice was to murder infants, and drink their blood. And here in England, they charged the Lollards and followers of Wickliffe with as many monstrous opinions and scandalous practices.

"Every one knows what vile slanders they raised on our first reformers; for where they cannot reach people's lives, they are doubly diligent in defaming their persons and misrepresenting their opinions; and the nearer any approach towards Popery, the fonder they are of this villainous practice."

"What can we expect but authorised villany from a church whose infallible head claims a power of annulling contracts between man and man, and dissolving oaths between princes, and between them and their subjects? What need I mention his pretending to give allowances in cases which God and nature have prohibited; or obliging his members to believe virtue to be vice, and vice virtue, according as he shall determine; his indulgences for sins for the time to come as well as past, and his presumptuous pretence of freeing such as die in a state of sin from all pains in the other world; and then his setting a rate upon all crimes, that his good subjects may know how to sin cheaply; by which means
the worst Christians are his best customers? so that new Rome may be said to have peopled the church by the same policy as old Rome did—the city, by opening a sanctuary to all malefactors."

"The Irish made no distinction between Protestants, but massacred them all alike; and when they either by threats or promises prevailed on any to say they would go to mass, they notwithstanding murdered them immediately, on pretence it was best for them to die then in a good mind, for fear of their relapsing afterwards. And in the holy war with the Albigenses, upon the taking of a town, though there were a great many Papists mixed with the heretics, that none of the latter might escape, they were all promiscuously slain; and lest any should scruple this promiscuous butchery, they were told that the Catholics died with the satisfaction that at the last day God would distinguish His own.

"When by a massacre, or other barbarous methods, the nation is pretty well purged of heretics, an Inquisition no doubt will be set up to complete the great work; for the Popish priests will never think a nation which has been so long infested with heresy sufficiently secure from relapsing, without that great support of their religion. And therefore Parsons the Jesuit very frankly owns, that an Inquisition in
England is so absolutely necessary, that without that care all will slide down and fall again. And had Queen Mary lived to set up Inquisition-courts in England, as she designed, in all likelihood we had been at this day as great Popish bigots as the Spaniards themselves; whom nothing but the Inquisition, as is proved by Dr. Geddes, hindered from becoming a nation of Protestants."

In the "Essay upon the interest of England, in respect of Protestants dissenting," &c. the author endeavoured to make it appear that it would be unjust and impolitic to pass any new laws unfavourable to the dissenters, and, in particular, to prevent occasional conformity. He says:—

"I confess, if the dissenters were all of them an inconsiderable parcel of people, poor and ignorant without interest or influence; their being easy could do us no service, nor their uneasiness any hurt. But since a great many of the dissenters are men of sense and substance, considerable by their monies vested in trade, and the share they have in the land of England, and who with the assistance of the government could make a considerable in-

2 Hist. of the Reform. par. 2. p. 347.
3 Preface to the Spanish Protestant Martyrology.
terest for its support; it would be worth the
while to consider whether any of the little ends
that the enemies of the dissenters should pro-
pose to themselves, by disobliging them, could
counterbalance the loss of their direction and
their purse. Dissenters are considerable for their
number as well as their substance. Some, who
pretend to have considered the matter, compute
them, according to the most modest calculation,
to bear the proportion of one to four. Would
it be good policy then to disoblige a fourth
part of the people of England, and to shake
them off from every dependence on the govern-
ment, but that of dread and fear? would it be
prudent to tempt them to murmur and repine,
and some violent wicked spirits perhaps to do
what is worse, and that at a time when, to the
great grief of every true Englishman, people
seem to be so universally discontented and un-
easy, so jealous and apprehensive? He who
would advise the government to disoblige the
dissenters, upon supposition that they would
resent it, is an enemy to England; and he who
should give that advice, in expectation that they
would bear it with a virtuous patience, is a
sworn enemy to the Christian faith."

Our author observes farther, that "the Whigs,
of which the dissenters have always made a
considerable part (and with whom that interest
is so closely connected and interwoven, that it cannot fail to share the same fortune), have been the men noted for their popular principles, and for having always acted suitably thereto. They have been a firm rampart to the liberties of the people against all the assaults of arbitrary power; and have so heartily opposed the designs of ill reigns as to get the names of commonwealth's men: but who, to show that they were thorough friends to our constitution, and were for defending the prerogative vested in a good prince, who they knew would use it to their advantage, and who deserved marks of their gratitude for the great deliverance he had wrought, have gone so far on the obliging side of this reign as to be termed apostates and courtiers in reproach.

"If the preservation of the balance or constitution of England depend upon a preservation of the prerogative on the one hand, and the liberties of the people on the other; if, moreover, these inclinations depend upon popular principles; and the Whigs are the men noted for these principles and a steady practice conformable thereto; and if the dissenters are known to be the men with whom the Whig interest must rise or fall; it is certain that to weaken the dissenters is to destroy the balance of England."
Lord Barrington.

Soon after the last-mentioned production Lord Barrington published "A Letter from a Layman, in communion with the Church of England, though dissenting from her in some points, to The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of———: with a Postscript, showing how far the Bill to prevent the growth of schism is inconsistent with the Act of Toleration and the other Laws of this Realm." The second edition of this was printed in 1714, 4to.¹ In this letter

¹ Lord Barrington also published—

1. The Layman's Letter to the Bishop of Bangor. The second edition of this was published in 1716, 4to.

2. An Account of the late proceedings of the Dissenting Ministers at Salters' Hall, occasioned by the differences amongst their brethren in the country, with some thoughts concerning the imposition of human forms for articles of faith. In a letter to the Rev. Dr. Gale, 8vo. 1719. The differences referred to in the title of this piece, it is observed by the author, "had their rise from some disputes concerning the doctrine of the Trinity; whereupon some weak Christians, of more zeal than charity, took it into their heads to be uneasy in communion with such as they were jealous of on that account, and insisted upon a defection from some articles, or forms upon that head, to be a sufficient ground of excommunication or exclusion."

3. A Discourse of Natural and Revealed Religion, and the relation they bear to each other, 8vo. 1732.

the author observes, that, "As to break in upon a man's liberty in the indifferent things of life is an encroachment on the rights of human nature; so to break in upon it in religious matters that are not injurious to another, is not only an encroachment which is called persecution for conscience' sake, but is an usurpation of the divine prerogative over the minds of men. Besides, it will appear very plainly that government can have no rightful power over men's possessions or practices in points of this nature; because government cannot in any wise affect men's sentiments. For penalties, which is all the force that government can exert over its subjects, have not the least tendency to alter men's opinions. All that a government can do is to restrain men's professions or practices. But to restrain their professions or practices in points that are not injurious to others, when they cannot alter their belief, tends only to make men hypocrites; that is, to believe one thing, and to profess and practise another; which, as it by consequence tends to damn the man that is thus tempted to hypocrisy, so it tends to destroy all government, by loosing men from the ties of their consciences, the best security a government can possibly have for the truest obedience of its subjects."

His Lordship married Anne, eldest daughter of William Daines, by whom he left six sons
and three daughters. William, his eldest son, succeeded to his father's honours; was elected, soon after he came of age, member for the town of Berwick, and passed through the successive offices of lord of the admiralty, master of the wardrobe, secretary at war, chancellor of the exchequer, and treasurer of the navy. Francis, the second son, died young. John, the third son, was a major-general in the army, commanded the land forces at the reduction of the island of Gaudaloupe in 1758, and died in 1764. Daines, the fourth son, king's counsel, and one of the Welsh judges, was author of "Observations on the Ancient Statutes," and of several curious and valuable papers in the Philosophical Transactions, and in the Archaeologia of the Antiquarian Society. Samuel, the fifth son, was appointed a post-captain in the navy in 1747, colonel of the Chatham division of marines in October 1770, in the room of Lord Viscount Howe (who was then made an admiral): in 1778 he was made a rear-admiral; was sent to the West Indies, and repulsed the French fleet at St. Lucia in 1779, although of more than ten times his force. In 1782 he was made a vice-admiral, and distinguished himself at the relief of Gibraltar, being second in command under Lord Howe: in February 1786 he was appointed lieutenant-general of the marines, and in 1787 was promoted to the
rank of admiral of the blue squadron, and died August 16, 1800. Shute, the youngest son, successively filled the episcopal sees of Llandaff, Salisbury, and Durham: for the particulars of his life the reader is referred to the following Memoir.

Of the three daughters, 1. Sarah was married in June 1746 to Robert, only son of Uvedale Price, of the county of Hereford, Esq.; 2. Anne was married in January 1747 to Thomas, only son of Sir Thomas Clarges, Bart.; and, 3. Mary, died unmarried in 1743.

I cannot close this memoir of the first Lord Barrington without recalling to the attention of the reader the various successful fortunes of his sons. William, the eldest, became secretary at war, and chancellor of the exchequer. The third, John, died a major-general in the army. Daines, the fourth, was well known as a naturalist and antiquary. Samuel was distinguished as an admiral. The sixth, and last, was Shute, late Bishop of Durham. Of this eminent and lamented prelate many brief memoirs were given to the world in various periodical publications at the time of

Francis, the second son, died young.
his death. I trust, however, that I may be allowed to avail myself of this opportunity to pay some slight tribute to the memory of a friend, to whom I am bound by every tie of gratitude and esteem; who called me forth from the retirements of life, to honour me with his confidence, to regard me as his friend, to love me as his child.

Shute Barrington, the sixth and youngest son of the first Lord Barrington, was born May 26th, 1734. He lost his father at the age of seven months. He was educated at Eton, and, in 1752, became a gentleman-commoner at Merton College, Oxford, where he took his first degree in 1755, and in the ensuing year obtained a fellowship. In the following year he was ordained by Bishop Secker, and, in 1757, having taken his master's degree, was appointed by Dr. Randolph, the vice-chancellor, to make a public oration on the presentation of the Pomfret marbles to the University. By the interest of his brother William, the second Lord Barrington, he was named chaplain in ordinary to George the Second. In 1761 he was made canon of Christ Church, and took his degree of doctor of law in the ensuing year. In 1768 he was promoted to a canonry at St. Paul's, which he afterwards exchanged for a stall at Windsor. His elevation to the bench of bishops took place in 1789, when he was
consecrated Bishop of Llandaff. In 1781 he was made Bishop of Salisbury, and ten years after Bishop of Durham. He died, after a short illness, on the morning of the 25th of March 1826.

The Bishop of Durham was twice married. His first wife was Lady Diana Beauclerk, only daughter of Charles, second Duke of St. Albans, who died in 1762, leaving no children. In 1770 he married his second wife Jane, only daughter of Sir J. Guise of Rendcombe in Gloucestershire; by whom he had a son, who died an infant. Mrs. Barrington died at Mongewell in Oxfordshire, August 8th, 1808.

The Bishop of Durham was more distinguished for the exemplary discharge of his duties, for piety and well regulated benevolence, than for eminent talents or extensive knowledge. His remarks on the Greek Testament, inserted in Bowyer's "Critical Conjectures," are characterised by sound judgment and great caution. The Bishop was accustomed to read the Greek Testament in that manner in which every student was compelled to peruse it before the invention of the art of printing; that is, without regard to modern punctuation, or the divisions into chapters and verses. He proposed no alteration in the text itself; but suggested several corrections, many of which were useful and ingenious, arising from changing a
period, and thereby attaching words to the beginning instead of the end of a sentence; or to the end instead of the beginning. He was accustomed to read the Hebrew Bible on the same plan; but has left no criticisms on this branch of study.

The principal publications which the Bishop gave to the world were tracts, sermons, and charges; which are alike characterised by sound judgment, clearness of expression, and fervent piety. His last work was the political life of his brother William, the second Lord Barrington.

In a sermon preached before the House of Lords, on the thirtieth of January 1772, from Prov. i. 32, "The prosperity of fools shall destroy them," an admirable review is taken of the various errors of the several parties which divided England in the reign of Charles the First, and in the time of the Commonwealth; together with their success in attaining power, and their downfall in consequence of their prosperity.

In the year 1775 he preached the sermon before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He chose for his subject the passage in the second Psalm, "Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance," &c. &c. In this sermon he attempts to prove that the moral weight and
importance of the truths of the Gospel, and the management and conduct of its teachers and professors, were intended to be a more efficient cause of its success than even the miracles of the apostolic age.

In his sermon preached before the House of Lords in 1799, the Bishop demonstrates that the principal cause of the French Revolution was the total indifference to, and contempt of, the Christian religion, arising from the corruptions of Popery, and the identification of those corruptions with Christianity itself.

His charges to the clergy deserve the attentive perusal of every member of the clerical body.

The tract entitled “The Grounds on which the Church of England separated from the Church of Rome reconsidered, in a view of the Romish doctrine of the Eucharist, with an Explanation of the Antepenultimate answer in the Church Catechism,” has been generally esteemed among the most valuable controversial pamphlets which have hitherto appeared on this subject. It is well known, as having been admitted on the list of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Much controversy was occasioned by the publication of this tract, as well as by a sermon which was published in 1806, in which the Bishop again
stated his opinion, that the corruptions of the Church of Rome were the principal causes of the French Revolution. It is not necessary to relate the progress, and termination of these discussions. The opinion which he had deliberately, conscientiously, and rightly formed, respecting the Church of Rome—that it was corrupt in its doctrines, superstitious in its practice, idolatrous in its worship, and intolerant in its conduct, he uniformly, zealously, and fearlessly maintained upon all occasions, both privately and publicly. But while he acted upon this principle, as a bishop, and a senator, he never permitted his conviction of the evils of Popery to betray him into intolerance. He uniformly declared his willingness to grant "every degree of toleration, short of political power and establishment," and he proved this entire freedom from bigotry by the hospitality, and pecuniary assistance afforded to the emigrant priests, and to other Roman Catholics, both clergy and laity, who had been compelled at the time of the French Revolution to take refuge in England.

For many years before his death he was respected by the public as the munificent patron of the arts, the friend of good men, the promoter of every useful object. He was venerated for his blameless character; his well-
regulated life; his unostentatious hospitality; his attention to every petition; his unaffected humility; his unbounded liberality. He was justly esteemed the great ornament of the bench, of which he was the father. All sects, all classes, acknowledged the influence of his virtues, and the consistency of his conduct. All mentioned his name with a respect and affection, which are seldom granted in a censorious and fastidious age to unobtrusive goodness alone: and thus, for many successive years his valuable life was prolonged for the benefit of the poor, and the happiness of his friends—a memorable instance of the homage offered to the milder virtues, without one attempt to obtain the popular applause, or an effort to attract the public attention. It was the triumph of Christian piety, extorting deference, even where it failed to excite imitation.

In the summer of 1822, when the Bishop of Durham was the most eminent among his contemporaries for venerable age, extensive benevolence, and exalted piety;—when every tongue spoke of him with respect, or affection, or applause, I was introduced to him by the present Bishop of Bristol, Dr. Gray, the author of the "Key to the Old Testament." On my waiting upon the Bishop with my letter of introduction at Mongewell, I was gratified at receiving his
approbation of the "Arrangement of the Old Testament," which I had then but recently published. He had procured the work on its publication; and I found by his varied and judicious criticisms, that he had made himself well acquainted with its plan, and contents. He approved of some parts, and condemned others, in the most unreserved manner, freely expressing doubt, praise, or censure, as he thought fit. I was more gratified, however, by his knowledge of the book, than I was grieved with his disapprobation, or delighted with his applause. After this first interview I accepted the general invitation with which I had been favoured; and repeatedly called in the morning, or dined in the evening, as my opportunities permitted, in Cavendish Square; till I had the honour of being appointed chaplain to the Bishop, in October 1824.

From this period, personal observation and experience assured me that the universal estimation in which the Bishop of Durham was held by his contemporaries, was established upon the only solid foundation of permanent eminence—regard to the will of God in every action of his life. The strictest regularity prevailed in his household. At seven in the morning he was awoke by his valet; and, after the time allotted to dressing, he devoted to pri-
vate prayer, and devotional reading, the time which remained before the assembling of the family, for morning worship, at a quarter past nine. Breakfast was then served up. The conversation which had originated at breakfast, (and which generally arose from our informing each other of some remark, or incident, which appeared worthy of remembrance, in the reading of the morning,) sometimes continued till post-time, when the Bishop retired to read and answer his letters. He was attentive to business to the last; and generally wrote from two to nine letters daily, answering every letter, if possible, by return of post. If any communication required a more deliberate reply, he would favour me by fully discussing with me the subject of the letter. After finishing his letters, he received his morning visitors, or read till one o'clock; when luncheon, at which he was accustomed to take one mouthful of solid food, was served up. He then walked, or was driven out, for about two hours.

He dined at five. Small parties, never exceeding, with ourselves, eight in number, dined at his house about twice a week. It was at his own table that he particularly excelled in conversation, at once varied, intellectual, and useful. He never permitted the subject, on which we had begun to converse, so entirely to drop,
that there should be any awkward or embarrassng pause, in the conversation. He carefully watched the moment in which a new turn might be given to the dialogue, if there was the least discontinuance of animated and cheerful discussion. It generally happened that at every party one of the guests had been distinguished by some enterprise or pursuit; or excelled in some department of literature, or branch of art. Whatever might be the subject, the Bishop would imperceptibly lead the conversation to some matter connected with the pursuit, or department, in which his guest had attained eminence; and he so used to proceed with questions, remarks, or hints, that the enthusiasm of the traveller, the artist, the author, or the professor, was gradually kindled. The more eminent guest became the principal speaker: curiosity was excited, attention fixed, and information was elicited, without pedantry in the speaker, or fatigue to the hearer. When we dined alone we generally talked over the various controversies which were engaging the attention of the public, the debates in Parliament, or the literature of the day. The Bishop took a lively interest in every proceeding relative to the great national question which still divides us; and I remember that he strenuously encouraged me in writing my
reply to Mr. Butler's work: "The Book of the Roman Catholic Church." He had none of that apathy which is too frequently the misfortune of the aged, when they have not devoted their minds to intellectual pursuits. Literary curiosity, the comfort and refreshment of age, was an active principle in him to the last; and the love of literary novelty, next to devotion and benevolence, his ruling passion.

Tea was brought in at half past seven, and at eight the Bishop ended the day as he had begun it, by the perusal of devotional books, or by private meditation and prayer. I well remember his telling me that he considered it to be a part of his duty to God to devote to Him the remaining strength of his intellect, by dedicating to His service those hours in which the faculties of his mind were most active; and for that reason he never gave his restless and sleepless hours, which at his advanced age were unavoidably numerous, to prayer, and to devotional exercises. He preferred giving up the prime of his day, and the remnant of his intellect to the Almighty; and he surrendered the dross of his time, such was his own forcible expression, to inferior subjects, to literary recollections; or to soothing remembrances of the friends he had lost, whose conversation he recollected with pleasure.
At a quarter before ten, the family were summoned to evening prayer. A slight supper was then served, and at eleven the Bishop retired for the night. The pleasantest hours which I passed with my lamented friend, were those which elapsed between the removal of supper, and the entrance of the servant who attended him to his room. He was now ninety years of age, and he had long been accustomed to live in the constant anticipation of death. Every night he composed himself to rest; not expecting to live till the morning. The conversations therefore which we were accustomed to hold at this hour were always grave and serious, though uniformly cheerful. He regarded death, as a man of sound judgment, and Christian principles will ever do—without fear, and without rapture; with well founded hope, though with undefinable awe—as a punishment decreed by the Almighty, yet as the introduction to a higher state of happiness than he could possibly experience, (though he possessed every worldly enjoyment,) in this state of his being. Though our conversation was sometimes directed to the literary, or theological publications of the day, or to the actions, demeanour, or conduct, of his more distinguished contemporaries, of whom be related numerous, and most interesting anecdotes; yet the more frequent topics
of our conversation were derived from the possible or probable approach of the period when the body should be committed to the ground, and the spirit return to its Maker. He delighted to dwell on these subjects. The questions which appeared to interest him more than any others, were—whether the soul slept in the grave, with the suspension of its faculties, till it awoke, with the reanimated body, in the morning of the resurrection—or whether, (as he steadfastly believed,) it passed in some mysterious manner into the more manifested presence of God immediately upon the dissolution of the body—the nature of the future happiness, and future misery—the continuance of the existence of the mental habits which are formed in this state, and which constitute in some manner our future condition—the extent of redemption—and the opposite opinions of Christians, respecting the invisible state;—these and similar considerations were alternately discussed in these calm and silent hours; and he uniformly concluded these discussions by observing, "I know not, and I care not, what may be the real solution of these questions; I am in the hands of a merciful God, and I resign myself to His will, with hope, and patience." All our inquiries indeed upon these subjects, though they may be very interesting, are merely speculative,
and are always unsatisfactory. We cannot raise the veil which conceals the future. We must die before we can understand death; yet the sight of an old man, full of days, riches, and honours, at the close of a religious, and well-spent life, patiently expecting his end, abounding in every virtue which can adorn mankind—in humility, in patience, in kindness, in charity to all, in serene submission to expected death; in implicit dependence upon the mercy of a God, whom he believed to be his Friend, and Father, by the atonement, which had been accomplished by the Mediator of the New Testament—the image of such a man can never be obliterated from my memory; and the continued enjoyment of his conversation, till within a few weeks of his death, while the strength of his body was gradually declining, and the intellectual, though not the spiritual powers, were decaying; that is, while he was beginning to be more averse to worldly business, and more intent upon devotional exercises, was a privilege which I cannot too much appreciate, and which may be justly envied by all who can delight in the society of the wise and good; or who would contemplate the triumph of the spirit of man, over the weakness of the mind, and the infirmities of the body.

Deeply do I regret that I was not with him
at the last. I resigned my chaplaincy on the fourteenth of December 1825 to my friend Mr. Gilly, the well-known traveller among the Vaudois. The Bishop died on the morning of the 26th of March in the following year. About six weeks before that time, as he was sitting at luncheon, and was raising to his mouth the one morsel which he was accustomed to take, his arm fell powerless by his side. The alarm was immediately given; and he was soon removed to his room, which he never again quitted with life. Though his constitutional strength was so great, that he struggled for some time against increasing illness, his advanced age prevented the rational indulgence of the hope of recovery. He had been for some time indisposed before I heard of his situation. On being informed of his illness I hastened to town from Brighton; but though I had the melancholy satisfaction of learning that he had made many inquiries concerning me, I was requested to defer seeing him till the next day. On that day the same request was made, and was repeated day after day, in consequence of increasing illness, which rendered it advisable that he should see no person but his physician, and the members of his family. He attended to business, and dictated letters till his strength entirely declined: and as every succeeding day found him still weaker than he had pre-
lately Bishop of Durham.

iously been, I could not be permitted to take my farewell, till he was unable to recognise me. Four days he lay in a state of stupor, totally unconscious of all surrounding objects—till, thus sleeping, he ceased to live among us. "His body is buried in peace—his name liveth for evermore."—I rejoice to believe that we shall meet again.
THE

PREFACE;

BEING AN INTRODUCTION TO THE FOLLOWING
ABSTRACTS AND ESSAYS.

EVERY one who has read history with any attention, must have observed that, in almost every age, some remarkable disposition has prevailed among mankind: this has been owing, perhaps, to some great genius, in whom that disposition has been conspicuous, and by whom it has been communicated to others; till at length it has spread so far as to become the predominant humour of the time.

Nor is it possible for any one to review, however hastily, our own times, in particular, without remarking that a very inquisitive turn has prevailed in them, especially in philosophy, and

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in natural and revealed religion, and that likewise a happy temper has grown up along with it, of bearing with one another in the result of our inquiries.

As these are in themselves some of the best dispositions that can have place in mankind, and as they are the only promising symptoms of a moral nature, among a great many threatening appearances, that a curious observer will find among us, there is no man, who has been blessed by God with having had any share in exciting or advancing this happy temper, who does not feel, on that account, the highest satisfaction in his own breast, as well as the greatest thankfulness to God, the Author of every good and perfect gift.

And as this inquisitive turn has brought men to look more curiously into the Scriptures, from seeing that they alone must be the standards of truths which are not discoverable by the light of nature, and to judge of the books of the Old and New Testament more according to the rules of criticism, from a better taste that obtains, they will contribute all the help they can to assist others in reading them with greater advantage.

God had, no doubt, the wisest ends in ordering the historical parts of the New Testament to be written in the form in which they
have come down to us. The truth of them, on which the truth of the whole is built, is better attested by the method in which they are composed, than it could possibly have been by a disposition, in which the order of time and place had been more carefully observed. But every body must allow, that a great deal of light may be cast on the historical as well as on the other parts of the New Testament, by putting them in that order. This has engaged many learned men to take great pains in forming harmonies, histories, and chronological accounts, by which that order might be given them, to the great advancement of Christian knowledge.

When I reflected on this, and found the advantage that the gospels (or the history of Jesus) had received by that method of treating them, I thought that, as the Acts (which may be considered as the history of the Holy Ghost) contained the chief account that we have in the New Testament of the method of propagating the Christian religion in the times of the apostles, it would be of great use to have that history carefully digested in the same manner. With this view I set about it, as I had leisure. After I had made some progress in it, I thought it would be necessary to begin the history of the apostles a little higher, and to carry it up to the first time of their being chosen by our Saviour; that so, putting all the places that relate to
them together, I might see what observations they would afford me.

After I had performed this task with all the care I could, from those parts of the gospels which relate to that matter, and from the Acts of the Apostles, I perused what had been written by Dr. Cave, Mr. Le Clerc, Dr. Whitby, Bishop Lloyd, and others; but especially by Archbishop Usher (who first threw great light on the sacred chronology), and Bishop Pearson in his "Annales Paulini," who has settled the chronology of St. Paul with such learning and judgment, as has obliged me to follow him in most particulars where I had happened to differ from him. And though, on a careful review of the chronological order into which I had digested the Acts, I have generally preferred Bishop Pearson to Bishop Lloyd (who had the advantage of writing after him) where they differ, yet in some points I continue to differ from the former. The reason of my differing from him will appear, in most of the instances of any moment, either in the Abstracts, or one of the two last Essays.

I found some hints which had slipped me, not only from Bishop Pearson, but from all the rest of these authors I consulted, except Dr. Cave, who I think has little that is not very common and obvious, except some idle legendary stories, with which he abounds. What I
met with from any of them I carefully inserted; and in some other instances I found reason from them also to alter what I had done: but, on perusing them, I did not think my own labour entirely lost; neither they nor any other (as far as I know) falling in with my design. Archbishop Usher's Chronology is a work of a vast compass as well as learning. Bishop Pearson's only settles Paul's chronology from his being present at the stoning of Stephen, without regarding the history of the other apostles previous to that period. Mr. Le Clerc has mixed the history of the apostles with the other parts of ecclesiastical history; and Dr. Whitby, in the end of his Commentary (as many others have done), has given us a short abstract of the greater events of the whole history of our Saviour and His apostles, in the order of time, borrowed from a learned prelate (Bishop Lloyd), highly celebrated for this part of learning, as the Doctor tells us in his Preface to his Commentary.

My design is different from each of these; for I have only endeavoured to give a short Abstract, in the order of time, of all the Scripture-history of the apostles, and chiefly with regard to those parts of their history that may show us what the apostolical work and office was, as distinguished from other ministers of the first Christian church, and what were the steps
by which they were directed by Providence to spread the Christian religion in the world; in which, I think, the greatest wisdom, harmony, beauty, and proportion, will appear; such as will show the new creation every way worthy of the Word and Wisdom by which God not only made the worlds, but introduced this new system of religion into ours. I have likewise endeavoured to represent it in a scheme, by which the history of the apostles may be more easily traced than in any I have yet seen. In this I have distinguished Paul’s five apostical journeys, which ought to make so many different sections of Paul’s history, and is the only way by which the method observed by St. Luke in writing that part of it can appear. And, that St. Paul’s history might yet be more easily traced, I have also given a short Abstract of this Abstract, that so it might be seen at one view, and that the reader might consult one or the other as he should find occasion. And because the Abstract of the Abstract is capable of being represented in one view, I have divided that into those greater and their lesser periods, of which I shall say more presently. But I could not divide it conveniently into St. Paul’s five apostical journeys, without rendering the periods somewhat confused; as the periods, on the other hand, would have been of little use in an Abstract consisting of several sheets.
However, either of these defects may be easily supplied, by turning either to the Abstract, or the Abstract of the Abstract, as there is occasion.

I believe it will be always found to be of use to consider in what year the books and epistles of the New Testament were written, or that any thing happened that is recorded in them of which we desire to make ourselves masters. This, I confess, has been recommended to us by the best critics; who have often reminded us, that when we read any of the sacred authors, as well as others, we must put ourselves, as nearly as possible, in the same situation that the writer was in when he wrote; though, I think, scarce any of those critics have attended so exactly to their own rule as they ought; and when they attend to their own rule, it is still very difficult to follow it. But what I principally aim at is, to engage my reader to divide the apostolical history not barely into the order of time, but chiefly by that means into the period of the ministry of Jesus, and the ministry of the Spirit; and particularly the latter (for it is not necessary to speak of the subdivision of the former here), into the three great periods; which, though very remarkable in Scripture, have not been ever taken notice of by any one, as far as I know, at least to this purpose: I mean, the time from the descent of the Holy
Ghost, while Christ was preached only to the Jews, either by birth or proselytism, in Jerusalem, Judea, and Samaria, according to our Saviour’s parable,¹ and His express prediction;² and at last out of Judea, as far as Antioch;³ the time that it was preached not only to the Jews, but to those who were Heathens by nation, but had quitted the Pagan religion, without embracing the Jewish, called the devout Gentiles, or proselytes of the gate; and the time that it was preached to those two, and to the idolatrous Gentiles also.

The persons who preached to these different sorts of people, the characters and circumstances of these people to whom they preached, the obligation that they were under, the doctrine that was preached to them, and the manner and style of preaching, were all different, as well as the periods in which these teachers preached: so that, if I am not very much mistaken, smaller or larger portions of the Acts, read with a regard to those three periods of time, and to the three different sorts of persons they concern, will often cast a great light on them; as the not regarding, or confounding these periods has, in my opinion, been the occasion of many gross mistakes about them. And I cannot but think, that as it will give one

of the best clues to the finding out the true sense and meaning of the Gospels and Acts, to consider them with a view to these periods, so it will be a great help to us in reading the Epistles, always to keep in view to which of these sorts of persons they were written; and particularly, that St. Paul wrote his Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, Ephesians, Colossians, and Thessalonians, chiefly with a view to the idolatrous Gentiles, but now and then with a regard to the proselyted Gentiles; that St. Peter wrote to the proselyted Gentiles; and that the other apostles wrote to the Jews, at least those who wrote during the lives of St. Peter and St. Paul; and to observe the references which some passages in St. Paul's epistles have to the subdivision of the last period, which I shall speak more fully to by and by. These observations, and these alone, will, in my opinion, often afford us great assistance in Scripture-criticism, where it is very much wanted. Instances of this kind are the four Essays: the first being an account of the dispensation of the Spirit; the second, both of the dispensation of Jesus and of the Spirit; the third, the subdivision of the ministry of the Spirit; the fourth, the second subdivision of the ministry of the Spirit, and the unknown period of the third subdivision.
That I may not be misunderstood in what I have just now said of the different obligations the different sorts of people preached to were under, and of the different doctrine that was preached to them, I mean no more than this: that the Jews were under an obligation to observe all the laws of Moses, as the laws of their country; that the proselytes of the gate were obliged to observe some of those laws, as the terms on which they were entitled to some civil privileges when they were in Palestine; and that the rest of the Gentiles were entirely free from all of them. The sum of the doctrine that was preached in common to these three sorts of men was, that they could obtain justification and pardon, God's favour, acceptance, and eternal life, only on faith and repentance. The different doctrine that was preached to them according to these different obligations which they were under was, that a Jew ought to continue a Jew, and remain subject to all the laws of Moses; that a proselyte of the gate was to continue a proselyte of the gate, and subject only to those laws after his conversion that he was subject to before; and that the rest of the Gentiles remained entirely free from any of them: but withal, that if the Jews hoped to obtain God's favour by observing the law; or if the proselytes of the gate subjected themselves to more of the laws of Moses after their con-
relation to Christianity than before; or if the other Gentiles subjected themselves to any after their conversion to Christianity, all these three sorts of men "subverted their own souls, sought justification by the works of the law, and made the death of Christ of no effect."

But to return. The first of these periods is from the year 33 to the year 41. The second is from the year 41 to the year 45. The third is from the year 45 to the year 70, the end of the Jewish age, or the destruction of the Jewish state and nation, which took away all the obligations the Jews were under to all the laws of Moses, and that the proselytes of the gate were under to some of them, and consequently destroyed the distinction of the three periods; all men being then bound only to faith and repentance, and a subjection to the laws of those countries where they lived.

It will be of some use to divide each of these three periods into their lesser periods, as I have done in the Abstract of the Abstract. But it will be found absolutely necessary to subdivide the third period into three; namely, the period in which I endeavour to show that the gospel was preached to the idolatrous Gentiles, and that it was not known to be preached to them by any of the church of Jerusalem (which I apprehend to be from the year 45 to the year 49); the period in which, as I believe, it was
known to three of the apostles; namely, Peter, James, and John, and concealed from the rest of the church of Jerusalem (which I apprehend was from the year 49 to the year 58); and the period in which it was known to the whole church at Jerusalem, which I apprehend was from the year 58 to the year 70.

I propose this to the learned, with the diffidence that becomes a scheme so new as this, even in this knowing age. I own too, that it is not without some difficulty one can conceive how so great an event as the conversion of the idolatrous Gentiles, and the gospel that Paul and Barnabas preached to them, should be kept near four years from the knowledge of any of the Jewish apostles, and thirteen years from the rest of the church of Jerusalem. I confess this startled me extremely at first; yet, I think, if the following circumstances are considered, they will very much lessen, if not quite remove, the difficulty with my reader, as they have with me.

1st. That there were at that time no posts, nor any fixed stated way of correspondence, in the world.

2d. That there was then very little intelligence between the Jewish believers in distant places. We have a strong instance to this purpose in the case of Saul, who was not known so much as to be a disciple by the apostles, or
church of Jerusalem, three years after his conversion; nor then believed to be so, on his attempting to join himself to them, till they were certified of the miraculous event of his conversion by Barnabas. This is altogether astonishing, considering how great a persecutor of the churches he had been; how much rest they all had on his conversion; how remarkable the conversion of a man so distinguished for learning, for zeal for the law, as well as fury against the Christians, must have been; what wonderful circumstances attended it (a voice and a light from heaven, a vision to Ananias and him, his being miraculously struck blind, restored to his sight, and filled with the Holy Ghost); preaching and disputing with great skill and success in the synagogues at so great a city as Damascus, afterwards in Arabia, and then again at Damascus; both of them in the neighbourhood of Palestine. How much easier is it to conceive how the conversion of the idolatrous Gentiles, so much more distant from Palestine, as the Leéser Asia, Macedonia, and Greece, might be concealed from all the church of Jerusalem four years, and from the body of it very near thirteen? especially when it is considered,

3d. That there was then no correspondence

1 See Acts ix. 26. and Gal. i. 18.  
2 Acts ix. 31.
between the churches of the idolatrous Gentiles converted to Christianity and the church of Jerusalem, but by Paul; and that he was at Jerusalem but twice between the year 45 and the year 58 (in which year, namely, 58, he communicated the conversion of the idolatrous Gentiles to the whole church of Jerusalem, in such a manner as to make them understand it); and that he made no stay at Jerusalem one of those times, namely, the fourth time of his being there, which was ann. 54.¹

4th. That when the church of Jerusalem heard of the conversion of the Gentiles, yet they thereby probably only understood the conversion of the proselyted, and not of the idolatrous Gentiles. Indeed, I believe Gentiles never signify any thing but proselyted Gentiles, from the xth to the xiiith chapter of the Acts. And, as I apprehend, when the conversion of the idolatrous Gentiles was spoken of, Acts xv., it was not understood to signify idolatrous, but proselyted Gentiles only by any of the church of Jerusalem besides Peter, James, and John, to whom Paul had imparted this matter; and continued to be so understood by them till the xxiist of the Acts. Thus, when Cornelius and his family, proselyted Gentiles, were converted, the Jewish Christians speak of them as Gentiles. St. Luke says,²

¹ See the Abstract. ² Acts xi. 1.
“And the apostles and brethren that were in Judea heard that the Gentiles (that is, Cornelius and his family) had also received the word of God. And they that were of the circumcision contended with Peter, saying, Thou wert in to men uncircumcised,” or to the Gentiles. And when they were forced to hold their peace on the justification that Peter gave of himself, they said, “Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life.” In all these places, Gentiles undoubtedly signify proselytes of the gate, or devout Gentiles. There had been great debates, in the church of Antioch first, and in the church of Jerusalem afterwards, about the “brethren, who from among the Gentiles were turned unto God, in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia,” and a decree about them: all which, as I hope, I have fully proved in the fourth Essay, related only to the proselytes of the gate converted to Christianity. On the other hand, the Jewish Christians had no notion of the calling of the idolatrous Gentiles. That was a mystery hid in the council of God from them, as well as from all ages before, and revealed first to Paul.

Whilst the heads, therefore, of these Jewish Christians were so full of the case of the prose-

¹ Acts xi. 2. ² Ver. 18. ³ Acts xv. ⁴ See the Third Essay.
lyted Gentiles; and whilst it so little entered into their thoughts that the idolatrous Gentiles would be called to the faith of Christ; or that they would be called to the faith, without being obliged to submit to any of the laws of Moses; it cannot be very surprising that whatever they heard concerning the conversion of the Gentiles, should not be understood of the conversion of the idolatrous Gentiles, and the terms on which they were received into the fellowship of the saints, but should be understood of the proselytes of the gate.

We have a much higher instance of the apostles and first disciples being blinded by a prepossession than this. For, though our Saviour foretold them, in the most plain and express words, that He must suffer many things, and be crucified, and rise again the third day; nay, though they once told Him, that now they understood Him; for "that He then spake plainly, and spake no proverb; yet was this saying hid from them;"* and that not only before, but after these events happened. So that after He was said to be risen by some of their own company, yet, influenced by their preconceived opinion of a temporal kingdom, they lost all hopes concerning Him; and only

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“trusted that this had been He that should have redeemed Israel.”

We have yet another instance of a stronger and more surprising prepossession in the history of the Acts, and in a case in point too. For though the prophets speak of the “calling in of the Gentiles by the Messiah;” though Simeon, at Christ’s being presented in the temple, had said, that “He was a Light to lighten the Gentiles, as well as the glory of God’s people Israel;” though Christ had not only hinted it in His parables to the people,¹ and more distinctly in the parable of the wedding-supper,² but spoke plainly of it to His disciples, and had given His apostles commission to “go and teach all nations, and to preach the gospel to every creature;” and had told them, that they should “be His witnesses, after the Holy Ghost was come upon them, in Jerusalem, Judea, and Samaria, and even to the uttermost parts of the earth;” though the Holy Ghost was fallen on them, to infuse into them great degrees of all necessary knowledge; nay, though Peter quoted the prophecy of Joel, “that God would pour out His Spirit upon all flesh;” yet their duty to preach to the devout Gentiles (the people the best disposed of any to receive the gospel), in order to convert them, was so entirely hid

from them, that none of them attempted it, till about eight years after our Saviour's ascension. Nor could Peter then scarce be brought to it by a vision from God to that purpose; he still persisting to say, "Not so, Lord!" And though at last Peter went to Cornelius in consequence of his vision, and on finding messengers come from Cornelius, and on a farther direction from the Spirit to go with them; and on finding that Cornelius had had a vision which corresponded with his; and preaches to them; and, on the Holy Ghost's falling on them, baptizes them; yet is he questioned about all this by the Jewish believers with great severity: and scarcely can he justify himself by reciting this whole transaction in order to them. And after he had justified himself, and it was a case settled in the church, that the devout Gentiles might be received, on believing the gospel, we see how fierce a contention broke out upon it at Antioch in Syria first, and at Jerusalem afterwards.¹

Nor did any of the apostles, even though they saw this point so fully determined, attempt thereupon to preach to the idolatrous Gentiles, till about four years after the conversion of Cornelius (as the men of Cyprus and Cyrene did to other proselytes of the gate soon after the conversion of Cornelius was known);² and

¹ Acts xv. 1, 4. ² Ibid. xi. 19, 20.
then only Paul and Barnabas, and they not without a special revelation and commission given to Saul for that purpose, which Saul also seems to receive with some reluctance:¹ nor does he even then obey it, till Sergius Paulus first, and the idolatrous Gentiles at Antioch in Pisidia afterwards, desire these two apostles to preach to them: no more than Peter did to Cornelius, till he not only sent messengers for Peter, but in person desired Peter (and by the direction of an angel) to preach to him. Thus though the Holy Ghost revealed all truth to the apostles, that was proper and necessary for them, on His first descent; yet this mystery of calling the Gentiles was still concealed from them a great while; either they, or the rest of the Jewish church, or the Jewish nation, or all of them, not being as yet able to bear it. I hope I may be pardoned, if I make a digression here, in order to account for so surprising an appearance as the late discovery of this mystery carries with it; especially since it will be of use in the following Essays.

That the apostles themselves were not able to bear the discovery of this mystery sooner, appears very plainly from what I have just now observed of the conduct of Peter, Paul, and

¹ Acts xxii. 18—22.
Barnabas, even on the late revelation which God made of this mystery to them.

How little the Jewish Christians could bear the reception of the devout Gentiles into the church, appears likewise from what I have but just observed happened at Antioch and Jerusalem.

And the malice and envy of the Jewish nation at the reception of the Gentiles, our Saviour describes and foretells in the person of the elder brother, in the beautiful parable of the Prodigal Son: And St. Luke takes notice accordingly of the envy they were filled with at Antioch in Pisidia, on finding the gospel was going to be preached to the Gentiles, and that the Gentiles were disposed to receive it, Acts xiii. 45. And we have a like instance of their envy; Acts xiv. 2—20. and xvii. 5. 13. xviii. 12, 13. Paul complains, that the Galatians were made his enemies by the Jewish teachers, "because he told them the truth:" that is, that they must not submit to any of the laws of Moses; or that "if they were circumcised, Christ could profit them nothing:" And he gives it as the character of the Jews, and, as I suppose, of some who had believed (or of some who, as St. John says, "went out from among

1 Luke xv. 25—31. 2 Gal. iv. 16. 3 Chap. v. 2.
them); * that they forbid them to speak to the Gentiles, that they may be saved."*

So that God in His providence saw fit to let the gospel be well received by the Jews, and settled among them, before it was to be offered to the Gentiles; lest that should still have created fresh prejudices in the minds of the Jews against it, and have obstructed (at least among them) the reception and furtherance of the gospel, if it had not occasioned the apostacy of some of them from it. God ordered things therefore so, that the gospel should not be preached to the proselyted Gentiles till the great conversions among the Jews were over; nor to the idolatrous Gentiles, till the Jews at Jerusalem would not receive the testimony of Paul (or of the apostles) about Christ,¹ and were found every where as ready to reject it, and even with the same disdain and blasphemy, as they did at Antioch in Pisidia.² And then indeed, when there was but a small remnant of them left that was to be saved, and that the rest were very near filling up the measure of their iniquity, and becoming ripe for a total destruction, this offer was made to the whole body of the Gentiles; that so God might yet try the last and the roughest method with the Jews, and

¹ 1 John ii. 19. ² Acts xxii. 18. ³ 1 Thess. ii. 16. ⁴ Ibid. xiii. 45.
provoke them to receive the gospel, if it were but from emulation and jealousy; as St. Paul’s manner of speaking to them imports, Acts xiii. 48, and xxviii. 28, and as he expressly asserts in the ixth and xiith chapters of his Epistle to the Romans. This was the natural tendency of so wise and gracious a conduct towards this nation; though, through their wicked temper, it had a quite contrary effect, and made them mad with rage against the gospel. All which was agreeable to Moses’ prediction, quoted by St. Paul, “I will provoke you (Jews) to jealousy by them that are no people; I will provoke them to anger by a foolish nation.” And as this was agreeable to these predictions, so was it likewise highly suitable to those perfections, which the Almighty always claimed the praise of from this people: “That the Lord is a God gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great loving-kindness, repenting Him of the evil, and waiting to be gracious to the children of men.” Nor was it less agreeable to the amazing methods of patience and tenderness, which He had taken all along with them, in order to reclaim them; still trying the gentler means first: till they, rejecting Him after all, justified His rejecting them for a season.

1 Deut. xxxii. 21. 2 Rom. x. 19.
All which was done for our instruction and caution, on whom the ends of the world are come. And we shall be very much wanting to ourselves, if we do not, from the whole story of that people, draw the moral that is so evidently and beautifully held out in it, for the improvement and reformation of mankind; that no ritual performances, promises, or external privileges, will entitle any nation or person to the Divine protection and favour, without national or personal virtue and religion. This is the truth that St. Paul evidently deduces from several remarkable occurrences in the Jewish history,¹ and which may be as justly inferred from all the rest.

But to return from this digression. Whatever difficulty there may be, after all that I have said, in conceiving how the conversion of the idolatrous Gentiles, and the terms on which they were received into the fellowship of Christ, was kept secret for thirteen years from the church at Jerusalem; yet perhaps there will be much greater in supposing it made known to them immediately, or at the third time of Paul's being at Jerusalem, ann. 49; as may appear from the Fourth Essay.

Besides; St. Paul expressly tells us, that he communicated the gospel, which he preached to

¹ 1 Cor. x. 1—15.
the Gentiles, to Peter, James, and John, fourteen years after his conversion;¹ that is, ann. 49. And we know, that he first preached this gospel ann. 45.² So that we are certain it was not known to the three chief apostles till about four years after it was preached. Now it will not be much more difficult to conceive how it might be kept secret from the whole church thirteen years, than for about four from these three apostles, whose thoughts were wholly taken up about the success that attended the preaching of the gospel in the world.

Farther, St. Paul tells us in the same place, that he then communicated this gospel to the three apostles only privately; "lest by any means he had run, or should run in vain." It is therefore implied, that he communicated it thus privately to them, that he might keep it a secret from all the rest of the church of Jerusalem; especially since, if it had been communicated to others, it might have come to the knowledge of those "false brethren, who wanted to spy out this (full) liberty, that they (the heathen converta) had in Christ."³

It is plain, therefore, that the gospel which was preached to the idolatrous Gentiles, and consequently the conversion of them, was designed to be kept secret for some longer time.

¹ Gal. ii. 1. ² See the Abstract. ³ See the Fourth Essay.
And who shall say for how much longer a time that was, or that it might not be for nine years longer? especially since St. Luke seems to mention that, at the time when Paul communicated this news to James, "all the elders being present."\(^1\)

And if God (who reserves "the times and seasons (χρόνους ἔτη καιροὺς) in His own hands")\(^2\) saw fit, either for these reasons which I have mentioned, or for others, to conceal this matter from the Jewish church at Jerusalem, and that those methods, which I have supposed to be the means of it, were not sufficient, other methods could never be wanting to His infinite wisdom and power. He that considers how God preserved Canaan from being invaded by its neighbours for so many ages, when all the males were to go up thrice a year to Jerusalem; the double portion of manna that fell on a Friday in the wilderness; and the double produce of every sixth year in the promised land; he, I say, that duly considers these things, will not find much difficulty in conceiving how this great event might be kept from all the Jewish apostles about four years, and from all the church of Jerusalem, except three of the apostles, for about thirteen. Or, if these reflections should

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1 Acts xxii. 18—21. See the Third and Fourth Essays.
2 Acts i. 7.
not reconcile his mind entirely to this notion, let him but carefully consider the two following phenomena, and I dare say it will; namely, 1. That when so severe a persecution as that which arose on the death of St. Stephen scattered all the disciples abroad except the apostles, yet the apostles, who were the prime ministers of Christ's kingdom, and were thought by the Jews to be the heads of the Christian sect, should continue there unmolested, at least alive, from about the year 33 to about the year 34. 2. That though, when the Jews were a free and powerful government, they were prone to idolatry, and to marrying strange wives; yet that now they have been dispersed all over the world for above 160 years without any form of government, they alone, of all the other nations in the world that were their contemporaries, continue still an unmixed and separate people, and at the same time remain free from idolatry, and very tenacious of all their religious rites; while the very accounts of the rites of the Greeks and Romans, those powerful nations, scarce continue to our time.

I will add, before I conclude my Preface, that I give these four Essays but as specimens of the usefulness of this way of reading the Scriptures; though they will take in what is

1 See the Abstract of the Abstract.
most remarkable in the history that St. Luke
gives us of the apostles.
I will also add, that as I have only attempted
to state the periods of the ministry of Jesus and
of the Spirit, I could wish with all my heart
that some able pen would state the several
periods previous to that of Jesus. As the
period of innocence; the period after the fall to
the flood; after the flood to the confusion of
languages; from thence to the calling of Abra-
ham; from thence to the death of Joseph; from
thence to the sending of Moses; from thence to
the giving of the law; from thence to the death
of Moses; from thence to the death of Joshua;
from thence to the last of the Judges; from
thence to the kingdom's becoming hereditary;
from thence to the division of the kingdom, and
the last of the Kings; from thence during the
captivity; from the restoration to the finishing of
the second temple; from thence to the reviving
of prophecy, about the birth of John Baptist;
from thence to his ministry; and from his
ministry to the ministry of Jesus. Light broke
still more into the world in most of these
periods. And I am satisfied the true way to
get a thorough understanding of the Scriptures
would be, to make oneself master of each of
these periods, as they are described and dis-
tinguished in the Bible, and as they stand in
order of time; the former of these preparing
always for the latter, and the latter still referring to the former; so that we must critically understand each of these, before we can have the whole compass of that knowledge, and the proof of the truth of it, which the Bible is designed to give us, "God having thought fit at sundry times and in divers manners (or in different parts, sections, or periods, πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως) to speak to the fathers by the prophets, and to us by His Son." I am sensible this is a work that will require a great deal of time, care, and ability; but the very outlines of such a design would be of great use and service.

In the mean time, I shall be heartily glad if these attempts of mine should provoke others to study the New Testament in this way, and in all others that may give such light to the obscure parts of it as is necessary to satisfy the strict inquirers, who are the best friends of religion; that may remove the objections brought against it by those who doubt of the truth of it, or are fully bent avowedly to oppose it; and that may, at the same time, rescue it from the absurd and superstitious glosses of those more dangerous enemies, who, to make it serve their own private purposes, pretend to draw doctrines from it, that are inconsistent with the principles on which all religion is built, and which entirely destroy them.

1 Heb. i. 2.
### AN
### ABSTRACT
### OF THE SCRIPTURE HISTORY OF
### THE APOSTLES,

In a scheme, representing their Commissions, Travels, and Transactions, in one view; especially with regard to what peculiarly belonged to the Apostolical Office, and the method in which they propagated the Christian Religion.

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<td>31</td>
<td>Mountain in Galilee.</td>
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<td>JESUS, having spent all night in prayer, in a mountain in Galilee, calls his disciples unto him; and out of them he chooses twelve, by the direction of God, through the Spirit, John xviii. 6. 9. 12. Acts i. 2. x. 41; whom also he named apostles: that he might send them forth to preach, and to have power to heal sicknesses, and cast out devils, and that they might be with him. Mark iii. 14, 15. Some time after, Jesus called these twelve unto him, and gave them power and authority over all devils and unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness and disease: and sends them forth two by two, saying, Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any of the cities of the Samaritans enter ye not, but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, to preach the kingdom of God, which “is at hand,” Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils; freely ye have received, freely give. And whosoever will not hear your words, shake off the dust of your feet against him.</td>
<td>Luke vi. 13. Mat. x. 1. Mark vi. 7. Luke ix. 1. 2. Mat. x. 15.</td>
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<td>dust of your feet, as a testimony against them.</td>
<td>Luke ix. 5. Mark vi. 12, 13.</td>
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<td>And they departed, and went through the towns, preaching the gospel: and preached that men should repent. And they cast out many devils, and anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them.</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Galilee, near the Lake.</td>
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<td>Some time after, the apostles gathered themselves together unto Jesus, and told him all things, both what they had done, and what they had taught. Luke ix. 10. Here the commission ends. And now they continue with him, to be the better acquainted with what Jesus said and did. And the harvest being great, Jesus sends forth other seventy, with the same commission, in their stead.</td>
<td>Mark vi. 30. Luke ix. 18. 19.</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>Cesarea. Philippi.</td>
<td>Mat. xvi. 1. On Peter's noble confession, Jesus said unto him, &quot;Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.&quot; Mat. xvi. 18, 19.</td>
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<td>Capernaum.</td>
<td>Mat. xvii. 14. At Capernaum, Christ said unto the twelve (beginning now to open their new commission for life to them), &quot;Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Again, I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven.</td>
<td>Mat. xvii. 18, 19.</td>
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For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

At Jerusalem, just before the last passover that Jesus kept with his apostles, foretelling what should come to pass after his death; he says, that "They should be brought before kings and rulers for his name sake; but that they should settle it in their hearts, not to meditate before what they should answer. For," says he, "I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which your adversaries shall not be able to resist."

In the last discourse and prayer that Jesus makes among his disciples, he says, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do; because I go unto my Father. And whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son. If ye shall ask any thing in my name, I will do it.—And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of Truth." —But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you. When the Comforter is come, he shall testify of me; and then (fearful as you now are) you also shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning.—Nevertheless, I tell you the truth: it is expedient for you that I go.
### An Abstract of the Scripture

<table>
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<tr>
<th>An. Dom.</th>
<th>Places whither they went.</th>
<th>How often Paul had been there after his apostles.</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions.</th>
<th>Proofs of the Transactions.</th>
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<td>33</td>
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Away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you. And when he is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment.—And he [John xvi.] will guide you into all truth: 13—16. for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak; and he will shew you things to come. He shall glorify me: for he shall receive of mine, and shall shew it unto you. All things that the Father hath are mine, therefore, said I, I shall take of mine, and shew it unto you.—And in that day ye shall ask me nothing; verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he shall give it you. Hitherto ye have asked nothing in my name; ask, and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full.—And, addressing himself to God, he says, As thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world. And for their sakes I sanctify myself, that they also may be sanctified through the truth.—And the glory which thou gavest me, I have given unto them: that they may be one, even as we are one.”

The evening of the day, on which he arose from the dead, he said unto them; “Thus it is written; and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and rise from the dead the third day, and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name, or by his authority, among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.” He being, by his resurrection from the dead, declared to be the Son of God,
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<th>An. Dom.</th>
<th>Places which they resided.</th>
<th>How close Paul had been at their conversion.</th>
<th>Proofs of the time and place.</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions.</th>
<th>Proofs of the Transactions.</th>
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</table>
| 33 | Mountain in Galilee. | Mat. xxviii. xvi. 7. and xxvi. 32. Mark xvi. 17. 18. | and the heir and governor of all things, and being in a few days to have all power put into his hands. “And ye are witnesses of these things: as my Father hath sent me, so send I you.” And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and said, “Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.” Jesus met the eleven in a mountain in Galilee (perhaps the very mountain where he chose them, and where, it may be, he was transfigured), according to his appointment before his death, Mat. xxvi. 32, and Mark iv. 26, and just after his resurrection, Mark xvi. 7. And being assembled together with them there, Acts i. 4, (the other times he appeared to them, after his resurrection, seem to have been by surprise,) says to them: “Go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. And these signs shall follow them that believe. In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues, they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.” And Jesus spake to them, Mat. saying, “All power is (now declared to be, and will very suddenly, viz. at my ascension, actually be) given unto me in heaven and earth: go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of
### An Abstract of the Scripture

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<th>Ant. Dom.</th>
<th>Place whither they went.</th>
<th>How often Paul had been there after his conversion</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions</th>
<th>Proof of the Transmissions</th>
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<td>the Holy Ghost, teaching them</td>
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<td>to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded: and</td>
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<td>to, I am with you to the end of the age.&quot;</td>
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<td>Then he directs them to go up to Jerusalem</td>
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<td>(whither their present fears would probably have hindered</td>
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<td>them from going, without his particular orders), and</td>
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<td>commands them to tarry there till</td>
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<td>they were endued with power from on high; or till they</td>
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<td>received the promise of the Father: &quot;which,&quot; says he,</td>
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<td>&quot;ye have heard of me: that John baptized with water, ye</td>
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<td>shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.&quot;</td>
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<td>The eleven return with Jesus from Galilee to Jerusalem,</td>
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<td>Acts xiii. 31. And when they were come together there,</td>
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<td>they ask him, &quot;If the meaning of his coming back with them thither was to restore the kingdom to Israel?&quot; which</td>
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<td>they do not ask so much out of so great a degree of impatience for restoring the kingdom; as out of surprise at the thought that he should restore the kingdom to a nation that had used him with such cruelty to lately at this very place. Jesus tells them, it is not for them to know the times and seasons; but adds, &quot;ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and in the uttermost parts of the earth.&quot;</td>
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<td>Acts i. 8.</td>
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<td>Mark xvi. 20. And afterward they went forth, and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the words with the</td>
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<td>An. Dom.</td>
<td>Places whither they went.</td>
<td>How soon Paul had been there after his resurrection.</td>
<td>Events of the time and place.</td>
<td>Their most remarkable Transactions.</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>Mount Olivet.</td>
<td>Luke xxiv. 50.</td>
<td>Their signs following; as will appear in the sequel.</td>
<td>Jesus, on the fortieth day after his resurrection, led the eleven of Jerusalem towards Bethany, as far as the Mount of Olives; where he blessed them, and was then taken up from them; they seeing him ascend gradually, till at last a cloud of glory took him out of their sight. They then receive a message from angels, that he should come again from heaven in the same manner he went thither.</td>
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<td>Jerusalem.</td>
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<td>Luke xxiv. 59.</td>
<td>They return from Mount Olivet to Jerusalem. And when they were come into their upper room, Peter stood up among the disciples, the number of the names was about one hundred and twenty (the number of a Jewish council), and bespoke them thus: That of those who had accompanied them all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among them; beginning from the baptism of John, unto the same day that he was taken up from among them, one should be ordained, and appointed to be a witness with them of the resurrection. And they appointed two, Joseph, called Barnabas (or Jonas, called Barnabas), who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias. And they prayed and said, &quot;Thou, Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, shew whether of these two thou hast chosen; that he may take part of this ministry and apostleship, from which Judas, by transgression, fell.&quot; And they gave forth their lots, and the lot fell upon Matthias, and he was numbered with the eleven apostles.</td>
<td>Acts i. 13.</td>
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God ordered it so, that a twelfth apostle should be appointed before the feast of Pentecost, that the Holy Ghost might then fall on him, as well as on the other eleven.

Jesus having, a little before his death, intimated their new commission to them; and, after his resurrection, given it to them in ample terms, but reserving the execution of it till the descent of the Holy Ghost; that restraint was now to be taken off. When the day of Pentecost therefore was fully come (being the fiftieth day after Jesus' resurrection, and the tenth after his ascension, in the morning), he being now seated at the right hand of God, and exalted to be Lord of all things, having received the gift of the Holy Ghost from the Father, or for the filling his church with all fulness, and being invested with all power, sends down the Holy Ghost on the apostles, to qualify them for his ambassadors; and on the rest of the hundred and twenty, to prove more fully his being exalted to the right hand of God, and in this manner. As they were all, with one accord, in one place; suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a rushing wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues as of fire; and it sat upon each of them. And they "were all filled with the Holy Ghost," and began "to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance." And there were dwelling (or sojourning) among them, for some of 14.
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<td>34</td>
<td>them were dwellers, of nares-</td>
<td>in Mesopotamia, ver. 9,</td>
<td>Acts ii. 14. Ver. 32.</td>
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<td>sesheres, in Mesopotamia, ver. 9,</td>
<td>and therefore could only be so-</td>
<td>and &quot;witnesses Christ's resurrec-</td>
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<td>and therefore could only be so-</td>
<td>journings at Jerusalem) at Jer-</td>
<td>tion&quot; to them, saying, &quot;Ye</td>
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<td>journings at Jerusalem) at Jer-</td>
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<td>Jews, and all ye that sojourn in</td>
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<td>of every nation under heaven,</td>
<td>and proselytes of righteousness</td>
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<td>and proselytes of righteousness</td>
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<td>ver. 22) repent and be bap-</td>
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<td>from Rome. Peter preaches,</td>
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<td>tised every one of you, and ye</td>
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<td>shall receive the gift of the</td>
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<td>Holy Ghost. For the promise</td>
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<td>is to you, and to your children,</td>
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<td>countries as remote from Judea</td>
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<td>birth, and their most distant</td>
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<td>posterity).&quot; And with many</td>
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<td>other words did be testify unto</td>
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<td></td>
<td>them. And they that gladly</td>
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<td>received the word were bap-</td>
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<td>tised. And the same day there</td>
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<td>were added unto them about</td>
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<td>three thousand souls. Peter</td>
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<td>imparts the Holy Ghost to</td>
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<td>them. The believers had all</td>
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<td>things so far in common, that</td>
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<td>none lacked: for that none</td>
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<td>might want, they did not only</td>
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<td>contribute to the necessities</td>
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<td>of the poor out of their revenues,</td>
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<td>but sold their goods and</td>
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<td>possessions: an high instance</td>
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<td>of the disinterestedness, self-de-</td>
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<td>nial, and charity, that this dis-</td>
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<td>pensation of the Spirit was</td>
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<td></td>
<td>designed to produce in the minds of men: and</td>
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<td>perhaps an homage they were desirous</td>
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<td>publicly to pay to Christ at his</td>
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<td>advancement to his royal power,</td>
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<td>bringing presents to the apostles,</td>
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<td>his chief ministers, and his</td>
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<tr>
<td>An. Dom.</td>
<td>These whether they went.</td>
<td>How often Paul had been there after his conversion.</td>
<td>Their most remarkable Transactions.</td>
<td>Proofs of the Transactions.</td>
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<td>power subjects; agreeable to the prophecy of the 110th psalm, where Christ's investiture with royal power being foretold, ver. 1, 2, it is immediately added, ver. 3, &quot;That the people shall bring free-will offerings in the day of his power.&quot; They sold these lands too, it may be, the rather, because they expected the utter destruction of the Jewish state in a few years, according to Daniel's and our Saviour's predictions, Dan. ix. 26. Mat. xxiv. Luke xxi.</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Peter and John, the two great apostles (the one who loved Jesus, the other who was beloved by Jesus, above all the rest), go up to the Temple to pray. As they go up, Peter, by faith in Christ, heals a beggar that had been lame from his mother's womb, at the gate of the Temple, called The Beautiful; and preaches to the people, &quot;witnessing Christ's resurrection,&quot; and that God having raised him up, &quot;first sent him to bless them&quot; (the Jews), in turning away every one of them from his iniquities; and converts a great number: the men who were present at this miracle, and heard and saw the apostles (see Acts iii. 11. compared with chap. iv. 4—21.) were about five thousand.</td>
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<td>The priests and the Sadducees being offended at this cure, at Peter's preaching, through Jesus, the resurrection of the dead, and at the great number of converts; and the Roman officer, who guarded the Temple, being apprehensive of the consequences of so great a concourse of people, went with the priests and the Sadducees, and</td>
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</table>

Acts iii. 2—9. |

Ver. 16—26. |

Acts iv. 4. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>An. Dom.</th>
<th>Days either they went</th>
<th>How often Paul had been there after his conversion</th>
<th>Proofs of the time and place</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions</th>
<th>Proofs of the Transcend.</th>
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<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Seized Peter and John, and put them in hold; and notwithstanding Peter’s bold avouching this miracle to be wrought by the name of Jesus, whom they declare that God, the God of Israel, whom they acknowledged and worshipped, had “raised from the dead,” and that by the name of that same Jesus alone we can be saved; yet the rulers forbad them to preach any more: which, though Peter and John (declaring that they cannot but speak the things which “they have seen and heard”) absolutely refused; yet are released. They go to their own company (I suppose the hundred and twenty), rehearse the matter, and pray; and when they had prayed that God would give them boldness to speak the word, and accompany it with signs and wonders, the place was shaken, where they were all assembled together, and they were all “filled with the Holy Ghost,” and spake the word with boldness. And, upon this fresh descent of the Holy Ghost, the apostles continue to “witness the resurrection of the Lord Jesus with great power,” notwithstanding the opposition they had given to them by the highest Jewish court of civil and ecclesiastical judicature in Palestine. And great grace [χάρις] was upon them all. On this fresh descent of the Holy Ghost, not only the boldness, and the power of working miracles, but the charity, of the disciples is increased. Those of the 5000 who were last converted follow the example of the 5000 (after the Holy Ghost was imparted to them), sell their...</td>
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Ver. 29—

Ver. 32—

Ver. 34, 35.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>An. Dom.</th>
<th>Places whither they went.</th>
<th>How they were saved from that conversion.</th>
<th>Proofs of the time and place.</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions.</th>
<th>Proofs of the Transactions.</th>
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<td>33</td>
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<td>possessions, and lay down the</td>
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<td>price of them at the feet of the</td>
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<td>apostles. Among them was</td>
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<td>Joses (or Joseph), a Levite of</td>
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<td>Cyprus, who (either now or some</td>
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<td>time before) was by the</td>
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<td>apostles surnamed Barnabas,</td>
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<td>son of consolation (perhaps</td>
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<td>rather of exhortation, οδηγητης</td>
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<td>συνομολογος), who having land</td>
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<td>in Cyprus, sold it, and laid the</td>
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<td>price at the apostles' feet; and</td>
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<td>thereby, perhaps, became the</td>
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<td>first instance of any one's selling</td>
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<td>land out of Palestine, or very</td>
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<td>far from it, towards raising a</td>
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<td>fund for the poor.</td>
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But Ananias and Sapphira, Acts v. 1 keeping back part of the price of their possession, and yet delivering it as the whole, are severely reprimanded by Peter: Ananias first, who falls down dead; and Sapphira afterwards, on Peter's foretelling it. An exemplary punishment on the first lie made to tempt (or try) the Holy Ghost in his economy or dispensation, necessary to vindicate the honour of that dispensation, and of the apostles, the chief ministers of it. After which, though the apostles and believers were much magnified by all, yet durst none join themselves unto them, in order to partake of the benefit of the community of goods, purely with that view; lest they should share the fate of those notorious dissemblers. Great numbers are converted, and strange cures wrought by Peter's shadow. The high priest, and they that were with him (which was the sect of the Sadducees), being filled with indignation at these extraordinary cures, and the growing number of converts,
proceed so far as to cast all the apostles into the common prison. They are delivered by an angel, and, according to his direction, go into the Temple, and speak all the words of this life (or of the doctrine of the resurrection, which had so enraged the Sad-ducees, as to occasion their being imprisoned before, Acts iv. 2, as well as now). They speak again boldly to the council, on being brought before them, and reprimanded by them; "and declare themselves Act iv. 20 witnesses" of Christ's death, resurrection, and exaltation; "and also the Holy Ghost, given to all that obey him:" but yet, on account of the strange power and protection of God, that visibly attended them, and of their resolution and success, they are released, by the advice of Gamaliel: the meaning of whose speech seems Acts vi. to be this: "That they should not at this time go about to kill the apostles and disciples of Jesus; for that if the kingdom they preached should at last prove a temporal kingdom, it would be the business of the Romans to contend with them, and not theirs; that if the principles they went upon, and their design, were only of men, it would come to nought, as Thaddaeus had done, a vain man that rose up, boasting himself to be somebody. But if it was of God, as he seems to instigate Judas' was, ye cannot overthow it, by slaying these men, no more than Judas' principles were destroyed by his being slain." (Judas' principle was, that they should not submit to mortal lords, after having God for their king, Josephus, de Bell.)
<table>
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<tr>
<th>An. Dom.</th>
<th>Messaiah within</th>
<th>Events there after His conversion</th>
<th>Dates of the time and place</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions</th>
<th>Dates of the Transactions</th>
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| 33      |                |                                  | lib. ii. cap. 8. § 1.) "Lest, haply, ye be found to fight against God; who, though he did not suffer Judas to prevail in freeing us from mortal lords, and making us to have none but God for our king, yet may perhaps restore the kingdom to Israel by these men: since they attest that Jesus, whom we crucified, is risen, and exalted to all power, by such wonderful works as they do in his name."

The number of believers increasing, and a complaint arising of the Grecians, or Hellenists, against the Hebrew Jews; from an unequal distribution of the community of goods to those that lacked among the Hellenists (perhaps because all the land that had been hitherto sold for the fund of the poor was land in Palestine, or very near it, till Barnabas now sells his in Cyprus); and the apostles not being able to manage and duly distribute this fund without neglecting their more necessary work; seven deacons, at the recommendation of the twelve, are chosen by the multitude, or "brethren" (who are first called so here, verse 3), whom the apostles appoint, with prayer, and laying on their hands.

The apostles having by this Acts vi, 7. means more leisure to preach, the number of converts was still increased; many of which were priests.

Stephen, the first of the deacons, and full of zeal, having confounded some of them who disputed with him, is accused by them of having said, that Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place (Jerusalem), and shall change the customs which...
Moses had delivered. To the first of which he seems to make his defence (the second being false, perhaps, as it was laid against him), by showing, in many instances through their history, that God's favour had not been confined to any of the things they most valued, as, the land of Canaan, the Circumcision, the Tabernacle, or the Temple; for that Abraham had been favoured with the appearances of the glory of God, and of divine revelations, whilst he was in Mesopotamia and in Charan, before he dwelt in Canaan; that when he dwelt there it was but as a stranger, and not as a possessor; that God did not promise to give it to his seed till many ages after; that he was accepted of God, and dwelt in Canaan, before he was circumcised; that Joseph, who was in favour with God, was sold out of that land into Egypt; that Jacob and the patriarchs were forced to follow him thither; that Moses was born there, and lived in Midian, and in the wilderness, where the Israelish people were carried, and not immediately to the Holy Land; that it was there the Tabernacle was first pitched, and was afterwards carried into Canaan, which itself then was the possession of the Gentiles; that Moses directed them to Christ; that the Tabernacle continued the place of God's worship but till the erecting the Temple; that the Temple was so little necessary to the worship of God, that God deferred the building of it, only because David had been a man of war; and that Solomon, at the dedication of it, showed,
An Abstract of the Scripture

<table>
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<tr>
<th>An. Dom.</th>
<th>Places where they resided</th>
<th>How often Paul had been there after his conversion</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions</th>
<th>Proof of the Translations</th>
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<td>33</td>
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<td>that the Most High God neither</td>
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<td>could confine his special</td>
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<td>presence, nor would confine his</td>
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<td>blessings, on the worshippers of</td>
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<td>himself to any temple made</td>
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<td>with hands; and that the</td>
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<td>judgments of God, which had</td>
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<td>followed their forfathers for</td>
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<td>rejecting Moses and the</td>
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<td>prophets, whom they persecuted</td>
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<td>and slew, would come to the</td>
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<td>uttermost upon them, for</td>
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<td>betraying and murdering the Just</td>
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<td>One, of whose coming Moses</td>
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<td>and all the prophets had</td>
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<td>foretold: since, though they had</td>
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<td>received the law by the</td>
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<td>disposition of angels, they had</td>
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<td>not kept it, nor answered any of</td>
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<td>the ends for which it was given.</td>
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<td>The conclusion, which they did</td>
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<td>not give him time to draw, or</td>
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<td>which he left to them to draw,</td>
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<td>was, that as the favour of God</td>
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<td>had not been formerly confined</td>
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<td>to Canaan, Circumcision, the</td>
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<td>Tabernacle, and Temple, they</td>
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<td>could no ways assure themselves</td>
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<td>of God's protection now, on the</td>
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<td>account of all or any of those</td>
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<td>things, under all their impieties.</td>
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<td>They, not being able to bear</td>
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<td>this bold defence, expressed the</td>
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<td>most bitter rage against him;</td>
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<td>which he observing, looked up</td>
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<td>to heaven, from whose alone he</td>
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<td>expected relief; and, for his</td>
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<td>own encouragement and the</td>
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<td>encouragement of all succeeding</td>
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<td>martyr, had the heavens</td>
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<td>opened to him, so that he saw</td>
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<td>the glory of God, and Jesus</td>
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<td>standing on the right hand of</td>
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<td>God, ready to receive him:</td>
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<td>whereupon they furiously cast</td>
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<td>him out of the city, and stoned</td>
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<td>him: who, in imitation of him</td>
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<td>that gave his life a reason for</td>
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<td>the world, in the midst of his</td>
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<td>agonies got upon his knees.</td>
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and prayed to God with a loud voice, not to lay that sin to their charge. The witnesses, who were to begin the execution, stripping themselves for it, laid down their clothes at a young man's feet, whose name was Saul; and he was consenting unto Stephen's death. But devotion men, as a mark of their high esteem for him, buried him, though he was stoned as a malefactor.

The people, on seeing the miraculous powers with which they had crucified Jesus, had generally sided with them. (See chap. ii. 47.) For by the signs and wonders they did, it evidently appeared that Jesus was risen again. The people therefore hoped, that since he was risen, and had bestowed these wonderful powers on his disciples, he might still, some way or other, afford them deliverance from the yoke of the Romans; but finding now, by Stephen's defence, that nothing was to be expected, notwithstanding these miraculous powers with which Jesus had endowed his disciples, but the destruction of Jerusalem, for their wickedness, notwithstanding it was the city of the great king; they seem to have turned against the disciples, and consequently left them to the fury of the high priest and the council. Whereupon a great persecution ensued, by which all the hundred and twenty were scattered abroad, except the apostles, who continued at Jerusalem, in order, as I suppose, to consult together, and take such measures for the propagating
<table>
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<tr>
<th>An. Dom.</th>
<th>Places within they went.</th>
<th>How often Paul had been there after his conversion.</th>
<th>Proofs of the time and place.</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions.</th>
<th>Proofs of the Transaction.</th>
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<td>33</td>
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<td>the faith, as might suit the several emergencies of the church; as we see in fact they did, Acts viii. 14., and xi. 28. The rest of the hundred and twenty, or by far the greater part of them, were suffered to be scattered abroad, in order to publish the gospel in other parts.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 34 | Samaritans. | Acts viii. 6. | | In this violent persecution Acts viii. Saul, flushed with the blood of Stephen, distinguishes himself by his rage and fury. 1 Tim. i. 13. The word having now been preached at Jerusalem about a year, it is to be carried, among other places in Palestine, to Samaria. Accordingly Philip, the second (now become the first) of the deacons, imitating the zeal of the first (also an evangelist, Acts xxii. 8. an 89), being one of those that was scattered, goes down to the city of Samaria, and preaches Christ unto the Samaritans, converts many to the faith, and baptises them; and among them Simon the sorcerer. When the apostles, who were at Jerusalem heard of this, they sent unto them Peter and John; who, when they were come down, prayed that they might receive the Holy Ghost. And the apostles laying their hands on them, they "received the Holy Ghost;" who as yet, as the text remarks, had fallen upon none of them, the apostles not having been there till now. (This seems to suppose that the Holy Ghost had been known to have been always communicated to all converts before, which is the more probable, because hitherto the word had been only preached at Jerusalem, where all the apostles.
### History of the Apostles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>An.Dem.</th>
<th>Place where they went</th>
<th>How often Paul had been there after his conversion</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions</th>
<th>Proof of the Transactions</th>
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<td>34</td>
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</table>

Road from Jerusalem towards Gaza.

Paul resided, who, no doubt of it, laid their hands on all that believed. Simon, who offers money for this apostolic power, is sharply reprimanded by Peter, who seems to express himself as if he thought Simon had sinned against the Holy Ghost, ver. 22. The two apostles, after they had preached Christ, and "testified" the word of the Lord in many villages of the Samaritans, return unto Jerusalem.

The angel of the Lord orders Philip to go to meet the eunuch, a proselyte of righteousness, who had taken a long journey to Jerusalem to worship, and in his return was reading the prophets (which the proselytes of the gate did not so much regard). He is converted by Philip, and baptized. Some of the MSS. and the later Syriac version read, "And the Holy Ghost fell on the eunuch," and the angel of the Lord caught away Philip, &c. See Westcott in loc. Our reading does not seem probable: 1. Because the Spirit of the Lord is not St. Luke's style, but the Holy Spirit. 2. Because the angel of the Lord bids Philip go to meet the eunuch, and it is not likely that the Spirit should take him away. The other reading is the more likely to be the true, on both these accounts. But, on the other hand, it seems strange and unusual that the Holy Ghost should fall on the eunuch: 1. Because he being a proselyte of righteousness, that is, a Jew by religion, it is not probable that he should have been the first that was converted, or un whom the Holy Ghost fell. There were...

**History of the Apostles.**

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<tr>
<th>Year B.C.</th>
<th>Place where they first met</th>
<th>How many there were after his conversion</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions</th>
<th>Proof of the time and place</th>
<th>Proof of the Transactions</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>In the road from Jerusalem to Damascus</td>
<td>Acts ix. 3. On the road thither, he see a bright light from heaven, shining round about him and his companions; which strikes him blind, and throws him from his horse. He hears a voice from heaven, which he presently afterwards understands to be the voice of Jesus, and receives directions from him (Jesus), (on Saul's inquiry after his will and pleasure) to go to Damascus, where he should receive farther orders. But though Saul was struck blind with the point of light, yet it was so ordered, that his companions, who saw the light, were not struck blind (for they led him to Damascus, Acts xxii. 11), that it might appear from them that it was a voice from heaven; since it is expressly said, that &quot;they heard the voice, but saw no man.&quot; And St. Luke adds, Acts xxii. 9, that &quot;They heard not the voice,&quot; i.e. understood it not (as the word sometimes signifies, 1 Cor. xv. 14), to shew that Ananias had the revelation (that Jesus had appeared to him in the way) from Jesus, and could not receive it from his companions, who, though they heard a sound of a voice, did not understand it. He fasts and prays three days and three nights. Then he sees Ananias (who was a disciple),</td>
<td>Acts ix. 3-6.</td>
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1 Lord Barrington is of opinion (see vol. ii. 181—188.) that St. Paul did not, at this time, "see the Lord!" but I have stated at length, in "The Arrangement of the New Testament," (vol. ii. chap. ix. sect. xxxi. 88-91.) my reasons for dissenting from this opinion.

**VOL. I.**
### An Abstract of the Scripture

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<tr>
<th>An. Dom.</th>
<th>Places whether they went.</th>
<th>How often Paul had been there after his conversion.</th>
<th>Proofs of the time and place.</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions.</th>
<th>Proofs of the Transactions.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
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<td>either a Jew, as is most likely, Ananias being a Jewish name, or a proselyte of righteousness, converted to the faith, Acts xxii. 12), coming to lay hands on him, and give him sight. Ananias, who had a like vision (not unlike that which Peter and Cornelius had in their case), comes to Saul; Saul is baptized, receives his sight, is “filled with the Holy Ghost,” and has a message brought him, importing what he was designed for, viz. “to be a witness of what he had seen; and of those things in which God would appear to him;” or, that he should know his will, see the Just One, and hear the voice of his mouth. Immediately he preaches Christ in the synagogue, that he is the Son of God; or that this is the Very Christ; or the faith that he once destroyed: and does this safely now that there were quarrels between Herod and Aretas. He had a right to speak in the synagogue, being a rabbi, or doctor, brought up at the feet of Gamaliel. On which account it is, that we never find him opposed in this right by the synagogues, till he preached the religion of Jesus, and they were heated with great rage against it; as sometimes we shall find in the sequel. Besides, it is probable, that, being now filled with the Holy Ghost, he from this time became a prophet and a teacher, as we find him expressly called, Acts xiii. 1, even before he became an apostle; and it is likely was at first received in the synagogues as one that had evidently the prophetic gifts, and consequently the</td>
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**Acts ix. 10—16.**

**Ver. 20.**

**Gal. i. 23.**

**Acts xxvi. 6, xxii. 14, 15.**
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<tr>
<th>Acts</th>
<th>Places which they went.</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions.</th>
<th>Proofs of the time and place.</th>
<th>Proofs of the Translations.</th>
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<td>35</td>
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<td>Gal. i. 17.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Arabia Desert.</td>
<td>After this, he confers not with flesh and blood, nor goes up to Jerusalem, to them that were apostles before him, Gal. i. 15, 16, but goes and preaches the same faith in Arabia (as he had at Damascus), where he could then preach it without disturbance (under the protection of Aretas, the king of Arabia, who was then at war with Herod, the enemy of the Christians), and where nobody had preached Christ before (that he might not build on any man's foundation), but still only to the Jews. And perhaps particularly to the Damascenes, a sect of those who, of all the sects among the Jews, seem to have been the best disposed to receive the gospel.</td>
<td>Gal. i. 17.</td>
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<td>36</td>
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<td>Acts ix. 23—25.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Damascus.</td>
<td>After some time, about the end of the year 37, he comes again to Damascus, and preaches there to the Jews: who therefore at length took counsel to kill him, and sent to the governor of that city, under Aretas the king, to watch the gates with soldiers, the Jews not having the power at Damascus, under Aretas the king of Arabia, as they had when Saul went thither with letters from the high priest; yet having at this time great credit with the governor, peace being now made between Herod and Aretas. But Saul, getting intelligence of this design, was let down in a basket, through a window, by the town-wall, and escaped.</td>
<td>Acts ix. 23—25.</td>
<td>2 Cor. xi. 22, 23.</td>
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<td>37</td>
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<td>ver. 26.</td>
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<td>Jerusalem.</td>
<td>Towards the latter end of the year 38 (the churches now having rest), Saul comes to Jerusalem to see Peter, and attempts to join himself to him and the rest of the disciples,</td>
<td>Gal. i. 18.</td>
<td>ver. 26.</td>
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<td>Acts Dom.</td>
<td>Places within which they went</td>
<td>How often Paul had been there or in that place</td>
<td>Proofs of the time and place</td>
<td>Their most remarkable Transactions</td>
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<td>38</td>
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<td>who were all afraid of him, not believing him to be &quot;a disciple.&quot; But Barnabas took him and brought him to the apostles, viz. Peter (who was at Jerusalem, Gal. i. 18, where he with John had been preaching), and James (who were the only apostles he saw), declaring how he had seen the glory of the Lord in the way. He then stays with Peter fifteen days; was with them coming in and going out at Jerusalem (or being in an entire confidence with them), spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed against the Grecians (the Hellenist Jews), who went about to slay him; but was unknown by face unto the churches of Judea, though well known by character and reputation &quot;as a preacher of the faith, which he once destroyed.&quot; Acts ix. 20, 29. Gal. i. 22, 23.</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>Cæsarea.</td>
<td>1 Acts ix. 39.</td>
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<td>The brethren, knowing the design of the Hellenist Jews, brought him down to Cæsarea. And then sent him forth to Tarsus, the place of his birth. Gal. i. 21. He goes to Syria; but not yet to Antioch, there being many converts there already.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tarsus in Cilicia.</td>
<td>1 ibid.</td>
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<td>The fury of the persecution abating (probably on the distressed state the Jews were in under Caligula; see Lardner's Cred. of the Gosp. Hist. vol. i. p. 197—200), the churches had rested in Judea, Galilee, and Samaria. Acts ix. 31.</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>Syria.</td>
<td>1 Gal. i. 32.</td>
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<td>As Peter had gone through Samaria, testifying and preaching the gospel in its chief city and villages on another occasion; so he takes this opportunity to pass through all quarters of Galilee and Judea. And in that journey comes to the saints Ver. 33.</td>
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<td>Lydda.</td>
<td>Acts ix. 32.</td>
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<td>An. Dom.</td>
<td>Places whither they went.</td>
<td>How often Paul had been there after his conversion.</td>
<td>Proofs of the time and place.</td>
<td>Their most Remarkable Transactions.</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>Joppa.</td>
<td>Acts ix. 38, 39.</td>
<td>which dwelt at Lydda; and cured Eneas of the palsy. From Lydda Peter comes to Joppa, and raises Dorcas from the dead.</td>
<td>Acts ix. 40, 41.</td>
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<td>The apostles having now testified and preached to the Jews of Jerusalem, Samaria, and Judea (according to Christ's direction, Acts i. 8), for about eight years, things are disposed for their testifying and preaching it to the heathen Gentiles, or the proselytes of the gate, within the bounds of Palestine.</td>
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<td>Cesarea.</td>
<td>Acts x. 1-34.</td>
<td>Peter falling into a trance about noon, as he was at prayer on the house-top, has a vision of the sheet; and hears the Lord saying, &quot;Rise, Peter, kill and eat!&quot; to which he answers, &quot;Not so, Lord; for I have never eaten any thing that is common or unclean.&quot; But the Lord said again, &quot;What God hath cleansed (or cleansed) that call not thou common.&quot; And whilst he thought on the vision the Spirit said unto him, &quot;Behold, three men seek thee;&quot; and orders him to go along with them. And as Cornelius had the day before had a vision of an angel, ordering him to send for Peter; Peter, on arriving at Cesarea, preaches to Cornelius, his family and friends, who were of the same character with himself, ver. 2. To them Peter preaches the same &quot;word, which God sent at first (and had hitherto only sent) unto the children of Israel, offering them peace by Jesus Christ; who Peter understood now to be the Lord of all!&quot; (devout Gentiles as well as Jews), en</td>
<td>Acts x. 31.</td>
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<td>44</td>
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<td>Ver. 1-7.</td>
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<td>An. Dom.</td>
<td>Places where Paul went</td>
<td>How close Paul lived to their service</td>
<td>Proofs of the time and place</td>
<td>Their most remarkable Transactions</td>
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<td>perceiving now indeed, &quot;that God was no respecter of persons;&quot; declares that he and the other apostles were &quot;witnesses of Christ's miracles, death, and resurrection; that they were chosen witnesses, and commanded to preach the word to the people, and testify that God had ordained him to be judge of the quick and of the dead.&quot; Whilst he is speaking, the Holy Ghost &quot;fell&quot; on them, as on the hundred and twenty at the beginning, and they speak with tongues, and magnify God. Peter baptizes them. They that were of the circumcision were astonished, when they saw that on the Gentiles was &quot;poured out&quot; the gift of the Holy Ghost. Acts x. 34 47. Acts xi. 16. xv. 18.</td>
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<td>Ans. Dom.</td>
<td>Places where they went</td>
<td>How often Paul had been there before his conversion</td>
<td>Proofs of the time and place</td>
<td>Their most remarkable Transactions</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>Tarsus in Cilicia</td>
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<td>Grecians (it should be Gentiles, i.e. proselytes of the gate; for though some copies have it Ἑλλάντικα, which our translators render Grecians; yet others, and among them the Alexandrian, has “Ἑλλήνως, Gentiles: and which is undoubtedly the true reading, Ἑλλήνης being here set in opposition to Jews (see Essay IV.) at Antioch in Syria; and a great number believed, and “turned unto the Lord.” Here was the first conversion of proselytes of the gate, out of Palestine, to the Christian religion. Tidings of this great conversion of the proselytes of the gate coming to the ears of the church at Jerusalem, they sent forth Barnabas, that he should go as far as Antioch, where the great number of these proselytes were: he confirmed them in the grace of God, and converted many others; “much people” (not λαμ, but δέκα λαμ) being added unto the Lord. For he was himself a good man (of a gentle and sweet disposition, not likely to lay unequal burdens upon them, and therefore proper to work upon proselytes of the gate), as well as full of the Holy Ghost, and of faith. There being so many converts already made, and such a happy prospect of more, and Barnabas wanting a fellow-labourer, goes from Antioch to Tarsus, to find Saul; who was now returned to that city. Barnabas brings Saul to Antioch; they taught much people (many proselytes of the gate), and taught there for a whole year; and there the disciples</td>
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<td>were first called Christians.</td>
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<td>And here was the great harvest of</td>
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<td>proselytes of the gate, and</td>
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<td>chiefly made by Barnabas and Saul.</td>
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<td>And this seems to be the first time</td>
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<td>that Saul ever preached to the</td>
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<td>proselytes of the gate.</td>
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<td>Herod Agrippa kills James the</td>
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<td>brother of John, and proceeded to</td>
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<td>take Peter and put him in prison,</td>
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<td>intending to put him to death after</td>
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<td>Easter. But prayer being made in</td>
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<td>the church for him, an angel opens</td>
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<td>the door, and delivers him. Herod</td>
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<td>dies soon after in extreme torment.</td>
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<td>Agabus, one of the prophets that</td>
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<td>came in those days from Jerusalem</td>
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<td>to Antioch, foretold a death; on</td>
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<td>which the disciples determined to</td>
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<td>send relief unto the brethren in</td>
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<td>Judea, which they did; and sent it</td>
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<td>to the elders (several of whom were</td>
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<td>by this time returned to Jerusalem,</td>
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<td>on the rest the churches had on the</td>
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<td>conversion of Saul) by the hands of</td>
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<td>Barnabas and Saul; the apostles</td>
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<td>being at that time absent from</td>
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<td>Jerusalem. Here elders are first</td>
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<td>mentioned as related to the</td>
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<td>Christian church. The gospel now</td>
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<td>Jerusalem. 2 Acts xi.</td>
<td>29, 30.</td>
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<td>been preached not only to the Jews</td>
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<td>for about eight years, but to the</td>
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<td>Jews and devout Gentiles for about</td>
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<td>three years more, God saw fit to</td>
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<td>prepare things for its being</td>
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<td>preached to the idolatrous Gentiles.</td>
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<td>While Saul therefore saw no apostle</td>
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<td>here (Jerusalem), that there might</td>
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<td>be no room to suspect that he had</td>
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<td>the gospel that he was to preach to</td>
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<td>the Gentiles from any of the</td>
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<td>apostles; yet, according to the</td>
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<td>prediction of</td>
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Acts xii. 1—24.
Acts xi. 27—30.
Acts xxii. 16—19.
### History of the Apostles

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<th>How often Paul had been there after his conversion</th>
<th>Proofs of the time and place</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions</th>
<th>Proofs of the Transactions</th>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Antioc in Syria</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Ananias, cured Acts xxii. 14</td>
<td>2 Cor. xii.</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>the being in the Temple, fell</td>
<td>Gal. i. 12.</td>
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<td>into a trance; saw Christ, and</td>
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<td>heard him, saying, &quot;Depart,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>for I will send thee far hence to the Gentiles.&quot; He was at this time caught up into the third heaven; had the gospel, which he preached to the Gentiles, revealed to him (see Essay III.), as Peter had his revelation of the gospel to be preached to the proselytes of the gate, as he was at prayer on the horse-top. From hence Paul with Barnabas took John, surnamed Mark, who was nephew to Barnabas, Colos. iv. 10. He goes with them: Peter, whom he chiefly affected, being gone from Jerusalem, Acts xii. 7.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Paul's first apostolic journey with Barnabas through Cyprus, Pamphylia, Phœnicia, and Lycaonia, to convert as he went, and to confirm as he left.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Places whither they went.</th>
<th>How often Paul had been there after his conversion.</th>
<th>Proofs of the time and place.</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions.</th>
<th>Proofs of the Transactions.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 44</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

the work of the apostleship, by inflicting bodily diseases on offenders, by preaching to the idolatrous Gentiles, and imparting the Holy Ghost (as we shall see in the sequel), which it does not appear that he had done before: for though he had been in Arabia, Syria, and Cilicia, he only preached to Jews and Grecians, i.e. Hellenist Jews, or proselytes of righteousness, and perhaps to proselytes of the gate, after an. Acts xiii. 41, when Peter had preached to Cornelius; though I rather think Saul never preached to them till Barnabas brought him from Tarsus to Antioch in Syria, anno 43.

45

Ver. Saul and Barnabas set forward on their journey, sailing from Seleucia to Cyprus, the native country of Barnabas, and full of synagogues of the Jews; preach the word of God at Salamis, in the synagogue of the Jews, and had John, surnamed Mark, for their minister, as apostles seem generally to have had with them as assistants in their journeys.

From Salamis, a city at the east end of Cyprus, they went quite through the island, to Paphos, a city at the west end of it; where Sergius Paulus, the deputy, sends for them, desiring to hear the word of God; as Cornelius had for Peter.

Saul is here first called Paul; which was not a new name then given him, but his Roman name, given him at the same time that Saul, his Jewish name, was given him; but now first made use of to design him by: in all probability, as that,
| Acts 21:4 (and probably in Acts 16:4).<br>Leaving Cyprus, they sailed to Paphos. And when they landed at Paphos, a Jewish<br>man, a practitioner of medicine named Saul, who was the grandson of a Jew named <br>Barabas, met them. He was with the Jews, whether in Jerusalem or in Paphos, and<br>they were speaking in the Greek language. As they made their way, they entered the<br>house of a certain disciple named Ananias. He was a good man, full of the Holy<br>Spirit, and he believed in the Lord Jesus Christ. When Paul and his companions<br>had entered, Ananias was standing there, wearing a garment, with his eyes shut.<br>In a vision, the Lord had shown him a man named Paul, who was standing in the<br>street saying, "Brother, I must see you." So Ananias, acting on that vision, went near<br>Paul and placed his hands on him, saying, "Brother Paul, the Lord has sent me to<br>you, that you may see again and be filled with the Holy Spirit."<br><br>Proofs of the time and place.<br>Proofs of the Transactions.

---

Paul's five apostles journeys.

How often Paul had been there after his conversion.

Their most remarkable transactions.

- Peter, with Simon Magus, in Jerusalem<br-<br>- Paul, with Barnabas and Silas, in Cyprus and Asia Minor<br>- Barnabas, with Saul, in the service of the Jerusalem church<br>- Silas, with Paul, in the mission to the Gentiles
### Abstract of the Scripture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paul's trip to Asia</td>
<td>Jerusalem, Damascus, Tyre</td>
<td>They went, how others Paul had converted, and what they did in the time and place.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The synagogues which the dispersed Jews had all over Asia, Macedonia, and Greece, God had so ordered it in his providence, that a regular and peaceable method was always at hand to spread the knowledge of the gospel in the world. It was hereby first offered to the Jews, that as many of them as would receive it might have opportunity to receive it, before the offence was given them of offering it to the Gentiles. Then an opportunity was given to the heathen Gentiles to come and hear it. The great news being probably carried to them by the devout Gentiles, their relations, friends, and neighbors, that God had sent men, endued with extraordinary powers, to invite them to the worship of the true God and eternal life, without being subject to any of the laws of Moses; even so much as those of abstaining from things offered to idols, things strangled, or blood; or subject to any conditions but those of faith and repentance. By this means those Jews who had rejected the gospel were to be provoked, even by their natural jealousy and envy against the idolatrous Gentiles, to embrace the gospel; or, if they still persisted to reject it, and proceeded to rage and fury, an opportunity was given for forming a religious assembly in some other place than the synagogue, as we see Acts xviii. 7, and xix. 9, by which means the gospel was spread without preaching in the street, without forming any riotous assembly, and without any of the inconveniences which would have attended...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date (A.D.)</th>
<th>Jerusalem</th>
<th>Jerusalem</th>
<th>Acts xiii.</th>
<th>Jerusalem</th>
<th>Jerusalem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14-16</td>
<td>10-30, 31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paul</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>preached to the Jews and the proselytes of the gate.</td>
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<tr>
<td>saying, “Men of Israel, and ye that fear God, give audience.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>It should seem then that there were some idolatrous Gentiles among them, who are distinguished from the Jews and religious proselytes, or proselytes of the gate, ver. 42, 43.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paul, speaking of Christ’s resurrection, says, “that Christ was soon after his resurrection of them which came up from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are his witnesses unto the people.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ver. 48—And, in the conclusion of his discourse, “Be it known unto you, therefore, men and brethren, (i.e. men of Israel, and ye that fear God, ver. 16—26,) that through this man (Christ) is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins. And by him (not only you, but) all that believe are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>In which he went farther than Peter in his discourse to Cornelius, who only “perceived that all men that feared God, and wrought righteousness, in every nation, were accepted with him,” Acts x. 35. But did not then see what Paul now declares, that by Christ all, even idolatrous Gentiles, were to be justified. This discourse of Paul’s had a different effect on the different sorts of people who heard it.</td>
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<td>Ver. 42. The generality of the Jews went out of the synagogue unmoved by, or set against it. The go-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Verse</td>
<td>Place where they went.</td>
<td>How often Paul had been there after his conversion.</td>
<td>Proof of the transactions.</td>
<td>Their most remarkable transactions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>46</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

...acterly of the Gentiles, or idolatrous Gentiles (ῥα Ἕβρων), before they left the synagogue, besought that these words might be preached to them the next sabbath-day, being touched Acts xxxii. by them; but not fully satisfied; and many of the Jews and religious proselytes, or proselytes of the gate (ἀναφορά τα ἔργα τοῦ λευκοῦ), who went out of the synagogue with the other Jews, whilst the Gentiles said to make their request to Paul and Barnabas, who, between that and the next sabbath, persuaded them to continue in..."The grace of God." The next sabbath the whole city, Gentiles as well as Jews, came to hear the word of God; and on the perverseness of the Jews, and the good dispositions of the Gentiles (ῥα Ἕβρων), expressed the next sabbath-day, "by the whole city’s coming together to hear the word of God, Paul and Barnabas waxed bold "(this being the first time any preachers of the word had turned from the Jews, leaving them to themselves, or addressed the offers of peace to any considerable number of idolatrous Gentiles, there was no small degree of resolution needful to animate them to do it), and said, "it was necessary the word of God should first have been spoken unto you (Jews); but seeing ye put it from you, lo we turn to the Gentiles." And when the Gentiles heard it, they were glad, and glorified the word of the Lord. And the word of the Lord was published through all that region. The Jews, and the chief men of the city, raised a persecution against Paul and Barnabas and..." Ver. 49. Ver. 50, 51.
### History of the Apostles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 An. Dom.</td>
<td>Ionia</td>
<td>Expelled them from their coasts. They shook off the dust of their feet against them, and went to Iconium. But the disciples at Antioch in Pisidia &quot;were filled with joy (on being first received into the church) and with the Holy Ghost.&quot; Paul now became the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, &quot;that the offering up of (these first-fruits of) the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost,&quot; as he speaks, Rom. xiv. 16, alluding to the oil poured on the first-fruits, under the law, which consecrated the whole harvest or lump. About this time Paul is first placed before Barnabas. When they came to Iconium, they went into the synagogue, and so spake, that a great multitude, both of Jews and Greeks (Ἐλλήνων, and, as I suppose, ἐξοικήτων, devout Gentiles) believed. I suppose them devout Gentiles, since a multitude was in the synagogue here, at the first time of Paul's preaching; and also because they are opposed to the Gentiles (καὶ ἔθνων), whom the unbelieving Jews stirred up against the apostles, ver. 2, and who are called &quot;the multitude of the city,&quot; ver. 4, part of which, however, held with the apostles, ibid.: the other part of which made an assault upon them, with their rulers, and with the Jews, ver. 5. But, being informed of a design to stone them at Iconium, they fly to Lystra, where Paul cures a cripple that had been lame from his mother's womb; as Peter had the lame beggar at</td>
<td>Acts xiii. 46.</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Iconium in Lyc.</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Iconium</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lys. tra.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
An Abstract of the Scripture

Paul's first evangelistic journeys.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Places visited</th>
<th>How often Paul had been there after his conversion</th>
<th>Stories of his travels</th>
<th>Remarks of the Translators</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Acts</td>
<td>1 Acts</td>
<td>the Temple; and scarce restrains the idolatrous people from worshipping him and Barnabas, by sacrifice, as Jupiter and Mercurius. Paul is stoned here, but recovers. I suppose these are the afflictions that he refers to, 2 Tim. iii. 11. He goes from hence to Derbe. And then returning through Lystra, and Iconium, and Antioch, confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to persevere, ver. 21, 22; and ordaining elders in every church (here is the first mention made of “ordaining” them), and through Perga, preaching the word. They go on board at Atalia, and sailed to Antioch; returning to the church, from whence they had been recommended to the grace of God, for the work which they had fulfilled. And when they had gathered the church together, they rehearsed all that God had done “with” them, and how he had opened a door of faith unto the Gentiles; and continued there a long time with the disciples. Acts xiv. 26.</td>
<td>1 Cor. xi. 25. Acts xiv. 19. 23.</td>
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<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Derbe in Lyconia. 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Lystra. 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Iconium. 2</td>
<td>Ver. 6. 21.</td>
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<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Antioch in Pisidia. 2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Perga. 2</td>
<td>Ver. 35.</td>
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<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Antioch in Syria. 3</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Here began the question (by them that came down from Judea, falsely pretending authority from the apostles at Jerusalem), whether the brethren should be circumcised, and be subject to the law of Moses?

“Elders” are here mentioned as distinct from the Apostles and the Brethren.

Here St. Paul had a revelation to go up to Jerusalem, and perhaps was directed at the same time to impart the gospel (which he preached to the ido-
history of the Apostles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place where they went</th>
<th>How often Paul had been there after his conversion</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions</th>
<th>Proof of the Transaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jerusalem</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Phenice.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Samaria.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Paul declares the conversion of the Gentiles, as they passed through Phenice and Samaria, in their way to Jerusalem, which caused great joy unto the brethren: who, as I apprehend, understood by the conversion of the Gentiles, only the conversion of the proselytes of the gate; considering the conversion of them was the utmost they expected, and that Paul and Barnabas had been only in countries that were near Palestine, and where there were synagogues, and probably proselytes of the gate in every city. Ibid.

Paul and Barnabas declare all things that God had done "with them;" and are received with great approbation and applause (ἀκρεδίσθησαν διότι ἔστη διὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν) of the church, and of the apostles, and of the elders at Jerusalem. But are only understood here to mean the proselytes of the gate; as they were at Phenice, and Samaria, ver. 3.

Paul would not suffer Titus to be circumcised, that he might not give place by subjection to those false brethren, that were brought unaware into this assembly, to spy out their liberty, and to bring them again into bondage. These are they whom, perhaps, St. John points at, 1 John ii. 19.

Paul communicates the gospel, which he preached among the Gentiles, privately to them which were of reputation, or who seemed to be somewhat, or Gal. ii. 6 who seemed to be pillars, i.e. — Gal. ii. 6 to James, and Cephas, and John, from which it is plain the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Acts</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Antioch</td>
<td>xv</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>The mission of Paul and Barnabas</td>
<td>Journey to Jerusalem, meeting with Peter, James, and John; conversion of Gentiles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Antioch in Syria</td>
<td>xv</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>The return of Paul and Barnabas to Antioch</td>
<td>After a debate, the apostles agreed to send Judas and Silas with Paul and Barnabas.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**An Abstract of the Scripture**

Paul's first apostolic journey

Places Paul visited
during this journey

How long Paul and Barnabas
were there after his
conversion

Their most remarkable
transactions

Paul's twenty-first
transaction

**Gal. ii. 15.**


Paul and Barnabas returning
from Jerusalem to Antioch in
Syria, deliver the church of
Jerusalem's epistle, decree, or
advice. And Judas and Silas,
being prophets, exhorted them
to comply with it, and to adhere
steadfastly to it. Judas returns
to Jerusalem, but Silas stays at
Antioch.

Here Peter, coming down,
Paul's second journey with Silas and Titus (to carry the decree to the brethren in Syria and Cilicia) to visit the brethren in Pisidia and Lycaonia; and to convert in Phrygia, Galatia, Troas, Macedonia, and Greece.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Dec.</th>
<th>Acts of Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches. And as he passed through the cities of those countries, he delivered the decrees delivered at Jerusalem, for he went through those countries in order to stir up the churches there.</th>
<th>Paul went through Phrygia, Galatia, and Bithynia, and returned to Perga, in Pamphylia, before Barnabas rejoined him. When Paul's journey was over, and Barnabas was returned to Antioch, he went to Cyprus and went on from city to city, teaching the Jews.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>He afterwards taught in the churches. And as he passed through the cities of those countries, he delivered the decrees delivered at Jerusalem, for he went through those countries in order to stir up the churches there.</td>
<td>Paul went through Phrygia, Galatia, and Bithynia, and returned to Perga, in Pamphylia, before Barnabas rejoined him. When Paul's journey was over, and Barnabas was returned to Antioch, he went to Cyprus and went on from city to city, teaching the Jews.</td>
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<td>Paul went through Phrygia, Galatia, and Bithynia, and returned to Perga, in Pamphylia, before Barnabas rejoined him. When Paul's journey was over, and Barnabas was returned to Antioch, he went to Cyprus and went on from city to city, teaching the Jews.</td>
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<td>Paul went through Phrygia, Galatia, and Bithynia, and returned to Perga, in Pamphylia, before Barnabas rejoined him. When Paul's journey was over, and Barnabas was returned to Antioch, he went to Cyprus and went on from city to city, teaching the Jews.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Paul's five apostolic journeys.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Dec.</th>
<th>Acts of Phrygia, Galatia, and Troas. And when Paul had been there, he proceeded to Samoset, and thence to Phoenicia, where he was repeating the same instructions in the churches.</th>
<th>Paul went through Phrygia, Galatia, and Bithynia, and returned to Perga, in Pamphylia, before Barnabas rejoined him. When Paul's journey was over, and Barnabas was returned to Antioch, he went to Cyprus and went on from city to city, teaching the Jews.</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Chapters</td>
<td>Their most notable Transactions</td>
<td>Places where they were</td>
<td>Reasons why Paul had written to them after his conversion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
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<td>------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Circumcised him by his own consent, being of age; and would have him go forth with him, i.e. become a fellow-labourer with him; and it is probable imparted the gift to him here, that he says Timothy had, by the laying on of his (Paul’s) hands, 2 Tim. i. 6 (and which was most probably the gift that fitted him for an evangelist, that being the duty Paul afterwards bids him discharge, 2 Tim. iv. 5). For since Barnabas was full of the Holy Ghost, Acts xi. 24, and Mark or John, who was a fellow-worker with St. Paul, had both of them left Paul, and that Silas, or Sylasus, a prophet, now was, and that Luke, an evangelist, was soon to be his companion; it is likely that Timothy, who was to be likewise his companion, and his fellow-worker, and brother, as he is styled, 1 Thess. iii. 2, should have some similar gifts conferred upon him; and particularly at this time, since, when they came to Thessalonica, which was very soon after this, Timothy was so instrumental in the conversion of the Thessalonians, that Paul indites his epistle to them thus: “Paul and Sylvanus and Timotheus to the church of the Thessalonians,” 1 Thess. i. 1.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>From Cilicia they go over Phrygia and Galatia; and here Paul is received as an angel of God. They intended to have preached the word at Asia (i.e. the proconsular Asia, a small part of Asia Minor, containing Ionia, Lydda, &amp;c.), but were forbidden by the Spirit; the Spirit designing the gospel should be</td>
<td>Gal. iv. 14</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
History of the Apostles

Philippi

1.

After receiving their letters, they went to

Colossians

1.

James

1.

Paul

1.

Peter

1.

John

1.

Then these letters were printed and distributed.
### An Abstract of the Scripture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paul's first apostolic journey</th>
<th>An. Dom.</th>
<th>Places where they went</th>
<th>How often Paul had been there after his conversion</th>
<th>Proofs of the time and place</th>
<th>Their most remarkable transactions</th>
<th>Proofs of the transactions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 + 50</td>
<td></td>
<td>Amphipolis,</td>
<td>Acts xvii. through Amphipolis and Aplonia, came to Thessalonica.</td>
<td></td>
<td>the injury they had done them. Whereupon they go to Lydia's house, and after seeing the brethren, and comforting them, they departed; and passing through Thessalonica, a great multitude of the devoted Greeks (σεβομένους Ἑλλήνων, proselytes of the gate), and several of the chief women. And it is plain Paul converted idolatrous Gentiles here, perhaps more of those than of the others, from some places in his epistle to this church, which he wrote from Corinth, soon after he left them, 1 Thess. i. 9, and iv. 2. 5, 6. Whilst he stayed here, which was for some time, the Philippians supplied his necessities once and again, Philip. iv. 16. At last, he and his companions are forced from hence by the unbelieving Jews, moved with envy at his success. From Thessalonica they go to Beroea. Here the Jews searched the Scriptures, to see whether what St. Paul taught was so or no. Many of them believed, and several honourable Jews (Ἑλλήνων, devout Gentiles), men and women. But the Jews of Thessalonica following him hither, and stirring up the people (κατασχοῦντες), the brethren send Paul away (without Silas or Timothy), and accompany him to Athens: whence Paul sends orders by the brethren for Silas and Timothy to come to him with all speed. But while he waited for them, he was pressed in spirit, and disputed with the Jews and devout Gentiles in the synagogue, and with the idolatrous Gentiles in the market.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and on a set day preached on Mars-hill. A few believe among which was Dionysius the Areopagite.

As soon as Timothy came hither to Paul, he having had an earnest desire to return back to the Thessalonians once and again, but being hindered by Satan, 1 Thess. ii. 18, sends Timothy to establish and comfort them, 1 Thess. iii. 12, lest they should have apostatized, from seeing and hearing of the afflictions that befell him, ver. 8, viz. at Thessalonica and Berea.

Corinth. 1 Acts xviii. 1. Acts 1

And goes himself to Corinth, where he finds Aquila, with his wife Priscilla, Jews banished by Claudius from Rome, who were tent-makers, and who wrought with him at his trade.

Here Paul seems first to have learnt the news of the faith of the Romans; and from this time prays for them, and that he might have a prosperous journey to them, Rom. i. 8—11.

As soon as Timothy came hither to Paul from Thessalonica, and Silas from Berea, "Paul testifies" to the Jews, and devout Gentiles, that Jesus was Christ. And when they opposed and blasphemed, he shook his raiment, and said, "Your blood be upon your own heads; I am clean: from henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles." Leaves the synagogue, and goes into Justus' house, a proselyte of the gate (supposed by Gros-tius and Millis to be Titus, but not justly), and has a vision in the night, to order him to stay at Corinth, and to encourage him.

Here Paul converts Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, with
An Abstract of the Scripture

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Ages</th>
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<th>Whether they went</th>
<th>How often Paul had been there after his conversion</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions</th>
<th>Proof of the Transactions</th>
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</table>
| 2    | 51    | Corinth | his house, Gaius and Stephanas; which three he baptized, 1 Cor. i. 14, 15; and afterwards Sosthenes, who seems to have succeeded Crispus in being ruler of the synagogue, and was at first Paul's adversary and accuser before Gallio, Acts xviii. 17. Paul writes his first Epistle to the Thessalonians on Timothy's return to Paul at Corinth, from his having been sent to the Thessalonians from Athens; and having brought him a good account of the Thessalonians, 1 Thess. iii. 6, 7, he writes therefore this first epistle in the name of Silvanus, and Timothy, and his own, to strengthen them against any temptation to apostasy from his afflictions or theirs; to animate them to persevere and grow in virtue, piety, and an orderly behaviour; as he does his second epistle, a little after, to set right a mistake they had made about his first, as if the day of Christ had been just at hand. Whilst Paul staid here he wrought at his trade, to supply his own necessities, and the necessities of those who were with him; and what was farther necessary he received from the Macedonians, Acts xviii. 3; but took nothing from the Corinthians, 2 Cor. xi. 9, and xii. 18. I apprehend St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Galatians about this time, and probably from hence, where he staid so long, and had so much leisure to write.  

1 In "The Arrangement of the New Testament," vol. ii. page 228, I have assigned my reasons for believing that the Epistle to the Galatians was written at Antioch.
### History of the Apostles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>First visit to Corinth.</td>
<td>nouns and numbers taken from the apostle context.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Second visit to Corinth.</td>
<td>transactions and transactions.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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1 The second Epistle to the Thessalonians was probably written at this time. See "Arrangement of the New Testament," vol. ii. page 359.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Acts</th>
<th>Place, whether they went.</th>
<th>When other parts of his life were after his conversion.</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions.</th>
<th>Proofs of the Transactions.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Acts xviii.</td>
<td>Cenchrea.</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is carried before Gallio, who refuses to hear the Jews against him, not being accused by them of any crime. He comes to Cenchrea, shares his head there, having a vow. Perhaps he made this vow on the deliverance, which the Lord had vouchsafed to him (according to his promise in the vision, ver. 9, 16), on his being brought before Gallio: such vows being usually made by the Jews on great deliverances. See Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. v. c. init.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Ephesus.</td>
<td>1 Ver.</td>
<td>Sails from Cenchrea to Ephesus; enters the synagogue, and reasons with the Jews; but defers preaching to the Gentiles here till his next journey; leaves Aquila and Priscilla here; but promises to return to them after he had been at the feast. Sails to Cesarea.</td>
<td>Verses 19—22.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Cesarea.</td>
<td>1 Ver.</td>
<td>From thence he goes to Jerusalem, salutes the church, but makes no stay here; probably coming hither at this time chiefly to fulfill his vow; which, according to the Jewish rules, was to be fulfilled in the Holy Land, however it might be made out of it. See Edmiost, iv. 11, ap. Reland, p. 277.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Jerusalem.</td>
<td>2 Ibid.</td>
<td>From Jerusalem he goes to Antioch in Syria, where he spends some time.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Antioch in Syria.</td>
<td>2 Ibid.</td>
<td>From Antioch he goes over Galatia and Phrygia, confirming the churches. Aquila and Priscilla hearing</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Galatia.</td>
<td>2 Ibid.</td>
<td>Apollos, a Jew, one of John Baptist's disciples (a person of great fervor and eloquence, and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Phrygia.</td>
<td>2 Ibid.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 I have reason to believe that the Epistle to Titus was written, about this time, from Nicopolis in Epirus. See "Arrangement of the New Testament," vol. ii. page 273.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date (A.D.)</th>
<th>Place where they went</th>
<th>How often Paul had been there before</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions</th>
<th>Proof of the Transactions</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ephesus</td>
<td>after his first stay</td>
<td>his second stay</td>
<td>Acts xviii. 25, 26.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
<td>after his second stay</td>
<td>before his third stay</td>
<td>Ver. 28. Acts xix. 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
<td>after his third stay</td>
<td>Ephesus, according to his promise</td>
<td>1 Cor. iii. 6.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Phrygia Paul comes to Ephesus, according to his promise to Aquila and Priscilla, and found twelve, who (like Apollos) were only disciples of John Baptist; whom, after instructing shortly, he baptises; and to whom he imparts the Holy Ghost. He speaks boldly in the synagogue for three months. But when divers were hardened, and spoke evil of the way, before the multitude, he departed from them, separated the disciples, and disputed daily in the school of Tyranaus, for two years. So that all that dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord, both Jews and Greeks ("Greek", Gentiles). Paul had great success here, though there were many adversaries, as we learn from his first Epistle to the Corinthians, written from hence, ch. 1. v. 9. Here it is likely that Epaphras, or some other persons were converted; who converted the Colossians, Coloss. i. 7; Colossians being near Ephesus. And here God wrought special miracles by the
## An Abstract of the Scripture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paul's five apostolic journeys</th>
<th>Anon. Dom.</th>
<th>Places where he stayed</th>
<th>How often Paul had been there after his conversion</th>
<th>Proofs of his time and place</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions</th>
<th>Proofs of the Transactions</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 56</td>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>Rhodest Asia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

hands of Paul; he curing diseases, and dispossession at a distance. The exorcist Jews attempting to dispossess by Christ's name, the evil spirit buffeted them. And this being known both to Jews and Greeks, occasioned great fear to fall on them all, and the name of the Lord Jesus to be magnified. Many burned their magical books of great price.

He stays in Asia for a season; whence he sends Timothy, with Erastus, to Macedonia and Achaia, to forward the collections, lest he should not find them ready when he came; and then goes from these parts of Asia to Ephesus.

Ver. 22. Whilst he stood here Apollo, with Stephanas, Fortunatus, 1 Cor. xvi. 17. and Achaicus, bringing him a letter from the Corinthians, in 1 Cor. xvi. which they desired his opinion on several particulars; and being informed by others of their divisions, writes an answer, in 1 Cor. i. 1. Sosthenes' name and his own, Acts xviii. from hence (about the time of the feast of the passover, 1 Cor. v. 6, and xvi. 8), being his first epistle to them that is come to our hands, 1 Cor. v. 9—11. He blames them for their divisions, answers their questions, and recommends to them the making a collection for the saints at Jerusalem: he sends this epistle by three of those who brought their letter: Apollo, the fourth, though desired by Paul, refused to go; perhaps to avoid countenancing one of the sects, that would have put themselves under him as their head. Paul seems, during his stay here, to have dwelt with Aquila and Priscilla, who, perhaps, also

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place where they went</th>
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</tr>
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</table>
|                      |                                                   |                             | Lodged or provided for a great many of the church, 1 Cor. xvi. 19. They seem afterwards to do the same office at Rome, Rom. xvi. 3 sq., as Sains did likewise at Corinth, Rom. xvi. 23, and as it is likely Nymphas and Philemon did at Colosse, Colos. iv. 16, Phil. ii. 19. Paul seems now to have deserted to have gone to Corinth, but stays till he saw what effects his epistle would produce among them; being unwilling to go and use his apostolical rod, and choosing rather to stay till he could pay them a kind and paternal visit, 1 Cor. iv. 17, ad fin. A great riot is occasioned here by Demetrius, and the rest of the silversmiths, who are highly enraged against Paul for being an enemy to the worship of Diana. Paul had like here to have been flung to wild beasts, as we may gather from 1 Cor. xv. 33. And here it was that he says, that while he was in Asia, he “was pressed out of measure, above strength; and that he despaired even of life,” 2 Cor. i. 8. Paul, seeing he could not stay himself, bids Timothy remain here some time, who was just then returned from Corinth to him, as Paul expected, 1 Cor. xvi. 12. Paul's first intention was to stay here till Titus returned, and then to go directly from hence to Corinth, from thence to Macedonia, and from thence back again to Corinth, and so to Jerusalem. But he presently alters his purpose, and resolves to go first to Macedonia, and thence to Achaia, in order to receive the contributions he was
### An Abstract of the Scripture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acts Deut.</th>
<th>Thrice whither they went.</th>
<th>How often Paul had been there before his conversion.</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions.</th>
<th>Proof of the Translations.</th>
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<td>3 57</td>
<td></td>
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<td>making for the poor saints at Jerusalem; and, in pursuance of this design, he sets out for Troas.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Troas.</td>
<td>2 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 Tim. i. 20. delivered Hymenæus and Alexander to Satan, that they might learn not to reproach the gospel of Christ. Soon after he came to Troas, he writes his first Cor. Epistle to Timothy. Here a door was opened of the Lord unto him.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48 Macedo-</td>
<td>2 Acts</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 Cor. ii. 12. 12. But, not finding Titus there, he went from thence into Macedonia, to find him; finds him there, and from him receives the good news of the Corinthians' repentance, and obedience to his former letter; which refreshes his heart.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>nia.</td>
<td>xx.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 Cor. vii. 5, 6. While in Macedonia, Paul sends Titus, Luke, and another brother, to Corinth, to forward the collections; and by them sends his second Epistle to the Corinthians, just before he went to them; in which he excuses his not coming to them, though he had often promised, and intended it, lest he should have found them in a temper which would have made their meeting very uneasy to them both; commends their obedience to his former letter; exhorts them to a liberal contribution; and threatens great severity to the false apostle, and such of his faction as should still continue obstinate and impenitent; and assures them, that now he finds the greater part in such a temper, that he might visit them without using his apostolical</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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1 This epistle was probably written from Macedonia. See "Arrangement of the New Testament," vol. ii. page 324.
### History of the Apostles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Journey</th>
<th>When Paul had been there</th>
<th>Events</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 Cor. viii. 1—6</td>
<td>Received contrib. from Macedonia, 2 Cor. viii. 1—6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corinth</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 Cor. viii. 1—3</td>
<td>went thither on some of the persecutions.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Paul sent a letter to the Romans (Rom. xv. 14), and to the Ephesians (Eph. i. 1). He also wrote the Epistle to the Colossians (Col. i. 1). He was going from Corinth to Jerusalem, to carry the contributions to the saints. (Acts xx. 6.)

Paul's intention was to sail from Corinth to Syria, in his way to Jerusalem; but finding the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paul's Five Apostolic Journeys</th>
<th>In the Book of Acts</th>
<th>This must be considered for what it is.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Place Where They Went</td>
<td>Proofs of the Time and Place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Philippi</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Macedonia</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Thessalonica</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Achaia</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Corinth</strong></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- Paul was in Thessalonica twice, first before and then after his conversion.
- There were several churches in Greece: Corinth, Ephesus, and Colossae.
- Paul visited these churches during his missionary journeys.
- In Achaia, Paul faced persecution and spent time in prison before being set free.

**Text References:**
- 1 Corinthians 11:1-15
- Galatians 2:1-10
- Romans 15:19-21

**Key Figures:**
- Timothy, John Mark, Luke, Silas, Barnabas, and others.

**Additional Information:**
- Paul's missionary journeys were marked by his dedication to spreading the Gospel and facing various challenges and oppositions.
- The table above provides a concise overview of Paul's apostolic journeys and their significance in the early Christian church.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Acts</th>
<th>Place where they went</th>
<th>How often Paul had been there after his conversion</th>
<th>Facts of the time and place</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Troglwy, Mileto in Asia.</td>
<td>Acts xx. 16. sailed thence, came over-against Chloe, arrived at Samos, tarried at Troglwy, and the next day came to Mileto. This he did Ver. 16. having hired a ship to carry himself, the messengers, and the contributions; and which therefore attended him at these places. And being desirous to see the elders of Ephesus, and being withal pressed in time (intending to be at Jerusalem by the feast), he would not go to Ephesus, but sends for the elders of that church hither. In his charge to them, he says, &quot;That the Holy Ghost had made them bishops&quot; (Ewspwaw), and declares, &quot;That he had 'testified' faith and repentance both to Jews and Greeks that the Holy Ghost witnessed, saying, that in every city bonds and afflictions awaited him; that he goes up, bound in the Spirit, to Jerusalem, and that they should see his face no more:&quot; sets sail towards Jerusalem: sails near Coos and Rhodes: takes another ship at Patara: goes ashore at Tyre.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2   | 1.   | Patala | Acts xxi. Patala: there disciples said to Paul, Ibid. There disciples said to Paul, Ibid. by the Spirit, that he should not go up to Jerusalem, i. e. dissuaded him from it, because they foresew by the Spirit that he would meet with great trouble, and be in danger of his life there. He sails from Tyre, and lands at Ptolemais; salutes the brethren, and stays with them one day. From Ptolemais Paul and his company went to Cesarœa; where they entered the house of Philip the Evangelist, one of the seven deacons; who seems to have settled here soon after.
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<table>
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<th>Paul's First Apology</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Places where they went.</td>
<td>How often Paul had been there after his conversion.</td>
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<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>3 q. f. a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>His converting the church, Acts vii. 40.</td>
<td>Agabus comes down from Judea, and foretells by the Spirit, that Paul would be bound by the Jews at Jerusalem, and delivered to the Gentiles. But Paul being unmoved at the prospect of danger, they took carriages (which were necessary to carry their contributions), and went to Jerusalem, ver. 15.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Acts xxi. 16, 17.</td>
<td>There accompanied Paul thither certain disciples of Caesarea; and brought with them one Mnasus of Cyprus, “an old disciple,” with whom they should lodge. When Paul and the messengers of the churches were come to Jerusalem, they were received gladly by the brethren; particularly on account of the great alms, which Paul had with much labour and care collected, and now, with the other messengers, brought for the poor saints at Jerusalem. The collecting and bringing these alms at this time to Jerusalem seems to have been done with a design, 1. to show James that Paul was mindful of the agreement made between the apostles of the heathen and James and two other of the apostles of the circumcision, at Jerusalem, an. 49, an account of which we have, Gal. ii. 9, 10. 2. To show the Jewish saints at Jerusalem that the idolatrous Gentiles who believed considered them as one with themselves as Chief Jews; were willing to pay the debt of temporal things they had contracted by receiving the spiritual things of the Jews, as St. Paul speaks, Rom. xv. 26, 27; and were zealous to provoke the Jewish</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Events</td>
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<td>3rd</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>Jerusalem.</td>
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<td>Paul's next journey</td>
<td>An. Dom.</td>
<td>Places whither they went</td>
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<td>---------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Jerusalem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

those things whereof they were informed concerning thee (viz. that thou teachest the Jews, which are among the Gentiles to forsake the law of Moses, circumcision, and the customs), are nothing, but that thou thyself walkest orderly (i.e. as a man subject to the law of Moses, not indeed as the law of the kingdom of God in the world, but as the law of their country), and keepest the law. As touching the Gentiles which believe (or those Gentiles with whose conversion the church of Jerusalem has been hitherto acquainted, namely, the devout Gentiles), we have written, and concluded, that they observe no such thing; save only that they keep themselves from things offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication.” Then Paul took the men, and, the next day, purifying himself with them, entered into the Temple.

—And when the seven days were almost ended the Jews of Asia, where he had been preaching lately for three years together, Acts xix. 10—22, seeing him in the Temple, stirred up the people, and laid hands on him, crying out, “Men of Israel, help! this is the man that teacheth all men every where against the people, and the law, and this place; and, farther, brought Greeks into the Temple (having seen Trophimus, an Ephesian, in the city with him some time before), and hath polluted this holy place.” And they drew Paul out of the Temple, and went about to kill him; till Lysias, the chief captain, rescued him, and carrying him to the castle.
Paul's five successive journeys.  |  |  
|  |  |  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Place where they met.</th>
<th>How often Paul had been there after his conversion.</th>
<th>Their most remarkable transactions.</th>
<th>Preceding their Transactions.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>Jerusalem.</td>
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</table>

(Antioch), gave him leave, at his desire, to speak from the stairs to the people; to whom he makes his defence, in the Hebrew tongue: which, when they understood, they kept the more silence, and seem to have had their fury, in a good measure, allayed. It is probable the multitude, upon the outcry that was made, might imagine he was a Gentile, who had gone farther into the Temple than was allowed to a Gentile, till they heard him speak Hebrew; and that probably was one reason why Paul told the chief captain that he was "a Jew of Tarsus," ver. 39; and gives an account of what had passed on the road to Damascus; and that at Damascus Ananias had said to him, "God has chosen thee, that thou shouldst see that Just One, and shouldst hear his mouth; for thou shalt be his witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard: and now why tarriest thou? Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord." And then gives an account of his being sent by Christ to the Gentiles, when he was come again to Jerusalem; viz. the second time of his coming there after his conversion.

The people, incensed at his defence, and particularly at his saying that "Christ sent him to the Gentiles," increase their tumult; so that the chief captain ordered him to be examined by scourging. But as they were binding him, in order to scourge him, on finding that he was a Roman, the chief captain the next morning loosed him from his bands; ordered
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Proofs of the time and place</th>
<th>Their most remarkable transactions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Felix, the governor at Caesarea.</td>
<td>Acts xxiv. 1—9.</td>
<td>Five days after Paul's arrival at Caesarea. Ananias, the high priest, with the elders, and Tertullus, the orator, came thither; who accuse Paul before the governor of being a pestilent fellow, a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes. Paul denies the charge; but owns that, after the way which they called heresy, he worshipped the God of his fathers: which was a very proper defence before a Roman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ver. 11.</td>
<td>Acts xxiii. 1—7.</td>
<td>Acts the council, sends him away by night through Antipatris unto Caesarea.</td>
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<td>The chief captain being informed by Paul's nephew of a conspiracy of certain Jews to take away Paul's life, when he should next he brought before the council,</td>
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<td>Their most remarkable Translations.</td>
<td>Facts of the Translations.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Places whether they went.</td>
<td>How often Paul had been there after his conversion.</td>
<td>Proved or not true and just.</td>
<td>governor; since the Roman law forbade the worshiping of any new gods, Cic. de Leg. lib. ii. cap. viii. circ. init. Felix doth, giving any sentence till he should be fully informed by him of the matter; and orders him to be kept as a prisoner, but at large. Afterwards he and his wife Drusilla, a Jewess, sent for him, and heard him of the faith in Christ. And on his reasoning of righteousness, temperance (charity, by some), and judgment to come, &amp;c. Felix trembled. Acts xxv. However, Paul having given Felix no bribe, he is left bound, to please the Jews. Festus, succeeding Felix, is importuned by the Jews at Jerusalem to send for Paul thither, lying in wait to kill him. But Festus ordered them to go down with him to Caesarea, and accuse Paul there. When they were arrived, as they could prove nothing against Paul, so Paul asserts his own innocence; declaring, &quot;that he had not offended in anything against the law of the Jews, against the Temple, or against Caesar; and that to the Jews he had done no wrong:&quot; and ver. 9—10, &quot;that however he might be accused of being of a new sect, viz. of the Nazarenes, yet he did not worship a new God, which by the Roman law (Cic. de Leg. lib. ii. c. viii.) was unlawful; but the God of his fathers, though according to a new way.&quot; But, to avoid the consequence of his being sent by Festus to Jerusalem, to please the Jews, appeals to Caesar, upon Christ's direction in the castle at Jeru-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paul's First Apostolic Journey</td>
<td>Place where they went</td>
<td>How often Paul had been there after his conversion</td>
<td>Their most remarkable Transactions</td>
<td>Proof of the Transactions</td>
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<td>Caesarea</td>
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<td>But before he is sent to Rome, king Agrippa and Bere- nicus coming to Caesarea, and being desirous to hear him, Paul is brought forth, and makes the king an eloquent speech; and relates what had passed on the road to Damascus, at Damascus, and at Jerusalem, (viz. the second time of his being there after his conversion,) and the true cause of his being taken up by the Jews; shows how he executed both his commissions, that at Damascus, and that in the Temple; and declares, that he continues witnessing to small and great that Christ should suffer, and should be the first that should rise from the dead, and show light to the Gentiles; the three things which the Jews chiefly objected against Christ.</td>
<td>Acts xxvi.32.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sidon</td>
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<td>But it being determined by Festus that Paul should go to Rome (together with other prisoners, and among them Aristarchus of Thessalonica, ver. 2), he is committed to Julius, a centurion of Augustus' band, who intreated Paul courteously, and put him on board a ship at Adramyttium, bound for Asia. The next day they touched at Sidon. Acts xxvii.1, 2, 3, 4.</td>
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<td>Myra, a city of Lycia</td>
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<td>When they came to Myra, the centurion, finding a ship bound for Italy, puts them on board. Acts xxvii.5, 6.</td>
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<td>Fair Havens, near Lasus</td>
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<td>When they came to Fair Havens, Paul advised that they should winter there, for telling</td>
<td>Acts xxvii.8-14.</td>
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<td>Places</td>
<td>Transactions</td>
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<td>On the voyage</td>
<td>Acts xxvii. 9; the damage of the ship, and the danger of their lives, if they proceeded on the voyage (it being a stormy month, Acts xxvii. 9); but the centurion trusting rather to the judgment of the master of the ship than to Paul, and being unwilling to winter in so inconvenient a port, set sail for Crete; where they soon met with a very great storm, that lasted many days. And when they gave themselves over, Paul foretells that none of them should be lost, from an angel who revealed it to him, the night before. Acts xxvii. 11, 12. Ver. 14 — 20. Ver. 20 — 27.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Places whether they went.</td>
<td>How often Paul had been there after his imprisonment</td>
<td>Their most remarkable Transactions.</td>
<td>Proof of the Transactions.</td>
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<td>Appii Forum.</td>
<td>seems to have been a proselyte of the gate, that Paul met first at Antioch in Syria, Acts xi. 28, the Alexandrian MS. reading ἄνδρα ἄνδρων δῆμος. He became his companion at Tarsus, Acts xvi. 11, and went thence with Paul to Philippi, ver. 12, where Paul meets him again, Acts xx. 6, and was particularly one that was chosen of the churches to carry the contributions to Jerusalem, 2 Cor. vii. 18, 19, when Paul was sent from Jerusalem as a prisoner either. Paul likewise sends salutations from Luke, in two of his epistles, written from hence, Coloss. iv. 14, Philem. v. 24: 3. Aristarchus, one of his fellow-travellers from Macedonia, Acts xx. 4, and xxvii. 2, and his fellow-prisoner here, Coloss. iv. 10: 4. Tychicus, another of his fellow-travellers, Acts xx. 4; and whom he sent from hence to the Colossians, Coloss. iv. 7: 5. Mark, the nephew of Barnabas, Coloss. iv. 10.</td>
<td>Paul writes the Epistle to the Colossians, and sent it by the same messenger, Tychicus, Eph. vi. 21, Col. iv. 8.</td>
<td>Acts xxvii. 6. During the time of his imprisonment he converts, among others, some of Caesar’s household, Philip. iv. 22, several of the prætorian soldiery, as well as the servants; for he says, &quot;his bonds were manifest,&quot; to ἂν τῷ δακτυλίῳ ἑαυτοῦ, Onesimus, the servant of Philemon, a considerable man at Colosse, Philem. ver. 10; and probably great numbers of others, since the Roman historians afterwards call them &quot;a vast multitude,&quot; Tacit. Ann. xv. 44. Suet. in Ner. cap. x.</td>
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### Paul's second apostolic journey

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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place named</th>
<th>Visit to whom</th>
<th>How they were received</th>
<th>Their most remarkable transactions</th>
<th>Proofs of the transactions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rome</td>
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Paul is suffered to dwell in his own hired house, while the rest of the prisoners are delivered to the captain of the guard. The mild treatment he met with must have proceeded from that favourable representation which Festus made of his case, and the report that Julius the centurion might make of what had passed on the voyage, and of Paul's behaviour whilst he had been under his care. This mild treatment of him, and his constancy, proved a furtherance to the gospel of Christ, other brethren taking encouragement from thence to preach with greater boldness, Phil. ii. 2.

Three days after his arrival Acts he called the chief of the Jews xxviii. 17—31. together, showing them how he came a prisoner to Rome, but that he had committed nothing against the people, or customs of their fathers. They tell him that they had heard nothing against him; but should be glad to hear of his sect. And on a set day Paul preached to them in his own lodgings; some believing, and some believing not. He applies Isaiah vi. 10 to them; and then says, "Be it known, therefore, unto you, that the salvation of God is sent unto the Gentiles, and they will hear it." And after this he received all that came in unto him (both Jews and Gentiles), and preached to them for the space of two years boldly, Acts xxviii. 31.

Whilst he remains a prisoner at Rome the Philippians, being very solicitous that he might not want in his imprisonment, send Epaphroditus to him with a supply, Phil. ii. 26, and iv.
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<tr>
<th>Paul's Age at Ephesus</th>
<th>Where He Was</th>
<th>How Many Days Past His Conversion</th>
<th>Their Most Remarkable Transactions</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| 18. Epaphroditus falls sick at Rome, Phil. ii. 27. As soon as he recovers Paul sends him back to them, with an epistle, to comfort them under his afflictions, to heal their divisions (which it is likely Epaphroditus had acquainted him with); but especially to warn them against the Jewish seducers (with which all Asia, and Galatia, and probably Macedonia, was infested), to exhort them to several moral duties, and to thank them for their supply. About the same time he seems to have received a supply from the Colossians by Epaphras, Coloss. i. 7, 8, who seems to have become his fellow-prisoner. Philem. ver. 23. And having learned their state from him, writes to them, to secure them against the false philosophy, and against the elements (or rather shadows) of the Jews; and sends it by Tychicus and Onesimus, Coloss. iv. 7—9. By Tychicus he also writes to the Laodicceans (commonly called the epistle to the Ephesians), Eph. vi. 31, whom he either apprehended infected, or in danger of the same errors with the Colossians and the Philippians; and therefore writes in the same strain. But that this epistle was not written to the Ephesians is plain, because they had bishops, as we find, Acts xx. 28, and probably deacons, not only in general, because they were ordinarily appointed at the same time; but particularly, because Paul had given Timothy directions about ordaining them, 1 Tim. iii. 12, 13. And yet he makes no mention of them in the epistle, as he does in his epistle to the Philippians, the only church
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<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Jer.</th>
<th>62</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions.</th>
<th>Period of the Transactions.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italy.</td>
<td>Heb.</td>
<td>xiii.</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Crete.</td>
<td>Tit.</td>
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<td>xiii.</td>
<td>23, 24</td>
<td>Crete.</td>
<td>Tit. i. 5.</td>
<td>From Italy he visits Crete, in his way to Jerusalem, and leaves Titus there.</td>
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</table>
|         | 23. 24 | Crete. | Jerusalem. | Tit. xiii. 23, 24. | Sails from Crete to Judea, and goes to Jerusalem, with Timothy in his company, ac-

1 I have stated and examined the arguments of the most approved commentators on this point, in "The Arrangement of the New Testament," vol. ii. pp. 452—459.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>How often Paul had been there after his conversion</th>
<th>Troubled by the time and place</th>
<th>According to what he wrote to the Hebrews, Heb. xiii. 23, 24.</th>
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<td>Antioch in Syria</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>Goes from Jerusalem to Antioch in Syria (as is probable, he having always made this route in his former journeys), making that his way to Crete, Rome, Italy, and, perhaps, Spain, where he seems to design to go. Paul stays at Colosse some time, as he had told Philemon he would, Philem. ver. 22. Paul stays at Philippi some time, pursuant to what he wrote to the Philippians, Phil. i. 25, and ii. 24. Writes his Epistle to Titus, when he had Artemas and Tychicus with him; and bids him come to him at Nicopolis (in Epirus), where he winters. Possibly Paul took Colosse and Philippi in his way to Crete, Rome, &amp;c. to thank them for the great kindness which they had always expressed to him, and the generous supplies they had sent him, Philip. iv. 25, particularly when he was a prisoner at Rome; as well as to perform his promise to them. Goes to Nicopolis in Epirus: And thence to Corinth, where he leaves Erastus sick; which he could not do in his first journey to Rome; for then he did not go near Corinth; as we may plainly see by the account, St. Luke gives us of his voyage. From Corinth he goes to Troas, and there leaves his cloak and parchments; for he cannot well be supposed to have left them there when he had so many companions as he had the third time of his being here; and had the collections to carry with...</td>
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<td>Colosse.</td>
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<td>Philippi.</td>
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<td>Nicopolis in Epirus.</td>
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<td>Corinth.</td>
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<td>Troas.</td>
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### History of the Apostles

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Places visited</th>
<th>Events after conversion</th>
<th>Proofs of the transactions</th>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Miletum in Crete</td>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>2 Thm. iv. 30. Trophimeus sick.</td>
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</table>

- Paul sailed to Italy, as he supposed, to go and visit those whom he had converted in his former journey there, and perhaps to go from thence to Spain; it having been always his method to take a second journey to strengthen those whom he had converted in a former; and thence to proceed farther to Spain, with a design to make converts in countries where he had not yet been. Pursuant to this design, in his way to Italy, he landed at Crete; and at Miletum leaves his sick, and continues his voyage onward to Italy. Sails from Crete to Italy; goes to Rome, where he finds a very different face of affairs from the time of his first being there. The Christian religion was now treated not only as a new, but as an impious superstition; and the Christians as abominable people, who deserved to be hated of mankind, G Rs. in Ner. c. xvi. Tacit. Annal. xv. 44. This perhaps was owing to the calumnies that the Jews spread of them every where, and which, perhaps, also the Gnostics by this time gave too much countenance to. Therefore Paul, as one of the chief of his sect, was cast into so close confinement, that Ones-
### An Abstract of the Scripture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>James</th>
<th>Places wherein they went.</th>
<th>How often Paul left his conversion.</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions.</th>
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<td>5:66</td>
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Phorus "with difficulty found him out," 2 Tim. i. 16, and was in such danger that, as no man stood by him, 2 Tim. iv. 16, Alexander the copper-smith did him much harm, ver. 14, 15. However, Paul made such an apology for himself and the Christian religion, that he was for some time delivered out of the mouth of the lion, and the Christian religion became more fully known, 2 Tim. iv. 17. During his second imprisonment at Rome he sends Titus (who came hither with him from Nicopolis) to Dalmatia, 2 Tim. iv. 10; and after his first and second defence, he writes his second Epistle to Timothy. That epistle seems to have been directed to him in some place, from whence he was to take Ephesus in his way to Rome, as may be gathered from ch. ii. 14, 16, and iv. 19; from whence too it would not be much out of his way to go by Tarsus to Rome; as we may collect from ver. 13; and from whence he might bring Mark with him, who is said to have been at Jerusalem. I think it is probable it might be about Lystra, which was Timothy's native place; and where, possibly, Paul left him (when he went from Jerusalem in his last journey to Rome), to stay with his friends, and be useful to the churches in that neighbourhood. This seems to me the more likely, because he speaks "of the faith of his grandmother, Lois, and his mother Eunice," ch. i. 6, which, perhaps, the thought of the place where he sent his letter might bring to his mind. I think thus also.
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<th>Paul’s apostles</th>
<th>Places where they went</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions</th>
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<td>As. Dom.</td>
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Afflictions and persecutions in these countries, and no other, ch. ii. 10, 11, for the very same reason. His persecutions elsewhere, and some of which were as severe or severer, Timothy knew, having been his companion in most of his travels since Timothy’s conversion. That all this was done during Paul’s second imprisonment at Rome, will appear from the following considerations.

In the first imprisonment Timothy was a prisoner with him, and continued so after Paul’s release, Heb. xiii. 21. And Paul joins Timothy with him in three of the Epistles he wrote in the first imprisonment. And now Timothy was absent from him, 2 Tim. iv. 9—21. Besides, in the first imprisonment, Paul was a prisoner at large in his own hired house, all persons having free access to him, Acts xxviii. 16—30. When he wrote this Epistle he was in such close custody, that Onesiphorus with difficulty found him out, 2 Tim. i. 17. Finally, in the first imprisonment he writes, that he should soon be enlarged, Philip. i. 25, and ii. 24. Philm. v. 22. In this Epistle he tells Timothy, that “he is ready to be offered up, and the time of his departure is at hand;” that “he has fought the good fight, and finished his course,” 2 Tim. iv. 1. 8. And though “God had delivered him out of the mouth of the lion (Nero or Helius Caesar), at his first defence;” yet he does not add, that He will deliver him out of it; but “from every evil work, and preserve him unto His heavenly kingdom,” 2 Tim. iv. 16—19.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Paul's first apostolic journeys</th>
<th>An. Dom.</th>
<th>Places whither they went</th>
<th>How often Paul had been before</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions</th>
<th>Proofs of its Transactions</th>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>For this time he says, he had</td>
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<td>left Eneas in Corinth, and</td>
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<td>Trophimus sick at Miletum;</td>
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<td>whereas he could neither be at</td>
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<td>voyage.</td>
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<td>Peter writes his two Epistles</td>
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<td>about this time, declares himself</td>
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<td>an elder, and a witness of the</td>
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<td>sufferings of Christ; dating</td>
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<td>the first from Rome, which he</td>
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<td>calls Babylon, in the Apocryphal</td>
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<td>style; as may appear probable</td>
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<td>from the companions he had then</td>
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<td>with him.</td>
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<td>Jude seems to have written his</td>
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<td>Epistle at the same time,</td>
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<td>from its agreement in manner</td>
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<td>and expressions with the Epistle</td>
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<td>of Peter.</td>
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<td>Though Paul’s intention seems</td>
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<td>to have been to have gone to</td>
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<td>Italy and Spain, to strengthen</td>
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<td>the disciples he had made in his</td>
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<td>former journey; yet he went no</td>
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<td>farther, but suffered martyrdom</td>
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<td>(under Domitian, the vilest</td>
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<td>lieutenant of the vilest prince</td>
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<td>any age or country ever produced)</td>
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<td>and so did Peter, in the manner</td>
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<td>Jesus foretold, John xxi. 18.</td>
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<td>This year Jerusalem is besieged,</td>
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<td>taken, sacked, and burned by</td>
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<td>Titus, according to Christ’s</td>
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<td>prophecy, Luke xix. 43, 44;</td>
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<td>1,100,000 Jews perish, 97,000</td>
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<td>are made prisoners, besides an</td>
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<td>innumerable company, who, in</td>
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### History of the Apostles

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<th>As. Dom.</th>
<th>Places whither they went.</th>
<th>How often Paul had been there after his conversion.</th>
<th>Proofs of the time and place.</th>
<th>Their most remarkable Transactions.</th>
<th>Proofs of the Transactions.</th>
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- John styles himself an elder in his two last Epistles, 2 John i. and 3 John i.
- After Domitian's death, St. John returns to Ephesus, and, at the request of the Church, writes his Gospel.
ESSAY I.

ON THE TEACHING AND WITNESS OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I.—The Teaching and Witness of the Holy Spirit, the greatest Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion.

The Christian dispensation is the last and most gracious dispensation of God to mankind. It is not however without its enemies, among some few of the sober, and, who seem, at least, on all other occasions, capable, diligent, and fair inquirers; as well as among the vicious, the indolent, the knavish, and the incompetent. The greatest witness to the truth of the Christian religion is the Holy Spirit. I have therefore thought it might be of some service, to consider that evidence with all the care and attention I could.

I have chosen to do this the rather, because, whilst I think this teaching of the Spirit the greatest proof of the truth of the Christian religion, I at the same time see, that it runs so much through the beginning and end of the...
The Will of God imparted before the Fall

Gospels, particularly St. John's; and is so much insisted upon in the Acts, and all the Epistles, that neither the scheme of the Christian religion itself, nor a great number of texts in the New Testament can be understood without carefully considering it.

SECTION II.—Before the fall, God imparted His will to mankind, by frequent and immediate communication.

The invisible God, the Creator of all things, who at first made man upright and happy, often conversed with him (whilst he kept his integrity) by the Word; by whom He made, and governs the world: as may be gathered from that short history, which Moses gives us, of the creation of our first parents. We have an account of God's conversing with them three or four times before the fall.¹ This was an honour therefore He often vouchsafed them, if the general opinion be true, of the short time they preserved their innocence. How much oftener God might vouchsafe them this high privilege, we do not exactly know; but that it had been often enough for Adam and Eve to be well acquainted with His voice, we may gather from these words: "And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden, in the cool of

¹ Gen. i. 28—31. and ii. 15—20.
the day; and Adam and his wife hid themselves among the trees of the garden: and the Lord God called unto Adam, and said unto him, Where art thou? And he said, I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked, and I hid myself."

SECTION III.—Since the fall, God appeals to all men by the power of conscience.

But after our first parents had disobeyed God's express command, and thereby drawn upon themselves a perpetual banishment from paradise, and rendered themselves, as well as their posterity, liable to death; God did not vouchsafe such frequent and immediate intercourses between himself and them, or any of their miserable race.

Though God, however, was pleased to withdraw this frequent and immediate intercourse, whereby mankind might have learnt from himself their duty, and His disposition to accept them in the discharge of it; yet He did not leave himself without a witness, having implanted in them the knowledge of good and evil; and having, as St. Paul elegantly expresses it, "made every man a law unto himself; the work of the law being written in their hearts; their conscience also bearing witness, and their

Gen. iii. 8—11.
4  The Will of God imparted since the Fall, thoughts the mean while accusing or else excusing one another."

And as God has thus placed a witness for Himself in every man's heart, suggesting to him what he ought to do; so has He not left Himself without a witness, that He is disposed to accept those who endeavour to obey this law of their minds; not only by some degrees of forbearance, in "not executing sentence speedily on their evil works;" and by suffering them long, because He is unwilling "that any should perish;" but by doing them good; giving them rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, and filling their hearts with joy and gladness:"

and thereby, as well as by other methods, inviting them all to "seek the Lord, if happily they might feel (alluding to the darkness in which the heathen world is represented in Scripture),

1 Rom. ii. 14, 15.

When the knowledge of the true God had been once imparted by divine revelation, mankind could not plead ignorance of his will, and were consequently bound to obey the known laws of their Creator. In no part of his works does Lord Barrington appear to be the advocate of the existence of mere natural religion; that is, of a state in which Man was left to discover the existence of God, his own moral obligations, and future responsibility, by the unassisted efforts of his own reason. --See Ellis's "Knowledge of Divine Things from Revelation, not from Reason, or Nature," p. 265—303.

1 Eccles. viii. 11.  3 2 Pet. iii. 9.  Acts xiv. 15.
by Conscience, and divine Revelation.

after Him; though He be not far from every one of us: for in Him we live, and move, and have our being."  

Thus far God has testified His will, and His gracious dispositions to all men since the fall; even to those whom "He winked at;" (or acted as a man that overlooks, winks, connives, and will not see;) suffering them "to walk in their own ways;" without sending any special messengers to inform or reclaim them.

SECTION IV.—God has at various times imparted to chosen persons a more especial revelation of His divine will, for the common benefit of mankind.

But to some, that is, to those who made the best use of these common discoveries of His will and goodness, God did not stop there; but manifested Himself further: more particularly to persons of the most exemplary piety: chiefly indeed by His Spirit, as He did to Enoch; whereby Enoch prophesied. But sometimes by such appearances as He blessed our first parents with; by which Christ preached to the disobedient before the flood, who were the spirits in prison, (or who were held captive by the devil, through their own lusts and passions) by the instructions which He (the Lord) gave to

1 Acts xvii. 27, 28. 2 Ibid. xvii. 30.
3 Ibid. xiv. 16. 4 Jude 14.
Revelation imparted to chosen Persons

Noah;\footnote{Gen. vi. 7, 8—14.} whereby Noah, as St. Peter informs us, became "a preacher of righteousness."\footnote{1 Pet. iii. 18, 19, 20. 2 Pet. ii. 5.}

And though after the Spirit of God had ceased to strive with the old world, and to testify against them; the flood came, and swept them all away, but eight persons; yet God seemed afterwards, on the renewing the face of the earth, to converse with Noah again, as he did with our first parents after the creation.\footnote{Gen. ix. 1—18.} And though on all his posterity's forsaking the worship of God, and falling into idolatry and vice, as they quickly did, God did not see fit to continue that immediate intercourse with them; yet did He single out Abraham, the father of the faithful, a man of eminent virtue, to whom He might communicate his will, by dreams, visions, and messages; which He did not send by inferior angels only, but by the Lord himself; even by Him that was afterwards known as the Angel of his presence or covenant. After Abraham, He was pleased to vouchsafe some of these divine communications to Isaac and Jacob, and to their seed; till they, becoming a great people, had Moses for their teacher; who had not only the spirit of prophecy, but was one to whom God spake face to face; making also his glory to pass before him.

After Moses had given so full a discovery of
for the common benefit of Mankind.

God's mind and will to them, there arose indeed in Israel no prophet like unto him: yet did God, on all great occasions, send them prophets from time to time, with "line upon line, precept upon precept; with here a little and there a little;" encouraging them when they are faithful, and testifying against them by his Spirit in their mouths (as the Levites expressed it); whenever they revolted from God, or brake His commandments.

And though God did not send any prophet to the idolatrous nations after the flood for more than two thousand years, winking at the times of their ignorance; yet Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, travelled up and down among them, and had extraordinary providences attending them. After these the Israelitish nation had laws from heaven, miraculous manifestations to them, and divine appearances in their favour, in leading them out of Egypt, through the Red Sea, and the wilderness. In addition to these the conquests of Canaan, the singular protection and felicity of that country; the particular and exemplary punishment of the Israelites for their vice and idolatry, in their captivities; and their uncommon restorations to their own country, on their repentance; according to the plain

1 Nahem. ix. 29, 30.
2 See on the subject of Abraham's teaching, and travels; "Arrangement of the Old Test." vol. 1. p. 79.
8 The Family of Abraham a light to the world.
predictions of both, by their prophets, were all the standing witnesses for God, and a plain revelation to the whole world, if they would but give themselves the trouble to inquire after these patriarchs, and this wonderful commonwealth: for the people of Israel were set by God as a light on a hill, on purpose to draw the eyes of all mankind upon them.

SECTION V.—The Spirit of prophecy which had ceased after the death of Malachi, revived in Zacharias, Simeon, Anna, and the Baptist; who united their testimony to the truth of the divine mission of the promised Messiah, to whom it was imparted without measure.

The Spirit, which strove no more with the bulk of mankind after the flood, seems also to have left the Jews for more than three hundred years after Malachi, their last prophet, on the finishing of the second temple; under which prophecy, with all the other glories of the first temple, disappeared. This was intended to prepare them the more to expect the Lord, who was to come Himself to fill this temple with His own glory; and thereby to make the despised glory of the second temple greater than the glory of the first.\(^1\) It was, indeed, a period of the thickest darkness, like that which precedes the dawn of day. The heathen world was

\(^1\) Hag. ii. 7, 9. Mal. iii. 1.
sunk into the grossest polytheism, idolatry, and immorality; which they not only believed and practised, but wrought up into their highest acts of devotion. The Jews, who had the oracles of God, had notoriously corrupted them by their false glosses and traditions; which they had not only added to the law, but by them rendered the law itself of none effect: so that since the light that was in the world was darkness, how great must the darkness have been? and since the blind were leading the blind, what could have followed but that both should have fallen into the ditch; if the day had not at length dawned, and the Sun of righteousness Himself arisen to the world, breaking forth from the clouds that veiled His glory, and finally shining with His full lustre, in the illuminations of the Holy Ghost? Wherefore, after so great an interval of prophecy, God was pleased to fill Zachary and Elizabeth with the Holy Ghost, and they prophesied.¹ The Virgin Mary, on whom the Holy Ghost came, brake forth into a sublime hymn.² Good old Simeon had the Holy Ghost likewise upon him: and Anna the prophetess.³ John Baptist was at last filled with the Holy Ghost from his mother’s womb;⁴ from whence he became a greater prophet than

¹ Luke i. 62. ² Ibid. i. 25, 46—56. ³ Ibid. ii. 25, 26—36. ⁴ Ibid. i. 15.
any that went before him. For "among them that are born of women, there had not (at that time) been a greater than John; all the prophets and the law prophesying until him," and then in some sort ending: for he not only foretold the appearance of Jesus, the great Prophet, darkly, and as a thing at a distance, as the law and the other prophets had done before him; as he himself did in some measure at the first; but had the honour to be His immediate fore-runner, and to prepare the way for Him. For he exhorted men to repent of those vices which would hinder their receiving Him; both by encouraging them to repent, from baptizing them into the faith of the two doctrines of the near appearance of Christ, and of the remission of sins; which latter perhaps meant no more than a deliverance of those particular persons who should repent from the wrath coming upon the whole nation. He denounced also the utter extirpation of their nation, if they should continue impenitent: and he had at last the honour to introduce Jesus publicly to the people; and to point Him out to them, on a special revelation made from God to him, that that was the promised Messiah: saying unto them, "Behold

1 John i. 31, 33, &c. N.B. In this John went further than even Ezekiel had done; who, in the xviith chapter, seems to speak only to the whole nation; see ver. 29—32.
2 John i. 20.
the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world!"

Now had come that great Prophet after whom all the other prophets first inquired: "searching diligently, what, or what manner of time, the Spirit of Christ that was in them did signify, when it testified before-hand his sufferings, and the glory that should follow." And to whom (after they had thus searched) "they all witnessed; of whose days all of them from Samuel, as many as have spoken, foretold; of whom all the Scriptures testify; and to whom John himself came to bear witness." And no wonder; since He who had appeared to our first parents in the garden, and to some of the patriarchs and prophets on many important occasions; who had dwelt in the cloud of glory, and conducted the children of Israel through the Red Sea and the wilderness; who filled the tabernacle, and then the temple, dwelling between the cherubims, from whence He gave answers in great conjunctures; was now to be "Emanuel, God with us, and to tabernacle among us: so that men were to behold his glory, as the glory of the only-begotten Son of God, full of grace and truth." They

1 Pet. i. 10, 11.  
3 Ibid. iii. 24.  
5 Ibid. i. 7.  
8 Acts x. 43.  
6 Ibid. i. 4.  
4 John v. 39.
The Son of God was frequently manifested

were now to hear Him testify, in a familiar and human voice, what He knew and had seen; or, as John Baptist says of Him, "what He had seen and heard." His testimony did not meet with the reception it ought; yet could they not help admiring the gracious words that came out of His mouth; and acknowledging, that "never man spake as He spake."

This divine Person was with God in the beginning; the only-begotten and well-beloved Son of God, lying in the bosom of the Father; intimately acquainted with all His councils; yet emptying Himself of His glory, He humbled Himself so far as that, like other prophets, He "taught the people by the Spirit of God," all the days of His flesh. But with this difference: that He was not only full of the Holy Ghost, as they were, but He had it without measure. By the Spirit of God He not only taught the people, but conducted Himself, and wrought all His miracles in their sight: miracles which were wonderfully calculated to convince the Jews; being very superior to what Moses had wrought, in their number, extent, and beneficence, (admiringly suited to the gracious design of his appearance) and the permanency of their effects; as well as in the manner of working them: doing them with a word, and by His own

1 John iii. 11. 2 Ibid. iii. 34.
authority; and in giving others a power to work
them in His name.¹

Thus are our conscience, and God's providence, God's witnesses to all men: and thus is
His Spirit in the mouths of the patriarchs and
prophets; especially in John Baptist; but above
all in Jesus Christ (to whom God gave the
Spirit, not by measure), God's great Teacher
and Witness to His church and people, in the
several ages of the world.

SECTION VI.—The Spirit of God was bestowed, after
the Ascension of Christ, in a higher degree and to a
greater extent, than it had been imparted since the fall.

But though the Spirit of God taught and wit-
nessed for God in all the revelations, prophesies,
predictions, and miracles, that the patriarchs,
the prophets, John Baptist, or even our blessed
Lord himself, in his state of humiliation, did
give and work; yet was there a time to come,
in which He was to do it in so superior a degree,
and so very different a manner, that John tells
us, that the Holy Ghost was not then so much
as given; nay, nor was not to be given, till Je-
sus was glorified.² The Holy Ghost was given
without measure unto Jesus, as to a Prophet.

¹ On the Superiority of the Miracles of Christ, to those
of Moses, see "Arrangement of the New Testament," vol. i.
page 112—116.
² John vii. 38, 39.
but it abode with him during his life-time; He did not impart it to his disciples, during His ministry. Nor does He seem then to have had it so as to be able to impart it. He tells his disciples, just as He was going to leave them,¹ that "the Holy Ghost would not come till He departed; for He was to send him from the Father;² upon praying the Father for it."³ And then it was that the Spirit of Truth was to be the chief Teacher and Witness for Jesus, as Jesus had been for the Father; or, as our Saviour says, that he should "testify of him."⁴ For our Saviour had taught His disciples such truths only as they could bear.⁵ But the Spirit of Truth was to guide them into all truth; and was then likewise to take, not only of the Father's, but things that would be made Christ's (for then all things that the Father had would be made His; and the Spirit of God would be the Spirit of Christ); and shew those things unto them.⁶ He was then to be given to them, and to abide with them.⁷ It was not till after Christ's resurrection that He first breathed on them, and said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost."⁸ And then He did but prefigure the giving it.

And even then He was so far from actually giving, that He could not give it, according to the settled order of things, till He was glorified: for Christ was to receive it not as a prophet, but as King of the church, "as the promise of his Father;" and then to shed it down on His disciples. Or, as the Psalmist says, "to ascend and receive gifts for men;" before He was to give those gifts to them. It is likewise expressly asserted by St. Paul, that "He ascended far above all heavens, that (to the intent that) He might fill all things: and (then) He gave some apostles, some prophets, and some evangelists, &c. for in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily: and we (the Ephesians) are complete (or, as it should be rendered, filled, in or by Him): being by Him filled with all the fulness of God, till we come unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." For St. John tells us, that it was "out of His fulness that we received grace for, or in proportion to, his grace." Christ was anointed, "with the oil of gladness, above His fellows." After which, the shedding down part of His unction on His disciples was the first act of that regal power to which He was advanced.

The reason of our Saviour's saying, in the

1 John xiv. 10. 2 Acts i. 4. ii. 33.
2 Psal. lxviii. 18. Eph. iv. 8. 3 John i. 16.
4 Acts iv. 27. 5 Heb. i. 9.
Christ imparted the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

present tense,1 "Receive ye the Holy Ghost," may well be presumed to be as a prophet, in the prophetic style, as a thing they should soon receive, as surely as He breathed upon them; and by a sound "as of a mighty rushing wind:" just as He says, "This is my body, which is broken for you. This is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed," &c. And as He likewise says, "Now is the Son of man glorified."2

John Baptist, as a prophet, and greater than a prophet, was sent to bear witness to Christ, and bore it accordingly:3 whence John is styled a witness;4 and is said by his own disciples, to have "borne witness to Christ."5 The Father had also borne witness to Him:6 and especially the Spirit, through which He did all his mighty works; and to all which He appeals.7 Yet we find our Saviour appeals to this farther testimony of the Spirit; and says (as we shall in fact find), that infinitely greater effects should be produced by it in the world, than by the other testimonies I have mentioned. For He tells his disciples, "that the Spirit should convince the world of sin, righteousness, and judgment."8 And to this also St. John appeals, as

1 John xx. 22. 2 Ibid. xiii. 31.
3 Ibid. i. 7, 8—27, 31—34. 4 Ibid. i. 6—8.
5 Ibid. iii. 26. 6 Matt. iii. 17. and xvii. 5.
7 John v. 32—37. 8 Ibid xvi. 8, 9.
to the greatest witness, saying; "It is the Spirit that beareth witness:" even beyond "the water and the blood;" which bear witness also: "because the Spirit is Truth." And that "the testimony of Jesus is the Spirit of prophecy:" Or, "the Spirit of prophecy is the testimony of Jesus;" or, that, which is the great witness to Jesus. As if it was so much the province of the Spirit to bear witness and give testimony, that no other witness or testimony was to be esteemed one, in comparison of His.

Since the law and the prophets all refer to the teaching and testimony of Jesus; and Jesus to the teaching and the witness of the Spirit; it must needs be of the highest consequence to the Christian religion, that this be rightly understood.

I shall therefore explain what I mean by the teaching and the witness of the Spirit. (Chapter 1.)

I shall endeavour to show the necessity there was for this teaching and witness of the Spirit, in the first settlement of Christianity. (Chapter 2.)

I shall further prove, that the Spirit did so teach and witness in the first settlement of Christianity: and shall point out, in what this superior teaching and witnessing did consist. (Chapter 3.)

1 John v. 6
2 Ibid. ver. 8.
3 Rev. xix. 10.

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I shall from thence shortly state, what was the consequence of reviling and blaspheming it; or what I consider to be the sin against the Holy Ghost: and address a few words to the Deists (who desire to be thought the only free-thinkers of the age), and those who professedly write against them. (Chapter 4.)
CHAPTER I.

ON THE NATURE OF THE TEACHING, AND
WITNESS OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

SECTION I.—On the manner of our Lord's teaching; and the extent, to which He was understood, while He was still on Earth.

Our Saviour, by the Spirit, taught in the days of His flesh. The duties which He inculcated, were, indeed, very plain; but many of the truths which He taught, He taught in parables; and "without a parable spake He not unto them: as they were able to hear (or to bear) it." These are what related to His kingdom; His administering it from the right hand of God, by the Spirit; its speedy success, and great extent; the reasonableness and freedom of its precepts; the great apostacy and the final consummation. And though He went farther with the disciples, expounding some of His parables privately unto them, as Mark also informs us; and as he and the other evangelists inform us, in several other places: yet our Sa-

1 Matt. xiii. 34. 2 Mark iv. 33. 3 Ibid. iv. 34.
viour told His disciples, just as He was going to leave them, that "He had many things to say unto them; but you cannot bear them now." Thus were their prejudices, that by their influence they could as little bear them, as old bottles (old skins) could new wine; as our Saviour says of them on another occasion. So that just as He was going to them, He declares, concerning the mysteries of the kingdom of

1 John xvi. 12. On the manner of our Lord's teaching see more particularly Bishop Law's Life of Christ, and Archbishop Newcome on the same subject. These eminent writers, however, have not sufficiently kept in view our Lord's divinity. They too much consider His wisdom, as that, only of a good and great man. In all our inquiries into our Lord's conduct, we must ever bear in mind, that He partook of the divine as well as of the human nature. As the doctrine of the divinity of Christ was one of the important truths which He came to establish, we find that many of His actions were directed apparently to this object. In the very lowest depths of His humiliation as a man, He gave a proof of His Godhead, by opening the kingdom of heaven to the penitent thief: and in his highest elevation upon earth, when the spirits from the invisible world had obeyed his summons, and the voice from Heaven proclaimed that He was a divine Being—in that hour, says the inspired narrative, He first revealed the astonishing fact, that He was to go up to Jerusalem, to be buffeted, and to be spit upon, as the lowest and the most degraded of criminals. Lord Barrington never loses sight of the divinity of Christ, to whatever part of His character or ministry, he may be directing the attention of his reader.

2 Matt. xix. 17.
Misapprehensions of the people concerning Xt. 21

which He had been speaking: “These things have I spoken to you in proverbs: the time cometh when I shall no more speak to you in proverbs, but I shall show you plainly of the Father.” 1 Nay, so strong were the prepossessions of His disciples, that they did not understand some of those things which our Saviour told them in the plainest terms; they being, by the means of their preconceptions, hid from them. 2

The people thought, that Jesus of Nazareth was not Christ, because Elias was not come. They thought He could not be the Messias, because they imagined they knew His parents, that He was born at Nazareth, the meanest city in Galilee, the most despicable part of Palestine. They thought His appearance too mean and contemptible for the King of Israel, who, as they imagined, was to take temporal power, and deliver them from the yoke of the Romans; and who was to set up an universal monarchy, subduing the nations under them, and becoming their King and Governor, to continue such for ever. Jesus set the disciples right as to one of those things, namely, about Elias; yet He never attempted to set them right as to some of them; nor was He understood as to what He said to set them right about others.

1 John xvi. 25. 2 Luke ix. 45. xviii. 34.
SECTION II.—The Holy Spirit after the Ascension imparted to the Apostles, the knowledge of the great truths of redemption, and the majesty, and dignity of Jesus, the Messiah.

When the Spirit of Truth was to come He was to guide His apostles into all truth;¹ to teach them all things;² and to bring all things to their remembrance. He was to give them such a clear knowledge of the truth, as to remove all objections which might arise from the false traditions of the elders; or from confusing the design and meaning of the law and the prophets. And therefore the Spirit then taught them, that Jesus was not only of the seed of David, according to the flesh, but that He was declared to be “the Son of God with power, when He was raised from the dead;”;³ that He was raised to sit on David’s throne, being exalted by the right hand of God,⁴ and made Lord (or the way of access to the Father, and of all communications from Him) and Christ; the anointed Prophet, High-priest, and King of His church;⁵ and a Prince and a Saviour, to grant repentance and remission of sins, together with the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and eternal life, which God gives by Him, to all that obey Him;⁶ or, as

¹ John xvi. 13. ² Ibid. xv. 26. ³ Rom. i. 3, 4. ⁴ Acts ii. 30, 33. ⁵ Ibid. ver. 3. ⁶ Ibid. v. 31.
The Word of Wisdom, the first gift of the Spirit. 23

St. Peter expresses it, that "He is Lord of all." They now understood, that how mean soever He had appeared upon earth, by emptying Himself of His glory, and becoming poor for our sakes: yet that God had glorified Him; giving Him a name above every name that is named in heaven and earth; that He was to continue vested with this power, till all His foes were made His footstool; and that though He was to be so far from delivering the Jews from the yoke of the Romans, as to make the Romans the executioners of His vengeance on the Jewish nation, for rejecting Him; yet that He was to be the Author of eternal salvation to all them that believe: first making them to fight successfully against all the enemies of their souls, and making them more than conquerors at last, they being to reign for ever with Him in glory.

SECTION III.—On the first miraculous gift of the Holy Spirit, the Word of Wisdom; by which the Apostles were enabled to impart wisdom to others.

Thus by the Spirit was given unto them the word of wisdom;* whereby they were able to make others wise to salvation. Our Saviour, before His death, promised the apostles that He would give them (not only a mouth) but wisdom,

1 Acts x. 36.  2 1 Cor. xii. 8.
"The Word of Wisdom," a gift of the which their adversaries should not be able to resist.¹ And that this was one of the gifts of the Spirit, which qualified a man to be an apostle, we may learn from St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians: where speaking of his gospel he says, "Whereof I am made a minister according to the gift of the grace of God given unto me by the effectual working of His power;² even the gift which is given to every one according to the measure of Christ; according to which Christ gave some apostles," &c.³ And St. Peter says, Paul wrote (of this gospel) "according to the wisdom given unto him."⁴ And what indisputably shows, that this word of wisdom was a gift of the Spirit, is an express assertion:⁵ where speaking of the diversities of gifts,⁶ and enumerating several of them,⁷ the apostle says, "For to one is given by the Spirit, the word of wisdom." From its being placed first of all those high gifts which are here mentioned, it might fairly be supposed to be the gift which fitted a man to be an apostle. But it is farther confirmed by ver. 28, where pursuing the same exhortations which naturally arose from the diversities of gifts, and which it was necessary to give to prevent the strife and emulation occasioned

¹ Luke xxi. 15. ² Eph. iii. 7. ³ Ibid. iv. 7.—11.
⁴ 2 Pet. iii. 15. ⁵ 1 Cor. xii. ⁶ Ver. 4.
⁷ Ver. 8—11. ⁸ Ver. 8.
by them: he says, "God hath set some in the church, first apostles." And, "Are all apostles?" By which one may see, that apostles, the first and chief ministers of the Christian church, answer to the word of wisdom, the first and chief gift of the Spirit. Thus was the gospel revealed to them, which they were to publish to the world; and which St. Paul, in this very Epistle, calls "the wisdom of God." For speaking of Christ crucified (or the gospel of Christ crucified), which they preached, ("teaching every man in all wisdom,") he says, "It was unto the Jews a stumbling-block, &c. but unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ (or the gospel of Christ), the power of God, and the wisdom of God:" and afterwards he calls it, the wisdom of God, and the hidden wisdom: and in his Epistle to the Ephesians, the manifold wisdom of God: as Christ, the great Teacher of it, calls Himself the wisdom of God. That He speaks there of Himself, is plain from the parallel place: "Wherefore behold I send:" and in Him all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are said to be contained.

1 1 Cor. xii. 29.
2 Ibid. ver. 8. See the Table of Spiritual Gifts.
3 1 Cor. i. 24. Col. i. 28. 4 Ibid. ii. 6, 7.
5 Luke xi. 49. 7 Matt. xxiii. 34.
6 Col. ii. 3.—This interpretation of λόγος σοφίας, is the same with that proposed by Whitby, Locke, Beza, Wells.
To such discoveries as were made by the word of wisdom, the ministration of Moses bears some proportion. St Paul compares his

Benson, Macknight, and Doddridge. Bp. Horsley appears to have described this gift of the Holy Spirit, in very inadequate terms, when He represents it, as—"the talent of arguing from the natural principles of reason, for the conviction, and conversion of philosophical infidels." If this had been all that was meant, Christianity would have been subjected to the reproach against which it has been especially guarded by the Providence of God; for this talent of arguing from the principles of human reason could not have been distinguished from other human attainments and accomplishments. The extensive plan of Christianity—the mystery of the Atonement—the divinity of Christ as a manifested, and incarnate God—the necessity not merely of outward morality, but of an inward change of motives and dispositions, before we can be fitted for an invisible state,—all these never could have been discovered by, and could never therefore have been argued from, the natural principles of reason. They were all foolishness to the Gentiles of the Apostles' days, as they still continue to be to the Deists of our own time. They are repugnant to natural reason, and rest on revelation alone: and they were now for the first time fully impressed by supernatural agency upon the minds of the Apostles, as one connected and sublime scheme of redemption. "The Word of Wisdom" is fully taught in St. Paul's Epistles, especially in those to the Romans, and to the Hebrews. These gifts began at the day of Pentecost, and lasted only till the close of the Apostolic age; when the Canon of The Scriptures of the New Testament was completed.—For the words in the Hebrew, which correspond to σοφία in the Pentateuch, see "Arrangement of the New Test." vol. 2. p. 195.
Holy Spirit peculiar to the Apostles only. 27

own ministration, as an apostle, with that of Moses, throughout all the third chapter of his Second Epistle to the Corinthians. Moses had the two tables of the law, and a pattern of all things, delivered him in the mount: as the apostles (at least St. Paul) received from the Lord what they delivered unto us. However, the preference of the apostolic ministry to that of Moses may be seen in several of the verses of that chapter.

SECTION IV.—On the word of knowledge, by which they were enabled to comprehend and explain all the written word of God—the whole mystery of revelation—and the future events relating to the Church.

By the Spirit also was given unto them the word of knowledge; whereby they were given to know what was the meaning of the law and the prophets; and of all the passages of the Old Testament; where the ministry that was kept from ages, (but was now made manifest by the Spirit discovering it, by the Word of Wisdom, as well as by the scriptures of the apostolical or higher prophets; and, among them, by this particular epistle to the Romans, written by St. Paul, an apostolical prophet according to the commandment of the everlasting God,) was

1 Cor. xii. 8.
now made known to all nations for the obedience of faith. By this word of knowledge, the hidden wisdom, which God had ordained before the world; which yet none of the princes of this world (or the Jewish rulers) knew (for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory), was revealed unto them, even by that Spirit which searcheth all things; yea, the deep things of God. For the prophets, as St. Peter tells those to whom he wrote, 'searched what, or what manner of time, the Spirit of Christ, which was in them, did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow; that not unto them, but unto us, they did minister the things which are now reported unto you by them that have preached the gospel unto you; with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven; which things the angels desire to look into.'

This gift of knowledge was given for the fuller confirmation also of the truth of the Christian religion to the Jews, and for removing objections that might arise in their minds to it, from the mistaken apprehensions they had about the law and the prophets; particularly, from Christ's dying, rising again, and being preached

1 Rom. xvi. 25, 26.  2 1. Cor. ii. 7, 8, 10, 12, 13.  3 1 Pet. i. 11, 12.
to the Gentiles. To this end (but not to found Christianity, which they always do on facts) we see all their discourses to Jews, from the second chapter to the end of the Acts, are full of references to antitypes, prophecies, and predictions: so are likewise their discourses sometimes to the devout, but never to the idolatrous Gentiles. Though after the idolatrous Gentiles were converted to Christianity, and might then be supposed to be versed in the Scriptures, their epistles are full of the same references, and particularly to such as judaized. By this word of knowledge the Spirit revealed to them divers future mysteries; namely, the great events relating to the spreading, corrupting, or restoring the Christian religion: as, that the gospel should be preached to the devout Gentiles, without requiring any further observance of the laws of Moses, than of those which related to the devout Gentiles: and that the gospel should be preached to the idolatrous Gentiles, with an entire freedom from all those laws. It was likewise revealed to them, that the Jews should be cast off; that there should be great corruptions introduced into the Christian religion; but that at last there should be a recovery of the Jews, and a complete fullness of the Gentiles. So that by the word of knowledge, I understand the knowledge of the meaning of the law, and of the ancient prophets.
and the knowledge of the great future events relating to the church.

I am confirmed in this opinion, because I find the word of knowledge distinguished by St. Paul from the word of wisdom and prophecy, and all the other gifts of the Spirit, enumerated 1 Cor. xii. 8. and from revelation and prophecy, chap. xiv. 6. And I take revelation as it stands, chap. xiv. 6, and as it relates to St. Paul, to signify the same thing with the word of wisdom (St. Paul's wisdom, or gospel, being communicated to him by revelation); and prophecy, there to signify the prediction of some lesser event; prophecy (that is, the higher prophecy,) mysteries, and knowledge, seem to stand for

Dr. Doddridge interprets the word of knowledge to be "a lower degree of the word of Wisdom." He objects to Lord Barrington's opinion that "it is an extraordinary ability to understand, and explain the Old Testament." It is impossible to decide upon the precise meaning; but if "The word of Wisdom" was the power to explain the whole system of Revelation and the word of knowledge, a lower degree of that power, it seems that power to interpret rightly the Old Testament might be the mode in which this lower degree of the word of Wisdom manifested. Schleusner (v. λόγος, No. 17.) interprets the word of Wisdom to be the power of instructing the more learned Christians; and the word of knowledge to be the power of instructing the more ignorant. This explanation seems to degrade the apostolic gifts, from their supernatural excellence to mere human attainments: which is the error of Bp. Horsley.—See "Arrangement of the New Test." vol. 2. p. 195.
the same thing; and to be contradistinguished from prophecies, that is, lower prophecies and tongues, as lower gifts of the Spirit. And it is on this account it is said that "knowledge will vanish away;" since there will not be any remaining mysteries, or any great event relating to the church, hid from us when the dispensations of God will be completed. What may further show this to be the meaning of knowledge is, that it is often spoken of as one of the highest gifts, and joined with wisdom, allowed to be the highest gift of all, and most peculiar to an apostle; which I think cannot be accounted for but from this notion, which I have given of it. The word of knowledge is reckoned the second gift of the Spirit, of all those high spiritual gifts which are enumerated there; and seems to be the gift that made a man a prophet of the highest rank, by prophets being those ministers of the church which stand in the second place, in a discourse that is but one

1 Cor. xiii. 2. 2 Ibid. ver. 8. 3 Ibid.
4 See to this purpose 1 Cor. xiv. 6, where revelation is ranked with knowledge: and revelation there stands for the revelation of the Gospel made to Paul; and so signifies the same with wisdom.—Lord Barrington's interpretation of this verse may be right; but the majority of readers, with Dr. Doddridge, will always rank this text among those which we cannot fully understand.—See also Col. ii. 3. Rom. xii. 33, 2 Cor. xi. 6. xii. 8.

5 Ibid. ver, 28, 29.
The gifts granted to the Apostles were similar continued exhortation about these gifts throughout the chapter.¹

To such revelations as these, some of those which God made to Abraham, to Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and to some of the lesser prophets, concerning the great events that should happen to the people of the Jews, and concerning the kingdom of the Messiah, bear a considerable resemblance.

But as these two were the highest gifts of the Holy Ghost, and seem to have been given only to the apostles, I shall say no more of them here; but refer my reader for the rest to the second Essay; where I shall endeavour to consider every thing that was peculiar to an apostle.

SECTION V.—Miraculous gifts of an inferior kind were imparted to the Prophets, who held the next rank to the Apostles; the first of which was, the power of foretelling future Events. Similar gifts had been likewise conferred on favoured individuals, under the old dispensation.

But God did not only (by the gift of the word of wisdom, and of the word of knowledge) give some apostles to his church, and some more eminent prophets; to whom the revelations of matters of the greatest importance, and more

¹ See the Table of Spiritual Gifts.
extensive usefulness (I have just now mentioned) were made; He gave also prophets of an inferior order. These were more numerous in the church, and were all called prophets, as having the Spirit, whose gifts continued to be called by the general name of prophetic gifts in the church down to the times of Irenæus. The different sorts of prophesying of these prophets may be ranked under these heads.

1. Prediction, or the foretelling of something future, but of less consequence: such as the dearth; the binding of St. Paul at Jerusalem, foretold by Agabus; the Holy Ghost witnessing, that in every city bonds and afflictions abode Paul; and Paul's foretelling, that neither the ship that carried him, nor any that were on board, should be lost. These were not unlike the particular discoveries which were made to Deborah, to Eli, to the man of God, to Samuel, to Nathan, to the man of God, to Abijah, and to Elijah. These prophets likewise foretold the fitness of persons for some peculiar service in the church. Thus as the prophets ministered to the Lord, and fasted in the church of Antioch, the Holy Ghost said

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1 Iren. i. v. c. 6. 2 Acts xi. 28. 3 Ibid. xxi. 10, 11. 4 Acts xx. 23. 5 Ibid. xxvii. 23, 24. 6 Judg. iv. 7. 7 1 Sam. i. 17. 8 Ibid. ii. 27, ad fin. 9 Ibid. ix. 15. 10 2 Sam. vii. 2. 11 1 Kings xiii. 1—32. 12 1 Kings xiv. 5—17. 13 Ibid. xvii. 1. xix. 15, 16.
The power of prediction was again granted to them, or which is the same thing, they said by the Holy Ghost, "Separate me Barnabas and Paul for the work to which I have called them." Thus Timothy received the gift (or the gifts) of the Holy Ghost by (or according to) prophecy. And Paul tells him, that "he had committed a charge unto him, according to the prophecies which went before of him." And thus possibly it might be that the Holy Ghost had made the elders of the church of Ephesus, overseers or Bishops (Ἑνσείωτος) of that flock: though I think that not so likely to be the sense of the Holy Ghost's making them overseers, as that which I have given in the second Essay. Thus Moses understood that God had fitted Aholiab and Bezaleel, and other wise-hearted men, for the work of the tabernacle. And thus Samuel knew which of the sons of Jesse should be the Lord's anointed.

On this occasion I would observe, that I do not find, that God revealed to the prophets the wickedness and malignity, that would arise in the hearts of some of those who were appointed to some ministry in the church. But as Christ himself, though he fully knew what was in man, chose one of the twelve who had a devil; so

1 Acts xiii. 1, 2.  
2 1 Tim. i. 18.  
3 Exod. xxxv. 30, xxxvi. 7.  
4 1 Tim. iv. 14.  
5 1 Acts xx. 28.  
6 1 Sam. xvi.
he suffered the church sometimes to appoint persons from whom great mischiefs should arise to it; as, particularly, Nicolas, one of the seven deacons (if the doctrines and sect of the Nicolaitans came from him, mentioned Rev. ii. 6, as many of the fathers thought, with great probability); suffering them to come into stations of service in the church for its trial; that is, for the discovery of hypocrites, and the confirmation of those who were sincere. \\

SECTION VI.—The power of discerning of Spirits, which had been imparted also, during the old covenant, was granted to the first teachers of Christianity.

2. The discernment of spirits: for this seems to be ascribed to the prophet, and is reckoned as a gift of the Spirit, among other gifts; and in the former of those places, St. Paul says, that if “they all prophesy, and there come in one that believeth not (or an heathen), or one unlearned (or ignorant), he is convinced (or discovered) of all. He is judged (or discerned) of all; and thus are the secrets of his heart made manifest; and so falling down on his face, he will worship God; and report, that God is in you of a truth.” And in the Epistle to the


* 1 Cor. xiv. 24, 25.  § Ibid. xii. 10.  4 Ibid. xiv. 24, 25.
Hebrews we find, that the word of God (στοιχεία Θεοῦ), which is the word spoken by the revelation of Christ, or by the gifts of the Spirit, is, among other things, said to be "a discerner of the thoughts of the heart;"¹ as it had been of old;² and as it now was. We have a particular instance of this gift of discernment in Peter:³ the same may be observed in Elisha;⁴ and in Ahijah.⁵ And by this discernment of Spirits they were not only to judge of the heathen, or the ignorant; or of the faith and hypocrisy of particular persons; but of the prophets too: for St. Paul says, "Let the prophets speak, two or three, and let the rest judge (διακρίνεσθαι)."⁶ And he says, that "the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets."⁷ And likewise, that "the spiritual man (πνευματικὸς, the man that hath the Spirit) judgeth (ἀνακρίνει) all things."⁸ And he directs the Thessalonians, that they should not despise prophesying; but

⁴ 2 Kings v. 25, 26. ⁵ 1 Kings xiv. 5, 6. ⁶ 1 Cor. xiv. 29.
⁷ The reasoning of St. Paul, in 1 Cor. xiv. 29—32, justifies this interpretation of v. 32. As both προφητείας, and προφήταις are without the article, we infer that the two words refer to different persons; and therefore that the meaning will not be "The spirits of the prophets are subject to themselves," as Doddridge, Macknight, Whitby, and the commentators in general interpret the passage.
⁸ 1 Cor. xi. 5.
should prove all things (discerning between the true and false propheseyings); and whilst they rejected that which is false, that they should hold fast that which is good. Those also to whom St. John writes, who had received an unction from the Holy One (that is, the eternal unction, or gifts of the Spirit, which the external unction under the law represented), and knew all things; and they on whom that anointing abode; (and, no doubt, the lower gift of prophesying among others, that being the gift which all the members of the church generally enjoyed in one kind or another;) were not to believe every spirit, but to try the spirits. As there were likewise general rules given them to try the spirits by; as, that “no man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Spirit; and no man speaking by the Spirit calleth Christ accursed”—so if any person pretended to a new discovery, of which they were unable to judge by means of something already known to them, they had reason to hope that God would reveal even that unto them; and that they should, through the Spirit, know also whether that was of God. So Clement says, “that the apostles did ordain the first fruits of such as believed, making trial (δοκεύμασαν) of them by the Spirit;” the same

1 Thess. v. 20, 21. 2 1 John ii. 20. 3 Ibid. ver. 27.
4 Ibid. iv. 1. 5 1 Cor. xiii. 3. 6 1 John iv. 1—6.
7 Epist. ad Cor. § 42.
word that is made use of 1 Thess. v. 10. and 1 John iv. 1.

SECTION VII.—Whatever public services were performed by individuals in the Churches, were called Prophesying.

I am inclined to think, that these two kinds of prophesying (at least the last) are what St. Paul calls a revelation, 1 Cor. xiv. 26. (as it stands distinguished from a psalm, a doctrine, a tongue, and an interpretation), and which he ascribes there to this kind of prophet, as well as a psalm, a doctrine, and the rest, which I am now going to consider. For,

3. There seems to be yet a lower degree of prophesying than either of these: it appearing to me, that all the public performances in the church, by single persons, through the illumination of the Holy Ghost, were called prophesying: for so I apprehend St. Paul calls every such public action done in the church, by a single person, to edification, and exhortation, and comfort; in opposition to speaking anything in the assembly in a tongue that was not understood. And there seems to me to be these different actions of this kind, to which prophesying is applied in that chapter.

1 Cor. xiv. 1—4.
SECTION VIII.—The first lower degree of Prophesying was called Doctrine.

The first is a doctrine. And therefore to these prophets, or to those that prophesy in this sense, belongs a doctrine; which, perhaps, may be any truth about faith or manners: and in this sense these prophets would be the same thing with teachers; of which I shall say more presently. And because in this sense it would coincide with the gift of teaching, and for other reasons, it may much more probably mean an exhortation, or a forcible way of convincing men of what is wrong in their conduct, reproving them for it, admonishing them to amend it; and confirming and establishing them in what was right in it; and comforting them under any of the difficulties or afflictions they fell under for it, or in the practice of it. For we often find the first Christian prophets in the New Testament employed in all these ways. So Barnabas, who appears to have been a prophet before he was an apostle, is said to have "exhorted the Grecians at Antioch, that with full purpose of heart they should cleave unto the Lord." And so Judas and Silas, being prophets, exhorted the brethren at Antioch, with many words, and confirmed them. Thus St. Paul directs some

4 Ibid. xv. 32.
among the Romans, who had the gift of exhortation, to wait on exhortation: and he afterwards tells some of them, that he is persuaded, that they, "being full of goodness, and filled with all knowledge, are able to admonish one another." And the Colossians were not only to sing psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, but such as should admonish one another. And the brethren in Thessalonica were to admonish him that obeyed not the epistle. And the Ephesians were to reprove the unfruitful works of darkness, when committed by the children of the light. And they were to comfort one another, particularly the feeble-minded, as we may see, 1 Thess. iv. 18. and v. 11, 14. And this was even the business of the prophets under the Old Testament: who were sent to exhort, comfort, confirm, or reprove the people on several occasions.

SECTION IX.—The second lower degree of Prophecy was called a Psalm; or "singing with the Spirit."

2dly, A Psalm; ver. 26, which is called, "singing with the Spirit," (ψάλλων τῷ πνεύματι) ver. 15, 16. And this may either signify the

1 Rom. xii. 8.  2 Rom. xv. 14.  3 Col. iii. 16.  4 2 Thess. iii. 15.  5 Eph. v. 3.
composing new poems, such as were composed by Moses, Deborah, David, Asaph, Heman, Zechariah, Elizabeth, Mary, Simeon, &c. or the singing such poems as had been composed by others, with proper and extempore melody; or both. For as singing the praises of God in the Old Testament, by the Spirit of God, is called prophesying, so singing with the Spirit seems to comprehend both the poem and the tune, under the New; not only from the generality of the phrase, which leaves it open to be understood, either as to the matter or as to the music of the Psalm, or as to both of them, being dictated by the Spirit; but from Eph. v. 18, where the apostle directs the Ephesians not to be drunk with wine (as the heathens were at their Bacchanalia), but to be filled with the Spirit. And that then, instead of giving vent to their mirth in the mad and excessive way in which the heathens did it at their idolatrous feasts, they should express their joy by speaking to one another in psalms (those of David, which contain matter of instruction, as well as many others, &c.), hymns (such as only contain matter of praise), and spiritual songs, ὀδαίς πνευματικαῖς, songs of the Spirit, dictated by the Spirit (as the Χάρισμα πνευματικόν, is the spiritual gift, or gift of the Spirit:¹ and the Πνευματικός, which

¹ 1 Sam. x. 5, 6, 9, 12.  
² Rom. i. 11.
we translate spiritual man, is the man that has some of the gifts of the Spirit, singing and making melody in their hearts to the Lord. For though melody is not expressed in the original, it is fairly implied in ἑὐρωτικαὶ καὶ ἔπλοιο-τες, or singing, not only with their voice, but with their heart to the praise of the Lord.

In singing psalms and hymns perhaps the Spirit dictated the tune only; in the songs of the Spirit, both the poem and the tune too. And perhaps this is the meaning of a text that seems to be like this: "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom" (or in all that latitude of wisdom and knowledge in which we, the apostles of Christ, have taught it, according to the word of wisdom and knowledge communicated to us), "teaching and admonishing one another in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs" (ἄνθρωπος ἐν καθαρίᾳ, songs of the Spirit); in χάριτι ἑυρωτικαί, we translate it, singing with grace (which is very seldom, if ever, the sense of χάρις in Scripture), but which I believe should be rendered, "with the gifts of the Spirit in your hearts to the Lord." For that χάρις sometimes signifies that particular favour which is called χάρισμα, or the gift of the Holy Ghost, in the Scripture, is sufficiently plain, Acts iv. 33. Rom. xii. 3, 6. 1 Cor. i. 4, 5. 2 Cor. i. 12, 15. xii. 9. Gal. ii. 9. Eph. i. 3, 6.

1 1 Cor. ii. 15. iii. 1. 2 Gal. vi. 1. 3 Col. iii. 16.
the heart—explained.

iii. 16. iv. 6. 1 Pet. iv. 10. Zech. xii. 10. Heb. x. 20. I apprehend ἐδοξοῦσεν ἐν χάριτι, is the same with ἡσαλλότες τῷ πνεύματι," and with the προσευχόμενοι ἐν πνεύματι;" and to understand the gift of the Spirit by χάρις here, is very agreeable to the phraseology of the Jews, who, when the Hebrews render כח chen, grace, render it the Spirit of prophecy. So Psal. xlv. 2. "Grace is poured into thy lips;" the Chaldee paraphrase is, "The Spirit of prophecy is given to thy lips." The ancients also interpreted this very text in this sense, Ἀπὸ χαρισμάτων διὰ τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος δεξιότης χάριτος. I think also that this is the meaning of χάρις in the prayer which St. Paul makes for those to whom he writes in the beginning of all his epistles, except that to the Hebrews: he wishes the same to Timothy, who, though the son of a Jewess, yet having a Greek to his father, was begot by Paul in the uncircumcision of his flesh; and of which St. Peter makes mention at the beginning of both his Epistles, and interprets it somewhat fuller; praying, or wishing, that "grace and peace may be multiplied unto them:" that is to say, that these gifts which they, or some among them, had, might be increased and multiplied; either by an apostle's coming among them to impart them; or by their sober, righteous, and godly conversation, and a right use of such gifts.

as they had, and in such a degree as they possessed them; for then, “to them who had should be given:” as, if they acted otherwise, “from them should be taken even that which they already had.”

This may serve to explain, why St. Paul and St. Peter so constantly use this wish or prayer, whilst St. James, and St. John to the elect lady, do not. For St. Paul writing to idolatrous Gentiles, and St. Peter to devout ones, converted to the faith (see the second Essay), never fail to wish them those gifts of the Spirit which were the proof that they had become the sons or people of God. He then wishes them peace with God, to which these gifts was a full proof they were admitted, as well as the Jews (to whom justification and peace was first preached). He wishes them also that peace in their own minds and consciences which necessarily flowed from a sense of justification. If the reader shall be of opinion that I have thus established the sense of the word κατάρας, in Col. iii. 16, to be the gift of psalmody, the construction of the place will be natural, and the sense just and easy, and will run thus: that when they sung psalms, hymns, and songs of the Spirit, by the assistance of that spiritual gift that enabled them to do it; they should not only

Acts x. 36.
Prayer, another inferior kind of prophesying. Sing with their voice, to please themselves or others; but with the warmest affections of their hearts to the praise of the Lord, from whom all these gifts and every other blessing came. Perhaps we have an instance of such a song of the Spirit, Acts xvi. 25. And perhaps blessing, or giving thanks with the Spirit, was also a hymn of this sort; being, it may be, the hymn of blessing, and of giving thanks (στολογίας καὶ συχαριστικής), which was often dictated by the Spirit, when the bread and the cup of blessing were blessed: and which, the Spirit moving them often to compose on that occasion, might perhaps afterwards be the proper reason of calling the bread and cup of blessing, the eucharist.

SECTION X.—The third lower degree of Prophesying was called “Prayer—or, praying with the Spirit, and with the Understanding.”

3. Another instance is prayer; which is called, “praying with the Spirit, and with understanding;” and praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit; for the Spirit then helped their infirmities; for though they knew not what they should pray for as they ought, yet the Spirit itself sometimes makes intercession for them with groanings which can—

1 Cor. xiv. 16. 2 Cor. xiv. 14, 15. Eph. vi. 18.
46 Why praying with the Spirit, may not be uttered:¹ and praying in the Holy Ghost.² It was this gift of the Spirit, among other gifts of prophecy imparted to women in the church of Corinth, which gave rise to that question, whether a woman might not pray or prophesy in the church, with her head uncovered, as well as a man? The gifts of prayer and prophesy being common to the women as well as the men, the women thought these gifts gave them not only an equal right to pray or prophesy in the public assemblies as well as the men, but without their veil also. Though in this last they were mistaken; for the apostle orders, that they shall pray or prophesy with their veils on; because the gifts of the Spirit did not take away the subjection of the women, of which the veil was the token.³ In such a prayer, no doubt, the matter, the order, and the expressions of the prayer were dictated by the Spirit; such was the apostle's prayer, Acts iv. 24—31; such likewise perhaps was Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple;⁴ the Levite's prayer,⁵ and Daniel's;⁶ not to mention others.

The only difficulty here is, whether it can be brought under the head of prophesying. I think it may, for the reasons I have given, when

¹ Rom. viii. 26. ² Jude 19, 20. ³ 1 Cor. xi. 3—17. See Locke in loc. ⁴ 1 Kings viii. 12—52. ⁵ Nehem. ix. 6—38. ⁶ Dan. ix. 4—20.
be denominated prophesying.

I first entered upon that sort of prophesying, which relates to speaking in Christian assemblies. And though praying is distinguished from prophesying, 1 Cor. xi. 4, 5. as prophesying is there speaking directly to men, and praying is there addressing God; yet in the xivth chapter prophesying seems to me to include prayer: since, in that chapter every thing seems to be included under prophesying, which, as I said before, is spoken in an assembly of Christians under the immediate influence of the Spirit; and which is to the edification, exhortation, or comfort of the assembly, as the apostle speaks, ver. 2. as prayer in a known tongue was. Accordingly prayer seems to me to be mentioned in this chapter, as one instance of prophesying, as singing is mentioned as another, ver. 14—18. and as a doctrine, a revelation, and an interpretation, are mentioned as others, ver. 26. and is opposed to praying, singing, teaching, exhorting, or uttering a revelation in an unknown tongue; in which a man might speak to God, or his own spirit or understanding; but was a barbarian to the congregation, to whom he talked mysteries, or things not known or understood.
SECTION XI.—The fourth lower degree of prophesy-ing was, interpretation of tongues.

4. And for this reason I think interpretation of tongues, mentioned ver. 6. is included under prophesying in this xivth chapter; as an interpretation was turning that with readiness, beauty, and propriety, to the edification, exhortation, and comfort of the assembly; which in him who spoke in a tongue unknown to the assembly was only for ostentation, or conviction of unbelievers; or at best an act of some devotion to God, and for his own private edification. And the Holy Ghost distributed his gifts in such measure and proportion, that he who had the gift or knowledge of a tongue, was not always able to interpret it readily and elegantly, whilst another, who stood by, could; especially if the prayer or discourse that was to be interpreted was of any considerable length, in which case the interpreter must be assisted with great judgment and a strong memory: for which reason the apostle directs, that in case any one spoke in the church in an unknown tongue, that he should pray that he might interpret; or at least, if he could not, that others who had that gift should interpret for him. The gift of the Hebrew tongue was, perhaps, that which some of the Corinthians, who had the gift of tongues
in the church of Corinth, chiefly used, it being the tongue in which the Old Testament was written. For which reason, if there was an interpreter, that is, one who could turn it readily and elegantly into Greek, it might be very properly used in the Corinthian church; as it had been in the Jewish assemblies in Ezra's time; when yet the people, after seventy years' captivity, had disused it. But if no interpreter was by, he who could speak that tongue, or any other unknown to the church, was to keep silence. I understand the gift of interpreting to be, the ability to interpret an unknown tongue with readiness and elegance; because it cannot be supposed otherwise a gift different from the gift of tongues itself. For no man that speaks a tongue which he understands himself, but can, in some sort, interpret it to him that does not understand it; though he may not be able to do it with propriety and beauty. And that he who had the gift of the tongue understood it himself, appears from ver. 4; for, says the apostle, "he that speaketh in an unknown tongue edifieth himself;" see also ver. 11, 14, 28.

1 1 Cor. xiv. 27, 28.
Pastors, teachers, and doctors were the same.

SECTION XII.—On the gifts conferred upon the Pastors, Teachers, or Doctors in the primitive church.

But there were not only apostles, and prophets of the higher and lower orders in the church, but teachers: and pastors and teachers are said to be among those to whom Christ gave gifts; or whom He filled and qualified for their work, after He had ascended up on high.

I take pastors and teachers (or doctors, as the word διδάσκαλοι is rendered, Acts xiii. 1.) to mean the same thing: and that one is but a metaphorical name to denote the same ministry, which the other does in its natural signification. For the very character of a pastor after God's own heart, is to feed His people with knowledge and understanding. For which reason teachers are here set but as exegetical, to shew us more fully the meaning of pastors. And for that reason pastors are omitted in 1 Cor. xii. 28. and Rom. xii. 7. (which may be considered as parallel places,) and teachers only mentioned. And I believe it will be very difficult to find any sense of pastors, agreeable to Scripture, distinct from teachers, that will be at the same time also

1 Cor. xii. 28.  Eph. iv. 10, 11.  Ibid. ver. 11.  Jer. iii. 15.
The proper meaning of πίστις in 1 Cor. xii. 9. 51

distinct from apostles, prophets, evangelists, and other spiritual men mentioned in Scripture.

As the Spirit's teaching these pastors or doctors may be supposed to be different from the illumination of the apostles, to whom was given the word of wisdom and knowledge; it must either consist in a lower degree of the knowledge of the Christian scheme; or else, which I should rather think, in giving them a very clear view and full assurance of it (in which sense Mr. Locke understands faith, πίστις, in his paraphrase and notes on 1 Cor. xii. 9.), and a peculiar aptness to teach others, what they thus knew themselves. It might perhaps be only teaching the true method and art of instructing; and enabling them to use it, in delivering what they had learnt of the Christian scheme from the apostles and others, with the assurance that became doctors and teachers. It is possible that

1 It may be observed here, that Lord Barrington, when a young man, was the intimate friend of Mr. Locke, at the time when that great metaphysician was devoting the concluding years of a long and laborious life to the study of St. Paul's Epistles. The foundation of many of Lord B.'s opinions may be traced in Mr. Locke's notes to the first Epistle to the Corinthians; and though the whole of this admirable essay must be considered as an original work, it is by no means improbable that the recollected conversations of its author in early life, with his venerable friend, may have been of material service to its development and perfection.
On the aptness to teach.

St. Paul refers to this gift, when he tells Timothy, that if any man among the Ephesians (some of whom had received this grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ) desire the office of a bishop, he must, among other qualifications, be a διδακτικος, apt or fit (by this gift) to teach. And I the rather incline, I confess, to this opinion, that the gift of teaching was only an aptness to teach others, because the evangelists, who are ranked before pastors and teachers, do not seem to have had any revelation of doctrines, much less of the whole scheme of the Christian doctrine made to them; but to have received their knowledge from others; namely, the apostles. For Timothy was to hold fast the form of sound words which he had heard of Paul; and to continue in the things which he had learned, and had been assured of (from) knowing of whom he had learned them: and the things which he had heard of Paul before many witnesses, he was to commit to faithful men, who should be able to teach others.

To others the Spirit taught the use of tongues and languages, that they might be able to teach people of different nations, and convince unbelievers; or, as St. Paul expresses it, to be for

1 Eph. iv. 7. 2 1 Tim. iii. 2. 3 Eph. iv. 11. 4 2 Tim. i. 13. 5 Ibid. iii. 14. 6 Ibid. ii. 2. See the second Essay. 7 Acts ii. 4.
The confusion, remedied by the gift of tongues. 53

a sign to them. And these were either more or fewer, as the Spirit saw fit. For Paul tells the Corinthians, that he spake with more tongues than them all. This was a gift which was imparted to none of the prophets under the Old Testament; it was exclusively reserved for Christians under the New. By this gift the ruins of the world were repaired, and its face renewed. When mankind was of one speech, instead of using it to communicate their thoughts to one another for the glory of God (who had so lately, in His just judgment, destroyed the world), and for their own mutual benefit; they made it subservient to the very worst designs, both against God and themselves. A tower was to be built to encourage them in their wickedness, and protect them against the future judgments of heaven; if it was not to be an high place for worship to false gods. Since they did not care to retain God in their thoughts, He gave them up to their own inventions. He confounded their language, probably by giving them different tongues: first to defeat their vain attempt; and then, by the loss of that language, in which the knowledge of the true God was preserved (in the family of Shem), to give the world up to the worship of idols. By this gift of tongues God calls back the nations from their idolatry (in which He had

1 Cor. xiv. 22. 2 Ibid. ver. 18.
suffered them to continue for the space of two thousand years), to the knowledge of Himself, as the only true God, and of Jesus Christ, as the only Mediator between God and man: speaking in their own language to every creature under heaven. And thus by the Spirit He renews them in knowledge after His own image; creates them again in righteousness and true holiness; and begets them to a lively hope, as the reward of their obedience to His call.

SECTION XIII.—The persons who were called "Helps" in the primitive churches, were probably the same as the Deacons.

Helps and governments are likewise mentioned among the other gifts and distributions of the Spirit;¹ and seem to imply an illumination, from which they acted. By helps may be understood deacons, for ἀντιλαμβάνομαι, whence the word helps (ἀντιλήψις) comes, signifies to take care of, or assist others. And deacons were first instituted both to help the apostles, in easing them of the care of distributing to the poor; and to help the poor, by applying themselves more particularly to their relief; which the apostles found they could not do, without omitting the more material parts of their work.² What favours this opinion too is, that the apos-

¹ 1 Cor. xii. 28.
² Acts vi. 2, 3.
tles proposed to the multitude of the disciples, to choose men into that office, who, among other qualifications, were full of the Holy Ghost. And, if I mistake not, we find the gift fitting Christians for this sort of ministry, mentioned among some of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, Rom. xii. 7. "Or ministry, let us wait on our ministering," εἰς διάκονον, ἐν τῷ διάκονῳ. If it had been rendered, "serving, let us wait on our serving," as it might; it would perhaps have carried the reader at first sight back to the institution of deacons; where the apostles propose that office, because it was not fit for them to leave the word of God, and serve tables, διάκονως ἑρωτικῶς. Or if διακονεῖ shall be thought a more general word here, and to signify any ministry in the church, as some take it to be; or the ministry of an evangelist in particular, as Dr. Whitby thinks; an evangelist having a ministry ascribed to him in Scripture (as Eph. iv. 11, 12. and 2 Tim. iv. 5. and ver. 11. if Mark shall be thought an evangelist in the same sense that Timothy was); he will at the same time be apt perhaps to think, as Dr. Whitby does, that the gifts of the Holy Ghost, fitting a man for the office of a deacon, are referred to, ver. 8. "He that giveth (that is, out of the fund of the church), let him do it with simplicity" (or liberality), as (ἐν ἀπλωτρῳ) should

1 Acts vi. 2.  
2 See Dr. Whitby in loc.
be rendered, and is accordingly rendered, 2 Cor. viii. 2, and in other places. And he that sheweth mercy (that is, to the sick, impotent, strangers, or orphans, persons in greater distress than the poor), with cheerfulness. And so St. Peter, speaking of several gifts of the Holy Ghost, says yet more unexceptionably to our purpose: "If any man minister (as a deacon, εἰ τις διακόνου), let him do it as of the ability (or with the gifts of prudence) that God giveth." For having just before spoken of charity and hospitality, or ministering, or assisting others out of what was their own, he here speaks of ministering to others with ability out of the fund of the church.

It was more necessary that the deacons at that time should not only have some gifts of the Holy Ghost, but be full of them; that so none might thrust themselves among the Christians, purely to partake of the community of goods which had so lately been established among them: and also, that no person, amidst that vast multitude of disciples, under a pretence of the largeness or the wants of their families, might have a greater share out of that fund of the church, than was proper for their case; and might at the same time have that which was sufficient for it. This latter case gave occasion to the appointing deacons. They were appointed upon a complaint of the Grecians against the

1 Pet. iv. 10, 11.  2 Ibid. ver. 8, 9.
"Helps" included the Evangelists, &c. 57

Hebrews, that their widows were neglected in the daily distributions.¹ And perhaps there would have been a great many of the poorer sort, that would have joined themselves to the church, before the deacons were appointed, purely to partake of the community of goods, and live in an idle slothful way, had it not been for the dread that fell upon them on finding Ananias and Sapphira struck dead by Peter, for their fraud, about this community of goods; though something different in its kind. And this seems to me to be hinted by St. Luke,² on the occasion of the death of Ananias and Sapphira: for he says, "fear came upon the church, and upon as many as heard these things." But of the rest (or of those that were not of the church), though they magnified them, or had a high reverence or awe of persons, that could strike such offenders dead; yet durst they not (for that very reason) join themselves to them, only in order to partake of that community.

SECTION XIV.—The Messengers of the Apostles, and the Evangelists were probably included among the "Helps" of the primitive church.

Perhaps too by helps may be understood those who used to be the messengers sent by

¹ Acts vi. 1, 2, 3. ² Ibid. v. 11, 12.
The messengers sent by the Apostles

the churches to the apostles, or to other churches; or it may be the apostles' messengers to the churches, on the several messages they had to send to them, or enquiries they had to make about them; and who were consequently great and necessary helps to them in this part of their work; as they also were to the churches where they were sent; and who consequently wanted great degrees of prudence in managing that work. St. Paul used Mark, Luke, Timothy, Erastus, (who are said to be two of them that ministered unto him,) Titus, Epaphroditus, Silas or Silvanus, Sosthenes, Epaphras, Onesimus, Tychicus, Crescent, and others, on such occasions. And some of these he seems to call the messengers of the churches, and the glory of Christ. Epaphroditus is expressly called the messenger of the Philippians by St. Paul, in his epistle to that church. But though these perhaps may be called helps, from their assisting the apostles and the churches, in going on their errands respectively; yet I see no foundation to suppose these helps to have been deacons; or to suppose the business of helps, in this sense of the word, any part of the office of a deacon; that office having been appointed purely for the care of the poor: and the characters given of a deacon, 1 Tim. iii. 8—14. belonging to them as such.

1 Acts xiii. 1, 2. 2 Cor. viii. 23. 3 Phil. ii. 25.
I am likewise inclined to think, that evangelists may be some of these helps in the last sense of this word (if helps in this last sense of the word were not all of them evangelists), whose business it was to set in order the things that were wanting, or left undone by the apostles: for which purpose St. Paul sent Timothy to the Thessalonians, where Paul had been once; and for which purpose he also left Titus in Crete, where Paul had been then once also; and Timothy at Ephesus, where Paul had been twice. And Timothy and Titus were to set those unfinished things in order; not by a revelation made to themselves, but according to the form of sound words they had heard from the apostles; that is, the directions given them when the apostles left or sent them; or which the apostles sent them by letter afterwards: of which we have two remarkable instances in St. Paul’s epistles to Timothy and Titus. I apprehend this to have been the work and duty of an evangelist, and not the converting Heathens, founding churches, or teaching them: for we are not built on the foundation of the evangelists, but of the apostles and prophets. Apostles and prophets, indeed, are foundationstones in the temple of God; but evangelists

1 Thess. iii. 2.  
2 Tim. i. 13.  
Tit. i. 5.  
1 Tim. i. 5.  
1 Tim. i. 2.  
2 Tim. i. 13.  
2 Tim. ii. 3.  
Tit. i. 14.  
1 Tim. i. 3.
are no more than pillars in it.1 Evangelists
are therefore placed after apostles and prophets,
though before teachers; their work being to
finish and perfect that in many churches, with
power and authority, which the teacher was to
do in one way, but in one church. And as
those seem to me to be mistaken, who think the
evangelists were sent to found churches; so I
think those are still more so, who imagine that
they, or any of them who attended St. Paul (for
we do not know when Philip became an evan-
gelist, or how he acted as such); or that Timothy
and Titus in particular, were settled bishops,
or presbyters in any church, or over any number
of churches, in Asia or Crete; since the fixing
them any where is inconsistent with their tra-
velling about with the apostles, and being sent
by them every where, as occasion required.
And they were so sent by them, not only before
they presided over these churches, but after-
wards. For St. Paul sends for Timothy to
come to him to Rome, in his last imprisonment, 2
after he is supposed to be bishop of Ephes-
sus. Nor was Timothy then at Ephesus.
For he says to Timothy, "Tychicus have I sent

1 1 Tim. iii. 15.—I must refer the reader to Dr. Clarke's
Sermon on Mal. xvi. 18. for a true explication of this text.
It would be too great a digression to go into the particular
consideration of it here.

2 2 Tim. iv. 21.
churches, did not always reside in Asia, &c. 61
to Ephesus;" which he could not say to Timo-
thy, if Timothy had been at Ephesus at that
time: he would rather have said, "Tychicus
have I sent to thee;" as he says on a like
occasion to Titus: "When I shall send Arte-
mas or Tychicus to thee, be diligent to come
unto me unto Nicopolis." And he also says,="
"And how much he (Onesiphorus) ministered
unto me at Ephesus, thou knowest." Besides,
if Timothy had been bishop of Ephesus, would
St. Paul have besought him to have staid there,
as he says he did? He would rather have
charged him to have staid there, if we could sup-
pose Timothy's backwardness to do his known
duty had wanted any spur; which, indeed, is
not to be supposed of so diligent a minister of the
church of God. Further; St. Paul had Titus with
him at Ephesus, after Titus is supposed to have
been bishop of Crete; as may be gathered from
2 Tim. iv. 10, though he was just at that time
departed (in all probability sent by St. Paul)
not to Crete, but to Dalmatia, (ibid.) which was
a great many hundred miles the other way.

SECTION XV.—On the persons, in the primitive
churches, who are called "Governments."

As to governments, which perhaps is called
ruling, or he that rules (ὅ πρωτόταξεν) and

1 Ibid. iv. 12.  2 Tit. iii. 12.  3 2 Tim. i. 18.
4 1 Tim. i. 3.  5 Rom. xii. 8.
the persons who had this gift, the rulers and Christian elders (προστάτες); and those who are over you (προϊσταμένοι); and the guides (ὑγιόμενοι): they may have been those whose minds were illuminated by the Spirit, with prudence to propose proper methods to the several churches, for their better conduct and management on all occasions. The members of these churches themselves also, may have been illuminated with prudence to see, that what was so proposed was right, and with humility to comply with it; or, at least, with a great assistance of the Spirit to their thoughts, debates, and consultations on such occasions. An eminent instance of which we have in the case of appointing the deacons: the apostles proposing it from wise reasons, that they should be chosen (an instance of prudence that perhaps will be thought superior to a party of illiterate fishermen,) and the church immediately falling in with it, without the least debate or contention; and no doubt of it, choosing men peculiarly fit for the purpose. This seems to be plainly hinted, ver. 5, inasmuch as some of those who are appointed deacons, are Grecians (as appears from the termination of their names, and particularly Nicolas, who is said to be a proselyte of Antioch), to give the greater assurance and satisfaction to the complainants, who were Gre-

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1 Tim. v. 17.  2 Thess. v. 12.  Heb. xiii. 17.
churc\textup{h}, who are called Governments. 63

cians, that their complaints should be redressed; though the apostles do not seem to have pro-
p\textup{osed} this to the multitude, as one of the qualifica-
tions of the persons they should choose. And to this perhaps may all the directions also be referred, which St. Paul gives to the churches to whom he writes, for their conduct and man-
agement; as well as their compliance with those directions, particularly his directions to the Corinthians about praying and prophesying with the head covered or uncovered, and about the preference and exercise of the gifts of the Holy Ghost. On some of those advices he appeals to them: "If any man among you think himself a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge, that the things I write unto you are the com-
mandments of the Lord." 1 This may help us to explain those texts, which speak of counting the elders that rule well worthy of double honour; 2 knowing them which are over you in the Lord (\textup{\pi}ροιο\textup{σ}ταμ\textup{α}\textup{n}α\textup{ν} ο\textup{μ}\textup{ω}ν), and to esteem them highly in love; 3 and of remembering or obeying (which word however is not always the sense of the Greek word \textup{π}ε\textup{λ}δ\textup{o}\textup{θ}ε) them that have the rule over you (το\textup{'}\textup{i} ηγουμ\textup{ή}να\textup{ν}ις), and sub-
mitting yourselves; 4 as the younger are to sub-
mit (or pay respect and deference) to the elder: or, as we are all to be subject one to another; or

1 1 Cor. xiv. 37. 2 1 Tim. v. 17. 3 1 Thess. v. 12, 13. 4 Heb. xiii. 7, 17.
to be clothed with humility. All which texts perhaps mean no more than that they should be of a yielding temper; and that, when prudent methods were proposed to them, they should be ready to fall in with them, where the prudence of those methods plainly appeared; and not to thwart them from a perverse, sour, and untractable spirit. Here too I would observe that the προστάται ἐν Κορίνθω, which we translate "those that are over you in the Lord," does not certainly denote any fixed ministers, rectors, or bishops; since we find no trace of any in that church; either in the address of the epistle, 1 Thess. i. 1, as there is in that to the Philippians, chap. i. 1, nor in the salutation, 1 Thess. v. 26. And since we find the brethren are charged to do those things which must be supposed to have been the office of the bishop, rector, or presbyter, if there had been any such; namely, "to warn the unruly, comfort the feeble-minded, support the weak; to withdraw from a disorderly brother, and to note or mark him, and yet to admonish him." So that the very admonishing which was performed by those that were over them, and for which they were to esteem them highly in love, was but what the brethren could do; and therefore can here only signify some gift of the Holy Ghost, by which the brethren who had this gift in this church performed some of

1 1 Thess. v. 12, 13. 2 Ibid. v. 14.
the ministrations in it, as we have seen already they did in other churches, and shall see, by and by, they did in almost all of them: and therefore the προεπιτελέοντες must here denote those who had some or other of those gifts, and perhaps that of ruling, in the sense in which I have explained it. The same perhaps may be said of the ἡγούμενοι. ¹

SECTION XVI. The impossibility of arriving at any certain conclusions in these enquiries, should be a cause of diffidence and humility among theological writers. — "Helps and Governments" further discussed.

I cannot but despise the conduct of those writers who will put on the appearance of assurance and certainty, in points where they are far from being at that certainty, which they affect so much to be thought to have: and every one must have a much worse opinion of those who give themselves this air only to serve party or private views. The first proceeds from a degree of pride, to which human nature is more easily carried; while the second arises from a degree of dishonesty, which has been contracted by lower acts of it, repeated from time to time, till it is grown habitual, and ends in venturing on this high injury to mankind. The

¹ Heb. xiii. 7, 17.
first moral virtues of a writer are to divest himself of these enormous passions; to search for truth alone, and to propose his conclusions to his reader, with that degree of evidence and certainty, or of doubt and difficulty, which they have in his own mind. He is required to consider himself as accountable to God, for misleading any man by the superiority of his talents; and as accountable to his reader, for the insolence of endeavouring to impose on him, by means of any real or imagined advantage he has over him. If these virtues were practised by every writer, we should receive more profit from the best, and less hurt from the worst, than we now reap from either of them; and writing would then be in the best state that this state of imperfection will allow. Upon these considerations, I think myself bound to acquaint my reader, that though what I have written on the two last gifts of the Spirit, namely, helps and κυβερνήσεις (which our translators render governments), may seem plausible to him, as it has to me; yet that I am under much uncertainty about them. I think myself bound to give him this notice, that so he may use a more than ordinary care and attention whilst he considers what I have said on those two heads. I will express the state of my thoughts about them as fully as I can, in order to
give him the best assistance I am able in forming his own.

The words helps and governments (ἀντιλήψεως καὶ κυβερνήσεως) occurring in no other place but 1 Cor. xii. 28, and there without much connection; and the words προϊστάμενοι, προεστῶτες, ἤγούμενοι (which may be thought words of the same import with governments, and have been generally understood so), but seldom; and not always in one sense; and these last occurring with little more connection than the two first; and being all of them words of a pretty general and indetermined meaning, I have interpreted all of them agreeably both to what I thought the state of things in the apostolic age, as they are hinted here and there in Scripture, required; and agreeably to the facts, which I found in the acts and epistles of the apostles, corresponding to that state of things.

The state of the church wanted gifts of the Holy Ghost to qualify deacons, messengers, evangelists, and rulers or advisers, for those functions and services; as well as gifts to fit teachers, inferior prophets, speakers of languages, or interpreters, for theirs; and it is plain in Scripture, that some had gifts of the Spirit to qualify them for the former, as well as the latter of these functions, in the church. Thus far I am clear in my opinion. I confess too I ima-
gined it pretty natural, that in 1 Cor. xii., where the gifts of the Spirit seemed at first to me to be enumerated, those which qualified persons to be deacons, evangelists, and rulers, should be mentioned as well as others. At least, I thought, these words would give me occasion to consider those gifts, which it was necessary for me to consider, if I would answer my design, and consider every one of them that occurs in Scripture. For these reasons therefore I chose to treat of these gifts of the Spirit, as if they were couched under the words, helps and governments. I likewise chose to consider μαθητήσεως in the sense our version gives it, to show how far a scheme to support power, in some in the church, over the body of the rest of the church, can be carried from Scripture with any fair appearance from this word, or from those words in Scripture which may be thought to support this sense of that word, even by those who have the greatest temptations to carry it the furthest. And in these views, what I have said on these two heads, I have said with the greatest candor, as things appear to me; and have carried them as far as the necessity of things, from the state the church was then in, or corresponding facts in Scripture, will bear, according to the best of my apprehension. And if this sense which I have given of
to be preferred to that of the commentator.

κυβερνήσεως (governments) shall be thought to be the true one, from the grounds of interpretation which I have mentioned, as inducing me to treat of it in that sense; I must observe, that this gift, as it is here understood, (to signify the skill of proposing proper expedients, and offering proper instructions or advice to the body of the several churches, on occasions that occurred,) seems to have been chiefly, if not solely, given to the apostles; or, at least, that I do not find any instance of this gift being exercised by any but the apostles, either immediately, or by the means of others; to whom the apostles gave directions, by virtue of this gift.

But I must acquaint my reader, that, notwithstanding all I have said, I cannot think this a certain way of interpretation. For it is very possible to find out a scripture scheme, which may suit a general indeterminate word in Scripture, and yet not to be the precise meaning of that word, as used in that particular place. To fix that, we must always be able to show, that the idea, which we annex to that word, is the same which was present to the mind of the sacred writer, when he used it in the passage under consideration. It would be happy for us, if the interpreters of Scripture would always consider this. The Scripture would
not be so often expounded from what is called the analogy of faith (too commonly the system of the interpreter, taken up from the schemes of divines, and not from Scripture), but from the context; which will not easily suffer a man to be deceived, where it can be traced, if it be carefully attended to. Where it cannot, we are required to proceed with greater diffidence. And though this method will give interpreters more trouble, and make less show; it will be infinitely more useful to those whom they instruct, and will serve to keep up that hesitation in themselves which becomes learned men in doubtful cases, as much as assurance does in those which are clear and plain.

Now if I refer to the context of the place where these words are used, I should be led, perhaps, to understand them otherwise than I have done, notwithstanding all I have said to support the sense I have taken them in. The apostle begins the xiith chapter of the 1st epistle to the Corinthians, as he does several others in that epistle, in a manner that shows it is an answer to some question they had put to him: "Now as concerning spiritual gifts," it should be rendered, "men," (πνευματικῶν) as it is translated chap. ii. 15. xiv. 37. It is very probable that the question might be, which of such and such spiritual men, or of men endued with
such and such spiritual gifts, were to be preferable in their assemblies. The apostle seems to answer the question by ranking them in the order he does: but he at the same time reproves their strife and emulation about them; and cautions them against it, by asserting, that they are all from one Spirit, one Lord, and one God, ver. 4, 5, 6, by letting them know that these gifts are given for edification, and not for ostentation and show, ver. 7, 15; and afterwards by putting them in mind, that their church, by the Spirit, was made one body, ver. 13; and that, as there was no schism in the natural body, on account of members that were more or less honourable; but all rejoiced in the functions of all, whether of greater or less honour, ver. 14—27; so ought it to be in the church, where there was a diversity of higher and lower gifts, which however were all for the use of the body of Christ, ver. 27—30. Now as this is the occasion on which St. Paul enumerates several gifts of the Spirit in the 8th, 9th, and 10th verses, and on which he continues the thread of his discourse to the end of the chapter; methinks it can scarcely be supposed, that he would mention any gift in the 28th and 29th verses, which he had not enumerated in the 8th, 9th, and 10th verses, that relate to deacons, evangelists, or rulers. I should likewise think,
that St. Paul would observe nearly the same order, when he comes to repeat them in the same chapter, and in the very same argument, three times. Now helps and governments are the sixth and seventh gifts in his second list, if I may be allowed to call it so, ver. 28. And the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth gifts in his first list are, prophecy, discernment of spirits, divers kind of tongues, and interpretation of tongues. None of these will suit the gifts of deacons, evangelists, or rulers: and the four last gifts in the third list, ver. 29, are workers of miracles, gifts of healing, speakers with tongues, and interpreters; which will not suit deacons, evangelists, and rulers, any better than the four last gifts in the first list do. In this view, the probable meaning of these two words will be, the inferior prophets, and discerners of spirits. And it cannot be denied, that he who assisted the public assemblies with the gifts of lower prophecy, was not (as things then stood) an help, in the strictest acceptation of the word: since public devotions, such as exhorting, praying, singing in the Spirit, and judging of those performances (so necessary for their edification in some cases), could not have been performed in many churches without them, (perhaps scarce in any,) as we shall see more fully under the second head. And Lightfoot shows, that ἀριστογια.
of the spiritual gifts.

νήσες (considering how it is used by the Septuagint in the places where it occurs), may signify discerners of spirits. And then, indeed, these three lists of gifts will agree; as may be seen in the following
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 Cor. xii. ver. 8, 9, 10.</th>
<th>ver. 28.</th>
<th>ver. 29, 30.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ἀγίος σοφίας, the word of wisdom.</td>
<td>ὁς μὴ ἔθετο</td>
<td>μὴ πάντες</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ἀγίος γνώσεως, the word of knowledge.</td>
<td>Ἀδερφὸς προφήτας, prophets.</td>
<td>Ἀπόστολοι, apostles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Πίστις, faith.</td>
<td>Τρίτον διδασκάλους, teachers.</td>
<td>Διδάσκαλοι, teachers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Χαρίσματα ἱαμάτων, the gifts of healing.</td>
<td>Ἐπτα ὁμός, miracles.</td>
<td>Προφήται, prophets; that is, such prophets as were at the same time apostles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Ἑνεργήματα δυνάμεων, the working of miracles.</td>
<td>Εἴτε χαρίσματα ἱαμάτων, healing.</td>
<td>Χαρίσματα ἱαμάτων, healing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Προφητεία, prophecy.</td>
<td>Ἀντιλήψεις, helps.</td>
<td>Γλάυσται λαλοῦντες, speakers of tongues.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Διακρίνεις πνευμάτων, discerning of spirits.</td>
<td>Κυβερνήσεις, governments.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Γίγνες γλωσσῶν, divers kinds of tongues.</td>
<td>Γίγνες γλωσσῶν, diversities of tongues.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Ερμηνεία γλωσσῶν, the interpretation of tongues.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1 That άγίος σοφίας signifies the knowledge that was the peculiar gift of an apostle, see the second Essay.
2 That άγίος γνώσεως signifies the knowledge peculiar to the highest rank of prophets, see the second Essay.
3 By πείρας, Mr. Locke here understands such a full persuasion of the truths which the teacher taught, as enabled him to speak with the assurance and authority that became a teacher or a doctor. (Locke in loc.) And that faith stands for a firm persuasion or assurance, may be seen in many other places; see 1 Cor. xiii. 2. Matt. xvii. 20. Mark iv. 60. Luke xvii. 6. Rom. xiv. 22, 23. James v. 16.
4 Gifts of healing, ver. 80, may signify the gifts that were beneficial to men’s bodies, as teaching was to their minds; and might, perhaps, be exercised on the illuminating prayer of faith. The reason of the gift of healing being given may have been, 1. That it had been sometimes given to prophets under the Old Testament. 2. That it was beneficial. 3. That it was necessary to cure the distemper inflicted by the power of the apostles in the exercise of discipline in the church.
5 Working of miracles being distinguished here from the gifts of healing, may signify something that implies a greater power; as raising the dead; laying storms; turning water into wine; feeding multitudes with a small quantity of provisions, &c. These two gifts are evidently transposed in the three lists.
6 By προφητεία here may be understood, that lower sort of prophecy, of which St. Paul chiefly treats, 1 Cor. xiv., and which I have considered as branched out into lower revelations, exhorting, praying, and singing in the Spirit. Though I apprehend the same word, namely, προφητεία, Rom. xii. 6, and Eph. iv. 11, means the higher sort of prophecy; it standing there before the gift of teaching; whereas here it is placed after it.
7 As prophecy takes in lower revelations, exhortation, praying, and singing in the Spirit: so perhaps διάκονος σωματόων may signify the particular gift which those had who were most able to judge, whether those several performances proceeded from the Spirit or no; see 1 Cor. xiv. 29, where the apostle says, “Let the prophets speak two or three at a time, and let the others judge,” (or discern,) διακονούσων. Where judging, or discerning, follows prophesying, so διακονεῖς σωματοούσων follows προφητεία here; see also 1 Cor. ii. 15, where the spiritual man is said to judge, or discern, even the things revealed by the higher prophets.
8 Διακονεῖς, in the second list (helps) may answer to prophecy; inasmuch as those who had the gift of lower prophecy were the persons that chiefly assisted, or helped the Christians in the public devotions.
9 Προφητεία stands here, as I suppose, for discerners or triers of spirits.
10 Perhaps the apostle makes γένος γλωσσών, in the second list, answer both to tongues and to the interpretation of tongues in the first.
11 And perhaps γλωσσαία λαλάττε ιερία, in the third list, may comprehend prophecy, discernment of spirits, and the gift of tongues in the first list; inasmuch as these were generally the subjects those spoke of who had the gift of tongues. For we may always observe, throughout the history of the Acts, that those who had the gift of tongues prophesied, or spoke, the wondrous things of God, or magnified God: and St. Paul, in the xivth chapter, seems to intimate, that at least many of those who had the gift of tongues, could prophesy, in the sense I have explained it; because he bids them prophesy rather than use the gift of tongues. St. Mark uses the gift of tongues even in something a larger sense than this; and puts it for all the illumination which was ever uttered by the gift of tongues, Mark xvi. 17, as is plain from his not mentioning any other gift of illumination there. St. Paul places this gift last, except the interpretation of tongues, because it was of the least use and benefit in the church, 1 Cor. xiv. 19—23; and in order to bestow down the folly of the Corinthians, who prided themselves so extravagantly in it.
And I should apprehend, lower prophets, and discerners of spirits, were what St. Paul designed by these two words; the rather, because, as in the rest the lists agree pretty well, so I should think that they ought to be interpreted in such a manner as to show they agree in these two also: for it is not probable that the five first gifts and the last gifts would be the same in all the lists, and yet that the sixth, seventh, and eighth should differ. I should yet more incline to this last sense of these words, because then there will be no gift mentioned, in these three parts of the chapter, but what belonged either to their great apostle, or was common to several members of that church; which is what one would expect on this occasion. This perhaps is the reason why he speaks of these gifts and not of some others; and why particularly he does not speak of such as fitted men to be deacons, evangelists, and rulers. It may be they had no deacons or rulers among them; perhaps no evangelists had as yet been sent to them: or it may be, the gifts that fitted a man for a deacon or ruler being not the gifts they valued, as not being for ostentation or show; and that of an evangelist not belonging to any one in that church: those were not the gifts they had any contest about; and therefore St. Paul said nothing about them. On the other hand, it is likely that the reason why he
and offices in the primitive church. 77

mentions some of those gifts, as the gift of healing and miracles, which are averred to be gifts of the Spirit, though they were wrought by the Spirit, is, that these were some of those gifts about which the Corinthians had strife and emulation. For it was not any ways pertinent to his design, to persuade them against a schism or contention about gifts, concerning which they did not contend; but against a schism and contention concerning those gifts about which their passions were the strongest. For we are to consider St. Paul as writing an epistle to men who had these gifts of the Holy Ghost, and as writing to them in this place not to contend with one another about them; and not as writing a treatise of these gifts, to inform those who had not those gifts what they were.

And as to ἀντιληψις (helps) in particular, I must confess, it would be somewhat extraordinary if it should generally signify evangelists; because then evangelists, who appear, in the nature of their office, and by the place St. Paul assigns them, Eph. iv. 11, to be the third rank of ministers in the church, would here stand the lowest except two; and governments also, a gift of great consequence to the church, (as it signifies prudence to propose or advise on emergencies,) would come the last but one, and stand after the gifts of healing.
SECTION XVII.—On the terms, supposed to be synonymous, with "Governments."

And that I may likewise speak my mind freely about the other words used in Scripture, which have been generally thought to be of the same signification with governments, and which I have therefore brought to support that rendering of the word κυβερνήσεως which our translators have given it, namely, προϊστάμενοι, προϊστάτες, ἱγαμαίοι; I must own, that though these words may be brought to support our rendering of the word κυβερνήσεως by the word governments, agreeably to facts that we find in other places of Scripture, and to the general sense of κυβερνήσεως, abstracted from its context; yet these words have much less force with me to that purpose when I consider them distinctly in the several places where they occur.

Thus to begin with ὁ προϊστάμενος, Rom. xii. 8, when St. Paul had spoke of the gifts of prophecy, ministry, teaching, and exhortation, ver. 6, 7, and in part of the 8th verse, he adds, "He that giveth (ὁ μεταδίδως) let him do it with simplicity (ἐν ἀπλότητι) or liberality: he that ruleth (ὁ προϊστάμενος) with diligence (ἐν σπουδῇ), with care and diligence. He that showeth mercy with cheerfulness." Perhaps by the words, "he that giveth" (ὁ μεταδίδως) is meant, him that is
able to give; and St. Paul says, "let him do it (ἐν ἀληθῇ) with liberality." For that ἐν ἀληθῇ signifies with liberality, may be seen by the word being used in that sense, Prov. xi. 25. 2 Cor. viii. 2. ix. 11, 13. James i. 5. After St. Paul had given directions about giving with liberality, then he adds ἡ προϊστάμενος, which should be rendered, "he that receiveth or entertaineth strangers, or he that is set, or sets himself, over that business, let him do it (ἐν σκοπῷ) with care and diligence." And afterwards follows, "he that showeth mercy with cheerfulness," that is, he that showeth mercy to objects in distress, who want assistance more than the poor, or strangers, or even poor strangers; such as widows, or phans, prisoners, sick or impotent; let him do it with cheerfulness. And then the connection and the sense of the place will stand thus: as I have told you, ver. 6, 7, and in part of the 8th, how you should exercise the gifts of the Spirit in the church, for the good of men's minds; so let me now tell you how to use other gifts of God's providence to the good of men's bodies. Let him whose business it is to give to the poor out of the fund of the church give with liberality: let him who has an house, or is set, or sets himself, over the business of receiving strangers, be diligently careful of them (this was the more needful since inns were not then common; for
which reason, those who travelled, carried or led about a sister with them, to provide some of those conveniences for them which inns now furnish travellers with;¹ as our Saviour had done, who had women that followed him, and ministered unto him).² And let him whose business it is, by his advice or otherwise, to assist the distressed higher objects of mercy (than poor or strangers), do it with cheerfulness. I am inclined to think, that the last injunctions belong to those who had some office or ministry in the church, rather than to private Christians. My reason for being of this opinion is, that they immediately follow injunctions to those who had gifts by which they performed a ministry in the church, and immediately precede the directions given to all Christians, ver. 9, ad fin. Amongst which there is a particular precept to distribute to the necessity of the saints; and to use hospitality, ver. 12. Now unless ver. 8. relates to those who had a ministry in the church, and ver. 12. to private Christians, we must suppose St. Paul to repeat the same precepts in the compass of a few lines: which, as it would be far from being a beauty, I am not willing to impute to so good a writer: but supposing ver. 8. to relate to those who had a ministry in the church; and ver. 12, with the other verses from the 8th to the

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end of the chapter, to private Christians, then there is no repetition, ver. 12, but a distinct precept given.

This interpretation of ὅ προϊστάμενος may be confirmed by the reflection, that the duty of receiving and assisting strangers was a duty of great importance, as things then stood in the church. This appears not only from the commendations that St. John gives Gaius on account of his practising it in so distinguished a manner, 3 John 5, but from St. Paul's giving it as one of the distinguishing characters of a bishop, and of a widow indeed, 1 Tim. iii. 2, v. 10. Tit. i. 8, and from his insisting so much on it, Heb. xiii. 2, and particularly also in relation to Phoebe, in this very epistle, chap. xvi. 2; for he writes to the believing Romans, to "receive her, and assist her in every thing that she had need; for he adds, she hath been a succourer of many, and of myself also." And what is highly to this purpose is, that the word we translate succourer is προϊστάς, which is a feminine word of the same original and signification with ὅ προϊστάμενος. And therefore the words προϊστάς πολλῶν ἤγανίθη, καὶ αὑτῶν ἰμώ, might be rendered thus, for she has received into her house many, and me also. We have a place in St. Peter that seems parallel to this, but in the inverted order, 1 Pet. iv. 9, 11, "Use hospitality without grudging;"
The receivers of strangers

which I think relates to all Christians: and then ver. 11, "If any man minister as a deacon, (ὁ τις διάκονι,) let him do it as of the ability which God giveth." Thus not only the connexion, but the very usage of the kindred word to ὁ πρεσβύτερος, and in this very epistle, leads us to the sense that I have just now given it. And I cannot but remark, that St. Paul's thoughts seem to have run very much in the same channel, in the place I just now quoted from the Hebrews, chap. xiii. 12, 13, only enlarging or confining his views a little, in the first and third particular. For in that place he recommends brotherly love, ver. 1, 2, receiving or lodging strangers, ver. 2, and 3, shewing mercy to some in distress, namely, prisoners and persons in adversity, ver. 3; which therefore I cannot but consider as a truly parallel place to this, that is, as a place where the apostle is expressing almost the same thoughts to the Hebrews, and in the same order, as he does to the Romans. And how much stress was then laid on this duty of hospitality, or of receiving strangers, we may more fully learn from the epistle of Clement (Paul's contemporary, Philip. iv. 3.) to the Corinthians: The former part of his epistle is full of injunctions to this duty, or high characters of it, and commendation, or re-

* See Vitringa de Synag. 1. ii. c. 3.
proofs of them about it. And can it well be imagined, that when St. Paul was persuading the Romans to relieve the poor, and to shew mercy to the miserable, he should forget the duty of receiving strangers; a duty of the same class, so necessary in those times, so much insisted on in other places of Scripture; and particularly by himself in several of his epistles, and more especially in that to the Hebrews, and in this very epistle, chap. xvi. ver. 2? And would it not be an order of ranging thoughts unusual with St. Paul, or with any good writer, to make the sense of ἀ προϊστάμενος here, "be that ruleth?" for what has ruling to do between the liberal charity of the rich (or the able) to the poor, and the cheerful mercy of all that can express it towards the miserable? especially after he seems to have finished what he had to say on the spiritual gifts before he mentions the duty that precedes this, namely, the duty of giving to the poor, and is entered upon a set of duties of quite another kind.

As to those also whom the Thessalonians are directed to know, as labouring among them, and being over them in the Lord, καὶ προϊστάμενος ἐμῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ; I should rather think, that there it means presiding: by which I under-

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1 Thess. v. 12.
stand some act, directing the management of the gifts of the Spirit in public assemblies. Agreeable to which St. Paul says to the Corinthians, that "the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets:" or the spirits of some prophets are subject to other prophets: and, as is most natural to think, the more full meaning of the place to be, that the spirits of the prophets who prophesied are, when duly regulated, subject to such prophets as preside. The Thessalonians had a plentiful measure of spiritual gifts. This we know, because St. Paul had converted them, Acts xvii. 4. 1 Thess. i. 5. And we shall shew afterwards, that the apostles conferred some of these gifts wherever they came. This is too plain from chap. i. ver. 5, and from the 10th, 20th, and 21st verses of this chapter. For they were not to quench the (gifts of the) Spirit; they were not to despise prophesying; but were to prove (them all) all things; or try them, separating the true from the false; holding fast the former, and rejecting the latter. Now where several members of the church had these gifts, they were apt to put the public assemblies into confusion by the exercise of them; and to have strife and emulation among themselves; as we see was the case among the Corinthians; all speaking together;

1 Cor. xiv. 32. 2 Ibid. chap. xiv.
and all speaking in unknown tongues: where as the apostle directs, that no man should speak in an unknown tongue without interpreting; that they should speak one by one; that whilst one spake, the rest should sit still and judge; and afterwards say what was revealed to any other of them; but still one after another; and that the spirits of the prophets (who prophesied) should be subject to the prophets (who presided).

It is probable there were some among the Thessalonians who had the gift of presiding well, and knew how to direct who should speak first, who should afterwards judge, who should prophesy next, who should pray, and sing in the Spirit; and when, and how, they should exercise these several gifts with the greatest propriety, order, decency, and most to edification. There was such a sort of presiding in the synagogue, as may be seen in Vitringa de Synag. lib. iii. c. 9. p. 728, and Reland's Antiq. Sac. Hebr. And it seems to me, that such a sort of presiding was highly useful in the first state of Christians, where many had a right to speak in the church. It must have been absolutely necessary, to prevent the greatest confusion, where the spirit of humility, deference, and condescension did not prevail. And such a sort of proceeding seems to me to be the most likely meaning of the word in this place; since, as there were many of the brethren
in this church of Thessalonica, who had those gifts which they exercised in the church; so it is allowed by those who are most disposed to think otherwise, that there were not any others who officiated in the assemblies in that city, as I observed before. And this word being taken from the Jews, whose usages were well understood at Thessalonica, where there was a synagogue, ¹ (in which there was, without doubt, such a presiding, as well as in other synagogues) it was possibly from thence used here by St. Paul, without explaining it; whereas one would not imagine it would have been used in this general sense, if it had not been in analogy to a custom, and an use of the word, borrowed from that custom, well known at that time in the world. Agreeably whereto St. Luke acquaints us, that when St. Paul and Barnabas came to the synagogue in Antioch in Pisidia, the rulers (or presidents) of the synagogue say, "if ye have any word of exhortation, say on," ² that is, they point to them to speak. Such a kind of chairman, or president, we find is necessary in all assemblies, where several have a right to speak; and therefore constantly used in them. And it being a place of difficulty and dignity, the most prudent, knowing, and judicious men, or at least those that are first in rank,

¹ Acts xviii. 1. ² Ibid. xiii. 15.
are always chosen for it. From whence it is; that we always find all assemblies well or ill regulated, according as the chairman, or president, does his part, and according to the deference that is paid to his authority. For this reason the apostle bids them "know those that are over them in the Lord," as doing a most useful work. And then adds, "and be at peace among yourselves." The meaning of which perhaps is, that knowing the deference that is due to them that preside, and having a just esteem for them that discharge this office among them, was a proper way to be at peace among themselves; and to avoid all that strife and emulation they might otherwise have, about the exercise and preference of these gifts in their public assemblies. And since a due discharge of the office of presiding requires great skill, judgment, and application; and the regular or irregular proceedings of all assemblies depend very much upon it; it may perhaps be for that very reason that St. Paul tells Timothy, that the elders who rule well, καλῶς προετάνεις πρεσβύτεροι, that is, who preside well, (namely, in the church of Ephesus, where the members had some of these gifts of the Spirit, as we shall prove hereafter,) are worthy of double honour, or a double stipend; especially, if besides presiding well, they also

1 Thess. v. 13.
laboured in the word and doctrine;'' that is, carefully and diligently exercised the gift of teaching.

With respect to the ἃγιομένοι, Heb. xiii. 7, 17, I am very apt to think that St. Paul, writing that epistle to the Hebrews at Jerusalem, denoted some of the apostles by this term. He seems to refer to such of them as had been among them, and were now dead or absent: for he says, remember them; and remember them which have spoken. This is the more probable, because this epistle was written late, about the year 63. I the rather think this, because apostles, and apostles alone, originally, and in the highest sense, spoke the word of God; and are generally, if not only, said so to do, because their faith the believing Hebrews were to follow; and from their doctrine they were not to depart, ver. 9. For as our Saviour said to them, "He that receiveth you, receiveth me; and as my Father sent me, so send I you." And as St. Paul says, "He that despiseth, (namely, the foregoing commandments from ver. 2,) despiseth not man, but God, who has given us (namely apostles) his holy Spirit." And whereas, ver. 17th of this 13th chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews, St. Paul says, "Obey

1 Tim. v. 17.  1 See the second Essay.  2 Matt. x. 40.  4 John xx. 21.  5 1 Thess. iv.8.
them that have the rule over you, τοὺς ἑγγονόν ἐμῶν; and submit yourselves, for they watch for your souls;” I am apt to think, that it relates to some of the apostles, who survived, and were then at Jerusalem. For the apostles did not only (like St. Paul) sometimes speak by permission; but generally of commandment from the Lord.¹ Those commandments St. Paul particularly gave by the Lord Jesus.² And St. Peter says,³ “I write unto you, that ye may be mindful of the—commandments of us the apostles of our Lord and Saviour.” These commandments the believers were to obey, not only when the apostles were present, but absent.⁴ And if any one obeyed not the word or commandment of their epistle, they were to be noted, avoided, and admonished.⁵ I remember no passage, in which any minister of the church is said to have had a commandment of the Lord, but the apostles; or where obedience is required to any commandments, but what came from the apostles. They, indeed, had the power of binding and loosing: and Christ said, “He that heareth you, heareth me.” It was through their word that all were to believe.⁶ And it was by them that the word of the gospel went forth, and

¹ 1 Cor. vii. 6, 10. ² 1 Thess. iv. 2. ³ 2 Thess. iii. 6, 10. ⁴ Phil. ii. 12. ⁵ 2 Thess. iii. 14, 15. ⁶ John xvii. 20.
that form of doctrine which all men were to obey.

It is possible that the reason why St. Paul directs the Hebrews, in the close of this epistle, to remember the dead, or absent apostles, who had been their guides, ver. 17, and to obey the living ones now residing at Jerusalem, and watching over their souls, ver. 7, might be, to free himself from any imputation of going too far out of his province, who was the apostle of the Gentiles only. And as he had not only written to the Hebrews, but written very freely, of the insufficiency and meanness of the Jewish law (though not in the character of an apostle, as I shall observe more fully in the third Essay); that he might not seem to invade the province of the apostles of the circumcision, much less oppose them (who had only received the right-hand of fellowship, as an apostle of the heathen); he here bids the Hebrews remember their apostles, who were dead or absent, and who had spoken the word of the Lord; and obey those that were present, and watched for their souls: and immediately adds, ver. 18, 19, "Pray for us, for we trust we have a good conscience." As if he had said, "Obey the apostles of the circumcision, and pray for me the apostle of the Gentiles; and the rather, that I may be restored

* Gal. ii.
to obey their apostolic rulers.

to you the sooner, and bring the alms of the Gentile-Christians to you;" which he had brought from Asia, Macedonia, and Greece, before; and probably now designed to bring from Italy and Spain; according to the agreement between him and Barnabas, and the three great apostles of the circumcision.¹

I hope I have not tired my reader on this subject. But as it is of some importance, and is wrapped up in a great deal of obscurity, I thought it proper to treat it in this manner. The reader will now better judge, in which of these senses he is to understand helps, or helpers, and ἱεροσυνή, which we translate governments; as well as the other words in the New Testament brought to support that rendering of the word ἱεροσυνής. If he understands all these words in the first sense I have given them, I believe it is in a sense agreeable to other places of Scripture; if he understands them in the last, I apprehend he will be much more likely to understand them in the precise sense which they have in each of those places where they stand. If the connexion was clear and full, there is not the least doubt, but we ought to understand them in the last sense only: but as the connexion is somewhat doubtful, and cannot be proved, but from many

¹Gal. ii. 10.
Many circumstances were common

considerations laid together, I think it becomes me to express the uncertainty I do about them, till I receive more light than I have been able to get at present. All that I have further to add about them is, that if the reader concurs with me in the last sense of helps and κυβερνήσις, I must then desire him to consider what I have said about helps and κυβερνήσις (as standing, as it does in our version, for governments) in the first place, page 54, &c. only as an occasion taken by me to explain those gifts of the Spirit, which fitted men to be deacons, messengers, evangelists, and advisers; and not to consider them as the proper meaning of ἀντιλήψις and κυβερνήσις. And that he will forgive me, if some degree of uncertainty, and a greater degree of modesty, in a case where it may become me to yield as far to it as I would in any of the like nature, has made me run into a method that may at first seem somewhat perplexed and embarrassed.

SECTION XVIII. Circumstances common to all the miraculous gifts of the Holy Spirit.

Thus I have explained the gift of wisdom, knowledge, prophecy, teaching, helps, and governments, in the several senses and acceptations in which I have considered them. And to these instances may the teaching of the Spirit
be reduced. I shall now consider some things that relate in general to them all.

In the first place, I apprehend this teaching consisted in a sudden illumination of the mind, by which it was furnished in an instant with some or all of those kinds of knowledge; which perhaps a man of the best parts could not have acquired by the hardest study in the course of a long life. And some of them such as could not be acquired by any art or study whatsoever (as the word of knowledge, and several of the gifts of lower prophecy), which continued with those to whom they were imparted, as a fund of that learning and knowledge communicated to them; and which consequently they could use as there was occasion. Upon which account I suppose it was, that the cloven tongues sat, or rested, or continued for some time upon them; namely, to shew the permanency of the gift, and that it should be ready for their use on all proper occasions; as "the Spirit abode upon our Saviour at his baptism," to denote the same thing. A like expression is used of the seventy, at their first appointment for judgement and

1 Acts ii. 2. Bishop Horsley on Acts ii. 33, supposes that the cloven tongues remained upon the apostles, after they went down among the people.—See "Arrangement of the New Testament," vol. ii. p. 23.

2 John i. 32.
The general knowledge of the government; for it is said, "That when the Spirit rested upon them, they prophesied, and did not cease." Upon this account too the receiving these gifts is called, the being enlightened and illuminated, as well as being made partakers of the Holy Ghost. St. Paul says, that "God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the law of Jesus Christ." And he prays for the Ephesians, that the "God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, might give them the Spirit of wisdom and revelation, in the knowledge of Him; the eyes of their understanding being enlightened, &c." And that the enlightening he prays for is the gift of the Holy Ghost, does not only appear from the words, but from what immediately precedes; that "after they had believed, they were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, the earnest of our inheritance, until the redemption of the purchased possession."

The fathers, from the beginning of Christianity, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, call this illumination, and speak of it as conferred at baptism: the gifts of the Spirit being generally conferred by the apostles after baptism. And this illumina-

1 Numb. xi. 25. 2 Heb. vi. 4. x. 26, 32. 3 2 Cor. iv. 6. 4 Eph. i. 17, 18. 5 Ibid. ver. 14.
tion not being mere inspiration, strictly so called; nor a bare discovery of some particular matter, such as the prophets under the Old Testament generally had communicated to them by a dream, or a vision, or a rapture, or a revelation; but a fund of general knowledge of things pertaining to the kingdom of God given to them, and which was ready to be used by them for the benefit of others, whom they were instructing and edifying continually; and even fresh gifts (namely, of prophecy), always ready to be communicated when they were necessary; our Saviour tells the people,¹ that “he that believes on Him, as the Scripture hath said,² out of his belly should flow rivers of living water.” Which, as the evangelist adds, he spake of the Spirit, which they that believe on Him should receive; for the Holy Ghost was not yet given, because Jesus was not glorified. In this sense it is that Christ promises, that “the Spirit should abide with them for ever; or not depart from them.”³ In this sense also St. Paul speaks of the Corinthians, as being “the temple of God,”⁴ by the Spirits dwelling in them;⁵ and are built together an habitation of God through the Spirit.”⁶ By which means the

¹ John vii. 38.  ² Isa. liii. 11.  ³ John xiv. 16, 17.  
⁴ 1 Cor. iii. 17.  ⁵ Ibid. ver. 16.  ⁶ 2 Cor. vi. 16.  
⁶ Eph. ii. 22.
96 How the Spirit was not given under the law.

Father and Christ, according to the promise of the latter, come and take up their abode with believers.

It is by the help of this notion alone, that we can understand a reasoning often touched upon by St. Paul in his epistles, that the Spirit was not given by or under the law; and that therefore those who were under the law were carnal, like Ishmael, who was only Abraham's son according to the flesh. Yet the prophets had the Spirit of Christ under the law. But the Spirit under the Old Testament is considered but as an extrinsic principle, sometimes, but yet very rarely, impressing the imagination of a few, or the organs of their speech. Now and then the phrase, "the Spirit of the Lord came upon them," occurs. Whereas the gospel gave the blessing of the Spirit an internal and quickening principle to numbers, which was constantly to abide with them; by the efficacy of whose abiding light and knowledge they were to be governed in their whole conduct. The first time I find the phrase used of "giving or not giving the Spirit," is John vii. 39, "The Spirit was not yet given, because Jesus was not yet glorified." And soon after our Saviour says, "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another comforter, that he may abide with you for

1 John xiv. 23.
ever," John xiv. 16, which texts, I think, cannot be explained but by carrying in our minds the precise notion of a gift. And that this was a fund of science communicated to them by the Holy Ghost, seems to be further intimated, not only in its being called an illumination, and an enlightening, but a gift; namely, of wisdom, knowledge, teaching, exhortation, tongues, and their interpretation. For when the word gift is applied to knowledge, it seems to carry in its notion, the vesting that knowledge in the party on whom it was bestowed, as a property to be used as that party thought fit, for the benefit of those for whom it was given.

I apprehend that it is for this reason they were first denominated gifts, Psalm lxxxviii. 18, where our Saviour is described as a mighty conqueror ascending triumphantly into heaven, receiving gifts of God for his people, and loading them with those his benefits. "Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive, thou hast received gifts for men," &c. And because these were gifts bestowed and given to men, and that they who received them were thereby possessed of the knowledge or illumination which they brought along with them; therefore it was, that whilst they enjoyed them, they could use that knowledge, just as men do knowledge that is acquired by natural means: that is to say, that it was altogether as much in their

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power to use it, or not to use it; or, in some degree, to abuse it, as men may the knowledge they acquire by study and application: or, in other words, that they either might not employ it, or employ it solely for the benefit of mankind; or for pride and vain glory: as accordingly we see was the case of the Corinthians in particular. For St. Paul supposes, that the motions of the Spirit were not ungovernable: as was the case of the Depleeni among the heathens. This ungovernable fury was esteemed a certain sign of possession, when it appeared among the false apostles and prophets. The Corinthians used these gifts for the gratification of their own vanity. And that there were the like faults among the Ephesians, we may gather from St. Paul's pressing exhortation to humility, peace, and unity, where he speaks of these gifts, Eph. iv. 1—11, and particularly by his setting Christ's example before them, ver. 9, 10, who, he says, descended into the grave, or was abased, before he ascended into heaven, and was exalted to the right-hand of Power, to receive these gifts, and to fill his church with them. But though from these considerations, I apprehend, the Pneumatici could use these gifts of illumination or knowledge, or not use them, as they could any

1 Cor. xiv. 29—34.  
2 See Iren. l. i. c. 12.  
3 1 Cor. xii. 13.
other knowledge; yet that was not the case as to the other gifts of the Spirit, which had been given under the ministry, or dispensation of Jesus, as well as now under the ministry or dispensation of the Spirit; or which did not consist in illumination. They were under the direction of the Spirit, as to time and other circumstances; and were but single and particular vouchsafements. For we find that St. Paul could not always use the gift of healing (which was in some sense now a gift of the Spirit); or else he would not have prescribed wine to Timothy, for his stomach's sake; nor have left Trophimus at Miletum sick.* And though I formerly apprehended, that the gifts of illumination were in some measure under the direction of the Spirit, as to the time and manner of their exercise, as well as the gifts of healing, miracles, &c. yet I have, for the reasons just now given, altered my opinion in that particular. And though St. Luke informs us, that at the first effusion of the Holy Ghost, "they all spake with tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance;" which led me into my former notion: yet I am very apt to think, on turning it again in my thoughts, that it means no more, than that each man spake in that tongue that the Spirit had given him the knowledge of.

* 2 Tim. v. 23.  
* Ibid. iv. 20.
SECTION XIX.—On the causes, why the miraculous impartations by the Holy Spirit were called the gifts of Christ.

Thus we see why these high vouchsafements are called gifts. It is much more obvious, how they came to be called the gifts of God; the gift of Christ. And Psal. lxxxviii. 18. is quoted and applied by Paul to these gifts, Eph. iv. 7, 8. And most frequently, the gifts of the Holy Ghost; the Holy Ghost being the immediate author of them. They are perhaps also called the heavenly things, Eph. i. 3, where ἐν τοῖς ἐπουράνιοισ, it may be, signifies heavenly things, or gifts of the Spirit of a celestial kind, such as wisdom and prudence, ver. 8, perhaps to distinguish from the gifts of healing and miracles, which are of a more earthly kind. It is still more expressly called, "the heavenly gift." And they are called heavenly things, or gifts, not only as from their nature, but, perhaps, as Christ received them in heaven from the Father, but shed them down from thence, at his sitting at the right-hand of God. For St. Luke acquaints us, that when they were first imparted, there came a sound from heaven, and it filled the house. And there appeared cloven tongues

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¹ Acts viii. 20. xi. 17. ² Eph. iv. 7. ³ Heb. vi. 4.
like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were filled with the Holy Ghost. And as his heavenly kingdom was to be propagated by them, our Saviour had first called these gifts the heavenly things, τὰ ἑαυτῶν, in his discourse with Nicodemus, John iii. 12, the sense of which place seems to me to be this: If you, a master, or teacher, in Israel, do not understand the nature of such an earthly thing, or custom of the kingdom, established over the Jewish nation, as being born of baptism, practised every day in the initiation of proselytes; how will you understand such heavenly things, as the initiation of my disciples, by the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and fire from heaven, if I should proceed farther on that subject? That this is the sense of earthly and heavenly things, appears more fully from ver. 31, 34; compared with ver. 25, 26. By which it is plain, that John the Baptist owns himself to be of the earth, and his baptism earthly: but that Christ is from heaven, and his baptism by the Spirit heavenly, because he had not the Spirit by measure.
SECTION XX.—The miraculous gifts being classed by St. Paul under the two heads "knowledge, and utterance"—excluded those which were imparted before the day of Pentecost.

St. Paul seems to reduce all these gifts under two heads, knowledge and utterance. To knowledge belongs the word of wisdom, the understanding the prophets, the knowledge of mysteries (or of great future events), the discerning of spirits, the pointing out proper ministers to the church, abilities for several sorts of public performances in it; prudence to distribute to the necessities of the saints; to go on the errands of the apostles and churches; and both to advise on several occasions, and also to know that they ought to comply with such advice; the skill to preside over the management of public worship, and the knowledge of tongues, and their interpretation. And to utterance belongs, a fluency of speech about any of these, from fully possessing the matter they talked about, and the language they talked in; a readiness of memory, by the Spirit's bringing all things to their minds that were pertinent to the subject; and such different degrees of courage and resolution as were suited to their several stations and offices; from the assurance of a

1 Cor. i. 5.
and "the utterance of knowledge." 103

farther revelation from God, when necessary, and of God’s assistance and gracious acceptance of their labours and endeavours, whether they succeed in them or no. Thus we see that, on the descent of the Holy Ghost, they gave immediate proof of their knowledge, and ability in utterance; all of them speaking in a vast variety of tongues, the wonderful things of God, according to the prophecy of the prophet Joel,¹ “I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and their sons and daughters shall prophesy: and on my servants, and on my handmaids, I will pour out in those days of my Spirit, and they shall prophesy.” So likewise we find Peter lift up his voice and say, &c.² speaking with all readiness and boldness, and shewing his great knowledge in the prophecies of the Old Testament, and in the Christian-scheme, addressing himself in the-like strain to the people, Acts iii. 12, to the end of the chapter: speaking to the rulers, Acts iv. 8—20. v. 29—33, with as much resolution and eloquence as he had done before to the people: and we read a prayer, Acts iv. 24—31, in a very elevated strain, highly suitable to the occasion on which it was made, and no ways inferior to these discourses. We may also observe, with how much force, eloquence, and

courage, Stephen addresses the council. So likewise St. Paul, as soon as he was filled with the Holy Ghost, immediately preaches Christ in the synagogue, that he is the Son of God; and increasing the more in strength, confounding the Jews; and spake boldly, disputing against the Grecians. When the Holy Ghost fell on Cornelius and his family, they spake with tongues, and magnified God. We may see an instance of the authority with which Peter rebukes Simon Magus, on his notorious impiety; and with which Paul, being full of the Holy Ghost, reprimands Elymas, on his endeavouring to pervert the Roman pro-consul from the right ways of the Lord. And lastly, when the Holy Ghost came on the twelve disciples of John Baptist at Ephesus, St. Luke informs us, that "they spake with tongues, and prophesied." And because they were first by utterance to impart all the wisdom and knowledge they had to the world (for the word was first spoken, and not written); therefore it was that the Holy Ghost came down upon them in tongues; as it came in cloven tongues, to shew the multiplicity of tongues they were to speak; and in cloven tongues, like as of fire, to shew the

1 Acts vii.  2 Ibid. ix. 17.  3 Ver. 21.
4 Ver. 22.  5 Ver. 29.  6 Ibid. x. 46.
7 Ibid. viii. 20—24.  8 Ibid. xiii. 9.  9 Ibid. ix. 1—8.
light and knowledge that was imparted, the zeal and activity of those who had these gifts, in imparting light and knowledge to others; and the great efficacy of the gifts themselves, and of that Spirit by which they spake; by the means of which the words they spake were "not to be a dead sound, but a quickening spirit."

St. Paul summing up the gifts of the Holy Ghost under the heads of knowledge and utterance; both which consist in an illumination of the mind, enriching the minds of those that had them with what was proper to be known by them, and a readiness to utter it; it is evident, that in this account I must exclude the gifts of miracles, healing, and casting out of devils, because they did not proceed from any illumination, or fund of knowledge; but from the immediate power of God, invoked by him who had the faith of miracles, or a full persuasion that God would work a miracle, on his invocation or prayer, for the confirmation of the truth. And to shew, that there is a foundation for distinguishing the working of miracles, healing diseases, and casting out devils, from the gifts of the Holy Ghost, I would offer these considerations:

1. That healing and dispossession were performed by the apostles and the seventy in our Saviour's life-time, according to the commission He gave them, Matt. x. 8. Luke x. 9. Mark vi. 7—14, by a power derived immedi-
ately from Him, as is plain from the words of these texts; see also Luke x. 17, but not by the "power of the Spirit;" by which St. Paul afterwards says, "he performed mighty signs and wonders from Jerusalem to Illyricum:" which plainly follows from what I have proved before, that the Holy Ghost was not, nor could not be given (according to the settled order of things) till our Saviour's ascension.

2. Though the disciples healed diseases, or cast out devils, or wrought miracles by the Spirit after Christ's ascension; and they are therefore once said to be gifts given by the Spirit:* inasmuch as the faith of these was then wrought by the Spirit; yet these not being works peculiar to the dispensation of the Spirit, but common to that dispensation, with the ministry or dispensation of Christ, in whose name they had been wrought before the giving of the Spirit to believers; they are never called, "the Holy Spirit, or the Holy Ghost, or the gifts or distributions of the Spirit, or of the Holy Ghost," either by St. Luke in the Acts (the only book that gives the history of the Holy Ghost), or by any other writer of the New Testament, but always πάντα, σημεῖα, δυνάμεις; wonders, signs, and powers: whereas the gifts of illumination, such as prophecy and speaking with tongues, are constantly stiled so by them; often

* Rom. xv. 19.  

* 1 Cor. xii. 4—10.
χάρις, χαρίσματα, and sometimes ρατισμός and μερισμοί.

3. In some places where the Scripture speaks of these works together, it puts a manifest difference between them. Thus St. Paul says, that “God bore witness to the doctrine which the apostles preached, by signs and wonders, and divers miracles, and gifts (μερισμοί, distributions) of the Holy Ghost,” Heb. ii. 4. And Gal. iii. 5, he says, “He that ministereth to you the Spirit, and worketh miracles among you:” plainly distinguishing the working of miracles from the Spirit.

But though I apprehend all the gifts of the Holy Ghost in their strict acceptation, or the gifts that were peculiar to the dispensation of the Spirit, consisted in illumination; yet I apprehend that that illumination was of two kinds. The one was an illumination of such a nature, as conveyed a system of knowledge, an art or skill, at once to the mind; so as to make the mind possess it, as it does a system of knowledge, an art or skill acquired by study or practice. And the other was an illumination in a particular instance, pro re nata, and that only served the present purpose or occasion. Like the imparting a particular fact, discourse, poem, tune, &c. to the mind, so as to possess it of it first, and then from possessing the person of it, to enable him to utter it. Which
will still distinguish this class of gifts from mere inspiration; such as the prophets (often, if not always) had under the Old Testament, whose mouths were (often, if not always) but the organs of the Spirit, pronouncing what the Spirit dictated, and even without understanding at all times the meaning of what they said. The former kind of illumination is general and extensive; the latter occasional and confined. To the former class belong the gift of wisdom, knowledge, of an evangelist, of a teacher, of a president or ruler, of a deacon, of tongues, of the interpretation of tongues, and of utterance. And to the latter class perhaps belong prediction, discernment of spirits; exhortation, in all its branches of admonition, conviction, reproof, confirmation, and comfort; psalms or hymns, prayer, and the seeing things at a distance; though it is possible, that exhortation, prayer, and psalmody, might be conveyed as an art, as well as that of teaching. Perhaps the gift of knowledge, wisdom, of an evangelist, of a teacher, of a ruler, and of a deacon, were only imparted to such as bore more stated offices in the church. Perhaps the second class of gifts (except the last, which seems to have been peculiar to St. Paul) were imparted to all believers. And I suppose the gift of tongues, interpretation and utterance, were common both to stated officers and private Christians.
The cloven tongues—baptism by fire.

SECTION XXI.—The manner in which the miraculous gifts were imparted, was either by the sudden descent of the Spirit; or by the imposition of hands by the Apostles.

This gift, illumination or enlightening, was communicated two different ways, either immediately by the Spirit's falling on them, or by the laying on of the hands of the apostles. When this illumination came immediately, it seems to have been accompanied with the symbol of "cloven tongues, as of fire, sitting on each of them," that is, in little flames, which resembled tongues; as flame in the Hebrew, is called a tongue of fire." And which the apostle, Peter says that Christ had poured out; that which, says he, "ye see and hear." And from coming in, that symbol is said to fall on them; agreeably to John Baptist's prediction: "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that cometh after me shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire." And this prediction is in the same manner recorded by St. Mark, and St. Luke.

It may not be altogether improper to take notice, on this occasion, that Christ, who thus baptized his apostles and first disciples, had

1 Acts ii. 3.  2 Isa. v. 24.  3 Acts x. 44. xi. 15.  4 Matt. iii. 11.  5 Mark i. 8.  6 Luke iii. 16.
been most probably baptized in the very same manner himself. Peter says,¹ that "Jesus was anointed with the Holy Ghost, "and with power;" which any one may see, by the place it holds in Peter's narration, signifies Christ's baptism. Anointed with the Holy Ghost is therefore the same thing with baptized with the Holy Ghost; and being baptized with the Holy Ghost, in all other instances, signifies being baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire, as we shall see presently; and probably, therefore, signifies the same in the case of our Saviour. That He was baptized with the Holy Ghost, after John Baptist had baptized Him with water; or that the Holy Ghost descended on Him after He came out of the water, all the evangelists relate.² The gospels, indeed, make no mention of fire, or of any glory, yet it is most likely that it was a glory; in which the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape, and with the hovering motion of a dove, and rested upon Him. Justin Martyr says, that it came from the apostles, that the fire came upon Christ as he went into the water, and that the Holy Ghost came upon Him as He came out of the water.³ By which means perhaps it was, that John Baptist knew Jesus when He went into the water, as it

¹ Acts x. 38.
³ Dial. cum Tryph. p. 31.
is plain he did, from his forbidding Him, saying, "I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?" Though we are told, that "John knew Him not;" at least, knew not that He was the person that was to be baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire (which, perhaps, is the meaning of St. John in this passage of his gospel); but by the sign that God had given him, "that on whomsoever he should see the Spirit descending, He it was that should baptize with the Holy Ghost." Which, according to the account of the evangelists, did not happen till after He came out of the water. This is the account given in the gospel of the Ebionites or Nazarenes, καὶ εἶδος περιλαμψε τὴν τόπον φῶς μὴν ἐν Ἰδανὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης λέγει αὐτῷ, Ξέ τίς εἶ, Κύριε.

But whether Jesus himself was baptized with fire or no, yet He foretold what should happen to His disciples, just before His ascension, as John Baptist had done before. Acts i. 4, 5, "And being assembled together with them, commanded them, that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which, saith He, ye have heard of me. For John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost, not many days hence." And when Peter found, that the Holy

\[1\] Matt. iii. 14. \[2\] John i. 31, 33.
Cloven tongues probably rested on

Ghost fell on Cornelius and his family; or, as he says in another place, that "the Holy Ghost fell on them as He did on us (that is, us apostles and our company) at the beginning (that is, with cloven tongues like as of fire), putting no difference between them and us;" then that he remembered the word of the Lord, how that He said, John indeed baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost." By comparing these texts, and particularly Matt. iii. 11. Mark i. 8. Luke iii. 16. together, it is sufficiently plain, that baptizing with the Holy Ghost, and baptizing with the Holy Ghost and with fire, are expressions of the same import and signification; which it is of use on this occasion to observe, and will be on others. It is likewise called, "the pouring out of the Holy Ghost," alluding to the plentiful effusion of it foretold in Joel, "I will pour out my Spirit on all flesh, saith the Lord," Joel ii. 28. And the reason of the phraseology in Joel is the allusion to the plenty that Joel had just before told the people that God would send them, by means of the former and latter rain, ver. 23, and to the Spirit's being represented under the symbol of water in other prophets, as Isa. xliv. 3. xxxv. 7. lv. 1. xii. 3. Ezek. xxxvi. 25. John vii. 37 —40. It is perhaps from the same reason, that it

1 Acts x. 44. 2 Ibid. xi. 15. 3 Ibid. xvi. 9. 4 Ibid. xi. 15, 16.
is called the shedding forth of the Holy Ghost: or, perhaps, rather in allusion to the plentiful unction we have from the holy One, who was Himself the "Anointed, being anointed with the Holy Ghost and with power; or with the oil of gladness above His fellows." I am the more apt to think that the shedding forth of the Holy Ghost refers to this unction, because St. Peter, in the very next verse, plainly refers to the cxth Psalm, where God is represented as swearing to Christ, that He will constitute, or that He had constituted, Him an High-priest (which was done by pouring oil on Him, and anointing Him more plentifully than the other priests; which denoted the inward unction or fitness for His office) for ever after the order of Melchizedek. On the whole, I apprehend, that nobody was said to have the Holy Ghost fall (which denotes His coming down in some visible emblem, as fire), be poured forth, or shed down, on him, or to be "baptized with the Holy Ghost;" but he on whom the Holy Ghost fell immediately, and which I apprehend was always attended with this symbol of cloven tongues, like as of fire. Every text favours this notion but 1 Cor. xii. 13, and that does not seem to be much against it.

Those who had this singular honour and

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1 Acts ii. 23.  2 Ibid. x. 38.  3 Heb. i. 9.  4 Lev. xxi. 10.  5 See Bishop Patrick's Comment on Exod. xxix. 7.
high privilege seem to have had a greater illumination (perhaps in kind as well as degree) than those to whom it was imparted by laying on of the hands of the apostles. For those who were baptized with the Holy Ghost, or on whom the Holy Ghost fell, was poured forth, or shed down, are said in the Acts, to be “filled with the Holy Ghost;” which, though it does not signify a complete endowment with all gifts, or a full revelation of every thing they were ever to have revealed to them; for it is probable they received farther endowments; and it is certain they received farther revelations from time to time (as we see in the case of the hundred and twenty, Acts iv. 23. 29—32, 33; in the case of Peter, who received a revelation to preach to the devout, and of Paul, who received a revelation to preach to the idolatrous Gentiles); yet it signifies a large and plentiful effusion of gifts, sufficient for what they were then to do; and such a great effusion or communication of them, as they could not contain within themselves, but which would overflow, and break out plentifully and powerfully for the unspeakable benefit of others. Thus we find, “they were all filled with the Holy Ghost,” and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.” So Acts iv. 31, where the Holy Ghost seems to have fallen on them a

1 Acts ii. 4.
second time (for it is said, the place was shaken, most probably, by the sound from heaven of a mighty rushing wind, much stronger, perhaps, than the gentler breeze which filled all the house, Acts ii. 2.) they are all said to be "filled with the Holy Ghost, and to speak the word with boldness, and to give witness to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus with great power," ver. 33. And this I believe is what Clement means in his epistle, § 42, by the fulness of the Holy Spirit that he says the apostles went abroad with, publishing that the kingdom of God was at hand. The seven deacons were all "full of the Holy Ghost" before they were chosen. That was, immediately after Christ's ascension; and therefore we have the greatest reason to conclude, that they were all of the hundred and twenty on whom the Holy Ghost descended: since the disciples would probably choose some of the most eminent of the first Christians to this office, on the apostles' directing them to select from among them, "seven men of honest repute, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, for this office." Barnabas is likewise said to be "full of the Holy Ghost;" and that he was one of the hundred and twenty, I have endeavoured to prove in the second Essay. And since we find, that the Holy Ghost fell on Cornelius and his

Acts vi. 3.  
Ibid. xi. 24.
To be filled with the Holy Ghost, implies family, without the laying on of Peter's hands, and before baptism; since St. Luke also says, that the Holy Ghost was poured out on Cornelius and his family, the word used Acts ii. 17; and farther, that the Holy Ghost fell on them: and since Peter likewise declares, "He fell on them as He did on us at the beginning; putting no difference between them and us, and purifying their hearts;" alluding still to the symbol of fire: we ought to conclude, that Cornelius and his family were filled with the Holy Ghost, as well as the hundred and twenty; especially since we see it had the like effects on them as on the hundred and twenty. For as they spake in different tongues the wonderful things of God; so Cornelius and his family immediately spake with tongues, and magnified God; or spake of those great and wonderful things of God, by which His name is magnified. And it seems but highly congruous, that wherever God saw fit, for great and important reasons, to communicate the gifts of the Spirit immediately, and without the intervention of men, that it should be in a more plentiful manner than where He was pleased to impart them by others. And it seems to me still more probable, that when the author of the Acts says, that any one is "full of, or filled with the Holy Ghost," he denotes,

1 Acts xi. 15. 2v. 8. 2 Ibid. ii. 11. 3 Ibid. x. 46.
the possession of the miraculous gifts. 117

the Holy Ghost falling immediately on those who are said to be full of, or filled with it; because these phrases are used in the New Testament on the reviving of prophecy, after it had ceased about three hundred years; when it came on the prophets without the laying on of hands: for the Holy Ghost coming on Zachary, Elizabeth, and John Baptist, they are all said to be full of, or filled with, the Holy Ghost. And our Saviour was filled with the Spirit, receiving it not by measure.

SECTION XXII.—The visible descent of the Spirit was only permitted on rare and important occasions.

This descent, or pouring out of the Holy Ghost, was reserved by God for some great and necessary occasions of more than ordinary importance and consequence to the whole church. The Spirit seems to me to have been poured out in this manner but five times. The first was on the hundred and twenty, or the apostles and their company: and these received the first fruits of the Spirit; or the choicest gifts of the Spirit, and in the highest degree; though no doubt the apostles, the choicest and the highest of all. In which sense I apprehend St. Paul is to be understood, when he says, "And not

1 Luke i. 15, 41, 67. 2 Rom. viii. 23.
only they (that is, the new creature, or the new creation, or Christians in general), but we (that is, we apostles) who received the first fruits of the Spirit, even we, notwithstanding these superior gifts we have received, whereby we are the most fully assured that we are heirs of God, and shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption (or the grave), into the glorious liberty of the sons of God; even we groan (under our present suffering), waiting (or while we wait) for the adoption, namely, the redemption of our body.” And that the first fruits signify the choicest portion of that of which they were the first fruits, may be seen 1 Cor. xv. 20, 23. Rom. xvi. 5. 1 Cor. i. 15, 16. James i. 18. Now the apostles, and the rest of the hundred and twenty, received these high communications of the Spirit, that they themselves might be thereby fully assured of the exaltation of Christ to the right-hand of God, or to all power. This is the use St. Peter makes of it, Acts ii. 23; for he says, that “Christ being by the right-hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, hath shed forth this, which ye see and hear.” The Holy Ghost likewise descended on the hundred and twenty, in order to qualify some of them, namely, the apostles, to testify and prove this great truth, together with the other great facts of Christianity—to teach the whole
took place on rare occasions.

scheme—to foretell the greater events of it—and to qualify others for other services in the church. By this means it gave some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, and others ministers of the church. And that the Holy Ghost came upon all the apostles and their company, seems evident from this, that it is said, “they were all with one accord in one place,” when the Holy Ghost fell upon them.1 Who can they here mean but the hundred and twenty men and women in the former chapter, who “continued with one accord in supplication and prayer,” Acts i. 13, 14, to whom Peter spoke, ver. 15—23, who appointed two for the apostleship, from which Judas fell, ver. 23, who prayed, ver. 24, 25, and gave forth their lots, ver. ult.? Who but they on whom the prophecy of Joel was fulfilled, which foretold, that “the Spirit should be poured out on daughters as well as sons, and on handmaids as well as servants,” ver. 17, 18, and who therefore are represented under the description of “the eleven, and them that were with them,” Luke xxiv. 33, and are called, “the apostles’ company,” chap. iv. 23, being those who, chap. i. 21, are said to have “accompanied with them all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among them; and who being again assembled

1 Acts ii. 1.
On the second visible descent

together, were all filled with the Holy Ghost,“ chap. iv. 31, “and they who were all scattered abroad?” Acts viii. 1.

This seems to have been the second time that the Spirit was poured out on them. As kings under the Old Testament seem sometimes to have had an “anointing with fresh oil” from above; or a new supply of gifts to fit them for their high office. And this second descent of the Spirit appears to me to have been to encourage them, on their first being brought before the council or the Sanhedrim, and threatened by them. Which perhaps God saw necessary to support them (who had till a little before kept in their upper room for fear of the Jews), under the first shock of being forbid to preach the gospel by the highest court of civil and ecclesiastical judicature among the Jews; and which every Jew used to have in the utmost reverence. And therefore, as they pray for boldness, notwithstanding the threatening of the council; so it is added, after this descent of the Holy Ghost, that God answered their prayers, and that they spake the word with boldness. They also pray, that notwithstanding the “threatenings of the council, God would stretch forth his hand to heal, and that signs

1 See Psal. xcii. 10. 2 Acts iv. 21, 31. 3 Ibid. ver. 31.
and wonders may be done by the name of Jesus.” And perhaps the Spirit now descended on them all, not only to fill them all with courage; but to give them all the faith of miracles in a higher degree; or at least to those among them, who had not hitherto received these gifts: as He had filled all of them with the gifts of knowledge and utterance before, namely, Acts ii.; for as St. Luke observed on the first descent, that they spake in many tongues the wonderful things of God; so he observes, that on this descent of the Holy Ghost, they spake the word with boldness; and adds, that “with great power gave the apostles witness to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus, and that great grace was now upon them all,” ver. 33. I have already explained the meaning of grace. And St. Luke in the next chapter likewise takes notice, not only of their striking Ananias and Sapphira dead; but of the many signs and wonders wrought by the apostles; and of the great conversions which those signs and wonders produced. And as he had observed, on the first descent of the Spirit, that many wonders and signs were done by the apostles;* so now having observed, on this second descent, that the apostles did not only most powerfully attest the resurrection of Christ, but that “great grace,” or a great portion

* Acts v. 1—16.  
* Ibid. ii. 43.
of the gifts of the Spirit, "was upon them all;" he adds, that "Stephen (who was not an apostle) did great wonders and miracles among the people; and was filled with such wisdom, and other gifts of the Spirit, that those who disputed with him were not able to resist."

The third time was, on Saul, who we must conclude, from Acts ix. 17, was filled with the Holy Ghost, and is expressly said to be "full of it." The Holy Ghost descended on him, as I suppose, to qualify him the better to be a teacher and a prophet, and afterwards the apostle of the Gentiles; to remove any objections that might be raised to his apostleship, if the Holy Ghost had not fallen on him, as it did on the rest of the apostles; and that he might not in this respect, any more than in any other, be "a whit behind the chiefest of them." But I refer my reader to the second Essay, for the proof of this assertion.

The fourth was, to confirm it to be the will of God, that the proselytes of the gate, though deemed so unclean by the Jews, as not to be fit to be conversed with, should be taken into a full participation of all the blessings of the gospel; without any further conformity to any of the other laws of Moses, than those they were obliged to submit to as proselytes of

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<sup>1</sup> Acts iv. 33.  <sup>2</sup> Ibid. vi. 8, 9, 10.  <sup>3</sup> Ibid. xiii. 9.
the gate. And to this end it was, that I conceive the Holy Ghost fell on Cornelius and his family, whilst the word was preaching to them; and before they had so much as professed their belief of it, or had been baptized into it: the Holy Ghost thus himself leading the way to their being received into, and owned by, the church. This is the use that Peter makes of it to the Jews that were with him. For he says,¹ "Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" And he makes the like use of this great circumstance to the Jews at Jerusalem, who expostulated so warmly with him on his going in unto this family of the uncircumcised. For says he,² "And as I began to speak (before I had concluded my discourse, and much more before I could hear their confession of faith, or baptize them, if I had so intended), the Holy Ghost fell on them, as it did on us at the beginning. Forasmuch then as God gave them the like gifts as he did unto us, what was I, that I could withstand God?" And we see this immediately silenced them, notwithstanding their first contention with him about it.³ For on hearing that the Holy Ghost fell upon them in this manner, "they held their

¹ Acts x. 45, 47.  
² Ibid. xi. 15.  
³ Ibid. ver. 2.
peace, and glorified God, saying, Then hath God also unto the Gentiles granted repentance unto life.” 1 And when this spirit of bigotry arose again in some that believed, who were of the Pharisees; first at Antioch, 2 and afterwards at Jerusalem; 3 and they strenuously insisted, that the proselytes of the gate, converted to Christianity, should be subject to all the laws of Moses; the Holy Ghost falling down on Cornelius and his family, who were not subject to all those laws, carries the debate and the decree in favour of the proselytes of the gate; and the assembly declare them to be free from any of those laws, but the four then mentioned; to which they were subject, as proselytes of the gate. 4 Peter particularly says of this descent of the Holy Ghost upon them, that “the Holy Ghost bore them witness that He had purified their hearts by faith;” how unclean soever we have been used to think them, for want of an entire obedience to all the laws of Moses. 5

The fifth and last time that the Holy Ghost, as I imagine, fell on any without the intervention of hands, was on the first harvest of idolatrous Gentiles that were converted to the Christian faith; which was at Antioch in Pisidia. An account of which we have Acts xiii. 16—50.

1 Acts xi. 18. 2 Ibid. xv. 1. 3 Ver. 5. 4 Ver. 7—12, 28. 5 See the Essay on this decree.
For it is said of them, ver. 52, that "they were filled with the Holy Ghost." Which I apprehend to be a phraseology in the Acts, denoting the descent of the Holy Ghost without the intervention of hands: as in the instances, and for the reasons, I have already given. And I am the rather inclined to think, that this expression denotes the immediate descent of the Holy Ghost upon them, because St. Paul seems to have an eye to it in the beginning of his discourse in this chapter, ver. 14, 15, where he speaks of John's baptism, and, as it seems to me, in contradistinction to Christ's baptizing with the Holy Ghost and with fire, though he does not quote the passage quite out. This part of his discourse runs thus: "Of David's seed hath God—raised a Saviour. When John had first preached, before His coming, the baptism of repentance unto all the people of Israel. And as John fulfilled his course he said, Whom think ye that I am? I am not He. But behold there cometh One after me, whose shoes of His feet I am not worthy to loose," ver. 24, 25. And the words, "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire," though not express, are, as I apprehend, to be understood. This, indeed, was the assembly that met in the synagogue the first sabbath-day: and though it chiefly consisted of Jews and religious prose-
lytes, or proselytes of the gate, as appears ver. 16, 42, yet there seem to have been some idolatrous Gentiles among them, as one would be led to think, by their being distinguished from the Jews and religious proselytes, ver. 42, compared with ver. 43. They do not seem to be fully convinced this sabbath-day, but desire to hear farther from them on the next, when they, and great multitudes of other nations, Gentiles, believed; and then probably were filled with the Holy Ghost.

If any should except to the proof I bring to the Holy Ghost's descending on the idolatrous Gentiles, from the expression used Acts xiii. 52, that "they were filled with the Holy Ghost;" and should allege, against the arguments deduced from that expression, that "Saul was filled with the Holy Ghost,"¹ who has been generally thought to have received the Holy Ghost by the laying on of Ananias's hands: and if what may be collected to the contrary from what I have urged, or what I shall further urge against it in the second Essay, shall not fully satisfy any one; I desire it may be considered, that as this is the only instance where it can possibly be pretended that any one is filled with the Holy Ghost by the intervention of man's

¹ Acts ix. 17. xiii. 9.
hands; so there are in this case many things that render it perfectly singular. For, on the supposition that Ananias imparted the Holy Ghost to Saul,

1. Ananias, who was but a disciple, imparts it, and imparts it by laying on of his hands; though it is allowed, that none but apostles had that privilege in any other case, as we shall see more fully by and by.

2. He imparts it to Saul, who is designed to be an apostle; and the only one, on whom the Holy Ghost did not descend without the intervention of hands. And on this supposition,

3. Ananias had a particular commission from Christ to go and lay his hands on Saul¹ (though, as I think, only to give him sight), and Saul had a vision that Ananias was to come and lay his hands on him. This therefore is a case so particular, that no conclusion can be justly drawn from it: nor can it be inferred, because Saul was filled with the Holy Ghost by the laying on of the hands of Ananias (if that was the case, as I think it was not), that the same expression, "filled with the Holy Spirit," implies in other passages, that the visible descent of the Spirit followed the imposition of hands.

¹ Acts ix. 11.
I do not only conclude, that the Holy Ghost fell on the first harvest of heathen converts, as it did on the apostles and their company, on Saul, and on Cornelius and his family, from the expression used concerning them, that “they were filled with the Holy Ghost;” but from the circumstance of their case, compared with that of the first fruits of the proselyted Gentiles converted to Christianity. For let it be considered, that Cornelius was a sincere worshipper of the true God, gave much alms to the people, and prayed to God always; and it is by far the most reasonable to suppose that his family, and so the friends he called together, were devout Gentiles too: and that they were careful in abstaining from things offered to idols, from fornication, from things strangled, and from blood; abstinences which were very agreeable to the Jews. Farther, if the immediate descent of the Holy Ghost was necessary to bear witness to Cornelius and his family, holy and devout persons, and not so offensive to the Jews as idolaters were, that God had “purified their hearts by faith;” was it not as necessary to bear witness to those abominable idolaters that he had purified theirs? Was it not as necessary also to justify Paul in conversing with these, and admitting them to all the privileges

Acts x. 2.
Cornelius, and his family.

of the gospel, whilst he declared them free from any obedience to any one of the laws of Moses; as it was to justify Peter for admitting the others (who were allowed to live in their country, and worship at their temple, and in their synagogues) to the privileges of the gospel, on continuing to submit to the observance of some of them? And perhaps the giving the account of this immediate descent of the Holy Ghost, without any laying on of hands, on these first converts at Antioch and Pisidia, is the reason why St. Luke uses that expression concerning Paul and Barnabas’s relation of what had passed in their peregrination to the church of Antioch in Syria, at their return to that church, that they rehearsed “all that God had done with them” (μετ’ αὐτῶν). Whereas, otherwise it had been more natural to say by them (δι’ αὐτῶν).

I am the more confirmed in my opinion, that the Holy Ghost fell upon the idolatrous Gentiles at Antioch in Pisidia, as well as on the first fruits of the proselyted Gentiles at Cæsarea, from observing that he did not fall on the Samaritans; but was given to them by the laying on of hands. The Samaritans of these times were the descendants of those of the twelve

1 Acts viii. 16. 2 Ver. 17.
tribes who remained when the body of the people were carried captive into Assyria; of some that returned of the heathens from Cuthah; of apostate Jews, who, with Sanballat, first built a temple at Mount Gerizim, in opposition to the temple at Jerusalem; of many of the discontented Jews, who resorted to them. These all worshipped the God of Israel, had the Pentateuch for the rule of their worship, but worshipped at mount Gerizim instead of Jerusalem. These Samaritan Jews therefore our Saviour preached to, as well as to the Jews of Jerusalem and of Judea, though he said, "he was not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel;" and was, as St. Paul says, "the Minister of the circumcision." And as some went to different parts in the first dispersion, some as far as Phenice, Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching the word "to the Jews only" (the direction for teaching not being then understood to extend farther); so Philip goes and preaches at Samaria, without any particular commission from God for that purpose. Nor is he at all questioned about it, as Peter afterwards was, for going unto Cornelius. But on the apostles'

2 John v.
4 Rom. xv. 8.
5 Acts xi. 19.
6 Ibid. chap. viii.
7 Ibid. xü. 2, 3.
hearing of his success, they immediately send down Peter and John to impart the Holy Ghost to them, without any hesitation or debate. So that it is plain, the Samaritans were considered as Jews by Christ, by His apostles, and by the first preachers of the word. And so our Saviour foretells they should; saying, that the apostles "should be His witnesses in Jerusalem, and Judæa, and Samaria" (though when he foretells their going to the Gentiles it is in darker terms), namely, "and to the uttermost parts of the earth."

It seems very probable to me, that such of the Samaritans as believed in Christ, declared their resolution to quit the worship at Mount Gerizim, and to adhere for the future to the worship at Jerusalem. I think those cannot be well supposed to do otherwise, considering it is plain from John iv. 19—27, that the Samaritans expected, that when the Messiah came, he would determine the great question between them and the other Jews; and at the same time knew the full decision that Jesus gave in favour of the other Jews; and if the Samaritans did on their believing make such a declaration, there was then no difference between them and the strictest Jews; and nothing that could make the least hesitation, whether they should be

Acts i. 8.
readily received into the church. But, however this matter was, it is certain, that for some of the foregoing reasons, if not for this, or for some others not so fully known to us, there was no difficulty made, either in going or sending to the Samaritans, or in receiving them into the church. Now as God in nature does nothing in vain, but proportions every thing in just number, weight, and measure; so does He also in the operations of the Spirit in the new creation. It being therefore well understood, that the Samaritans were to be considered as Jews, there was no particular revelation or commission given to preach to them; nor was it necessary for the Holy Ghost to fall on them, to justify Philip in preaching to them, or the apostles in receiving them into the Christian church. And therefore here things go on in their ordinary course, and the Spirit is imparted to them by the laying on of hands. But where a special commission is necessary to direct any of the apostles to go and preach to men, who were not admitted to converse (or even live among the Jews, when they could help it), there the Holy Ghost seems to have fallen upon them, to justify the messenger he had sent on that errand (as Peter to the proselyted, and Paul to the idolatrous Gentiles), to bear witness to the per-

* Selden de Jur. L.
sons he had sent them to, and to silence all the opposition and clamour that might be made against these messengers, or the persons sent to on that account. And perhaps it is this immediate descent of the Holy Ghost on these Gentiles, that St. Paul refers to, when he says, "that he was the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles (or perhaps the first fruits of the idolatrous Gentiles) might be acceptable; being sanctified by the Holy Ghost (alluding perhaps to the oil that was to be poured on the first fruits, and possibly referring to Isaiah lxvi. 20)," as Peter says, "The Holy Ghost bore witness, that He had purified Cornelius's and his family's hearts by faith" (who were the first fruits of the devout Gentiles); alluding perhaps to the symbol of fire, in which it is most likely it fell upon them; or perhaps to the notion of baptism in general, which is called purification, or it may be to both. And these first fruits of the devout and idolatrous Gentiles being thus declared clean and holy, the whole lump was declared so too; as St. Paul argues in a like case, Rom. xi. 16, from whence perhaps it is, that St. Paul speaks sometimes in his epistles to the believing Gentiles among the Romans, and the Colossians, where he had not then been

1 Rom. xv. 16.  2 John iii. 25.
in a strain as if they had all the Spirit; for the first fruits under the law consecrated the whole harvest; though not in so high a degree as those first fruits themselves were by which the harvest was consecrated.

SECTION XXIII.—The probable reason, why the Holy Spirit was not thus miraculously imparted by Christ immediately after His Ascension.

These seem to me to have been the several and the only instances of the pouring out of the Spirit. But the time of the first and greatest of these effusions deserves our particular attention. It was ten days after Christ's ascension, Acts i. 3, compared with Acts xi. 1. Far be it from me to pretend to give any other account of this celestial transaction than that to which the Scriptures lead me: and though I cannot pretend, from what has occurred to me on my reading them, to explain why ten days precisely are allotted to it; yet I think there are plain hints why this effusion was not made immediately after Christ was parted from the apostles. These hints I will mention with the modesty that becomes so great an occasion, and submit them to the judgement of the diligent and candid readers of the Bible.

After Christ had finished all the work that God had given Him to do, had shewed Himself alive
to the apostles after His passion, and had given them the commandments which He saw necessary at that time for their conduct, He is wafted up from the ground, gradually mounts the air in their sight, till a cloud of glory received Him out of it. Thus, after His conquering death, and Him that had the power of death, that is, the devil, He ascends in triumph in the "chariots of God, which are twenty thousand, even thousands of angels;" as Jehovah descended on Mount Sinai at the giving of the law. In them He ascends far above the heavens, "leading captivity captive:" when first entering the holy of holies for us, He was seated on the "throne at the right-hand of the Majesty on high; far exalted above all principality and power, and had a name given Him above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord;" angels, and authorities, and powers being made subject to Him." Nor did any thing remain "that was not put under His feet, until the consummation of all things, Him only excepted who placed them in this subjection to Him." He is then anointed with "the oil of gladness," or with the Holy Ghost, "above His fellows," as the King and head of His church; or: "filled with all fulness, re-

1 Psal. lxviii. 17, 18.
2 Phil. ii. 9, 12.
3 Heb. i. 3, 9.
ceiving the promise of the Father, even gifts for
men, that out of His fulness He might fill all
things, and we might receive grace for grace.”
To such a solemnity as this, ten days were ap-
pointed: at the end of which, after He had thus
entered into the most holy place, was seated on
His throne, was fitted for all mediatorial power,
and invested with it; He, out of His royal bounty,
gives gifts unto men, and blesses them with all
spiritual blessings from the “heavenly places;”
fitting some to be apostles, some to be prophets,
some to be evangelists, some to be pastors and
teachers for the work of the ministry, for the
edifying of the church;” by their ministry of the
word of reconciliation, “He ruled in the midst
of His enemies,” subduing them immediately
from the “womb of the morning, by this the rod
of His strength, or power; and making them a
willing people in this the day of His power:”*
who, in token of their ready subjection to His
just authority, pay Him the homage which was
proper to recognize Him as the Lord and heir of
all things; and offer their professions for the
support of His kingdoms, by relieving the ne-
cessities of the ministers, and of those needy
subjects of which it was chiefly composed.
This consideration of the time of the first and
greatest effusion of the Holy Ghost may help us

1 Eph. i. 3. 2 Psal. cx. 2, 3.
to explain what St. John says, that "the Holy Ghost was not given because Jesus was not glorified." Thus much may be observed in general about the time of this effusion. But St. Luke, having pointed out another circumstance of time relating to it, very particularly informs us, that it was "when the feast of Pentecost was fully come." Now the reason why God seems to have chosen that time for this great event, was to shew, that as in Christ's suffering at the feast of passover, Christ was our true passover; so the giving of the Spirit was that which was prefigured by the feast of Pentecost; as it is most probable he was born at the feast of tabernacles, to point out to us, that the Word, or the brightness of the Father's glory, "was come to dwell (or tabernacle) among us." The feast of Pentecost was appointed to be the morrow after seven weeks from the passover; that is, fifty days. The reason of this feast was to commemorate the giving of the law at Mount Sinai; it being precisely fifty days from the night that the children of Israel observed the first passover to God's giving the law there. Whence all the Jewish writers conclude, that this feast was instituted in commemoration of giving the

1 John vii. 39. 2 Acts ii. 1.
5 See Bishop Patrick's Com. on Exod. xix. 1.
law: which Maimonides says was the great reason of bringing the children of Israel out of Egypt. Thus it was likewise fifty days after Christ our passover was sacrificed for us (who rested in His grave on the sabbath, and by rising, on the first day of the week, when the sheaf, or the first-fruits of the barley-harvest, was offered unto the Lord, became the first-fruits of those who slept); it was, I say, from that day fifty days, that the Holy Ghost was shed down on the apostles and their company; to teach them first the laws and doctrines of Christ, or the things of the kingdom of Christ; and then to enable them to publish them to others, from Mount Sion, or Jerusalem (the place that God had appointed for His worship, and from whence Christ's sceptre was to go forth to Jews and Gentiles),\(^2\) who had been ignominiously crucified there fifty days before. At this feast the first-fruits of wheat harvest were to be offered to God in two loaves, which were for the use of the priests.\(^3\) And on those loaves, as on all the meat-offerings, oil was poured. After which they began to gather in their wheat-harvest, and complete it. Thus likewise the apostles, having "themselves received the first-fruits of the Spirit," gathered in that day three thousand

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1 Mor. Nev.  
2 Psal. cx. 2. Luke xxiv. 47.  
3 Exod. xii. 12. xxiii. 16. Lev. xxiii. 17.
souls, whom they presented, or offered up unto God, and unto the Lamb, sanctified by the Holy Ghost, as a kind of first-fruits of His creatures, or His new creatures, or as the first-fruits of the Jewish Christian-church. And then, agreeably to the feasting and rejoicing at all those feasts, and particularly at this of Pentecost; all the first Christians continued daily in the temple; “and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness, as well as singleness of heart; praising God also, as well as having favour with the people.” And the apostles proceed farther in their great harvest. Thus was this day well suited to the dignity of the event, as well as to confirm the truth of the Christian religion, and to furnish several moral instructions, to those who consider this circumstance of time with the attention it deserves.

And as to the feast of Pentecost being fully come, it carries in it, as Dr. Lightfoot learnedly observes, a manifest reference to the institution of Pentecost; which was to be on the morrow after the sabbath, or after the seventh sabbath from the passover; which makes the fifty days complete, and was called, “the day of the first-fruits,” namely, of wheat-harvest. But as the

1 Deut. xvi. 11. 2 Acts ii. 46, 47. 3 Numb. xxviii. 26.
Jews reckoned their days evening and morning; this fiftieth day began Saturday-evening, but was not fully come, or completed, till the first day of the week, when the Holy Ghost fell on them in the morning.¹

SECTION XXIV.—On the different gifts of the Spirit, which were imparted by the visible descent, and by the laying on of hands.

When the Holy Ghost did not descend, but was communicated by the laying on of hands; it is called, the giving and receiving the Holy Ghost,² and the ministering of the Spirit,³ and imparting spiritual gifts.⁴

I cannot tell whether the consideration of these two different ways, by which the Holy Ghost came on believers, either immediately, and in the symbol of cloven tongues as of fire, or by the laying on of hands, will not help us through a difficulty that occurs Heb. vi. 2, where the doctrine of baptisms, and of laying on of hands, are reckoned among the first principles of Christianity. May not the sense of that place be this; namely, the meaning of the doctrine of baptisms, be the baptism of water by which all believers, and the baptism of the

¹ Acts ii. 15. ² Ibid. xviii. 15, 17, 18, 19. ³ Gal. iii. 5. ⁴ Rom. i. 11.
Holy Ghost and fire be the baptism by which the first disciples among the Jews, and the first converts among the devout and idolatrous Gentiles, were initiated? And the meaning of the laying on of hands, signify the conferring these gifts on believers, who had not received them immediately (by the Holy Ghost's coming down upon them with fire) by the laying on of the hands of the apostles: and so both these doctrines be the first principles of Christianity, inasmuch as baptisms are the first entrance into it, and the laying on of hands the great evidence of it; as faith and repentance are the substance of it, and as a resurrection to eternal judgement is the great motive to induce mankind to embrace it?

The most remarkable things which seem to attend the conferring the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands, are,

1. That none but apostles could confer it. But I shall do no more than mention this here; referring the reader to the second Essay, to which this head more properly belongs.

2. The next thing remarkable in the conferring of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of the apostles' hands is, that they seem to have communicated it to none but believers (I mean believers unto righteousness), and to all believers where they came: whereas, the Holy Ghost fell down but on a few, and very rarely.
That the apostles gave it to none but believers, appears from hence; that they always conferred it after baptism, when with the mouth, "confession was made of what they believed in their heart; making the answers of a good conscience." So we find it was, Acts ii. 38—42. viii. 12—18. xix. 5—8. And Acts ii. 38, Peter tells the Jews, in answer to their question, "What shall we do? Repent and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." And because the Spirit was always imparted after baptism (the case of Cornelius only excepted), therefore are believers said to be "baptized by one Spirit into one body, whether Jews or Gentiles, bond or free." ¹ And hence came the ancients to talk of the illumination conferred at baptism, as I have already mentioned on another occasion. From hence it is that St. Paul places the washing of regeneration, and of the renewing of the Holy Ghost, together (διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἄγιου).² And Acts ii. 92, Peter and the other apostles tell the council, that they are Christ's witnesses, and so is the Holy Ghost, whom he hath given to them that obey him." And St. Paul tells the Galatians, that it is because "they

¹ 1 Cor. xiii. 13.  
² Tit. iii. 5.
are sons, that God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son into their hearts." And because "Simon Magus’s heart was not right with God, but that he was in the gall of bitterness, and the bond of iniquity; therefore he had neither part nor lot in that matter." And St. Jude joins men’s being sensual, and not having the Spirit, together.

That the communication of the Spirit, some way or other, was to be very general, appears from the ancient prophecies of this matter. David speaks of Christ’s scattering His gifts, and loading us with His benefits. And Isaiah, foretelling various circumstances of the Messiah’s kingdom, adds, "And all thy children shall be taught of God." Which our Saviour applies to Himself, who was to teach the world by the Holy Spirit. Jeremiah also, prophesying of these days, says, "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah. Not according to the covenant which I made with their fathers, in the day that I took them out of the land of Egypt. But this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of

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1 Gal. iv. 4.  
2 Acts viii. 23.  
4 Psal. lxviii. 18, 19.  
5 Isa. liii. 4, 5.  
6 Ibid. liv. 13.  
7 John vi. 46.
The Holy Spirit imparted at baptism

Israel after those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for they shall all know me from the least to the greatest of them, saith the Lord. The promise is here very general; “all, all from the least to the greatest, shall be so taught of God as to want little assistance from others.” Which St. Paul refers to his times, Heb. viii. 8—12, and perhaps alludes to 2 Cor. iii. 3. The words of Joel are likewise as extensive; for he says, “I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh.” And thus John Baptist speaks in a manner to give us to understand, that Christ’s baptism by the Holy Ghost and fire should be as extensive as his by water. All this shews, that the communication of the Spirit was to be very general and diffusive, some way or other. How far it was communicated immediately, we have seen already. And that it was given, or ministered, by the apostles “to all believers where they came,” who had not received it before, may appear from the following instances. Peter conferred the Holy Ghost on the three thousand souls that were added to the church at the feast of Pentecost. For when they, being pricked to the heart by

1 Jer. xxxi. 31—35.  
2 Joel ii. 28.
his discourse, say, "Men and brethren, what shall we do? Peter answers, Repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of your sins, and ye shall receive the Holy Ghost. For the promise (that is, of the Holy Ghost, particularly called the promise of the Father, Luke xxiv. 40. Gal. i. 4.) is to you and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call." Nothing can be more express to this purpose. And it is said, "Then they that gladly received his word were baptized," and no doubt received the promise thereupon, that is, the gift of the Holy Ghost. For St. Luke adds, "And the same day there were added to them (who had the gift of the Holy Ghost) about three thousand souls." And Peter speaks of the Holy Ghost, or the gift of the Holy Ghost, as given by God to them (or to all them) that obey him." And that the gift of the Holy Ghost is here spoken of, seems plain from this; that the Holy Ghost is here spoken of as a witness of Christ's resurrection and exaltation at the right-hand of God: which we learn this gift was brought as the great proof of by Peter; for he says, "Therefore being by the right-hand of God exalted, and having received of the

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1 Acts ii. 38, 39.
2 Ibid. v. 32.
3 Ver. 41.
4 Ibid. ii. 33.
Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, he hath shed forth this which ye now see and hear." And what could be a stronger proof that He was ascended on high, than that He gave these gifts unto men? as St. Paul says, Eph. iv. 8, 9, 10, 11. As soon as the Samaritans were converted by Philip, and were baptized, the apostles send down Peter and John, as a thing of course, to lay their hands on them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost: "And they prayed for them, and laid their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost." And St. Luke's remark, that before the apostles' coming down to Samaria, "the Holy Ghost had as yet fallen upon none of them," seems to intimate, that the Holy Ghost had hitherto been imparted to all believers; which is the more probable, because hitherto all the converts had been made at Jerusalem, where the apostles were at hand to impart it. When Paul comes to Derbe and Lystra, he imparts the gifts of the Holy Ghost to Timothy. That he imparted them to Timothy, is plain from St. Paul's own assertion, 2 Tim. i. 6, 7; and of this I shall have occasion to speak more fully afterwards: and that he imparted them then is highly probable, because Paul would then have him to go forth with him, and employed him very soon after in assisting

1 Acts viii. 12. 2 Ibid. ver. 14—18. 3 Ibid. xvi. 1.
him to convert the Thessalonians (as may be
gathered from 1 Thess. i. 1, 5. iii. 2); if he did
not employ him in the ministry before, namely,
in Phrygia, Galatia, Mysia, and other parts of
Macedonia. When St. Paul comes to Ephesus,
and finds certain disciples there, he asks them, as
a question of course, and that he constantly asked
of all disciples he did not know, “Have ye
received the Holy Ghost?” and on finding they
had not, as a thing of course, and constantly
practised, “ he first baptizes them in the name
of the Lord Jesus, and then lays his hands on
them, and the Holy Ghost came upon them.”

SECTION XXV.—The apostles, as well as our Sa-
vior and John the Baptist, constantly refer to the
miraculous gifts.

The circumstance, I think, which must put
this matter out of all doubt is, that St. Paul
had imparted the Holy Ghost to those Chris-
tians where he had been; as is plain in the case
of the Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Phi-
lippians, and the Thessalonians.

All the members of the church of Corinth
seem to have had it in a very plentiful manner.
This seems to be implied in what St. Paul says,
1 Cor. xii. 7, “But the manifestation of the
Spirit is given to every man to profit withal.”

Acts xix. 1—8.
This is expressly asserted by Clement, in his Epistle, § 2. And I think it may be inferred from several passages in St. Paul’s epistles to them: Since we find that they spake with tongues, they prayed, they interpreted, they prophesied; or, in St. Paul’s phrase, they “blessed with the Spirit;" they had a doctrine; they had a tongue; they had a revelation; they had an interpretation.” * Insomuch that he says, “That the testimony of Christ was confirmed in them, by their being enriched in all utterance, and all knowledge;’ so that they came behind in no gift;’ and were not inferior to any of the other churches.”’ This plainly shews, that these gifts were at least frequent in the other churches. There is another text in this epistle which is as fully to this purpose, with the addition of such a supplement as seems necessary to make the same complete, and which some of the versions have accordingly made, namely, 1 Cor. xiv. 33, when, after St. Paul had given several directions about the due exercise of the gifts of the Spirit, he enforces them by saying, “For God is not the author of confusion, but of peace (as I teach, or as the practice is), in all the churches of the saints.” 4 For with this necessary supplement to the sense, the implication is obvious, that he

1 Cor. xiv. 16. 1 Ver. 26. 1 Ibid. i. 5, 6.
4 Ver. 7. 5 2 Cor. xii. 12.
4 See Mill in loc.
had given like directions, or that there was a like practice, to what he now taught them, concerning the exercise of these gifts of the Spirit, in all the other churches of the Saints. St. Paul tells them, that “He who anointed them is God;” that is, “had given the Spirit of prophecy;” who hath also sealed us, and given us the earnest of the Spirit;” that is, who had given them this earnest of the Spirit by him, “as an able minister of the New Testament, not of the letter, but of the Spirit;” approving himself to them as the minister of God in much patience—long suffering—and the Holy Ghost.”

That these gifts were very common in this church, where St. Paul had continued so long, appears from this, that he proves each of these churches to be but one body, because they had but one spirit; and that though that Spirit gave different gifts, yet they were all for the use of that one body. Just as there is but one soul and one body, though there are several members fitted for the different services of that one body, and directed to those services by one soul. From hence he likewise demonstrates the duty of love and esteem they owe to each other, since as the meanest member performed some

1 2 Cor. i. 21. 2 Ver. 21.
3 Ibid. iii. 6. 4 Ibid. vi. 4—7.
5 See 1 Cor. xii. Eph. iv. 3, 4, 7, 12, 13, 15, 16.
useful and necessary, though different office to the body, by some gift of this one Spirit, and was therefore taken care of by the body; so there was not the meanest member in the church, but having some gift of the Spirit, he rendered some considerable service to the church.

From this place, as well as others, we may by the way observe, that these gifts were to be exercised in the assemblies of Christians. There at least they were exercised with the greatest variety, and frequently to the greatest profit. Our Saviour had promised, that "where two or three were gathered together, He would be in the midst of them." This was a great incitement to love and unity, and a very strong reason why they should not forsake the assembling themselves together, as St. Paul tells the Hebrews the manner of some of them was: "but exhort one another" (παρακαλοῦντες); which we have before observed was one of the gifts of the Spirit. The same thing appears from such epistles to those other churches as have come to our hands. St. Paul asks the Galatians, "Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or the hearing of faith?" And proves the truth of the gospel to them by this, that "they (or the Gentiles) had received the promise of the Spirit through faith;" and tells them, that "because they are

1 Cor. xii. 13—26. Matt. xviii. 20. 2 Heb. x. 25. 3 Gal. iii. 2. 4 Gal. iii. 14.
sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into their hearts; and that through this Spirit, they did wait for the hope of righteousness by faith."  And finally in the last chapter he says, "Brethren, if any man is overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one of the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted." He blesses "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us Gentiles (to whom the epistle entitled to the Ephesians was written), with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ:" with all spiritual blessings, ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ," might be rendered, "with all blessings of the Spirit." St. Paul styles the gifts of the Holy Ghost εὐλογία ἐφαγγελίου, the blessings of the gospel. And that the expression signifies the gifts of the Holy Ghost may appear from comparing Rom. i. 11, where he says, I long to see you, that I may impart some spiritual gift, χάρισμα τὶ πνευματικὸν, the same with the εὐλογία εφαγγελίου here. And that the promise of the Spirit is styled by this apostle εὐλογία τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ, "the blessing of Abraham," Gal. iii. 14. The calling the gifts of the Spirit, spiritual blessings, the blessings of the gospel, the blessing of Abraham, may probably be in allusion to Isa.

1 Gal. iv. 6.  2 Ibid. v. 5.  3 Ibid. vi. 1.
4 Eph. i. 3.  5 Rom. xv. 29.
The sealing with, and of, the Spirit,

xliii. 2, 3, "Fear not, Jacob my servant, and Israel whom I have chosen; for I will put my Spirit on thy seed, and my blessing on thy children (καὶ τὰς σύλογίας μου)." These spiritual blessings are said to be in τοῖς ουρανοῖς, in heavenly places (as it should be rendered); and the reason why they are said to be in heavenly things may be seen above.

In his Epistle to the Ephesians also, St. Paul tells the converts that after they believed, they "were sealed with the Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance;" and says, "that they also became the habitation of God through the Spirit." He speaks very fully of these gifts, and the different persons to whom they were given; and says, "But unto every one of us is given grace, according to the measure of the gift of Christ." And farther St. Paul enjoins the Ephesians, "not to grieve the Spirit, by which they were sealed unto the day of redemption:" and alluding to the votaries of Bacchus, who used to fill themselves with wine at the Bacchanalia, he says, "Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but be filled with the Spirit; speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs (αἰδαὶς πνευματικαῖς, songs of the Spirit)." He gives the like advice

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1 Eph. i. 13, 14. 2 Ibid. ii. 22. 3 Ibid. iv. 7—13.
4 Ibid. ver. 30. 5 Ibid. v. 18, 19.
to the Colossians; and they were to "admonish one another in psalms and hymns and songs of the Spirit, and to sing by the help of this gift in their hearts to the Lord." He beseeches the Philippians by "the consolation in Christ, the comfort of love, and the fellowship of the Spirit;" that is, by any of the gifts of the Spirit that were common to them and him. He tells the Thessalonians, that "the gospel came not to them in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost;" and that they received it with joy in the Holy Ghost." And chap. v. 19, he has these remarkable words, not unlike those Eph. iv. 30. (alluding perhaps to the symbol of fire, in which the Holy Ghost descended); "quench not the Spirit: despise not prophesying." St. Paul speaks of these gifts conferred by the laying on of hands, as one of the first and fundamental principles of Christianity, Heb. vi. 1, 2, this being the great evidence of the truth of it, as has been just observed: he shews them the danger of disbelieving or disobeying Christianity, from this consideration, that "the gospel was confirmed by divers gifts (or distributions) of the Holy Ghost." If, says he, those who have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy

1 Col. iii. 16.  2 Phil. ii. 1.  3 1 Thess. i. 5.  4 Ver. 6.  5 Heb. xi. 4.
St. Paul wished to be at Rome, to impart

Ghost, shall fall away, it is impossible to renew them again unto repentance: "and that there remaineth nothing but a fearful looking for of judgment, and fiery indignation, to such as have done despite unto (or reproached) the Spirit of grace." * And because he had not been at Rome when he wrote his Epistle to the Romans, † he tells them, "that he longs to see them, that he might impart unto them some spiritual gift, to the end they may be established (or confirmed in their faith by seeing such gifts, not only among those that had them, but had received them elsewhere; but immediately conferred on them by him the preacher of this gospel, in which they believed); that is, as he adds, that I may be comforted together with you, by the mutual faith both of you and me: "for he says, he is sure, when he comes, he shall come to them in the fulness of the blessing of Christ." ‡ And though the generality of the believing Romans had not the gifts of the Holy Ghost, no apostle having been among them at the time that Paul writ to them (they having been probably converted by some of those who might be dispersed on some of the persecutions); yet some among them had these gifts, as appears from Rom. xii. 3—8. Perhaps it might be

1 Heb. vi. 4, 5, 6.  
2 Ibid. x. 26—29.  
3 Rom. i. 10, 11, xiv. 19.  
4 Ibid. i. 11, 12.  
5 Ibid. xv. 29.
those who converted them; and who had received those gifts from some of the apostles elsewhere. The same may be said of the Laodiceans, in case the epistle commonly called the epistle to the Ephesians was really written to the Laodiceans, as I suppose it was.¹

Peter plainly refers to these gifts;² for he says, "that it was revealed to the prophets of old, that not unto themselves, but unto them of this age, they did minister the things that were reported unto them by them that preached the gospel unto them, with (or by) the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven." And he afterwards gives this exhortation (which supposes these gifts to have been very common):³ "As every man hath received the gift (χάρισμα) even so minister the same as faithful stewards of the manifold grace of God. If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God: If any man minister (as a deacon, of τις διάκονος), let him do it as of the ability (or with the gifts of prudence) that God giveth." And that Peter imparted these gifts to the believing Jews, as well as to these devout Gentiles to whom he writes, may be confirmed by Paul's testimony; who says, that "He that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same wrought effectually in me towards the Gentiles."⁴

St. John tells all those he writes to, 1 John

¹ See the Abstract. ² 1 Pet. i. 12. ³ Ibid. iv. 10, 11. ⁴ Gal. ii. 8.
ii. 20, to shew them in how little danger they were of being deceived under the fairest pretences, that "they had an unction (a prophetic unction or spirit) from the Holy One (Christ, called the Holy One, whose Spirit the Holy Ghost was, and which he sent down); and ye know all things, that is, all things necessary to be known." And afterwards he says, "This anointing, which you have received of Him, abideth in you, and ye have no need that any man teach you; but as the same anointing teacheth you all things, and is truth, and is no lie," ver. 27. And he adds, "Hereby we know that we dwell in Him, and He in us, because he hath given us His Holy Spirit," chap. iv. 13. And chap. v. 10, asserts, that "he that believeth on the Son of God, hath the witness in himself, that is, the Spirit, which He saith beareth witness," ver. 6. And chap. vi. 7, "For there are three that bear witness, the Spirit, the water, and the blood."

St. Jude speaks of sensual men, who separated themselves from the Christians, as the only kind of men "who have not the Spirit." And directs all those to whom he writes, that "building themselves up in their most holy faith, they should pray in the Holy Ghost;"* which is what St. Paul calls, "praying with the Spirit."

the best opposers of the false teachers. 157

And St. James does not only speak of the prayer of faith (by which with the anointing with oil in the name of the Lord, the elders shall heal the sick); but of the effectual fervent prayer of the righteous, as we translate it (or the inwrought, or inspired prayer of the righteous, as it would be better rendered, δύνασθαι διακολου ἐνεργοῦμενη), "which availeth much." And speaks of it, not as a thing peculiar to some few righteous, but common among them.

All which quotations are but agreeable to what our Saviour told the Jews, on the last day of the feast of tabernacles, which was the day of an holy convocation, or of a great congregation of the people, when it was the custom of the people to fetch water from Siloam (which St. John says signifies the soul), some of which they drank with loud acclamations and hosannahs (or save-now); and some of which they brought for a drink-offering to God, both as a commemoration of the rock that flowed and followed them through the wilderness, to relieve their thirst; and also as an offering, with prayers for rain against the following seed-time; when Jesus, observing this solemnity, stood in a convenient place, and, alluding to this rite, cried (aloud), saying, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink (if any man earnestly

1 James v. 14, 15. 2 John xxvii. 37. 3 Ibid. ix. 7. 4 Psal. cxviii. 25.
desire the spiritual water of wise instruction, which, to the souls of all those that pant after it, is a greater refreshment than water is to a thirsty body; let him but be my disciple, and he shall have it. And then adds (nay, he shall not only have it to quench his own thirst, but to communicate to others). He that believeth on me, as the Scripture saith, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living waters. Which, the evangelist adds (who wrote this gospel after the accomplishment of this prediction), He spake of the Spirit, which they that believe in Him should receive.” They that believe, is here an expression of the same force, as all they that believe; for here is no distinction or limitation made. Our Saviour’s doing this at the feast of tabernacles is the more remarkable, because the Jews called the days of the Messiah the feast of tabernacles; and this was the last day of those feasts that preceded our Lord’s death, and consequently preceded the mission of the Holy Ghost; and it is also very observable, that the Jews thought this water a type of the Spirit. And St. Mark speaks in the same general terms when he relates, that after our Saviour had given his commission to the apostles, to go and preach the gospel to every creature; He added, “And these signs shall follow (not only

1 Mark xv. 16, 17.
you apostles, in confirmation of the truth of what ye shall preach, pursuant to my command, but) them that believe: In my name they shall cast out devils, they shall speak with tongues, &c." And so likewise our Saviour says,¹ "He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do, because I go to my Father."

When I consider all these facts together, and see that where the apostles had been they always conferred the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and that the members of those churches where they had not been were the only members of churches that seem not to have had them; I can scarce forbear thinking, that this general communication of the Holy Ghost is what John the Baptist referred to, when he told the Jews, that "he indeed baptized, with water, but that Christ would baptize them with the Holy Ghost and with fire.² Which seems to import at least thus much, that as he (John) a witness to Jesus, baptized all who came to him, who believed the kingdom of heaven was at hand, with water; so the apostles, the chosen witnesses of Christ's resurrection, being first baptized with the Holy Ghost and fire immediately from heaven, should baptize with the Holy Ghost all believers who should come to them,

The descent of these gifts—the baptism by fire.

and who had not been first baptized with it in the same immediate manner as themselves (as the rest of the hundred and twenty, Saul, and the first fruits of the devout and idolatrous Gentiles, were). And so our Saviour tells the apostles after His resurrection: "For John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire, not many days hence." And that ye here is not restrained to the apostles, we learn from the quotation Peter makes of this prediction of our Saviour, and his application of it to the Holy Ghost's descending on Cornelius and his house; and to this also I think Paul refers, though he does not quote the passage quite out.

May not our Saviour also refer to this in His conversation with Nicodemus, John iii. 5, who comes to Him privately, when He tells him (in answer to that which must be supposed to be Nicodemus's question, ver. 7, I see you are a Teacher come from God by your miracles; but pray what is the sum of the doctrine you come to teach?) when He tells him, that "if a man is not born of water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Which perhaps is to say, that "a man cannot become a subject of the kingdom that he was

1 Acts i. 5.  
2 Ibid. xi. 16.  
3 Ibid. xiii. 35.
Baptism a rite of initiation.

going to set up, by private instruction, without being openly initiated, and making a public profession: and that that would not only be by baptism with water, which was an actual and public declaration of a change of opinion and manners, and when with the mouth confession was to be made; but also by baptism with the Holy Ghost, when His kingdom was actually come, after His ascension, when men would be brought to speak the great things of God, as the Spirit should give them utterance:" which baptism would be, as I just now said, either immediately, as in the case of those on whom the Holy Ghost came without the intervention of hands; or by the intervention of the hands of some on whom the Holy Ghost had so descended. The expression being general, the occasion on which it is spoke, and some passages in the conversation, point this way. For that the general notion that is always included in baptism is initiation, I believe will appear beyond doubt, to him that considers it in any of the three kinds of it mentioned in Scripture; in that of water, in this of the Holy Ghost and fire particularly; and most clearly of all in that which our Saviour mentions Matt. xx. 22—24, and Luke xii. 50. For I think baptism cannot possibly be understood in those two last places, in any other sense than the sufferings by which Jesus was to be initiated into His kingdom, and.
The miraculous gifts were conferred

the fulness of power He was to receive upon His
going through them. It may be of some use too
here to observe, that though John Baptist and
Jesus, speaking in the places just now quoted,
of the baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire,
before it happened, and before it was explained,
speak of it in such general expressions, as com-
prehend both the immediate communication of
the Holy Ghost from heaven, and the con-
ferring it by the apostles; yet when the pre-
dictions of John Baptist and our Saviour about
this baptism were fully explained by the event,
then the distinction that was made between
them plainly appears; and particularly Heb.
vi. 2, which I considered whilst I treated of the
immediate descent of the Holy Ghost on the
first Christians among the Jews, and among
the devout and idolatrous Gentiles. Nor is
this the single instance of general expressions
used by our Saviour, which afterwards came to
be more distinct and specific.

If, after all this, any one should be of opinion,
that the apostles did not confer these gifts on
all the believers where they came; I desire he
would let me know, by what rule he can prove,
or even suggest with any probability, that the
apostles governed themselves in conferring these
gifts on some where they came, and not on
others. They who imagine, that the apostles
conferred the Holy Ghost only on the bishops,
presbyters, and deacons; or on pastors, teachers, and elders, as a distinct order of men from the brethren or believers, do not read the Scriptures with that freedom from the prepossession of modern systems, or modern practice, which becomes the disciples of Christ; much less with that knowledge of the state of things in the times of the apostles, which they must have who will make themselves masters of them. He who reads them without prejudice, and with this previous preparation, will undoubtedly see, that there were many churches without any such orders of men in them. This is owned now by those who contend the most fiercely for such orders:¹ and they will see too, that these gifts were conferred on too many to allow them to suppose, that all on whom they were conferred were of the clergy; unless they will make them all of the clergy, and scarce leave them any laymen to exercise them on.²

¹ See Mr. Dodwell, de Jur. Laic. Sacerd., and Dr. Whitby, on the Cor. and Thess.

² These remarks, if true, may appear opposed to that form of church government which now prevails in England, and which is asserted by its advocates to be taught in Scripture, and sanctioned by uninterrupted antiquity. The authority and truth, however, of diocesan Episcopacy will not be shaken if we allow this argument of Lord B. its utmost weight. We are willing to acknowledge, that many persons who received the miraculous gifts, might not be in the modern sense of the word, Clergy: yet they were set apart
SECTION XXVI.—On the difference between receiving the Holy Ghost, and being full of the Holy Ghost.

Thus it seems to me, that the gifts of the Holy Ghost were ordinarily conferred by the laying from the rest of men, by the sudden receiving of these gifts from the hands of the apostles. If it was necessary that they should receive gifts to become qualified and commissioned for the office of teachers and preachers, we may justly infer, that no man is to follow them in the same path, unless he is not only qualified, but evidently commissioned also. As the miraculous gifts have ceased, he must obtain his qualifications by dependance on the same Spirit, which will prosper his industry, perseverance, zeal, and knowledge; and he must obtain his commission from the only remaining undoubted visible authority in the Church,—that order of governors which has continued the power of ordaining, and ruling, and confirming, from the apostolic ages to the present.

But it is said the names were common, and the gifts of the Spirit imparted by the apostles were common also, to all the members of the churches; there ought therefore to be no distinction, and no authority but that which resides in the congregation.

It may be answered, that the power of the apostles was superior to that of the persons to whom the gifts of the Spirit were thus miraculously imparted. Authority is essential to the very existence of societies. If the earliest and scriptural churches required the government of some ecclesiastical superiors, whose powers were not derived from the congregations which they served: those Christians cannot be wrong who now advocate the necessity of some government, which shall be modelled on the same plan as that which is thus submitted to us in the New Testament.
on of the hands of the apostles; and that the apostles laid them on all believers where they came, and on no others. But it appears to me at the same time, that whenever the gifts of the Holy Ghost were conferred by the laying on of their hands, they were conferred in a lower degree: for we do not find, that any of those to whom the apostles imparted the gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of their hands, are ever said to be full of the Holy Ghost. They only, as we observed before, seem to have this expression used of them, on whom we either know, or have great reason to think, the Holy Ghost fell without the intervention of hands. And no wonder, that where the apostles laid their hands, there should not be so plentiful a communication of the Spirit; since where they laid on their hands, it was only to confirm particular persons or churches in the faith of the gospel: whereas the Holy Ghost always descended to confirm some things that were to be of universal instruction and importance; or confer gifts on persons who were to be of the greatest use and service to the whole Christian church: as will appear upon the least reflection on the only instances which occur of His immediate descent.

However, though the gifts conferred by the apostles were conferred in a lower degree than
166 Prayer uniformly preceded the miraculous

when the Holy Ghost fell on them; yet I am apt to think, that whenever the apostles conferred such gifts of the Holy Ghost as they could impart, they always prayed that those to whom they were about to impart them might receive them. Our Saviour, who told his disciples, that their heavenly Father would give them the Holy Spirit; adds, that it should be on their asking it."¹ It is very observable, that the Holy Ghost did not descend on our Saviour till after his praying, on coming out of the water.² And it is expressly related of Peter and John, that "when they had prayed, they laid their hands on the Samaritans, and gave them the Holy Ghost."³ And though it is not mentioned in any other case, yet I am strongly inclined to believe, that prayer always preceded; to show that this great gift came from God, and was dispensed according to His will. And I the rather incline to this, from the laying on of hands, which always accompanied the conferring these gifts; that being a ceremony which always attended solemn blessing and prayer; or, if you please, a solemn prayer for a blessing; as I shall prove in the third Essay. St. Austin, to this purpose, speaking of the apostles' imparting the Holy Ghost to the Samaritans, says, Orabant quippe ut veniret in eos (spiritus

impartation of the gifts of the Spirit. 167

sanctus) quibus manus imponebant; non ipsi cum
dabant."

There is one thing more concerning these
gifts, which very well deserves our notice,
namely, that whether they were poured out by
God immediately, or imparted by the laying on
of the hands of the apostles; yet they were not
all distributed to one, nor were they distributed
in such measure as the apostles would, or as
the Christians desired to have them; but differ-
ing in kind and degree, according to the grace
that was given them; or according to such pro-
portion as God saw fit to give to the several
members of the church, for the use and service
of the whole body; * "For the perfecting of
the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the
edifying the body of Christ; that so speaking
the truth in love, they might grow up into Him
in all things, which is the head, even Christ;
from whom the whole body fitly joined togeth-
er, and compacted by that which every joint
supplieth, according to the effectual working in
the measure of every part, maketh increase of
the body, unto the edifying itself in love." 3
Thus St. Paul tells the Corinthians, all had not
the word of wisdom, nor all the word of know-
ledge; all did not prophesy, nor had all the

1 August. de Trin, lib. xv. cap. 26.
2 Rom. xii. 16. 1 Cor. xii. 3 Eph. iv. 12, 15, 16.
God imparted these gifts as He pleased.

ability to teach, to exhort, to sing psalms, to pray, to interpret; all were not helps or governments: but “God gave some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers,” according to His own good pleasure; to shew, that all these diversities of gifts were not distributed by the will of man, “but by the same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as He will.” So also the author of the epistle to the Hebrews informs us, that “God bore witness to the apostles by signs and wonders, and with divers miracles and gifts (distributions, μεταιματας) of the Holy Ghost, according to His own will.” Whereby it was still farther proved beyond all exception, that the power was not of man, but of God.

There were soon false Christs. Did Christ send forth true apostles and prophets? There soon arose false prophets and apostles. Did the former lay claim to a superior Spirit? So did the false apostles too. They, and the heretics that succeeded them, vented strange extravagancies about the Spirit, which they pretended to have superior to the prophets, and very different from one another as Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Theodoret, and Epiphanius, inform us. Hence come the phrases of “not believing every spirit, and of trying the spirits:” and of the

Heb. ii. 4. 1 John iv. 1.
The object of this witnessing of the Spirit. 169

Spirit of Christ, and of antichrist: 'the Spirit of truth, and the spirit of error.' 

SECTION XXVII. The design and objects of the witnessing of the Holy Spirit.

This is what I have to offer to explain the teaching of the Holy Ghost. All that I shall say to explain what I mean by the Holy Ghost's witnessing, is, that whenever those who were thus enlightened used the knowledge communicated to them in its various instances and degrees, the Holy Ghost witnessed to the truth of Christianity; or gave a proof of the great articles of it, on which all the rest were founded; namely, "that Jesus of Nazareth was crucified, was risen, and exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour, to grant repentance and remission of sins: since He, according to the predictions of this matter, having received the promise of the Father, had sent down these gifts which men saw and heard."

But though the principal business of the Spirit's witnessing was to prove the truth of the great facts of the Christian religion, yet it was to serve another end also; namely, to comfort those who had it with the assurance of God's pardon and acceptance. This seems

1 Johniv. 3. 2 Ver. 6. 3 Acts ii. 33. v. 31, 32.
to follow from the very nature of the thing; and to be fairly implied in what Peter says to the Jews, Acts ii. (on their being pricked in the heart by his sharp reproof, and by perceiving the great guilt that was upon them, in having "slain Jesus of Nazareth, whom God had so highly approved, crying out, in the utmost distress, to Peter and the rest of the apostles, Men and brethren, what shall we do?" Repent and be baptized—and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost (the pledge of the pardon of this sin, which will draw down God's heavy vengeance on the whole nation, if they do not repent of it); for the promise is to you," &c. And, indeed, if this had not been implied in saying, "Ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost, it could have given them but little consolation under their distress, how much soever it might have witnessed to the truth of the great facts which the apostles testified. But on their understanding what was to be inferred, in relation to themselves, from their receiving this gift, they "gladly received the word, ver. 41, and eat their meat with gladness, as well as singleness of heart; praising God," ver. 46, 47.

When the Holy Ghost was given to the Gentiles, it witnessed the same thing to them. And as there was a greater necessity for the Spirit's witnessing this with respect to them
much insisted upon in Scripture.

than to the Jews, it is not barely implied, but strongly insisted on, in relation to them: "Is-
rael was God's Son, His first-born: ¹ to Him pertained the adoption." ² The Israelites were
the sons of Abraham according to the flesh, and to them therefore belonged the covenants
and the promises; and of them, "as concerning the flesh, Christ came; preaching to them, that
they should repent and believe on Him." So that, if they received Him, there was no doubt
but they would become the sons of God, being born not of flesh and blood, or of the will of
man, but of God." ³ And that consequently, they would inherit the spiritual promises, and
certainly enter into the rest that remained for the true Israelites. But the Gentiles had for-
saken their heavenly Father, and left His family; and had spent their portion in riotous living:
they were afar off, strangers from the covenants of promise, and aliens from the commonwealth
of Israel. God had indeed foretold by the prophets, that they should be called in under
the Messiah. But the precise time when, and the manner how they should be called, was
not revealed. Nor was it understood that they were to be called into the church without first
becoming Jews; or, that then they were to be admitted to equal privileges with the Jews.

¹ Exod. iv. 22. ² Rom. ix. 4. ³ John i. 12, 13.
They might perhaps have some doubt of this themselves; and, like the prodigal, have only hopes to be as one of the hired servants. But whatever they thought, this was one of the most radicated notions of the Jews; who could scarce by any means be brought to think, that the Gentiles were to be received into the family and household of God on any terms whatsoever, and were generally very highly incensed at the very thoughts of it. They counted them all, even the devout men among them, unclean; and not so much as fit to be conversed with. Therefore God found it necessary, on their first conversion, “to bear them witness, by the Holy Ghost, that He had purified their hearts by faith;” which astonished as many of the circumcision as went with Peter to Cornelius; who took it, that the promise of the Spirit was theirs, and their childrens, and the Jews that were afar off; but little imagined, what they now saw, that on the Gentiles also should be poured out the gifts of the Holy Ghost. And thus the Spirit witnessed with their spirits, that they also were the children of God; and the spiritual seed of faithful Abraham; on whom the great blessing of the Spirit was to come.” And so it also was among such of the Romans as had it; and could not but shew

1 Acts xi. 3.  
2 Ibid. xv. 8, 9.  
3 Gal. iii, 14.  
4 Rom. v. 11.
the rest who had it not (no apostle having been then among them), that the Gentiles were as capable of receiving it as the Jews, since great numbers of the Gentiles had received it; and therefore they might also, especially since he told them, "that when he should come unto them, he should come to them in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel, and impart some spiritual gift to them, whereby they might be farther established." This was in them the Spirit of adoption; a full proof that they were sons (since the Spirit was only promised to the seed or children of Israel; that is, the spiritual seed of Israel; such who like him had power with God, and could prevail; and since they had the Spirit of God their Father, and the Spirit of Christ Jesus His Son, their great elder Brother); and assured them of the love of God, which was thus "shed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Ghost." And as it gave them full confidence towards God, enabling them to call Him Abba Father; so it likewise was a full demonstration, that if "they were sons, they were heirs, heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Jesus Christ. It was in them the earnest of their inheritance, until the redemption of the purchased possession;" or, in fewer words,

1 Gal. iv. 5—8.  2 Isa. xliv. 2, 3.  3 Rom. v. 5.  4 Ibid. viii. 15.  5 Eph. i. 14.
"the earnest of the Spirit," as it is called in other places; and which, for the same reason, under another metaphor, is called, "the seal of the Spirit;" in whom also, after ye believed, ye were sealed with that holy Spirit of promise (the Spirit being the promise of the Father, Isa. xlv. 4. Joel ii. 28, and so called Acts i. 4. ii. 33—39, referring to Luke xxiv. 49, and to John xiv. 26. and xv. 26, where Christ promises the Spirit as the Person that was to supply His absence; as He also does chap. xiv.); and ver. 30, "Grieve not the Holy Spirit, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption." This shews us the reason why this witness, earnest, and seal of the Spirit, is never used in relation to the Jewish, but always to the Gentile believers, particularly by Paul their great apostle (as appears by the epistles themselves, in which this witness, earnest, and seal of the Spirit are mentioned; and the manifest context of those parts of the epistles where these passages occur); in order to satisfy them, as well as the Jewish believers, in the fullest manner, that they (Gentiles) who were sometimes afar off, were now brought near, and "were all become the children of God in Christ Jesus," and admitted to equal privileges with the Jewish believers, without any of the works of the law: which point

1 2 Cor. i. 22. v. 5. 2 Eph. i. 13. 3 Gal. iii. 26.
was demonstrated only by the miraculous gifts. 175

he labours, and couches under several beautiful metaphors, in several of his epistles to the Gentile believers.

SECTION XXVIII. The miraculous gifts of the Spirit, like the common talents of the mind, might be neglected, extinguished, and rendered useless.

It is very much to our present purpose, and will farther explain and prove what I have said on the witness of the Spirit in the sense I am now considering it; to observe, that as the gifts of the Holy Ghost were only given to true believers, so they might be excited and stirred up, or increased in them; or else Paul's advice to the Ephesians, "to be filled with the Spirit;" and to Timothy, to "stir up the gift that was in him," would have been given in vain. The way by which the Ephesians were to be filled with it, St. Paul plainly hints in the verses immediately preceding, was "to have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but to reprove them; to be vigilant and circumspect; to redeem the time; not to be unwise, but understanding the will of the Lord." And that Timothy might stir up the gift that was in him, he was to be bold and courageous in preaching the gospel, notwithstanding the persecu-

1 Eph. v. 18.  2 Tim. i. 6.  3 Ibid. i. 11—19.
The miraculous gifts were not irresistible;

tions which attended it; or, as St. Paul says in the parallel place (where he bids Timothy "not neglect the gift that was given him"); he was to "give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine, to meditation; to give himself wholly up to his work, and to take heed to himself, and to his doctrine." In a word, the way to excite or increase these gifts, was to be holy and useful, to employ them faithfully and diligently for the service of the church; and then "to him that had should be given." So Philip and Barnabas, who were full of the Holy Ghost, were good men, and full of faith also. On the other hand, a man might neglect the Spirit, and grieve it, and at last entirely quench it. He might neglect the gifts of the Spirit, by not being eminently holy and useful; by being proud of these gifts, using them for ostentation, and despising others. He might grieve the Spirit by any of the vices which St. Paul dehorts the Ephesians from; or by any other vices whatsoever; till at last, by forsaking the way of truth and righteousness, he might entirely resist, do despite to, or quench and extinguish it. I have already observed, that it is highly probable, that the phrase "of not quenching the Spirit" (τὸ πνεῦμα μὴ σβέννωτε) alludes to the

1 Tim. i. 6, 8.  
1 Tim. iv. 14.  
Eph. iv. 25—32.
they might be neglected, and extinguished. 177
cloven tongues as of fire, in which the Holy Ghost descended; and in which I apprehend it always fell, where it fell without the laying on of hands. I cannot but observe here, that the word we translate “stir up the gift,” 2 Tim. i. 6, 8, ἀναζωορεῖν, has evidently the same allusion, signifying to stir or blow up fire, as the other word, ἐκθρόνω, signifies to put it out.

1 Acts ii. 2.
CHAPTER II.

ON THE NECESSITY OF THE TEACHING AND WITNESSING OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

SECTION I.—*The situation and character of the twelve Apostles rendered the effusion of miraculous gifts necessary at the commencement of the new dispensation.*

The second thing I undertook, was to shew "the necessity of this teaching and witnessing of the Spirit in the first settlement of the Christian religion." Now what St. Paul asserts of some of the greatest of these gifts will be found on strict inquiry, to be true of all of them. They were all at the first settlement of Christianity very properly and necessarily given "for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying the body of Christ: till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ: that we henceforth be on more children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive: but, speaking the truth
in love, to grow up into Him in all things, which is the head, even Christ; 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, unto the edifying itself in love," Eph. iv. 12—17. For that St. Paul speaks in this place of the several gifts of the Holy Ghost, and not of the several ministers of the church; or, if you will, not of the officers of the church, but of the gifts that filled them, or fitted and qualified them for their work or office, is plain from the context; which speaks of gifts from ver. 7, repeats the same thing, ver. 8, 10; where St. Paul also says, that "He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that (there receiving the fulness of power) He might fill all things (or all His members) with the proper measure of the gift of Christ. And He then gave gifts, which fitted some of these members of His body to be apostles, some to be prophets, some to be evangelists, and some to be pastors and teachers." And that these are distinct gifts only, but not distinct officers, is evident from this farther consideration, that the same persons were sometimes apostles, prophets, and teachers; as particularly may be seen in Paul and Barnabas, who were both of them reckoned among the prophets and teachers in the church
of Antioch, when the Spirit said, "Separate me them to the work (that is, of apostles of the Gentiles) to which I have called them."  

Now as Moses, who was king in Jeshurun, and who had the Spirit of wisdom, found it necessary to appoint the princes of the twelve tribes captains of thousands, captains of hundreds and fifties, of the children of Israel; so Christ, as the King of His church, after the conquest He obtained over death, and him that had the power of death, by His being declared at the resurrection the Son of God, or Heir of all things; and having, at His triumphant ascension into heaven, and His solemn investiture into all power, by sitting down at the right-hand of God, all authority put into His hands, gives these gifts to qualify apostles (who were compared to the princes of the twelve tribes), prophets, evangelists, teachers, &c. to publish, spread, and confirm His kingdom in the world. And that each of these gifts in particular was highly necessary and useful to found and build up the Christian church at first, will be evident from considering the circumstances of things then, and how these gifts were suited to them. Let us therefore, abstracting entirely from the present state of things in the church, put ourselves exactly in the circumstances of those times.

1 Acts xiii. 1, 2.  
3 Matt. xix. 28.
To do this, we must suppose twelve illiterate fishermen, and others, in all a company of men and women of about an hundred and twenty, who, from the opinion they had of Jesus of Nazareth, as the great Prophet, and temporal King of the Jews, became His disciples, from a well-disposed temper of mind; but who had yet scarce learnt any thing from Him, concerning the true design of His coming into the world, on account of the strong prejudices and preconceptions they laboured under; and they also expected, that He would restore the kingdom to Israel, not only before His death, but after His resurrection; though willing to wait His time for it. We must then consider them in the condition they were when they saw their great Lord and Master leave them; and were told by angels, that He was not to return to them any more. And what inclination can we imagine must they have had to go and witness His resurrection, or His being taken up out of their sight, to the Jews? All that we can expect from them is, to find them, as we do, 

"assembled together in their upper room, where they used to meet (soon after Christ's resurrection), with the doors shut, for fear of the Jews," in order to converse with one another. But can we expect that they should go and testify this to

\[^1\text{ Acts i. 13.}\]
\[^2\text{ John xx. 19.}\]
their countrymen, in hopes to persuade them of the truth of it? those, who were so far from believing on Him in His life-time, as to have put Him to death! who had hired men to say, that when the guards slept about His sepulchre His disciples had stolen Him away! and were fully determined to pursue them as cheats and deceivers? This was what our Saviour Himself did not expect from them. All that He required was, that they should become His witnesses, after they "had received power by the Holy Ghost's coming upon them": or, as He expresses it in another place, after they had received "a mouth and wisdom from Him, which their adversaries should not be able to gainsay or resist."

They seem therefore to have kept still together in their upper room, till (according to the sign our Saviour had given them of the Holy Ghost, "by breathing on them") they heard the sound from heaven, not of a mighty rushing or violent wind, but as of a mighty rushing wind, filling all the house;" or a gentle breeze (such as our Saviour had prefigured by breathing on them; which was to prefigure to them, that their sound or voice, though gentle, should yet be strong and powerful enough to go through the world, and that nothing should be able

1 Acts i. 8.  
2 Luke xxii. 15.  
3 John xx. 22.
till the miraculous effusion at Pentecost. 183
to stop the course of it), and immediately find
that the Holy Ghost falls on them. Whereupon
Peter stands up with the eleven, and lifts up his
voice (speaking with courage and energy), and
says unto the whole multitude that was come

 together, “Ye men of Judea, and all ye that
dwell at Jerusalem, be this known unto you,
and hearken to my words. And then also
with many other words did he testify to them the
miracles Christ wrought in His life-time,
His resurrection, His ascension, and shedding
down, and their receiving of, the Holy Ghost.
Thus indeed Peter on receiving the Holy Ghost
speaks to the Jews. But can it be imagined
he would ever have thought it his duty to go to
the proselytes of the gate, and testify to them?
Or would Paul have thought it his duty to go
and testify to the idolatrous Gentiles? Or would
either of them have had the courage to do it, if
they had not had an express revelation, and
instruction so to do?

SECTION II.—The miraculous gifts were essential to
their success.

But what success could have attended the
boldest and clearest testimony to the truth of

1 Acts ii. 6. 2 Ver. 14. 3 Ver. 22.
4 Ver. 24. 5 Ver. 33.
these facts, if the apostles had not been furnished with other gifts of the Spirit? The multitude had heard our Saviour, seen His miracles, felt the benefit of His cures; and yet, "who believed His report, and to whom was the arm of the Lord revealed!" The Jews, to whom they were to testify these facts, were highly prejudiced against the witnesses and their testimony. The witnesses were illiterate men, all of them of Galilee, that despised part of Palestine, and the chiefest of them fishermen there. The manifest tendency of their testimony was, that the gospel of Christ was to do that which the law could not do, in that it was weak. The Jews knew that God spake by Moses: they were bigotted to his law to the highest degree. As it came from God, it had been long continued among them, and was suited to their low and carnal apprehensions of things. They were likewise impatiently desirous of being released from the Roman yoke by a temporal deliverer; and either disbelievers of a future state, and immoderately set on the pleasures and honours of this life, or fond of the interpretations and traditions of the elders, which were agreeable to their immoral and superstitious dispositions. The Gentile world had been long settled in idolatry and polytheism; which not
only allowed, but sanctified those lusts, to which human nature is most addicted; gluttony, drunkenness, and all kind of impurity; and which do not bring all those great inconveniences directly and immediately on societies, that, without much reflection, might have served to awaken them, and restrain them from them; as the diabolical vices (or inhuman piety, as the incomparable Mr. Hales calls it) do. To make such men as these hearken and attend, there must be something new and uncommon to strike them. Nothing could do that like hearing the ignorant and illiterate speak to people of fifteen or sixteen different countries, their own language in perfection. And besides, when they went to the idolatrous Gentiles, they must speak in their respective tongues, or they could not be understood.

But when they spoke, and were attended to, they were not only to testify to Jews and Gentiles the great facts of Christianity, that Jesus of Nazareth, who was dead, was risen again, and ascended (He having appeared to them often, and conversed with them after His resurrection; and they having seen Him ascend gradually, so as that they could not be mistaken, till a cloud of glory took Him out of their sight; and having also received these gifts from Him after His ascension)—but they were to prove, that their testimony, concerning these facts, was true.
What could prove this so fully as these gifts of the Holy Ghost? As we shall see more clearly under the fourth head; where we shall consider the superiority of the witness of the Spirit to all the other witnesses of the truth of the Christian religion.

But if they had, by these gifts of the Holy Ghost, convinced the Jews and Gentiles of the truth of these facts, they had then indeed persuaded them to be Christians: but that must have been the utmost they could have done, if they had not received "the word of wisdom," as well as the other gifts of the Holy Ghost; and thereby have been able not only to have witnessed to these facts of Christianity, but to have taught the whole Christian scheme, in its full extent and latitude (shewing, that "Jesus of Nazareth was raised up to sit on David's throne, by being made Lord and Christ");" and to have proved it to the Jews by pertinent quotations out of the Old Testament: as Peter does in his discourse. But how could they have done this, if the Holy Ghost had not also given them "the word of knowledge," any more than they could have taught the Christian scheme without the word of wisdom? For whatever our Saviour had said to them in His life-time, or during the forty days He abode with

1 Acts ii. 30. 36.
them after His resurrection; it is plain, they did not understand the nature of His spiritual kingdom, or the meaning of the prophecies which related to it; since, after all that conversation, they asked Him, "Whether He would at that time restore the kingdom to Israel?" Our Saviour thought them yet so incapable of bearing His instructions about the true nature of His kingdom, that He does not see fit fully to correct their mistake; but gives them an answer that might yet leave them some room to expect it. For whilst He gently reproves them for going so far as to ask, whether "He would at that time restore the kingdom to Israel? (for it was not for them to know the times and the seasons, which the Father had put in His own power)—and whilst He gently leads them into some further notions about His kingdom, by insinuating to them, that was to be introduced by their witnessing: He yet uses words, that might not quite preclude all their hopes of a temporal kingdom, though they were such as might lead them to think it was to be begun by their witnessing to Him. For He tells them, that "they should receive power after that the Holy Ghost was come upon them." So that if the Holy Ghost had not, after our Saviour's ascension, given them the word of wisdom and know-

1 Acts i. 6.  2 Ibid. 8.
ledge, they would have had little more to say, than to give their witness to the great facts of Christianity: whereas they were not only to lay the foundation, and bring men to the truth, by witnessing to those facts; but they were to "build up believers in their most holy faith:" they were not only to plant, but to water; and make Christians "grow in grace, and in the knowledge of Jesus Christ; so as that they might be able to comprehend with all saints, what was the height, the depth, the length, and the breadth of the love of God in Christ Jesus the Lord; and become fruitful in every good word and work." They were not only to teach this doctrine, and confirm it to the Jews, by places of the Old Testament; but it was necessary that they should be able to remove all the scruples which might arise in the minds of the well-disposed, by mistaking the true sense and meaning of the law and the prophets. And therefore they were farther, by the word of knowledge, fully to understand all the mysteries hid in them. They were also to be able to oppose gainsayers, especially when they would endeavour to pervert the well-disposed from the right ways of the Lord. And as the Jews dealt much in allegory, perhaps God saw fit, that some of the disciples should have a skill communicated to them, to turn those allegories against the Jewish, and in favour of the Chris-
tian religion. And how was it possible for ignorant men, in a great measure un instructed by Jesus whilst He was on earth, to have done all this without previous instructions, and long preparations of art and learning (and which could not in many instances have at all availed), but by the teaching of the Holy Ghost? Would any of the apostles, who were all Jews, and full of Jewish prejudices, ever have preached the gospel to the devout Gentiles, whom they thought it even unlawful for them to go to, if Christ had not commanded Peter to think those no longer common whom he had cleansed? Or would Paul have gone to the idolatrous Gentiles, if Christ had not ordered him to depart far away to them, "to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of sin and Satan unto God."

SECTION III.—The miraculous gifts were essential, to enable the apostles to appoint fit and able successors.

As there were but twelve apostles of the circumcision, and their company; and afterwards two apostles of the uncircumcision; how could the Christians have been built up in their most holy faith, if God had not pointed out by the prophets, some persons for stations of eminent and extensive usefulness in the church, especially considering its tender state; its numerous mem-
The establishment and government of churches

bers; their more numerous weaknesses and infirmities; and its yet more numerous enemies; and the great care and prudence that was necessary, on all these accounts, to direct those who had such stations of general and extensive service in it?

The power also was necessary to try the spirits, when the revelations of the Spirit were not completed, and when they were furnished with but few, if any, of these revelations in writing, by which they might try others; and when there were so many seducers and deceivers, false prophets, false apostles, and false brethren, already lying in wait to draw them aside with pretended revelations, with all signs and lying wonders: and when the devil was to transform himself into an angel of light, so as, if it were possible, to deceive the very elect.

SECTION IV.—They were necessary to the establishment, and wise ordering of the new worship, the management of the poor, and the government of the churches.

When they were made Christians, and well instructed in the kingdom of God, they were to assemble themselves together for public worship. In all such assemblies there must be discourses, prayers, and praises, by singing hymns, &c. and it was particularly necessary, that
some who had learned the Christian scheme from the apostles, might continually instruct the first Christians in it; and that considering the peculiar difficulties they had to encounter, from the customs of the whole world about them lying in wickedness, and the persecutions they felt and apprehended, that some should stir them up to perseverance in their profession; often support their spirits, whilst they continued steadfast; and reprove and admonish those who were fallen. But who was then sufficient for these things, among illiterate men, without the gospels, acts, or epistles in their hands, and prepared by no art or learning, or previous practice? and without any liturgies, homilies, psalms, and hymns, set to tune and metre, which have since obtained? if those could be supposed to have answered these purposes. What strange confusion, disorder, and indecency must there have been in public worship, if the Spirit had not, by His gifts, made some of these unlearned men apt to teach what they had learnt from the apostles; others apt to exhort, to reprove, to comfort, to admonish? if others had not been enabled to pray, and sing by the Spirit, and others to interpret, in case the Spirit moved any one, for wise reasons, to perform any of these actions in an assembly in an unknown tongue?

And what confusion must there have been
in an assembly, among a great number who had these gifts of the Spirit, if there had not been some persons to preside, and direct who should exercise them, and in what manner and order they should do it?

Let any one but consider the state of the clergy at the Reformation, though they were men that had been educated in schools and universities, and had had leisure and opportunity for reading, conversation, and reflection; and but think with themselves, what their public performances in Christian congregations would have been, if they had not had liturgies, and homilies, and psalms in tune and metre; and they will easily see in what disorder and confusion public worship must have been among the first Christians, whose apostles were fishermen, had it not been for these gifts of the Spirit.

What irregularities must there be supposed not only in the performance itself, and in the ordering of public worship, but in conducting all matters that relate to an assembly of men and women, where there was no sort of coercive power, but among those where the apostles were present, or could be sent to, and that in such multitudes as were suddenly converted; if some persons had not been inspired with prudence, among a body raw and unexperienced in all arts of government, and unacquainted with the passions of mankind, to pro-
pose proper methods on every occasion? And if the body itself had not been endued with prudence, to judge them to be expedient, and with humility to comply?

What would become of the poor of some of those great assemblies, notwithstanding the community of goods, unless the Holy Ghost had filled some of the first disciples with wisdom, to distribute out of that community, such allotments as might be sufficient for the necessities of the saints, might be equal among them, and free from any complaint of partiality or neglect? for this required a degree of knowledge and prudence vastly superior, not only to men unacquainted with the great business of the world, but to those the most practised in it.

What could have become of the several churches, unless the apostles had had persons inspired with great prudence in that age, to send to make enquiries of the conduct of those churches, where they could not stay themselves, to make reports to them; and to settle fully what they themselves had not time to finish and complete, on receiving such fresh directions from the apostles, from time to time, as the case of those churches respectively required?

And what would have become of the churches on particular and extraordinary occasions, without some of these particular and extraordinary gifts? What, for instance, would have become
The persecutions, and peculiar doctrines

of all the Christians in Judæa on the dearth, if Agabus had not foretold it that so the Christians at Antioch might contribute the more liberally to their support, and thereby at the same time lay a foundation for a better union between the Jewish and Gentile Christians? Or what would have become of the community of goods, if Peter had not discerned and punished the hypocrisy of Ananias and Sapphira, and thereby prevented the people from joining themselves to the first Christians, only in order to partake of that community?

SECTION V.—They were necessary to support the first Christians under the persecutions of their own Brethren, and to convince them of, and reconcile them to, the rejection of the Jews, and the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, which were now for the first time understood.

Finally, as the first Christians stumbled extremely at several things which afforded dark and gloomy prospects: particularly the grievous persecutions they underwent; the corruptions they saw creeping into the church by some of its own members, by God's ancient people the Jews rejecting the gospel, and being cast off by God for it; from all which, they might apprehend its speedy and total destruction; and the mistakes they made about some of the
of Christianity, required these assistances. 195

apostolical predictions; what doubts and de-
spondency might hereupon have arisen in their
minds; and how might these have been im-
proved by the seducers, to make them aposta-
tize; if it had not been revealed to the apostles,
and by them to the church, that the kingdom
of Christ was to continue in spite of all oppo-
sition; that He was to reign till all His foes were
made His footstool; or till He should deliver up
the kingdom to the Father, and God should be
all in all? That indeed the Jews should be
destroyed and dispersed; that grievous offences,
heresies, and corruptions should take place;
that there should yet be a worse state of the
church, when the civil power should no longer
let or hinder it; and when such power should
get into the church, as would bring idolatry and
vice into, and make them a distinguishing part
of it: and yet that the church should recover
from this corrupt state in a great degree; and
that at last the Jews should be restored to God's
favour, and the fulness of the Gentiles should be
brought in, and all Israel should be saved?

Add to all this, that as each of these gifts
was necessary to lay the first foundations of
Christianity; or to build up Christians in their
most holy faith; to establish them fully therein;
to support and comfort them under a great
many melancholy appearances; to manage
their devotions and affairs; to relieve their
necessities; and to be attentive to the concerns not only of one or two assemblies, but of all the churches; and especially on some extraordinary occasions: so each of these was a great confirmation of the truth of the Christian religion.

It will by no means become the limited capacities of mortal men to say, that Christ, "in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge," could not have taken other methods to instruct His disciples, and propagate His truth in the world. Nor can it be imagined, that He could not have found means in particular to have communicated all necessary degrees of knowledge to His disciples, whilst He had been upon earth. And what were all His reasons for not taking that method, or for taking any other, or this in particular, can perhaps be only understood fully by beings of superior capacities to ours. Perhaps the reasons of this conduct may have too great a compass for our short and narrow views; or perhaps, at another time, all this science, or at least a much greater part of it, as well as other beautiful and amazing discoveries, may open themselves to us, by God's blessing, on our more diligent and impartial enquiries; or, at least, when we arrive at the land of light and vision, and shall "see as we are seen." But the Scriptures, when they are carefully considered, seem to lead us into these
reasons of our Saviour’s not teaching His disci-
ples the nature of His kingdom, whilst He was upon earth, but by the Spirit, after He was
gone to heaven:

1. That during the three years He conversed
with them on earth, they were not able to bear
HIs full instructions, without being shocked, and
made very uneasy by them, on account of their
narrow and shallow minds, and which were
in a manner wholly filled with Jewish preju-
dices. Truth was therefore to be let into them
by such degrees as they could easily receive.
And whilst they preserved a teachable temper,
their great Master bore with all their ignorance
and weakness: herein at the same time be-
coming such an example of tenderness, gentle-
ness, patience, and prudence, as was highly fit
for them who were to be the teachers of the
world to copy after.

2. That from the doubts they had about our
Saviour’s resurrection (arising from the igno-
rance in which he left them, and the prejudices
they still had about the nature of His kingdom,
and the true design of His coming into the
world), their testimony might carry the greater
force along with it.

3. That by letting all this light in upon them
at once, soon after He had left them, He might
entirely comfort them under His absence (which
must needs have given the greatest shock to
The causes why certain doctrines were

them, and the greatest check to their proceeding
in their work), and so remove the great obstruc-
tion that His death must have given, whencesoever
it had happened, to the spreading of the gospel,
and thereby open a free course for it.

4. That now they were prepared to receive
His instructions, He might, by the Spirit, so
fill their whole souls with the full knowledge
of them, as to give the apostles the highest
satisfaction about their truth and expediency;
and to dispose them, with the greatest industry,
zeal, and boldness, to bear all fatigues, and run
all hazards, in publishing those instructions to
the world.

5. That all the matters of fact, which they
were to testify, might be finished; and so their
testimony might become complete at once;
and that the proof, which was to be given to the
truth of their testimony by the Spirit, might
relate to all the matters they were to testify:
which it could not do, till Christ's crucifixion,
resurrection, and ascension, had taken place.

6. That by their assurance, boldness, and
activity, but especially by this amazing con-
currence of spiritual and intellectual prodigies,
beautifully suited to evidence the last dispensa-
tion of light and knowledge, they might over-
bear all the resistance that should arise from
the ignorance, prejudice, and lusts of men;
and from the worldly powers that should oppose
taught by the Spirit, and not by Christ. 199

them in the testimony they gave of the great facts they attested, and the doctrines they built upon them.

7. That this success might attend Christ's state of exaltation to the right hand of power, and be the first act of His royalty; to which it was suited with the greatest beauty and proportion; whereas it would have been altogether unsuitable to His state of humiliation, and inconsistent with the whole design, and every circumstance of it.

8. That by the amazing success that attended their teaching and testimony, a fresh and convincing proof of the truth of Christianity might be furnished to the following ages of the church. I flatter myself, that these reflections will meet with the approbation of those who have considered human nature, what I have offered in this Essay, and several hints in Scripture, untouched perhaps, or unpursued by me.
CHAPTER III.

THE MIRACULOUS GIFTS WERE GRANTED AT THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES.

SECTION I.—Recapitulation of the evidence from the predictions of the old Prophets, of the Baptist, and of our Lord, that the miraculous gifts of the Spirit were to be granted after the Ascension of Christ.

The third thing I undertook was to prove, "that the Spirit did thus teach and witness in the first settlement of the Christian religion." But I have been forced to anticipate myself in a very great measure on this head: since every text which I have brought to explain the teaching and the witness of the Spirit; or to shew that the Spirit fell down in those five instances I have mentioned, and that the apostles conferred it wherever they came; and that these gifts were used by those who had them, is a full proof that there was such a teaching, and such a witnessing of the Spirit. Yet as that proof may be set in a stronger light, and as some farther evidence may be brought, that the Spirit thus taught and witnessed; I will endea-
These gifts to be granted after the ascension. 201

all cavils and objections that may be made against it: it being so capital a point in the Christian religion. David foretells, in the prophetic style, "Thou hast ascended on high; thou hast received gifts for men, yea, for the rebellious also, that the Lord God might dwell among them." Isaiah also, speaking of Jacob and Israel, says, "I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground; I will pour my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing on thy offspring:" and afterwards, "And all thy children shall be taught of God." Jeremiah also prophesies of the day of the gospel: "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah: not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers, in the day I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt (which my covenant they brake, although I was an husband to them, saith the Lord): but this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel, after those days, saith the Lord: I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and

1 Psal. lxviii. 18, 19.
2 Ibid. liv. 13.
3 Isa. xlv. 2, 3.
4 Jer. xxxi. 31—35.
The descent of the Spirit was to take place

every man his brother; saying, Know the Lord: for they shall all know me from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord; for I will forgive their iniquity, and will remember their sin no more.” Joel likewise prophesies:1 “And it shall come to pass afterwards, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions: and also upon the servants, and upon the hand-maid, in those days will I pour out my Spirit.”

John Baptist, Christ's forerunner, being sent to by the Sanhedrim, to know if he was the Messiah; “confessed and denied not: but confessed, I am not the Christ, but His forerunner.” But withal told them, “that Christ was standing among them;” and the next day said to them, “Behold the Lamb of God!” pointing to Him. “And he bare record, saying, I saw the Spirit descending on Him like a dove; and it abode upon Him: and I knew Him not. But He that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and remaining on Him, the same is He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost;” giving this as the distinguishing character of the Messiah;2 which probably is as

1 Joel ii. 28, 29. 2 John i. 20, 29, 32, 33.
after the ascension of Christ

if John Baptist said, "I knew not that He was to baptize with the Holy Ghost, and with fire. But He that sent me to baptize with water, said unto me, Him that thou shalt see baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire, He it is who is to baptize others with the Holy Ghost and with fire."

The material part of this record the three other evangelists give us. For Matthew says of John Baptist, "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but He that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." And Mark says of Him, "I indeed have baptized you with water, but He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost." And Luke says, "John answered, saying unto them all, I indeed baptize you with water; but one mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose, He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." Here is then John Baptist, a prophet, and greater than all the prophets, recorded by all the evangelists, to have declared, when he was asked by a competent authority, whether he was the Messiah, in prejudice to himself, that he was not; but that Jesus was, and that God had revealed it to him,

1 Matt. iii. 11.  2 Mark i. 8.  3 Luke iii. 16.
that He was the Messiah, who was to be anointed with the Holy Ghost, by a certain sign which he saw happen to Jesus; and that He was the person who was to “baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire.” Our Saviour Himself (that they should have a full proof that the Son of man came down from heaven, by having a full proof afterwards that He was ascended to heaven, whence He came;¹ namely, as He adds, “It is the Spirit that quickeneth”); before He left the world, tells the people, that “he that believeth on Him, as the Scripture saith, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water;” which, says St. John, “He spake of the Spirit, which they that believe on Him should receive, after He was glorified.” And Jesus tells His disciples just before He left the world,² “Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do, because I go to my Father.” And,³ “If ye shall ask any thing in my name, I will do it. And I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter, that He may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of Truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth Him not, neither knoweth Him: but ye know Him; for He dwelleth with you, and shall be in you.”

¹ John vi. 33.—63. ² John xiv. 12. ³ Ver. 16, 17.
And says, "These things have I spoken unto you, being yet present with you: but the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you." * "But when the Comforter is come, who is the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, He shall testify of me: and ye also shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning." Our Saviour adds, † "Nevertheless, I tell you the truth, it is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you: but if I depart I will send Him unto you. And when He is come, He will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgement. Of sin, because they believe not on me. Of righteousness, because I go to my Father, and ye see me no more. Of judgement, because the prince of this world is judged. I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now: howbeit, when the Spirit of truth is come, He will guide you into all truth; for He shall not speak of Himself, but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak, and He will shew you things to come. He shall glorify me, for He shall receive of mine, and shall shew it

1 John xiv. 25, 26.  * Ibid. xv. 26.  † Ibid. xvi. 7—15.
206 *Why our Lord breathed on His apostles.*

unto you. All things that the Father hath shall be mine; therefore said I, that he shall take of mine, and shall shew it unto you."

Mark likewise tells us, that Christ assured His disciples after His resurrection,¹ that among other signs that should follow them that believed in His name, they should "speak with tongues." Mark mentions no other gifts of the Holy Ghost, that being the most shining gift, or the greatest sign, and the most adapted to convince unbelievers, though not the most edifying to the church; as St. Paul fully determines the case:² being as he expressly says, for "a sign to them that believe not." And speaking with tongues may fairly include, "the great things of God" they were to teach (or the illumination of their minds), as well as the strange tongues in which they were to utter them. And St. John says, that "Jesus breathed on them, and said, Receive the Holy Ghost;" that is, "As I prefigure my death and resurrection to you by proper signs and tokens; so I do now the gift of the Holy Ghost, by my breathing on you." By breathing into man's nostrils man becomes a living soul. By my thus breathing on you, I promise you the Holy Ghost, which shall come on you, with the sound as of a mighty rushing wind,³ the very first token we

¹ Mark xvi. 17. ² 1 Cor. xiv. 22. ³ Acts ii. 2.
The miraculous gifts sent down by Christ. 207

read of a divine presence. And you may be as assured, that ye shall receive the Holy Ghost, as ye are that you now receive my breath. Or, as St. Luke says more particularly, "Behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you (not indeed just now, though you may be as fully assured of it as if I now did it); but (it will be very soon, and therefore) tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye are endued with power from on high." And Luke informs us, that our Saviour, just before his ascension, ordered them, "that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which, saith he, ye have heard of me." For John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost, not many days hence." And accordingly St. Mark says, "they went forth and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with the signs following."

And St. Luke also informs us more particularly, that St. Peter said, on the very occasion of the Holy Ghost's being poured out upon them, "that Christ being exalted at the right-hand of God, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, He hath

1 Gen. iii. 8.  2 Luke xxiv. 49.  3 Acts i. 4, 5, 8.
5 Mark xvi. 20.
These gifts prove the truth of Christianity.

shed forth this which ye see and hear.”Peter, and the rest of the apostles, placed the whole stress of Christianity here; for speaking of Christ’s resurrection and exaltation, he says, “And we are His witnesses of these things, and so is the Holy Ghost, whom God hath given to them that obey Him.” When he answers the objections of the Jews to His going in to Cornelius and his family, he declares, “that the Holy Ghost fell on them, as on us at the beginning, that is, with cloven tongues, as of fire, and gave them the like gifts as He did unto us. Then, said he, I remembered the word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost.”

SECTION II.—Additional evidence from the Epistles, that these predictions were all accomplished—The powerful evidence to the truth of the Christian religion arising from the constant appeal of St. Paul to his possession, and exercise of these miraculous gifts, in his epistles to various churches.

And as these passages make very strongly for my purpose, from the historical books of the New Testament; so I must add to all the other quotations I made from the epistles (to somewhat a different purpose, but which are

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1 Acts ii. 33. 2 Ibid. v. 30—33. 3 Ibid. xi. 15—18.
also applicable to this), that of St. Paul to Timothy: "Wherefore I put thee in remembrance to stir up the gift of God which is in thee, by the putting on of my hands." That the gift of God signifies the gift of the Holy Ghost, I think appears from the phrase itself, which in the seventeen places where it is used in Scripture, signifies always a gift; in all the places but one, a gift of God; and in all but six, the gift of the Holy Ghost. And that it here signifies the gift of the Holy Ghost, further appears by St. Paul's saying it was in Timothy, by the laying on of his (Paul's) hands. For as it does not appear in Scripture, that any other gift was given by the laying on of an apostle's hands; so it appears, that this was always imparted by them. It further appears to be the gift of the Holy Ghost, from the word which we translate "stir up;" which, as I have shewn before, signifies to blow or stir up fire, in allusion to the symbol of fire, in which the Holy Ghost at first descended. And we know that Timothy had some of these gifts of the Holy Ghost because he was an evangelist; and evangelists were fitted for that office by gifts of the Holy Ghost: and that Timothy in particular had those gifts, St. Paul seems to imply plainly

1 2 Tim. i. 6.
2 Tim. iv. 5.

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See the second Essay.
Eph. iv. 7—17.
In all the Epistles appeal is made

in these words, 'That good thing which was committed unto thee, keep by the Holy Ghost, which dwelleth in us.' Which good thing, as it is distinct from the form of sound words mentioned in the preceding verse, must needs mean the gifts of an evangelist. And it is very remarkable in this place, that St. Paul writes to Timothy, to put him in remembrance of something he had told him before; and asserts, that this gift of God, which St. Paul had (before, as well as now) exhorted him (Timothy) to stir up, was in him by the laying on of his (Paul's) hands.

I must likewise desire the reader to observe, that this exhortation to Timothy, and all the other exhortations relating to these gifts, in the other epistles, to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians, as well as in the epistles of James, Peter, John, and Jude (all which I have before quoted), imply an appeal to those churches to which they wrote for the truth of their assertion, that they had these gifts: which makes the evidence much stronger than the bare assertion in history could possibly do.

And it must yet add greater strength to this evidence, that St. Paul reproveth the Romans, the Corinthians, the Ephesians, and the Galatians

2 Tim. i. 14.
to the possession of the miraculous gifts, 211

(though the two latter more gently than the two former), for their pride and conceit about these gifts; which caused contentions and parties among them; as is evident, Rom. xii. 3—6. 1 Cor. xii. 4—26. Eph. iv. 1—7. Gal. iv. 15. ad fin. And one way by which he endeavours to fasten his reproof on the Corinthians, for the pride and other irregularities that attended the exercise of these gifts, and to give greater force to his exhortations to them, is by appealing to them whether “he did not speak with more tongues than them all?” 1 To fix his reproof and exhortation the better, he likewise appeals to them, whether it was not better to prophesy, or to use the gifts which were for edification, than that of tongues, which was more for shew; and in which they prided themselves so much. Since if they prophesied, and there came into their assemblies an ignorant man, or a heathen (an unbeliever), he was “convinced of all, and judged (or discerned) of all: and the secrets of his heart were made manifest; and so falling down on his face, he worshipped God, and reported that God was in them of a truth.” 2. Now can it be imagined, that any man in an epistle to a society, where there were heats and parties, would not only exhort to a right use of these gifts, and give them rules for

1 Cor. xiv. 18—22. * Ver. 24, 25.
that purpose; but reprove them for their pride, conceit, and other irregularities about them; and assert such things of his own gifts and of theirs, when he, and the several parties in that church, must needs know that there were no such gifts in any of them?

But what yet adds the greatest strength to this evidence is, that some of these reproofs and exhortations were written to churches where there were not only parties, but where a great (if not the greater) part of the church was drawn off from his gospel to another; or at least from their regard to his apostolical authority, to the Jewish false apostles; preferring their licentious doctrines to the strictness and purity he required. This was evidently the case with the Galatians, but especially with the Corinthians. None that have read his first epistle to that church with the least care can doubt it. The epistle turns upon it, and is full of it. Now St. Paul puts the truth of his apostolical character, and of his gospel, upon this single evidence: "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, that you should not obey the truth, before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth crucified among you? This only would I learn of you, Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith? Are ye so fool-

*Gal. iii. 1—6.*
ish? having begun in the Spirit, are ye now made perfect by the flesh? Have ye suffered so many things in vain? if it be yet in vain. He therefore that ministereth to you the Spirit, and worketh miracles among you, doth he it by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?" And afterwards he adds, that there could be no reason to seek justification by the law, which only brought a curse; since Christ being made a curse, the blessing of Abraham was come on them through Jesus Christ: "They receiving the promise of the Spirit through faith;"¹ and adds further, that it was the most unreasonable thing imaginable in them to be subject to the law of Moses, or to endeavour to be sons in minority under tutors; since they had the fullest proof, that they were sons at full age through Christ, by God's having sent "the Spirit of His Son into their hearts, crying, Abba, Father."²

When St. Paul acknowledges those infirmities, on account of which the Corinthians seem to have been wrought upon to have despised him; his weakness, his fear, his trembling, his speech without eloquence, and his preaching without philosophy; the things which they admired in their Apollos (their false teacher, or apostle): what does he set in opposition to these his own imperfections, and the eloquence

¹ Gal. iii. 10—15. ² Ibid. iv. 1—10.
and wisdom of their Apollos, but "the demonstration of the Spirit, and of power," in which he came to them? that is, the gifts of the Spirit, in which he says they were enriched, and by which the testimony of Christ was confirmed in them; and in those signs, wonders, and mighty deeds, which he says he wrought among them; and by which, "through the power of the Spirit of God," he tells the Romans, "he had preached the gospel of Christ from Jerusalem unto Illyricum."

And he expressly says (having his eye still to this false apostle, this deceitful worker, transforming himself into an apostle; "this minister of Satan"), "If he that cometh preacheth another Jesus, whom we have not preached; or if ye receive another spirit (from him) which ye have not received (from me), or another gospel (from him) which ye have not received (from me), ye might well bear with him: whereas, though he had been rude in speech, yet not in knowledge (of the gospel); but we have been thoroughly made manifest among you (by the manifestation of the Spirit), in all things."

When he is asserting his privilege, the non-claim of which the Corinthians seem to turn

1 Cor. ii. 1—5. 2 Ibid. i. 5, 6, 7. 3 2 Cor. xii. 12. 4 Rom. xv. 19. 5 2 Cor. xi. 4. 6 Ver. 2, 3, compared with ver. 13, 15. 7 Ver. 6.
upon him, as a confession that he was not an apos-
tle, as other apostles and Cephas were; who,
agreeably to their character, used those privi-
leges: * upon what does he put the proof of his
apostleship, but these gifts of the Spirit (in
which the members of this church abounded,
so as to come behind in no gift)? * "If I be not
an apostle unto others, yet doubtless I am to
you; for the seal (or the undoubted proof of
the truth) of my apostleship are ye in the Lord." ¹
In what were they such an undoubted proof of
the truth of his apostleship, but in these gifts of
the Spirit, in which they were not inferior to,
but enriched beyond, other churches? In no-
thing else could they be said to excel. They
were so wanting in obedience to the apostle, in
love to one another, as well as in most of the
other Christian virtues, that we find St. Paul is
forced to take more pains with this church, to
use greater precautions with them, to exercise
and threaten more of his apostolical power a-
mong them, than to all the others put together.
This appears in his second epistle to this church;
where he says, that he is jealous lest this rival
apostle should seduce them, and corrupt their
minds from the simplicity which is in Christ.
And what does he offer to preserve them from
being beguiled by his subtility? Is it not an ap-

¹ 1 Cor. ix. ² Ibid. i. 5, 6, 7. ³ Ver. 2.
peal to them whether he preached any other Jesus than he did? or whether they had received another "Spirit from him which they had not received first from himself?" If he had not these apostolical powers, which he calls his rod, would he have ventured to have said, in this second epistle, just before he was coming to them (threatening the rival apostle and his faction) "For though we walk after the flesh we do not war after the flesh (for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty, to the pulling down of strong holds), casting down imaginations, and every high thing which exalteth itself against the knowledge of God? And having a readiness to revenge all disobedience, when your obedience is fulfilled. For though I should boast somewhat more of our authority—I should not be ashamed: that I may not seem as if I would terrify you by letters. For his letters, say they, are weighty and powerful, but his body is weak, and his speech contemptible. Let such an one think this, that such as we are in worldly letters when we are absent, such will we also be in deed when present." Just as he had declared in his first epistle, "that though some were puffed up, as if he would not come among them, yet he would come shortly, if the Lord would; and would know not their speech,

1 2 Cor. xi. 2. 5. 2 Cor. x. 3—12.
but their power." 1 And afterwards asserts, in
his second epistle, "that truly the signs of an
apostle were wrought among them (by him), in
signs and wonders, and mighty deeds:" 2 and
proceeds to denounce to those who had sinned,
and did not repent, that "when he came
among them he would not spare." 3

Now can it be conceived, that St. Paul
would put the proof of the truth of his gospel,
and of his apostolical character, upon gifts of
the Holy Ghost conferred upon them by him;
and that in a dispute between him and a false
apostle, rivalling him in that church, by indulg-
ing their vices, and by other wicked and decei-
tful arts; when there were no such gifts among
them? Such a supposition is the greatest ab-
surdity imaginable. But if it was possible to
suppose that St. Paul, in saying all this of him-
self, "had boasted of things beyond his mea-
sure," though he most expressly declares that
he does not: 4 yet, if it was but boasting and
vain-glory, what effect could it produce but
contempt and indignation? See how his first
epistle affected them. He was very solicitous
to know how it was received. He goes from
Ephesus to Troas, "where a door was opened
to him of the Lord;" yet had he no rest in his

1 1 Cor. iv. 19.  2 2 Cor. xii. 12.  3 Ibid. xiii. 2.
4 2 Cor. x. 13.
218 The miraculous gifts were seen by strangers, as

spirit there, because he did not find Titus, whom he had sent to know their present temper. He therefore leaves Troas, and all his prospect of immediate success, to go to Macedonia, in quest of Titus. Titus there acquaints him with the effects his epistle had produced in them; namely, "mourning, a fervent mind towards him, a sorrow to repentance that wrought in them carefulness, a clearing of themselves, an indignation, a fear, a vehement desire, a zeal, a revenge:"* and that they had received him with "obedience, trembling, and fear. So that God who comforteth them that are cast down, comforted him by the consolation wherewith Titus was comforted in them; and made him to triumph in Christ on their account."† And here-upon he informs them, that though hitherto he had not come to them, "that so he might spare them," notwithstanding his frequent purposes to come;‡ yet now, finding the greater part of the opposite faction brought to a joint and becoming temper, he will certainly and instantly be with them;§ and would not spare those who continued impenitent. St. Paul did actually go there immediately.¶ Is there then that determined enemy to Christianity who will venture

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* See the Abstract.
† 2 Cor. vii. 6—12.
‡ Ibid. 13, 14.
§ 2 Cor. i. 23.
¶ Ibid. xiii. 1, 2.
¶¶ See the Abstract.
to assert, that any man in his senses would have said these things of the Corinthians to themselves, in a second epistle, just after he had been with them, and just before he designed to go to them, and actually went, if he was not convinced that they knew all this to be true? St. Paul's having said these things in the manner he has said them, is equivalent to the Corinthians' having said them in a letter to him.

I have dwelt the longer on this evidence, because I am aware that it may be said, that all the evidence I have brought for this teaching and witnessing of the Spirit is from parties. But I think, when what I have offered to obviate that exception is duly considered, the evidence I have brought, though party evidence, is, according to all the rules of evidence, stronger than the evidence of unbelieving Jews or Heathens; if any such evidence could have been produced: though I think that cannot be expected. For if Jews or Heathens, on going into the assemblies of Christians, where these gifts seem to have been only exercised, had been convinced by this demonstration of the Spirit, they had become parties. If, through malignity, which must have then been the case, they would not own their conviction, or stifle it; we cannot expect they would do any thing to give testimony against themselves. Whatever may be said of the other apostles, yet it ought to be observed,
These gifts imparted among those most com-
that the evidence of St. Paul is the evidence of
one who had been the most furious adversary
of the gospel; and who became its friend from
evidence which overthrew all the prejudice and
interest that lay in the way of his believing the
facts and doctrines of the Christian religion.
The evidence therefore that I have given, as
it is in itself most surprisingly strong, so it seems
to me the best, perhaps the only evidence, which
the nature of the thing can admit.¹

It must likewise add great strength to this
evidence, that the places where the Holy Ghost
descended, or that we read of its being im-
parted, or exercised, were cities remarkable for
being the capitals of countries, for being large
and populous, the residence of governors, or the
seat of trade and learning; and where conse-
quently there was like to be the greatest oppo-
sition, from the envy of Jewish bigots, or heathen
philosophers, deeply tainted with ritual or hypo-
thetic knowledge; and where there was likewise
consequently, on all these accounts, the greatest
opportunity to examine into the truth, as well
as to spread the news of this great event in the
world. Such were Jerusalem, Samaria, Cæsarea,
Damascus, Antioch in Pisidia, Thessalonica,

¹ See the anecdote of Mr. Anthony Collins and Lord Barrington in the Memoir prefixed to this edition of the Miscellanea Sacra.
petent to judge of their nature and origin. 221

Ephesus, Philippi, Corinth, Rome. And at the first of these places, where the Spirit first descended, it was, in all probability, in the temple; and when there were there vast numbers of persons from all parts of the Roman empire present.

SECTION III.—On the duration of the miraculous gifts.

Nor does it add less to the weight of this evidence, that these gifts continued so long in the church. For that they continued till about the year 96, we learn from Rev. i. 12, where St. John calls the revelation he received about future events, the “testimony of Jesus Christ;” and from chap. xix. 10, where St. John acquaints us from the angel who was sent to John (and who appears to have been one of John’s fellow-servants, and of his brethren that had the testimony of Jesus: or, as the angel says more expressly, chap. xxii. 8, 9, “One of his brethren the prophets”), that “the testimony of Jesus (then) was the Spirit of prophecy.” And there cannot be much doubt of these gifts lasting as much longer as the oldest of those lived to whom St. John imparted them. Clement speaks of a plentiful effusion of the Holy Ghost upon all the Corinthians, in his epistle to them: Πληρής.
Some of the miraculous gifts continued

Ignatius salutes the church of Smyrna, ἐλπιῶν ἐν παντὶ χαρίσματι. And again, ἀνωτέρωτον οὖσαν πάντως χαρίσματος. Justin Martyr mentions these gifts of the Spirit then exercised, βουλήν ἰσχὺν ἱασίν πρόγνωσιν διδασκαλίαν. And Irenæus, speaking of the prophetic gifts, mentions the gift of tongues, and the discernment of spirits. And that these did not last longer, seems to have been the case in fact, since Irenæus, who died about the year 190, in a very old age, speaks of his having seen these gifts, but says nothing of his own having them. And this agrees with what Origen says, that there were ( yyn) some footsteps, or traces of prophecy, in his time. And Eusebius intimates the entire cessation of them in his days. But perhaps the gift of miracles, of dispossessioning devils, and of healing diseases, and the other gifts which were not peculiar to the dispensation of the Spirit, might last longer than the gifts of illumination; they seem at least to have lasted longer if we may credit the account of the fathers, as Tertullian.

2 See Dodwell's Dissert. on Iren. l. v. c. 6.
3 Brokesby, p. 95.
4 Tertul. ad Scap. c. iv. Apol. c. xxiii. Orig. contr.
Origen,¹ Lactantius, Chrysostom, and Austin, confessed that they had entirely ceased in their time; or at least that they were very rare.²

Now put all this together, with the several places I have quoted, to explain the teaching and witnessing of the Spirit, and it will stand thus. Joel prophesies of this great event. John Baptist, against his own interest, and in diminution of his credit and authority, foretells this by a special revelation from God, as the distinguishing character of the Messiah. This, in effect, the our evangelists relate. Our Saviour foretells it in the course of His ministry to the people, says St. John; and to His disciples just before His death, say Mark, Luke, and John; and over and over in His discourses with them. He repeats it to them after His resurrection, and just before His ascension, say St. Luke and St. John. St. Luke says, He foretold the place and time when it should come on them; and ordered them not to depart from Jerusalem, nor begin to testify till they received it; which should be soon after He had received the promise of the

Cels. l. i. p. 7. 20. l. vii. p. 334. 376. 53. Orig. de Orat. part ii. n. 11.
² Brokesby, p. 154.
¹ Chrysost. in 1 Cor. λογ. εἰς. Ethic. λογ. καθ. in 1 Tim. λογ. ἡμ. Ethic. in 1 Cor. λογ. καθ. in Col. λογ. η. August. de ver. Rel. c. xxv. n. 47. De util. credend. c. 16. in Psal. cxxx. n. 6. Vide Dodw. Diss. in Iren. Dis. ii. p. 205.
Father. St. Luke relates to us accordingly, that it did come upon them, agreeably to John Baptist's and our Saviour's prediction, with cloven tongues, like as of fire. It illuminated their minds with knowledge, and enabled them to communicate that knowledge in all languages with great freedom and boldness. He asserts, that it came down on the first converts from among the proselytes of the gate: and, as I think, fairly hints, or rather asserts (considering the phraseology he uses, and the force of that phraseology in the Acts), that it also fell on the first converts from among the heathen; and his expressions are such from whence we may fairly infer, that the apostles conferred it on all Christians where they came, by the laying on of their hands. St. Paul either fully expresses, or hints the same, in all his epistles: as James, Peter, John, and Jude do, in theirs; and in the manner I have observed. Finally, that these gifts were exercised by vast numbers, differently, frequently, and publicly, in a great many great cities of great countries (as Judæa, Syria, Asia, Macedonia, Greece, and Italy), and for a long track of time. When all this is considered, I think nothing in Christianity, nor any fact in antiquity, will appear so well and so fully proved.
CHAPTER IV.

ON THE MANIFESTATIONS, AND EFFECTS, OF THE MIRACULOUS INFLUENCES IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

SECTION I.—The prophets, before the time of the apostles, and the partakers of the miraculous gifts in the early church compared.

The fourth thing that I have undertaken to shew is, "In what this superior teaching and witnessing of the Spirit consists." This will be best understood, by comparing the Spirit of prophecy under the Old Testament, and a little before, at, and after our Saviour's birth, and during His life, with these gifts after His ascension. For it would not be to my present purpose to consider some other gifts of the Spirit under the Old Testament: such as the faith of miracles, the Spirit of wisdom, judgment, government, strength, valour, or the like; by which "they subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the
226 God imparted only the miraculous gifts

armies of the aliens." But as to a comparison between the prophetic gifts, it will stand thus. It was but now and then that God communicated Himself to a patriarch or a prophet under the Old Testament. When God made such a communication, it was to send him on a particular message. The word of the Lord came now and then to the prophets, and the Spirit of the Lord came now and then upon them. There were great intervals at some times, when the Jews, as they complain, were without any prophet; and when the word of the Lord was scarce; and at last the world was without a prophet above three hundred years, namely, between Malachi, Zacharias, and Elizabeth. There was seldom above one eminent prophet at a time; though I think we once read of seventy-two: and it was yet more seldom, that two eminent prophets prophesied at the same time. The prophets that prophesied were often sons of prophets, or bred up in the schools of the prophets. When God gave answers by the urim and thummim, it was only in cases which concerned the whole nation of the Jews. The prophets were not always under inspiration: nor did they know when they should be. We have instances of this in Samuel, Nathan, Elisha; they had but particular revelations; and those they had were either of less conse-

1 Heb. xi. 33, 34. 2 Numb. xi. 25, 26. 3 1 Sam. iii. 3—11. 4 2 Sam. vii. 1—18. 5 2 Kings iii. 15.
of prophecy under the Jewish dispensation. 227.

quence, or so obscure that they oftentimes did not understand them themselves: we see this particularly in the case of Daniel. So that not unto themselves, or their own age, but unto us did they minister. They never pretended to make prophets, or communicate their gifts to others; unless in the case of Joshua, who was full of the Spirit of wisdom, because Moses had laid his hands on him. But in the case of the seventy, Moses was so far from communicating the Spirit, that "God took of his (Moses') spirit, and gave it unto, or put it upon them, and then they prophesied."

It is true, that Moses had the two tables of the law, and a plan of all things relating to the tabernacle, delivered him in the Mount; God not speaking to him in dreams and visions, and now and then, as He did to other prophets, but frequently, and "face to face." But the two tables contained but ten commandments: nor could those commandments, or the plan of things delivered, or what God said to Moses afterwards, in consequence of the two tables, or the plan delivered him in the Mount, make those who lived under that dispensation perfect. We find also, on the revival of prophecy, just before, or at, our Saviour's appearing in the world, a few instances of persons having revela-

1 Dan. xii. 8, 9. 2 Deut. xxxiv. 9. 3 Numb. xi. 17—25.
tions by the Holy Ghost. Thus the Holy Ghost was on Simeon (and it was revealed to him, that he should not see death before he had seen the Lord's Christ); and perhaps on Anna the prophetess: and thus Zachary and Elizabeth are filled with the Holy Ghost: and it may be, Mary also: and each of them brake forth into hymns. John Baptist, who was full of the Holy Ghost from his mother's womb, baptized men into the faith of the doctrine of the remission of sins upon repentance; thereby preparing men for the Messiah, foretelling His immediate appearance, and introducing Him to the world. The apostles and disciples in our Saviour's lifetime were taught by Him, who had the Spirit without measure; yet it was but as they could bear it; but the Spirit solely rested upon, or abode with Him. Their integrity recommended them to their great Master. They were willing to follow Him whithersoever He went; and having been sent by Him, preached the plain doctrine of repentance, healed diseases, and cast out devils: but they were not only unacquainted with the great design of His coming into the world, but entirely mistook it.¹

But after our Saviour's ascension all the Lord's people became prophets; and they were all taught of God: God pouring out of His

¹ See the second Essay.
Effects of these gifts on the minds of the receivers. 229

Spirit at once, and in an instant upon all flesh. They had the Holy Ghost to rest upon, abide with, and inhabit them, as the shechinah did in the temple; not imparting to them a revelation, an inspiration now and then, but being in them as a spring, or rivers of living water: endowing some of them with the knowledge of the truths of the greatest comprehension and importance, giving them the understanding of all prophecies, and the revelation of the deepest mysteries; enabling them to discern the spirits of others; to foretell particular events for the good of the church; to teach, to exhort, to warn, to rebuke, to admonish, to pray, to compose, and sing hymns and psalms, to preside, and advise the church in all emergencies, and to judge when they ought to comply with such advice; and to assist the apostles in the most prudent manner, in some of the lower and more distant parts of their work: and, what is yet a greater proof than all the rest, enabling fourteen of these (that is, the twelve, with Paul and Barnabas) by the laying on of their hands and prayer, to confer some of these gifts on all the believers where they themselves came: and who thereupon exercised such gifts as they had, and in such degrees as they had them, in public assemblies; as the apostles did their superior gifts in a degree peculiar to themselves. Thus the word of God, which came now and then to
the ancient prophets, and even to the last and greatest of them, John, the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness;" dwelt richly (not only in apostles, prophets, evangelists, &c. but) in all Christians in all wisdom, enabling them to teach, admonish, and exhort one another, when they assembled themselves together." 

SECTION II.—The witness of the Spirit superior to all other testimonies in favor of the truth of the Christian religion.

This comparison between the state of prophecy under the Old and New Testament after the ascension of Christ, which I have made to shew wherein the superior teaching of the Spirit did consist; will also shew, wherein the superiority of the witness of the Spirit, to all other testimonies given to Christ, did consist. Our Saviour, in the days of His flesh, went about working miracles, curing diseases, and casting out devils. Yet might it be said by malice and perverseness (perhaps, by mere scepticism, in some given to doubt) that they did not know the power of nature, and therefore could not judge of a miracle; that they did not know what secrets there might be for the speedy and instantaneous cure of diseases; and that they could not tell, whether those few were really

\[1\] Luke iii. 2. \[2\] Col. iii. 16. Heb. x. 25.
dead that were said to be raised: and the blasphemy against the Son went so far as to say, that He cast out devils by Beelzebub the prince of devils: and possibly some taught, that His cures of diseases, as well as His dispossessing of devils, was by charms and spells, and magical arts, used almost universally in medicine in that age of the world: and as for the working miracles, curing of diseases, and casting out of devils, the heathen priests and exorcists pretended to them; and many of the Jews pretended to some of them. And our Saviour, as well as His apostles, foretold, that there should be false Christs and false prophets; and that they should work such signs and wonders as, if it were possible, would seduce the very elect; and that Satan should come among those who received not the truth in the love of it, “with all power, signs; and lying wonders.”

Nay, even as to Christ’s resurrection, a wicked imagination might perhaps strain itself so far as to find out some cavils and exceptions to it, fully proved as it stands to us, by a great number of unexceptionable witnesses, were it not confirmed by this great event. But this quite blunts and deadens all the workings of the most active and sublimated malice. For is there any secret art, trick, slight, or power, or was any such thing ever pretended to since the world

1 See Acts xix. 18, 19. 2 Matt. xxiv. 24. 2 Thess. ii. 8, 9, 10.
Dr. Clarke's definition of a miracle.

began; by which the knowledge of things of the greatest compass, use, and consequence, can be infused into the minds of vast numbers of illiterate men and women in an instant; and power given to some of them to communicate some of these gifts, but different ones, to all those believers to whom they came without distinction, by the laying on of their hands?

If all this illumination, in the several kinds and degrees in which it was communicated to vast multitudes, had nothing in it more than the miracles wrought by our Saviour and His apostles in His lifetime; and was of the same rank and class with them: yet inasmuch as it was in many instances of it, and in the great numbers to which it was communicated, entirely new, and of various kinds (none of the prophets, John Baptist, or the apostles in the lifetime of our Saviour, having ever had it), it was the more likely to produce much greater effects than any of the other.

But I cannot but think, that these gifts were of a different kind from the gift or power of working all other miracles.

A miracle in the theological sense of the word, is, as a great philosopher, and a very learned divine (to whom the cause of religion is highly indebted on many accounts), defines it: "A work effected in a manner unusual, or different from the common and regular
method of Providence, by the interposition either of God Himself, or of some intelligent Agent superior to man, for the proof or evidence of some particular doctrine, or in attestation to the authority of some particular person. And if a miracle so worked, be not opposed by some plainly superior power; nor be brought to attest a doctrine either contradictory in itself, or vicious in its consequences (a doctrine of which kind no miracles in the world can be sufficient to prove); then the doctrine so attested must necessarily be looked upon as divine, and the worker of the miracle entertained as having infallibly a commission from God.”

He very justly observes, that there is no miracle recorded in Scripture, which necessarily bespeaks the immediate power of God to be interposed, or that exceeds the power of angels to effect.¹ Let it be considered then, whether this illumination could proceed from any angel, or from any but God, or Christ, or the Holy Spirit?

SECTION III.—This illumination could not have been imparted by any power, but by that of the Holy Spirit.

According to the account the Scriptures give us, the angels could not convey this knowledge

¹ Dr. Clarke’s Evidence of Nat. and Rev. Religion, p. 229.
² P. 119. 220. 222.
to the minds of men; it being the knowledge of things hid in the deep counsel of God from them; the angels being represented as desiring to look into these things:¹ and these things being revealed to the churches, to the intent, that “by them might be made known unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places, the manifold wisdom of God.”² And therefore St. Paul asserts, that God had revealed these things to them by His Holy Spirit, from this argument; “That as no man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man, which is in him: even so the things of God knoweth no man (οὐδεὶς, no person), but the Spirit of God;³ even that Spirit which searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God: which Spirit, he says, they (that is, the apostles) had received, that they might know the things that were freely given them of God; even that Spirit which was the promise of the Father,⁴ and proceeded from Him.”⁵

Perhaps there is no mind capable of containing all that knowledge which the apostles, or at least that some of them had, so as to have it always ready for their use. Such knowledge as they had of the perfections of God, of the nature of man, of his duty, and what conduceth to his honour and felicity; of all the dispensa-

tions of God to the several ages; not only of that by Christ, but by Moses and the prophets; and the full meaning of the types, allegories, and allusions of the Old Testament: prudence to manage and order assemblies; skill to address themselves to mankind, according to their different genius and capacity; with the knowledge of a great many different languages; of which we have fifteen or sixteen reckoned up. In which gift the Corinthians excelled; and in which yet Paul says he excelled them ("speaking with more tongues than them all"); and possessing all these languages in such perfection, as to be able to speak them with readiness and propriety on all proper occasions. If the mind shall not be thought capable of containing all this knowledge at once, without its capacities being enlarged; can we suppose an angel, by his natural powers, capable of enlarging them? or any being, but the Father of spirits, who first created them, either by a mediate or an immediate exertion of His own divine power?

Or if it should be thought, that the minds of the apostles and others, were capable of containing all this knowledge, without any enlargement of their natural powers; yet can it be thought, that they were capable of receiving all,

1 Acts ii. 9—12. 2 1 Cor. xiv. 18.
this knowledge in an instant, without any such enlargement? How long does the most comprehensive genius, at the greatest ripeness of age, require to take in any one art, science, or language, from the master that possesses or teaches it in the greatest perfection? Let any man consult the operations of his own mind, the experience and the history of the human understanding; and then settle the account. Moses, who was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, was forty days in taking the pattern from God himself in the Mount; and that pattern was only of the tabernacle, its furniture and attendants. Is it to be imagined then, that the apostles and others (ἀνθρώπος ἀγράμματος καὶ ἰδιώται), "unlearned and ignorant men," were capable of having so many arts, divine sciences, and tongues imparted to them in an instant, by any but Him that "calls the things that are not as though they were." Supposing it easy to conceive, how an angel may, by his natural powers, drive fish to a hook, or into a net; how he may bring fresh loaves and fishes to feed a multitude; how he may support a man walking on the water, or waft a body up into the air; how he may raise or lay winds; how he may inflict or cure diseases, or it may be, raise a dead body to life: it may be

As easy for an angel to support a man walking on the water, as for a man to keep a stone from falling by his hand: and so in other instances: notwithstanding that all these are great miracles; yet, can any one conceive that an angel, by his natural powers, can enlarge the capacities of the mind so as to make it take in as much knowledge in an instant, as a man of the best parts must be an age in learning, by slow degrees, with the utmost intention of his mind (on the supposition that his mind is able at once to contain it), and to have it all ready for his use on every occasion?

If therefore it shall be thought, that other miracles might be wrought by angels; this extensive and instantaneous illumination could be effected by none but God, or Christ, or the Holy Spirit; it is a work exceeding all others that were wrought in confirmation of the Christian religion, in kind as well as degree; and will shew (further than any thing I have yet said, not only why the gifts of the Holy Ghost are distinguished from miracles in the New Testament, but) wherein the superiority of this teaching and witness of the Spirit did consist; and account more fully for the much greater effects it produced, than were wrought by Christ or His apostles, in his lifetime.

Some of these considerations may perhaps
The miraculous gifts were sent down by our Lord.

account for the superiority of the Spirit's testimony to all others. But that in fact it was always considered as superior, both by Christ and the apostles, may not only be collected from what I have been obliged to say on other heads, and from texts which I have already quoted; but from these which follow. Our Saviour expressly asserts, that he that believes on Him, "shall not only do the works that He did, but greater; because, as He adds, He goes to the Father;" that is, to receive those gifts, and shed them down: gifts which would admirably suit His exaltation to the right-hand of God; and the design of enlarging His kingdom, when He was exalted to His throne. When the Holy Ghost therefore was poured forth, Peter does not only explain what it was, but offers to communicate it to them all, on their believing; as the greatest proof that could be given, that the gifts they had were what Christ, on His exaltation, had shed down. And this communication by the laying on of hands, reaching much further than the immediate baptism by the Holy Ghost and fire, and being consequently so much a greater proof of Christianity; the laying on of hands is considered as one of the first principles of Christianity; namely, its

1 Acts ii. 15—39. 2 Heb. vi. 1, 2.
These gifts included the "sure word of prophecy." 

Evidence; whilst baptism, that is, by water and fire, are only considered as the methods of the first entrance into it.

SECTION IV.—The miraculous gifts of the Spirit were probably the more sure, or more confirmed, word of prophecy mentioned by St. Peter, 2 Pet. i. 19.

On account of this superiority of the witness which the Spirit gives to Christ, over the attestation which even God the Father saw fit to give to Him whilst He was upon earth, St. Peter (after he had been speaking of the voice that came from that excellent glory, saying, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased:" and after saying, "And we heard this voice which came from heaven, when we were with Him in the holy mount,") adds: "And we have (or have received) a more sure word of prophecy;" for so I think it should be rendered; Καὶ ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἡμῶν ἡμῖν ἴκουσαν—Καὶ ἰχαμεν βεβαιότερον τὴν προφητικὴν λόγον.

"We (that is, we apostles; we who heard the voice when we were with Him in the holy mount; and the rest of the apostles, who are witnesses of all that Jesus did and taught, till the day He ascended into heaven, as well as we) have received a word of prophecy (that is, the word of wisdom, and knowledge, and prophecy,"
240 The gift of prophecy, among the Apostles,

which we apostles have received from the Spirit of prophecy, whose office is to shew things to come, by which we speak a word from the Lord, as all former prophets did, and as we do the word of the gospel, or the word of faith; by which we become not only the foundation on which you and all Christians are built as apostles, but as prophets too: and who "as prophets, reveal the ministry, which was kept secret since the world began, by our Scriptures, according to the commandment of the everlasting God to all nations for the obedience of faith"), more sure than the voice we heard in the holy mount. For though that is no fable, but a fact delivered to you by us, who heard it, and saw the glory, or Shechinah, that attended it; on which account we must be more sure of it than we can possibly be of any Old Testament prophecies; and you must be so too, since it is the testimony of us the witnesses of the Lord (greater than any of the prophets), and fully confirmed to you: yet neither can we nor you, in the nature of the thing, possibly be so sure of it, as we and you are of an illumination in all the wisdom of the gospel, and knowledge of all mysteries, and the gifts of prophecy, which we received in an instant at the feast of

1 John xvi. 19.  2 See the second Essay.  3 Eph. ii. 20.  4 Rom. xvi. 25, 26. See the second Essay.
was a more satisfactory, and convincing evidence of Pentecost; and some of which gifts we have communicated to all believers where we have come, and particularly to some of yourselves; and have still the power to communicate; whereunto ye (to whom I write) do well that ye take heed, as to a light that shineth in a dark place (this world, which is said to be darkness, and would be so, had not Jesus by Himself and His Spirit, enlightened it; and where we yet see but through a glass darkly, in comparison of that clear light which will break in upon us, when (but therefore take heed to this light, as the best you will have until) the day dawn (or until the day of the Lord, or the day of judgment, dawn in the morning of the resurrection), and till the morning-star (φωσφοράς) arise in your hearts (or till Christ shall give you the morning-star to irradiate your hearts: when you will no more want this apostolic word of prophecy, which, though the best you will have here, and which therefore ye ought carefully to attend to, yet will be then of no use to you: "For when that which is perfect is come, that which is in part shall be done away")

1 Pet. iv. 10, 11.  2 John i. 5.  3 1 Cor. xiii. 12.
4 Ibid. iii. 10.  5 Rev. ii. 28.  6 1 Cor. xiii. 10.

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neither of the Old or New Testament, is of private interpretation (ἥλας ἑκτὸς ἰδεῖν, of men's own suggestion): "For prophecy came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." And you can less imagine that prophecy is of private suggestion now, who have been so fully acquainted that we kept in our upper room, unwilling to testify the facts of Christianity, and unable to teach its doctrines, till the Holy Ghost came upon us in an instant, at the feast of Pentecost (and suggested to us what we then taught, who were altogether unlearned before; and moved us by the courage He gave us, to testify, as well as preach to the world): and who, at least some among you, feel likewise some of these motions yourselves, in the gifts of the Holy Ghost, which you have received.

So that, upon the whole, I apprehend the sense of this place, and the context, is this: "I write this epistle to you, to recall to your memories what I have taught you; and the rather, because I am suddenly to leave you. Which things are not only the account I gave you of the transfiguration of Christ, which three of His apostles most certainly saw, and the at-

1 Pet. iv. 10, 11.
handed down to them from their fathers. 243

testation the voice of the Father gave Him, and which we most certainly heard; but that clearer knowledge of Christianity, and that greater proof of it which we gave you, in the doctrine we taught from the suggestions of the Spirit; and the farther proof we gave to the truth of it from the other gifts of the Spirit which we have, and impart; to which you ought carefully to attend, as to the greatest discovery, and the most fully proved to you, that you will ever receive in this imperfect state; or till you come to that land of light and vision, where you shall not want even apostolic prophecy; but shall see as you are seen, and know as you are known. But till that time take the most careful heed to the doctrines you have learnt from us. For be assured, that nothing said by us, as from the Spirit of prophecy, is of private suggestion. That was not the case in the prophets under the Old Testament: and you have far better proof that that is not the case of us the apostles and prophets under the New.”

I hope the reader will forgive me for dwelling so long on this text, since it is a very difficult one, and has of late been turned to an unhappy purpose; and since the interpre-

1 The reader may see a greater chasm, and that must be filled up with a much larger supplement, Luke xvii. 7. See Dr. Clarke’s Paraphrase.
The sin against the Holy Ghost was

tation I have given of it is, I believe, entirely new. I submit it therefore to the judgment of others. I think, however, till I am set right, that this sense of it makes the apostle’s reasoning appear very pertinent and strong, and agreeable to the strain of the New Testament. Whereas if the sense of it be what has been generally given it, referring to Old Testament prophecy, I cannot understand the apostle’s reasoning, or see how it is subservient to his purpose, or suited to the dispensation of the Spirit. Nor can I see how to obviate that unhappy use that has been made of it, and to which I think the common interpretation pretty naturally leads. If the New Testament Greek will allow us to interpret ἡ μακρὴ τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων, only sure, and not more sure, as Dr. Sherlock has interpreted the passage, yet I think the argument of the apostle here requires that we should render it, as our translators have done, "a more sure word of prophecy." Besides that, if this difficulty were out of the way, there are several others remaining (as I think will appear to those that consider what I have offered), which I see no other interpretation that will remove.

On the whole, I defy any man to make any cavil or exception to this witness of the Spirit, that may not be made to any thing. And he that will say, that this is not sufficient
the rejection of the evidence of these gifts. 245
evidence of the truth of a revelation, must say
that revelation can have no evidence. So that
it is as impossible to convince them, as St. Paul
says it is to renew them again to repentance,
who have "been enlightened, and who have
tasted of the heavenly gift, and have been
made partakers of the Holy Ghost—if they shall
fall away.”

SECTION V.—The sin against the Holy Ghost was
probably the rejection of the miraculous proofs of the
truth of Christianity, during the apostolic age.

I agree with the learned Dr. Whitby, that
the highest instance of blasphemy against the
Holy Ghost, was attributing these gifts of the
Holy Ghost, in those that saw and heard them,
to trick, delusion, or diabolical arts. This seems
to be that instance of it which our Saviour
says "shall not be forgiven in the world to
come," or in the new age, the kingdom of the
Messiah, and the dispensation of the Spirit. 3
And that the reason why it could not be for-
given was, that it arose from such an incurable
wickedness and perverseness of mind, as would
not suffer any evidence to convince them of the
truth of that dispensation, which was the only
dispensation that expressly promised that all
manner of sin, and all manner of blasphemy,

1 Heb. vi. 4, 5. 2 Matt. xii. 32.
should be forgiven, but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. I say it was a perverseness that would not suffer any evidence to convince them (not even this testimony of the Spirit, confirming the resurrection, ascension, and exaltation of Christ); or, if they were convinced, yet carried them, instead of owning this undeniable testimony, to vilify and blaspheme it. But though this was the greatest instance of this incurable wickedness and perverseness, yet wherever it shewed itself by blasphemy against any work done by the Spirit of God, even during our Saviour's life, it was the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost; of which if the Pharisees were evidently guilty, yet men might be guilty of it in our Saviour's time, since our Saviour says on that occasion, that blasphemy against the Holy Ghost "shall not be forgiven in this world (or the age in which he spoke, which was the times of the law), any more than in the world to come" (or the age that succeeded it, namely, the kingdom of the Messiah, or the dispensation of the Spirit): and our Saviour probably spoke as a prophet, when He said, that "blasphemy against the Holy Ghost should not be forgiven" those Pharisees, on whose occa-

1 See his Appendix to the xith Chapter of St. Matthew, in his Paraphrase and Comment on the New Testament, p. 251.
2 Matt. xii. 31, 32.
sion He spoke it; as knowing that it would be the greatest evidence that should ever in the course of God's providence be offered to them: as he says, "Ye are none of my sheep: ye shall die in your sins." 1

SECTION VI.—All attacks on Christianity have contributed to its firmer establishment.

We have seen more attacks against the facts and doctrines of Christianity in our age, than perhaps there have been in any. It is what must be expected where there is liberty for free enquiry. But instead of doing our religion any harm, it will, as all objections do to truth, of this or any other kind, make them stand the stronger. It has a natural tendency to put us all on studying the religion of Christ better, and on dropping every thing that we have twined and twisted, and as it were, incorporated with it, that so we may hold His religion itself the faster, and be less liable to have it wrested from us. It is therefore highly for the honour of the Christian religion, and of the state of the Church of England, that no weapons are likely to be drawn against those who have attacked it, but the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. This mild usage of the enemies of Christianity (which is however what is but in justice

due to them) will make it more indispensably incumbent on those of them who are not at the same time enemies to all virtue, to consider Christianity, not as laid down in the systems of its professors, but in the Scriptures; not in the spirit of cavilling and pride, but of judgment and candor: and then see whether it does not consist of a scheme of doctrines every way fit for a rational creature to entertain; of precepts tending to make every man as happy in himself, and as useful and agreeable to others, as this state of things will admit; as giving proper encouragements to the practice of these precepts, by condescending to assure guilty men, in a method the most suited to remove all their bodings and suspicions, that their past sins shall be pardoned on repentance; that they shall be powerfully assisted to practise the precepts of religion better for the future, if they will do all that is in their power towards it: that they shall be supported under all difficulties and trials, and eternally rewarded for their self-denials and sufferings with many gratifications, and inconceivable glory in the life to come. They will observe too, that all this is evidenced by the resurrection and ascension of Christ (testified by eye and ear-witnesses, who were far from being forward to believe or attest it); and likewise by His exaltation at the right-hand of God, or to all power; testified, together with His resurrection and ascension, by the Holy Ghost, or
these gifts of the Holy Ghost given to these witnesses in a superior degree, and to others in a less, in an instant; according to our Saviour's precise prediction, and with the peculiar circumstances which have been mentioned: and then let them consider, who act the most rationally, they who believe such a religion on this evidence, or they who disbelieve it purely because the connection the New Testament is said to have with some parts of the Old, cannot now be made out so as to be free from all exceptions.

SECTION VII.—Christianity is founded on facts.

This testimony of the apostles, and of the Spirit, is the impregnable rock on which Christianity is built, and whose foundations cannot be shaken. For the truth of this religion is founded on facts; namely, the resurrection and ascension of Christ attested by eye and ear-witnesses, and (together with His exaltation) attested by other facts; namely, the gifts of the Spirit, which prove the truth of the first beyond all possibility of exception: and the truth of these last facts is proved by the best and only evidence they are capable of. And as this proof is a proof of a very few plain facts, and the evidence of these facts clear and easy, it must be allowed to be a proof of the Christian religion, level to the meanest capacity. It is no wonder therefore that this should
be the proof on which the apostles always established it in all their discourses to Jews or devout Gentiles, according to the account we have of those discourses in the Acts; though, after they had founded it there, they often brought in ancient prophecy to confirm and illustrate it, or perhaps to remove objections that might be thought to arise from thence against it. And as they fixed Christianity on this foundation to the Jews and devout Gentiles (though they bring prophecy afterwards in aid), so they rest the proof of Christianity solely on this evidence when they speak to idolatrous Gentiles, as indeed it was absolutely necessary they should, since the idolatrous Gentiles must have had it proved to them by these facts, or not at all: for very few of them had the books of the Old Testament in their hands, were at all acquainted with them, or had any opinion of them. And the way the apostles took to prove the truth of Christianity to Gentiles as well as Jews, must be the proof on which it ought always to be rested: and that which they superadd to the Jews must therefore only be considered as an additional argument to another, by which Christianity had been fully and unexceptionably proved before. Circumstantial evidence will corroborate positive evidence; though positive evidence should be first given, where it is to be had.
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SECTION VIII.—Reason why our Lord appealed to prophecy.

If it be said, that our Saviour appeals to prophecy as well as to John Baptist's testimony, the voice from heaven, and the miracles He wrought, and that we cannot rest the cause of Christianity more safely than where He rested it; I answer, that our Saviour could not use any other proof during His lifetime, because the apostles could not testify the great facts of His resurrection and ascension till they were facts, and He was gone to the Father; nor were they to witness them till the Spirit came on them to witness to the truth of their testimony. But our Saviour plainly foretold, that this was the testimony which would be greater than any that was given in His lifetime, and which would be effectual; when He says, 'That He' (the Comforter) "shall reprove the world of sin, righteousness, and judgment. Of sin, because they believe not on me" (of the truth of whose mission they will then have such undoubted proof); "of righteousness" (or of the righteousness and justice of my cause), "because I go to my Father" (and shall be exalted at His right-hand, when) "ye see me no more" (but shall not perish as a deceiver); "of judgment, because the prince of this world is judged;" or, because I shall destroy the power of the

1 John xvi. 8.
The argument from facts of

devil, and propagate my kingdom with wonderful success, by the power and efficacy of the Spirit.

SECTION IX.—The argument from facts is preferable to the argument from prophecy.

When I lay all this together, I cannot but wish that the method which in itself appears alone capable of convincing the idolatrous Gentiles; which appears founded on the plainest facts; and the most fully attested, which our Saviour referred to; which the apostles constantly, and sometimes solely, used; and which would alone render men unpardonable, if they rejected it; should be the way used of addressing those who disbelieve, or pretend to disbelieve Christianity now for want of evidence. When Christianity is thus established, the more clearly we can make ancient prophecy appear to have been accomplished in Jesus of Nazareth, the greater service we shall do to Christianity; especially to confirm the belief of it in the minds of the learned and of the well-disposed. But if the other method be tried, if Christianity be so built on prophecy as to allow that, if it can be built on it, it is well established; and if it cannot be built on it, it must be overturned;—I fear that we may find, instead of proving the truth of it to the vulgar, we
shall rather leave them in some doubt about it; and that instead of forcing the unbelievers out of their fastnesses, it may enable them to cover themselves the more from those attacks, which must otherwise soon make them appear desperate, or oblige them to yield. Such long deductions as must go to make out this from prophecy now, founded on a great deal of critical learning, does not seem likely to be taken in by the ignorant, or to leave no room for cavilling to men of learning, and disposed to doubt.

On the other hand, can any thing be built more on a rock, or become more visible to the most short-sighted, than Christianity? If it be proved that Jesus of Nazareth wrought the miracles He did; that He was dead (which St. John, who was present, fully testifies);¹ and that He rose again from the dead, according to His own prediction; that angels declared Him to be risen accordingly; that He conversed forty days with His disciples after His resurrection; declared Himself to John to be “Him that was dead and is alive;” that He was seen by His apostles gradually mounting the air, till a cloud of glory took Him out of their sight; that they received a message from angels, that He was gone up into heaven; and that, according to John Baptist’s prediction before our

¹ John xix. 34.
Saviour's appearing publicly in the world, and our Saviour's frequent predictions before and after His resurrection, that He would send the Holy Ghost upon His apostles, who were His chosen witnesses, and who were ordered to stay at Jerusalem expecting it, and to begin to witness after they received it;—if we prove that they then received it, and immediately began, and from that time continued, to witness His miracles, resurrection, and ascension, and to teach the scheme of the Christian religion; and that God bore witness to the truth of their testimony, and of the word which they taught, " with signs and wonders, and divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost" (distributed in proportion), according to His own will, and in the manner the Scripture shews, and with the frequency, in those places, and for that tract of time, as we have proved: then must Jesus appear to the meanest understanding to be "the sent of God," and the apostles must likewise appear to be the ministers or " the sent of Christ," beyond all possibility of exception. He must then also be submitted to as the Teacher and the King of God's people; and all that the apostles, His ministers, have taught or commanded us from Him, or from His Spirit, must be received with faith and obedience, though we could not shew one Old Testament prophecy to relate to Him. This is the " power and demonstration of the
Spirit," in which, St. Paul tells the Corinthians and Thessalonians, "the word came to them;" and is that by which it must yet force its way to those who either do not know or do not believe it.

SECTION X.—Conclusion—Summary of the advantages of the evidence in favor of Christianity, which has been now considered.

To conclude: Thus was God, or the Son of God (after that He had been manifest in the flesh), "justified in the Spirit:" * and thus, I believe, will Wisdom be now justified of her children; since, besides all the other advantages which this evidence of Christianity has been already said to have beyond others, it seems to have these likewise:—it is interwoven with the whole history of Christianity from Matthew to the Revelation; it enables us to explain many texts, which have hitherto occasioned great difficulty; will be found to assist us in solving several hard problems in the Christian religion, and to give the deists a fair answer to some objections which they bring against it, from its wanting some evidence, which they pretend they have reason to expect.

* 1 Cor. ii. 4. 1 Thess. i. 5. 1 Tim. i. 5.

END OF VOL. I.