

OBSERVATIONS  
ON THE  
HISTORY AND EVIDENCES OF THE  
RESURRECTION  
OF  
*JESUS CHRIST;*

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## INTRODUCTION.

THE following Observations took their Rise from a Pamphlet entitled, The Resurrection of JESUS considered, in Answer to the Trial of the Witnesses. By a Moral Philosopher. The Author of which, in order to overturn the Testimony of the Evangelists, hath attempted to shew that they contradict each other in the Accounts they have given of this Fact. To this Pamphlet there came out two very learned and ingenious Answers; which I read with great Satisfaction, as I found in them solid Confutations of many Objections against Christianity started in the first. But I must confess (though with the utmost Respect to the Knowledge and Abilities of the Authors of the two last-mentioned Pamphlets) that I was. not so fully satisfied with their Manner of clearing the Sacred Writers from the Contradictions charged upon them. This set me upon reading and examining with Attention the Scriptures themselves; and with no other Bias, than what arose from the Astonishment I was under at finding Writers, who for above these sixteen hundred Years have been reputed

holy and inspired, charged with such a Contrariety in their Accounts, as ill agreed with either of those Epithets. Of the Truth of this Charge therefore, I acknowledge I had great Difficulty to persuade myself. And indeed it was not long before I discovered, as I imagined, the Vanity and Weakness of such an Imputation; which however I cannot stile altogether groundless, since it has an Appearance of being founded in the Words of the Gospel; though in Reality, that Foundation lies no deeper than the Outside and Surface of the Words: Neither will I call it malicious, since having upon farther Inquiry found it to be of a very ancient Date, I know not the first Authors of it, and, consequently can form no judgment of their Intentions. What I have to offer in Defence of the Evangelists, is built in like Manner upon the sacred Text; whose true Meaning (which upon this Occasion I searched for in vain in the Notes of many eminent Commentators) I have endeavoured to investigate and prove, by comparing their several Accounts with each other, and noting the Agreement and Disagreement of the Circumstances. A Method that hath led me unavoidably into Critical Observations; for the Length and Dryness of which I should however think myself obliged to make force Excuse, did I write only for Amusement, or expect to be read by those, who seek in Books for

nothing more solid than Entertainment.

But although the clearing the Sacred Writers from the Imputation of contradicting each other, was the principal, and indeed the sole Object I had at first in View; yet having, in the Pursuit of this Object, perceived the Light breaking in upon me still more and more the farther I advanced, and discovering to me almost at every Step some new Circumstances, which tended to illustrate and confirm the Testimony given by those inspired Historians to the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, I was induced, by these Discoveries, to go very far beyond my first Design, into a Consideration of the Evidences of this great and important Article, not those only recorded in the sacred Writings, but others arising from subsequent Events and Facts; of which we have, by several Ways, many clear and unquestionable Proofs. The Method in which I have proceeded in this Consideration, is as follows: I have begun with laying down the Order in which the several Incidents related by the Evangelists, appear to have happened; and in the next Place, I have made some Observations upon the Method and Manner, in which the Proofs of this astonishing Event were laid before the Apostles, who were appointed to bear Witness of it to all the World. And to these I have, in the third Place, added an exact and rigorous Examination of the Proofs

themselves; from all which I have endeavoured to shew, that the Resurrection of Christ was most fairly and fully proved to the Apostles and Disciples, those first Converts and Preachers of Christianity.

But as the Resurrection's having been fully proved to the Apostles, though absolutely necessary, yet is not of itself sufficient to authorize at this Time, and establish the Faith of a Christian, I imagined that what I had already written, would be imperfect at least, if not altogether useless, unless I added some Arguments and Reasons I had to offer to induce us, who live at the Distance of seventeen hundred Years from the Date of that miraculous Event, to believe that *Christ* is risen from the Dead. These Reasons therefore I have thought proper to subjoin under two Heads, *viz.* the Testimony of the chosen Witnesses of the Resurrection recorded in the Scriptures, and the Existence of the Christian Religion.

From this Account of the Rise, Progress and Design of the following Observations, the Reader will perceive that they were first begun with the single View of obtaining Satisfaction for myself, upon some Difficulties in the Evangelical History of the Resurrection; and that they are now published with the Hopes of their being as useful

to others, as they have been to me. This is the chief, if not the sole End that a Layman can reasonably propose to himself in publishing any Thing upon a Subject of this Nature: For I am not ignorant how little Reputation is to be gained by writing on the Side of Christianity, which by many People is regarded as a superstitious Fable, not worth the Thoughts of a wise Man; and considered by more as a mere political Scheme, calculated to serve the Power and Interest of the Clergy only. How absolutely groundless both these Opinions are, will easily appear to any one, who will take the Pains to examine fairly and impartially the *Proofs* and *Doctrines* of the Christian Religion; *Proofs* established upon *Facts*, the surest Foundations of Evidence; and *Doctrines* derived by *Inspiration*, from the great Author of Reason, and Father of *all* Mankind. Whoever hath either neglected, or doth refuse to make this Examination, can have no Right to pass his Judgment upon Christianity, and should methinks for the same Reason be somewhat cautious of censuring those, who acknowledge it to be of Divine Institution; especially as he will find in the List of Christians, the great and venerable Names of *Bacon, Milton, Boyle, Locke, and Newton*; Names to whose Authority every Thing should submit but Truth, to whom they themselves thought it not beneath their superior Talents to submit,

though she required them to *believe in Christ*.

But it may possibly be demanded, why, being a Layman, I presume to intermeddle in a Province commonly thought to belong peculiarly to the Clergy? To which I answer, that besides the Motives above suggested, this very Prejudice was a powerful Inducement to me to publish the following Observations, and to prefix my Name to them. The Clergy, I am sensible, are both ready and able to maintain the Cause of Christianity, as their many excellent Writings in Defence of it sufficiently demonstrate; but as the Generality of Mankind is more governed by Prejudice than Reason, the Writings of the Clergy are not so universally read, or so candidly received as they deserve; because they are supposed to proceed, not from Conscience and Conviction, but from interested Views and the common Cause of their Profession: A Supposition evidently as partial and injurious as that would be, which should impute the gallant Behaviour of our Officers to the mean Considerations of their *Pay*, and the Hopes of Preferment, exclusive of all the nobler Motives of Gentlemen, viz. the Sense of Honour, and the Love of their Country. But the Clergy, I dare say, who, if there be any Thing besides Prejudice in the above-mentioned Imputation upon them, have alone the Right to make this Demand, will readily excuse my appearing in the

Cause of Christianity. And the Laity, I hope, such of them at least as are Christians not in Name and Profession only, will join with me in declaring against the vain Prejudices of Unbelievers, that the Christian Religion is of the utmost Importance to all Orders and Degrees of Men; and that the greatest Service that the most zealous Patriot can do his Country, is to promote the Faith, and thereby encourage the Practice of the truly Divine Virtues recommended by *Christ* and his Apostles.

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# OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

HISTORY AND EVIDENCES

OF THE

RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST

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## § 1. JOHN, Chap. xx.

*THE first Day of The Week cometh Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark, unto the Sepulchre, and seeth the Stone taken away from the Sepulchre. Then she runneth and cometh to Simon Peter, and to the other Disciple whom Jesus loved, and saith unto them, They have taken away the Lord out of the Sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him. Peter therefore went forth, and that other Disciple, and came to the Sepulchre. So they ran both together, and the other Disciple did out-run Peter, and came first to the Sepulchre; and he stooping down, and looking in, saw the Linen Clothes lying, yet went he not in. Then cometh Simon Peter following him, and went into the Sepulchre,*

*and seeth the Linen Clothes lie, and the Napkin that was about his Head, not lying with the Linen Clothes, but wrapped together in a Place by itself. Then went in also that other Disciple, which came first to the Sepulchre, and he saw and believed; for as yet they knew not the Scripture, that he must rise again from the Dead: Then the Disciples went away again unto their own Homes. But Mary stood without at the Sepulchre weeping; and as she wept, she stooped down, and looked into the Sepulchre, and seeth two Angels in White, sitting, the one at the Head, and the other at the Feet, where the Body of Jesus had lain; and they say unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? She saith unto them, Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him. And when she had thus said, she turned herself back, and saw Jesus standing, and knew not that it was Jesus. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? Whom seekest thou? She supposing him to be the Gardener, saith unto him, Sir, if thou hast borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away. Jesus saith unto her, Mary! She turned herself, and saith unto him, Rabboni! which is to say, Master. Jesus saith unto her, Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended unto my Father: But go to my Brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God. Mary Magdalene came and told the*



*Disciples that she had seen the Lord, and that he had spoken these Things unto her.*

From this Passage of the Gospel of St. *John*, it is evident, 1st, That *Mary Magdalene* had not seen any Vision of Angels, before she ran to *Peter*; and consequently, that she was not of the Number of those Women, who went into the Sepulchre, and were there told by an Angel that *Jesus* was risen: For had she, before she went to *Peter*, seen any Angels, she would certainly have added so extraordinary a Circumstance to her Account; and had she been informed by an Angel that *Jesus* was risen, she could not have persisted in lamenting at not being able to find the Body; nor have inquired of him, whom she took to be the Gardener, where he had put it, that she might take it away. It is also farther observable, that when, after her Return to the Sepulchre with *Peter* and *John*, and their Departure from thence, she saw a Vision of Angels, she was standing *without*, at the Sepulchre, weeping;---that *stooping* down, and looking (not going) into the Sepulchre, she saw two Angels in White, *sitting, the one at the Head, the other at the Feet, where the Body of Jesus had lain*, who said no more to her than, *Woman, why weepest thou?* To which she answered, *Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him.* From all

which Circumstances it appears, 2dly, That neither after her Return to the Sepulchre with *Peter* and *John*, was she with those Women who went into the Sepulchre, &c.; that she had not heard any thing of *Christ's* being risen from the Dead; and that therefore those Women, who were told by an Angel that he was risen, were not at the Sepulchre when she returned thither with *Peter* and *John*. And indeed from the whole Tenor of the above-cited Passage of St. *John's* Gospel, throughout which no mention is made of any other Woman besides *Mary Magdalene*, it is more than probable she was alone when she saw the Angels, and when *Christ* appeared to her immediately after. That she was alone when *Christ* appeared to her, is plainly implied in what St. *Mark*\* says, who tells us expressly, that *Christ* appeared first to *Mary Magdalene*; which, had she been accompanied by the other Women, could not have been spoken of her with any Propriety of Speech. In the 3d Place, it is plain from the above Relation, that the Angels were not always visible, but appeared and disappeared as they thought proper; for *John* and *Peter* going into the Sepulchre saw no Angels; but *Mary*, after their Departure, looking in, saw two, one sitting at the Head, and the other at the Feet, where the Body of *Jesus* had lain.

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\* Chap. xvi, ver. 9.

§2. LUKE, Chap. xxiv. 13.

*THE same Day two of them (the Disciples) went to a Village called Emmaus, which was from Jerusalem about threescore Furlongs, and they talked together of all these Things that had happened. And it came to pass that while they communed together, and reasoned, Jesus himself drew near, and went with them; but their Eyes were holden that they should not know him. And he said unto them, What manner of Communications are these, that ye have one to another, as ye walk, and are sad? And one of them, whose Name was Cleopas, answering, said unto him, Art thou only a Stranger in Jerusalem, and hast not known the Things which are come to pass there in these Days? And he said unto them, What Things? And they said unto him, Concerning Jesus of Nazareth, which was a Prophet mighty in Deed and Word before God, and all the People; and how the Chief Priests and our Rulers delivered him to be condemned to Death, and have crucified him. But we trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel: And beside all this, To-day is the third Day since these Things were done. Yea, and certain Women also of our Company made us astonished, which were early at the Sepulchre; and when they found not his Body, they came, saying, that they had also seen a Vision, of Angels, which*

*said that he was alive: And certain of them which were with us, went to the Sepulchre, and found it even so as the Women had said; but him they saw not.*

The latter Part of this Passage, which contains an Abridgment of a Report made by some Women to the Apostles before these two Disciples had left *Jerusalem*, suggests the following Observations: 1st, The Angels seen by these Women at the Sepulchre told them that *Jesus* was alive: whence it follows, that this Report was not made by *Mary Magdalene*; for the Angels, which she saw, said no such thing to her. 2dly, As there is no Notice taken of any Appearance of our Saviour to these Women, it is also evident, that this Report could not have been made by the other *Mary* and *Salome*; to whom, as they were going to tell the Disciples the Message of the Angel which they had seen at the Sepulchre, *Jesus* appeared, as I shall presently shew from *St. Matthew*. 3dly, There were therefore several Reports, made at different Times to the Apostles, and by different Women.—At different Times; for the two Disciples, who, before they left *Jerusalem*, had heard the Report now under Consideration, had not heard those of *Mary Magdalene*, of the other *Mary* and *Salome*.—By different Women; for it having been just now proved, that this Report could not

belong to either of the last-mentioned Women, it must have been made by some other; and no other being named by any of the Evangelists but *Joanna*, it came in all Likelihood from her, and those that attended her. 4thly, Some of the Disciples, upon hearing this Report, *went to the Sepulchre, and found it even so as the Women had said; i.e.* in the most obvious Sense of these Words, they saw the Body was gone, and they saw some Angels. But I shall not insist upon this Interpretation, but only observe, that if *Peter* be supposed to have been one of those Disciples, who upon this Information of the Women went to the Sepulchre, this must have been the second Time of his going thither. That *Peter* went a second Time to the Sepulchre I shall shew more at large, when I come to consider the former Part of this Chapter of St. *Luke*.

These several Conclusions being admitted, I think it will be no difficult Matter to defend the Evangelists against the Imputation of contradicting each other, in the Accounts they have given of what happened on the Day of the Resurrection. For unless Authors, who relate different and independent Parts of the same History, may, for that Reason, be said to contradict each other, the Evangelists, I will be bold to say, Stand as clear of that Charge, at least in that Part of their Writings which we are

now examining, as any of the most accurate Historians, either ancient or modern; as I shall now endeavour to prove, by considering and comparing the several Relations of this Day's Events in the Gospels of St. *Matthew*, St. *Mark*, St. *Luke*, and St. *John*. That written by St. *John* I have already produced, so that there will be no Occasion for inserting it again in this Place; those of St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* I shall produce and examine together, for Reasons which will be evident hereafter.

### § 3. MATTH. Chap. xxviii.

*IN the End of the Sabbath, as it began to dawn towards the first Day of the Week, came Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, to see the Sepulchre: And behold, there was a great Earthquake; for the Angel of the Lord descended from Heaven, and came and rolled back the Stone from the Door, and sat upon it: His Countenance was like Lightning, and his Raiment white as Snow: and for fear of him the Keepers did shake, and became as dead Men. And the Angel answered and said unto the Women: Fear not ye; for I know that ye seek Jesus, which was crucified: He is not here; for he is risen, as he said: come see the Place where the Lord lay: And go quickly and tell his Disciples that he is risen from the Dead; and behold, he goeth before you*

*into Galilee, there shall ye see him: lo, I have told you. And they departed quickly from the Sepulchre with Fear and great joy; and did run to bring his Disciples Word. And as they went to tell his Disciples, behold Jesus met them, saying, All hail! And they came and held him by the Feet, and worshipped him. Then said Jesus unto them, Be not afraid: Go tell my Brethren that they go into Galilee, and there shall they see me. Now when they were going, behold some of the Watch came into the City, and shewed unto the Chief Priests all the Things that were done. And when they were assembled with the Elders, and had taken Counsel, they gave large Money unto the Soldiers, saying, Say ye, his Disciples came by Night, and stole him away while we slept. And if this come to the Governor's Ears, we will persuade him, and secure you. So they took the Money, and did as they were taught: and this Saying is commonly reported among the Jews until this Day. Then the eleven Disciples went away into Galilee, into a Mountain where Jesus had appointed them. And when they saw him, they worshipped him: But some doubted.*

MARK, Chap. xvi.

*AND when the Sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the Mother of James, and Salome, had bought sweet Spices, that they might*

come and anoint him; and very early in the Morning, the first Day of the Week, they came unto the Sepulchre at the Rising of the Sun. And they said among themselves, Who shall roll us away the Stone from the Door of the Sepulchre? And when they looked, they saw that the Stone was rolled away, for it was very great. And entering into the Sepulchre, they saw a young Man sitting on the right Side, cloathed in a long white Garment, and they were affrighted. And he saith unto them, Be not affrighted: Ye seek Jesus of Nazareth, which was crucified: he is risen, he is not here: Behold the Place where they laid him. But go your Way, tell his Disciples and Peter, that he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him, as he said unto you. And they went out quickly and fled from the Sepulchre; for they trembled and were amazed: neither said they any thing to any Man; for they were afraid. Now when Jesus was risen, early in the first Day of the Week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom he had cast seven Devils. And she went and told them; that had been with him, as they mourned and wept. And they, when they heard that he was alive, and had been seen; of her, believed not. After that he appeared in another Form unto two of them, as they walked and went into the Country. And they went and told it unto the Residue; neither believed they them. Afterward he appeared unto the Eleven, as



*they sat at Meat, and upbraided them with Unbelief, and Hardness of Heart, because they believed not them which had seen him after he was risen.*

I shall range the Observations I intend to make upon the several Particulars contained in these two Passages, under three Heads. 1st, Of such Circumstances as are related by one of these Evangelists, but omitted by the other. The 2d, Of such as they both agree in. And the 3d, Of such as seem to clash and disagree with each other. 1st, The several Particulars of the Earthquake, the Descent of the Angel from Heaven, his rolling away the Stone from the Door of the Sepulchre, and sitting upon it, and the Terror of the Soldiers who guarded the Sepulchre, are related only by St. *Matthew*: As are likewise the Appearances of our Saviour to the Women, and to the Eleven Disciples in *Galilee*, and the Flight of the Guards into the City, and all that passed between them and the Chief Priests upon that Occasion. On the other Hand, St. *Mark* alone makes mention of the Women's having bought Spices, that they might come and anoint the Body of our Saviour;—of *Salome's* being one of those Women;—of their entering into the Sepulchre, and seeing there a young Man sitting on the right Side, cloathed in a long white Garment; of the Appearance of *Christ* to *Mary*

*Magdalene*;—to the two Disciples who were going into the Country; —and lastly, to the Eleven as they sat at Meat. As not one of all these Circumstances can be proved to contradict or even disagree with any Particular, which either of these Evangelists has thought fit to mention, no Argument against the Reality or Credibility of them can be drawn from their not having been taken notice of by both; unless it can be made appear, that a Fact related by one Historian, or one Evidence, must therefore be false, because it is passed over in Silence by another. St. *Matthew* wrote his Gospel first, within a few Years after the Ascension of our Lord; this Gospel St. *Mark*, who wrote his same few Years after, is said to have abridged; though this, I think, is said with very little Propriety. For how can that Book be stiled an Abridgment, which contains many Particulars not mentioned in the original Author? That St. *Mark* relates many Circumstances not taken notice of by St. *Matthew*, will easily appear to any one, who shall take the Pains to compare them together; and of this, to go no farther, we have a plain Instance in the two Passages before us.

St. *Matthew* wrote his Gospel at the Request of the *Jewish* Converts, who having lived in that Country where the Scene of this great History was laid, were doubtless acquainted with many

Particulars, which, for that Reason, it was not necessary to mention. This will account for the Conciseness, and seeming Defectiveness of his Narrations in many Places, as well as for his omitting some Circumstances which the other Evangelists thought proper to relate. St. *Mark* composed his for Christians of other Nations, who not having the same Opportunities of being informed, as their Brethren of *Judea*, stood in need of some Notes and Comments to enable them the better to understand the Extract, which St. *Mark* chose to give them out of the Gospel written by St. *Matthew*. It was therefore necessary for St. *Mark* to insert many Particulars, which the Purpose of St. *Matthew* in writing his Gospel did not lead him to take notice of. Allowing these Evangelists to have had these two distinct Views, let us see how they have pursued them in the Passages now under Consideration.

That the Disciples of *Jesus* came by Night and stole away the Body while the Guards slept, was commonly reported among the *Jews*, even so long after the Ascension of our Lord as when St. *Matthew* wrote his Gospel, as himself\* tells us. To furnish the *Jewish* Converts with an Answer to this absurd Story, so industriously propagated among their unbelieving Brethren,

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\* Chap. xxviii, ver. 15.

and supported by the Authority of the Chief Priests and Elders, this Evangelist relates at large the History of the guarding the Sepulchre, &c. the Earthquake, the Descent of the Angel, his rolling away the Stone, and the Fright of the Soldiers at his Appearance, who *shook and became as dead Men*.—And indeed, by comparing this Relation with the Report given out by the Soldiers, it will easily appear on which Side the Truth lay. For as there is nothing in the miraculous Resurrection of our Lord, so repugnant to Reason and Probability, as that the Disciples should be able to roll away the Stone which closed up the Mouth of the Sepulchre, and carry off the Body of *Jesus*, unperceived by the Soldiers, who were set there on purpose to guard against such an Attempt; so it is also evident, that the Particulars of the Soldiers' Report were founded upon the Circumstances of this History. In this Report three Things are asserted, *viz.* That the Disciples stole the Body,—that they stole it in the Night,—and that they stole it while the Guards were asleep. That *Jesus* came out of the Sepulchre before the Rising of the Sun, St. *Matthew* informs us, who says that the Earthquake, &c. happened at the Time when *Mary Magdalene* and the other *Mary* set out in order to take a View of the Sepulchre, which was just as the Day began to break. This Fact was undoubtedly too notorious for the Chief Priests

to venture at falsifying it, and was besides favourable to the two other Articles: This therefore they admitted; and taking the Hint from what the Soldiers told them of their having been cast into a Swoon or Trance (*becoming like dead Men*) at the Appearance of the Angel, and consequently not having seen our Saviour come out of the Sepulchre, they forged the remaining Parts of this Story, that his Disciples came and stole him away while they slept. They took the Hint, I say, of framing these two last-mentioned Articles from that Circumstance related by St. *Matthew*, of the *Keepers shaking and becoming like dead Men* upon the Sight of the Angel; for throughout this whole History there was no other besides this, upon which they could prevaricate and dispute. The Stone was rolled away from the Sepulchre, and the Body was gone; this the Chief Priests were to account for, without allowing that *Jesus* was risen from the Dead. The Disciples, they said, stole it away. What! while the Guards were there? Yes, the Guards were asleep. With this Answer they knew full well many would be satisfied, without inquiring any farther into the Matter: but they could not expect that every body would be so contented; especially as they had Reason to apprehend, that although the Soldiers, who had taken their Money, might be faithful to them, keep their Secret, and attest the Story they had

framed for them, yet the Truth might come out, by means of those whom they had not bribed; for St. Matthew says\* that *some* of the Watch went into the City, *and shewed unto the Chief Priests all the Things that were done.* Some therefore remained behind, who probably had no Share of the Money which the Chief Priests gave to the Soldiers; or if they had, in all Likelihood it came too late; they had already divulged the Truth, as well from an Eagerness, which all Men naturally have, to tell a wonderful Story, as from a Desire of justifying themselves for having quitted their Post. The Chief Priests therefore were to guard against this Event also; in order to which, nothing could be more effectual, than to counterwork the Evidence of one Part of the Soldiers, by putting into the Mouths of others of them a Story, which, without directly contradicting the Facts, might yet tend to overthrow the only Conclusion which the Disciples of *Jesus* would endeavour to draw from them, and which they were so much concerned to discredit; *viz.* That *Jesus* was risen from the Dead. For if the Disciples and Partizans of *Jesus*, informed by one Part of the Soldiers of the several Circumstances related in St. *Matthew*, should urge these miraculous Events as so many Proofs of the Resurrection of their Master, the unbelieving *Jews* were, by the Testimony of

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\* Chap. xxviii, ver. 11.

those suborned Witnesses, instructed to answer, that the Earthquake and the Angel were Illusions of Dreams; —that the Soldiers had honestly confessed they were asleep, though some of them, to skreen themselves from the Shame or Punishment such a Breach of Discipline deserved, pretended they were frightened into a Swoon or Trance by an extraordinary Appearance, which they never saw, or saw only in a Dream; —that while they slept, the Disciples came and stole the Body; for none of the Soldiers, not even those who saw the most, pretend to have seen *Jesus* come out of the Sepulchre;—they are all equally ignorant by what Means the Body was removed; —when they awaked it was missing; —and it was much more likely that the Disciples should have stolen it away, than that an Impostor should rise from the Dead. I shall not go about to confute this Story; to unprejudiced and thinking People it carries its own Confutation with it: But I must observe, that it is founded entirely upon the Circum-stance of the Soldiers not having seen *Jesus* come out of the Sepulchre; a Circum-stance, that even those, who told the real Truth, could not contradict, tho' they accounted for it in a different Manner, by saying they were frightened into a Swoon or Trance at the Sight of a terrible Apparition, that came and rolled away the Stone, and sat upon it. But this Fact the Chief Priests

thought it not prudent to allow, as favouring too much the Opinion of *Christ's* being risen from the Dead; neither did they think proper to reject it entirely, because they intended to turn it to their own Advantage; and therefore denying every thing that was miraculous, they construed this Swoon or Trance into a Sleep, and with a large Sum of Money and Promises of Impunity, hired the Soldiers to confess a Crime, and, by taking Shame to themselves, to cover them from Confusion. And so far, it must be acknowledged, they gained their Point: For, until some further Proofs of the Resurrection of *Jesus* should be produced, of which at that Time they had heard nothing more, this Story would undoubtedly have served to puzzle the Cause, and hold People in Suspense. Argument and Reason indeed were wholly on the other Side, but Prejudice and Authority were on theirs; and they were not ignorant to which the Bulk of Mankind were most disposed to submit.

But as no other than presumptive Arguments in favour of the Resurrection could be drawn from what happened to the Soldiers at the Sepulchre, even though the Chief Priests had permitted them to tell the Truth; St. *Matthew*, in his Narration, proceeds to second and confirm those Arguments by positive Evidence, producing Witnesses who had seen and conversed with



*Jesus Christ*, after he was risen from the Dead: Of these, as may be gathered from the other Gospels, the Number was very considerable; and very numerous were the Instances of *Christ's* appearing after his Resurrection: Yet from the latter has St. *Matthew* selected only two; upon each of which I beg leave to make a few Remarks,—The first Appearance of *Christ* is to the Women, which happened as they went to tell the Disciples the Message of the Angel that had appeared to them in the Sepulchre. I have already proved, in my Observations upon St. *John*, that *Mary Magdalene* was not one of those Women; and yet the Words of St. *Matthew*, by the common Rule of Construction, seem to import the contrary. For, in the first Place, the Paragraph (*and the Angel answered and said to the Women*) is, in our Translation, connected with the preceding by the Copulative *And*. 2dly, As in the foregoing Part of this Chapter no Mention is made of any other Women than *Mary Magdalene* and the other *Mary*, and no Hint given of any other Angel than that described as descending from Heaven, &c. the Words in this Paragraph (*the Angel and the Women*) must be taken to relate to them. To which I answer, 1st, That this Paragraph is not to be so connected with the preceding, as if nothing had intervened; since we shall find upon a closer Examination of it, and comparing it with its Parallel in St. *Mark*,

that between the Keepers becoming like dead Men, and the Angels speaking to the Women, *Salome* had joined the two *Maries* in their Way to the Sepulchre; that before they arrived there the Keepers were fled, and the Angel was removed from off the Stone, and was seated within the Sepulchre; for which Reason the Particle  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ , instead of being rendered by the Copulative *And*, should rather be expressed by the Disjunctive *But*, or *Now*, as denoting an Interruption in the Narration, and the Beginning of a new Paragraph. 2dly, I allow the Angel here spoken of to be the same with that mentioned in the foregoing Verses, and the other *Mary* to be one of those Women to whom this Angel in the Sepulchre, and afterwards *Christ* himself appeared, and therefore admit the Words, *The Angel and the Women*, in this Verse, relate to them. But this will not remove the Difficulty, and it will be said, that either *Mary Magdalene* was with the other *Mary* in the Sepulchre, or there is an Inaccuracy in the Expression; for the Words, *Women*, and fear not *ye*, being plural, imply there were more than one. I grant it, and St. *Mark* informs us that *Salome* was there.—But then, instead of one Inaccuracy to be charged upon St. *Matthew*, here are two; *Mary Magdalene*, who was not present when the other *Mary* saw the Angel, is, by the natural Construction of his Words, said to be there; and *Salome*, who was present, he takes no

Notice of at all.—I allow it, and let those who are given to object, make the most of it: But let it at the same time be remembered, that the greatest Part of the Evangelical Writers were illiterate Men, not skilled in the Rules of Eloquence, or Grammatical Niceties, against the Laws of which it is easy to point out many Faults in the Writings of most: of them. The other Passage I purposed to make some Remarks upon, affords another Instance of the same kind; it is as follows: *Then the Eleven Disciples went away into Galilee, into a Mountain, where Jesus had appointed them, and when they saw him, they worshipped him; but some doubted.* Here the Words, *Some doubted*, by the strict Rules of Grammar, must be understood of some of the Eleven Disciples, who immediately before are said, when they saw *Jesus*, to have *worshipped* him; which surely is not very consistent with their doubting: neither is it very probable that a Writer, however illiterate, should mean to contradict himself in the Compass of three Words. Another Interpretation therefore, though it be not so strictly agreeable to the Grammar Rules, is to be sought after, since it is a less Crime to offend against Grammar than against common Sense. *Some doubted*, must mean some besides the Eleven, who were present upon that Occasion, doubted. And indeed had *St. Matthew*, in the former Part of this Narration,

taken notice that others besides the Eleven were there, there would have been no Difficulty in understanding, even according to the strictest Laws of the Syntax, to whom the *some doubted* did belong; *οἱ δε*, and *οἱ δε* set in Opposition to each other, and signifying *some* and *others*, *these* and *those*, are frequently to be met with in Greek Authors of the greatest Authority; and no Reason can be given, why, according to this Manner of speaking, the *οἱ δε ἑνδεκα μαθηται προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ* — *οἱ δε ἐδίστασαν* should not be interpreted *now* or *then*, the Eleven Disciples—worshipped him, but others doubted; but that some Words, to which the second *οἱ δε* (others) refer, are wanting.

But these Defects, how grievous forever they may seem to Grammarians, or Cavillers, still more scrupulous and more punctilious than Grammarians themselves, will by no means impeach the Veracity of this Evangelist in the Opinion of those, who in making a Judgment of his Writings, are willing to take into the Account the Purpose he had in composing his Gospel. He wrote, as I observed before, at the Request of the *Jewish* Converts; who, as St. *Chrysostom* informs us\*, came to him and besought him to leave in Writing, what they had heard from him by Word of Mouth. His View in writing the

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\* Ὑποτιη ὡςτὶ Εὐαγ

Gospel therefore to the *Jews*, was to repeat what he had before preached to them; in doing of which it was not at all incumbent upon him to relate every minute Circumstance, which he could not but know they were well acquainted with, and which the Mention of the principal Fact could not fail to recall to their Memories. Thus in the two Passages above cited (to confine myself to them) it was not necessary for him, writing to the *Jews*, as it was for St. *Mark* who wrote for the *Egyptian Converts*\*, to explain the Business that carried *Mary Magdalene* and the other *Mary* to the Sepulchre. It was doubtless known among the *Jews* that they had bought Spices, and went to the Sepulchre in order to embalm the Body of *Jesus*. Neither was it worth while, for the sake of a little Grammatical Exactness, to interrupt the Course of his Narration, to acquaint them that *Salome* joined the two *Maries* as they were going to the Sepulchre, and went with them thither; and that *Mary Magdalene*, upon seeing the Stone rolled away, ran immediately to inform *Peter* and *John* of it; especially as he did not think proper to take notice of *Christ's* having appeared to her: And he seems to me to have mentioned *Christ's* appearing to the other Women, only because it was connected with the principal Fact, the Story of his appearing in *Galilee* to the Eleven Disciples

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\* Ὑποση ὡςτι Εὐαν

and others. The Disciples going to meet their Master on a Mountain in *Galilee*, where he had appointed them, must needs have made a great Noise among the *Jews*; especially as it did not fall out till above a Week at least after the Resurrection; during which Time he had appeared thrice to his Disciples\*, not including his Appearance to *Peter*, to the two Disciples, and the Women. And as above twenty People were Witnesses to one or other of these Appearances, the Fame of them was in all Probability diffused not only through *Jerusalem*, but throughout all *Judea*. It is no wonder therefore, that upon this solemn Occasion, which had been notified so long before, not only by an Angel at the Sepulchre, and by *Christ* himself on the Day of his Resurrection, but foretold by him even before his Death; it is no wonder, I say, that upon so solemn an Occasion a great Multitude besides the Eleven, should be got together. St. *Paul* mentions† an Appearance of *Christ* to above five hundred Brethren at once, which cannot, with so good Reason, be understood of any other but this in *Galilee*. And though out of so large an Assembly some doubted, as St. *Matthew* says, yet that very Exception implies, that the greatest Number believed; and even those who doubted, must

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\* See *John*, Chap. xxi, ver. 14.

† *1 Cor.* Chap. xv. Ver. 6.

have agreed in some common Points with those who believed. They, as well as the Eleven, saw *Jesus*, but not having had the same sensible Evidences of the Reality of his Body, doubted whether it was himself or his Apparition which they beheld; while the latter, who needed no farther Conviction, when they saw him fell down and worshipped. Here then was a Fact, which could not in all its Circumstances but be very notorious to the *Jews*, and was therefore highly proper to be mentioned by St. *Matthew*. Here was a Cloud of Witnesses, the greatest Part of whom were alive\* when St. *Paul* wrote his Epistle to the *Corinthians*†, and therefore were certainly living when St. *Matthew* composed his Gospel; and many of them probably were of the Number of those Converts, for whom he wrote. Upon any of these Suppositions, and especially the last, it is easy to account for the concise Manner, in which he has related this important Event. It either was, or might easily be known with all its Circumstances by those, to whom he addressed his Gospel. The little attendant Circumstances therefore it was as needless for him to mention, as it was proper to take notice of the Event itself. The Gospel of *Christ* and the Faith of *Christians* are both vain, if *Christ* be not risen from the Dead. It was therefore absolutely necessary for

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\* *1 Cor. xv. ver. 6.*

† St. *Paul's* 1<sup>st</sup> Epistle to the *Corinthians* was written A.D. 57. See Mr. *Lock*, ad locum. The Gospel according to St. *Matthew*, about the year 53.

the Apostles and Preachers of the Gospel to prove the Resurrection; this they did as well by their own Testimony, as by that of others, who had seen *Jesus* after he was risen. Thus St. *Paul* relates\* several Appearances of *Christ* to *Cephas* and others, and cloths all with his own Evidence; adding, *and last of all he was seen of me also*. The Evangelists in like Manner produce many Instances of the like Nature. St. *Matthew* speaks of two, St. *Mark* of three, St. *Luke* of as many, and St. *John* of four; each of them Meeting such as best suited with the Purpose they had in view when they wrote their Gospels. It is evident at least that St. *Matthew* did so. For in what better Manner could he prove to the *Jews* the Resurrection of *Christ*, than by referring them to the Testimony of some Hundreds of their own Countrymen, who had all seen him after his Death, and were so well convinced of the Reality of his Resurrection, that they believed and embraced his Doctrine? This surely was sufficient to convince those, who required a Number of Witnesses; and was, among the *Jews* at least, the best Answer to those, who, on the Credit of a few *Roman* Soldiers, pretended that the Disciples had stolen the Body. Upon this Fact therefore he seems to rest his Cause, and with it closes his Gospel, adding only the Commission given by *Christ* to the Apostles, and

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\* *1 Cor. xv 5-8.*



consequently to himself as one of them, to go *and teach all Nations*, and his Promise of *being with them always even unto the End of the World*.

Thus, upon the Supposition that St. *Matthew* wrote his Gospel for the *Jewish Converts*, which St. *Chrysostom* positively asserts, I have endeavoured to account for some Defects and Omissions observable in his Writings, as also for his having given us the History of the Guarding the Sepulchre, &c. and of *Christ's* appearing to the Eleven Disciples in *Galilee*, of which the other Evangelists make no Mention. I shall now make a few Remarks upon the Particulars related by St. *Mark*, and of which no Notice is taken by St. *Matthew*; but that I may not wander too far from my Purpose, I shall confine them to such only, as belonging to the Facts related by the latter, and having been mentioned only by the former, have induced some People to charge these two Evangelists with contradicting one another. The Circumstances then that I now intend to consider, are, 1st, That of the Women's *having bought Spices, that they might come and anoint the Body of Jesus*; 2dly, That of *Salome's* being one of those Women; and 3dly, That of their *entering into the Sepulchre, and seeing a young Man sitting on the right Side clothed in a long white Garment, and their being affrighted*. I have already observed, that St.

*Mark* wrote his Gospel for the use of the *Egyptian Christians*; some say the *Roman*, but whether *Roman* or *Egyptian* is not material to the present Question. It is certain they were *Gentiles*, and Strangers to the *Jewish* Customs and Religion, as may be inferred from several little explanatory Notes dropt up and down in his Gospel. In order therefore to give these Strangers a perfect Intelligence of the Fact, he thought proper to relate, it was necessary for him to begin his Account with that Circumstance of the Women's *having bought Spices*, to anoint the Body of *Jesus*, that they might understand what Business carried them so early to the Sepulchre, and see, by the Preparations made by those Women for the embalming the Body of *Jesus*, and the little Credit given by the Apostles to the Reports of those, who had seen our Lord on the Day of the Resurrection (which he mentions afterwards) that his Rising from the Dead was an Event not in the least expected by any of them, and not believed by the Apostles even after such Evidence, as *Jesus* upbraided them for not assenting to; from all which it was natural for them to conclude, that this Fundamental Article of their Faith was neither received nor preached but upon the fullest Conviction of its Truth,—But of this last Point I shall speak more largely hereafter. For his mentioning *Salome* (which was the second Thing proposed to be considered) no

other Reason can be given, and no better I believe will be required, than that she was there: And as to the third Circumstance, *viz.* that of their *entering into the Sepulchre, and seeing an Angel there sitting on the right Side, &c.* I shall shew under the second Head, which I come now to consider, that though St. *Mark* has been more particular in his Relation of it, yet the principal Points are implied in the Account given by St. *Matthew*.

§ 4. The 2d Head contains the Circumstances in which these two Evangelists agree: And they are these : 1st, The Women's going to the Sepulchre early in the Morning on the first Day of the Week: 2dly, Their being told by an Angel that *Christ* was risen, &c. I have nothing to add to the Remarks I have already made upon the first; but upon the second I must observe, that the several Particulars put into the Mouth of this Angel at the Sepulchre by these two Evangelists, are precisely the same, except the Addition of *Peter's* Name, inferred by St. *Mark*, doubtless for some particular Reason, which it is no Wonder we should not be able to discover at this great Distance of Time. This single Variation will not, I presume, be thought sufficient to overturn the Conclusion I would draw from the exact Agreement of all the other Particulars, that the Fact related by these two sacred Writers is

the same; especially if it be considered, that the Circumstance of the Angel's being within the Sepulchre, expressly mentioned by St. *Mark*, is so far from being contradicted by St. *Matthew*, as some have imagined, that it is plainly implied by there Words, He is not *here*.—Come (δεῦτε, which might more properly be translated *come hither*) see the Place, where the Lord lay: As is also that other Circumstance of the Women's entering into the Sepulchre, by the Greek Term ἐξελθοῦσαι, which should have been rendered *they went out*, instead of, *they departed*, as it is in the parallel Passage in St. *Mark*. To which let me farther add, that the Description of the Angel's Cloathing, which was a long *white* Garment, according to St. *Mark*, corresponds with the only Particular relating to it taken notice of by St. *Matthew*, which was, its Whiteness: *His Raiment was white as Snow*. In the latter indeed this Angel is also painted with a *Countenance like Lightning*, and the *Keepers* are said to have *trembled*, &c. for fear of him. The Purpose of this Angel's descending from Heaven, seems to have been not only to roll away the Stone from the Mouth of the Sepulchre, that the Women who were on their Way thither might have free Entrance into it, but also to fright away the Soldiers, who were set to guard it; and who, had they continued there, would certainly not have permitted the Disciples of *Jesus* to have

made the necessary Inquiries for their Conviction, could it be supposed that either they, or the Women, would have attempted to enter into the Sepulchre, while it was surrounded by a *Roman* Guard. For this End it is not unreasonable to suppose he might not only raise an Earthquake, but assume a Countenance of Terror, and after it was accomplished put on the milder Appearance of a *young Man*, in which Form the Women, as *St. Mark* says, saw him *sitting within the Sepulchre, on the right Side*. This Supposition, I say, is neither unreasonable nor presumptuous. For, although to argue from the Event to the Design or Intention may, in judging of human Affairs, be deceitful or precarious, yet in the Actions of God, the supreme Disposer of all Events, it is most certain and conclusive. Thus in the present Case, the sudden Appearance of an Angel from Heaven, attended by an Earthquake\* his removing by his single Strength a Stone, which (according to *Beza's* Copy of *St. Luke's* Gospel) twenty Men could hardly roll, his taking his Station upon it, and from thence, with a Countenance like Lightning, blazing and flashing amid the Darkness of the Night, were Circumstances so full of Terror and Amazement, that they could not fail of producing, even in the Hearts of *Roman* Soldiers, the Consternation mentioned by

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\* See *Whiston* on the Resurrection, &c. according to *Beza*, &c.

the Evangelist, and driving them from a Post, which a Divinity (for so according to their Way of thinking and speaking they must have stiled the Angel) had now taken Possession of. A Cause so fitted to produce such an Effect, is an Argument of its being intended to produce it; and the Intention being answered by the Event, is a sufficient Reason for varying afterwards the Manner of proceeding. Accord-ingly the Angel, after he had removed the Stone, and frighted away the Keepers from the Sepulchre, quitted his Station on the Outside, put off his Terrors, and entering into the Sepulchre, sat there in the Form of a *young Man*, to acquaint the Women that *Jesus of Nazareth*, whom they sought in the Grave, was risen from the Dead. That the Angel was not seen by the Women sitting on the Stone without the Sepulchre, is evident not only from the Silence of all the Evangelists, with regard to such an Appearance, but also from what has already been observed concerning *Mary Magdalene*, who, though she saw the Stone rolled away from the Sepulchre, yet saw no Angel, as I shewed above. Besides, had the Angel remained sitting on the Stone without the Sepulchre, with all his Terrors about him, he would in all Probability, by frightening away the Women and Disciples, as well as the Soldiers, have prevented those Visits to the Sepulchre, which he came on purpose to facilitate. It was

necessary therefore either that he should not appear at all to the Women, or that he should appear within the Sepulchre; and in a Form, which although more than human, might however not be so terrible, as to deprive them of their Senses, and render them incapable of hearing, certainly of remembering that Mes-sage, which he commanded them to deliver to the Disciples. From all which Considerations it may fairly be concluded, that the Appearance of the Angel without the Sepulchre, mentioned by St. *Matthew*, was to the Keepers only; and that when he was seen by the Women, he was within the Sepulchre, as St. *Mark* expressly says, and as the Words above-cited from St. *Matthew* strongly imply; so that these two Evangelists agree in relating not only the Words spoken by the Angel, but the principal, and as it were characteristical Circumstances of the Fact, which from this Agreement I would infer to be one and the same. The like Agreement is also to be found in their Account of the Terror of the Women upon seeing the Angel, their speedy Flight from the Sepulchre, and the Disorder and Confusion which so extraordinary an Event occasioned in their Minds; a confuted and troubled Mixture of Terror, Astonishment and Joy; which, according to St. *Mark*, was so great as to prevent their telling what had happened, to those they met upon the Way: So must we understand *neither*

*said they any thing to any Man.* For it is not to be imagined that they never opened their Lips about it. Their Silence doubtless ended with the Cause of it, *viz.* their Terror and Amazement, and there in all Prob-ability vanished upon their seeing *Christ* himself, who, as *St. Matthew* hath informed us, met them, *as they were going to tell the Disciples* the Message of the Angel, accosted them with an *All hail*, and bade them dismiss their Fears. But of this more hereafter.

§ 5. I come now, under the 3d Head, to consider those Particulars, in which these two Evangelists are thought to clash and disagree with each other. But so many of those have been already examined, and, as I hope, reconciled, under the two preceding Divisions, that there remains to be discussed in this but one single Point, arising from the seeming different Accounts of the Time when the Women came to the Sepulchre. *St. Matthew* says, that *Mary Magdalene* and the other *Mary* came to see the Sepulchre, *as it began to dawn*; *St. Mark*, *They came unto the Sepulchre at the Rising of the Sun.* To which I must add *St. John*, who speaking of the same Persons, and the same Fact, says, they came *when it was yet dark.* The σκοτίας ἔτι οὐσης of the latter, and the τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ of *St. Matthew*, that signifying it being yet dark, and this, the Day beginning to



dawn, will, I believe, without any Difficulty, be allowed to denote the same Point of Time, *viz.* the Ending of the Night, and the Beginning of the Day; the only Question therefore is, how this can be reconciled with the Time mentioned by St. *Mark*, namely, *the Rising of the Sun*. But this Question, how perplexing soever it may appear at first sight, is easily resolved, only by supposing that St. *Matthew*, and with him St. *John*, speaks of the Women's setting out, and St. *Mark* of their Arrival at the Sepulchre. And indeed the Order of St. *Matthew's* Narration requires that his Words should be understood to signify the Time of their setting out; otherwise, all that is related of the Earthquake, the Descent of the Angel, &c. must be thrown into a Parenthesis, which very much disturbs the Series of the Story, and introduces much greater Harshness into the Construction, than any avoided by it. Nay, for my own Part, I confess I can see no Harshness in the Interpretation now contended for. The *Greek* Word ἦλθεν in St. *Matthew*, might as well have been translated *went as come*, the Verb ἔρχονται signifying both to *go* and to *come*, and consequently being capable of either Sense, according as the Context shall require. That in St. *Matthew*, as I said before, requires us to take the Word; ἦλθεν in the former, for the sake of Order, and for another Reason, which I shall now explain. The principal

Fact, upon the Account of which the whole Story of the Women's going to the Sepulchre seems to have been related, is the Resurrection of *Christ*, and this Fact is absolutely without a Date, if the Words of St. *Matthew* are to be understood to denote the Time of the Women's Arrival at the Sepulchre. When I say without a Date, I mean, that it does not appear from any thing in St. *Matthew* or the other Evangelists, what Hour of that Night this great Event happened. All the Information they give us is, that when the Women came to the Sepulchre, they were told by Angels he was risen; but on the contrary, by understanding St. *Matthew* to speak of the Time of *Mary Magdalene's setting out* to take a View of the Sepulchre, we have the Date of the Resurrection settled, and know precisely that *Christ* rose from the Dead between the Dawning of the Day and the Sun-rising. And can any substantial Reason be assigned why St. *Matthew*, having thought fit to enter into so circumstantial an Account of the Resurrection, should omit the Date of so important a Fact? or, that, not intending to mark; it, by mentioning the Time of the Women's going to the Sepulchre, he should place that Fact before another, which in Order of Time was prior to it? All these Considerations therefore are, in my Opinion; powerful Arguments for understanding this Passage of St. *Matthew* in the Sense above

expressed. About St. *Mark's* Meaning there is no Dispute. He certainly intended to express the Time of the Women's Arrival at the Sepulchre; his Words cannot be taken in any other Sense. Those of St. *John* are limited to the same Interpretation with those of St. *Matthew*, it having been allowed before that they both speak of the same Point of Time.

Before I quit the Examination of these Evangelists, I beg leave to add a few Remarks, on Occasion of a Word made use of in this Place both by *Mark* and *John*, the explaining of which will set in a proper Light some Passages, that have not hitherto been brought sufficiently in View. The Word I mean is  $\pi\rho\omega\tau\acute{\iota}$ , which, having by our Translators been rendered by the *English* Word *early*, hath been limited to that Sense only; and yet it has a farther Signification, and imports not\* *mature* only, but *premature*, *ante constitutum tempus*; not only *early*, but *over-early*, *before the appointed Time*; and in this Sense I am persuaded it was here used by the Evangelists. For had they intended to denote only the Time of the Women's setting out, and arriving at the Sepulchre, the descriptive Phrases *while it was yet dark*, and *at the Rising of the Sun* would have been sufficient, and the more general Word *early* absolutely redundant; whereas in the other

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\* Vid. Scap. Lexicon.

Sense it is very significant, and greatly tends to illustrate and confirm what I hope more fully to make appear by comparing the several Parts of this History together, that the Women came at different Times to the Sepulchre, and not all at once, as has been imagined. The Business that carried them all thither was to pay their last Respects to their deceased Master, by embalming his Body, for which End they had bought and prepared Unguents and Spices, but were obliged to defer their pious Work by the coming on of the Sabbath, upon which Day *they rested*, says St. *Luke*, according to the Commandment. On the Eve of the Sabbath, therefore, when they parted, and each retired to their several Habitations, it is most natural to suppose that they agreed to meet upon a certain Hour at the Sepulchre; and as the Errand upon which they were employed required Day-light, the Hour agreed on in all Probability was soon after the Rising of the Sun; their Apprehension of the *Jews*, as well as their Zeal to their Master, prompting them to take the earliest Opportunity. But *Mary Magdalene*, it seems, whether from a natural Eagerness of Temper, or a more ardent Affection for her Lord, to whom she had the greatest Obligations, or, from a higher Cause, set out together with the other *Mary*, just as the Day began to break, in order *to take a View* of the Sepulchre; and having either called upon *Salome*, or joined her

in the Way, came thither together with her, *πρωῖ, early, before the Time agreed on.* This, in my Opinion, is a very natural Account of the whole Matter, and points out the Importance of these remarkable Expressions, *went to see the Sepulchre, in St. Matthew, and who shall roll away the Stone for us, in St. Mark.* For 1st, the Reason of there two *Maries* setting out so early is here assigned: They went *to take a View* of the Sepulchre, *i.e.* in general, to see if all Things were in the same Condition, in which they had left them two Days before, that if in that Interval any thing extraordinary had happened, they might report it to their Companions, and in Conjunction with them take their Measures accordingly. Hence it is also evident in the second Place, why they were so few in Number; they came *to view the Sepulchre,* and came before the Time appointed for their Meeting. 2dly, As upon the present Supposition there were but three Women, who came first to the Sepulchre, their Design in coming so early could be no other than that expressed by *St. Mathew;* for they knew that they themselves were not able to roll away the Stone, which two of them at least (the two *Maries*) had been placed there by *Joseph of Arimathea\** and which they knew could not be removed without a great Number of Hands. Accordingly, *as they drew near they said*

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\* Mark xv. 47.

*among themselves, Who shall roll away the Stone for us from the Door of the Sepulchre?* There Words intimate, that one of their chief Views in coming to see the Sepulchre was to survey this Stone, which closed up the Entrance into it, and to consider whether they and the other Women, who were to meet them there, were by themselves able to remove it; or whether they must have Recourse to the Assistance of others. For, *Who shall roll away the Stone for us?* implies a Sense of their own Inability, and of the Necessity of calling in others; after which the only Thing to be considered was whom and how many? This therefore was the Point under Deliberation when they approached the Sepulchre. 2dly, It is also plain from these Words, that they did not expect to find any body there, and consequently that they knew nothing of the Guard, which the High Priest had set to watch the Sepulchre; of which had they received any Intelligence, they would hardly have ventured to come at all, or would not have deliberated about rolling away the Stone, as the only or greatest Difficulty.

§ 6. St. LUKE, Chap. xxiv.

*NOW upon the first Day of the Week, very early in the Morning, they came unto the Sepulchre, bringing the Spices which they had*

*prepared, and certain others with them: And they found the Stone rolled away from the Sepulchre. And they entered and found not the Body of the Lord Jesus. And it came to pass as they were much perplexed thereabout, behold two Men stood by them in shining Garments; and as they were afraid, and bowed down their Faces to the Earth, they said unto them, Why seek ye the Living among the Dead? He is not here, but is risen. Remember how he spake unto you, when he was yet in Galilee, saying, The Son of Man must be delivered into the Hands of sinful Men, and be crucified, and the third Day rise again. And they remembered his Words, and returned from the Sepulchre, and told all these Things unto the Eleven, and to all the rest. It was Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the Mother of James, and other Women that were with them, which told these Things unto the Apostles. And their Words seemed to them as idle Tales, and they believed them not. Then arose Peter and ran unto the Sepulchre, and stooping down he beheld the Linen Clothes laid by themselves, and departed, wondering in himself at that which was come to pass.*

In this Relation of St. Luke's are many Particulars that differ greatly from those mentioned by the other Evangelists. For 1st, The Women entering into the Sepulchre see neither

Angel nor Angels: And 2dly, Not finding the Body of the Lord *Jesus*, they fall into great Perplexity. 3dly, In the Midst of this Perplexity *there stood by them two Men in shining Garments*; Who, 4thly, say to them Words very different from those spoken by the Angel in *St. Matthew* and *St. Mark*. 5thly, When those Women return from the Sepulchre, and tell all these Things unto the Eleven and all the rest, *St. Peter* is made to be present, and upon their Report to rise immediately and run to the Sepulchre, &c. These Marks of Difference, one would imagine, were sufficient to keep any one from confounding the Stories above-cited of *Joanna* and *St. Peter*, with those concerning the *Maries* and that Disciple related in the other Gospels; especially as they have been observed and acknowledged as well by the Christian as the Infidel; the latter of whom hath produced them to support the Charge of Inconsistency and Contradiction, which he hath endeavoured to fix upon the sacred Writers; while the former, seduced and dazzled by some few Points of Resemblance, hath agreed with him in allowing these different Facts to be the same; but, denying his Conclusion, hath laboured to reconcile the Inconsistencies, by Rules and Methods of Interpretation which, as they are strained and unnatural, tend only to discover the Greatness of his Embarrassment. Whereas the true Way, in my Opinion, of answering this



Charge, is to shew that it is founded upon a Mistake, by shewing that the Evangelists relate different, but not inconsistent Facts; and that instead of clashing and disagreeing, they mutually confirm, illustrate and support each other's Evidence. This therefore I shall now endeavour to do, by making a few Remarks upon the several Articles above-mentioned. I shall begin with that relating to St. *Peter*, because the settling of that will settle many other Points. *Then arose Peter, and ran unto the Sepulchre, and stooping down he beheld the Linen Clothes laid by themselves, and departed, wondering in himself at that which was come to pass.* This Fact has always been taken to be the same with that related by St. *John*; from which however it differs, among other Things, in this very material Circumstance, *viz.* That whereas St. *John* expressly says, that *Peter went into* the Sepulchre, while he [*John*] who got thither first, contented himself with barely *stooping down*, and *looking into* it, St. *Luke*, in the Passage before us, tells us that *Peter stooping down, and looking in*, beheld the Linen Clothes laid by themselves, and departed. The Word παρακύψας (*stooping down and looking in*) used by both Evangelists, and in the latter applied *only* to St. *Peter*, in the former only to St. *John*, is in his Gospel plainly distinguished from the Word εἰσῆλθεν (*entered in*) and set in direct Opposition to it; and that not by

the Force of Etymology and Construction only, but by some Particulars resulting from the Actions signified by those two Words, which prove them to be distinct and different from each other. He who *went* into the Sepulchre, saw more than he, who *staying without, only stooped down and looked in*. Thus *Peter and John*, when they *entered* into the Sepulchre, saw *not only* the Linen Clothes lie, *but* the Napkin that was about his head, not lying with the Linen Clothes, but wrapped together in a Place by itself: but when they only *stooped down and looked in*, they could see only the Linen Clothes, as is evident from the Words of St. *John*. The whole Passage runs thus:—Peter *therefore went forth, and that other Disciple, and came to the Sepulchre, and the other Disciple, did out-run Peter, and came first to the Sepulchre, and he stooping down, and looking in*, saw the Linen Clothes lying, yet went he not in. *Then cometh Simon Peter following him, and went into the Sepulchre, and seeth the Linen Clothes lie, and the Napkin, that was about his Head, not lying with the Linen Clothes, but wrapped together in a Place by itself. Then went in also that other Disciple—and saw, &c.* Now these two Actions being by these Marks as clearly distinguished from each other in St. *John*, as the different Places where they were performed can be by the Terms *Entrance* and *Inside* of the Sepulchre, and as so distinguished having been

separately performed by that Apostle, they must also necessarily be taken for separate and distinct Actions, when related of St. *Peter*. And if it be reasonable to conclude from St. *John's* Account, that *Peter*, when he came with him to the Sepulchre, did not stop at the Entrance, *stoop down and look in*, but that he *entered* into it; it is no less reasonable to conclude from St. *Luke's* Narration, that when he came, at the Time mentioned by him, he did not enter in, but *stooping down*, beheld the Linen Clothes and departed, especially if the Force of the Greek Word *μόνα* be considered, and the whole Passage rendered, as it ought to have been, *beheld the Linen Clothes only* lying, τα ὀθόνια κείμενα μόνα. From all which it evidently follows, that the Facts here related of St. *Peter*, and that related of him by St. *John*, are separate and distinct Facts, and not one and the same, as has been imagined. And as the Facts were different, so did they take their Rise from two different Occasions; or in other Words, as it is evident from all that has been just now said, that *Peter* went twice to the Sepulchre, so there are two distinct Reasons for his so doing assigned in the Gospels of *Luke* and *John*,, viz. the Report of *Mary Magdalene*, and that of *Joanna* and the other Women. By the former, having been told that the Body of *Jesus* was taken out of the Sepulchre, he ran in great Haste to examine into the Truth of that Account,

and in pursuance of this Intent entered into the Sepulchre, that he might receive a thorough Satisfaction upon that Point. In the latter were two additional Circumstances of Importance sufficient to awaken the Curiosity of a less zealous Disciple than St. *Peter*, whose Affection for his Lord was like his natural Temper, fervent and impetuous. When he heard therefore from *Joanna* and the other Women of a Vision of Angels, who had appeared to them at the Sepulchre, and informed them that *Christ* was risen, can we wonder at his running thither a *second Time*, in hopes of receiving some Confirmation of the Truth of that Report, which, though treated by the rest of the Apostles as an idle Tale, he certainly gave Credit to, as the whole Tenor of this Passage implies? I say a *second Time*; because had he gone for the first Time, upon this Report of *Joanna's*, he could have had no Inducement to have gone to the Sepulchre a second Time from any thing he could learn from the first Report made by *Mary Magdalene*, whose Account contained nothing but what was implied in that given by *Joanna* and the other Women. His Behaviour also upon this Occasion, when he only *stooped down* and looked into the Sepulchre, so different from the former, when he *entered into it*, is very rational, and consonant with the Purpose of this second Visit, which was, to see if the Angels who had

appeared to the Women at the Sepulchre, were still there; this could as well be discovered by *looking*, as by *going*, into the Sepulchre, as is plain from the Story of *Mary Magdalene*, who *stooping down and looking in*, saw two Angels sitting, the one at the Head and the other at the Feet where the Body of *Jesus* had lain, as *St. John* tells us.

Having now, as I hope, proved that this Visit of *St. Peter's* to the Sepulchre, mentioned by *St. Luke*, must have been his second Visit, I have cleared this Passage from two Objections that lay against it; one, that it did not agree with the Relation given by *St. John*; and the other, that it disturbed and confounded the whole Order of *St. Luke's* Narration: so that notwithstanding this Verse is wanting both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Copies of *Beza*, there is no Reason for rejecting it, as some have proposed.

This Point being settled, I beg leave to make a few Inferences from it, in order to explain some Passages in the preceding Verses of this Chapter.

First then, it is plain from this and the ninth Verse, that *St. Peter*, after he had been with *St. John* and *Mary Magdalene* at the Sepulchre, was now got together with the other Aposles and Disciples, whom in all Probability he and *John*

had assembled upon the Occasion of *Mary Magdalene's* Report. *Peter*, I say, and *John*, had in all Probability assembled the other Disciples and Apostles to inform them of what they had heard from *Mary Magdalene*, and of their having been themselves at the Sepulchre to examine into the Truth of her Report. For it is not to be imagined, that these Apostles would not have immediately communicated to the rest an Event of so much Consequence to them all, as that of the Lord's Body being missing from the Sepulchre. And as we now find them gathered together and *Peter* with them, it is no unnatural Supposition that they had been summoned thither by *John* and *Peter*. At least their meeting together so early in the Morning is this Way accounted for. Here then we see the Reason of St. *Luke's* naming *Mary Magdalene* and the other *Mary* among those, which told these Things to the Apostles. For although these two Women were not with *Joanna* and her Set, and consequently could not have joined with them in relating to the Apostles the Vision of the two Angels, &c. yet as the Account of their having found the Stone rolled away, and the Body of *Jesus* missing, had been reported from them by *Peter* and *John* to the other Apostles, before the Return of *Joanna* from the Sepulchre, St. *Luke* thought fit to set them down as Evidences of some of the Facts related by him; and indeed it

was very proper to produce the Testimony of the two *Maries* concerning the Stone's being rolled away, and the Body gone, because they went first to the Sepulchre, and first gave an Account of those two Particulars to the Apostles. I here join the other *Mary* with *Mary Magdalene*; for though I think it is pretty plain from St. *John*, that she alone brought this Account; yet it is remarkable that in her Narration she says, We know not where they have laid him, speaking, as it were, in the Name of the other *Mary* and her own; and doubtless she did not omit to acquaint them that the other *Mary* came with her to the Sepulchre; so that this Report, though made by *Mary Magdalene* alone, may fairly be taken for the joint Report of the two *Maries*, and was probably stiled so by *Peter* and *John*, and therefore represented as such by St. *Luke* in the Passage before us.

Secondly, From hence also I infer, that the Reports of the Women were made separately, and at different Times. For if *Peter* went twice to the Sepulchre, there must have been two distinct Reasons for his so doing, which Reasons I have shewn to be the Reports of *Mary Magdalene* and *Joanna*: And as there was a considerable Interval between his first and second Visit, a proportionable Space of Time must have intervened between the two Reports. After *Mary*

*Magdalene's* he had been at the Sepulchre, had returned from thence to his own Home, and was now got with the other Apostles and Disciples, whom, as I said, he and *John* had in all Probability called together, before *Joanna* and the Women with her came to make theirs.

Thirdly, As the Reports were made at different Times, and by different Women; as the Facts reported were different, and said to have happened all in the same Place, *viz.* at the Sepulchre; and as these Facts must of Consequence have happened at different Times; it follows, that the Women, who reported those Facts as happening in their Presence, must have been at the Sepulchre at different Times. For had they been all present at each of these Events, no Reason can be given for their differing so widely in their Relations, and pretty difficult will it be to account for their varying so much as to the Time of making their Reports. Here then is a strong Argument in favour of what I have before advanced concerning the Women's coming at different Times to the Sepulchre, and particularly about the *Maries* coming thither earlier than the rest. The Reason for their so doing I have already pointed out in my Observations upon St. *Mark*, and have shewn, that upon the Suppositon of that Reason's being the true one, their whole Conduct was proper and



consistent: Which leads me to consider that of *Joanna* and the other Women, who came somewhat later, and with another Purpose, to the Sepulchre. The former came to take *a View or Survey of the Sepulchre*, as *St. Matthew* expressly says; the latter came to *embalm or anoint the Lord's Body*, and for that End not only brought the *Spices which they had prepared*, but were also accompanied by other Women. Other Women, must mean some besides those who followed *Jesus* from *Galilee*, of whom alone *St. Luke* speaks in the former Part of this Verse, and the latter Part of the preceding Chapter. By these therefore, as contradistinguished from the *Galilean* Women, he probably means the Women of *Jerusalem*, a great Company of whom followed *Jesus* as he was going to his Crucifixion, bewailing and lamenting him. [See the 27th Verse of the preceding Chapter.] But what Number of them went upon this Occasion with the Women of *Galilee*, is not any where said; neither, of these, are any named besides *Joanna*, *Mary Magdalene*, and *Mary* the Mother of *James*, though many others followed *Jesus* from *Galilee* to *Jerusalem*, as both [*St.*] *Matthew* (xxvii. 55.) and *St. Mark* (xv. 41.) inform us, and were present at the Crucifixion. It is therefore very probable that most, if not all, of those who were wont to minister to him in *Galilee*, who attended him to *Jerusalem*, and accompanied him even to

Mount *Calvary*, contributed to this pious Office of embalming their Master's Body, either by buying and preparing the Unguents and Spices, and carrying them to the Sepulchre, or by going to assist their Companions in embalming the Body and rolling away the Stone, for which Purpose I suppose the Women of *Jerusalem* principally attended, since none of them seem to have made any Purchase of Spices for embalming the Body; and for this last Purpose it is farther probable they thought their Numbers sufficient. Accordingly we do not find them saying among themselves, Who shall roll away the Stone for us? as the *Maries* did; nor do we find the *Maries bringing* the Spices which they had bought, as is here related of *Joanna* and *those with her*; and doubtless the Evangelists had a Meaning in their Use and Application of these Expressions, the former of which is very agreeable to the Purpose that carried the *Maries* so early to the Sepulchre, as is the latter to that of *Joanna*, who coming to embalm the Body, brought with her all that was necessary for performing that Business, *viz.* the Spices, and other Women to assist her in rolling away the Stone, &c. The different Conduct of the Women therefore indicates their several Purposes in going to the Sepulchre, and tends to confirm what I have been all along labouring to prove, that they went thither at different Times, and not

all together.

And as their having had different Motives was the Cause of their going at different Times, and dividing themselves into different Companies, so from their coming to the Sepulchre in different Bodies, sprang a Subdivision of one of those Companies, which I shall now explain. The two *Maries* and *Salome* came first to the Sepulchre, and as they drew near, lifting up their Eyes, perceived that the Stone, which was very great, was rolled away from the Entrance; upon Sight of which, *Mary Magdalene*, concluding that the Body of *Jesus* was taken away, ran immediately to acquaint *Peter* and *John* with it, leaving her two Companions at the Sepulchre. That she was alone when she came to those two Apostles, is strongly implied by the whole Tenor of that Passage in *St. John*, where this Fact is related, as I have already observed; and that she left her Companions at the Sepulchre, is as evident from what *St. Mark* says of their entering into the Sepulchre, &c. The Reason of which probably was this; she knew that *Joanna* and her Company would not be long before they came thither, and might therefore think it proper to desire the other *Mary* and *Salome* to wait for them there, to inform them that they had found the Stone rolled away, &c. and that she was gone to acquaint *Peter* and *John* with it: But whether

this, or any other Reason was the Cause of *Mary Magdalene's* going by herself to *Peter* and *John*, and the other two Women's staying behind at the Sepulchre, is not very material to enquire; all I contend for is, that so it was; and, that hence arose a Subdivision of this Company, that gave Occasion to two Appearances of Angels, and as many of *Christ*, and consequently multiplied the Proofs and Witnesses of the Resurrection.

I hope by this Time it is sufficiently evident, that the Facts related by the several Women to the Apostles were different and distinct Facts; and therefore I think it unnecessary to enter into any farther Argument upon that Point. And although in the Beginning of my Observations upon this Chapter of St. *Luke*, I noted some Particulars wherein this Story of *Joanna* differs from that of the other Women, and promised to make some Remarks upon them; yet, for the last-mentioned Reason, I dare say I shall be easily acquitted of my Promise, especially as those Marks of Difference are so obvious and striking, that little more need be done than pointing them out to Observation. I must however beg leave to observe, that the Position relating to the Angels appearing and disappearing as they thought proper, laid down in my Remarks upon St. *John*, is farther proved by the Manner of their appearing mentioned here in St.

*Luke*, which is implied to have been sudden, not only by the Force and Import of the Expression, but by the remarkable Circumstance of their not being seen by the Women, at their entering into the Sepulchre.

§ 7. Though the following Passage of this Chapter, relating to *Christ's* Appearance to the Disciples at *Emmaus*, hath been already produced in Part, yet I think it proper to insert it intire in this Place, that by the Reader's having it all before him at once, he may be better able to judge of the Observation I intend to make upon it.

*And behold two of them went that same Day to a Village called Emmaus, which. was from Jerusalem about threescore Furlongs, and they talked together of all those Things that had happened. And it came to pass, that while they communed together, and reasoned, Jesus himself drew near, and went with them; but their Eyes were holden that they should not know him. And he said unto them, What manner of Communications are these, that ye have one to another, as ye walk and are sad? And one of them, whose Name was Cleopas, answering, said unto him, Art thou only a Stranger in Jerusalem, and hast not known the Things which are come to pass there in these Days? And he said unto them, What*

Things? And they said unto him, Concerning Jesus of Nazareth, which was a Prophet mighty in Deed and Word before God, and all the People; and how the Chief Priests and our Rulers delivered him to be condemned to Death, and have crucified him. But we trusted that it had been He which should have redeemed Israel: And beside all this, Today is the third Day since these Things were done. Yea, and certain Women also of our Company made us astonished, which were early at the Sepulchre; and when they found not his Body, they came, saying, that they had also seen a Vision of Angels, which said that he was alive: And certain of them which were with us, went to the Sepulchre, and found it even so as the Women had said: But him they saw not. Then he said unto them, O Fools, and slow of Heart to believe all that the Prophets have spoken! Ought not Christ to have suffered these Things, and to enter into his Glory? And beginning at Moses and all the Prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the Things concerning himself. And they drew nigh unto the Village whither they went, and he made as though he would have gone farther. But they constrained him, saying, Abide with us, for it is towards Evening, and the Day is far spent. And he went in to tarry with them. And it came to pass, as he set at Meat with them, he took Bread and blessed it, and brake and gave to them. And their Eyes were opened,

*and they knew him and he vanished out of their Sight. And they said one to another, Did not our Hearts burn within us, while he talked with us by the Way, and while he opened to us the Scriptures? And they rose up the same Hour, and returned to Jerusalem, and found the Eleven gathered together, and them that were with them, saying, The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon. And they told what Things were done in the Way, and how he was known of them in breaking of Bread.*

Whoever reads this Story over with any Degree of Attention, and considers the Subject of the Conversation, which our Saviour held with the two Disciples upon the Road to *Emmaus*, will perceive that it must have arisen from what the Angels had said to the Women, related in the preceding Verses of this Chapter. To set this Matter in the clearest Light, we will put the several Parts together. The Angels said to the Women, who came to embalm the Body of *Jesus*, *He is not here, but is risen. Remember how he spake unto you, when he was yet in Galilee, saying, The Son of Man must be delivered into the Hands of sinful Men, and be crucified, and the third Day rise again.* The Words of our Saviour referred to by the Angels are these (*Luke xviii. ver. 31-33.*) *Then he took unto him the Twelve, and said unto them, Behold we go up to*

Jerusalem, and all Things that are written by the Prophets concerning the Son of Man shall be accomplished. For he shall be delivered unto the Gentiles, and shall be mocked, and spitefully entreated, and spitted on; and they shall scourge him, and put him to Death, and the third Day he shall rise again. The Words of the Angels these two Disciples had heard from the Women, before they left *Jerusalem*; and as they were walking towards *Emmaus*, and talking over all the wonderful Things that had come to pass, they seem at last to have fallen into a Debate upon the Subject of these Words, and the Prophecies referred to by them, just as our Saviour drew near. That they were engaged in some Argument or Disquisition, I infer, not only from the *Greek* Word συζητεῖν, which Signifies to discuss, examine, or inquire together; but from our Saviour's Question, who, apparently, having over-heard some Part of their Discourse, asks them, τίνες οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι οὓς ἀντιβάλλετε πρὸς ἀλλήλους; *What Arguments are these, that ye are debating one with another, while ye walk and are sad?* The Subject of their Argument appears in their Answer to this Question, in which they give him to understand that they were reasoning upon the Things that had come to pass, concerning *Jesus of Nazareth*, whom, say they, alluding plainly to the Words of the Angels, *the Chief Priests and our Rulers have delivered to be*



*condemned to Death, and have crucified him. And hence arises all our Sadness, for we trusted that it had been He which should have redeemed Israel; and over and above all these Things, To-day is the third Day since thest Things were done (another Allusion to the Words of the Angels;) and To-day some Women of our Company Astonished us with an Account of Their having been early at the Sepulchre, and, not finding the Body of Jesus, having there been told by Angels that he was risen from the Dead. And some of our Companions, running immediately to the Sepulchre, found the Report of the Women to be true: but him they saw not. The Sufferings, and Death, and Resurrection of Jesus were the Subjects of their Debates, foretold, as the Angels bade them remember, out of the Prophets, by Christ himself; and the Scope of their Inquiry was how to reconcile these Events with the Prophecies, to which they were referred. Part of them they had seen accomplished in the Sufferings and Death of Christ; and that ought to have assured them of the Accomplishment of the other Part: But either from not understanding, or from a Backwardness in believing all that the Prophets had said, they stopped short of this Conclusion. For this Ignorance and Backwardness Christ reproves them; asks them whether (according to the Prophets) Christ ought not to have suffered these Things, and to enter into his*

*Glory, i.e. to rise again; and then beginning at Moses and all the Prophets, he expounds to them in all the Scriptures the Things concerning himself.* The Connexion is visible; at the Beginning of the Chapter the Angels refer the Disciples for the Proof of the Resurrection to the Prophets; and here, *Christ* joining two of those Disciples on the Road, is, by their Discourse upon that Subject, led to explain those Prophecies, and prove from them that the *Messiah* was certainly risen from the Dead. And in the like Manner is the remaining Part of this Chapter to Verse the 46th, connected with this and the preceding. For these two Disciples returning to *Jerusalem*, relate to the Apostles and the rest, whom they found gathered together, what had passed between *Christ* and them upon the Road to *Emmaus*; and while they were speaking, *Christ* himself appears; and after having given them sensible Proofs of his being risen from the Dead, reminds them, as the Angel had done, of the Words which he spake unto them in *Galilee*, saying, *These are the Words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all Things must be fulfilled, which were written in The Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me.* Then opened he their *Undesstanding*, that thy might understand the *Scriptures*; and said unto them, *Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise*

*from the Dead the third Day.*

The Connexion and Dependence of the several Parts of this Chapter upon each other, point out to us the Reason that induced St. *Luke* to relate the Vision of the two Angels to *Joanna* and the other Women; and at the same Time prove that Vision to be distinct and different from those seen by the *Maries*; each of which had, in like manner, its separate and peculiar Reference to other Facts, as will presently be seen.

§ 8. I shall now proceed to consider the Appearances of *Christ* to the Women, on the Day of his Resurrection; which, like those of the Angels, have also been confounded, and from the same Cause, *viz.* from the want of attending with due Care to the several Circumstances, by which they are plainly distinguished from each other. And 1st, I observe, that these Appearances of *Christ* are so connected with the Appearances of the Angels, that these having been proved to be distinct, it follows that those are distinct also. 2dly, St. *Mark* expressly tells us, that *Christ* appeared first to *Mary Magdalene*, which, according to all Propriety of Speech, implies that she was alone at the Time of that Appearance, as I have said once before. But I think it best to set down the Passages themselves, of St. *John* and

St. Matthew, in which these Appearances are related. John, chap. xx. ver. 11. *But Mary stood without at the Sepulchre weeping; and as she wept, she stooped down, and looked into the Sepulchre, and seeth two Angels in White, sitting, the one at the Head, and the other at the Feet, where the Body of Jesus had lain; and they say unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? She saith unto them, Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him. And when she had said thus, she turned herself back, and saw Jesus standing, and knew not that it was Jesus. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? Whom seekest thou? She supposing him to be the Gardener, saith unto him, Sir, if thou hast borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away. Jesus saith unto her, Mary! She turned herself, and saith unto him, Rabboni! which is to say, Master. Jesus saith unto her, Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended unto my Father: But go to my Brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God. Mary Magdalene came and told the Disciples that she had seen the Lord, and that he had spoken these Things unto her. Matth. ch. xxviii. ver. 9. And as they went to tell his Disciples, behold, Jesus met them, saying, All hail! And they came and held him by the Feet, and worshipped him. Then said Jesus unto them,*

*Be not afraid: Go tell my Brethren that they go into Galilee, and there shall they see me.*

After having produced these two Passages; it would be wasting both Time and Words, to go about to prove the Appearances therein mentioned to be different. Compare them, and you will find them disagree in every Circumstance; in the Place, the Persons, the Actions, and the Words: Of which last I must observe, that they refer to two different Events, *viz.* the Ascention of *Christ* into Heaven, and meeting his Disciples in *Galilee*, of which they were Prophecies; and by which they, and consequently these Appearances of *Christ* were not long after verified, though discredited at first, and treated as idle Tales.

I have now gone over the several Particulars of the History of the Resurrection, related in the four Evangelists, have examined them with all the Attention I am capable of, and with a sincere Desire of discovering and embracing the Truth; and have, as I think, made out the following Points: 1st, That the Women came at different Times, and in different Companies to the Sepulchre: 2dly, That there were several distinct Appearances of Angels: 3dly, That the Angels were not always visible, but appeared and disappeared as they thought proper: 4thly, That

these several Facts were reported to the Apostles at different Times, and by different Women: 5thly, That there were two distinct Appearances of *Christ* to the Women: And 6thly, That *St. Peter* was twice at the Sepulchre. These Points being once established, all the Objections against this Part of the Gospel-History, as contradictory and inconsistent, intirely vanish and come to nought. That very learned and ingenious Men have been embarrassed by these Objections is some Excuse for those who first started them, and those who have lately insisted upon them. Their having now received an Answer (if that will be allowed) is a clear Proof that it was always possible to answer them, even with a very moderate Share of common Sense and Learning. The Nature of the Answer itself, which is founded upon the usual, obvious, plain Sense of the Words, without putting any Force, either upon the particular Expressions, or the general Construction of the several Passages, is an Evidence of what I now say. So that I must needs acknowledge, that its having been so long missed, is Matter of far greater Surprise, than its having been hit upon now.

I shall here beg leave to subjoin a few Observations of a very eminent and judicious Person, to whose Inspection I submitted these Papers; and in whole Approbation of them I have

great Reason to pride myself. They are as follows:

“To prove the Appearances at the Sepulchre to be different, and made to different Persons, two Things concur.

- I. The several Accounts as given by the Evangelists.
- II. The Circumstances which attended the Case.

The first Point is fully confidered; and of the second it is very justly remarked, That the Women having agreed to be early at the Sepulchre, it fell out naturally, *That some came before others*. Now there being at the Place of Meeting something to terrify them as fast as they arrived; it accounts also for their Dispersion, and their not meeting at all in one Body. It may help likewise to account for the Manner of delivering their Messages to the Apostles; supposing their Messages not delivered in the same Order in Point of Time, as the Appearances happened. For the most terrified might be the latest Reporters, though they received their Orders first. Which Observation is favoured by St. Mark's *οὐδενι οὐδέν εἶπαν*, *neither said they any Thing to any Man*.

The Difficulty upon stating the Appearances

to be different, and made to different Persons, arises chiefly from *Mary Magdalene* being mentioned as present by every Evangelist: But there seems to be this Reason for it; she was at the Head of the Women, and the chief of those who attended our Lord, and followed him from *Galilee*; and *Mary Magdalene and the Women with her*, denotes the Women who came from *Galilee*, in the same Manner that *the Eleven* denotes the Apostles.

Three Evangelists say expressly, that *many* Women were present at the Crucifixion. Had it been left so generally, we should have had no Account who they were. Therefore St. *Matthew* (xxvii. 56.) adds, ἐν αἷς ἡν, among whom was *Mary Magdalene*, &c. So it is again, *Mark* xv.40.—St. *Luke* having said in general Terms, that the Women, who followed from *Galilee*, were Spectators of the Crucifixion, goes on with the Account (xxiv. 1.) of their coming to the Sepulchre, Seeing Angels, and returning to tell the *Eleven*, and all the rest. But to give Credit to their Report, and to correct the Omission in not describing them before, he tells us who they were: And how does he describe them? Why, by saying they were of the Company of *Mary Magdalene*: ἦσαν δὲ ἡ Μαγδαληνῇ, &c. xxiv. 10; which Verse admits, perhaps requires, a different Reading from that in our Translation.



These Considerations seem to account for *her* being mentioned in the Transactions of these Women, though not always present herself. St. *Luke* says (xxiv. 1.) that besides the Women from *Galilee*, there were *other Women there*. To distinguish those, who make the Report to the Disciples, from *the other Women*, he adds the Words already referred to\*.

It is remarkable that St. *Mark* says of the Women, mentioned by him, no more than that they had *bought* Spices to anoint the Body;

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\* The Words of St. *Luke* deserve a particular Examination; they run thus in the *Greek*:— καὶ ὑποστρέψασαι ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα πάντα τοῖς ἑνδεκα καὶ πάσιν τοῖς λοιποῖς. Ἦσαν δὲ ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ Μαρία καὶ Ἰωάννα καὶ Μαρία Ἰακώβου καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ σὺν αὐταῖς αἱ ἔλεγον πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους ταῦτα. In *English*, *And turning back from the Sepulchre, they told all these Things to the Eleven, and to all the rest. Now they, who related these Things so the Apostles, were Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the Mother of James, and the rest with them, i.e. of their Company.* As the Account of the Proceedings of the *Galilean Women* begins in the foregoing Chapter, and is carried on without any Interruption to the 9th Verse of this Chapter; so that the several Verbs occurring in this and the preceding Verses are all governed by the same Nominative Case, viz. γυναῖκες; in ver. 55 of the 23d Chapter, it is evident that ταῦτα πάντα, *all these Things*, must be taken to extend to *all* the Particulars mentioned in that Account, and cannot be confined to the Transactions of the *Sepulchre* only; and the same Observation holds equally to the ταῦτα in the following Verse. The utmost therefore that can be inferred from St. *Luke's* naming *Mary Magdalene* and the ether *Mary*, is, that they were concerned in some or other of there Transactions, and joined in relating some of there Things to the Apostles; which is true, for they *sat over against, the Sepulchre*, when *Joseph* laid in it the Body of the Lord; *Matth.* xxvii. 61. *And beheld where he was laid;* *Mark* xv. 47.--They also *had brought sweet Spices, that they might come and anoint him;* *Mark* xvi. 1. and were the first who came to the *Sepulchre* that Morning, and brought the first Account of the Body's being missing; *Matthew* and *Mark*. And though by comparing the Accounts given by the other Evangelists with this of St. *Luke*, it appears that neither of these Women went with *Joanna* and her Company to the *Sepulchre*; yet, as they were *Galilean Women*, and bore a Part, and a principal Part too, in what the Women of *Galilee* were then chiefly employed about, namely, the Care of embalming the Body of *Jesus*, there is certainly no Impropriety in St. *Luke's* naming them with *Joanna* and the rest, as he does in the End of the general and collective Account he gives of what was reported and done by the *Galilean Women*. Neither does his naming them appropriate to them any particular Part of that general Account, any more than his not naming them would have excluded them from their Share of those Transactions, and the Report then made to the Apostles. In this Case they would have been included in the general Terms of *Galilean Women*; as by being named, they are distinguished and marked as the most eminent Persons and Leaders of that Company of Women, who followed *Jesus from Galilee*, &c.

enough to shew with what Intent they went to the Tomb;—that they had any Spices *with them* he does not say. But St. *Luke* says of those he mentions, that they actually *brought* with them the Spices; and not only so, but that they had *prepared* them; that is, made them fit for the use intended. The several Drugs were bought singly, each by itself at the Shop, and were necessarily to be mixed, or melted together for use: And I imagine, that, though all the Women joined in buying the Spices, yet the Care of getting and preparing them was left particularly to the Women mentioned by St. *Luke*: And as they were *Galileans*, and not at Home at *Jerusalem*, and probably unacquainted with the Method of embalming Bodies, that they employed some Inhabitants of the Place to buy and prepare the Spices, and to go with them to apply them to the Body; and these are the *τινες σὺν αὐταῖς*, *others with them*, in St. *Luke*.

This will account for St. *Matthew* saying nothing of Spices;—for *they* had none with them: They set out before those, who were to bring the Spices, to see what Condition the Sepulchre was in: and their Business is properly expressed by *θεωρῆσαι τὸν τάφον*, *to see the Sepulchre*.

*Mary Magdalene* was with the first (*Matthew* and *Mark*) who went to the Sepulchre; but I

think she did not go to the Sepulchre then: As soon as she was in Sight of the Place, lifting up her Eyes (ἀναβλέψασαι, *Mark* xvi. 4.) and seeing the Stone removed, She turned instantly (τρέχει οὖν, *John* xx. 2.) to tell *Peter* and *John*. And it is plain by her Behaviour at her second going, that she had no Share in the Fright that seized those who went on after she left them.

§ 9. Having thus cleared the Way, I Shall now set down the several Incidents of this wonderful Event, in the Order, in which, according to the foregoing Observations, they seem to have arisen; after premising that our Saviour *Christ* was crucified on a *Friday*, (the Preparation, or the Day before the *Jewish Sabbath*) gave up the Ghost about three o’Clock in the Afternoon of the same Day, and was buried that Evening, before the Commencement of the *Sabbath*, which among the *Jews* was always reckoned to begin from the first Appearance of the Stars on *Friday* Evening, and to end at the Appearance of them again on the Day we call *Saturday*: That some Time, and most probably towards the Close of the *Sabbath*, after the religious Duties of the Day were over, the Chief Priests obtained of *Pilate*, the *Roman* Governor, a Guard to watch the Sepulchre, till the third Day was past, pretending to apprehend that his Disciples might come by Night, and steal

away the Body, and then give out that he was risen, according to what he himself had predicted while he was yet alive: That they did accordingly set a Guard, made sure the Sepulchre, and to prevent the Soldiers themselves from concurring with the Disciples, they put a Seal upon the Stone, which closed up the Entrance of the Sepulchre.

The order I conceive to have been as follows:

Very early on the first Day of the Week (the Day immediately following the *Sabbath*, and the third from the Death of *Christ*) *Mary Magdalene* and the other *Mary*, in pursuance of the Design of embalming the Lord's Body, which they had concerted with the other Women, who attended him from *Galilee* to *Jerusalem*, and for the performing of which they had prepared Unguents and Spices, set out in order to take a View of the Sepulchre, just as the Day began to break: And about the Time of their setting out, *there was a great Earthquake: for the Angel of the Lord descended from Heaven, and came and rolled back the Stone from the Door of the Sepulchre, and sat upon it: His Countenance was like Lightning, and his Raiment white as Snow; and for fear of him the Keepers did shake, and become as dead Men*, during whole Amazement and Terror, *Christ* came out of the Sepulchre; and the

Keepers being now recovered out of their Trance, and fled, the Angel, who till then sat upon the Stone, quitted his Station on the Outside, and entered into the Sepulchre, and probably disposed the Linen Clothes and Napkin in that Order, in which they were afterwards found and observed by *John* and *Peter*. *Mary Magdalene*, in the mean while, and the other *Mary*, were still on their Way to the Sepulchre, where, together with *Salome*, (whom they had either called upon, or met as they were going) they arrived at the Rising of the Sun. And as they drew near, discoursing about the Method of putting their Intent of embalming the Body of their Matter in Execution, *they said among themselves, Who shall roll us away the Stone from the Door of the Sepulchre? for it was very great;* and they themselves (the two *Maries*; at least) had seen it placed there two Days before, and seen with what Difficulty it was done. But in the midst of their Deliberation about removing this great and sole Obstacle to their Design (for it does not appear that they knew any thing of the Guard) *lifting up their Eyes*, while they were yet at some Distance, they perceived it was already rolled away. Alarmed at so extraordinary and so unexpected a Circumstance, *Mary Magdalene* concluding, that, as the Stone could not be moved without a great Number of Hands, so it was not rolled away without some Design; and

that they, who rolled it away, could have no other Design but to remove the Lord's Body; and being convinced by Appearances that they had done so, ran immediately to acquaint *Peter* and *John* with what they had seen, and what she suspected, leaving *Mary* and *Salome* there, that if *Joanna* and the other Women should come in the mean Time, they might acquaint them with their Surprise at finding the Stone removed, and the Body gone, and of *Mary Magdalene's* running to inform the two above-mentioned Apostles with it. While she was going on this Errand, *Mary* and *Salome* went on, and entered into the Sepulchre, and there saw an Angel sitting on the right Side, cloathed in a long white Garment, and they were affrighted. And he saith unto them, Be not affrighted: Ye seek Jesus of Nazareth, which was crucified: He is risen, he is not here: Behold the Place where they laid him. But go your Way, tell his Disciples and Peter that he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him, as he said unto you. And they went out quickly and fled from the Sepulchre; for they trembled and were amazed; neither said they any thing to any Man; for they were afraid. After the Departure of *Mary* and *Salome* came *John* and *Peter*, who having been informed by *Mary Magdalene*, that the Body of the Lord was taken away out of the Sepulchre, and that she knew not where they had laid him, ran both together to the Sepulchre; and the other

*Disciple [John] outran Peter, and came first to the Sepulchre; and he stooping down, and looking in, saw the Linen Clothes lying, yet went be not in. Then cometh, Simon Peter following him, and went into the Sepalehre, and seeth the Linen Clothes lie, and the Napkin, that was about his Head, not lying with the Linen Clothes, but wrapped together in a Place by itself. Then went in also that other Disciple, which came first to the Sepulchre, and he saw and\* believed; for as yet they knew not the Scripture that he; must rise again from the Dead. Then the Disciples went away again unto their own Home. But Mary stood without at the Sepulchre weeping; and as she wept, she stooped down, and looked into the Sepulchre, and seeth two Angels in White, sitting, the one at the Head, and the other at the Feet, where the Body of Jesus had lain; and they say unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? She saith unto them, Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him.*

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\* *Believed.*] Commentators have generally agreed to understand by this Word no more than that St. *John* believed, what *Mary Magdalene* suggested, viz. That they had taken away the Lord's Body; and they seem to have been led into this Opinion by the Words immediately subjoined, *for as yet they knew not the Scripture that he must rise again from the Dead*; which Words contain a sort of an Excuse for their not believing that he was risen. It is however certain that by the Word *Believe*, when it is put absolutely, the sacred Writers most commonly mean to have, what is called, Faith; and in this Sense it is used no less than three Times in the latter Part of this Chapter. To obviate this Objection, retain the usual Signification of this Verb, and yet reconcile this Verse with the following, it is pretended that *Beza's* old *Greek* Manuscript says he did not believe, i.e. instead of ἐπίστευσεν it has ἔχ' ἐπίστευσεν or ἠπίστευσεν. Instead of entering into an Examination which of these two Readings is to be preferred, I shall only observe, that *Beza* himself, in his Comments upon this Passage, takes no Notice of the various Reading abovementioned; on the contrary, he contends that St. *John* did believe the Resurrection. These are his Words: *Et credidit, ἔχ' ἐπίστευσεν, Christum videlicet resurrexisse quanquam tenuis adhuc fores hac fides, &c. aliis testimoniis egeret, quibus confirmaretur. Joannes igitur solus jam tum hoc credidit, &c.* See his *Greek Testament* in Fol. printed at Geneva, A. D. 1598. And I own I am most inclined to his Opinion, for Reasons which will appear in the Course of this Work.

*And when she had thus said, she turned herself back, and saw Jesus standing, and knew not that it was Jesus. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? Whom seekest thou? She supposing him to be the Gardener, saith unto him, Sir, if thou hast borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away. Jesus saith unto her, Mary! She turned herself, and saith unto him, Rabboni! which is to say, Master! Jesus saith unto her, Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended unto my Father; But go to my Brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God. After this Appearance of Christ to Mary Magdalene, to whom St. Mark says expressly he appeared first, the other Mary and Salome, who had fled from the Sepulchre in such Terror and Amazement that *they said not any thing to any Man*, (that is, as I understand, had not told the Message of the Angel to some\* whom they met, and to whom they were directed to deliver it) were met on their Way by Jesus Christ himself, who said unto them, *All hail! and they came and held him by the Feet, and worshipped him. Then said Jesus unto them, Be not afraid, go tell my Brethren that they go into Galilee, and there shall they see me.* These several Women*

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\* Probably *John* and *Peter*, who were running with *Mary Magdalene* to the Sepulchre, about the Time that these Women were flying from it, might have been discerned by them at a Distance, tho' the Terror they were in might occasion. their not recollecting them immediately.—But of this I shall hereafter say something more.



and the two Apostles being now gone from the Sepulchre, *Joanna with the other Galilean Women, and others with them, came bringing the Spices which they had prepared for the embalming the Body of Jesus, and finding the Stone rolled away from the Sepulchre, they entered in; but not finding the Body of the Lord Jesus, they were much perplexed thereabout, and behold two Men stood by them in shining Garments; and as they were afraid, and bowed down their Faces to the Earth, they said unto them, Why seek ye the Living among the Dead? He is not here, but is risen. Remember how he spake unto you, when he was yet in Galilee, saying, The Son of Man must be delivered into the Hands of sinful Men, and be crucified, and the third Day rise again. And they remembered his Words, and returned from the Sepulchre, and told all these Things unto the Eleven, and to all the rest. And their Words seemed to them as idle Tales, and they believed them not. But Peter, who upon the Report of Mary Magdalene had been at the Sepulchre, had entered into it, and with a Curiosity that bespoke an Expectation of something extraordinary, and a Desire of being satisfied, had observed, that the Linen Clothes in which Christ was buried, and the Napkin that was about his Head, were not only left in the Sepulchre, but carefully wrapped up, and laid in several Places; and who from thence might begin*

to suspect, what his Companion St. *John* from those very Circumstances seems to have believed: *Peter*, I say, hearing from *Joanna*, that she had seen a Vision of Angels at the Sepulchre, who had assured her that *Christ* was risen, starting up, ran thither immediately, and knowing that the Angels, if they were within the Sepulchre, might be discovered without his going in, he did not, as before, enter in, but stooping down looked so far in as to see the *Linen Clothes*, and departed, wondering in himself at that which was come to pass. And either with *Peter*, or about that Time, went some other Disciples, who were present when *Joanna* and the other Women made their Report, and found it even so as the Women had said. The same Day two of the Disciples went to a Village called *Emmaus*, which was from Jerusalem about threescore Furlongs. And they talked together of all those things that had happened. And it came to pass that while they communed together, and reasoned, *Jesus* himself drew near, and went with them; but their Eyes were holden that they should not know him. And he said unto them, What manner of Communications [Arguments] are these that ye have one to another, as ye walk and are sad? And one of them, whose Name was *Cleopas*, answering, said unto him, Art thou only a Stranger in Jerusalem, and hast not known the Things which are come to pass there in these

Days? And he said unto them, What Things? And they said unto him, Concerning Jesus of Nazareth, which was a Prophet mighty in Deed and Word before God, and all the People; and how the Chief Priests and our Rulers delivered him to be condemned to Death, and have crucified him. But we trusted that it had been He which should have redeemed Israel: And beside all this, To-day is the third Day since these Things were done. Yea, and certain Women also of our Company made us astonished, which were early at the Sepulchre; and when they found not his Body, they came, saying, that they had also seen a Vision of Angels, which said that he was alive: And certain of them which were with us, went to the Sepulchre, and found it even so as the Women had said: But him they saw not. Then he said unto them, O Fools, and slow of Heart to believe all that the Prophets have spoken! Ought not Christ to have suffered these Things, and to enter into his Glory? And beginning at Moses and all the Prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the Things concerning himself. And they drew nigh unto the Village whither they went, and he made as though he would have gone farther. But they constrained him, saying, Abide with us, for it is towards Evening, and the Day is far spent. And he went in to tarry with them. And it came to pass as he sat at Meat with them, he took Bread and blessed it, and brake

*and gave to them. And their Eyes were opened, and they knew him ; and he vanished out of their Sight. And they said one to another, Did not our Hearts burn within us while he talked with us by the Way, and while he opened to us the Scriptures? And they rose up the same Hour, and returned to Jerusalem, and found the Eleven gathered together, and them that were with them, saying, The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon. And they told what Things were done in the Way, and how he was known of them in breaking of Bread.*

This is the Order, in which the several Incidents above related appear to have arisen; the Conformity of which with the Words of the Evangelists, interpreted in their obvious and most natural Sense, I have shewn in my Remarks upon the Passages, wherein they are contained: And although the Reasons there given are, I apprehend, sufficient of themselves to justify the Esposition I contend for, yet, for the better Confirmation of what has been advanced, I beg leave to lay before you an Observation or two, suggested by this very Order itself, from whence its Aptness and Tendency to the great End, to which it was in all its Parts directed and disposed by the Hand of Providence, *viz.* the Proof of the Resurrection of *Christ*, will manifestly appear.

§ 10. First then, by this Order, in which all the different Events naturally and easily follow, and as it were rise out of one another, the Narration of the Evangelists is cleared from all Confusion and Inconsistencies. And 2dly, the Proof of the Resurrection is better established by thus separating the Women into two or more Divisions, than upon the contrary Supposition, which brings them all together to the Sepulchre; for in the last Case, instead of three different Appearances of Angels to the Women, and two of *Jesus Christ*, we should have but one of each; whereas in the former there is a Train of Witnesses, a Succession of miraculous Events, mutually strengthening and illustrating each other, and equally and jointly concurring to prove one and the same Fact; a Fact, which, as it was in its own Nature most astonishing, and in its Consequences of the utmost Importance to Mankind, required the fullest and most unexceptionable Evidence. And I will venture to say, never was a Fact more fully proved; as I doubt not to make appear to any one, who with me will consider, 1st, The Manner; 2dly, The Matter of the Evidence; and 3dly, The Characters and Dispositions of the Persons whom it was intended to convince. By these I chiefly mean the Apostles, and Disciples of *Jesus*, who were to be the Witnesses of the Resurrection to all the

World. By the Manner, I understand the Method and Order in which the several Proofs were laid before them: And by the Matter, the several Facts of which the Evidence consisted.

I shall begin with the Apostles and Disciples, for whose Conviction the miraculous Appearances of the Angels, and of *Christ* himself to the Women, were principally designed; and the Knowledge of whose general Characters, as well as of the particular Dispositions of their Minds at that Time, will throw a Light upon the other Points proposed to be considered.

The greatest Part, if not all, of the Apostles and Disciples of *Jesus*, those at least who openly and avowedly followed him, were Men of low Birth and mean Occupations, illiterate, and unaccustomed to deep Inquiries, and abstracted Reasonings; Men of gross Minds, contracted Notions, and strongly possessed with the selfish, carnal, and national Prejudices of the *Jewish* Religion, as it was then taught by the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*. And hence, although it is evident from several Passages in the Gospel-History, that, convinced by the many Miracles performed by *Jesus of Nazareth*, and the Accomplishments of many Prophecies in him, they believed him to be the *Messiah*, yet their Idea of the *Messiah* was the same with that of their Brethren the *Jews*;

who, by not rightly understanding the true Meaning of some Prophecies, expected to find in the *Messiah*, a Temporal Prince, a Redeemer and Ruler of *Israel*, who should never die. And so deeply was this Prejudice rooted in the Minds of the Apostles, as well as the rest of the *Jews*, that although our Saviour constantly disclaimed the Character of a Temporal Prince, and upon many Occasions endeavoured to undeceive his Disciples, yet they could not wholly give up their Opinion, even after they had seen him risen from the Dead, and received that incontestable Proof of his being the *Messiah*, and of their having mistaken the Sense of that Prophecy about his being never to die. For in one of his Conferences with them after his Resurrection, they ask him, Whether he would at that Time\* *restore the Kingdom to Israel*? With so much Obstinacy did they adhere to their former Prejudices. This therefore being their settled Notion of the *Messiah*, can we wonder their former Faith in him should be extinguished, when they saw him suffering, crucified, and dying; and instead of saving others, not able to save himself? To prepare them for these Events, he had indeed most circumstantially foretold his own Sufferings, Death, and Resurrection: But the Apostles themselves assure us that they did not understand those Predictions, till some Time

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\* Acts chap. i. ver. 6.

after their Accomplishment; and they made this Confession at a Time, when they were as sensible of their former Dulness, and undoubtedly as much amazed at it, as they now pretend to be, who object it against them; so that their Veracity upon this Point is not to be questioned. Immortality therefore and Temporal Dominion being, in their Opinions, the Characteristicks of the *Messiah*, the Sufferings and Death of *Jesus* must have convinced them before his Resurrection, that he was not the *Messiah*, not that Person, in whom they had trusted as the Redeemer and King of *Israel*. And having, as they imagined, found themselves mistaken in their Faith as to this Point, they might with some Colour of Reason be cautious and backward in believing any Predictions about his Rising from the Dead, had they understood what these Predictions meant. The State of Mind therefore, into which the Apostles fell upon the Death of their Master, must have been a State of Perplexity and Confusion. They could not but reflect upon his miraculous Works, and his more miraculous Holiness of Life, and were not able to account for the ignominious Death of so extraordinary a Person.—A State of Dejection and Despair: They had conceived great Expectations from the Persuasion that he was *the Christ of God*: But these were all vanished; their promised Deliverer, their expected King was dead



and buried, and no one left to call *him* from the Grave, as *he* did *Lazarus*. With this Life, they might presume, ended his Power of working Miracles, and Death perhaps was an Enemy he could not subdue, since it was apparent he could not escape it; and hence proceeded their Despair. It was likewise a State of Anxiety and Terror. The *Jews* had just put their Master to Death as a Malefactor and Impostor; what then could his Followers expect from his inveterate and triumphant Enemies, but Insults and Reproaches, and Ignominy, Scourges, Chains, and Death? The Fear of the *Jews* made them desert their Master, when he was first seized; made *Peter*, the most zealous of the Apostles, *deny him thrice*, even with Oaths and Imprecations; and made the Apostles and Disciples, when they met together, on the Day of the Resurrection, to confer upon the Accounts they had received of *Christ* being risen, retire into a Chamber, and shut the Door, lest they should be discovered by the *Jews*. Such then was the State of the Apostles Minds upon the Death of their Master, full of Prejudice, Doubt, Perplexity, Despair, and Terror: Distemperatures that required a gentle Treatment, lenient Medicines, and a gradual Cure. Which leads me to consider in the next Place the Manner, *i.e.* the Method and Order of that Evidence by which they were recovered into a State of Sanity; and from

Deserters of their Master, converted into Believers, Teachers, and Martyrs of the Gospel.

§ 11. The first Alarm they received was from *Mary Magdalene*, who, early in the Morning, on the third Day from the Burial of our Saviour, came running to inform *Peter* and *John*, that she had found the Stone rolled from the Mouth of the Sepulchre, and that the Body of the Lord was taken away. This Information carried those two Apostles thither, who entered into the Sepulchre, and found the Linen Clothes, in which his Body had been wrapped, and the Napkin, that was bound about his Head, folded up, and lying in different Parts of the Sepulchre. There Circumstances, trifling as they may seem at first Sight, were, if duly wondered, very awakening, and very proper to prepare their Minds for something extraordinary; since nothing but the Resurrection of *Jesus* could, in right Reason, be concluded from them. The Body they saw was gone; but by whom could it be taken away? and for what Purpose? Not by Friends; for then in all Probability they would have known something about it: Not by the *Jews*, for they had nothing to do with it. *Pilate*, to whom alone the Disposal of it belonged, as the Body of a Malefactor executed by his Orders, had given it to his Disciples, who laid it in the Sepulchre but two Days before; and wherefore should they remove

it again so soon? Not to bury it; for in that Case they would not have left the Spices, the Winding sheet, and the Napkin behind them. Whoever, therefore, had removed the Body, they could not have done it with a Design to bury it; and yet no other Purpose for the Removal of it could well be imagined. Besides, it must have been removed in the Night by Stealth, and consequently in a Hurry: How then came the Winding-sheet and the Napkin to be folded up, and disposed in so orderly a Manner within the Sepulchre? Add to all this, that the Stone was very large, and therefore many People must have been concerned in this Transaction, not one of whom was there to give an Answer to any Questions. These, or such-like Medians, could not but rise in their Minds, and these Reflections could not but dispose them to expect some extraordinary Event. His Life, they knew, was a Life of Miracles, and his Death was attended with Prodigies and Wonders; all which could not but come crouding into their Memories; and yet none of them at that Time (excepting *John*) believed that he was risen from the Dead; *for as yet* (as the Apostle assures us) *they knew not the Scripture, that he must rise again from the Dead*; that is, they did not understand from the Prophets that the *Messiah* was to rise again from the Dead, being on the contrary persuaded, that these very Prophets had foretold the *Messiah*

should not die, but *abide for ever*.

\*The next Information they received was from *Joanna*, and the Women who accompanied her to the Sepulchre, who acquainted them with two new and very surprizing Particulars, *viz.* That they had there seen a *Vision of Angels*, and that those Angels had told them that; *Jesus* was risen, and had moreover reminded them of what

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\* I have placed this Report of *Joanna* next to the Relation above-cited made by *Mary Magdalene*, and before the second Report made by her, and that of the other two *Maries*; because, by what the two Disciples, who were going to *Emmaus*, say to *Jesus*, it is evident that they had heard the Report of *Joanna*. and had not, when they left the rest of the Disciples, heard either of the last-mentioned Reports. Farther, by their using the first Person plural in speaking of those, to whom this Report was made, as some Women of *our* Company made us astonished, compared with what *St. Luke* says at the 9<sup>th</sup> Verse, of the Women returning and telling all those Things to the Eleven and *all the rest* it looks as if they were of the Number of those, who were present when this Report was made; and that *St. Peter* was of that Number is evident, and so, I think, were all the Eleven, and many other of those called Disciples, assembled together, probably by *John* and *Peter*, as was before observed. These several Points being admitted, it will follow, that the Report of *Joanna* and these with her, was made to the *Eleven and all the rest*, previously to the second Report of *Mary Magdalene*, and that of the other two *Maries*, though the Events, which gave Occasion to the two latter, were in Order of Time prior to that related by *Joanna*; for if any of those, who were present when *Joanna* related what had happened to her at the Sepulchre, had heard that *Christ* had appeared to *Mary Magdalene* and the two other *Maries*, they would doubtless have mentioned it upon that Occasion, in which Case it must have been heard, and would as certainly have been mentioned by the two Disciples, in their Conversation with *Jesus* on the Way to *Emmaus*; and even supposing they were not present when *Joanna* made her Report, but received it only from some who were, it is probable that they who told them the Particulars relating to *Joanna*, and *Peter's* second Visit to the Sepulchre, would at the same Time have informed them of the Accounts given by *Mary Magdalene* and the other *Maries*, had they at that time heard any thing of them. There may indeed be some Difficulty in accounting for this, especially as the Appearance of *Christ* to *Mary Magdalene* was very early; and it is said, *John* xx. 18. that she went and told it to the Disciples; and still more expressly by *St. Mark*, xvi. 20. And if her Zeal and Haste in carrying the News of the Stone's being removed, and the Warmth of her own Temper, and the express Command of *Christ* to her to acquaint his Disciples, be considered, it will appear very probable that she went on this Errand *immediately*; and it is very natural to think that she went directly to *Peter* this second Time, as she did the first; and that Apostle, when he left her at the Sepulchre, went directly home, as did also *John*, *John* xx. 10. But if he and *Peter* were gone to acquaint the other Disciples with the Lord's Body being missing, as is above supposed, her not finding them immediately is easily accounted for; besides which, many other Things might happen unknown to us to bring *Joanna*, and those with her, to *Peter* and the other Disciples, before they saw *Mary Magdalene* after her second Visit to the Sepulchre, and before the other two *Maries* came with their Message, who, notwithstanding their Nearness to the City when *Christ* appeared to them, and the early Date of that Appearance, might possibly not be enough recovered from their Fright to deliver their Message immediately; or if they were, they might, for the Reason above given, miss that Apostle [*Peter*] to whom they were particularly commanded to deliver it, and to whom therefore, in all Probability, they went directly. All those Things, however, are mere Conjectures, and as such I submit them to the Judgment of the Reader.

himself had formerly spoken to his Disciples concerning his Sufferings, his Death, and his Resurrection on the third Day, being foretold by the Prophets. What various Reflections must these two amazing Circumstances immediately suggest to them! The great Difficulty, about the Body of their Master being missing, which had so much alarmed and puzzled them, was at once solved. Angels told the Women he was risen from the Dead; and to induce them the more easily to believe so astonishing an Event, bade them remember that *Christ* himself had, not only from the Spirit of Prophecy, with which they knew he was endowed, but from the Prophets also, predicted his own Sufferings, and Death, and Rising again from the Dead on the third Day. The Words of their Master they well remembered, and were so far convinced that the Women spoke Truth. Those Parts also of this Prediction, which related to his Sufferings and Death, they had seen most exactly accomplished and that was a powerful Argument for their believing that the rest might be so too: Besides, this was the third Day, the very Day on which *Jesus* had told them he should rise from the Dead. The Argument therefore drawn from the Testimony of the Reports, upon which their Disbelief of the Resurrection was principally founded, was here attacked; and the Interpretation of their Master, verified in most of the

Particulars by the Event, was here let up in Opposition to that of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, whose Leaven they had so frequently been cautioned against. But then they did not understand what was meant by his Rising from the Dead. Was he once more to live with them upon the Earth? If so, where was he? Nobody had as yet seen him, neither the Women, nor those among them, who, upon their Report, had gone to the Sepulchre. By his Rising from the Dead therefore might be meant, that God had taken him into Heaven, as he did *Enoch* and *Elijah*; and could they hope he would return from thence to be the Redeemer and King of *Israel*? To obviate these several Difficulties, and proceed one Step farther towards explaining to them the Meaning of the Resurrection, they were probably acquainted in the next Place by *Mary Magdalene*, that she had seen, not Angels only, but *Christ* himself, who had appeared unto her as she stood weeping at the Sepulchre; that at first indeed, she did not know him, taking him for the *Gardener*; that upon his calling her by her Name she knew him; that having offered to embrace him he forbade her, giving her for a Reason that he was not yet *ascended to his Father*: But bidding her go, and tell his Disciples that in a short Time he Should *ascend to his Father and their Father, his God and their God*. In this Relation of *Mary Magdalene's* were three Articles

of great Importance. 1st, A stronger Proof than any they had hitherto received, of *Christ's* being risen from the Dead: *Mary Magdalene* had seen him. 2dly, He told her he was not yet *ascended to his Father*, by which there seemed to be some Hopes given them, that they also might have the Satisfaction of seeing him. 3dly, The Words, *I ascend to my Father, &c.* plainly referred to a Conversation he had with them before he was betrayed, in which he told them that he should go *to his Father, &c.* By these Words, therefore, they were not only reminded of another Prediction of his, but called upon to expect the great Things, which were to be the Consequence of his *going to the Father, viz. The Coming of the Comforter*; a Power of working Miracles; and what would be an Earnest of all these Things, the Joy of seeing him again; all which he had promised them in the Conversation alluded to in this Message\*. Yet some Doubts and Difficulties still remained. Nobody but *Mary Magdalene* had, seen him; and she did not know him at first, but took him for the Gardener. Perhaps the whole was Illusion; but allowing it was *Christ* whom she saw, Why was she commanded not to touch him? It was probably an Apparition, and not *Christ* himself. Besides, Wherefore did he not appear to his Disciples, who, according to his own Promise, were to see him again? The whole

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\* John xiii. 14.

Story therefore might still appear to them an idle visionary Tale.

To deliver them from these Perplexities, nothing could be better calculated than the Account given by the other *Mary* and *Salome*, which imported, that they also had been at the Sepulchre, where they had seen an Angel, who not only assured them that *Christ was risen*, but ordered them to tell his Disciples, that *they should meet him in Galilee*, agreeably to what he himself had said to them in his Life-time: That they were so amazed and terrified at this Vision, that they fled from the Sepulchre with the utmost Precipitation, intending to communicate these Things to the Apostles, as the Angel had commanded them, but were so overcome with Fear, that they had not the Power to tell what they had seen and heard to some, whom they saw in the Way: That as they were going, *Jesus Christ* himself met them, and saluting them with an *All hail!* bade them *not be afraid, but go and tell his Brethren that they should go into Galilee, and that they should see him there*; to which they added, that *they went and held him by the Feet and worshipped him*: And farther they informed *Peter*, that the Angel had expressly enjoined them to deliver this Message to him in particular. Had the Apostles and Disciples given Credit to this Account of *Mary* and *Salome*, they could have



had but one Scruple left. *Jesus* had now appeared to two Women besides *Mary Magdalene*; had permitted those Women to embrace his Feet, and given thereby a sensible Proof that it was himself and not an Apparition, and had also appointed a Place, where they themselves were to see him. The only Scruple therefore, that now remained, arose from their not having seen him themselves; and till they did, they leaned resolved to suspend their Belief of his being risen from the Dead, and treated all these several Visions of the Women as so many idle Tales.

It is observable that all these miraculous Incidents followed close upon the Back of one another, and consequently were crouded into a small Compass of Time; so that we ought to be the less surprized at the Apostles not yielding at once to so much Evidence. Such a Heap of Wonders were enough to amaze and overwhelm their Understandings. They were therefore left for a Time to ruminate upon what they had heard; to compare the several Reports together; to examine the Scriptures; and recollect the Predictions and Discourses of their Master, to which they were referred both by the Angels and himself. But the Examination of the Scriptures was a Work of some Time; and in the Situation in which they then were, their Minds

undoubtedly were in too great an Agitation to settle to such an Employment with the Composure and Attention that was necessary. Besides, it must be remembered, they were a Company of illiterate Men, not versed in the Interpretations of Prophecies, nor accustomed to long Arguments and Deductions; and were moreover under the Dominion of an inveterate Prejudice, authorized by the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, the Priests and Elders, whose Learning and whose Doctrines they had been instructed early to revere. To assist them in their Inquiries, and lead them to the true Sense of the Scriptures, the only rational Means of conquering their Prejudices, *Christ* himself appeared that same Day to *two* of his Disciples, who were going to *Emmaus*; a Village about threescore Furlongs distant from *Jerusalem*, and whom he found discoursing and reasoning as they went, upon those very Topicks. These Disciples, as I have already shewed, had left *Jerusalem* before any of the Women, who had seen *Christ*, had made their Report; at least that Report had not come to their Knowledge. All they had heard was, that some Women who had been early at the Sepulchre, had there been informed by Angels, that he was risen from the Dead, and put in mind that he himself had formerly predicted his Resurrection, by shewing out of the Prophets that so it was to be. This

Argument were they debating, when our Saviour joined them; who questioning them upon the Subject of their Debate, and the Affliction visible in their Countenances; and understanding from the Account they gave, that they were still unsatisfied as to the main Point, and seemed to put the Proof of his being risen from the Dead, upon his shewing himself alive, rebuked them first for their *Ignorance and Backwardness in believing all that the Prophets had spoken; and then beginning at Moses and all the Prophets, he expounded to them in all the Scriptures the Things concerning himself.* During this whole Conversation they knew him not; *their Eyes were holden,* as St. Luke informs us, and for what Reason is very plain. The Design of *Christ* in entering into so particular an Exposition of the Prophets was to shew, that, by making a proper Use of their Understanding, they might, from those very Scriptures, whose Authority they allowed, have been convinced that the *Messiah ought to have suffered, as they had seen him suffer, and to rise from the Dead on the third Day.* That is, *Christ* chose rather to convince them by Reason, than by Sense; or at least so to prepare their Minds, that their assenting afterwards to the Testimony of their Senses should be with the Concurrence of their Reason. He had proceeded in the same Manner with the other Disciples at *Jerusalem*, from all of whom he had hitherto

withholden the Evidence of Sense, having not appeared to any of them, excepting *Peter*, till after the Return of these two Disciples to *Jerusalem*. This Proceeding, at once so becoming the Lord of Righteousness and Truth, and the Freedom of Man as a reasonable Being, must have been prevented, had *Christ* discovered himself to them at his first appearing. Wonder and Astonishment in that Case had taken place of Reason, and left them, perhaps, when the first strong Impression was a little worn away, in Doubt and Scepticism. But now having duly prepared them to receive the Testimony of their Senses, he discovered himself to them, and that by an Act of Devotion, *in breaking of Bread*, which among the *Jews* was always attended with Thanksgiving to God, the Giver of our daily Bread. But there seems to have been something peculiar in this Action, upon which Account it was mentioned by St. *Luke* in his Narration of this History, and by the two Disciples themselves, when they related to the Apostles at *Jerusalem*, what had happened to them at *Emmaus*. The Manner undoubtedly of breaking the Bread, and probably the Form of Words in the Thanksgiving, were particular to our Saviour; and these latter perhaps were the very same with those made use of by him at the last Supper. At least, these two Actions are described by St. *Luke* in the same Words, *viz. He took Bread and*

*gave Thanks, and brake it and gave to them.* If so, how strongly were they called upon by this Action to remember their Lord, who had instituted that very Form in Remembrance of his Death! and how properly did it accompany that Discovery of himself which he now thought fit to make to them! Accordingly they were convinced, and *returned that same Hour to Jerusalem*, where they found the Apostles assembled together and debating, apparently upon the several Reports they had heard that Day, and particularly upon what *Peter* had told them, to whom some Time that Day *Christ* had appeared. But as neither the Time, nor the Particulars of that Appearance are recorded by the Evangelists, I shall not pretend to say any thing more about it, than that the Apostles seem to have had a greater Stress upon that alone, than upon all those related by the Women. For upon these two Disciples coming into the Chamber, they accost them immediately, without waiting to hear their Story, with *The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon*, but make no Mention of any of his Appearances to the Women. After which the two Disciples related what had happened to them in the Way to *Emmaus*, and *how he was known of them in breaking of Bread*. But St. *Mark* says\*, they did *not believe these two Disciples*, any more than they had done the

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\* Chap. xvi, 13.

others, to whom *Christ* had appeared; which Words seem to contain a sort of Contradiction to what they themselves seem to acknowledge in saying, *the Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared unto Simon*. Let us therefore examine these two Passages with a little more Attention. The whole Passage in *St. Mark*, is this; *After that, he appeared in another Form to two of them, as they walked, and went into the Country, and they went and told it unto the Residue, neither believed they them*. To which I must add the following: *\*Afterward he appeared unto the Eleven, as they sat at Meat, and upbraided them with their Unbelief and Hardness of Heart, because they believed not them which had seen him after he was risen*. By comparing these Passages in *St. Mark* with the parallel Passage in *St. Luke*, it will appear what the Belief of the Apostles was, and what their unbelief. The Parallel to the first has been already considered. The Course of my Narration leads me now to consider that to the second; and in doing of this, I shall take Occasion to observe how they illustrate and explain each other, and thereby vindicate these two Evangelists from the Suspicion of contradicting one another's Account. The Apostles, by the several Relations of the Women, which they received early in the Morning, and upon which they had had sufficient Time to

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\* Ver. 14.

comment and reflect (for it was now Night); and afterwards by those of *Peter* and the two Disciples from *Emmaus*, being ripe for Conviction, *Christ* vouchsafed to give them that Evidence they seemed so much to desire, and which having been granted to others, they had some Reason to hope for and expect. Accordingly, as the Disciples from *Emmaus* had just finished their Story, *Jesus himself stood in the Midst of them, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you, and they were terrified and affrighted, and supposed they had seen a Spirit.* Here then was their Error, and in this consisted their Unbelief. They acknowledged indeed that *Christ* was risen from the Dead, but did not believe that he had bodily appeared to those, who pretended to have seen him, and to have had sufficient Evidence upon that Point. These, *St. Mark* says, they did *not believe*; and we learn from *St. Luke*, that when he appeared to them, they did *not believe* even their own Eyes, but *supposed they had seen a Spirit.* That this was the Unbelief, for which, as we read in *St. Mark*, our Saviour rebuked them, is evident from what follows after in *St. Luke.* *And he said unto them, Why are ye troubled? And why do Thoughts [Reasonings, διαλογισμοι] arise in your Hearts ? Behold my Hands and my Feet? that it is I myself: Handle me and see; for a Spirit. hath not Flesh and Bones, as ye see me have. And when he had*

*thus spoken, he shewed them his Hands and his Feet.* We may judge of the Distemper by the Remedy. He bade them feel and see that it was no Spirit, but he himself. Why? Because they doubted of it: And he upbraided them with their *Unbelief and Hardness of Heart*, because they doubted of it, notwithstanding the Testimony of People, whose Veracity they had no Reason to suspect, and who brought Credentials with them, that could not be forged. It being evident from these Passages, thus compared together, that the Unbelief of the Apostles, mentioned by St. *Mark*, and the Belief which they professed, according to St. *Luke*, were both partial, those two Evangelists are thus perfectly reconciled.

But if any one should still insist that these Words of the Apostles and Disciples, *The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon*, imply, that they then had a full and explicit Belief of the Resurrection of *Christ*, as from the Force of the Word *indeed* I am myself inclined to think, and should demand how they came afterwards to disbelieve the *two Disciples*, and to suspect even that Appearance which themselves saw? I answer, that in the Appearance of *Christ* to the *two Disciples*, and in that afterwards to themselves, were some Circumstances, which at first, and till more satisfactory Proofs were given, might naturally tend to confound and unsettle



the Faith, which they had taken up upon the Evidence of *Peter*: Because *Christ* appearing first to the two Disciples *in another Form*, and *vanishing* out of their Sight as soon as he was made known to them, seemed better to suit with the Idea of his being a Spirit, than a living Body; and his entering into the Room where they were assembled, *the Doors being shut*, rather confirmed that Idea, in the first sudden Impression it made upon their Minds; which Mistake, in both Cases, arose from their not attending sufficiently to the miraculous Powers belonging to *Christ*; to the Operations of which his being in the Body was no Impediment. This Inadvertency, and want of due Consideration in the Apostles and Disciples, justifies our Saviour's *rebuking them for not believing them which had seen him*. But the Doubts occasioned by it were soon overcome by those farther Proofs of the Reality of his Body, which he afterwards vouchsafed to give them: And by this Explanation, as well as by the former, the Evangelists are cleared from contradicting each other.

However, neither did these Proofs entirely satisfy them; for, as the History goes on, *While they yet believed not for joy, and wondered, Christ said unto them, Have ye any Meat? And they gave him a Piece of a broiled Fish, and a*

*Honey-comb, and he took it and did eat before them. So much Compassion did he shew for their Infirmary! and so much Care did he take, that not even a Shadow of a Scruple should remain in their Minds, upon a Point of the utmost Importance to the great business he came about! And perceiving now that every Doubt was vanished, and they were perfectly convinced, he said to them (pursuing the Argument begun by the Angels\* and carried on by himself with the two Disciples in the Way to Emmaus) These are the Words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all Things must be fulfilled, which were written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me. Then opened he their Understandings, that they might understand the Scriptures, and said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ (i.e. Messiah) to suffer, and to rise from the Dead on the third Day; and that Repentance, and Remission of Sins should be preached in his Name, beginning at Jerusalem; and ye are Witnesses of these Things.*

The Apostles having now had every kind of Evidence laid before them, that was requisite to convince them of the Reality of the Resurrection of *Christ*; and being moreover enabled, by the Gift of that Holy Spirit which inspired the Prophets, to understand the true Meaning of

those sacred Oracles, to which their Master constantly referred them for the Marks and Characters of the *Messiah*, which he affirmed to be found in him, as well in his Sufferings and Death, and Rising again from the Dead on the third Day, as in the miraculous Actions and unspotted Holiness of his Life—were again left to consider and examine at Leisure the several Proofs of the Resurrection, which they had heard and seen that Day; and particularly those arising from the Accomplishment of the Predictions contained in the Holy Scriptures. That they might apply themselves to this Examination with that cool, deliberate and sober Attention, that is more especially necessary to the rooting out inveterate and religious Prejudices, and planting in their stead a rational and well-grounded Faith, such as is required of all those who believe in *Christ*, and particularly necessary for them, who were to be Witnesses of all these Things to all the World, he forbore visiting them any more for eight Days; after which he condescended to submit himself to a farther Examination, in order to remove the unreasonable Scruples of St. *Thomas*, one of the Apostles; who, having not been present when our Saviour appeared to the other Disciples, and consequently not having seen him himself, refused to believe upon the Report of others so wonderful a Thing as *Christ* rising from the Dead: Nay, he was resolved not to

be convinced with seeing only. *Except I shall see in his Hands, says he, the Print of the Nails, and put my Finger into the Print of the Nails, and thrust my Hand into his Side, I will not believe.* Jesus, when he appeared to his Disciples, *shewed them his Hands and his Feet, as a Proof of his being the same Jesus that was crucified.* This Circumstance, among the rest, the Apostles undoubtedly related to St. Thomas, as an Evidence by which they were assured that it was their Master, whom they had seen; and upon this Evidence St. Thomas also was contented to believe: But first he would be convinced that it was real; he would not only see the Print of the Nails, which might be counterfeited, he would *put his Finger into the Print of the Nails, and thrust his Hand into his Side.* Eight Days after, therefore, *when his Disciples were again met together in a Chamber, and Thomas was with them, Jesus came, the Doors being shut, and stood in the Midst, and said, Peace be unto you. Then saith he to Thomas, Reach hither thy Finger, and behold my Hands, and reach hither thy Hand, and thrust it into my Side; and be not faithless, but believing.* What could St. Thomas do, but yield immediately to the Evidence he had required? And what could he say to one, who appeared to know all his Thoughts, but *My Lord, and my God!* Jesus saith unto him, Thomas, *because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed:*

*Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.*

After this there seems to have been no Scruple left in the Minds of any of the Apostles, to whom however *Christ* was still pleased to continue his Visits, *being seen of them, as St. Luke testifies\* forty Days after his Passion, and speaking of the Things pertaining to the Kingdom of God.* But as hitherto all the Appearances of *Christ* seem to have been intended only for the Conviction of his Apostles; and those that follow rather for their Confirmation and Instruction in the Faith and Doctrines of the Gospel, the sacred Writers, who have been very particular in the Accounts they give us of the former, have mentioned but very few of the latter: I say few; for I think it highly probable that the Appearances of *Christ* to his Apostles for the remaining thirty Days, were more than they have thought proper to record. And the Reason of this different Proceeding is very obvious. The Apostles are to be considered both as *Witnesses* of the Miracles and the Sufferings, the Death and the Resurrection of *Jesus Christ*, and *Teachers and Preachers* of his doctrine. In the Character of *Witnesses*, a circumstantial Account of the Means and Opportunities they had of knowing certainly the several Facts attested by them,

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\* Acts, chap. i, ver.3.

must needs give great Force and Credit to their Evidence; whereas in that of *Preachers* it is sufficient if their Auditors were satisfied in general that the Doctrines taught by them were derived from the Instructions, and authorized by the Commission given them by their Master to *teach all Nations*; and of this, the various Gifts of the Holy Spirit, poured out not upon the Apostles only, but by them upon all Believers, were full and unquestionable Proofs. But among the last-mentioned Appearances of *Christ* there are two, which, by Reason of their Connexion with the former, ought by no means to have been omitted: The first relates to *Christ's* meeting his Disciples in *Galilee*, which was foretold by *Christ* himself before his Death, repeated by the Angels to the Women at the Sepulchre, and afterwards confirmed to them again by *Christ*. The Accomplishment of this Prophecy it was certainly necessary to shew; accordingly we have it in St. *Matthew*, who says, *Then the Eleven Disciples went into Galilee, unto a Mountain, where Jesus had appointed them, and when they saw him they worshipped him but others doubted.* The second, in like Manner, corresponds with what was spoken by our Saviour to *Mary Magdalene* in these Words: *But go to my Brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God*; which Words, as I have already observed, referred to a Conver-

sation he had with his Disciples the Night before he was betrayed, wherein he told them, 1st, That he should go *to his Father*; 2dly, That he would come to them before he went to his Father; 3dly, That after he was gone to the Father, he would send them *a Comforter*, even the Spirit of Truth; who would *teach them all Things, and bring all Things to their Remembrance, whatsoever he had said unto them*; And 4thly, That whosoever believed on him should have the Power of working as great, nay greater Miracles than he did. The fulfilling of which several Promises or Prophecies I shall now set down, only premising, that the second Article was abundantly accomplished by the several Appearances above-mentioned, as we have already seen. The first, *viz.* his Ascention into Heaven, came to pass in this Manner:— *\*And being assembled together with them, he 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. When they therefore were come together, they asked of him, saying, Lord, wilt thou at this Time restore the Kingdom to Israel? And he said unto them, It is not for you to know the Times or the Seasons, which the Father hath put in his own Power; but ye shall receive Power,*

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\* Acts, Ch, I, ver. 4-14.

*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 unto the uttermost Parts of the Earth. And when he had spoken these Things, while they beheld, he was taken up, and a Cloud received him out of their Sight. And while they looked stedfastly towards Heaven, as he went up, behold two Men stood by them in white Apparel, which said unto them, Ye Men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into Heaven? This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into Heaven, shall so come, in like Manner as ye have seen him go into Heaven.—*

The History of the Accomplishment of the third Article is in the next Chapter, and in these Words: *And when the Day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one Accord in one Place; and suddenly there came a Sound from Heaven, as of a rushing mighty Wind, and it filled all the House where they were sitting: And there appeared unto them cloven Tongues, like as of Fire, and it sat upon each of them, and they were filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other Tongues, as the Spirit gave them Utterance. And there were dwelling at Jerusalem, Jews, devout Men, out of every Nation under Heaven. Now when this was noised abroad, the Multitude came together, and were confounded, because that every Man heard them speak in their own Language. And they were all*



*amazed, and marvelled, saying one to another, Behold, are not all these which speak Galileans? and bow hear we every Man in our own Tongue, wherein we were born? Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the Dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea, and Cappadocia, in Pontes, and Asia, Phrygia, and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the Parts of Lybia, about Cyrene, and Strangers of Rome, Jews and Proselytes, Cretes and Arabians, we do hear them speak in our Tongues the wonderful Works of God.—For a Proof of the Completion of the fourth Article, I shall refer the Reader to the History of the Acts of the Apostles, in which he will find numberless Instances of the Power of working Miracles in the Apostles; by whose, Hands (says the Historian, ch. v. ver. 12.) were many Signs and Wonders wrought among the People,—in so much that they brought forth the Sick into the Streets, and laid them on Beds and Couches, that at least the Shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them. There came also a Multitude out of the Cities round about Jerusalem, bringing sick Folks, and them which were vexed with unclean Spirits, and they were healed every one.*

From this View of the Method and Order, in which the several Proofs of the Resurrection were laid before the Apostles, it is manifest that, as *Christ* required of them a reasonable and well-

grounded Faith, so did he pursue the most proper and effectual Means for the attaining that End. With this Purpose, instead of bearing down their Reason and dazzling their Understanding by a full Manifestation of himself all at once, we see him letting in the Light upon them by little and little, and preparing their Minds by the gradual Dawning of Truth, that they might be able to bear the full Lustre of the *Sun of Righteousness* rising from the Grave; to consider and examine, and know that it was he himself, and to assure the World it was impossible they could be deceived. And as, by this Proceeding in general, he intended to open their Understanding by Degrees, and conduct them Step by Step to a full Conviction and Knowledge of the Truth; so by referring them to the Scriptures, and submitting himself to the Scrutiny and Judgment of their Senses, he did not only wave all Authority, but require them in a strong and particular Manner to exercise their Reason in examining the Evidence brought before them; for which Purpose also he both improved their Faculties by the Infusion of his Holy Spirit, and gave them sufficient Time, and frequent Opportunities, *showing himself to them alive after his Passion, by many infallible Proofs*, says the Author of the *Acts, being seen of them forty Days, and speaking of the Things pertaining to the Kingdom of God*. And most certainly never was Evidence more

fairly offered to Con-sideration; never was there Inquiry put upon a more rational Method, as indeed there never were any Facts that could better abide the Test. This I shall now endeavour to evince, by considering the Facts themselves, upon which the Proof of the Resurrection, and consequently the Faith of the Apostles, was established.

§ 12. The Facts, of which the Evidence of the Resurrection consisted, may be comprized under three Heads: 1st, The Appearances of the Angels: 2dly, The Appearances of *Christ* to the Women: And 3dly, The Appearances of *Christ* to the Disciples and Apostles.

1st, The Appearances of the Angels at the Sepulchre on the Morning of the Resurrection were many, each differing from the other, and seen by different Persons; as 1st, By the *Roman* Soldiers, who kept the Sepulchre; 2dly, By the other *Mary* and *Salome*; 3dly, By *Mary Magdalene*; 4thly, By *Joanna*, and those with her.

The Angel, who appeared to the *Roman* Soldiers, was cloathed with Terror, *His Face was like Lightning, and his Raiment white as Snow*. His coming was attended with an Earthquake, and his Strength so much beyond that of

Mortals, that he singly rolled away the Stone from the Mouth of the Sepulchre; which, according to *Beza's* Copies, both *Greek* and *Latin*, was so large that twenty Men could hardly roll it. I have already taken notice of the two Purposes, upon which this *Angel of the Lord* descended from Heaven, *viz.* To fright away the Soldiers, and to open the Sepulchre, that the Women, who were then on their Way thither, and the others both Women and Disciples, and *Jews*, who were to come thither that Day, might have free Entrance into it, and see that the Body of *Jesus* was not there. The Reasonableness of these two Purposes, I think, every body must acknowledge; and that is a very material Point towards establishing the Credibility of the Fact; especially if we consider that, without the Interposition of Heaven, the Sepulchre would probably not have been opened, nor the Guard removed, till after the Expiration of the third Day, the Day prefixed by *Christ* for his rising from the Dead; in which Case, though no earthly Power could have hindered *Christ*, who is the Power of God, from coming out of the Grave, yet the Door of the Sepulchre remaining closed, and the Guard continuing there, must effectually have prevented that Examination into the State of the Sepulchre, which convinced St. *John* that *Christ* was risen; and which, if it did not of itself amount to a clear Proof of the Resurrection, was

at least admirably calculated to prepare the Minds, not of the Apostles only, but of all the *Jews* who were at that Time in *Jerusalem*, to admit such other Proofs, as were afterwards offered to their Consideration. For it is not to be imagined, that none of the Disciples of *Jesus* visited the Sepulchre that Day. The Story told by the Soldiers undoubtedly soon spread all over *Jerusalem*; and bare Curiosity, without any other Motive, was Purely sufficient to carry Numbers to survey the Scene of so astonishing an Event: A Sepulchre, hewed out of a Rock, closed with a vast Stone, and that Stone but the Evening before sealed up by the High Priests and Elders, and committed to a Guard of *Roman* Soldiers; this Sepulchre, notwithstanding all these Precautions, opened, as one Part of the Soldiers reported, by an Angel from Heaven, or as others said, by the Disciples of *Jesus*; who, as was pretended, *came by Night, and while the Guard slept, stole away the Body of Jesus*, which in Effect was missing. These two different and irreconcilable Reports must have likewise induced others to go, and consider upon the Spot, by examining into the Nature and Situation of the Sepulchre, the Probability of that Report, which charged the Disciples with having stolen away the Body of *Jesus*; for as, upon that Supposition, none but human Means are said to have been employed, in order to

know whether those Means were proportioned to the Effects ascribed to them, it was necessary to compare what was done, with the Manner in which it was pretended to be performed. And upon such an Examination, I think, it must have appeared to every considerate Man, if not impossible, at least improbable in the highest Degree, for the Disciples of *Jesus* to have stolen away his Body, while the Guards were at their Posts. For supposing the Disciples to be the Reverse of what they were, bold, enterprizing, cunning Impostors, and capable of making so hazardous an Attempt; can it also be supposed, that a Company of *Roman* Soldiers, trained up under the strictest Discipline, and placed there but the Evening before, should be all asleep at the same Time, and sleep so soundly and so long, as not to be awakened, either by rolling away the Stone, (which, as it singly closed up the Mouth of the Sepulchre, must certainly have been very large) or by the carrying off the Body? the former of which required a great Number of Hands, and the latter must have appeared to have been done with some Deliberation, since the *Linen Clothes* in which the Body was wrapped, and the *Napkin* that was wound about the Head, were folded up and laid in different Parts of the Sepulchre. The Sepulchre was hewed or hollowed into the solid Rock; so that they could have no Thought of making a secret

Passage into it, by digging through the Rock; and consequently must have gone in by that only Entrance, which was closed up by a great Stone, and guarded by a Band of *Roman* Soldiers. These several Circumstances duly attended to, were of themselves sufficient to invalidate the Testimony of those Soldiers, who pretended that the Disciples stole away their Master's Body while they were asleep. But they were, on the other Hand, very strong Arguments for the Credibility of that Account, in which all the Soldiers at first agreed, and which Part of them undoubtedly had published, before the other Story was put into their Mouths by the Chief Priests and Elders. For in this Relation a Cause is assigned proportionable to all the Effects; Effects, which as they were visible and notorious, as well as extraordinary, could not fail of exciting the natural Curiosity of Mankind to inquire, by what Means they were brought about. The Solution is easy and full, *An Angel of the Lord descended from Heaven, rolled away the Stone from the Mouth of the Sepulchre, and sat upon it: His Countenance was like Lightning, and his Raiment white as Snow.* This accounts for the Terror of the Soldiers, their deserting their Post, their precipitate Flight into the City; for the Stone's being rolled away from the Mouth of the Sepulchre, even while it was surrounded by a *Roman* Guard; for the sepulchral Linen being left

in the Grave, folded up, and lying in different Places; and for the Body's being missing; and therefore the Cause here assigned, however wonderful, is most likely to be true.

Nor could the Miracle be an Objection to the Credibility of this Account among the *Jews*; who, upon the Authority of their Lawgiver, their Prophets, and their Historians, were accustomed to think the working Miracles very consistent with the Idea of God, the All-mighty and All-wise Creator of Heaven and Earth; though some modern Philosophers have pretended to discover from Reason, that *Miracles are to the common Sense and Understanding of Man utterly impossible, and contrary to the Unchangeableness of God*. This Point indeed, if it could be made out, (as most certainly it cannot) would of itself be a sufficient Answer to all the Arguments, that can be brought in support of the Credibility, not of this Story only, but of all the Evangelical History, and the *Jewish* Religion also; and would supersede all other Objections to them, as needless and superfluous. Let those then, who upon the Force of this Speculation deny Christianity, here try their Strength: Let them prove that Miracles are utterly impossible, &c. or, till they do, let them give leave to those, who are of a contrary Opinion, to insist that in the present Case the Miracle can be no



Objection to the Credibility of the Fact; and that, as I have said, it could have been none among the *Jews* in particular; who from their Infancy had heard, and read, and believed the *mighty Signs and Wonders wrought by God for his People* Israel; had expected to find in the *Messiah* a Power of working Miracles; and had Evidence of many performed among them by *Jesus* and his Disciples. And indeed the Appearance of an Angel, upon this Occasion, so far from being an Objection, was highly proper, I had almost said necessary. *Jesus* had, but two Days before, been put to Death by the Rulers of the *Jews*, as an impostor; one, who by the Authority of *Beelzebub* cast out Devils, and by assuming the Character of the *Messiah* blasphemed God. His Sepulchre also was guarded by a Band of Soldiers, under the Pretence of preventing his Disciples from carrying on the Imposture begun by their Master, by stealing away his Body, and giving out that he was risen from the Dead, in consequence of what he had said before his Crucifixion. Under these Circumstances the Attestation of Heaven was necessary to shew that God, though he had suffered him to expire on the Cross, had not forsaken him; but, on the contrary, had cooperated with him even in his Sufferings, his Death, and Burial, and Resurrection from the Dead on the Third Day; having,

by the secret Workings of his Providence and his Almighty Power, accomplished in every Point the several Predictions of *Jesus* relating to each of those Events: Events, which at the Time of those Predictions, none but God, or an Eye enlightened by his omniscient Spirit, could foresee; and which nothing less than his all-controuling Power could bring about. The Descent therefore of *the Angel of the Lord* from Heaven, and his *rolling away the Stone* from the Sepulchre, was a visible Proof that the Finger of God was in the great Work of the Resurrection, was a proper Honour done to him; who claimed to be the Son of God; and unanswerably refuted the impious Calumnies of those, who upon Account of that Claim stiled him an Impostor and Blasphemer.

§ 13. What has been just said of the Propriety and Necessity of an Angel's descending from Heaven, upon the present Occasion, is applicable in general to the several Appearances of Angels seen by the Women, which I shall examine in the next Place, taking it for granted, that the Miraculousness of such Appearances will be no longer urged as an Argument against their Possibility. The only Thing then remaining to be considered in this Examination, is the internal Evidence which these several Visions carry along with them of Reality and Truth; for

by some they have been treated as pure Illusions, and by others as downright Falshoods. The principal Argument made use of to prove their Falshood is founded upon a supposed Contradiction and Inconsistency in the several Accounts given of them by the Evangelists; which Argument having been thoroughly discussed in the foregoing Part of this Discourse, I must refer the Reader thither for an Answer to it. That these Appearances were Illusions, the Effects of Superstition, Ignorance, and Fear, hath been insinuated rather than asserted; but hath never, that I know of, been attempted to be proved. I shall not therefore amuse myself with a vain Search after Arguments, which, I presume, are not easy to be found or they would have been produced by those, who have laboured with so much Diligence to expose and ridicule the Faith of *Christians*; but leaving such to make good their Assertion, who shall think fit to maintain it, I shall proceed to lay down a few Observations, tending to prove the Reality and Truth of these Appearances of the Angels to the Women.

The Angel first seen by the Women was that described by St. *Mark*, in the Form of a *young Man sitting* [within the Sepulchre] *on the right Side, clothed in a long white Garment*, at the Sight of whom the Women [*Mary and Salome*]

discovering great Signs of Fear, he saith unto them, *Be not affrighted; ye seek Jesus of Nazareth, which was crucified; he is risen, he is not here. Behold the Place where they laid him. But go your Way, tell his Disciples and Peter, that he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him, as he said unto you.* That this was a real Vision, and no Phantom of the Imagination, is evident from these Particulars. 1st, As it does not appear from this or any other Account, that the Women, upon their coming to the Sepulchre, were under any such Terrors or Perturbation of Mind, as are apt to fill the Fancy with Spectres and Apparitions. On the contrary, they went thither a little after Day-break, prepared and expecting to find the dead Body of *Jesus* there, and purposing to embalm it; about the doing of which they had been calmly conferring by the Way: So, 2dly, By their coming with a Design to embalm the Body, it is plain they had no Notion either of his being already risen, or that he would rise from the Dead; and therefore, 3dly, Had the Angel been only the Creature of a disturbed Imagination, they would scarcely have put into his Mouth a Speech, that directly contradicted all the Ideas, upon which they proceeded but one Moment before. 4thly, It is to be observed farther, that the Illusion must have been double; two Senses must have been deceived, the Hearing and the

Sight; for the Angel was heard as well as seen; and though this frequently happens in Dreams, and sometimes perhaps in a Delirium, or a Fit of Madness, yet I question whether an Instance exactly parallel in all its Parts, to the Case here supposed, was ever known; for no two People dream together exactly alike, nor are affected in a Delirium with exactly the same Imaginations. 5thly, The Words spoken by the Angel refer to others spoken by *Christ* to his Disciples before his Passion, in which he told them, that after *he was risen, he would go before them to Galilee*. This Promise or Prediction the Angel here reminds them of, bids them tell the Disciples from him to go into *Galilee*, and promises them that *Christ* will meet them there. Now, as not only the Resurrection, but the personal Appearance of *Christ* also, is implied in these Words, the Reason given above under the third Particular concludes in the present Case more strongly against supposing them to have proceeded only from the Imagination of the Women; for the sudden Change of whose Opinion, from a Disbelief of the Resurrection, into a full and explicit Belief of it, no adequate Cause can be assigned. For if it should be allowed that they knew of this Prediction of *Christ's* (which however does not appear) yet the Business that brought them to the Sepulchre makes it evident, that till that

Instant they did either not recollect, not understand, or not believe it: And if it be farther said, that upon their entering into the Sepulchre, and not finding the Body of *Jesus*, this Prediction might naturally come at once into their Heads, and they might as suddenly, and as reasonably believe *Christ* to be risen, as St. *John* did, whose Faith was built upon no other Evidence than what these Women had now before them; I answer, that allowing St. *John*, when he is said to have first believed the Resurrection, had no other Evidence than these Women now had, or might have had, yet it is to be observed that St. *John* was in a fitter Disposition of Mind to reflect and judge upon that Evidence, than the Women. St. *John* ran to the Sepulchre upon the Information given him by *Mary Magdalene*, that the Body of *Jesus* was removed from thence, and laid she knew not where, nor by whom; and, as the Sepulchre was at some Distance from his Habitation, many Thoughts must naturally have arisen in his Mind, tending to account for the Removal of the Body; and among the rest, perhaps, some confused and obscure Hope, that he might be risen from the Dead, pursuant to many Predictions to that Purpose delivered by him to his Disciples. But whatever his Thoughts were at the Time of his coming to the Sepulchre, about which it must be owned nothing can be

offered but mere Conjecture; it is certain he had Leisure to reflect upon the Predictions of his Master, and to examine into the State of the Sepulchre, which both he and *Peter* did, (and that implies some Deliberation and Presence of Mind) and that after this deliberate Examination he departed quietly to his own Home. Whereas the Women are represented as falling into the utmost Terror and Amazement immediately upon their entering into the Sepulchre; and continuing under the same Consternation till they were met flying from thence by *Christ* himself. Under such a Disorder of Mind, can we suppose them capable of recollecting the Predictions of *Christ* about his Resurrection? considering the Proofs of their Accomplishment arising from the State of the Sepulchre? and persuading themselves at once that he was not only risen from the Dead, but would personally appear to his Disciples? And then immediately upon this Conviction fancying they saw an Angel, and heard him assure them in a distinct Manner that *Christ* was risen; call them to view the Place where he had been laid, and bid them tell his Disciples that he would meet them in Galilee? In a Word, if this supposed Illusion proceeded from a strong Persuasion that *Christ* was risen from the Dead, whence arose that Belief? If that Belief arose from a cool Reflection upon the

Predictions of our Saviour, and the State of the Sepulchre, (the Cause of St. *John's* Faith) Whence came their Terror? Which, if not previous to the Apparition of the Angel, was at least prior to the Words, *Be not affrighted*, with which he first accosted them. If it be urged, that this Terror was of the Nature of those causeless and unaccountable Terrors called Panicks, it may be answered, that this is giving us a Name instead of a Reason, and is, in effect, saying just nothing at all, or saying no more than that they were affrighted, but Nobody can tell why or wherefore. 6thly, It is observable, that the Speech of the Angel to the Women consists of ten distinct Particulars: As, 1. *Be not affrighted*. 2. *Ye seek Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified*. 3. *He is risen*. 4. *He is not here*. 5. *Behold the Place where they laid him*. 6. *But go your Way, tell his Disciples*, 7. *And Peter*, 8. *That he goeth before you into Galilee*, 9. *There shall ye see him*, 10. *As he said unto you*. The Order and Connexion of which several Particulars, are no less remarkable than their Number: and therefore taking both these Considerations into the Account, I leave any one to judge whether it be conceivable that Women under so great a Terror and Distraction of Mind, as to fancy they saw and heard an Angel when there was no such Thing, should be able to compose a Speech for this Phantom of



their Fear and Imagination, containing so much Matter, Order, and Reason, and proceeding upon the Supposition that they were not then convinced that *Christ* was risen from the Dead, though the Belief of his Resurrection is presumed not only to have preceded, but even to have occasioned this Illusion.

I have dwelt the longer upon the Examination of this first Appearance of the Angel to the Women, because the settling the Nature of that will save us the Trouble of entering into a particular Discussion of the rest; the several Articles of which will fall under one or other of the foregoing Observations. All I shall do therefore is, to note the different Circumstances observable in each of them, and from thence endeavour to raise another Argument for the Truth and Reality of all.

The Vision, we have just now considered, was of one Angel; that seen by *Mary Magdalene* was of two; as was likewise that reported by *Joanna* and those with her. And whereas the first Angel was found by the Women upon their entering into the Sepulchre, sitting on the right Side, the two last-mentioned Appearances were abrupt and sudden. For the Angels which *Mary Magdalene* discovered sitting, one at the Head, and the other at the Feet, where the Body of

*Jesus* had been laid, were not seen by *Peter* and *John*, who just before had entered into the Sepulchre, and viewed every Part of it with great Attention; and *Joanna*, and *those with her*, had been some Time in the Sepulchre before they saw any Angels; which Angels seem also to have appeared to them in a different Attitude from those seen by *Mary Magdalene*, and by the other *Mary* and *Salome*. As the Number of the Angels, and the Manner of their Appearance was different, so likewise were the Words spoken to them by the Women, and the Behaviour of the Women upon those several Occasions: *Mary* and *Salome* were touched with Fear, and fled from the Sepulchre in the utmost Terror and Amazement. *Joanna*, and *those with her*, were struck with Awe and Reverence, and bowed down their Faces to the Earth; but *Mary Magdalene* seems to have been so immersed in Grief at not being able to find the Body of the Lord, as to have taken little or no Notice of so extraordinary an Appearance; she sees, hears, and answers the Angels without any Emotion, and without quitting the Object upon which her Mind was wholly fixed, till she was awakened out of her Trance by the well-known Voice of her Master calling her by her Name. But here let us stop a little, and ask a Question or two. Could this Appearance then be an Illusion? Could a Mind so occupied, so lost in one Idea, attend at

the same Time to the Production of so many others of a different kind? Or could her Imagination be strong enough to see and converse with Angels, and yet too weak to make any Impression on her, or call off her Attention from a less affecting, less surprizing Subject? Real Angels indeed she may be supposed to have seen and heard, and not to have regarded them; but Apparitions raised by her own Fancy could not have failed engaging her Notice. For although, when we are awake, we cannot avoid perceiving the Ideas excited in us by the Organs of Sensation, yet is it, in most Instances, in our Power to give to them what Degree of Attention we think fit; and hence it comes to pass, that when we are earnestly employed in any Action, intent upon any Thought, or transported by any Passion, we see, and hear, and feel a thousand Things, of which we take no more Notice, than if we were utterly insensible of them, as every one's daily Experience can testify: But to the Ideas not proceeding immediately from Sensation, but formed within us by the internal Operation of our Minds, we cannot but attend; because in their own Nature they can exist no longer than while we attend to them. Of this Kind are all the Phantoms that haunt our sleeping or waking Dreams: For so all Extasies, Deliriums, and the Ravings of Madness may not improperly be called; and whatever may be the physical Cause,

that upon these Occasions sets the Mind to work, and influences her Imagination, she is certainly more than passive in these Productions, and is generally so attentive to them as to disregard, during her Transports, all the Importunities of external Objects; or to blend and colour with the prevailing Idea all those arising from the Information of the Senses. From all which it is evident, that the Mind cannot apply herself to the Contemplation of more than one Object at a Time; which, as long as it keeps Possession, excludes or obscures all others. *Mary Magdalene*, therefore, having taken it strongly into her Head, upon seeing the Stone rolled away from the Mouth of the Sepulchre, that some Persons had removed the Body of the Lord; in which Notion she was still more confirmed, after her Return to the Sepulchre with *Peter* and *John*, and grieving at being thus disappointed of paying her last Duty to her deceased Master, whose Body, as *Peter* his most zealous, and *John* his most beloved Disciple, knew nothing of the Removal of it, she might imagine was got into the Hands of his Enemies, to be exposed perhaps once more to fresh Insults and Indignities, or at least to be deprived of the pious Offices, which the Duty and Affection of his Followers and Disciples were preparing to perform. *Mary Magdalene*, I say, falling into a Passion of Grief at this unexpected Distress, and

abandoning herself to all the melancholy Reflections that must naturally arise from it, with her Eyes suffused with Tears, and thence discerning more imperfectly, looking as it were by Accident, and while she was thinking on other Matters, into the Sepulchre, and seeing Angels, might, according to the Reasoning above laid down, give but little Heed to them; as not perceiving on a Sudden, and under so great a Cloud of Sorrow, the Tokens of any thing extraordinary in that Appearance. She might take them perhaps for two young Men, which was the Form assumed by those who appeared to the other Women, without reflecting at first that it was impossible they Should have been in the Sepulchre without being seen by *John* and *Peter*, and improbable that they should have entered into it after their Departure, without having been observed by her. Intent upon what passed within her own Bosom, she did not give herself Time to consider and examine external Objects; and therefore knew not even *Christ* himself, who appeared to her in the same sudden and miraculous Manner; but, *supposing him to be the Gardener*, begged him to tell her, if he had removed the Body, where he had laid it, that she might take it away. By which Question, and the Answer she had made to the Angels immediately before, we may perceive what her Thoughts were so earnestly employed about; and

thence conclude still farther, that the Angels were not the Creatures of her Imagination, since they were plainly not the Objects of her Attention. The Appearance therefore of the Angels was real. But to return from this Digression.

If the several Appearances of the Angels, examined separately, may be shewn to carry with them evident Marks of Reality and Truth, the considering and comparing them together, will set that Point in a yet stronger Light; such, we presume, as will intirely clear up every Doubt in the Minds of those who seem inclined to believe any thing possible, but that the Gospel should be true. For both the Number, the Manner, the Variety, and Nature of the Circumstances of these Visions, and their being seen by different Persons at different Times, make it, according to the natural Course of Things, utterly incredible that there should have been in them either Illusion or Imposture. Many Instances perhaps of Illusions in single Persons, and even in Numbers (for nothing is more contagious than Superstition and Enthusiasm) may be produced; how well authenticated, it will be Time enough to enquire when we know what they are. But I believe it will be generally found, upon a strict Examination, that whenever any Number of People have fallen into such an

Illusion, as, by the Force of Imagination only, to hear and see Spectres and Apparitions, the Imagination, or Artifice of some one among them hath given Birth to the Phantom; and working upon Minds already disposed to Superstition, Enthusiasm, or Credulity, or cunningly prepared perhaps for that particular Occasion, hath led them easily to see and hear Things, that existed only in their own prepossessed and over-heated Fancies. But nothing of all this can be pretended in the present Case. The Women, by whom these different Visions of Angels were severally seen, had no Communication with each other during the Time of these Appearances, as is evident from the whole Tenor of this History: *Mary* and *Salome* were fled from the Sepulchre before *Mary Magdalene* returned; and *Mary Magdalene* was departed from thence again, before *Joanne*, and *those with her*, came thither; so that they could not catch the Illusion from one another; and that their Minds, at the Time of their coming to the Sepulchre, were very far from being disposed to form Imaginations of *Christ's* being risen from the Dead, is evident from the Business that carried them thither. They came to perform the last Offices usually paid to the Dead; and by embalming the Body, to compleat the Interment of their deceased Master; which, by the coming on of the Sabbath, they had been obliged to leave unfinished; and

when, upon entering into the Sepulchre, they found not the Body, it was more natural for them to think, with *Mary Magdalene*, that some Persons had taken it away, and laid it they knew not where, than to conclude it was risen from the Dead: And it is plain, that *Joanna*, and *those with her*, were in this Way of Thinking; for *when they entered in, and found not the Body of the Lord Jesus, they*, says St. Luke, *were much perplexed thereabout: i.e.* they knew not what was become of the Body, could not account for its being missing, and were therefore in great Distress and Anxiety about it; which would not have happened, had they believed that he had risen from the Dead.

If, from what has been said, it may seem reasonable to conclude, that the Appearances of the Angels were not the Effects of Illusion, the Phantoms of a distempered visionary Mind, it will, I think, be more easily granted, that they were not the Operations of Artifice and Imposture. For, without examining who could be the Actors, or what the Motives of an Imposture of this Kind, there are Evidences enough, arising from the Circumstances of these several Appearances, to shew, that the Powers that produced them were more than human: Such, for Example, is the Earthquake occasioned by the Descent of the first Angel, the



amazing Brightness of his Countenance, which, St. *Matthew* tells us, *was like Lightning*, and the prodigious Strength, which appeared in his singly rolling away a Stone, that was large enough to close up the Entrance into the Sepulchre; and, what was common to all the Angels, the Faculty of becoming visible or invisible as they thought proper. These certainly were characteristical Marks of an Agent endowed with Privileges and Powers superior to the limited Abilities of Man, whose Operations cannot go farther than his Knowledge of the Laws and Powers of Nature; and how far short of such wonderful Effects as these that Knowledge would carry him, I leave the most ingenious Professor of natural Magic to determine.

§ 14. 2dly, I come now, in the second Place, to consider the Appearances of *Christ* himself to the Women: which were two; the first to *Mary Magdalene*, the second to the other *Mary* and *Salome*. But I shall not have Occasion to dwell long upon this Head, since the Appearances of the Angels having been proved to be real, put these Appearances of *Christ* more out of Doubt and Suspicion. The Angels affirmed that he was *risen* from the Dead; and if he was risen, it was natural to expect he would appear. The main Difficulty consisted in his getting loose from the Bands of Death, and breaking the Prison of the

Grave; and therefore, whoever upon the Testimony of the Angels believed the Resurrection (as all those must have done who acknowledged them to be real Angels) would not, if they saw *Christ* himself, be very apt to call in question the Reality of his Appearance. But though the Testimony of Angels, affirming that *Christ* was risen from the Dead, renders his appearing afterwards less liable to Doubt and Question; yet before we admit the Reality of every such Appearance as may be pretended, I grant it is reasonable to expect some farther Proofs, though perhaps not so many or so strong, as if no such previous Evidence had been given. And in the Case of *Mary* and *Salome* it may be suggested, that their very Belief of the Resurrection of *Christ*, joined to the Disorder and Amazement they were then under, might help to convince them too easily of the Reality of his Appearance, though at the same Time it might be nothing but a Spectre of their Imagination, and a mere Illusion: Let us therefore examine what Evidence may be collected from the Account given of this Appearance, to induce us to think, that these Women were not deceived; and the Evidence, I believe, will be found sufficient. They had the Attestation of their Sight, their Hearing, and their Feeling: By the two first the Voice and Countenance of their Lord might be known; and by the last they might be assured, that it was no

Spectre that they heard and saw, but a Body consisting of Flesh and Bones. One of these Proofs indeed was wanting to *Mary Magdalene*, *Christ* forbade her to touch him; and yet, any one, who considers with due Attention the Circumstances of this Appearance, will find sufficient Reason to be persuaded that it was *Christ* himself who appeared to her. For first, he had stood by her some Time, had spoken to her, and she had answered him, before she knew him to be *Christ*; on the contrary, she took him for the Gardener: By all which it is manifest, that the Spectre, if it was one, was not of her creating. \*Her Mind was otherwise engaged; and had it been either at Leisure, or disposed to raise Apparitions, it is most likely she would have called upon some Person, with whom she had more Acquaintance and Concern than a Keeper of a Garden, whom probably she had never known nor seen before. 2dly, He called her by her Name; by which it appeared that he knew her, so did she, it seems, discover him; for turning immediately about, she accosted him with the respectful Title of *Rabboni*, my Master; and, as may be inferred from the ensuing Words of *Christ*, offered to embrace him, His Voice and his Countenance convinced her that it was *Christ* himself. 3dly, In these Words, *Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father; but go to my*

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\* See the preceding Article.

*Brethren, and say to them, I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God, is contained a most clear Proof that it was Christ; himself who uttered them. To understand this, it must be remembered, that these Words allude to a long \*Discourse which our Saviour held to his Disciples the very Night in which he was betrayed; wherein he told them, that he should leave them for a short Time (a little while and ye shall not see me) and that he would come to them again, though but for a short Time (and again a little while, and ye shall see me) because (added he) I go to my Father. By the Phrase I go to my Father, Christ meant his final quitting the World, as he himself explained it to his Disciples, who did not then understand either of the above-cited Expressions. \*I came forth from the Father, says he, and am come into the World: Again, I leave the World and go to the Father. But lest they should fall into Despair at being thus forsaken by him, for whom they had forsaken all the World, he at the same Time promised to send them a Comforter, even the Holy Spirit, who should †teach them all Things, bring to their Minds whatsoever he had said unto them; should guide them into all Truth, †shew them Things to come, and abide with them for ever; and that*

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\* See John, Chap. xiv, xv, and xvi.

\* Chap. xvi, ver. 9.

† 1 Cor. Chap. xv. Ver. 6.

† Chap. xvi, 13. Ibid. xiv. 16.

*whoever believed in him should be able to do greater Works [i.e. Miracles] than he did, because he was to go to the Father; and that finally, though they for a Season should be sorrowful, yet should \*their Sorrow be turned into Joy, and that Joy should no Man take from them. These were magnificent Promises; Promises, which, as the Disciples could not but remember Christ had made to them, so they might be assured that no one but Christ was able to make them good; and therefore, when they came to reflect seriously upon the Import of these Words, Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father; but go to my Brethren, and say to them, I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God, it was impossible for them to conclude otherwise than that it was Christ himself who appeared and spoke to Mary Magdalene. For as the latter Expression, I ascend to my Father, &c. implied a Remembrance, and consequently a Renewal of those Promises, which were to take place after his Ascention to the Father; so did the former, I am not yet ascended to my Father, give them Encouragement to expect the Performance of that other Promise of his coming to them again before his Ascention, by giving them to understand, that he had not yet quitted this World: And I take Christ's forbidding Mary Magdalene to touch [or embrace] him, to have*

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\* John xiv. 20-22.

been meant as a Signification of his intending to see her and his Disciples again; just as in ordinary Life, when one Friend says to another, "Don't take Leave, for I am not going yet," he means to let him know that he purposes to see him again before he sets out upon his Journey. That this is the true Import of the Words *Touch me not*, is, in my Opinion, evident, not only from the Reason subjoined in the Words immediately following, *For I am not yet ascended to my Father*; (by which Expression, as I have shewed above, *Christ* meant he had not finally quitted the World;) but from these farther Considerations: *Christ*, by shewing himself first to *Mary Magdalene*, intended, doubtless, to give her a distinguishing Mark of his Favour, and therefore cannot reasonably be supposed to have designed at the same Time to have put a Slight upon her, by refusing her a Pleasure which he granted not long after to the other *Mary* and *Salome*; and yet this must be supposed, if *Touch me not* be understood to imply a Prohibition to *Mary Magdalene* to embrace him, for any Reason consistent with the Regard shewn to the other Women, and different from that now contended for, namely, because he intended to see her and his Disciples again. On the contrary, if these Words be taken to signify only a Put-off to some fitter Opportunity, they will be so far from importing any Unkindness or Reprehension to

*Mary Magdalene*, that they may rather be looked upon as a gracious Assurance, a Kind of friendly Engagement to come to her again; and in this Sense they correspond exactly with *Christ's* Purpose in sending this Message by her to his Disciples; which, as I have observed before, was to let them know that he remembered his Promise of coming to them again, and was still in a Condition to perform it, not having quitted this World; and of his Intention to perform it, this his refusing to admit the affectionate or reverential Embraces of *Mary Magdalene*, *who loved much*, *for much had been forgiven to her*, was an Earnest, as his coming to them again would be a Pledge of his Resolution to acquit himself in due Time of those Promises which were not to take Effect till after his final Departure out of this World. And thus will this whole Discourse of our Saviour to *Mary Magdalene* be in all its Parts intelligible, rational, and coherent; whereas, if it be supposed that *Mary Magdalene* was forbidden to *touch Christ* for some mystical Reason, contained in the Words, *for I am not yet ascended to the Father*, it will be very difficult to understand either the Meaning or Intent of that Message, which she was commanded to carry to the Disciples; and still more difficult to account for his suffering, not long after, the Embraces of the other *Mary* and *Salome*. To the same, or even greater Difficulties, will that Interpretation

of this Passage be liable, which supposes that the Prohibition to *Mary Magdalene* was grounded upon the spiritual Nature of *Christ's* Body, which, it is presumed, was not sensible to the Touch or Feeling. And indeed, both these Reasons for the Behaviour of *Christ* to *Mary Magdalene* are overturned, by his contrary Behaviour to the other *Mary* and *Salome*. But if the Sense I contend for be admitted, it will be no difficult Matter to account for this Difference of his Behaviour on those two Occasions. Why he forbade *Mary Magdalene* to touch him, has already been explained; why he permitted the other *Mary* and *Salome* to hold him by the Feet and worship him, I shall now endeavour to shew. These last-mentioned Women, as \**St. Mark* informs us, were so terrified and amazed at the Sight and Words of the Angel, who appeared to them in the Sepulchre, that, although they †ran with a Design to tell the Disciples what they had heard and seen, as the Angel had commanded them, yet, through the Greatness of their Confusion and Disorder, they had neglected to deliver this important Message to \*same whom

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\* Chap. ult.

† Matt. xxviii. Ver. 8.

\* That there Words, *Neither said they any thing to any Man*, must be limited to some certain Time, will, I believe, be readily allowed; for it cannot be imagined, that after all the other Appearances of the Angels, &c. were published, these Women only *never* opened their Lips to any Man about what they had seen and heard at the Sepulchre: The Question then will be, how long they may be supposed to have forborn speaking of it? And this, I think, was no longer than during the Time of their flying from the Sepulchre, and till they were met by *Christ* himself; because the only Reason here assigned for their *not saying any thing to any Man*, viz. *For they were afraid*, (or affrighted rather) being removed by *Christ's* appearing to them, &c. it is reasonable to believe (if it is not implied) that their Silence lasted no longer than the only Cause of it, their



they saw in their Way; for so, with all the Commentators, I understand these Words of St. *Mark*, *Neither said they any thing to any Man, for they were afraid*. That this Testimony therefore of the Angel to the Resurrection of *Christ*, and the Assurance given to the Disciples, that they should see their Master in *Galilee*, might not be lost, either by the Women's forgetting, through the Greatness of their Amazement, what the Angel had said to them, or, through a Suspicion of its having been a mere Illusion, neglecting or scrupling to tell it, *Christ* himself thought proper to appear to them, to calm their Minds, disperse their Terror, obviate their Doubts. With this View he first accosts them with the gracious Salutation of *All hail!* then suffers them not only to approach him, but to *hold him by the Feet and worship him*; and lastly, bidding them dismiss

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Terror. Besides, as St. *Mark* breaks off the Narration of what happened to these Women very abruptly, short of *Christ's* appearing to them, in order to relate his Appearance to *Mary Magdalene*, which indeed was previous to it, though subsequent to the Appearance of the Angel seen by these Women at the Sepulchre, what he says of their *not saying any thing to any Man*, cannot be taken to extend beyond the Period where he chose to break off his Narration, without supposing him guilty of a needless Impropriety. And if these Words, *Neither said they any thing to any Man*, be construed to signify that they did not tell what they had seen and heard to some, whom they saw as they were flying from the Sepulchre, it seems rational to conclude, that *these* were some of the Disciples, to whom they were ordered to deliver the Message of the Angel, and to whom they would probably have delivered it, had they not been under so great a Terror and Amazement. For had the Persons, whom they saw, been any other than the Disciples of *Jesus*, it is not likely that St. *Mark* would have taken any Notice of their *not saying any thing to any Man*, since it is reasonable to imagine they would not, even though they had not been affrighted, have told the Message of the Angel, &c. to any but the Disciples: And as the Time of *Peter* and *John's* running to the Sepulchre, upon the first Report of *Mary Magdalene*, coincides with that of these Women flying from it, it is no improbable Conjecture, that these were the Persons whom they saw in their Way, at a Distance perhaps, and coming by a different Road to the Sepulchre; especially if it be considered that, as the Words of St. *Mark*, *Neither said they*, &c. seem to carry with them an Imputation of Neglect upon these Women, though he at the same Time both accounts for it, and excuses it, by adding, *for they were affrighted*; so the same Evangelist hath before acquainted us, (ver. 7.) that they were ordered by the Angel to deliver the Message he gave them to *Peter* in particular.

their Fears, orders them, in Confirmation of what the Angel had said to them, to tell his Disciples from him to go *into Galilee*, assuring them with his own Mouth, *that they should see him there*. Every Word, we see, tended to inspire them with Courage and Confidence; and the gracious Influence of every Word upon their Minds, could not but be rendered still more powerful and efficacious by his suffering them to embrace him. After this familiar Instance of his Favour and Complacency, and this sensible Proof of his being really and bodily risen from the Dead, there could be no room left for Doubt or Terror: Conviction, Certainty, and Joy must have banished those uneasy Passions for ever from their Breasts. And hence it appears, that the different Conduit of *Christ* on these two Occasions, was owing to the different Circumstances attending them; to which it was most wisely suited. *Mary Magdalene's* Grief (the only Disorder of Mind she then laboured under) for the supposed Loss of her Master's Body, was soon dispersed, upon her hearing him call her by her Name, and seeing him stand by her; she was immediately convinced that it was *Christ*, and testified her Conviction by giving him the Title of *Rabboni*, my Master. She wanted-not (and therefore there was no Need of giving her) any farther Proofs; but satisfied with what she had seen and heard, she went to the Disciples, and

told them she *had seen the Lord*; and that he had said such and such Things to her. But Terror, the most untractable of all Passions, when excessive, had seized upon the other *Mary* and *Salome*; a Terror, which, had it proceeded from the unexpected and supernatural Appearance of an Angel, was more likely to be confirmed, than removed by the like Appearance of *Christ*, had he not proceeded gently with them, and by his gracious Words and Demeanour given them Encouragement and Permission to familiarize themselves with him by Degrees, and take, in their own Way, what Proofs they thought proper to remove their Fears or Doubts, and convince them that their affectionate and beloved Master was in Reality restored to them again from the Grave.

But besides the Assurance given by *Christ* to his Disciples in the Words here spoken by *Mary Magdalene*, of his Intention to perform his Promises of coming to them again, &c. I cannot help thinking he had a farther Meaning, which though not so obvious, is however, in my Opinion, equally deducible from those Words with the other just now mentioned. That remarkable Expression, *I ascend to my Father*, *Christ* undoubtedly made use of upon this Occasion to recall to his Disciples Minds the Discourse he held to them three Nights before, in

which he explained so clearly what he meant by *going to his Father*, that they said to him, *Lo! now speakest thou plainly; and speakest no Parable*. But\* his was not the only Expression that puzzled them; they were as much in the Dark as to the Meaning of, *A little while and ye shall not see me, and again a little while and ye shall see me*, which they likewise confessed they did not understand. But *Christ* did not think fit to clear up their Doubts at that Time, and left those Words to be expounded by the Events to which they severally related, and which were then drawing on apace. For that very Night he was betrayed, and seized, and deserted by his Disciples, as he himself had foretold but a very few Hours before, upon their professing *to believe that he came forth from God*: The next Day he was crucified, expired upon the Cross, and was buried. Upon this melancholy Catastrophe the Disciples could be no longer at a Loss to understand what *Christ* meant, when he said to them, *A little while and ye shall not see me*: He was gone from them, and, as their Fears suggested, gone for ever, notwithstanding he had expressly told them, that he would come to them again. And to those Words, *A little while and ye shall not see me*, he added, *And again a little while and ye shall see me*. This latter Expression, one would think, was full as

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\* John xvi. 29.

intelligible as the former; and as the one now expounded by the Event, was plainly a Prophecy of his Death; so must the other be understood as a Prophecy of his Resurrection from the Dead. But if they understood it in that Sense, they were very far from having a right Notion of the Resurrection from the Dead; as is evident from their imagining, when *Christ* first shewed himself to them after his Passion, that they saw a Spirit; even though they had just before declared their Belief *that he was risen indeed, and had appeared to Simon*. The Resurrection of the Body, it should seem from this Instance, made no Part of their Notion of the Resurrection from the Dead: To lead them therefore into a right Understanding of this most important Article of Faith, *Christ*, in speaking to *Mary Magdalene*, and by her to his Disciples, makes use of Terms, which strongly imply his being really, that is bodily, risen from the Dead. *I am not yet*, says he, *ascended to my Father; but go unto my Brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, &c.* The Words, *I go to my Father*, *Christ*, as has already been observed, explained by the well-understood Phrase of leaving the World; and to this Explanation the Words immediately foregoing give so great a Light, that it is impossible to mistake his Meaning. The whole Passage runs thus, *I came forth from the Father, and am come into the World; and again I leave the*

*World, and go to the Father.* By the Expression, *I am come into the World*, Christ certainly meant to signify his being and conversing visibly and bodily upon Earth; and therefore by the other Expression, *I leave the World*, he must have intended to denote the contrary to all this, *viz.* his ceasing to be and converse visibly and bodily upon Earth; and so undoubtedly the Disciples understood him to mean, when they said to him, *Now speakest thou plainly, and speakest no Parable.* But as they very well knew that the usual Road, by which all Men quitted this World, lay through, the Gates of Death, and were assured their Master had trodden that irremeable Path, they might naturally conclude, that what he had said to them about *leaving the World and going to his Father*, was accomplished in his Death; and consistently with that Notion might imagine that, by his coming to them again, no more was intended, than his appearing to them in the same Manner as many Persons have been thought and said to appear after their Decease. To guard against this double Error, which *Christ*, to whom the Thoughts of all Hearts are open, perceived in the Minds of his Disciples, he plainly intimates to them in the Words, *I am not yet ascended to my Father, but---I do (or shall) ascend to my Father*, that his dying, and his final leaving of the World, were distinct Things; the latter of which was still to come, though the

former was past: He had indeed died like other Mortals, and had, like them, left the World for a Season, as he himself had often foretold them should come to pass; but he was now risen from the Dead, returned into the World, and should not leave it finally till he ascended to his Father. Of his being returned into the World, his appearing to *Mary Magdalene* was doubtless intended for a Proof; and yet of this it could be no Proof at all, if what she saw was no more than what is commonly called a Spirit; since the Spirits of many People have been thought to appear after their Decease, who notwithstanding are supposed to have as effectually left this World by their Death, as those who have never appeared at all. *Lazarus*, like *Christ*, had died, and was by his quickening Word recalled to Life, which consists in the Animation of the Body by its Union with the Soul. Now had *Christ* called up nothing but the Spirit of *Lazarus*, and left his Body to putrify and perish in the Grave, would not *Lazarus*, I ask, have still been reputed dead, and consequently considered as out of this World, though his Spirit had appeared to a thousand different People? If *Christ* therefore was risen from the Dead, as the Angels affirmed he was; if he had not yet finally left the World, as the Words, *I am not yet ascended to my Father*, plainly import; and if his appearing to *Mary Magdalene* was intended for a Proof of those two

Points, as undoubtedly it was; it will follow that he was really, that is bodily, risen from the Dead; that he was still in the World in the same Manner, as when he *came forth from the Father, and came into the World*; and that it was he himself, and not a Spirit without Flesh and Bones, that appeared to *Mary Magdalene*.

Before I conclude this Argument, I must beg leave to make one Observation more upon the Term *Ascend*, twice used by our Saviour in the Compass of these few Words. In the Discourse here alluded to by *Christ*, he told his Disciples that he should go to his Father, and he now bids *Mary Magdalene* tell them that he should *ascend* to his Father; a Variation in the Phrase, which I am persuaded had its particular Meaning, and that not very difficult to be discovered. For as by the former Expression he intended, as we have seen, to signify in general his final Departure out of this World, so by the latter is the particular Manner of that Departure intimated; and doubtless with a View of letting his Disciples know the precise Time, after which they should no longer expect to see and convene with him upon Earth, but wait for the Coming of that *Comforter*, which he promised to send them in his room; and who, unless he departed from them, was not to come. *Jesus* made frequent



Visits to his Disciples after his Passion, \* *being seen of them*, says St. Luke, *forty Days, and speaking of the Things pertaining to the Kingdom of God*. Between some of these Visits were pretty long Intervals, † during which he seems to have disappeared, *i.e.* not to have resided upon Earth. Had *Christ* therefore left his Disciples without any Mark or Token, by which they might be able to distinguish his final Departure, from those that were only temporary, they would probably have taken each Visit for the last; or have lingered after his final Departure, in a fruitless Expectation of seeing him again; either of which States of Uncertainty, and especially the last, were liable to many Inconveniencies, to Doubts and Jealousies, and Fears, which it was Goodness, as well as Wisdom in our Saviour to prevent. Nor was the preventing these Evils the only Advantage that flowed from this early Intimation of the Manner of *Christ's* final Departure out of this World, implied in the Words, *I ascend to my Father*, and verified in his Ascension into Heaven. For as this could not have been effected without the Power of God cooperating with him, so neither could it have been foreknown by him, without the Communication of that Spirit, which only knows the Counsels of God. When the Disciples

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\* Acts, ch. i, & iii.

† See John xx. 21.

therefore beheld their Master \* *taken up* into Heaven, *and received out of their Sight, by a Cloud* of Glory, they could not but know assuredly that this was the Event foretold about forty Days before to *Mary Magdalene*; and knowing that, could no longer doubt whether it was *Christ* himself who appeared and spoke those prophetic Words to her; how little Credit soever they had given to her, when she first told them she *had seen the Lord*.

And thus, (as I have endeavoured to make appear) in these comprehensive Words of *Christ* spoken to *Mary Magdalene*, *Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father; but go to my Brethren, and say to them, I ascend to my Father*, are implied three Particulars. 1st, A Renewal of the several Promises made by him to his Disciples, the Night in which he was betrayed; one of which was the Promise of coming to them again before his final Departure out of this World. Of his Intention to perform which Promise, I take his forbidding *Mary Magdalene* to touch or embrace him to be an Earnest or Token. 2dly, An Intimation, that as his Death and his final Departure out of the World were two distinct Things, the latter of which was yet to come; so by his rising from the Dead, they were to understand his returning and being in the

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\* Acts, ch. i. ver. 9. See *Whitby* on this Place.

World, in the same Manner with those, who have not yet quitted the World by Death, and consequently that he was really, that is bodily, risen from the Dead, of which his appearing to *Mary Magdalene* and saying those Words, was an undoubted Evidence. And 3dly, A prophetic Account of the Manner of his departing finally out of the World, *viz.* by ascending into Heaven. From which several Particulars it was impossible, as I said before, for the Disciples to draw any other Conclusion than that it was *Christ* himself who appeared and spoke to *Mary Magdalene*. I do not say the Disciples must necessarily have perceived, at the very first hearing these Words, the several Inferences which I have drawn from them; but when they came to consider them attentively, to reflect upon what their Master had said to them the Night in which he was betrayed (to which those Words evidently referred) and when, after having handled his Feet and Hands, they were by their own Senses convinced that he was bodily risen from the Dead; and lastly, when they had seen those Words, *I ascend to my Father*, verified in his ascending into Heaven before their Eyes; then, I think, they could hardly avoid perceiving the several Inferences, and drawing from them the Conclusion above mentioned. For if it was not *Christ*, who appeared to *Mary Magdalene*, it must have been either some Spirit good or bad;

or some Man, who, to impose upon her, counterfeited the Person and Voice of *Christ*; or lastly, the Whole must have been forged and invented by her. The first of these Suppositions is blasphemous the second absurd; and the third improbable. For allowing her to have been capable of making a Lye, for the carrying on an Imposture, from which she could reap no Benefit, and to have been informed of what our Saviour had spoken to his Disciples the Night in which he was betrayed, which does not appear, it must have been either extreme Madness or Folly in her to put the Credit of her Tale upon Events, such as the appearing of *Christ* to his Disciples, and his ascending into Heaven, which were so far from being in the Number of Contingencies, that they were not even within the Powers and Operations of what are called natural Causes.

The same Answer may be made to the Supposition, that the Appearance of *Christ* to the other *Mary* and *Salome*, was likewise a Forgery of those Women; and with this I shall conclude the second Head.

§ 15. 3dly, Of the many Appearances of *Christ* to his Disciples, for the forty Days after his Passion, the sacred Writers have mentioned particularly but very few; imagining, doubtless,

those few sufficient to prove that fundamental Article of the Christian Faith, the Resurrection of *Jesus*. And indeed whoever attends to the Nature and Variety of the Evidence contained even in those few Particulars, which they have transmitted to us, cannot, I think, but acknowledge that those, who were appointed to be the Witnesses of the Resurrection, had every Kind of Proof; that in the like Circumstance either the most Scrupulous could demand, or the most Incredulous imagine. This I doubt not but to be able to make appear, in the Course of the following Observations; in which I shall confine myself to the Examination of those Appearances only, whose Circumstances the Evangelical Historians have thought proper to record, and upon which the Faith of the Apostles was principally established.

The first of these, though but barely mentioned by \* *St. Mark*, is very particularly related by † *St. Luke*, in the following Words; *And behold two of them went the same Day to a Village called Emmaus, which was from Jerusalem about threescore Furlongs; and they talked together of all these Things which had happened; and it came to pass, that while they communed together, and reasoned, Jesus himself*

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\* Ch. xvi.

† Ch. xxiv.

*drew near, and went with them: But their Eyes were holden that they should not know him. And he said unto them, What Manner of Communications are these, that ye have one to another, as ye walk, and are sad? And one of them, whose Name was Cleopas, answering, said unto him, Art thou only a Stranger in Jerusalem, and hast not known the Things which are come to pass there in these Days? And he said unto them, What Things? And they said unto him, Concerning Jesus of Nazareth, which was a Prophet mighty in Deed and Word before God, and all the People; and how the Chief Priests and our Rulers delivered him to be condemned to Death, and have crucified him. But we trusted that it had been He which Could have redeemed Israel: And beside all this, To-day is the third Day since these Things were done. Yea, and certain Women also of our Company made us astonished, which were early at the Sepulchre; and when they found not his Body, they came, saying, that they had also seen a Vision of Angels, which said that he was alive. And certain of them which were with us, went to the Sepulchre, and found it even so as the Women had said: But him they saw not. Then he said unto them, O Fools, and slow of Heart to believe all that the Prophets have spoken! Ought not Christ to have suffered these Things, and to enter into his Glory? And beginning at Moses and all the Prophets, he*

*expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the Things concerning himself. And they drew nigh unto the Village whither they went, and he made as though he would have gone farther. But they constrained him, saying, Abide with us, for it is towards Evening, and the Day is far spent. And he went in to tarry with them. And it came to pass as he sat at Meat with them, he took Bread and blessed it, and brake and gave to them. And their Eyes were opened, and they knew him; and he vanished out of their Sight. And they said one to another, Did not our Hearts burn within us while he talked with us by the Way, and while he opened to us the Scriptures? And they rose up the same Hour, and returned to Jerusalem, and found the Eleven gathered together, and them that were with them, saying, The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon. And they told what Things were done in the Way, and how he was known of them in breaking of Bread.*

Two Objections have been made to the Credibility of this Fact: 1st, That these Disciples knew not *Jesus* during the whole Time of his walking, conversing, and sitting at Meat with them: 2dly, That when upon his breaking Bread, &c. their Eyes were opened, and they are said to have known him, he vanished so suddenly out of their Sight, that they seem not to have had Time enough to satisfy those Doubts, which must

have arisen from their having conversed with him so long without knowing him. To the first of these Objections the Evangelist himself furnishes us with an Answer, telling us, that *their Eyes were holden that they should not know him*; which, as it will not be pretended to be above the Operation of Him, whom the Apostle of the *Gentiles* stiles \* *the Power of God*, so have I already shewed it to be a Proceeding not unworthy of Him, whom the same inspired Writer, in the same Place, calls also *the Wisdom of God*. He threw a Mist before their corporeal Eyes, that he might, by the pure and unprejudiced Light of Reason only, remove from before their internal Sight, that strong Delusion, which held their Understanding from knowing the true Import of those Types and Prophecies, by which his Sufferings, Death and Resurrection were foreshewn. He disguised himself, but laid open the Scriptures; which till then had *appeared to them in another Form*; and having by an Exposition of *Moses* and the Prophets, which made *their Hearts burn within them*, stript off those Veils and Colours, which the worldly and carnal-minded Scribes and Pharisees had laid over them, and set them before their Eyes in their genuine Shape and Lustre, he in the next Place disclosed himself, and left them convinced, as well from the Scriptures, as from their Senses,

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\* Vide sup.



that he was risen from the Dead. Which leads me to consider the second Objection, founded on his vanishing out of their Sight so soon after his discovering himself to them.

And here I than observe, 1st, That it appears they had no Doubt but that the Person, who joined them in the Way to *Emmaus*, and opened the Scriptures to them, was the same, whom, upon his breaking of Bread, &c. they took to be *Jesus*. 2dly, That upon their taking him to be *Jesus*, they must have been sensible of some Alteration, either in themselves or in him, by which they were enabled to discover the Mistake they were under while they knew him not. 3dly, That Alteration must to them have appeared supernatural and miraculous, as it is implied to have been in this Phrase, *their Eyes were opened and they knew him*; as must also his vanishing (or disappearing) from their Sight. And as from these Particulars it could not but be evident to them, that the Person, whom, when *their Eyes were opened*, they, from his Countenance &c. knew to be *Jesus*, was endowed with Powers more than human; so was it impossible for them to conclude it to be any other than *Jesus* himself, without blasphemously supposing that God would permit any Spirit, either good or bad, to assume the Person of his beloved Son, with a View of countenancing and carrying on a

Falshood and Imposture; especially, as in the Conversation he had held with them by the Way, he had opened the Scriptures, and had shewn them from *Moses* and all the Prophets, that *Christ* was to suffer and die, and rise again from the Dead. But besides the clearing up all their Doubts, arising from his Sufferings and Death, which had staggered their Faith in him, whom till then *they trusted to be Him who should redeem Israel*, it is very probable, from what they say about *their Hearts burning within them, while he opened to them the Scriptures*, that they perceived, either in his Manner or his Doctrine, some lively Marks and Characters of that Dignity and Authority, which was wont to distinguish him so much from the ordinary Teachers of *Israel*, the Scribes and Pharisees. And, not to repeat what I have said before, about the Probability of *Christ's* having upon this Occacasion made use of some Gesture or Phrase peculiar to himself, in breaking and blessing the Bread, I shall only add one Remark from \* *Grotius*, viz. that since it was the Custom among the *Jews* for the Master of the Feast, or the most honourable Guest, immediately after blessing the Cup, to take the Bread, give Thanks over it, break it, and after eating a Bit of it, to distribute it round the Table, *Christ* by this Action declared himself something more, than what those

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\* In locum. See also Drusius, *ibid.*

Disciples had hitherto taken him for, a Stranger and Traveller whom they had picked up by the Way, and *constrained to abide* with them; and by that Declaration awakened their Attention to that Discovery of himself, which followed immediately upon it; and to which this solemn and religious Act was certainly no improper Introduction. The Inference that is naturally deducible from these several Observations, is, that these two Disciples, even upon the Supposition that *Christ* disappeared immediately after their Eyes were opened, and they knew him, had sufficient Reason to be assured that it was he himself, who had walked, conversed, and sat at Meat with them; and consequently that he was risen from the Dead, according to what the Angels had told the Women, who had been that Morning at the Sepulchre.

§. 16. The next Appearance of *Christ*, that I shall take Notice of, and that to which all those before mentioned were preparatory, was to the Eleven, and those with them, on the Evening of the same Day. This Appearance is mentioned by three of the Evangelists, one relating one Particular, and another another; out of each of whose Gospels I shall therefore take such Circumstances as are not related by the others, and putting the scattered Parts together, compose from all of them one intire Relation.

*Then the same Day (viz. the Day of the Resurrection) at Evening, being the first Day of the Week, when the Doors were shut, where the Disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews,\* while they sat at Meat [immediately after the two Disciples from Emmaus had finished their Relation] came Jesus and stood in the Midst, and saith unto them, Peace be with you. †But they were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they had seen a Spirit. ‡And he (upbraiding them with their Unbelief and Hardness of Heart, because they believed not them who had seen him after he was risen) said to them, §Why are you troubled, and why do Thoughts arise in your Hearts? Behold my Hands and my Feet, that it is myself: handle me and see, for a Spirit hath not Flesh and Bones, as ye see me have. And when he had thus spoken, he shewed them his Hands and his Feet. And while they yet believed not for joy, and wondered, he said unto them, Have ye here any Meat? And they gave him a Piece of a broiled Fish, and of an Honey-comb; and he took it; and did eat before them. \*\*Then were the Disciples glad when they saw the Lord. ††And he said to them, These are the Words which I spake*

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\* Mark xvi, ver. 14.

† Luke xxiv, 36.

‡ Mark xvi, 14.

§ Luke xxiv, 38.

\*\* John xx, 20.

†† Luke xxiv, 44.

*unto you, while I was yet with you, that all Things must be fulfilled which were written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me. Then (\* breathing on them, and saying, Receive ye the Holy Ghost) opened he their Understandings, that they might understand the Scriptures; and said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer; and to rise from the Dead the third Day. ----- And ye are Witnesses of these Things.*

To this I shall add the Appearance of Christ to St. Thomas, that I may bring all the Proofs of the Resurrection under one View.

*†But Thomas, one of the Twelve, called Didymus, was not with them when Jesus came. The other Disciples therefore said to him, We have seen the Lord: But he said to them, Except I shall see in his Hands the Print of the Nails, and put my Finger into the Print of the Nails, and thrust my Hand into his Side, I will not believe. And after eight Days, again his Disciples were within, and Thomas with them; then came Jesus, the Doors being shut, and stood in the Midst, and said, Peace be unto you. Then said he to Thomas, Reach hither thy Finger, and behold my Hands, and reach hither thy Hand, and thrust it*

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\* John xx. 22.

† Johng xx, 24.

*into my Side; and be not faithless, but believing. And Thomas answered and said unto him, My Lord, and my God! Jesus saith unto him, Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.*

The Proofs of *Christ's* being risen from the Dead, here exhibited to the Disciples, as set forth in the above-cited Passages, may be comprized under four Heads. 1st, The Testimony of those *who had seen him after he was risen.* 2dly, The Evidences of their own Senses. 3dly, The exact Accomplishment of the Words *which he had spoken to them, while he was yet with them.* And 4thly, The *fulfilling of all the Things which were written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning him.* The Conclusiveness of all which Proofs I shall endeavour to shew in some Observations upon each of them. Upon the first I have nothing to add to what I have written already under the second general \*Head, and the Beginning of this, excepting that our Lord, by *upbraiding his Disciples for not believing those who had seen him after he had risen,* took from them all Possibility of doubting afterwards of the Truth and Reality of those Appearances, thus

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\* See the 2d Head, Of the Appearance of *Christ* to the Women; and the 3<sup>rd</sup>, Of his appearance to the two Disciples on the Way to *Emmaus*.

confirmed and verified by his own irrefragable Testimony. Under the Words, *those who had seen him after he was risen*, is comprehended likewise his Appearance to *Simon*, mentioned both by \**St. Luke* and †*St. Paul*, as also that to the two Disciples on the Way to *Emmaus*. Upon the second Head (*viz.* the Evidence of their own Senses) it might, one would imagine, be thought sufficient to observe, that the Disciples had the same ‡*infallible Proofs* (as the Author of the *Acts* calls them) of *Christ's* being alive after his Passion, as they had ever had of his being alive before it. They saw him, saw the particular Marks of Identity in his Person and Countenance, in his Hands, Feet, and Side, which had been pierced at his Crucifixion; and one of them, who had refused to believe *except he put his Finger into the Print of the Nails, and thrust his Hands into his Side*, had that farther Satisfaction, unreasonable as it was, granted him; they saw him also eat, what they themselves gave him, *a Piece of a broiled Fish and an Honey-comb*; they heard him speak, and were by him commanded to *handle him*, and see that he had *Flesh and Bones*; a Command §which, doubtless, they obeyed. And yet all these

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\* Chap. xxiv, 34.

† 1 Cor. Xv, 5.

‡ Acts i, 3. ἐγὼ πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις by many certain and undoubted Proofs or Tokens. *Quintilian* from *Aristotle* says, Τεκμήρια are *indubitata & certissima signa*, as the Actions of speaking, walking, eating, and drinking are the Τεκμήρια [undoubted Signs] of Life.

§ The Words, *as ye see me have*, strongly imply, that they had received the Satisfaction offered them by feeling his Hands and Feet.

infallible Tokens or Proofs, these τεκμηρίοις, *certa & indubitata signa*, have been set aside by some pretended Philosophers and philosophizing Divines, upon no better Grounds, than their own vain Inferences from these Words of St. *John*, *Then came Jesus, the Doors being shut, and stood in the Midst*: For taking it for granted, what as Philosophers it better became them to have proved, that it is suggested in these Words that *Jesus* passed through the Walls, or Doors, while they remained shut, without either suffering in his own Body, or causing in them any Change, during his so passing; and having discovered, "that for one solid or material Body to pass through another solid or material Body, without injuring the Form of either, both the passive and passing Body remaining the same, is contrary to all the Laws of Nature;" they have concluded, that the Body of *Christ* was not real, *i.e.* a material Body, and consequently was incapable of being felt by St. *Thomas*, &c. From whence it will follow, that the whole Story is absurd and false.

In answer to this, I deny that the Words, *Jesus came, the Doors being shut, and stood in the Midst*, imply that *Jesus* passed through the Walls or Doors, while they remained shut, without either suffering in his own Body, or causing in them any Change during his so passing. They



seem indeed, to imply, that he came in miraculously, though not by a Miracle that contains a Contradiction or Impossibility; and I am persuaded that had not St. *John* intended to signify that he came in miraculously, he would not twice have mentioned that otherwise trifling Circumstance *of the Doors being shut*. But though a Denial without Proof be a proper and sufficient Answer to an Assertion without Proof, yet I shall give some Reasons why the Interpretation contended for by these Philosophers cannot be the true one. 1st, It is not to be presumed, that St. *John*, who with the other Disciples had received sensible Evidence of the Reality, *i.e.* the Materiality of *Christ's* Body, should be absurd enough to imagine at the same Time, that it was a spiritual Body; which he must have done, had he thought that *Jesus* passed through the Walls or Doors, while they remained shut, without either suffering in his own Body, or causing in them any Change, during his so passing; it requiring no great Depth of Philosophy to understand it to be impossible, even to Omnipotence, to cause the Body of Man to penetrate through a Wall or Door, without causing some Change or Alteration in the one or the other. Neither (2dly,) is it to be presumed that St. *John*, intending, as it is plain he did, by relating the Story of St. *Thomas*, to acquaint the World, that he [*Thomas*]

as well as the other Disciples, had by feeling and examining his Master's Body, sensible Evidence of his being really, *i.e.* bodily, risen from the Dead, should be weak enough to insert in his Relation a Circumstance, which tended to prove that the Body which St. *Thomas* is supposed to have felt, was not a material but a spiritual Body, and consequently incapable of being felt and handled. Contradictions and Absurdities are not to be presumed in any Writer. On the contrary, as it is supposed that every Man in his Senses has some Meaning in what he speaks or writes, so by that Meaning only (which is best collected from the Drift and Tenor of the whole Discourse) is the Sense of any ambiguous Word or Sentence in it to be determined; and every Interpretation of such ambiguous Word or Sentence, as can be shewn to be inconsistent with the plain Meaning of the Speaker or Writer, is, for that Reason, to be rejected. This Justice, Candour, and Common Sense require. 3dly, By the way of Reasoning made use of upon this Occasion by these free-reasoning Philosophers, the Spirituality of the Walls, or Doors, may as well be inferred as the Spirituality of *Christ's* Body; for *Christ's* Body being proved to be material, by being handled by his Disciples, &c. and it being admitted that he penetrated through the Walls or Doors, while they remained shut, without suffering, &c. it will follow that the Walls

or Doors had spiritual Bodies; since it is contrary to the Laws of Nature, that one solid or material Body should pass, &c. An Argument which would have very well become the Philosophical Answer to the *Tryal of the Witnesses*, as being sophistical, ludicrous, and absurd.

Having now given my Reasons for rejecting, as false, the Interpretation above mentioned, which some have endeavoured to fix upon these Words of St. *John*, *Jesus came, the Doors being shut, and stood in the Midst*; and having also allowed, that those Words naturally suggest the Entrance of our Saviour to have been miraculous; I shall in the next Place attempt to shew that the Miracle here wrought by *Jesus*, instead of awakening in the Minds of the Disciples any Suspicion, that their Senses might have been imposed upon, in the Examination they took of their Lord's Body, because it is as easy for a Power, that can controul the Law of Nature, to excite in us the Ideas of hearing, seeing, and feeling, without the real Existence of any Object of those Sensations, as to open a Passage for a Human Body through Walls or Doors, without making any visible Breach in them; this Miracle, I say, instead of raising any such Suspicion in the Disciples, tended on the contrary to remove all their Doubts, and convince them effectually, that it was *Jesus*

himself in a Body consisting of Flesh and Bones, and not a Spirit, which appeared to them.

The Disciples, during their Conversation with *Christ* before his Passion, had been accustomed to see him work Miracles of various Kinds, cast out Devils, heal all manner of Diseases, give Light to the Blind, Elocution to the Dumb, Legs and Nerves to the Lame and Paralytick, and Life to the Dead; and all this by a Word, which they had also seen even the Winds and Seas obey. From this extensive Power of controuling the Laws of Nature, established by the great Creator himself, joined to the more than human Purity of his Life and Doctrine, the Disciples most rationally concluded that he *came forth from God*. And therefore, as on the one hand, the Power of working Miracles was a characteristical Mark of *Jesus*, and consequently his working Miracles after his Resurrection was one Evidence of the Identity of his Person; so, on the other hand, was the Assurance of his coming *forth from the God of Truth* founded upon his doing such Works, *as no Man could do, unless God was with him*, an infallible Security to the Disciples, against the Suspicion of his intending to impose upon them. From whence it will follow, that when, upon their fancying they saw a Spirit, he assured them it was he himself, and no Spirit, which (says he) *hath not Flesh and Bones*,

as they, by feeling and handling him, *saw he had*, they could have no Shadow of a Pretence either for disbelieving his Word, or distrusting their own Senses. For, in Reality, doth not his appealing to their Senses for a Confirmation of what he asserted, (*viz.* that it was he himself, and not a Spirit) imply an Affirmation that their Senses were the proper Judges of the Point in question, and that he therefore left the Determination of it to them? And are not both the Parts of this Affirmation absolutely false, if it be supposed that the Body here assumed by *Christ* was a spiritual, *i.e.* an immaterial Body? And if, instead of the Object upon which they were to judge, (*viz.* a material Body, capable of exciting such and such Sensations) a very different Thing was substituted, namely, a mere Idea of such an Object, occasioned by the illusory and suborned Evidence of Sensations imprinted on their Minds by a miraculous Power; would not, I say, an Appeal to the Judgment of their Senses in this Case, have been a Mockery? And would not the imposing upon their Senses, after such an Appeal, have been fraudulent and dishonest? And would not such a Proceeding have been absurd as well as dishonest? For, if it be allowed that *Jesus* had the Power of imposing miraculously upon the Senses of his Disciples, it will not surely be denied that he had the Power of entering miraculously into the Chamber,

where they were assembled, while *the Doors were shut*. The latter of these two Miracles renders the first unnecessary. For if *Jesus* could in his Human Body enter into the Chamber, while the Doors were shut, there was no Occasion for him to impose upon the Senses of his Disciples. And if he had it in his Option to work whichever of those Miracles he pleased, would it not have been absurd (with Reverence be it spoken) in him to chuse that, which was inconsinent with the Character of one who *came forth from the God of Truth*, and directly opposite to the Design of his appearing to his Disciples after his Passion; which was, by offering his Body to the Examination of their Senses, to convince them that he was really, *i.e.* bodily, risen from the Dead?

The Disciples therefore, who by the mighty Signs and Wonders done by him before his Passion, were convinced that God was with him, could not, upon this Occasion, but draw the same Conclusion from his entering miraculously into the Room while the Doors were shut, and as miraculously perceiving the secret Doubts and Reasonings of their Hearts: And though, not understanding what was meant by rising from the Dead, they had at first suspected him to be a Spirit; yet having been satisfied of the contrary by handling his Body, they had no more Reason

to distrust the Evidence of their Senses, than they had formerly, when after having seen him *walk upon the Waves*\*, and having from thence fallen into the like Imagination of his being a *Spirit*, they had been convinced of their Mistake by the same Kind of Proofs, *viz.* by seeing, hearing, and feeling him, eating and conversing with him in the same Manner as with other Men. And indeed there is no Intimation in the sacred Writers of their having had, upon either of these Occasions, any Suspicion of Fraud or Imposture. They were simple plain Men, Strangers to vain and visionary Speculations; and went upon those Grounds, upon which all Men *act*, however some may *talk*, who have reasoned themselves out of all the Principles of Reason. Having therefore throughout all their past Lives trusted to the Information of their Senses, they could not avoid believing them upon the present Occasion, especially when they were commanded to believe them, by one whose transcendent Knowledge and Power manifested him to have a thorough Insight into the Frame of Man, as well as a supreme Authority over the Laws of Nature.

§ 17. 3dly, The exact Accomplishment of the Words, in which our Saviour foretold to his disciples his Sufferings, Death, and Resurrection, will evidently appear by comparing the

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\* Math. Xiv.

Words of those Prophecies with the several Circumstances of those Events. And therefore, to enable the Reader to make this Comparison with the greater Ease, I shall first set down the several Particulars of the Passion, and Death, &c. of *Christ*, and then produce the Prophecies corresponding to them.

The Sufferings of *Jesus*, properly so called, took their Beginning from the Treachery of \**Judas, one of the Twelve, who*, (as it is related by the Evangelists) *having received a Band of Soldiers, &c. from the Chief Priests*, with whom he had bargained *for thirty Pieces of Silver* to deliver him up, *went with them to a Garden, whither he knew Christ was accustomed to resort*, and there by the Sign agreed on (*a Kiss*) having pointed him out, put him into their Hands, who seizing on him immediately, *carried him before the High Priest, &c.*

This Fact was several Times foretold by *Jesus*; at first more obscurely, as in these Words, †*Have not I chosen you Twelve, and one of you is a Devil*, Διάβολος, an Informer; and in these, ‡*The Son of Man shall be betrayed into the Hands of Men*; and in others of the same general Import; then more plainly at the last Supper, to his

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\* Matth. xxvi, Mark xiv, Luke xxii, John xviii.

† John vi, 70.

‡ Matth. xvii, 22.



Disciples, who, upon his saying, *\*Verily I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me*, were exceeding sorrowful, and began every one of them; to say unto him, Lord, Is it I? In answer to which he said, *He that dippeth his Hand with me in the Dish, the same shall betray me*. These Words, as Grotius<sup>†</sup> observes, must be taken to come somewhat nearer to a Declaration of the Person who was to betray Jesus, than those others, *One of you shall betray me*: "Wherefore," adds that learned Commentator, "I am persuaded that Judas sat near to Christ, so as to eat out of the same Dish or Mess with him, there being several Dishes or Messes on the Table." This Conjecture is indeed very probable, and gives great Light to this whole Matter: Upon which we may observe still farther, that as the Disciples, even after this Declaration, were still in Doubt of whom he spake, it is evident there must have been others besides Judas, who *‡dipped their Hands in the same Dish with Jesus*, otherwise that Description had sufficiently made him known, and there had been no Occasion for Simon Peter to have beckoned to that Disciple, who was leaning on the Bosom of Jesus, that he should ask him of whom he spoke? In compliance therefore with this Demand made to him by St. John in the Name of all his Disciples, and to put an End at once to all

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\* Matth. xxvi, 21, Mark xiv, 18, Luke xxii, 21.

† See Grot. *in loc.*

‡ John xiii, 22.

their Doubts, *Jesus* told them he would point out the very Person to them, saying, *He it is, to whom I shall give a Sop when I have dipped it; and when he had dipped the Sop, he gave it to Judas Iscariot the Son of Simon;* who appearing surprized at being thus pronounced a Traitor, either for his farther Satisfaction, or to dissemble the Wickedness of his Heart, himself asked *Jesus*, if it was He: To whom *Jesus* answered, *Thou sayest.* "And thus" (concludes *Grotius*) "*Christ* gave Proofs of his Foreknowledge by Degrees; first including the future Traitor in the Number of the Twelve; then in in the lesser Number of those who sat next to him; and lastly, by certain and precise Marks, pointing out the very Person himself." To which I must add, that in order to imprint this Prophecy strongly on the Minds of his Disciples, he introduced it with applying to himself a Passage of the Psalms, *\*He that eateth Bread with me, hath lifted up his Heel agantst me;* and with these remarkable Words, *Now I tell you before it come, that when it is come to pass you may believe that I am he.*

2. The next Incident is the Desertion of the Disciples, who, as we learn both from *St. Matthew*<sup>†</sup> and *St. Mark*<sup>‡</sup>, upon their Master's being seized by the Soldiers and Servants of the

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\* Psal. xli, 9.

† Matth. xxvi, 56.

‡ Mark xiv, 50.

Chief Priest, who came with *Judas*, all immediately *forsook him and fled*.

Of this their Desertion *Jesus* had forewarned them but a very short Time before it came to pass, and that in the very Pride and Confidence of their Faith, upon their professing to believe, that *he came forth from God*: \**Then saith Jesus to them, All ye shall be ofended because of me this Night, or (as it is in St. John) shall be scattered every Man to his own Home; for it is written, I will smite the Shepherd, and the Sheep of the Flock shall be scattered abroad.*

3. The third Particular is *Peter's* disowning *Christ*, recorded in all the Evangelists; by whose Accounts it appears, that *Peter*, following *Christ* at a Distance to the Palace of the High Priest, was let into the Court by the Means of *St. John*, who *spake to her that kept the Door, and brought in Peter*; where standing among the Crowd while his Master was under Examination, he was there several Times charged by some that were about him with belonging to *Christ*, which he as often denied, affirming *with Oavths and Imprecations*, that he did not so much as know him; and immediately after his third Denial the Cock crew; †*and then the Lord turned, and looked upon Peter*,

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\* Matth. xxvi, 31, Mark xiv, 27, compared with John xvi, 32.

† Luke xxii, 61.

Peter, *and Peter remembered the Word of the Lord—and went out and wept bitterly.* The Prophecy is as follows: *\*Verily I say to thee [Peter,] this Day, even this Night, before the Cock crow twice thou shalt deny [or disown] me thrice.* Here we see the Nature, the Time, and the Repetitions of *Peter's* Offence precisely defined and limited. And I take the Suddenness and Sincerity of his Return to his former Faith in his Master, implied in his *weeping bitterly* upon the Recollection of his Crime, and of his Master's Words, to be fore-signified in this Passage of St. Luke, *†And the Lord said, Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as Wheat; but I have prayed for thee, that thy Faith fail not, and when thou art converted [ἐπιστρέψας, returned back again to the Faith,] strengthen thy Brethren.*

4. The fourth Event foretold by *Christ*, is his being delivered to the High Priests, and by them to *Pontius Pilate* the Roman Governor, together with many Particulars of his Sufferings from that Time to his Crucifixion. All which Things are related by the Evangelists, as follows:

*‡And they that had laid hold on Jesus, led him away to Caiaphas the High Priest, where the*

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\* Mark xiv, 30.

† Chap. xxii, 31, 32

‡ Matth xxvi, 57, Mark xiv, 53.

Scribes and the Elders were assembled; who, after having examined some Witnesses, from whose Evidence nothing criminal could be made out against him, at length *adjured him by the living God to tell them, Whether he was the Christ, the Son of God.* To him Jesus saith, *Thou hast said. Then the High Priest rent his Cloaths, saying, He hath spoken Blasphemy, What farther Need have we of Witnesses? Behold, now you have heard his Blasphemy. What think ye? They answered and said, He is guilty of Death. Then did they spit in his Face, and buffeted him, and others smote him with the Palms of their Hands, saying, Prophecy to us, thou Christ, who is he that smote thee.*

*And when they had bound him, they led him away to Pontius Pilate, the (Roman) Governor; who, overcome by the Clamours of a tumultuous Multitude, at last delivered him to be crucified, after having declared him innocent five several Times, and endeavoured in vain to prevail upon the Jews to let him go free, or to be contented with his having scourged him. \*Then the Soldiers of the Governor took Jesus into the Common Hall, and gathered to him the whole Band of Soldiers; and they stripped him, and put on him a Scarlet Robe; and when they had platted a Crown of Thorns, they put it upon his Head, and a Reed in*

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\* Matth. xxvii, 27.

*his Right Hand. And they bowed the Knee before him, and mocked him, saying, Hail King of the Jews. And they spit upon him, and took the Robe off from him, and put his own Raiment on him, and led him away to crucify him.*

The Words in which many of these Particulars were foretold, are these. \**Behold, we go up to, Jerusalem, and the Son of Man shall be betrayed to the Chief Priests, and to the Scribes, and they shall condemn him to Death. And shall deliver him to the Gentiles to mock, and to scourge, and to crucify him.* In †*St. Mark it is, They [the Gentiles] shall mock him, and shall scourge him, and shall spit upon him, and shall kill him.* In ‡*St. Luke, For he shall be delivered to the Gentiles, and shall be mocked, and spitefully entreated, and spit on, and they shall scourge him and put him to Death.* Of his Sufferings from the Elders and Chief Priests he spoke in these Words: §*From that Time forth began Jesus to shew to the Disciples how he must go to Jerusalem, and suffer many Things of the Elders and Chief Priests, and Scribes, and be killed, &c.*

5. His Crucifixion and Death are mentioned in every one of the last-cited Passages, and in

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\* Matth. xx, 18.

† Ch. ix, 43.

‡ Ch. xviii, 32.

§ Matth. xvi, 20.

many others up and down the Evangelists, either in express Words, or in Figures and Allusions, which I think it is not necessary to insert, no more than the Relation of these Events, which are too well known to be disputed.

One Proof however of his Death I shall here beg leave to mention, because it has not been much attended to by common Readers. St. *John*, Chap. xix. ver. 33, 34, after having related that the Soldiers *brake the Legs of the two Thieves*, who were crucified with *Jesus*, adds, *But when they came to Jesus, and saw that he was dead already, they brake not his Legs; but one of the Soldiers with a Spear pierced his Side, and forthwith came thereout Blood and Water; and he that saw it, bare Record, &c.* Upon these Words *Beza* makes the following Observation. Among the Reasons that induced St. *John* to assert this Fact with so much Emphasis, this ought not to be passed over, which *Erasmus* also touches upon; namely, that by this Wound the Death of *Christ* is fully proved. For the Water flowing out of that Wound in the Side, was an Indication of the Spear's having penetrated the *Pericardium*, in which that Water is lodged, and which being wounded, every Animal must necessarily die immediately. This Fact therefore was inserted to obviate the Calumnies of the Enemies of the Truth, who might otherwise pretend that *Jesus*

was taken down from the Cross before he was dead, and thence call in question the Reality of his Resurrection from the Dead.

6. Of his Rising from the Dead I need not here again produce the Proofs, having set them forth so copiously in all the preceding Parts of this Discourse; but concerning the Evidence of his rising precisely on *the third Day*, I think it proper here to add an Observation or two. That he did not rise before the third Day, is evident from what St. *Matthew* relates of the Watch or Guard being set at the Door of the Sepulchre. The Passage is this: *\*Now the next Day, that followed the Day of the Preparation, the Chief Priests and Pharisees came together to Pilate, saying, Sir, we remember that that Deceiver said, whilst he was yet alive, After three Days I will rise again: Command therefore that the Sepulchre be made sure until the third Day, lest his Disciples come by Night and steal him away, and say to the People, he is risen from the Dead; so the last Error shall be worse than the first, &c.* From these Words I observe, 1st, That the Watch or Guard was set at the Sepulchre the next Day after the Death and Burial of *Christ*. 2dly, It is most probable this was done on what we call the Evening of that Day; because that was a *High-Day*, not only a *Sabbath*, but the *Passover*; and it

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\* Chap. xxvii, 63.



can hardly be imagined that the Chief Priests, and especially the Pharisees, who pretended to greater Srictness and Purity than any other Sect of the *Jews*, should, before the religious Duties of the Day were over, defile themselves by going to *Pilate*; for that they were very scrupulous upon that Point appears from what \**St. John* says of their not entering into the Hall of Judgment (the *Praetorium*, where *Pilate's* Tribunal was) the Day before, *lest they should be defiled*, and so kept from eating the Passover. And if it should be said, that the Paschal Lamb being always eaten in the Night, all their Scruples upon that Account were over, and they at Liberty to go to *Pilate* in the Morning, or at what other Time they pleased; I answer, that allowing the Objection, it is still farther to be considered that this was the Sabbath Day: and can it be supposed that the Pharisees, who censured *Jesus for healing, and his Distiples for plucking and eating the Ears of Corn on the Sabbath Day*, would profane that Day, and defile themselves, not only by going to *Pilate*, but with the Soldiers to the Sepulchre of *Christ*, and setting a Seal upon the Door of the Sepulchre, before the religious Duties of that solemn Day were past? especially as they were under no kind of Necessity of doing it before the Evening; though it was highly expedient for them not to delay it

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\* Chap. xviii, 28.

beyond that Time. Both which Points I shall now explain.

*Jesus* had said, whilst he was yet alive, that he Should rise again from the Dead on the *third Day*; which Prophecy would have been equally falsified by his rising on the first, or second, as on the fourth. If his Body therefore was not in the Sepulchre *at the Close of the second Day*, the Chief Priests and Pharisees would gain their Point, and might have asserted boldly, that he was an Impostor; from whence it will follow, that it was time enough for them to visit the Sepulchre *at the Close of the second Day*. On the other hand, as he had declared he should rise on the *third Day*, it was necessary for them, (if they apprehended what they gave out, that his Disciples would come and Steal him away) to guard against any such Attempt on that Day, and *for that Day only*. And, as the third Day began from the Evening or Shutting-in of the second, according to the Way of computing used among the *Jews*, it was as necessary for them not to delay visiting the Sepulchre, and setting their Guard, till after the Beginning of that third Day; for if they had come to the Sepulchre, though ever so short a Time after the *third Day was begun*, and had found the Body missing, they could not from thence have proved him an Impostor. And accordingly St. *Matthew* tells us

they went thither on the *second Day*, which was the Sabbath; and though the going to *Pilate*, and with the *Roman* Soldiers to the Sepulchre, and sealing up the Stone, was undoubtedly a Profanation of the Sabbath, in the Eyes of the ceremonious Pharisees, yet might they excuse themselves to their Consciences, or (what seems to have been of greater Consequence in their Opinions) to the World, by pleading the Necessity of doing it that Day. And surely nothing could have carried them out on such a Business, on such a Day, but the urgent Necessity of doing it *then*, or *not at all*. And as I have shewn above, that this urgent Necessity could not take place till the *Close of the second Day*, and just, though but one Moment, before the Beginning of the third; it will follow, from what hath been said, that in the Estimation of the High Priest and Pharisees, the Day on which they set their Guard was the *second Day*; and the *next Day* consequently was the *third*; to the End of which they requested *Pilate* to command that the Sepulchre might be made sure. Here then we have a Proof, furnished by the Murderers and Blasphemers of *Christ* themselves, that he was not risen before the third Day; for it is to be taken for granted, that before they sealed up the Sepulchre, and set the Guard, they had inspected it, and seen that the Body was still there. Hence also we are enabled to answer the

unlearned Cavils that have been raised upon these Expressions, *three Days and three Nights*, and *after three Days*. For it is plain that the Chief Priests and Pharisees, by their going to the Sepulchre on the Sabbath Day, understood that Day to be the *second*; and it is as plain by their setting the Guard from that Time, and the Reason given to *Pilate* for their so doing, *viz, lest the Disciples should come in the Night, and steal him away*, that they construed that Day, which was just then beginning, to be the Day limited by *Christ* for his rising from the Dead, *i.e.* the third Day. For had they taken these Words of our Saviour, *The Son of Man shall be three Days and three Nights in the Heart of the Earth*, in the strict literal Sense, they need not have been in such Haste to set their Guard; since according to that Interpretation, there were yet *two Days* and two *Nights* to come; neither, for the same Reason, had they any Occasion to apprehend ill Consequences from the Disciples coming *that Night* and stealing away the Body of their Master. So that, unless it be supposed that the Chief Priests and Pharisees, the most learned Sect among the *Jews*, did not understand the Meaning of a Phrase in their own Language; or that they were so impious or impolitick as to profane the Sabbath and defile themselves without any Occasion; and so senseless and impertinent as to ask a Guard of *Pilate* for

watching the Sepulchre *that Night and Day*, to prevent the Disciples stealing away the Body of *Christ* the Night or the Day following; unless, I say, these strange Suppositions be admitted; we may fairly conclude, that in the Language, and to the Understanding of the *Jews*, *three Days and three Nights*, and *after three Days*, were equivalent to *three Days* or *in three Days*. That he rose on the *third Day*, the Testimony of the Angels, and his own Appearances to the Women, to Simon, and to the two Disciples on the Way to *Emmaus*, which all happened on that Day, are clear and sufficient Proofs.

The Predictions of *Christ*, relating to this miraculous Event, are many; some of which only I shall here set down, for Brevity's sake.

*\*And as they [the three Disciples] came down from the Mountain [where Christ had been transfigured] Jesus charged them, saying, Tell the Vision to no Man, until the Son of Man be risen again from the Dead.*

*†But after I am risen, I will go before you into Galilee.*

*‡From that Time forth began Jesus to shew to*

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\* Mat. xvii, 9.

† Chap. xxvi, 32.

‡ Chap. xvi, 22.

*his Disciples, how that he must go to Jerusalem, and suffer many Things of the Elders and Chief Priests and Scribes, and be killed, and be raised again the third Day.*

*\*Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and the Son of Man shall be betrayed to the Chief Priests, and to the Scribes, and they shall condemn him to Death, and shall deliver him to the Gentiles, to mock, and to scourge, and to crucify him: and the third Day he shall rise again.*

I shall defer what Remarks I have to make upon these Predictions, and their Accomplishment, till I come to consider the Prophecies contained in the Writings of *Moses*, and the *Prophets*, and the *Psalms*, relating to the Sufferings, and Death, and Resurrection of *Christ*; for those only belong to the present Subject.

§ 18. 4thly, The fourth Evidence appealed to by our Saviour, was the Testimony of the Scriptures; in which are contained, not only the Promises of a Messiah, and Saviour of the World, but the Marks and Descriptions by which he was to be known. Of these there are many, and those so various, so seemingly incompatible in one and the same Person, and exhibited under

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\* Chap. xx, 18, 19.

such a Multitude of Types and Figures, that as it was absurd for a mere Mortal to pretend to answer the Character of the Messiah in all Points, so was it difficult to those, who by ionic Expressions of the Prophets were filled with the Idea of a glorious, powerful, and triumphant Deliverer, to understand the Intimation given in others of his sufferings and Death. But this Difficulty proceeds rather from the Prejudices and Blindness of the Interpreters, than from any Degree of Obscurity in the latter more than in the former. His sufferings and Death, and his offering himself up as a Sacrifice for Sin, are as plainly set forth in the Writings of the Prophets, and in the Types of the *Mosaical* Ceremonies, as his Power and his Priesthood: And if the *Jews*, and even the Disciples, possessed with the like vain and carnal Imaginations, turned their Views and Expectations to the one, and overlooked the other, it was owing to their mistaking the Nature of his Kingdom, and the End and Design of his Priestly Office. This, I doubt not, might be made appear by comparing the several Types and Prophecies together, but would carry me too far from my present Purpose, which is only to shew, that the sufferings, and Death, and Resurrection of *Christ*, were foretold in the Types and Predictions contained in the Books of *Moses*, in the *Prophets*, and in the *Psalms*; and to derive from thence another Proof in favour of the

Resurrection.

The first Prophecy relating to this Subjet in the Books of *Moses*, and the first indeed that was ever given to Man, is that recorded in the third Chapter of *Genesis*, and the 15th Verse, in these Words, *And I will put Enmity between thee [the Serpent] and the Woman, and between thy Seed and her Seed. It shall bruise thy Head, and thou shalt bruise his Heel.*

Upon this Prophecy; I shall beg leave to quote a Passage out of the late Bishop of *Salisbury's* most admirable Discourses, *Of the Use and Intent of Prophecy in the several Ages of the World*, Dise. III. p. 57.---- "Let us consider the History of *Moses*, as we should do any other ancient *Eastern* History of the like Antiquity: Suppose, for Instance, that this Account of the Fall had been preserved to us out of *Sanchoniatho's Phoenician* History: We should in that Case be at a Loss perhaps to account for every Manner of *Representation*, for every *Figure* and *Expression* in the Story ; but we should soon agree that all these Difficulties were imputable to the *Manners* and *Customs* of his *Age* and *Country*; and should shew more Respect to so *venerable* a Piece of *Antiquity*, than to charge it with *Want* of *Sense*, because we did not understand every minute Circumstance: We



should likewise agree, that there were evidently *four Persons* concerned in the Story; the *Man*, the *Women*, the *Person* represented by the *Serpent*, and *God*. Disagree we could not about their several Parts. The *Serpent* is evidently the *Tempter*; the *Man* and the *Woman* are the *Offenders*; *God* the *Judge* of all three. The Punishments inflicted on the *Man* and *Woman* have no Obscurity in them; and as to the *Serpent's* Sentence, we should think it reasonable to give it such a Sense as the whole Series of the Story requires."

"It is no unreasonable Thing surely to demand the same Equity of you in interpreting the Sense of *Moses*, as you would certainly use towards any other ancient Writer. And if the same Equity be allowed, this *plain Fact* undeniably arises from the History; That Man was tempted to Disobedience, and did disobey, and forfeited all Title to Happiness, and to Life itself; That God judged *him*, and the *Deceiver* likewise under the *Form* of a *Serpent*. We require no more; and will proceed upon this Fact to consider this Prophecy before us."

"The Prophecy is Part of the Sentence passed upon the Deceiver: The Words are these: *I will put Enmity between thee and the Woman, and between thy Seed and her Seed: It shall bruise*

*thy Head, and thou shalt bruise his Heel*; Gen. iii. 15. Christian Writers apply this to our blessed Saviour, emphatically stiled here *the Seed of the Woman*, and who came in the Fulness of Time *to bruise the Serpent's Head*, by destroying the Works of the Devil, and restoring those to the Liberty of the Sons of God, who were held under the Bondage and Captivity of Sin. You'll " say, What unreasonable Liberty of Interpretation is this? Tell us by what Rules of Language *the Seed of the Woman* is made to denote *one* particular *Person*, and by what Art you discover the Mystery of *Christ's* miraculous Conception and Birth in this common Expression? Tell us likewise, how bruising the Serpent's Head comes to signify the destroying the Power of Sin, and the Redemption of Mankind by *Christ*? It is no Wonder to hear such Questions, from those who look no farther than to the third Chapter of *Genesis*, to see the Ground of the Christian Application. As the Prophecy stands *there*, nothing appears to point out this particular Meaning; much less to confine this Prophecy to it. But of this hereafter. Let us for the present lay aside all our own Notions, and go back to the State and Condition of Things, as they were at the Time of the Delivery of this Prophecy; and see (if haply we may discover it) what God intended to discover at that Time by this Prophecy, and what we may reasonably suppose our first

Parents understood it to mean."

"They were now in a State of Sin, standing before God to receive Sentence for their Disobedience, and had Reason to expect a full Execution of the Penalty threatened, *In the Day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die*. But God came in Mercy as well as Judgment, purposing not only to punish, but to restore Man. The Judgment is awful and severe; the Woman is doomed to Sorrow in Conception; the Man to Sorrow and Travail all the Days of his Life; the Ground is cursed for his Sake; and the End of the Judgment is, *Dust thou art, and to Dust thou shalt return*. Had they been left thus, they might have continued in their Labour and Sorrow for their appointed Time, and at last returned to Dust, without any well-grounded Hope or Confidence in God: They must have looked upon themselves as rejected by their Maker, delivered up to Trouble and Sorrow in this World, and as having no Hope in any other. Upon this Foot, I conceive, there could have been no Religion left in the World; for a Sense of Religion, without Hope, is a State of Phrenzy and Distraction, void of all Inducements to Love and Obedience, or any thing else that is Praise-worthy. If therefore God intended to preserve them as Objects of Mercy, it was absolutely necessary to communicate so *much Hope* to them, as might be a *rational*

*Foundation* for their future Endeavours to reconcile themselves to him by a better Obedience. This seems to be the *primary* Intention of this first divine Prophecy; and it was necessary to the State of the World, and the Condition of Religion, which could not possibly have been supported without the Communication of such Hopes. The Prophecy is excellently adapted to this Purpose, and manifestly conveyed such Hopes to our first Parents. For let us consider in what Sense we may suppose them to understand this Prophecy. Now they must necessarily understand the Prophecy, either according to the literal Meaning of the Words, or according to such Meaning as the whole Circumstance of the Transaction, of which they are a Part, does require. If we suppose them to understand the Words literally, and that God meant them so to be understood, this Passage must appear ridiculous. Do but imagine that you see *God* coming to *judge* the *Offenders*; *Adam* and *Eve* before him in the *utmost Distress*; that you hear *God* inflicting *Pains*, and *Sorrow*, and *Misery*, and *Death* upon the first of Human Race; and that in the Midst of all this Scene of Woe and great Calamity, you hear *God* foretelling with great *Solemnity* a *very trivial* Accident, that should sometimes happen in the World; That Serpents would be apt to bite Men by the Heels, and that Men would be apt to

revenge themselves by striking them on the Head. What has *this Trifle* to do with the *Loss of Mankind*, with the *Corruption* of the *natural* and *moral* World, and the *Ruin* of all the *Glory* and *Happiness* of the Creation? Great Comfort it was to *Adam*, doubtless, after telling him that his Days should be short and full of Misery, and his End without Hope, to let him know, that he should now and then knock a Snake on the Head, but not even that, without paying dear for his poor Victory, for the Snake should often bite him by the Heel. *Adam*, surely, could not understand the Prophecy in this Sense, though some of his Sons have so understood it; a plain Indication how much more some Men are concerned to maintain a literal Interpretation of Scripture, than they are to make it speak common Sense. Leaving this therefore as absolutely absurd and ridiculous, let us consider what Meaning the Circumstances of the Transaction do necessarily fix to the Words of this Prophecy. *Adam* tempted by his Wife, and she by the Serpent, had fallen from their Obedience, and were now in the Presence of God expecting Judgment. They knew full well at this Juncture, that their *Fall* was the *Victory* of the *Serpent*, whom by Experience they found to be an *Enemy* to *God* and to *Man*; to *Man*, whom he had *ruined* by seducing him to Sin; to *God*, the noblest Work of whose Creation he had defaced.

It could not therefore but be some Comfort to them to hear the Serpent first condemned, and to see that however he had prevailed against them, he had gained no Victory over their Maker, who was able to assert his own Honour, and to punish this great Author of Iniquity. By this Method of God's Proceeding they were secured from thinking that there was any evil Being equal to the Creator in Power and Dominion. An Opinion which gained Ground in After-times through the Prevalency of Evil; and is, where it does prevail, destructive of all true Religion. The Condemnation therefore of the Serpent was the Maintenance of God's Supremacy; and that it was so understood, we have, if I mistake not, a very ancient Testimony in the Book of *Job*: *With God is Strength and Wisdom, the Deceived and the Deceiver are his*; i.e. equally subject to his Command, *Job* xii. 16. The Belief of God's supreme Dominion, which is the Foundation of all Religion, being thus preserved, it was still necessary to give them such Hopes as might make them capable of Religion toward God. These Hopes they could not but conceive, when they heard from the Mouth of God that the Serpent's Victory was not a compleat Victory over even themselves; that they and their Posterity should be enabled to contest his Empire; and though they were to suffer much in the Struggle, yet finally they should prevail and

bruise the Serpent's Head, and deliver themselves from his Power and Dominion over them. What now could they conceive this Conquest over the Serpent to mean? Is it not natural to expect, that we shall recover that by Victory, which we lost by being defeated? They knew that the Enemy had subdued them by Sin; could they then conceive Hopes of Victory otherwise than by Righteousness? They lost through Sin the Happiness of their Creation; could they expect less from the Return of Righteousness than the Recovery of the Blessings forfeited? What else but this could they expect? For the certain Knowledge they had of their Loss when the Serpent prevailed, could not but lead them to a clear Knowledge of what they should regain by prevailing against the Serpent. The Language of this Prophecy is indeed in part Metaphorical, but it is a great Mistake to think that all Metaphors are of uncertain Signification; for the Design and Scope of the Speaker, with the Circumstances attending, create a fixed and determinate Sense. Were it otherwise, there would be no Certainty in any Language; all Languages, the *Eastern* more especially, abounding in Metaphors."

"Let us now look back to our Subject, and see what Application we are to make of this Instance."

"This Prophecy was to our first Parents but very obscure; it was, in the Phrase of St. *Peter*, but *a Light shining in a dark Place*; all that they could certainly conclude from it was, that their Case was not desperate; that some Remedy, that some Deliverance from the Evil they were under, would in Time appear; but *when*, or *where*, or by *what Means*, they could not understand: Their own Sentence, which returned them back again to the Dust of the Earth, made it difficult to apprehend what this Victory over the Serpent should signify, or how they, who were shortly to be Dust and Ashes, should be the better for it. But after all that can be urged upon this Head to set out the Obscurity of this Promise, I would ask one Question; Was not this Promise or Prophecy, though surrounded with all this Obscurity, a Foundation for Religion, and Trust and Confidence towards God after the Fall, in Hopes of Deliverance from the Evils introduced by Disobedience? If it was, it fully answered the Necessity of their Case, to whom it was given, and manifested to them all that God intended to make manifest. They could have had towards God no Religion, without some Hopes of Mercy: It was necessary therefore to convey such Hopes; but to tell them how these Hopes should be accomplished, at what Time and Manner precisely, was not necessary to their Religion.



And what is now to be objected against this Prophecy? It is very obscure you say; so it is, but it is obscure in the Points, which God did not intend to explain at that Time, and which were not necessary then to be known. You see a plain Reason for giving this Prophecy, and as far as the Reason for giving the Prophecy extends, so far the Prophecy is very plain: it is obscure only where there is no Reason why it should be plain; which surely is a Fault easily to be forgiven, and very far from being a proper Subject for Complaint."

"But if this Prophecy conveyed to our first Parents only a general Hope and Expectation of Pardon and Restoration, and was intended by God to convey no more to *them*, how came we their Posterity to find so much more in this Promise than we suppose them to find? How is it that we pretend to discover *Christ* in this Prophecy, to see in it the Mystery of his Birth, his Sufferings, and his final Triumph over all the Powers of Darkness? By what new Light do we discern all these Secrets? By what Art do we unfold them?"

"It is no Wonder to me, that such as come to the Examination of the Prophecies applied to *Christ*, expecting to find in each of them some express Character and Mark of *Christ*, plainly to

be understood as such antecedently to his Coming, should ask these, or any other the like Questions; or that the Argument from antient Prophecy should appear so light and trivial to those who know no better Use of it."

*"Known unto God are all his Works from the Beginning;* and whatever Degree of Light he thought fit to communicate to our first Parents, or to their Children in After-times, there is no Doubt but that *He* had a perfect Knowledge at all Times of all the Methods by which he intended to rescue and restore Mankind; and therefore all the Notices given by him to Mankind of his intended Salvation, must correspond to the great Event, whenever the Fulness of Time shall make it manifest. No Reason can be given why God should at all Times, or at any Time clearly open the Secrets of his Providence to Men; it depends merely upon his good Pleasure to do it in what Time and in what Manner he thinks proper. But there is a necessary Reason to be given why all such Notices as God thinks fit to give should answer exactly in due Time to the Completion of the great Design: It is absurd therefore to complain of the antient Prophecies for being obscure; for it is challenging God for not telling us more of his Secrets. But if we pretend that God has at length manifested to us by the Revelation of the Gospel the Method of his

Salvation, it is necessary for us to shew that all the Notices of this Salvation given to the old World do correspond to the Things which we have seen and heard with our Eyes. The Argument from Prophecy therefore is not to be formed in this Manner: *All the antient Prophecies have expresly pointed out and characterized Christ Jesus.* But it must be formed in this Manner: *All the Notices which God gave the Fathers of his intended Salvation, are perfectly answered by the Coming of Christ.* He never promised or engaged his Word in any Particular relating to the common Salvation, but what he has fully made good by sending his Son to our Redemption. Let us try these Methods upon the Prophecy before us. If you demand that we should shew you *à priori Christ Jesus* set forth in this Prophecy, and that God had limited himself by this Promise to convey the Blessings intended by sending his own Son in the Flesh, and by no other Means whatever, you demand what I cannot shew, nor do I know who can. But if you enquire whether this Prophecy, in the obvious and most natural Meaning of it, in that Sense in which our first Parents, and their Children after, might easily understand it, has been verified by the Coming of *Christ*, I conceive it may be made as clear as the Sun at Noon-day, that all the Expectation raised by this Prophecy, has been completely answered by the Redemption wrought

by *Jesus Christ*. And what have you to desire more than to see a Prophecy fulfilled exacty? If you insist that the Prophecy should have been more express, you must demand of God why he gave you no more Light; but you ought at least to suspend this Demand till you have a Reason to shew for it."

I know that this Prophecy is urged farther, and that Christian Writers argue from the Expressions of it to shew that *Christ* is therein particularly foretold: He properly is the *Seed of a Woman* in a Sense in which no other ever was; his Sufferings were well prefigured by the *bruising of the Heel*, his complete Victory over Sin and Death *by bruising the Serpent's Head*. When Unbelievers hear such Reasonings, they think themselves intitled to laugh; but their Scorn be to themselves. We readily allow that the Expressions do not imply necessarily this Sense: We allow farther, that there is no Appearance that our first Parents understood them in this Sense, or that God intended they should to understand them: But since this Prophecy has been plainly fulfilled in *Christ*, and by the Event appropriated to him only; I would fain know how it comes to be conceived to be so ridiculous a thing in us, to suppose that God, to whom the whole Event was known from the Beginning\*,

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\* Remember the former Things *pf* old; for I am God, and there is none else; I am God, and there is none like

should make choice of such Expressions, as naturally conveyed so much Knowledge as he intended to convey to our first Parents, and yet should appear in the Fulness of Time to have been peculiarly adapted to the Event, which he from the Beginning saw, and which he intended the World should one Day see; and which when they should see, they might the more easily acknowledge to be the Work of his Hand, by the secret Evidence which he had inclosed from the Days of old in the Words of Prophecy. However the Wit of Man may despise this Method, yet there is nothing in it unbecoming the Wisdom of God. And when we see this to be the Case, not only in this Instance, but in many other Prophecies of the Old Testament, it is not without Reason we conclude, that under the Obscurity of antient Prophecy there was an Evidence of God's Truth kept in Reserve, to be made manifest in due Time."

The exquisite and masterly Sense, Clearness and Force of Reason, which is so conspicuous in this Passage, that every common Reader must perceive, and every judicious one admire it; and the Pertinency of it to the present Subject, will, I doubt not, sufficiently atone for the Length of the

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*me; declaring the End from the Beginning and from Times and Things that are not yet done, saying, My Counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure. Isa. xlv. 9, 10.*

*The Works of the Lord are done in Judgment from the Beginning; and from the Time he made them, he disposed the Parts thereof. Eccles. xvi. 26.*

Quotation.

In all the Books of *Moses* I find no other Prophecy but this, relating to the Death and Sufferings of *Christ*; I shall, therefore, according to the Method pointed out in the Words of our Saviour, proceed in the next Place to the Prophets; and first produce one out of *Isaiah*, whose Application to the Messiah the most obstinate Enemies of the Gospel have not been able to deny.

*Isaiah, Ch. liii. Who hath believed our Report? And to whom is the Arm of the Lord revealed? For he shall grow up before him as a tender Plant, and as a Root out of a dry Ground: He hath no Form nor Comeliness, and when we shall see him, there is no Beauty that we should desire him. "He is despised and rejected of Men, a Man of Sorrows, and acquainted with Grief;" and we hid as it were our Faces from him. He was despised, and we esteemed him not. Surely he hath borne our Grievs, and carried our Sorrows: Yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our Iniquities: The Chastisement of our Peace was upon him, and with his Stripes we are healed. All we like Sheep have gone astray: We have turned every one to his own Way, and the Lord hath laid*

*on him the Iniquity of us all. He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he "opened not his Mouth. He is brought as a Lamb to the Slaughter, and as a Sheep before her Shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his Mouth." He was taken from \*Prison and from Judgment: And who shall declare his Generation? For "he was cut off out of the Land of the Living?" for the transgression of my People he was stricken. "And he made his Grave with the Wicked, and with the Rich in his Death; because he had done no Violence, neither was any Deceit in his Mouth." Yet it pleased the Lord to bruise him, he hath put him to Grief: When thou shalt make his Soul an Offering for Sin, he shall see his Seed, he shall prolong his Days, and the Pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his Hand. He shall see of the Travel of his Soul, and shall be satisfied: By his Knowledge shall my righteous Servant justify many: For he shall bear their Iniquities. Therefore will I divide him a Portion with the Great, and he shall divide the Spoil with the Strong; because he poured out his Soul unto Death, "and he was numbered with the Transgressors," and he bare the Sin of many, and "made Intercession for the Transgressors."*

It is impossible for any one, who is the least acquainted with the History of *Christ*, not to perceive many Circumstances of his Life, his

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\* The Margin of the Bible has it, *he was taken away by Distress and Judgment.*

Sufferings and his Death, plainly pointed at in this Prophecy; and indeed so apparently and so completely was it fulfilled in *Christ*, that the later Rabbins, to avoid the Conclusions which the *Christians* might draw from this and other Prophecies in favour of the Gospel, have invented a Distinction of a double Messiah; "one \* who was to redeem us, and another who was to suffer for us; for they say, that there are two several Persons promised under the Name of the Messiah; one of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, the other of the Tribe of *Judah*; one the Son of *Joseph*, the other the Son of *David*; the one to precede, fight, and suffer Death; the other to follow, conquer, reign, and never to die." But Bishop *Pearson*, from whom I have borrowed this Remark, has clearly shewed this Distinction to be not only false in itself, but advantageous to the Christian Faith, as admitting a suffering Messiah to be foretold by the Prophets and has also proved, †that the ancient Rabbins did understand this Fifty-third Chapter of *Isaiah* to be a Description of the Messiah, without any Intimation of a double Messiah; an Invention introduced by the modern *Jews*, to favour their vain Expectations of a temporal Prince and Deliverer.

For what is farther to be considered out of

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\* See *Pearson* on the Creed, p. 185.

† *Pearson* on the Creed, p. 57.



the other Prophecies, and especially the *Psalms*, relating to this Subject, I cannot do better than to give it to the Reader in the Words of the same Bishop *Pearson*, whose Observations upon the several Articles concerning the Sufferings, &c. of *Jesus*, I would with him to consider.

"\*All which [the Predictions of his Sufferings, and particularly this Fifty-third Chapter of *Isaiah*, compared with his Life] if we look upon in the Gross, we must acknowledge it fulfilled in Him [*Jesus*] to the highest Degree imaginable, *that he was a Man of Sorrows and acquainted with Grief*. But if we compare the particular Predictions with the historical Passages of his Sufferings, if we join the Prophets and Evangelists together, it will most manifestly appear the Messiah was to suffer nothing which *Christ* hath not suffered. If *Zachary* say, †*They weighed for my Price thirty Pieces of Silver*; St. *Matthew* ‡will shew, that *Judas* sold *Jesus* at the same Rate; for the Chief Priests *covenanted with him; for thirty Pieces of Silver*. If *Isaiah* say §*That he was wounded*; if *Zachary*, \*\**they shall look upon me whom they have pierced*; if the Prophet *David* yet more particularly, ††*they pierced my*

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\* Ibid. p. 88.

† Zach. xi. 12.

‡ Matt. xxvi. 15.

§ Is. liii. 5.

\*\* Zach. xii. 10.

†† Ps. xxii. 16.

*hands and my Feet; the Evangelists will shew how he was fastened to the Cross, and Jesus himself \*the Print of the Nails. If the Psalmist tells us, they should †laugh him to Scorn, and shake their Head, saying, He trusted in the Lord that he would deliver him; let him deliver him; saying he delighted in him; St. Matthew will describe the same Action, and the same Expressions: For ‡they that passed by reviled him, wagging their Heads, and saying, He trusted in God, let him deliver him now if he will have him; for he said, I am the Son of God. Let David say, §My God, "my God, why hath thou forsaken me? and the Son of David will shew in whose Person the Father spoke it, Eli, Eli, lama sabacthani? Let Isaiah foretel, \*\*He was numbered with the Transgressors, and you shall find him ††crucified between two Thieves, one on his Right-hand, the other on his Left. Read in the Psalmist, ‡‡In my Thirst they gave me Vinegar to drink and you shall find in the Evangelist, §§Jesus, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, said, said, I thirst: And they took a Sponge, and filled it with Vinegar, and put it on a Reed, and gave him to drink. Read farther yet, \*\*\*They part my*

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\* John xx. 25.

† Ps. xxii. 7, 8.

‡ Matt. xxvii. 39, 43.

§ Ps. xxii. 1.

\*\* Is. liii. 12.

†† Mark xv. 27.

‡‡ Ps. lxix. 21.

§§ John xix. 28.

\*\*\* Ps xxii. 18.

*Garments among them, and cast Lots upon my Vesture; and to fulfil the Prediction, the Soldiers shall make good the Distinction, \*Who took his Garments, and made four Parts, to every Soldier a Part, and also his Coat: Now the Coat was without Seam, woven from the Top as throughout. They said therefore among themselves, Let us not rend it, but cast Lots for it, whose it shall be. Lastly, let the Prophets teach us, †that he shall be brought like a Lamb to the Slaughter, and be cut off out of the Land of the Living; all the Evangelists will declare how like a Lamb he suffered, and the very Jews will acknowledge that he was cut off."*

These Instances, I imagine, are sufficient to shew, that according to the Prophets, *thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to die.* That his Burial also, and his Resurrection, were in like Manner foretold, will appear by the following Passages.

*Isaiah*, in the above-quoted Chapter, Ver. 9, speaks of his Burial in these Words, *And he made his Grave with the Wicked, and with the Rich it his Death;* the circumstantial Accomplishment of which is too remarkable not to be taken notice of.

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\* John xix. 23, 24.

† Is. liii. 7, 8.

\*Power of Life and Death had been taken from the *Jews* and lodged in the Hands of the *Roman* Governor, from the Time that *Augustus* annexed *Judea* to the Province of *Syria*; which was done some Years after the Birth of *Christ*. The Chief Priests therefore and Rulers of the *Jews* were obliged to apply to *Pontius Pilate*, not only to put *Jesus* to Death, but for Leave to take down his Body and those of the two Malefactors executed with him, *that they might not remain upon the Cross on the Sabbath-day*. For among the *Romans*, (with whom Crucifixion was the usual capital Punishment for Slaves, Robbers, &c. under the Degree of *Roman* Citizens) it was customary to let the Carcase hang on the Cross till it was either consumed by Time, or devoured by Birds and Beasts. Upon a Petition however of the executed Person's Friends or Relations, Leave to bury them was seldom or never refused; and hence *Pilate* without any Difficulty yielded to the Application of the *Jews* for taking down the Bodies, and gave Permission to *Joseph* of *Arimathea* to bury that of *Jesus*. What became of the Bodies of the two Thieves after they were taken down from the Cross is not mentioned by any of the Evangelists. That they were buried is almost certain; because not only the Custom of the *Jews*, but the express Words of *Moses*

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\* See *Pearson* on the Creed, Article 4.

*\*required, If a Man have committed a Sin, worthy of Death, and he be put to Death, and thou hang him on a Tree, his Body shall not remain all Night upon the Tree, but thou shalt in any wise bury him that Day, that thy Land be not defiled.* Which Precept was doubtless the Reason of their petitioning *Pilate* to have the Bodies taken from the Cross that Day, enforced by the additional Consideration of the particular Solemnity and Sanctity of the Paschal Sabbath then immediately ensuing. And that they were buried in or near the Place of Crucifixion is, I think, most probable for the following Reasons. First, The Place where they were executed was called *Golgotha, i.e. †a Place of a Skull*, a Name in all Likelihood derived to it from the Number of Skulls, which (if it was the usual Place of Execution, as from this Instance it is most reasonable to conclude it was) might frequently have been found there, either fallen from Bodies left to putrefy on the Cross, or turned up by the opening the Ground for such Malefactors as the Governor permitted to be buried. Secondly, the Paschal Sabbath ‡was drawing on apace. For as among the *Jews* the Day was always reckoned to commence from the Evening, so, for the greater Caution, were they accustomed to begin the Sabbatical Rest from all kind of Work an Hour

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\* Deut. xxi. 22, 23.

† Matt. xxvii. 33.

‡ Grotius. Ad ver. 58. xxvii Matth.

before Sun-set; but on this Day, which was the Preparation of the Passover, the holy Hours (if I may so speak) began still earlier; because the \*Paschal Lambs were always slain between the ninth and eleventh Hours, within which Space of Time the whole Multitude of *Jews* repaired to the Temple,<sup>†</sup> where alone the Passover was killed, and having there offered the Blood and Entrails of the Paschal Victims, they brought back the remaining Carcase to dress and eat it at their Homes, according to the *Mosaical* Institution. The *Jews* could not then but be much pressed in Time, for the ninth Hour was begun before our Saviour expired, and the Soldiers coming after that Time to the two Malefactors, found them not yet dead; and therefore by a cruel kind of Mercy to put an End to a painful Life, and to dispatch them the more speedily, broke their Legs, the *Coup de Grace* obtained for those miserable Wretches of the *Roman* Governor by the *Jews*, and intended likewise for him, who, though innocent, and delivered up by their Malice to that infamous and horrid Death, yet, with a Benevolence and Generosity unparalleled, interceded for them even upon the Cross, in these compassionate Terms, ‡*Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!* Now, as *Jesus*, and consequently the two Thieves, did not

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\* Ibid. xxvi. Matth. 2.

† Lamy Dissert. De Pasch.

‡ Luke xxiii. 34.

expire till after the ninth Hour; as the *Jews* were obliged to repair to the Temple before the eleventh Hour, at the Expiration of which the Sabbatical Rest from all kinds of Work began; and as they were felicitous that the Bodies should be taken down and buried before the Commencement of that high and solemn Day; it is most likely they buried them at or near the Place where they were crucified; because they had not Time to carry them to any great Distance; because *Golgotha*, from its Name, seems to have been a Place of Burial for those who had been executed there; and because the Want of Time is the very Reason given in the Evangelist for laying the Body of *Jesus* in the Sepulchre of *Joseph* of *Arimathea* which was near adjoining, as *St. John*; tells us in these Words: *\*Now in the Place where he was crucified there was a Garden, and in this Garden a new Sepulchre, wherein was never Man yet laid.* There laid they *Jesus* therefore because of the *Jews* Preparation, for the Sepulchre was nigh at hand. Here then we may see and admire the exact Completion of this famous Prophecy of *Isaiah*: *He made his Grave with the Wicked, and with the Rich in his Death.* He was buried like the *Wicked* Companions of his Death under the general Leave granted to the *Jews* for taking down their Bodies from the Cross; and was like

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\* Chap. xix. 41, 42.

them buried in or near the Place of Execution. But here the Distinction foreseen and foretold many hundred Years before, took place in favour of *Jesus*, who, though *numbered with the Transgressors*, *had done no Violence*, *neither was there any Deceit in his Mouth*: For *Joseph of Arimathea*,\* *a rich Man*, and *an honourable Counsellor*, and *Nicodemus*†, *a Man of the Pharisees*, *a Ruler of the Jews*, *a Master of Israel*, *conspired ‡ to make his Grave with the Rich*, *by wrapping his Body in Linen-clothes*, *with a Mixture of Myrrh and Aloes*, *about an hundred Pound Weight*, and *laying it in a new Sepulchre* hewed or hollowed into a Rock, which *Joseph of Arimathea* had caused to be made for his own Use; Circumstances which evidently shew, that he was not only buried *by* the Rich, but *like* the Rich also, according to the Prophecy.

The Words of *David*§ foretelling the Resurrection of *Christ*, together with *St. Peter's* Comment upon them, I shall insert intire as they stand in the Second Chapter of the *Acts*, the 25th and following Verses.

*For David speaketh concerning him, I foresaw the Lord always before my Face; for he is on my*

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\* Mat. xxvii. 57. Mark xv 43.

† John xix. 39, 40.

‡ Isa liii. 9.

§ Psal. xvi. 8, &c.



*Right hand, that I should not be moved: Therefore did my Heart rejoice, and my Tongue was glad; moreover also my Flesh shall rest in Hope, because thou wilt not leave my Soul in Hell, neither, wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see Corruption. Thou hast made known to me the Ways of Life; thou shalt make me full of joy with thy Countenance. Men and Brethren, let me freely speak unto you of the Patriarch David, that he is both dead and buried, and his Sepulchre is with us unto this Day; therefore being a Prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an Oath to him, that of the Fruit of his Loins, according to the Flesh, he would raise up Christ to sit upon his Throne; he seeing this before, spake of the Resurrection of Christ, that his Soul was not left in Hell, neither his Flesh did see Corruption.*

The Apostle's Reasoning was very well understood by the *Jews*, and so convincing, that *\*three thousand Souls were that day added to the Church, and baptized into the Faith of Christ.* His Argument stands thus. You acknowledge *David* to be a prophet, who under his own Person often spake of the Messiah. To the Messiah therefore belong these Words; *Thou shalt not leave my Soul [Life] in Hell [Hades, the Grave;] neither shalt †thou suffer thy Holy One to*

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\* Acts ii, 41.

† Ps. xvi, 11. See *Whitby* on this Passage.

see *Corruption*; because they are by no means applicable to *David*, who it is not pretended ever rose from the Dead; on the contrary, he was buried, and his Body remained and putrefied in his Sepulchre, which *is with us even to this Day*. But by divine Illumination he foresaw that the Messiah, or *Christ*, who *according to the Flesh* was to descend from him, should be raised up from the Dead, *to sit upon his Throne*, i.e. to reign like him over the People of God; and therefore he foretold the Resurrection of *Christ* in Words most exactly fulfilled in *Jesus*, who rose alive out of the Grave in so short a Time after his Death, that *he saw no Corruption*, whereof, adds he, *we are Wittnesses*.

Concerning these Words no other Question can be raised, than whether they relate to the Messiah; for to *David* most certainly they can never be applied. If they relate to the Messiah, then was *Jesus* the Messiah; for in his Resurrection were they accomplished; and doubtless the three thousand *Jews*, who were converted by the Preaching of *Peter*, acknowledged both the one and the other of these Propositions. And indeed, by the Manner in which these Words of the *Psalmist* were urged by St. *Peter*, and afterwards by \*St. *Paul*, it seems to have been by them taken for granted, that as

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\* Acts xiii, 35.

they were not applicable to *David*, they must be understood of the Messiah, whom therefore, according to *Moses*, the Prophets, and the *Psalmist*, it behoved to suffer, to die, to be buried, and to rise again from the Dead.

Besides the express Words of the Prophecy, there were several Predictions of another Kind, of the Sufferings, Death, and Resurrection of, *Christ* held forth in Types and Figures; such as those two mentioned by our Saviour, and applied to himself; As \* *Moses*, says he, *lifted up the Serpent in the Wilderneess, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up*: And again, As *Jonas was three Days and three Nights in the Whale's Belly, so shall the Son of Man be three Days and three Nights in the Heart of the Earth*: †The Paschal Lamb, alluded to by St. *Paul* in these Words, *Christ our Passover is slain*; the waved Sheaf alluded to in like Manner by the same Apostle, *1 Cor. xv. 20, 23. Rom. xi. 16.* and many others. I shall not here enquire how far, and in what Cases, an Argument from Types and Figures may be admitted, but shall content myself with quoting a Passage relating to this Point out of the incomparable Discourses of Bishop *Sherlock*‡ upon Prophecy, as follows:

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\* John iii, 14. Num. xxi 9. Matt. xii, 40. Jonas I, 17 and ii, 10. 1 Cor. v, 7.

† See *Lamy's* Diss. De Pasch. And *Pearson* upon the Creed.

‡ Page 144.

"Another Question, proper to be considered with respect to the State of Religion under the *Jewish* Dispensation, is this: How far the Religion of the *Jews* was preparatory to that new Dispensation, which was in due Time to be revealed, in Accomplishment of the Promise made to all Nations. Now if *Abraham* and his Posterity were chosen, not merely for their own Sakes, or out of any partial Views and Regards towards them, but to be Instruments in the Hand of God for bringing about his great Designs in the World; if the temporal Government was given for the sake of the everlasting Covenant, and to be subservient to the Introduction of it, it is highly probable, that all the Parts of the *Jewish* Dispensation were adapted to serve the same End; and that the Law founded on the temporal Covenant, was intended, as the temporal Covenant itself was, to prepare the Way to better Promises. If this, upon the Whole, appears to be a reasonable Supposition, then have we a Foundation to inquire into the Meaning of the Law, not merely as it is a literal Command to the *Jews*, but as containing the Figure and Image of good Things to come. It can hardly be supposed, that God, intending finally to save the World by *Christ*, and the Preaching of the Gospel, should give an intermediate Law, which had no Respect nor Relation to the Covenant, which he intended to

establish for ever. And whoever will be at the Pains to consider seriously the whole Administration of Providence together, from the Beginning to the End, may see perhaps more Reason than he imagines, to allow of Types and Figures in the *Jewish* Law. "

"To proceed then: The *Jewish* Dispensation not conveying to *all Nations* the Blessing promised through *Abraham's* Seed, but being only the Administration of the Hopes and Expectations, created by the Promise of God; in this respect it stood intirely upon the Word of Prophecy; for future Hopes and Expectations from God can have no other real Foundation. Inasmuch then as the *Jewish* Religion did virtually contain the Hopes of the Gospel, the Religion itself was a Prophecy, &c."

That the *Jewish* Rabbins, and the Fathers of the Christian Church, as well as our Saviour and his Apostles, understood many Things in the Law of *Moses*, in the historical Books of the Old Testament, in the Prophets and the *Psalms*, to be Types and Shadows of Things to come, is very certain; and if the two former carried their Conceits upon this Head farther than Reason or Sense could allow them to do, Types and Figures are not upon that Pretence to be wholly rejected; especially as many Precepts and

Ceremonies in the *Mosaic* Institution, may very well be accounted for by supposing them intended as Images and Shadows of Things to come, and can but ill be reconciled to the Wisdom of the Lawgiver without such a Solution. And if such Types be once admitted, it will be no difficult Matter to shew that they were fulfilled in *Christ Jesus*, as the great Antetype to which they all referred.

§ 19. Whoever takes an attentive View of the Predictions relating to the Messiah\* contained in the Writings of *Moses*, the *Prophets*, and the *Psalmist*, will perceive the great Scheme of Providence in the Deliverance of Mankind from the Power of Sin and Death, opening by Degrees, in a Succession of Prophecies through the several Ages of the World; each of which, in proportion as the Accomplishment of the wonderful and gracious Purpose of God advanced, grew more explicit and particular; till they came at last to point out the very Times and Person of the expected Deliverer. Thus the Promise of Redemption to Mankind, which was given to our first Parents in very general and obscure Words, †*The Seed of the Woman shall bruise the Serpent's Head*; importing, that some of their Descendants

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\* See Bp. *Sherlock's* Dissc. On the Use and Intent of Prophecy, &c.

† Gen. iii, 15.

should vanquish their great Enemy, was renewed to *Abraham* in clearer Terms, and limited to his Descendants through *Isaac*, \**In thy Seed shall the Nations of the Earth be blessed*; then to *Jacob* the younger of the two Sons of *Isaac*; and afterwards to *Judah* and his Children; and lastly to the Family of† *David*, who was of the Tribe of *Judah*. The particular Stock, from which this Branch of Righteousness and Immortality was to proceed, being thus limited and settled, God was pleased, in the next Place, to bring into a nearer and more distinct View, the long-promised Seed; declaring by his Prophets the precise Time of his Coming, the Place, and miraculous Manner of his Birth, and so many wonderful Particulars of his Life, his Sufferings, and his Death; that by such characteristical Marks and Notices, he might, when he should come, be readily and plainly known. These Prophecies, some of them at least, were not only at the Time of their Delivery, but even to that of their Accomplishment, very dark and obscure; but that Obscurity proceeded not so much from the Terms in which they were expressed, as from the Things foretold; which were so seemingly inconsistent, that no human Wisdom could reconcile them with each other, For as they sometimes represented the Messiah

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\* Gen. xxi, 18. xxvii, 29. xlix, 1.

† 2 Sam. i, 12.

under the Character of a *Deliverer*, a *Prince whose Throne should endure for ever*, the *Desire of all Nations*, the *Holy One*, &c. so at other Times they spake of him as a *Man of Sorrows*, and *acquainted with Griefs*, as *despised and rejected of Men*; as *afflicted, smitten, wounded, bruised and scourged*; *numbered with the Transgressors*, *cut off out of the Land of the Living*, and *making his Grave with the Wicked*, and yet, *with the Rich in his Death*. So much however of these Prophecies was at all Times clear, that from them the *Jews*, to whom they were delivered, were encouraged to expect a Redeemer to come at a certain limited Time; and so exactly were they able to compute the Period prefixed by the Prophet *Daniel*, that at the Birth of *Christ* there was a general Expectation among the *Jews*, which from them spread into other Nations, of a great King being about that Time to be born in *Judea*. The Place also of his Birth, and the Stock from which he was to spring, were as clearly understood: But the *Jews*, too much attached to the temporal Covenant, proud of being the chosen and peculiar People of God, and, from that Pride, not comprehending the full Extent of the Promise made to *Abraham*, that *in his Seed all the Nations of the Earth should be blessed*, expected a temporal Deliverer, a King of the *Jews* only, considered still as a separate and distinct Nation. The



*Jews*, they imagined, were alone to be redeemed, and that from their temporal Enemies, and under their Messiah were to reign for ever over the other Kings and Nations of the Earth: And from this Imagination, than which nothing could be more contrary to the express Promises made to *Abraham*, nor more injurious to the Character of that God, *whose Mercy is universally over all his Works*, proceeded their Blindness and Backwardness in seeing and believing *all* that the Prophets had spoken, and their Indignation against *Jesus*, for assuming the Title, without asserting, what they seemed to be, the Kingdom of the Messiah; the Throne of *David*. With the same Prejudices were the Disciples and Apostles themselves so strongly prepossessed, that when he told them of his Sufferings and Death, *\*Peter rebuked him, saying, Be it far from thee, Lord, this shall not be unto Thee.* *Jesus* however suffered and died, and rose again from the Dead, as he had foretold; and notwithstanding his Sufferings, still claimed to be the Messiah, nay, and even founded his Claim upon those very Sufferings, asserting, that according to the Prophets, *thus it behoved the Messiah to suffer.* To the Prophets he therefore sends them for their Conviction, and for the removing those Prejudices, which, as long as they subsisted, must have kept them

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\* Matt. xvi, 22.

effectually from ever acknowledging his Claim, unless they would renounce those Scriptures upon whose Authority alone their Expectations of a Messiah were grounded. For if the Prophets; spake only of a victorious triumphant Redeemer of *Israel*, a King who should never die, it is certain *Jesus* could not be that Redeemer; for he was oppressed and afflicted, and instead of delivering the *Jews*, was himself delivered up to their Enemies, and by them put to Death. What the Prophets have written about the Sufferings, &c. of the Messiah, we have just now seen; and cannot, I think, but acknowledge their Predictions to be very clear and express, and to have been most circumstantially accomplished in *Christ Jesus*; and perhaps to us, who are not blinded with the vain Imaginations of the *Jews*, it may seem Matter of Wonder that the Apostles should so long and so obstinately shut their Eyes against so strong a Light. The Truth is, they were unwilling to give up the pleasing and flattering Expectations of a temporal Kingdom, which they understood to be plainly spoken of by the Prophets, and knew to be incompatible with a suffering, dying Messiah. By *expounding therefore in Moses and all the Prophets the Things concerning Himself*, and *by opening their Understandings, that they might understand the Scripture*, *Jesus* at length brought them to perceive that the Kingdom of

the Messiah was not a temporal, but a spiritual and eternal Kingdom; that the Redemption promised to *Adam* and the Patriarchs, was not the Redemption of the Children of *Israel* only from their carnal Enemies and Oppressors, (an Event in which the first Father of the World, and even the Patriarchs themselves, could have little or no Interest) but the Redemption of all Mankind from the Power and Penalty of Sin; to be effected on the one Hand by *Christ's fulfilling all Righteousness*, the original Covenant, upon which Happiness and Immortality was stipulated to *Adam*; and on the other, by his *offering up his Soul a Sacrifice for Sin, i.e.* paying the Penalty of Death, which all Sinners, all Mankind had incurred; paying it not as a Debtor, *for he was without Sin*, but as a *Surety*, who willingly and freely took upon himself to make good the Failings, and discharge the Obligations of others. Of this Plan the Death of *Christ* was a necessary Part, and so was his Resurrection from the Dead; by which, having vanquished that Enemy, who brought Death and Sin into the World, he was put into Possession of that Throne, which was *to endure for ever*; and was, like *David*, appointed by God to reign, not over the *Jewish* Nation exclusive of the rest of Mankind, but over all those of every Nation of the World, who should, like the *Jews*, make themselves the People of God, by entering

into a Covenant with him to keep his Commandments; the sole Tenure by which the Children of *Israel* became originally the People of God; over whom, as such, God, their legal, their constitutional King, if I may so speak, set *David* as a Ruler under him, and promised to continue that delegated vicarial Sceptre of Righteousness in his Posterity for ever. Of all these Points there are frequent Intimations in the Books of *Moses*, in the *Prophets*, and in the *Psalms*: By a fair and unprejudiced Examination of which, the Disciples and Apostles might be certainly convinced, that according to the Scheme of the Redemption of Mankind promised to *Adam* and the Patriarchs, as well as by the express Words of Prophecy, the Messiah was to die and rise again from the Dead. And as on the one Part, had the Scriptures been silent upon the latter of those two Articles, they had, from the Testimony of their own Senses, &c. sufficient Proofs of *Christ's* being risen from the Dead; so on the other, from the exact Accomplishment of all the Predictions relating to his Life, his Sufferings, his Death and Burial, they might, without any farther Evidence, than that of his Body's being no where to be found, have infallibly collected from the Scriptures only, that he was risen from the Dead. And therefore, when all these Testimonies concurred to prove the Resurrection, how was it possible

for them to withhold their Assent?

The Prophecies of *Jesus* himself concerning his rising from the Dead on the third Day, were another Proof of the same Kind, upon which they might as reasonably and as certainly depend, as upon that grounded on the Predictions of *Moses* and the Prophets. *Moses* had foretold that the Messiah should be a Prophet, and they had been convinced that *Jesus* was one in the largest Sense of that Word, by many Instances, which had fallen under their own Observation, those particularly relating to his Passion and Crucifixion, most of the minute and extraordinary Circumstances of which he had acquainted them with before they came to pass; such as the Treachery of *Judas*, the Desertion of his Disciples, *Peter's* disowning him thrice, the insults and Abuses he underwent from the Chief Priests and Elders, and the cruel Mockery of the *Roman* Soldiers. The exact Correspondence of each of these Events with their several Predictions, afforded the strongest Presumption imaginable in favour of the Resurrection, as it was in like Manner foretold by him, of whose Prescience they had just then received so many convincing Proofs; especially as some of the predicted Events were of such a Nature as not to be foreseen, but by that Eye, which penetrates into the inmost

Recesses of the Heart of Man, and spieth out all his Thoughts even before they are conceived. For although the Chief Priests and Pharisees had for some Time *sought how they might put him to Death*<sup>\*</sup>, yet they had resolved against doing it on the *Feast-day for Fear of the People*<sup>†</sup>, who but a very few Days before had in a Sort of triumphal Procession attended his Entry into *Jerusalem, cutting down Branches of Palm, strewing them before him, spreading their Garments in the Way, and crying Hosannah, blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord*. Yet on the *Feast-day* was he put to Death, at the Instance of the Chief Priests and Pharisees; and by the Clamours of this very People, against the Inclination and Endeavours of *Pilate*, in whom the Power of Life and Death resided; and who, as his Judge, declared him innocent, again and again; and when he gave him up to be crucified, *took Water and washed his Hands before the Multitude, saying, I am innocent of the Blood of this just Person; see ye to it*. This sudden Change in the Counsels of the Chief Priests, in the Hearts of the Multitude, and in the Manners of *Pontius Pilate*<sup>§</sup>, who was a Man of a haughty, rough, untractable, and implacable Spirit, who so far from having any

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<sup>\*</sup> Matt. xxvi.

<sup>†</sup> Mark xi, 8, 9.

<sup>‡</sup> Matt. xxvii, 24.

<sup>§</sup> *Pearson on the Creed*, p. 196.

Complaisance for the *Jewish* Nation, or Regard for their Customs or Religion, had all along created them with the most cruel and tyrannical Insolence, and who more than once had contemptuously acted in direct Opposition to their most just and reasonable Demands; a Change, I say, so sudden, from one Extreme to another, could not with any Certainty be previously deduced from the Consideration of the Instability of human Counsels, and the Fickleness of the Mind of Man. The same Thing may be said concerning the Desertion of his Disciples, and *Peter's* disowning him thrice, each of which Events came to pass within a few Hours after they were foretold, and within the very Time prefixed; contrary to their express and confident Declarations, that though they *\*should die with him, they would never deny* [renounce] *him*, made at the Time and upon the Occasion of this very Prophecy. Add to this, the inhuman Abuses, Insults, and Mockery he endured from the Chief Priests, and from the *Roman* Soldiers; for these, surely, were no usual Part of the Punishment inflicted upon Criminals; the most flagitious of whom are seldom treated with more Severity than their Sentence requires; especially when that Sentence extends to taking away their Lives by a lingering and painful Death. And our

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\* Matt. xxvi, 33.

Saviour's Case undoubtedly deserved more than ordinary Compassion, especially from the *Roman* Soldiers, as he had been pronounced innocent by the *Roman* Governor himself, and was known to be sacrificed only to the Envy and Malice of the *Jews*. Therefore that *Jesus*, who foretold all these extraordinary Particulars, was endued with the all-prescient Spirit of God, the Disciples could have no Reason to doubt; and consequently could have as little Cause to call his Resurrection in question, which he had foreseen and foretold by the same divine Spirit, from whom no Event, how remote or uncommon soever, can be concealed, and who can never deceive or lye, And therefore the Apostles, even without the Testimony of those who had seen him after he was risen, without the Authority of the Scriptures foretelling his Resurrection, and without the infallible Proofs of his being alive after his Passion, which they themselves received from seeing him, handling him, and conversing with him, might and ought to have believed that he was risen from the Dead, upon the single Evidence of his having predicted it, joined to that of his Body's being no where to be found; as St. *John* in Fact did, and was therefore pronounced blessed by our Saviour himself, in these Words spoken to St. *Thomas* upon the Occasion of his refusing to believe without the Attestation of his Senses; *Thomas*,



*because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed; blessed are they who have not seen, and yet have believed. Upon which more hereafter.*

I shall here rest the Cause, and close the Evidence of the Resurrection of *Jesus*; since it is manifest that the Apostles, who were to be Witnesses of this great Event, and Preachers of the Gospel to all the World, had no Doubt or Scruple left concerning his being really (*i.e.* bodily) risen from the Dead, after his appearing to St. *Thomas*; \*for they went into *Galilee*, to a Mountain where *Jesus* had appointed them, in Obedience to his Command, and in Expectation of meeting him there according to his Promise, where when they saw him they worshipped him; from thence they returned again to *Jerusalem*, and continued in that City in Obedience to another †Command, waiting for the Promise of the Father, which within a few Days after was made good to them by the Coming of the Holy Ghost. Upon these two Points I beg Leave to say a few Words, for the better understanding some Passages relating to them in St. *Matthew*, St. *Luke*, and the Acts of the Apostles.

§ 20. All the Males among the *Jews* were by the Law of *Moses*‡, commanded to repair thrice

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\* Matth. xxviii, 16, 17.

† Acts i, 4. ii, 4.

‡ Exod. xxiii. 17. Deut. xvi. 16

every Year to *Jerusalem*, to appear, as it is expressed, *before the Lord*; viz. at the three great Feasts; the Passover, called also the Feast of unleavened Bread, the Feast of Weeks, named Pentecost, and the Feast of Tabernacles. Each of these Solemnities lasted a whole Week. The Apostles therefore, and Disciples, who had come up to *Jerusalem* from *Galilee*, their native Country, not merely to attend upon their Master, but in Obedience to the above-cited Law of *Moses* to keep the Passover, continued, as they were obliged to do, at *Jerusalem*, till the End of that Festival. And there *Jesus* appeared to them a second Time, (eight Days after his first Appearance) \* *St. Thomas* being with them. The next Appearance of *Christ* to any Number of his Disciples together, was at the Sea of *Tiberias*, called also the Sea of *Galilee*; and this is expressly said, by *St. John*, to be the third Time that *Jesus* shewed himself to his Disciples, after that he was risen from the Dead<sup>†</sup>; from whence it is evident, that the Appearance on a Mountain in *Galilee* mentioned by *St. Matthew*, was subsequent to this spoken of by *St. John*, and was also in a different Place, on a Mountain, whereas the latter was by the Sea of *Tiberias*. Three Reasons may be assigned for our Saviour's meeting his Disciples in *Galilee*.

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\* John xx. 26.

† John xxi. 14.

*Galilee* was the Country in which he had resided above thirty Years, from his Infancy to the Time when he first began to preach the Kingdom of God: There did he first begin to declare and evidence his Mission by Miracles, and in the Cities of that Region did he perform the greatest Part of his mighty Works; so that he must necessarily have been more known, and have had more Followers in that Country, than in any other Region of *Judea*. And therefore, one Reason for his shewing himself in *Galilee* after he was risen from the Dead seems to have been, that where he was personally known to so many People, he might have the greater Number of competent Witnesses to his Resurrection. Accordingly, St. *Paul* tells us he was seen of above five hundred Brethren at once, which therefore in all Probability happened at the Mountain in *Galilee*, where, St. *Matthew* says, *Jesus* appointed his Disciples to meet him, as I have observed once before. 2dly, *Galilee* was also the native Country of the greatest Part, if not of all the Apostles and Disciples. There they dwelt and supported themselves and Families, some of them at least, by mean and laborious Occupations. So strait and so necessitous a Condition of Life must needs have rendered a long Absence from their own Homes highly inconvenient to them, at that Time especially, when the Barley-Harvest, which always fell out

about the Time of the Passover, was either begun, or upon the Point of beginning. As soon therefore as the Paschal Solemnity was over, which detained them necessarily at *Jerusalem* for a whole Week, it was natural to suppose that they would return into *Galilee*. Upon which Supposition our Saviour, before his Death, promised, after he was risen, *he would go before them into Galilee*; which remarkable Expression was again made \* use of by the Angel after his Resurrection; who bade the Women tell his Disciples, that he [*Jesus*] *would go before them into Galilee: i.e.* would be in *Galilee* before them, and would meet them there. *Christ* indeed, afterwards, commands them by the same Women to go into *Galilee*, adding a Promise, that they should see him. But this Command must not be understood to imply a Suspicion, that without these peremptory Orders of their Master, they would have continued at *Jerusalem*, where, after the Festival was over, they had nothing to do. It ought rather to be taken as a Confirmation of his Promise of meeting them in *Galilee*, and a strong Encouragement to them to depend upon the Performance of it in the due Place and Season. The Time of their entering upon the Apostolical Office, of preaching the Gospel to all the World, was not yet come; neither were they yet fully

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\* Mark xvi. 7.

prepared or qualified for that important Work; which, after they had once undertaken it, was to be not only the sole Employment of their Lives, but the Occasion of their leaving their Fathers, their Children, their Country, and their Friends, to travel up and down the World, exposed to Hardships, Dangers, Persecution, and Death, in unknown and remote Corners of the Earth. Of all which their Master had frequently forwarned them before his Death, and particularly in that affectionate Discourse he held to them the Night in which he was betrayed. To prepare them therefore by Degrees for a State of so much Affliction and Mortification, and to give them an Opportunity of seeing and providing in the best Manner they were able, for their Relations and Families, to whom they were soon to bid Adieu for ever; their gracious Lord, who knew how to indulge, because he had himself felt, the Afflictions and Infirmities of human Nature; and who, \* by recommending his Mother, even from the Cross, to the Care of his beloved Disciple, had taught them what Regards were due to those tender Ties of Nature, not only permitted them to return into *Galilee*, but promised to meet them there, and did in fact meet them there, not only once, but several Times; as may be inferred from what St. *Luke* says of his

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\* John xix. 26, 27.

having shewn himself to them \* *for forty Days after his Passion*, compared with what St. John says of his Appearance by the Lake of *Tiberias*; which he expresly calls the *third Time* that *Christ* shewed himself to his Disciples after his Resurrection. After this St. *Matthew* speaks of another Appearance in *Galilee*, on a *Mountain*, where, adds he, *Jesus had appointed his Disciples*. When this Appointment was made, there is no Intimation given in any of the Evangelists. If it was not at the Appearance at the Lake of *Tiberias*, which there is no Reason to imagine it was, St. *John* saying nothing of any such Matter, it was probably at some other Appearance in *Galilee*, between this last and that mentioned by St. *Matthew*. And as there was a great Number of Brethren present upon that Occasion, it is rational to conclude, that timely Notice was given, as well of the Day, as of the Place of Meeting. But however this might have been, I am persuaded that the greatest Part of the Appearances of *Christ*, *for the forty Days after his Passion*, were in *Galilee*, since the Reasons, that required the Apostles to return thither, were as strong for their continuing there, till the Approach of the Feast of Weeks or *Pentecost* should call them back *to Jerusalem*.

Another Reason for meeting his Disciples in

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\* Acts i.

*Galilee*, and for concluding that the Appearances mentioned in the *Acts* were chiefly in that Country, and that there were many of them, may be deduced from what \* *St. Luke* tells us of the Subjects upon which our Saviour spoke to his Disciples on these Occasions, *viz. Of Things pertaining to the Kingdom of God*. Before they set out upon the great Work of preaching the Kingdom of God to all the World, it was necessary that they should be fully instructed in the Doctrines they were to preach, and in the several Functions of the Apostolical Office: That they should thoroughly understand the Intentions of their Master, and have some View of the Means and Assistances by which they should be enabled to perform a Task so apparently above their Abilities, and some Hopes and Encouragement to support them under the Prospect of those Difficulties and Dangers they were given to expect in propagating the Gospel. In order to all this, many inveterate Prejudices relating to the Law of *Moses* and the *Jewish* Nation were to be rooted out; the Scheme of God in the universal Redemption of Mankind was to be laid open to them; many human Affections, Reluctances, and Terrors, were to be subdued, and their Hearts to be fortified with Courage and Constancy, a Disregard and Contempt of

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\* *Acts*, Chap. i. 3.

Hardships, Perils, Pain and Death. To these several Purposes nothing could more conduce than frequent Visits from their Lord; whose *Resurrection* (of which every Appearance was a fresh Proof) was an unquestionable Evidence of his Power; whose every Appearance was an Initance of his Affection and Condescension to them, and of his Fidelity in performing the Promise he had made before his Passion of coming to them again after his Death, and being with them for *a little while before he went to his Father*, and whose Fidelity and Exactness, in thus performing his Promise, was an infallible Earnest and Security for the Coming of that Comforter who was to supply his Place, *to guide them into all truth, to bring to their Remembrance whatever he had spoken to them, to enable them to do greater Works than he had done, and to fill their Hearts with that joy, which it should not be in the Power of Man to take from them.* Add to this, the Weight and Authority derived to his Precepts and Instructions, from their being delivered by himself in Person; and the great Measure of Strength accruing to their Faith, from their having frequently before their Eyes the *Captain of their Salvation*, who, after having fought with the Powers of Darkness, and triumphed over Sin and Death, was to *sit down thenceforth at the Right-hand of God*, invested with the Power of assisting those, who should



fight under his Banner, and rewarding their Toils, their Sufferings, and their Death, with a Crown of immortal Life. And if nothing could more effectually bring about all these great Effects than *Christ's* frequently meeting his Apostles, it will evidently appear that no Place could be more proper for those Meetings than *Galilee*; if we consider, that the Apostles having their Habitations in that Country, might reside there without any Suspicion, and assemble without any Fear of the Persecutors and Murderers of their Master, the Chief Priests and the *Roman* Governor: \* For *Galilee* was under the Jurisdiction of *Herod*. Whereas, had they remained in *Jerusalem*, and continued to assemble frequently together, while the Report of their Master's being risen from the Dead was fresh, and in every Body's Mouth, the Chief Priests and Elders, whose Hatred or Apprehensions of *Jesus Christ* were not extinguished by his Blood, as appears by their persecuting and murdering his Followers long after; these Rulers of the *Jews*, I say, would undoubtedly have given such Interruptions to those Meetings, and thrown such Obstacles in the Way, as must have necessitated our Lord to interpose his miraculous Power to prevent or remove them. Now as all these Inconveniences might be avoided by our Saviour's meeting his

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\* Luke xxiii. 7.

Disciples in *Galilee*, it is more agreeable to the Wisdom of God, (*which*, as \* Mr. Locke observes, *is not usually at the Expence of Miracles, but only in Cases that require them*) to suppose these frequent Meetings to have been in *Galilee* rather than in *Jerusalem*, and more analogous to the Proceeding of our Lord himself, who being in Danger from the Scribes and Pharisees, refrained from appearing publickly in *Jerusalem* for some Time before the Hour appointed for his Sufferings and Death was come, and *walked in Galilee*, as St. John † tells us, *for he would not walk in Jewry, because the Jews sought to kill him*. From these Considerations I think it clear, that all the Appearances of *Christ* to his Disciples, from that to St. Thomas mentioned in St. John, to that last in *Jerusalem*, on the Day of his ascending, mentioned by St. Luke, both in his Gospel and in the Acts, were in *Galilee*: From whence, when the Apostles returned afterwards to *Jerusalem*, they were covered from the Apprehensions of giving any Umbrage by residing there, for the short Space to come between their Return and the Time of their entering upon their Apostolical Office, by the Obligation they were under, in common with the rest of their Brethren the *Jews*, to repair to that City for the Celebration of the Feast of ‡ Weeks,

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\* Reas. of Christ. p. 508. Fol. Edit.

† John vii. 1.

‡ Acts ii. 1, etc.

called also Pentecost: Upon the most solemn Day of which Festival they were, according to the Promise of their Master, filled with the Holy Ghost, and endued with Power from above to defy all Danger, and surmount all Opposition in preaching the Gospel of *Christ*.

And hence we learn, that all the latter Part of the 24th Chapter of St. *Luke's* Gospel, from the 49th Verse to the End inclusive, relates to what happened at *Jerusalem, etc.* after the Return of the Apostles from *Galilee*: Of whose Departure into *Galilee*, after the Resurrection of *Christ*, or of his Promise of going thither before them, this Evangelist having not thought it to his Purpose to make any Mention, thought it as needless to say any thing of their leaving *Jerusalem*; since the Scene of their last Appearance, as well as of the former related by him, was in that City; and since to those, who by any other Means should come to be acquainted with the whole History of our Saviour, there would be no Danger of confounding those two Appearances. As to those who should happen to meet with no other Account but his Gospel (if such a Thing could be supposed) no great Damage could arise from their mistaking them to be one and the same.

§ 21. By this long and scrupulous Examination of the several Particulars, which constitute the Evidence of the Resurrection, I have endeavoured to shew, that *never were there any Facts that could better abide the Test.* And if I have in any Degree succeeded in my Endeavours, I shall neither repent my own Labour, nor apologize to the Reader for having dwelt so long upon this Subject: Since the Conclusion that will inevitably follow from this Proposition is, that *never was there a Fact more fully proved than the Resurrection of Jesus Christ.* For besides the Testimony of some, who maybe supposed to have had no Prejudices either for, or against the Resurrection, I mean the *Roman* Soldiers, who reported that his Sepulchre was miraculously opened by an Angel, or a Divinity (for so they must have stiled that Celestial Apparition): And besides the Testimony of others, who were apparently prepossessed with Notions contrary to the Belief of *Christ's* being risen from the Dead, and yet affirmed that they were not only told by Angels that he was risen, but that they themselves had seen him, talked with him, and handled him: Besides this human Testimony, I say, which, considering all the Circumstances attending it, must be allowed to have been sufficient to prove any Event, that was not either impossible or improbable in the highest Degree, there were (as

it was reasonable to expect there should be) other Evidences as extraordinary and miraculous as the Resurrection itself. Of this Kind are the Predictions contained in the Writings of *Moses*, the *Prophets*, and the *Psalmist*, setting forth the Design and Purpose of God to redeem Mankind by the Righteousness, Sufferings, Death, and Resurrection of the *Seed of the Woman*. Without the Resurrection, this great Scheme of Divine Mercy had been uncomplete; by That it was perfected, and the Triumph over Death added to That over Sin; the Messiah thereby accomplishing all that the Scriptures foretold of his Glory and Power. When therefore one Part of the Promises relating to *Jesus* had been so exactly made good in his Life and Death, it is reasonable to conclude, that God did not fail to fulfil the others in his Resurrection.

In the same Class of Evidence may also be ranked the Prophecies of *Jesus* himself, relating to his rising from the Dead, which coming from one, whose other Predictions (of which there had been many) had been always accomplished, deserved to be credited no less than the others, and were not only verified by the Event itself, but confirmed by other subsequent Events, foretold likewise by him before his Passion, and linked with and depending upon that great

Proof of his Divine Power. Such, for Instance, were his meeting his Disciples in *Galilee*, his being with them a little while before he went to his Father, his Ascension into Heaven, and his sending unto them the promised Comforter, with all the glorious Faculties and Powers they received upon his Coming. With so various, so astonishing, so well-connected and irrefragable a Chain of Evidence, is this important Article of the Resurrection bound up and fortified.

But all these Proofs were not exhibited to all the *Jews*, for not to all the People was Jesus shewn alive after his Passion, but to Witnesses chosen before of God; to Us (saith St. Peter) who did eat and drink with him after that he arose from the Dead\*. That, Christ made Choice of a select Number of Disciples, and particularly of Twelve, (who were called Apostles) to be Witnesses of the great Actions of his Life, and especially of his Resurrection, and Preachers of his Gospel to all the World, is a Thing too well known to need Proof. To qualify them for this double Office, he not only, upon many Occasions, both before and after his Crucifixion, discoursed to them in particular of the Things pertaining to the Kingdom of God, and poured upon them all the various Gifts of the Holy Spirit, but gave them every kind of Evidence of

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\* Acts x. 41.

his being risen from the Dead, which the most Scrupulous and Sceptical could imagine or require; *shewing himself alive* to them *by many infallible Proofs*, such as eating and drinking with them, &c. *for forty Days after his Passion*. And indeed, it is highly expedient that Those, upon whose Testimony and Credit the Truth of any Fact is to be established, should have the fullest and most unexceptionable Evidence of it, that can be had; because their having had all possible Means of Information, must needs add great Weight and Authority to their Depositions. Hence then we may learn the Reason of our Saviour's appearing so often to his Disciples after his Resurrection, of his requiring them to handle him, and see that it was he himself, of his eating and drinking with them, of his referring them to the Scriptures, to his own Predictions, and to the Testimony of those to whom he had appeared, before he came to them; and lastly, of his satisfying the unreasonable Scruples of St. *Thomas*; who, being one of the chosen Witnesses (one of the Twelve) it was proper he should have an equal Knowledge of the Fact he was to attest with his other Brethren the Apostles. That this perfect Knowledge of the Things they were to give Testimony to, was necessary for those who were ordained to be Apostles, is farther evident from

the following Words of St. \* *Peter*; who after the Ascension of our Lord, proposing to the rest of the Disciples to fill up the Vacancy made by the Transgression and Death of *Judas*, by electing one to take Part with them in their *Ministry* and *Apostleship*, describes the Qualifications requisite in an Apostle, by limiting their Choice in these Words: *Wherefore of these Men, that have accompanied with us all the Time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the Baptism of John, unto that same Day that he was taken up from us, must one be ordained to be Witness with us of his Resurrection.* Hence also it is plain, that all these infallible Proofs were not vouchsafed by *Christ* to his Disciples, merely out of a particular Favour and Regard to them, that they might believe and be saved; but with a farther View, that others also through their Testimony, founded on the compleatest and exactest Information, might likewise believe and be saved. The Reproof of *Christ* to St. *Thomas*, for not believing without the Attestation of his Senses, implied in the Blessing pronounced by him on Those, *who having not seen had yet believed*, is a clear Argument, that our Saviour thought his Disciples had sufficient Cause to believe he was risen from the Dead, even before he shewed himself to them. And that they had

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\* Acts i. 15-26.



so in fact, I have above endeavoured to prove; and that St. *John* did believe, before he saw his Master, he himself assures us. Had *Christ* therefore intended nothing more, than to bring his Disciples to a Belief of his Resurrection, he might have left them to the Testimony of the *Roman* Soldiers; to that of the Women; to the Writings of *Moses* and the Prophets; to his own Predictions; to the State of the Sepulchre, and that wonderful Circumstance of his Body's being nowhere to be found; to all this Evidence he might, I say, have left them, without appearing to them himself, and left them without Excuse, had they still continued faithless and unbelieving. But though the Apostles had upon this Evidence believed their Master to be risen from the Dead; yet, without those other infallible Proofs mentioned by St. *Luke*, they would certainly have not been so well qualified for Witnesses of the Resurrection to all the World; that is to say, the Reasons upon which they believed, would not have appeared so convincing. The Heathens would not have admitted the Testimony of *Moses* and the *Prophets*; of whose Writings they knew nothing, and of whose Divine Authority they had no Proof. And as to the Depositions of the Women; besides that they were Strangers to their Characters, they might, from *Christ's* appearing to *them*, with some Colour have demanded why

he did not appear likewise to those, whom he commissioned to preach his Gospel, and to be Witnesses of his Resurrection. But when, on the contrary, the Apostles could tell them that they themselves had seen *Christ*, had handled him, eat and drank with him, and conversed with him for forty Days after that he was risen from the Dead, they could not but allow them to have had the fullest Evidence of the Resurrection, supposing what they told them to be true; and of this, the Purity of their Doctrine, the Holiness of their Lives, their Courage and Constancy in defying and undergoing all Kinds of Hardships, Dangers, Pain, and Death, in advancing a Cause, which every worldly Interest obliged them to desert, joined to the Attestation of the Holy Spirit, *working with them, and confirming the Word with Signs following*, were such Assurances as no other Man could give of his Veracity.

From what has been said, it may appear, how little Ground there is for the Cavils that have been raised upon our Lord's forbidding *Mary Magdalene* to *touch him*; and upon his not shewing himself after he was risen to the *Jews*, to the Chief Priests and Elders, to the Scribes and Pharisees: The one of which has been interpreted as a Refusal to *Mary Magdalene*, of the necessary Evidence of his being risen from

the Dead; and the other as a Breach of the Promise, implied in there Words, *\*An evil and adulterous Generation seeketh after a Sign, and there shall be no Sign given to it, but the Sign of the Prophet Jonas; for as Jonas was three Days and three Nights in the Whale's Belly, so shall the Son of Man, &c.* In which (it is said) *Christ* promised to appear, after he was risen, to that *evil and adulterous Generation*, that is, to the *Jews*, &c. as contra-distinguished from his Disciples and Apostles. That *Christ* promised by these Words to give that evil Generation sufficient Proof of his rising from the Grave after having lain in it three Days, I readily allow; but that he promised to appear to them, I absolutely deny, and think it impossible to prove he did, from the above-cited Passage. Of his rising again from the Grave on the third Day, the *Jews* had the Testimony of the Prophets, of the Predictions of *Christ* himself, the Evidence of the *Roman* Soldiers, of his Body's being nowhere to be found, of the Women and Disciples, and Apostles, to whom he had appeared; and who, before the *Sanhedrin*, bore Witness to his Resurrection, and having just before wrought a Miracle upon a lame Man<sup>†</sup>, declared that they had done it in the Name of *Jesus of Nazareth*, whom, say they, *ye crucified, whom God raised*

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\* Matth. xii. 39, 40.

† Acts iv. 10.

*from the Dead.* This surely was Evidence sufficient to convince any reasonable and unprejudiced Person; and consequently, to acquit our Lord of the Promise of giving that *evil Generation* satisfactory Proofs of his being risen from the Dead. To the Evidence vouchsafed by *Christ*, either out of Favour to those, *who had forsaken all and followed him*; or to those, whom he had chosen to be *Witnesses of him to all the World*, they certainly could have no just Pretensions; who, instead of being his Disciples, had rejected his Doctrine, and put him to Death as an Impostor and Blasphemer; and instead of shewing any Disposition to embrace or propagate his Gospel, opposed it with all their Power; and by Threats and Punishments, forbade his Apostles to preach any more in his Name. That *Mary Magdalene* was convinced that it was *Jesus* who appeared to her, I have already shewn very fully; and that was all that was necessary for her single self; supposing therefore that she never had afterwards the Permission of touching or embracing her Master (which by the way cannot be proved) neither had she, nor any one else Reason to complain or cavil, since neither her own Faith, nor that of any other Person, depended upon her having that Proof of the Resurrection of *Christ*; for she was not an *Apostle*, not one of the *chosen Witnesses*. And it is very remarkable, that none

of the Apostles, either in preaching to the unconverted *Jews* or *Gentiles*, or in their Epistles to the Church, ever make any Mention of the Appearances of *Christ* to the Women: And the Evangelists seem to have related them only upon account of their being connected with other more important Parts of the History of the Resurrection. The Truth is, the Testimony of the Women, though of great Weight with the Apostles, and with those who received it from their own Mouths, was but second-hand Hearsay Evidence to those, who had it only from the Apostles Report; who, for that Reason, insisted always upon their having themselves seen their Master, *after that he was risen from the Dead*; a Circumstance, as far as I can recollect, not omitted by any of them, in their Arguments upon the Resurrection of *Jesus*; as may be seen in the Passages of Scripture that give any particular Account of those Discourses. And thus St. *Paul* in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*\*, after enumerating many Appearances of *Christ* to the Twelve Apostles, and others, closes all with saying, *And last of all he was seen of me also*. So much Care did they take to give reasonable Evidence for the reasonable Faith they required.

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\* I Cor. xv. 8.

§ 22. All that has hitherto been said relates chiefly to the Proofs of the Resurrection of *Jesus Christ*, as they were laid before the Apostles, those *chosen Witnesses* of that great and astonishing Event. And I hope, upon a serious and attentive View of the fair and unimposing Manner in which those Proofs were offered to their Consideration, and of the Number and Certainty of the Facts upon which they were grounded, every judicious and candid Inquirer after Truth will allow, that, to the Apostles at least, the Resurrection of *Jesus* was most fully and most unexceptionably proved. I shall now proceed to lay before the Reader some Arguments (for I cannot enter into all) that may induce us, who live at so remote a Distance of Time from that Age of Evidence and Miracles, to believe that *Christ* rose from the Dead.

The first and principal Argument, is the Testimony of those chosen Witnesses, transmitted down in Writings, either penned by themselves, or authorised by their Inspection and Approbation.

The second, is the Existence of the Christian Religion.

Before we admit the Testimony of these *chosen Wtnesses* contained in the *Gospels*, the

*Acts*, the *Epistles*, and the *Revelations*, it may be proper to consider, in the first Place, what Reasons there are for our believing this Testimony to be genuine; or in other Words, believing *them* to be the Authors of those Books, which are now received under their Names: And in the next Place, what Arguments can be offered to induce us to give Credit to this Testimony, supposing it genuine.

To prove the Apostles and Evangelists\* to be the Authors of those Scriptures, which are now received under their Names, we have the concurrent Attestation of all the earliest Writers of the Church, deduced by an uninterrupted and uncontrolled Tradition, from the very Times of the Apostles. Which is such an Authentication of these sacred Records, as is not to be overturned by bare Presumptions, and a surmised and unproved Charge of Forgery. But for the Proofs of this Proposition, I shall refer the Reader to the † Discourses of

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\* I use these two Words *Apostles* and *Evangelists* in this Place, to denote and distinguish the Authors of the four Gospels, the *Acts*, and the *Epistles*, &c. though they might all have been comprehended under the general Term *Apostles*, by which Title not only the Twelve, so called by *Christ* himself, but *Matthias* afterwards and *Paul*, and all the seventy or seventy-two Disciples, are mentioned by some of the Fathers. Of this last Number were the Evangelists *Mark* and *Luke* (as Dr. *Whitby* has shewn from *Origen* and *Epiphanius*) and as such were qualified by their own personal Knowledge of most of the Facts, and by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, to write their Gospels, without the Inspection of the two great Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, which yet (as we are told by some of the fathers) was a farther Authority given to them, and such as would have sufficed though they had not been themselves particularly inspired.

† See Dr. *Whitby*'s Prefatory Discourses to his Annotations upon the Gospels, *Acts*, &c. See also *L'Abadit de la Religion Chretienne*, Tom. II.

those learned Men, who have treated more particularly upon this Subject, and shall content myself with offering in Support of those Proofs the following Considerations; in which I than endeavour to shew, 1st, The Probability of the Apostles having left in Writing the Evidences and Doctrines of the Religion they preached, and of their Disciples having preserved and transmitted those Writings to Posterity: 2dly, The Improbability of any Books forged in the Names of the Apostles escaping Detection.

*First*, If the Precepts and Examples of *Jesus Christ* and his Apostles were to be the Rules, by which all those, who in succeeding Ages should believe in him, were required to govern themselves, it seems most consonant to the Wisdom of God, because agreeable to what he himself practised when he gave the *Law* to the *Israelites*, to commit those *Rules of Salvation* to Writing, rather than to the unsure and treacherous Conveyance of *oral Tradition*; which cannot with any Safety be depended upon for scarce so much as one or two Generations. It is therefore highly reasonable to suppose that the same Spirit, which incited and enabled the Apostles to preach the Gospel, and bear Witness to the Resurrection of *Jesus Christ* in every Nation of the known World, should likewise incite and enable them to deliver down to



Posterity, in a Method the least liable to Uncertainty and Error, that Testimony, and those Precepts, upon which the Faith and Practice of After-Times were to be established, especially when it is (in the second Place) considered, that all Revelation (Revelation I mean of the Doctrines and System of the Gospel) was confined to the Apostles, and consequently ended with them. The Power of working Miracles, speaking with other Tongues, casting out unclean Spirits, &c. was frequently, if not universally given to the first Converts to Christianity; and some of those Gifts were continued for many Generations in the Church. But to the Apostles only was our Saviour pleased to reveal his Will. Accordingly, in the Epistles of \* *St. Paul* we see that those Christians, who were endowed with many and various Gifts of the Holy Spirit, stood however in need of the Instructions and Directions of that Apostle, in many Points both of Faith and Practice; and the earliest Writers after the Apostles, though possessed themselves of many of those miraculous Powers, instead of pretending to immediate Revelation, have upon all Occasions Recourse to the Holy Scriptures, which they acknowledge to have been written by the Assistance of the Divine Spirit, as to that Fountain, from whence alone they could derive

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\* See particularly the Epistles to the *Corinthians*.

the Waters of Life: Both which Appeals, as well that made to the Apostles by their Cotemporaries, as those made by succeeding Christians to the Scriptures, would have been unnecessary, had they, like the Apostles, been taught all Things by Revelation, and been guided into all Truth by the Holy Spirit.

This being the Case with those Christians who were converted to the Faith by the Preaching of the Apostles themselves; and who were to transmit to succeeding Ages that Gospel, upon which, according to their Belief, the Salvation of Mankind depended; is it not natural to imagine they would take the most effectual Means to supply those Defects, which they were sensible of in themselves, and to guard against those Errors, which through the Imbecillity of the human Mind they had fallen into, even while the Voices of the Apostles still sounded in their Ears, and to which their Posterity must of necessity be still more liable? And what more effectual Means could they pursue, than either to obtain in Writing from the Apostles themselves, the Evidence and Doctrines of the Christian Faith; or, which amounted to much the same Thing, to write them down from their Mouths, or under their Inspection and Approbation; or lastly, to transcribe from their own Memories, what they

could recollect of the Doctrines and Instructions of the Apostles? Of these three Methods, the two first were unquestionably the best; the last was subject to many Imperfections and Mistakes: For though our Saviour promised to enable his Apostles by the Holy Spirt, *to call to Mind whatever he had said unto them*, I do not find, that the Memories of those who heard the Apostles, were ever assisted in the like miraculous Manner. If the Apostles therefore had not, either from their Care for the *Houshold of Faith*, or from the Suggestions of the Holy Spirit, transmitted the Proofs and Doctrines of the Gospel to Posterity in one of the two first-mentioned Ways, it is to be presumed they would have been called upon to do it by those, who looked upon *them* as Teachers commissioned and inspired by the Spirit of Truth, and *who alone had the Words of eternal Life*. And if neither of those two desirable Things could have been obtained, Recourse would undoubtedly have been had to the last. And indeed it is evident, from St. *Luke's* Preface to his Gospel, that many Writings of this Kind were current among the Christians of those Times: None of which, that I know of, having come down to us, it is to be presumed, they were superseded by Writings of greater Authority; that is to say, Writings either penned by the Apostles themselves, or authorised by

their Inspection and Approbation; because this seems to be the best Account that can be given for the different Fate that hath attended these several Writings; the former having disappeared and died soon after their Birth; and the latter having survived now almost seventeen Centuries, in the same Degree of Esteem and Veneration, with which they were at first received by the Converts of the Apostolick Age: For that the Difference between their Writings was made in that Age is very probable; 1st, Because those very Cotemporaries of the Apostles stood themselves in need of their Instructions, Admonitions, and Exhortations for their own Direction and Encouragement: And 2dly, for the Conviction of the next Age, who were to receive the Gospel from their Hands, they wanted the Testimony and Authority of those Persons, to whom the Facts upon which their Faith depended, were the most completely proved; and who alone, in Matters of Doctrine, were *guided into all Truth* by the infallible *Spirit of God*. For by their own Evidence they could prove no more than what fell within the Compass of their own Knowledge, which could extend no farther than to what they had themselves seen of the Apostles, or heard from their Mouths: And this Evidence of theirs could acquire no farther Authority by having been committed to Writing. The *Apostles alone* could

prove, what *they only* knew, and were the only authentick Preachers of those Doctrines, which they alone received from *Christ*, or after his Ascension from the Holy Spirit. Their Successors, besides bearing Testimony to their Characters, and giving Evidence perhaps of some collateral Facts which had fallen under their own Observations, could do no more than *witness their Depositions*; that is, that these and these were the *Facts*, and these and these were the *Doctrines* delivered by the Apostles. If the Apostles therefore, either from the secret Instigation of the *Holy Ghost*, or from their paternal Care and Affection for *the Houshold of Faith*, or at the Request of their *Children in Christ Jesus*, did commit to Writing the Proofs and Doctrines of the Christian Religion (as it is reasonable to suppose they did) it is as reasonable to conclude, that, what they either writ or approved, must necessarily have been preferred to all other Writings whatever.

And as the Writings of the Apostles must, for the Reasons above-mentioned, have been of great Weight and Importance to the Christians of their Times; and of still greater to those of the succeeding Ages, who could not, like their Predecessors, upon any Occasion, have Recourse to the living and infallible Oracles of God; it is natural to imagine that the Persons, in

whose Hands those sacred and invaluable Treasures were deposited, would preserve and guard them with the utmost Fidelity and Care; would impart Copies of them to such of their Brethren, who could not have access to the Originals; and would, from the same Principle of Christian Benevolence and Fidelity, see that those Copies were transcribed with all that Exactness, which human Nature, ever liable to Slips and Errors, was capable of. The same Care under the same Allowances, it is to be supposed would be also taken by those who should translate them into the several Languages spoken by Christians of different Nations, who did not understand *that* in which the Apostles wrote.

These several Steps appear to me so natural and obvious, that I cannot but think any Set of reasonable and honest Men could not fail of making them, under the same Circumstances, as attended the first Preachers and Converts of Christianity. And from hence arises a strong Presumption in favour of those Accounts which inform us,—That the Apostles and Evangelists were the genuine Authors of those Writings, which are now received under their Names.—That although *many*, even in the Apostles Times, *had taken in hand*, as St. Luke expresses it, *to set forth in order a Declaration of those*

*things which were most surely believed amongst Christians, even as they delivered them, who were Eye-witnesses and Ministers of the Word; and although some Years after the Death of the Apostles, many Gospels, Epistles, &c. appeared, which were ascribed to Them, to the Virgin Mary, and even to Jesus Christ himself; yet those only, which we now account canonical, were admitted as such, from the very earliest Ages of Christianity.—That these Canonical Books were preserved and kept, with the most scrupulous and religious Care, by the several Churches or Societies of Christians; who did not, and indeed upon their Principles could not, presume to add to them, or to take from them the least Tittle.—That Copies of them were immediately dispersed throughout the whole Christian World; the Apostles (saith Irenaeus, Lib. 3. 1. I.) first preaching the Gospel, and afterwards, by the Will of God, delivering it to us in the Scriptures, to be thence-forward the Pillar and Foundation of our Faith. And the first Successors of the Apostles, (as Eusebius informs us, Hist. Eccles. Lib. Iii. C. 37.) leaving their Countries, preached to them who had not heard of the Christian Faith, and then delivered to them, as the Foundation of their Faith, the Writings of the Holy Evangelists.—That the Originals of the Epistles were still preserved in the respective Churches to which they were*

directed in the Time of *Tertullian*, who writing to the Hereticks of his Age, *viz.* of the third Century, bids them *go to the Apostolical Churches, where the authentick Epistles of the Apostles* (saith he) *are still recited.*—That lastly, Translations of these Scriptures were made so early as to precede the general Admission or some Parts of them, which were afterwards received as genuine; the *Syriac* Version, for Instance, being so ancient, that it leaves out the second Epistle of *Peter*, the second and third Epistles of *John*, and the *Revelations*, as being for a Time controverted in some of the Eastern Churches; which by the way shews how scrupulous the first Christians were about admitting into the Canon of Scripture, Writings which, though bearing the Names of the Apostles, and received by some Churches as genuine, were yet questioned and suspected by others. To all which we may add still farther, that these several Accounts relating merely to Facts, tend only to establish another Fact, *viz.* That the Apostles and Evangelists did compose the Gospels, Epistles, &c. ascribed to them; which Fact is capable of being proved by the same kind of Evidence as any other Fact of the same Nature.—That the Evidences of this Fact cannot be overturned, but upon such Principles as will equally subvert the Proofs of all Facts that existed at any great Distance of Time from



the present.—That we ought therefore either to admit this Fact, or reject all those without Distinction, which stand only upon the Credit of Histories and Records; of the Truth of any of which, we can have no stronger Assurances than we have of the Authenticity of these Holy Writings.\*

§ 23. The next Point to be considered is, the Improbability of any Books forged in the Names of the Apostles escaping Detection.

The Reasons given under the foregoing Article, to shew the Probability of the Apostles having left in Writing the Evidences and Doctrines of Christianity, and of their Disciples having preserved and transmitted those Writings to their Successors; will lead us to discover the Improbability of any Books forged in the Names of the Apostles escaping Detection. For if it was necessary for the Christians, even of the Apostolick Age, to have in Writing the Directions and Instructions of the Apostles in many Points, both of Faith and Practice, as is evident it was from almost all the Epistles, it was as necessary for them to be assured, that what was delivered to them in the Name of an Apostle, was certainly of his

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\* The Reader who is inclined to see the Authorities, upon which these several Articles were founded, may consult *Whitby's* Preface to the Gospels, &c.

inditing. And this was to be known many Ways; for surely We may have undoubted Proofs of such a one's being the Author of such a Book or Letter, without having seen him write it with his own Hand, or having heard from his own Mouth that he wrote it. *The Apostles* (saith *Irenaeus*) *having first preached the Gospel, delivered it afterwards to us in the Scriptures*. Now, as we have no Reason to believe, from any Accounts that can be depended upon, that any of those stiled Apostles, besides the \* six whose Works we now have, left any thing in Writing, if these Words of *Irenaeus* be taken to relate to the whole Number of the Apostles, it will follow from them, that even those Apostles, who wrote nothing themselves, did yet deliver to their *Children in Christ* such Parts of the Scriptures, as had come to their Hands. In which Case those Scriptures, thus delivered and recommended by an Apostle, must have been allowed to have the same Authority as if they had been written by that Apostle himself; since He, as well as his Brethren who wrote them, was under the Inspiration and Guidance of that Holy Spirit, who, according to the Promise of *Christ*, was to *lead them into all Truth*; and therefore could not be ignorant whether the Matters contained in those Scriptures were true

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\* These six are *Matthew, John, Peter, Paul, James, and Jude*. *Mark* and *Luke*, though supposed with good Reason to be of the Number of the seventy-two Disciples, were not Apostles, in the strict and limited Sense of that Word.

or false. But if the general Term *Apostles* be limited to such of them only, as composed the Writings called by *Irenaeus the Scriptures*; the Meaning of his Words will be, that the Apostles, when they had preached the Gospel, (*i.e.* the whole System of Facts and Doctrines, which it was necessary for Christians to know and believe) committed it to Writing for the Use of the Churches, to serve thenceforward, as he expresses it, for the *Pillar and Foundation* of their Faith in *Christ Jesus*. Those Churches therefore were the proper Evidences to prove the Apostles to be the Authors of those Writings, which they received from them. And the Testimony they gave to that Matter of Fact, as, on the one Hand, it does not appear to have been liable to any Suspicion of Fraud; so, on the other, it seems equally free from any Probability of Error, or Misinformation. For they must have had certain Knowledge of the Character and Credit of the Persons who delivered those Writings to them in the Name of any of the Apostles\*, and many other indubitable Proofs, both *external* and *internal*, to convince them of their being genuine, or to discover the Falshood, if they were not. Allowing, for Instance, the

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\* Thus *Tychicus*, mentioned by St. *Paul* in his Epistle to the *Ephesians*, as sent by him, and most probably the Bearer of that Epistle, and of that to the *Colossians*, where he is also mentioned as sent to them by that Apostle, together with *Onesimus*; *Tychieus*, I say, and *Onesimus*, were doubtless able to give such Proofs of St. *Paul's* being the Author of those two Epistles, as the Christians of those Nations must have been satisfied with, could it be supposed that they wanted other Reasons to convince them of it; but this Supposition, I believe, no one will think it reasonable to make.

Epistles which now pass under the Name of St. *Paul*, to have been received during his Life by the Churches to which they were directed; there are in all of them many Circumstances, by which they might certainly have known him to be the Author. These Circumstances the Reader, if he has either received or wrote any Letters of Business to or from his Acquaintance and Friends, may easily suggest to himself, and may as easily discover them upon perusing those Epistles. But it will, nay it must be said by those, who deny these Scriptures to have been written by the Apostles, whose Names they bear, that they were forged after their Deaths, and consequently could not have been received by the Churches during their Lives. This, doubtless, Infidels will say, (for what else can they pretend?) But I am at a Loss to think how they can support their Assertion, since not only the Testimony of all the earliest Writers of the Church, but common Sense itself is against them. For can it be imagined that the *Corinthians*, for Example, would have received, as genuine, an Epistle, not delivered to them till after the Death of the Apostle whose Name it bore; and yet appearing from many Circumstances therein mentioned, to have been written several years before; unless such an extraordinary Delay was very satisfactorily accounted for? Is it not to be presumed, that in a Matter of

such Importance; not only to themselves, but to all Christians, they would have demanded of the Person, who first produced it, How he came by it? How he knew it was written by St. *Paul*, and addressed to Them? Why it was not sent at the Time it was written, especially as it was evident, upon the Face of the Epistle itself, that it was written upon Occasion of some Disturbances and Irregularities crept into that Church, and in answer to some Questions proposed to that Apostle, which required a speedy Reformation and Reply? These Questions and many more, which the Particulars referred to in the Epistle must have suggested, the *Corinthians* would in common Prudence have asked; and if the Impostor could not (as it is most reasonable to conclude he could not) return a satisfactory Answer to those Questions; can we believe the *Corinthians* would have admitted, upon his bare Word, or even upon probable Presumptions, an Epistle, which, if they acknowledged it to have been written by St. *Paul*, they must thenceforward have regarded as the infallible Rule of their Faith and Practice? This is supposing that the first Christians (as their candid Adversaries are indeed apt to suppose) acted with much less Wisdom and Circumspection, than any Men would now act upon any momentous Affair in ordinary Life. And let it not be forgotten that Christianity, at its first Appearance in the

World, very deeply affected the Temporal Concerns of its Professors. The Profession of Christianity did not then, as it does now in some Parts of the World, entitle Men to, and *qualify* them for Honour and Preferments. Christians, upon barely confessing themselves such, were many times, without any Crime alledged, put immediately to Death; all the Advantages they reapt from a Life of Faith and Virtue, were the Peace of a quiet Conscience here, and the Hopes of a blessed Immortality hereafter. The professing Christianity therefore was a Matter of Temporal Deliberation. And why is it more reasonable to imagine, that the People of those Ages would give up all their worldly Views and Interests, without being convinced that it was worth their while to do it, than it is to imagine that a Man in his Senses, either of this or any past Age, would without a valuable Consideration surrender his Estate to a Stranger, and leave himself a Beggar? I say this to those People, who seem to consider all the Primitive Christians, either as Fools or Knaves, Enthusiasts or Impostors; without being able to assign any Reason for their Opinion, but that there have been Fools and Knaves, Enthusiasts and Impostors, among the Professors of all Religions whatsoever. But in order to prove a Man a Fool, or an Enthusiast, for embracing this or that Religion, it will be

necessary to shew, in the first Place, that he took up his Faith without duly examining the Principles or Facts, upon which it is founded; that his Faith was not properly deducible from those Facts or Principles, or that those Principles and Facts were in themselves absurd and false. These Points, I say, are not to be *presumed*, but *proved*. And with regard to the Question now under Consideration, unless it is proved by positive and undeniable Evidence, that the Scriptures upon which the Christians, who lived immediately after the Times of the Apostles, built their Faith, were either forged or falsified (that is, forged in Part) it cannot, I apprehend, be fairly concluded, that they acted like Fools or Madmen, in *forsaking all*, and *taking up the Cross of Christ*. Let this Point be once *proved*, and it will readily be allowed that they took up their Faith without due Examination; since it must be owned that if we, at this Distance, are able to discover the Forgery, they, who lived at the very Time when those Writings first appeared, could not have wanted the Means of detecting it, had they thought proper to make use of them. For as it is evident from the Testimonies of the oldest Christian Writers, some of whom lived very near the Times of the Apostles themselves, that these Scriptures were cited, read, and generally received as genuine by the Christians of their

Age, and even before, they must have been forged, either in the Lifetime of the Apostles, or very soon after their Deaths. That they were forged and generally received as authentick, while the Apostles were yet living; Nobody, I imagine, will venture to assert, who considers the many Circumstances and Facts therein related, concerning the Apostles themselves, and numberless other People then living; any one of which being falsified, must have utterly destroyed the Pretence of their having been composed by an Apostle, whom some of those Scriptures affirmed to have been under the Guidance and Inspiration of the Spirit of Truth. If they were forged and published soon after the Deaths of the Apostles, there was still great Danger of the Fraud's being deteded, if not by many living Witnesses, yet by such a Tradition of Facts and Doctrines, whether oral or written, as, if it had been found to clash with that supposed Gospel or Epistle, must have rendered its Authenticity suspected, unless supported by better Evidence than the bare Name of an Apostle prefixed to it. And if it could be supposed that the bare Name of an Apostle was, in those Times, of Weight sufficicnt to establish the Authority of any Writing, though otherwise liable to Suspicion; how came it to pass that those cunning Impostors, who wrote the Gospels of *Mark* and *Luke*, did not publish them



under the venerable and all-sanctifying Names of the Apostles? If these Scriptures therefore were forged and published in either of the above-mentioned Periods (and for the Reasons before given, the Forgery could not have been of a later Date) it is highly improbable that the Imposture should have escaped Detection; and had it been detected, it is equally improbable, that Christians, who staked their All upon the Truth of the Gospel, should receive as genuine, and acknowledge as divinely inspired, Writings which were known or even suspected to be forged. But it will perhaps be urged, that the Cheat was discovered and known only by a few of the wiser Sort; who for the Advancement of a good Cause, thinking it at least a venial Sin, a Fraud, which might even be stiled *pious*, to impose upon their weaker Brethren, recommended to them, under the Name of an Apostle, a religious Treatise, which tended only to improve their Piety, and strengthen their Faith. But this Suspicion will appear as groundless and improbable as any of the former, if it be considered, that the Abettors, as well as the Authors of the Forgery, must have been Christians (Christians, I mean, as contradistinguished from *Jews*, Heathens, and Hereticks) and Men of Capacities and Knowledge superior to the Vulgar. As Christians they could not, in those Ages of

Persecution, have any worldly Interest in promoting the Cause of Christianity, and therefore could have no Motive to induce them to impose upon their Brethren, but a Persuasion that it was lawful at least to *do Evil, that Good might come on it*; A Principle which, as Men of Parts and Knowledge, they could not but be sensible was unworthy of a Disciple of the Lord of Truth and Righteousness; and which is expressly condemned in the Epistle to the *Romans*\*; which Epistle therefore cannot be supposed to have been forged by Men who acknowledged that Principle, and proceeded upon it. Besides, as far the greater Number of the Books of Scripture contain Facts, as well as Precepts and Doctrines, these Impostors, however well-intentioned, could not be assured that their Imposture would not turn more to the Prejudice, than Advantage of Christianity; since, though they might think themselves secure in the Acquiescence of their weaker Brethren, and the Fidelity of their Partners in the Fraud, they had Reason to apprehend the Zeal and Abilities of their open and avowed Enemies, Heathens, *Jews*, and Hereticks; who, wanting neither the Means nor Inclination to examine the Principles of a Religion which with their utmost Power they endeavoured to subvert, might very probably discover their Imposture; and would certainly

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\* *Rom. iii. 8.*

take every Advantage which such a Discovery could furnish them with, of decrying a Religion which they might then, with force Colour, have suggested, could not be maintained without Fraud. This Danger, which, with the same Penetration that enabled them to discover a Cheat that had passed upon the Vulgar, they must undoubtedly have foreseen, would, it may be supposed, have checked their Zeal, and rendered them cautious how they ventured upon an Imposture, the Success of which was so very precarious.

Since therefore no Motive can be assigned of Force sufficient to induce any Christians of those Times, either to contrive or support a Forgery of this Kind; since, had any of those Scriptures attributed to the Apostles, and especially the Epistles of St. *Paul*, been forged and published so early, as the Writings of the most ancient Fathers shew them to have been known and received, it is next to impossible that the Fraud should have escaped Detection; and since the Christians of those Ages must, in Consequence of such a Detection, have necessarily disowned and rejected those Scriptures as spurious, may we not, from their having acknowledged them as authentick, conclude, for the several Reasons above given, that the Apostles and Evangelists were the undoubted Authors of the Writings now

received under their Names?

But allowing the Christians of those early Ages to have been able to discover the genuine Works of the Apostles, from any spurious Writings forged in their Names; and allowing those Books, now received into the Canon of the Holy Scriptures, to have been written by those Authors, whose Names they bear; it may be demanded, how we at this Time can be assured, that, among the great Number which have since been ascribed to them, they wrote only these? or that, in such a Succession of Ages, these are come down to us pure and uncorrupted? To the First of these Questions I answer, that, as the Christians of those early Ages must be acknowledged for competent Judges of the Authority of any Books or Writings ascribed to the Apostles, such Book or Writing as they allowed to be genuine, hath an indisputable Title to that Character. But to this Title no other Writings ascribed to the Apostles, besides those now received into the Canon of Scripture, can pretend; since of most of them, especially the false Gospels, we find no mention till the Fourth Century.

For an Answer to the Second Question, I shall refer the learned Reader to Dr. *Whitby's*

*Examen Variantium Lectionum D. Millii\**, published at the End of his second Volume of Annotations on the New Testament, where he will find that the various Readings, upon which the Adversaries of Christianity (among whom I reckon the Clergy of the Church of *Rome*) have laid so great a Stress, will be of little Service to their Cause; the greatest Part of them being absolutely insignificant, and none of them, saith that learned Writer, *either changing or corrupting any Article of Faith, or Rule of Life*.

And although, considering the great Length of Time that is past since these Scriptures were written, and the Number of Copies and Translations that have been made of them, it is no wonder that many Errors should have crept into them, either from the Ignorance or Inadvertency of Transcribers and Translators, all of which have helped to swell the Sum of various Readings; yet, considering on the other Hand the Number of Heresies that have sprung up in every Age of Christianity, all of which pretended to derive their Opinions from the Scriptures; considering also the Watchfulness of the *Jews* and *Heathens*, those avowed Enemies of the Gospel, who as appears from their Writings, were no Strangers to the Scriptures, it would still be a greater Wonder that any material Alteration

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\* See *Whitby's* Prefatory Discourse to the Four Gospels.

should have been made in them; since, whoever had attempted any such Alteration, whether Christian, Heretick, *Jew*, or *Heathen*, could not but know it was impossible it should escape the Observation of so many Eyes as were continually prying, though with different Views, into these important Writings. And this seems to me the only Reason for their having passed uncorrupted through the treacherous Hands of the Church of *Rome*, who had them so long in her keeping. She was restrained from altering the Scriptures, by the Fear of being detected by the Eastern Churches, who disowned her Authority; and yet there is little Question to be made that she would have done it, had she not fallen upon that less dangerous, though more absurd Expedient, of locking them up from the Laity, and assuming to herself the sole Right of expounding them: A Right which she hath asserted and maintained with all the Artifices and Cruelty that Fraud and Tyranny could invent. This Expedient, however, though it hath hitherto preserved Popery, hath saved the Scriptures, and with them Christianity. For considering the Duration, Extent, and Absoluteness of her Power in the West, had she altered the Text of Scripture according to the Comments she had made upon it Christians (could there have been any really such at this Time, and in these Parts of the World) must have been reduced to contend with

the Church of *Rome*; not *from* the Scriptures, but *for* the Scriptures themselves. And what Advantages Infidelity and Scepticism would have had in the mean time, is easy to imagine; since they are bold enough to dispute even now the Genuineness of those Scriptures, which the very Persons, whose Doctrines are the most opposite to them, have been necessitated to acknowledge and maintain.

§ 24. I am now to consider what Arguments can be offered to induce us to give Credit to the Testimony of the Apostles and Evangelists.

Two Qualities are requisite to establish the Credit of a Witness, *viz.* a perfect Knowledge of the Fact he gives Testimony to; and a fair and unblemished Character.

After what has been said in the preceding Parts of this Discourse, concerning the Evidences of the Resurrection of *Jesus Christ*, it will, I hope, be granted that the Apostles were duly qualified to be Witnesses, in point of Knowledge of the Fact, which they are brought to give Testimony to. It remains then that we enquire into their Characters, which may very clearly be collected from the Tenor of their Lives and Conduct, as Preachers of the Gospel, and the Purity of the Doctrines they taught; not to

insist in Favour of them upon the Conclusion, which may be drawn from their very Enemies not having been able to fix upon them any Stain or Blemish, which they themselves have not acknowledged and lamented.

Their Lives then, after they had embraced Christianity, were not only irreproachable, but holy; and their Conduct, as Preachers of the Gospel, disinterested, noble, and generous, in the most exalted Degree. For they not only quitted their Houses, their Lands, their Occupations, their Friends, Kindred, Parents, Wives and Children, but their Countries also, every Pursuit, and every Endearment of Life, in order to propagate, with infinite Labour, through innumerable Difficulties, and with the utmost Danger, in every Corner of the known World, the Salvation of Mankind certain of meeting, in every new Region, with new Enemies and Opposers; and yet requiring of those, who through their Preaching were become their Friends and Brethren, nothing but a bare Subsistence; and sometimes labouring with their own Hands, to save them even from that light and reasonable Burden; disclaiming for themselves all Authority, Pre-eminence and Power; and teaching those ignorant and superstitious People, who, taking them for Gods, would have worshipped them, and sacrificed to them, that they were Men like



themselves, and Servants of that One God, to whom alone Worship was due. Would Impostors, who are most commonly interested, vain-glorious and ambitious, have acted in this Manner? No certainly; but it may be said, Enthusiasts would. Be it so. But how can it be made appear that the Apostles were Enthusiasts? If *Christ* did not rise from the Dead, most assuredly he did not preach to them after his Crucifixion: Upon which Supposition, I apprehend it will be very difficult to account for their returning to their Faith in that Master, whom in his Distress they had abandoned and disowned. But if *Christ* did rise from the Dead, and did, after his Resurrection, converse with his Apostles, I suppose it will be easily granted, that they had sufficient Reason for believing in him, and for acting in Obedience to the Command given them by him, to preach the Gospel throughout the World, especially when they found themselves so well qualified for that important Commission, by the miraculous Powers conferred upon them by the Holy Ghost, and particularly the Gift of Tongues, so apparently and so wisely calculated to carry on that great, that universal Service. If this, I say, was the Case, then surely the Apostles were no Enthusiasts, since they neither believed themselves without reasonable Proof, nor pretended to Inspiration and a divine Com-

mission, without being able to give to others sufficient Evidences of both.\*

Of all the admirably pure and truly divine Doctrines taught by the Apostles, I shall consider only two, as more peculiarly relative to the present Argument; and they are, the Belief of a Judgment to come, and the Obligation of speaking Truth. That God will judge the World by *Jesus Christ*, is a necessary Article of the Christian Faith ; and as such, is strongly and frequently inculcated in the Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists, of which it is needless to produce Instances. And that Christians were required by these Preachers of Holiness to speak Truth upon all Occasions, the following Texts will clearly evince. In *Ephes. iv. 25.* the Apostle commands that, *putting away Lying, they speak every Man Truth with his Neighbour.* And again, *Coloss. iii. 9. Lye not one to another.* Nay, that even the Man who lyes through Zeal for the Glory of God, is, according to their Estimation, to be accounted a Sinner, may be inferred from there Words in *Rom. iii. 7, 8.*---*If the Truth of God hath more abounded through my Lye unto his Glory, why yet am I also judged as a Sinner? And not rather as we be slanderously reported, and as some affirm that we say, Let us do Evil that Good may come? Whose Damnation is just.*

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\* See Mr. *Locke's* Chap. on Enthusiasm.

That the Apostles themselves were fully persuaded of the Truth of those two Propositions, Nobody can deny, who will call to mind that they chose to suffer Persecution and Death itself, rather than not *speak the Things which they had seen and heard*; and that, *if in this Life only they had Hope, they were of all Men the most miserable*. Now, that any Men, who firmly believed that God would punish them for speaking an Untruth, though for the Advancement of a good Cause, should, at the Hazard of their Lives, and without any Prospect of Gain or Advantage, assert Facts, which at the same Time they knew to be false; should, for Instance, affirm, that they saw and conversed with *Jesus Christ* after his Resurrection, knowing or believing that he was not risen from the Dead, and yet expect to be judged hereafter by that very same *Jesus*, is too improbable to gain Credit with any, but those great Believers of Absurdities, the Infidels and Scepticks.

§ 25. But besides the many infallible Tokens and Evidences of the Integrity of the Apostles and Evangelists, that may be collected from their Lives and Doctrines; there are also in their Writings several internal Marks of their Veracity: Some of which I shall now endeavour to point out; confining myself to such Parts of their Writings as belong to the present Subject.

The Contradictions and Inconsistencies which some imagine they have discovered in the Evangelical Accounts of the Resurrection, have been urged as Arguments for setting aside the Authority, and rejecting the Evidence of the Gospels. But these supposed Contradictions having been considered in the foregoing Parts of this Discourse; and having, upon a close Inspection, and comparing the several Narratives with each other, been shewn to be shadowy and imaginary, and to lie no deeper than the Superficies and Surface of the Words; we need not be afraid of admitting these *Appearances of Inconsistency*; since from them it may be inferred, to the Advantage of the Evangelists, *that they did not write in Concert*. For had they agreed together upon giving an Account of the Resurrection of *Chirst*; and each of them taken, by Allotment, his several Portion of that History, it is probable they would somewhere or other have dropt some Intimations, that the Particulars omitted by them were supplied by others; and that such and such Parts of their Narrations were to be connected with such and such Facts, related by their Brethren; or they would have distinguished the several Incidents by such strong and visible Marks, and Circumstances of Time and Place, &c. as might have been sufficient, at first Sight, to discover

their Order, and keep them from being confounded with each other: Some, or all of these Things, I say, they would probably have done, had they written in Concert. And doubtless they would, nay they must have written in Concert, had they endeavoured to impose upon the World a *cunningly-devised Fable*; and had they not trusted to the Truth and Notoriety of the Facts they related. Truth, like Honesty, oftentimes neglects Appearances. Hypocrisy and Imposture are always guarded.

And as from these seeming Discordances in their Accounts, we may conclude they did not write in Concert, so from their agreeing in the principal and most material Facts, we may infer that they wrote after the Truth.\* In *Xiphilin* and *Theodosius*, the two Abbreviators of *Dio Cassius*, may be observed the like Agreement and Disagreement; the one taking Notice of many Particulars, which the other passes over in Silence, and both of them relating the chief and most remarkable Events. And as from their both frequently making use of the very same Words and Expressions, when they speak of the same Thing, it is apparent that they both copied from the same Original; so I believe Nobody was ever absurd enough to imagine that the Particulars mentioned by the one, were not taken out of *Dio*

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\* Vide Dio Caf. Hist. edit, Leunclav. Fol. Hanov.,.1606.

*Cassius*, merely because they are omitted by the other. And still more absurd would it be to say, as some have lately done of the Evangelists, that the Facts related by *Theodosius* are contradicted by *Xiphilin*, because the latter says nothing of them. But against the Evangelists, it seems, all Kinds of Arguments may not only be employed, but applauded. The Case however of the sacred Historians is exactly parallel to that of these two Abbreviators. The latter extracted the Particulars related in their several abridgments from the History of *Dio Cassius*, as the former drew the Materials of their Gospels from the Life of *Jesus Christ*. The two last transcribed their Relations from a certain Collection of Facts contained in one and the same History; the four first from a certain Collection of Facts contained in the Life of one and the same Person, laid before them by that Spirit, which was to lead them into all Truth; and why the Fidelity of the four Transcribers should be called in question for Reasons which hold equally strong against the two who are not suspected, I leave those to determine who lay such a Weight upon this Objection.

Another Mark of the Veracity of the Evangelists appears in their naming the Time, the Scene of Action, the Actors, and the Witnesses, of most of the Facts mentioned by

them; which I shall give a remarkable Instance of, in one relating to the present Subject, the Resurrection; *viz.* the guarding the Sepulchre of *Christ*. The Time was that of the Celebration of the Passover, the most solemn Festival of the *Jews*; the Scene was in *Jerusalem*, the Metropolis of *Judea*; and at that Time crouded with *Jews*, who came thither from all Parts of the Earth to keep the Passover: The Actors and Witnesses were the Chief Priests and Elders, *Pontius Pilate* the *Roman* Governor, and the *Roman* Soldiers who guarded the Sepulchre. Now if the Story of guarding the Sepulchre had been false, it is not to be doubted but the Chief Priests and Elders, who are said to have obtained the Guard and sealed the Door of the Sepulchre, would by some authentick Act have cleared themselves of the Folly and Guilt imputed to them by the Evangelist, who charges the Chief Priests with having bribed the Soldiers to tell not only a Lye, but an absurd Lye, that carried its own Confutation with it; the Soldiers, with confessing a Breach of Discipline, that by the military Law was punishable with Death; and the Governor, with the Suspicion at least of being capable of overlooking so heinous a Crime, at the Instigation of the Chief Priests, &c. All these several Charges upon the whole Government of *Judea*, might have been answered at once by any Attestation from the Chief Priests,

setting forth, that they never demanded a Guard to be set at the Sepulchre, confirmed by the Testimony of all the *Roman* Officers and Soldiers (many of whom were probably at *Jerusalem* when this Gospel was written) denying that they were ever upon that Guard. This not only the Reputation of the Chief Priests, but their avowed Malice to *Christ*, and Aversion to his Doctrine and Religion, required; and this, even upon the Supposition of the Story of guarding the Sepulchre being true, they would probably have done, had they been at Liberty to propagate and invent what Lye they pleased: But that a Guard was set at the Sepulchre, was in all Likelihood, by the Dispersion and Flight of the Soldiers into the City, too well known in *Jerusalem* for them to venture at denying it; for which Reason, as I have before observed, they were obliged to invent a Lye consistent with that known Fact, however absurd and improbable it might appear when it came to be considered and examined. Now as the Report put into the Mouths of the *Roman* Soldiers by the Chief Priests and Elders, is no Proof of the Falsehood of this Fact, but rather of the contrary, so does the naming the Time, the Scene, the Actors, and the Witnesses, form a very strong Presumption of its being true, since no Forger of Lyes willingly and wittingly furnishes out the Means of his own Detection; especially when we consider that this Story is



related by that Evangelist, who is said to have written nearest the Time, and to have composed his Gospel for those Christians who dwelt in *Judea*, many of whom, then living, were probably at *Jerusalem* when this Thing was done.

The strict Attachment and Regard to Truth, of all the Evangelists, is farther manifested in their relating of themselves and their Brethren, many Things, that in the Opinion of the World could not but turn much to their Dishonour and Discredit. Such as their denying and deserting their Master in his Extremity, and their Dullness in not understanding his Predictions about his rising from the Dead, though expressed in the plainest and most intelligible Words. A Man's Confession againit himself, or his Friends, is generally presumed to be true. If the Evangelists therefore be allowed to be the Authors of those Gospels which bear their Names, or if those Writings are supposed to have been forged by some Friends of Christianity, they must, in these Instances at least, be acknowledged to relate the Truth, till some other good Reason, besides that of their Attachment to the Truth, can be assigned for their inserting such disgraceful and dishonourable Accounts of themselves and their Friends.

But there is nothing that sets the Veracity of

the sacred Writers so much above all Question and Suspicion, as what they tell us about the low Condition, the Infirmities, the Sufferings, and the Death of the great Author and Finisher of their Faith, *Christ Jesus*. He hungered, they say; he was poor, so poor, as not to *have where to lay his Head*; he wept, hid himself for fear of the *Jews* who sought to kill him; and when his Hour drew nigh, he was dejected, sorrowful, *exceeding sorrowful, even unto Death*: He prayed, that the Cup of Affliction, which was then mixing for him, might, if possible, pass from him. And though he was *strengthened by an Angel from Heaven*, yet, *being in an Agony*, he prayed more earnestly, and his Sweat was as it were great Drops of Blood falling down to the Ground. After this, he was seized like a common Malefactor; abandoned by all his Followers and Friends; led bound, first to *Annas*, then to *Caiaphas*, then to *Pilate*, then to *Herod*, then back again to *Pilate*; and lastly, after enduring a thousand Insults and Indignities, after having been buffeted, spit upon, and scourged, was carried to suffer upon the Cross the infamous and painful Death of offending Slaves, and the vilest Criminals. And yet this hungry, houseless, suffering, dying *Jesus*, is by the same Writers said to have fed a Multitude of many Thousands with five Loaves and two Fishes; to have commanded the Fish of the Sea to provide him Money to pay the Tribute;

to have been ministered unto by Angels; to have been obeyed by the Winds and Seas; to have had in himself, and to have imparted to his Disciples, Authority over unclean Spirits, and the Power of healing all Manner of Diseases; to have raised the Dead by a Touch, a Word; to have been able to have obtained from God, whom he called his Father, an Army of more than twelve Legions of Angels; a Force sufficient not only to have rescued him from the Sufferings and Death he deprecated, but to have acquired him the Empire of the World: And lastly, as an Instance of his being endued with a Power superior even to Destruction itself, he is said to have risen from the Dead; to have ascended into Heaven, and to sit down for ever at the Right-hand of God. From these Accounts it is plain, that the Character of *Jesus Christ*, as drawn up by the Evangelists, is a Mixture of such seeming Inconsistencies, so wonderful a Composition of Weakness and Power, Humiliation and Glory, Humanity and Divinity, that as no mere Mortal could pretend to come up to it, so the Wit of Man would never have conceived and proposed such a one for the Founder of any Sect or Religion. The Sufferings and Cross of *Christ* were, as *St. Paul* confesses, *to the Jews a Stumbling-block, and Foolishness to the Greeks*. The *Jews*, it is well known, expected a temporal Deliverer, an earthly Prince, a glorious conquering Messiah; and were therefore

so scandalized at the low Condition and abject Fortunes of *Jesus*, so proportioned, as they imagined, to the sublime Character of the Son of God, that upon Account of those human Blemishes only, they rejected all the miraculous Evidences of his divine Mission, and put him to Death as a Blasphemer, for taking upon him the Name, without the temporal Splendor and Power of the Messiah. That the Disciples of *Jesus* were tainted with the like Prejudices with their unbelieving Brethren the *Jews*, is very natural to believe, and may certainly be collected from the Writings of the Evangelists; from whom we learn, that when convinced by his Miracles, his Doctrine, and his Life, they had acknowledged him to be the Messiah, they were so offended at what he told them of his sufferings and Death, that they refused to believe him;\* *and Peter took him, and began to rebuke him, saying, Be it far from thee, Lord, this shall not be unto thee.* The despicable Condition, the sufferings and Death of *Christ*, being admitted, I think it impossible to give one probable Reason for supposing that the Apostles and the Evangelists invented the other more than human Part of his Character. Had he wrought no Miracles, had he not risen from the Dead, their religious Prejudices, as they were *Jews*, must have withheld them for ever from acknowledging him for their Messiah; and yet it

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\* *Matth.* xvi. 22.

is notorious, that not only they themselves acknowledged him as such, but endeavoured to persuade their unbelieving Brethren, that *God had made that same Jesus, whom they had crucified, both Lord and Christ.* This was the great Article, the Foundation-Stone, upon which the whole Superstructure of Christianity was raised; and to prove this Article, they appealed to his Miracles, as so many Evidences of his divine Mission. But here *modern* Unbelievers (for *Celsus*, who lived nearest those Times, admits all the Miracles of *Christ*, but imputes them to his Skill in Magick) come in with their Suspicions, and pretend to call in question the Accounts given us of these Miracles in the Evangelists, which, without any Proof, they are pleased to take for Forgeries: In answer to which, (not to insist upon the Improbability that any Man, or any Set of Men, in their Senses, should venture to appeal to their Enemies for the Truth of Facts, which they themselves knew to be false, especially when those Enemies had not only the Means of detecting them, but the Inclination and Power to punish them for their Impostures: Not to insist, I say, upon this Topick, nor upon that which I just now mentioned, of its being impossible to assign any Motive that could induce them to be guilty of such a Forgery,) I shall only observe, that allowing them to have been so shameless and so wicked as to invent

and propagate a Set of Lyes in order to get Credit to their Master and his Religion, it is strange they should not go one Step farther, and suppress at least, if not deny his Infirmities, his Sufferings, and his Crucifixion, and so remove that Stumbling-block, which they could not but know would be the greatest Obstacle to the Advancement of their Religion, as well among the *Gentiles* as the *Jews*. But it will be urged, perhaps, that his Sufferings and Crucifixion were too publick to be denied; and so, say the Evangelists, were most of his Miracles: And this undoubtedly was the Reason why they were acknowledged by *Celsus*. To suppose therefore that the Evangelists, for fear of being detected, would confess Truths, which manifestly prejudiced their great Design of propagating the Faith in *Christ Jesus*, and yet would not by the same Fear of Detection be restrained from relating Untruths, because they might imagine them to be advantageous to their Cause, is no Mark of Equity and Candour, but of Partiality and Prejudice. But it will possibly be said (for what will not Infidels *say*? and I will add, how strange soever it may found, what will they not *believe*?) that the Scriptures were forged long after the Events recorded in them, and consequently long after all the Evidences of their Truth or Falsehood were extinct and lost. In Answer to this it may be again demanded, as in

the Case of the Evangelists, how came these later Forgers to chuse the suffering crucified *Jesus* for the Author of their Religion? And why, since they were at Liberty to say what they pleased, without any Apprehension of being discovered; why, I say, did they relate such Things, both of Him and his Disciples, as, in the Opinion of the World, could not fail of discrediting the Faith they preached in his Name, and by an Authority pretended to be derived from him and his Disciples? But without entering into these Considerations, it may be sufficient barely to deny this Charge, till they, who insist upon it, shall be able to make it good, by shewing either from authentick Testimonies, or even probable and presumptive Arguments, when they were forged? by whom? and to what End? Till they are able to do this, (which I will venture to pronounce will never be) we have a Right to insist, for the Reasons above given, that the Scriptures of the New Testament were written by those whose Names they bear, and that all the Facts related in them are most unquestionably true.

Before I quit this Subject, I cannot forbear taking Notice of one other Mark of Integrity which appears in all the Compositions of the Sacred Writers, and particularly the Evangelists, and that is, the simple, unaffected, unorna-

mental, and unostentatious Manner, in which they deliver Truths so important and sublime, and Facts so magnificent and wonderful, as are capable, one would think, of lighting up a Flame of Oratory; even in the dullest and coldest Breath. They speak of an Angel descending from Heaven to foretel the miraculous Conception of *Jesus*; of another proclaiming his Birth, attended *by a Multitude of the Heavenly Host praising God, and saying; Glory to God in the highest, and on Earth Peace, Good-will towards Men*; of his Star appearing in the East; of Angels ministring to him in the Wilderness; of his Glory in the Mount; of a Voice twice heard from Heaven, saying, *This is my beloved Son*; of innumerable Miracles performed by him, and by his Disciples in his Name; of his knowing the Thoughts of Men; of his foretelling future Events; of Prodigies and Wonders accompanying his Crucifixion and Death; of an Angel descending in Terrors, opening his Sepulchre, and frightening away the Soldiers, who were set to guard it; of his rising from the Dead, ascending into Heaven, and pouring down, according to his Promise, the various and miraculous Gifts of the Holy Spirit upon his Apostles and Disciples. All these amazing Incidents do these inspired Historians relate nakedly and plainly, without any of the Colourings and Heightenings of Rhetorick, or so much as a single Note of Admiration; without



making any Comment or Remark upon them, or drawing from them any Conclusion in Honour either of their Master or themselves, or to the Advantage of the Religion they preached in his Name; but contenting themselves with relating the naked Truth, whether it seems to make for them or against them, without either magnifying on the one hand, or palliating on the other, they leave their Cause to the unbiassed Judgment of Mankind, seeking, like genuine Apostles of the Lord of Truth, to convince rather than to persuade; and therefore *coming*, as St, Paul speaks of his own Preaching, *not with Excellency of Speech,—not with enticing Words of Man's Wisdom, but with Demonstration of the Spirit, and of Power, that*, adds he, *your Faith should not stand in the Wisdom of Men, but in the Power of*\* *God*. And let it be remembered, that he who speaks this, wanted not Learning, Art, or Eloquence, as is evident from his Speeches recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, and from the Testimony of that great Critick *Longinus*, who in reckoning up the *Grecian* Orators, places among them *Paul of Tarsus*†; and surely had they been left solely to the Suggestions and Guidance of human Wisdom, they would not have failed to lay hold on such Topicks, as the Wonders of their Master's Life, and the transcendent Purity

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\* 1 Cor. ii. 2. iv. 5.

† Vide Long. Frag. Edit. Pearce.

and Perfection of the noble, generous, benevolent Morality contained in his Precepts, furnished them with. These Topicks, I say, greater than ever *Tully*, or *Demosthenes*, or *Plato* were possessed of, mere human Wisdom would doubtless have prompted them to make use of, in order to recommend in the strongest Manner the Religion of *Christ Jesus* to Mankind, by turning their Attention to the Divine Part of his Character, and hiding as it were in a Blaze of heavenly Light and Glory, his Infirmities, his Sufferings and his Death. And had they upon such Topicks as these; and in such a Cause, called in to their Assistance all the Arts of Composition, Rhetorick and Logick, who would have blamed them for it? Not those Persons, I presume, who, dazzled and captivated with the glittering Ornaments of human Wisdom, make a Mock at the Simplicity of the Gospel, and think it Wit to ridicule the Style and Language of the Holy Scriptures. But the all-wise Spirit of God, by whom these Sacred Writers were guided into all Truth, thought fit to direct or permit them to proceed in a different Method; a Method, however, very analogous to that in which he hath been pleased to reveal himself to us in the great Book of Nature, the stupendous Frame of the Universe; all whose Wonders he hath judged it sufficient to lay before us in Silence, and experts from our Observations the proper Comments and

Deductions, which, having endued us with Reason, he hath enabled us to make. And though a careless and superficial Spectator may fancy he perceives even in this fair Volume many Inconsistencies, Defects, and Superfluities; yet to a diligent, unprejudiced, and rational Inquirer, who will take the Pains to examine the Laws, consider and compare the several Parts, and regard their Use and Tendency, with reference to the whole Design of this amazing Structure, as far as his short Abilities can carry him, there will appear, in those Instances which he is capable of knowing, such evident Characters of Wisdom, Goodness and Power, as will leave him no room to doubt of their Author, or to suspect that in those Particulars which he hath not examined, or to a thorough Knowledge of which he cannot perhaps attain, there is nothing but Folly, Weakness and Malignity. The same thing might be said of the *written Book*, the *second Volume* (if I may so speak) of the Revelation of God, the Holy Scriptures. For as in the First, so also in this are there many Passages, that to a cursory unobserving Reader appear idle, unconnected, unaccountable, and inconsistent with those Marks of Truth, Wisdom, Justice, Mercy, and Benevolence, which in others are so visible, that the most Careless and Inattentive cannot but discern them. And even These, many of them at least, will often be found, upon a closer and

stricter Examination, to accord and coincide with the other more plain, and more intelligible Passages, and to be no heterogeneous Parts of one and the same wise and harmonious Composition. In both indeed, in the *Natural* as well as the *Moral Book of God*, there are, and ever will be many Difficulties, which the Wit of *Man* may never be able to resolve; but will a wise Philosopher, because he cannot comprehend every Thing he sees, reject for that Reason all the Truths that lie within his Reach, and let a few inexplicable Difficulties over-balance the many plain and infallible Evidences of the Finger of God, which appear in all Parts, both of his *created* and *written Works*? Or will he presume so far upon his own Wisdom, as to say, God ought to have expressed himself more clearly? The Point and exact Degree of Clearness, which will equally suit the different Capacities of Men in different Ages and Countries, will, I believe, be found more difficult to fix than is imagined; since what is clear to one Man in a certain Situation of Mind, Time and Place, will inevitably be obscure to another, who views it in other Positions, and under other Circumstances. How various and even contradictory are the Readings and Comments, which several Men, in the several Ages and Climates of the World, have made upon Nature! And yet her Characters are equally legible, and her Laws equally intelligible in all

Times and in all Places; *There is no Speech nor Language where her Voice is not heard. Her Sound is gone out through all the Earth, and her Words to the Ends of the World.* All these Misinterpretations therefore, and Misconstructions of her Works, are chargeable only upon Mankind, who have set themselves to study them with various Degrees of Capacity, Application, and Impartiality. The Question then should be, Why hath God given Men such various Talents? And not, Why hath not God expressed himself more clearly? And the Answer to this Question, as far as it concerns Man to know, is, that God will require of him according to what he hath, and not according to what he hath not. If what is necessary for all to know, is knowable by all; those Men, upon whom God hath been pleased to bestow Capacities and Faculties superior to the Vulgar, have certainly no just Reason to complain of his having left them Materials for the Exercise of those Talents, which, if all Things were equally plain to all Men, would be of no great Advantage to the Possessors. If therefore there are in the Sacred Writings, as well as in the Works of Nature, many Passages hard to be understood, it were to be wished that the Wise and Learned, instead of being offended at them, and teaching others to be so too, would be persuaded that both God and Man expect that they would set themselves

to consider and examine them carefully and impartially, and with a sincere Desire of discovering and embracing the Truth, not with an arrogant unphilosophical Conceit of their being already sufficiently wise and knowing. And then I doubt not but most of those Objections to Revelation, which are now urged with the greatest Confidence, would be cleared up and removed, like those formerly made to Creation, and the Being and Providence of God, by those most ignorant, most absurd, and yet most self-sufficient Pretenders to Reason and Philosophy, the Atheists and Scepticks.

§ 26. To these internal Evidences of the Veracity (and may I not add Inspiration?) of the Apostles and Evangelists, I shall beg Leave to subjoin two external Proofs of great Weight in an Inquiry into the Reasons we have for giving Credit to their Testimony; the one negative, the other positive.

The negative Proof is contained in this Proposition, *viz.* That out of the great Number of Facts related by the sacred Writers, publick and extraordinary as they are said to have been, not one, in the Course of now almost seventeen hundred Years, hath ever been disproved or falsified; Denied indeed many of them have been, and still are; but there is a great deal of

Difference between *denying* and *disproving*. To prove a Fact to be false, it is necessary that the positive and probable Evidence brought against it should over-balance that produced in Support of it. In Opposition to the Testimony of the Disciples of *Jesus Christ*, asserting that he was risen from the Dead, the Chief Priests and Elders of the *Jews* affirmed, that his Disciples stole away his Body, and then gave out that he was risen; in Maintenance of which Charge they produced, as St. *Matthew* tells us\*, the *Roman* Soldiers, who were set to guard the Sepulchre, who deposed that *his Disciples came by Night and stole him away while they slept*. Not to insist again upon the Absurdity of this Report, as it stands in the Evangelist, and taking it as it was afterwards prudently amended by the *Sanhedrin*, and propagated by an express Deputation from them to all the Synagogues of the† *Jews* throughout the World, in which, without making any mention of the *Roman* Guard, they say no more than that the Disciples came by Night, and stole away the Body; taking it, I say, in the Manner, in which those wise Counsellors were, upon maturer Deliberation, pleased to put it, it may be sufficient to observe, that this Theft charged upon the Disciples, was so far from being proved, that it was not so much

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\* Ch, xxviii, 13.

† Justin, Martyr, Dial. cum Tryph. Jnd.

as ever inquired into. And yet the Accusers were the Chief Priests and Elders of the *Jews*; Men in high Reverence and Authority with the People, vested with all the Power of the State, and consequently furnished with all the Means of procuring Informations, and of gaining or extorting a Confession. And what were the Accused? Men of low Birth, mean Fortunes, without Learning, without Credit, without Support; and who out of Pusillanimity and Fear had deserted their Master, upon the first Occasion offered of shewing their Fidelity and Attachment to him. And can it be imagined that the Chief Priests and Council would have made no Inquiry into a Fact, the Belief of which they took so much Pains to propagate, had they themselves been persuaded of the Truth of it? And had they inquired into it, can it be supposed that out of such a Number of mean Persons as must have been privy to it; no one either from Honesty or Religion, the Fear of Punishment or Hope of Reward, would have betrayed the Secret, and given them such Intelligence, as might have enabled them to put the Question of the Resurrection out of all Dispute? For had it been once proved that the Disciples stole away the Body of *Jesus*, their Words would hardly have been taken for his Resurrection. But how did these poor Men act? Conscious of no Fraud and Imposture, they remained in *Jerusalem* a Week



or more, after the Report of their having stolen their Master's Body was spread over the City; and in about a Month returned thither again; not long after which they asserted boldly to the Face of their powerful Enemies and Accusers, the Chief Priests and Elders, that *God had raised from the Dead that same Jesus, whom they had crucified.* And what was the Behaviour of these learned *Rabbins*, these watchful Guardians of the *Jewish Church and State*? Why, they suffered the Disciples of *Jesus*, charged by their Order with an Imposture tending to disturb the Government, to continue unquestioned at *Jerusalem*, and to depart from thence unmolested: And when upon their Return thither they had caused them to be seized, and brought before them, for *\*preaching through Jesus the Resurrection of the Dead*, what did they say to them? did they charge them with having stolen away the Body of their Master? Nothing like it. On the contrary, not being able to gainsay the Testimony given by the Apostles to the Resurrection of *Jesus*, vouched by a Miracle just then performed by them in his Name, they ordered them to withdraw, and *† conferred among themselves, saying, What shall we do to these Men? for that indeed a notable Miracle hath been done by them, is manifest to all them that dwell in*

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\* Acts iv.

† Ibid. ver. 15-22.

Jerusalem, and we cannot deny it. But that it spread no farther among the People, let us straitly threaten them, that they speak henceforth to no Man in this Name: And they called them, and commanded them not to speak at all, nor teach in the Name of Jesus. Peter and John answered, and said unto them, Whether it be right in the Sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye: For we cannot but speak the Things which we have seen and heard. So when they had farther threatened them, they let them go, finding nothing how they might punish them. Who, after hearing this Account, could ever imagine that the Disciples stole the Body of Jesus? or that the Chief Priests and Elders themselves believed they did? But it may perhaps be objected, that this Account comes from Christian Writers: And could the Objectors expect to meet with it in *Jewish* Authors? We might indeed expect to find in their Writings some Proofs of this Charge upon the Disciples; and had there been any, the Chief Priests, and the other Adversaries of *Christ*, would doubtless not have failed to produce them. But the Progress that Christianity made at that Time in *Jerusalem*, is a stronger Argument than even their Silence, that no Proof of this Charge either was or could be made. Could the Apostles have had the Imprudence to preach, and could so many thousand *Jews* have been weak enough to

believe upon their Testimony, that *Christ* was risen from the Dead, had it been proved that his Disciples stole away his Body? An Infidel may, if he pleases, believe this, but let him account for it if he can.

I have dwelt the longer upon the Examination of this pretended Theft of the Disciples, because it is the *only Fact* I know of, that hath been set up in Opposition to the many Facts upon which the Evidence of the Resurrection is founded. How defective it is in point of Proof, whether probable or positive, I need not point out to the Reader. But I cannot help observing, that those, who deny that any Guard was placed at the Sepulchre, take from it the only positive Evidence that was ever brought to support it, *viz.* the Depositions of the *Roman* Soldiers.

Among the many extraordinary Particulars related by the sacred Writers, the Miracles performed by *Christ* and his Apostles, as they were almost without Number, and wrought most commonly in publick, in the Presence of unbelieving *Jews* and *Gentiles*, yielded the fairest Occasion to the Opposers of the Gospel of overturning the Credit of the Evangelical Historians. And yet the pitiful Solutions, which *Pagan* and *Jewish* Writers have been reduced to make use of, in order to take off the Conclusion

drawn from these Miracles by the Christians, form a very strong Presumption, that they were not to be disproved. Some, as \**Celsus*, have imputed them to Magick: Others, as the *Jews*, have attributed them to the ineffable Name of God, which, † say they, *Jesus* stole out of the Temple. Both of them have admitted the Facts. I shall not go about to shew the Absurdity of either of these two Ways of accounting for those miraculous Operations: But I must hence take Occasion to beg the Reader to reflect a little upon the strange Perverseness of the human Mind, the Vanity of Reason, and, the Force of Prejudice. *Celsus*, believed Magick; the *Jews* had Faith in Amulets; and yet both one and the other disbelieved Christianity!

§ 27. The positive Proof of the Veracity of the sacred Writers is founded on the exact Accomplishment of the Predictions of our Saviour and his Apostles recorded in the New Testament.

That I may not draw out this Article into an excessive and unnecessary Length, I shall make no Remarks upon those Predictions, whose Accomplishment is to be found in the Scriptures themselves some of which I have already taken

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\* See Origen contra Celsum.

† See Univ. Hist. Vol. IV, p. 200. Note T.

Notice of. The Scriptures, Infidels perhaps will say, were written after these Events, and the Predictions therefore probably adapted to them. But they who make this Objection, will gain little by it; since if they admit the Events, it will be no difficult Matter to demonstrate the Truth of Christianity. Besides, the Reader himself may with very little Pains, find out and compare these Predictions with their several Completions.

The Prophecies I shall produce, relate to the different States of the *Jews* and *Gentiles*; different not only from each other, but very different from that, in which they both were at the Time when these Prophecies were written: To have a perfect Understanding of which, it will be necessary to take a general View of the Religious State (for that is principally regarded in there Prophecies) of the Nations distinguished by the Names of *Jews* and *Gentiles*.

From the Time of the Covenant (or Compact) which God was pleased to make with *Abraham* and his Descendants, and to renew with the whole Body of the *Israelites* under *Moses*, the *Jews* became the peculiar *People of God*: A Phrase sufficiently justified and explained by the Terms or Conditions of the Covenant; which on the Part of the *Israelites*, were the taking God only for their Lord, and paying Obedience to the

Law, the Ceremonial as well as Moral Law, which he had given them. On the Part of God were stipulated Temporal Blessings, and his Almighty Protection to the *Jews*, as long as they should adhere to the Conditions entered into by Them. By virtue of this Covenant, the *Jews* acknowledged God for their King, and God governed them as his Subjects, by his Deputies and Viceroyes, the Prophets, Judges, and Kings of *Israel*. *Moses*, the Mediator of this Covenant, was the first of these Deputies; and the *Messiah*, who was to be the Mediator of a New Covenant, was to be the last. By Him the New Covenant was to be offered first indeed to the *Jews*, with whom the Covenant mediated by *Moses* was till then to be in Force. But the other was not to be limited to that People only. The *Gentiles*, that is, all the Nations of the Earth, who were no Parties to the former Covenant, were to be invited to accede to this; and all those, of whatsoever Nation they were, who should acknowledge the *Messiah* as a King appointed by God to reign over them, were to be admitted into this Covenant, and be reputed thenceforward the *People of God*. But as the Limits of this Divine Empire were to be altered and enlarged, it became necessary to alter and enlarge the Terms of Government. The Ceremonial Law was National and Local: And though, without some such Religious and Political Bond of Union, the

*Jews* would not in all Probability have long continued the separate and peculiar People of God, yet as most of the Duties prescribed by that law were confined to the Holy Land, and even to the Holy City of *Jerusalem*; the *Gentiles*, who were now to be taken into the Covenant, could not possibly comply with it. This therefore was of Necessity to be abolished. But the Moral Law, the Basis and End of the former Covenant, was in like Manner to be the End and Basis of the new one. To this both the *Gentiles* and *Jews* could pay Obedience, as well as to the other Terms superadded to it in the New Covenant, *viz.* the acknowledging the Messiah for their King; and as an outward Token of their Allegiance and Accession to this Covenant, receiving Baptism, and commemorating from Time to Time, by the Celebration of the Eucharist, the sealing this Covenant on the Part of God by the Death of *Christ*. Which two *Sacraments*, properly so called, may be stiled the Ceremonial Law of the Christians, as Circumcision and other Ritual Duties were of the *Jews*.

Of the twelve Tribes of *Israel*, who were Parties of the *Mosaical* Covenant, ten fell at once from their Allegiance to God under *Jeroboam*; and ceasing from that Time to be the People or Subjects of God, he ceased to be their King; and withdrawing his Protection, suffered them to be

carried into a Captivity, from which they never afterwards returned; but being lost and confounded with the Nations, among whom they were transplanted, were thenceforward no more heard of as a distinct and separate People. The two remaining Tribes were then the only People of God; and as such, though often punished by Him for their frequent Transgressions of his Laws, and even carried Captive to *Babylon*, were by his Providence brought back again to the Land of *Canaan*, and restored to a Capacity of complying with the Terms of their Covenant, by the rebuilding the City and Temple of *Jerusalem*. From that Time they were very exact in their Observance of the Ceremonial Law, but had most grossly corrupted the Moral Law, and rendered it, as *Christ* told them, of no Effect, by the Comments and Traditions of their Scribes and Pharisees. This was the State of the *Jews*, when *Jesus* the Messiah, that great Prophet and King foretold by *Moses* and all the Prophets, came to offer them a New Covenant.

The State of the *Gentiles* was far more deplorable. They had for many Ages transferred their Obedience from the One Supreme God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, to his Creatures, or to Deities of their own devising; under whose imaginary Protection they had ranged themselves by Nations and Communities; and had become



almost in the same Sense as the *Israelites* were stiled the People of God, the People of the *Egyptian Isis*, *Assyrian Belus*, *Athenian Pallas*, *Ephesian Diana*, and *Capitilian Jove*, &c. But there was this farther Difference between them: The God of the *Israelites*, like a righteous and equitable Sovereign, had given his People a Law, to be the Rule of their Obedience, or rather had confirmed and enforced the Original Law, which from the very Beginning he had written in the Hearts, *i.e.* the Reason of all Mankind, adding to it such other Institutions, as their particular Situation then required. While the *Gentiles*, having by their Idolatry fallen from their Obedience to that Original universal Law, were left thenceforward, like Out-Laws and Rebels, to frame to themselves such Rules, both Moral and Religious, as the fancied Caprice of their Deities or their own perverted Reason should suggest; whence it came to pass, that they were overrun with Immorality and Superstition. And though some of the Wisest among them, by following the yet glimmering Light of Reason, had become sensible of many of their grossest Errors, and had endeavoured to reform some Abuses, yet had Superstition taken so strong a Hold on the Majority, that, till that was entirely rooted out, it was impossible to bring them back to what is called the Religion of Nature, *i.e.* the Religion of Reason; were we to allow those *wise Men* to have

been as well acquainted with it, in all its Branches, as since Christianity some have pretended to be. But with the Superstition of their Countries, those *wise Men* thought it better to comply than to contend. And had they attacked it with the Intrepidity and Industry of the Apostles, it is much to be questioned, whether with all their Eloquence and Logick, they would have gained the Victory. Such was the dark and hopeless Condition of the *Gentiles*.

In this State of the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, our Saviour, after having represented to the former, under the Parable of *a certain Householder who planted a Vineyard, and let it out to Husbandmen\**, the righteous Dealings of God to them, and the ill Returns they had made to him, by not only refusing him the Fruits, but murdering the Servants he had sent to demand them; and lastly his Son; and after having extorted from them a Confession that those *wicked Husbandmen* ought to be *miserably punished*, and the *Vineyard* taken from them, and given to *other Husbandmen, who should render him the Fruits in their Season*, spoke to them the following Words: *Did you never read in the Scriptures, The Stone which the Builders rejected, the same is become the Head of the Corner: This is the Lord's doing, and it is*

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\* Math. xxi. 43, 44.

*marvellous in our Eyes? Therefore say I unto you, the Kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a Nation bringing forth the Fruits thereof: And whosoever shall fall on this Stone, shall be broken; but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to Powder.* By these Words are plainly signified, 1st, The transferring the Kingdom of God from the *Jews* to the *Gentiles*; 2dly, The Obedience of the *Gentiles*; and 3dly, The miserable Punishment of the *Jews*, for their having rejected and murdered the Son of God. There are many other Prophecies relating to each of these Events scattered up and down the Gospels, which I think it needless to produce, this being so very full and explicit. I shall therefore set about shewing the exact Accomplishment of it in its several Parts.

The *Kingdom of God*, as may be colleted from what is, said above, denotes the *spiritual* or *moral* Dominion of God over *moral* Subjects, *i.e.* Free Agents; and by the *People of God* are signified such Free Agents; as freely and voluntarily acknowledge the Sovereignty of God, by worshipping him, and receiving and obeying all those Laws, whether natural or revealed, which appear to have been enacted by him. The *Jews* therefore by rejecting *Jesus Christ*, who proved himself to have been commissioned and sent by God, not only from the Testimony of

*Moses* and all their Prophets, the Holiness of his Life and Doctrine, and the numberless Miracles he wrought among them, but still more plainly, if possible, by his rising from the Dead, and empowering his Disciples to work the same mighty Signs and Wonders in his Name: the *Jews*, I say, by rejecting this Messenger, this Son of God, and refusing to receive the Laws which he proposed to them in his Father's Name, evidently renounced their Allegiance to God, and ceased to be his *People* or Subjects. And the *Gentiles* on the other hand, by renouncing their Vices and Idolatrous Superstitions, returning to the Worship of God, and receiving his Messiah, together with the Laws proposed to them by him in the Name of God, as evidently put themselves under the Dominion of God, acknowledged his Empire, and became the *People* or Subjects of God. And hence appears what is meant by the *Kingdom of God being taken from the Jews*, and *given to the Gentiles*. God removed the Throne, whereon *David* and his Posterity had sat as his Substitutes and Viceroys, from among the *Jews*, who renounced his Authority, and from Earth to Heaven; and placing it at his Right Hand, and setting upon it his Messiah, his only Son, gave him for his Subjects, not one Nation only, but all *Nations* and *Kindreds*, and *People*, and all the *Ends of the Earth* for his Dominion. That the Kingdom of God was in this Sense, and in this

Manner, actually transferred from the *Jews* to the *Gentiles*, is too notorious to need any Proof. The *Jews* as a Nation rejected the Gospel, and persisted in their Refusal of the Messiah, till the final Destruction of their Holy City and Temple; and what is yet more strange, still persevere in their Obstinacy. Whereas the *Gentiles* embraced it so universally, that within a few Centuries after *Christ*, almost the whole *Roman* Empire, that is, almost the then known World, forsook Idolatry, and became Christian. And God on his Part testified that he entered into Covenant with them, and accepted the Allegiance, by pouring upon them the Gifts of his Holy Spirit; as he signified on the other hand his Renunciation of the *Mosaical* Covenant, by not only suffering the Seat of his Empire, the City and Temple of *Jerusalem*, to be utterly destroyed, but permitting the *Jews* also to be banished from the Holy Land, and scattered through all the Nations of the Earth. And thus was this Prophecy most exactly accomplished in all its Parts.

§ 28. Besides the general Change in the State of the *Jews* and *Gentiles* expressed in this Prophecy, many Particulars relating to the Condition of the *Jewish* Nation, were most precisely foretold by our Saviour *Christ*. As, First, the Destruction of the City and Temple of *Jerusalem*: Secondly, the Signs and Wonders

preceding that Destruction: Thirdly, the Miseries of the *Jews* before, at, and after the famous Siege of that City: Fourthly, the Dispersion of that reprobated People: Fifthly, the Duration of their Calamity: And, Sixthly, their Restoration.

"Our Saviour foretold the Destruction of the Temple, after it had stood almost 500 Years, in these Words: *Seest thou these great Buildings? There shall not be left one Stone upon another, which shall not be thrown down\**. And this Prediction was completed by † *Titus*, who, saith *Josephus*, commanded his Soldiers *to dig up the Foundations both of the Temple and the City*. And both the *Jewish Talmud* and *Maimonides* add, that *Terentius Rufus*, the Captain of his Army, did with a Ploughshare tear up the Foundation of the Temple. "

"With like Exactness and Particularity did our Lord foretel the Ruin of the City of *Jerusalem: The Days*, saith he, *shall come upon thee, that thine Enemies shall cast a Trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every Side, and shall lay thee even with the Ground, and shall not leave thee one Stone upon another*. Now, that the Event completely

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\* Mark xiii. 2.

† See for this, and most of the following Articles, Dr. *Whitby's* general Preface, which, together with his other Preface, I would recommend to the Perusal of all those who read for the Sake of learning the Truth, and not for Amusement only.

answered the Prediction, is evident from the *Jewish Historian*, who tells us expressly, that *Titus having commanded his Soldiers to dig up the City, this was so fully done by levelling the whole Compass of the City, except three Towers, that they who came to see it were persuaded it would never be built again.* The same Historian informs us, that when *Vespasian* besieged *Jerusalem*, his Army compassed the City round about, and kept them; in on every Side; and though it was judged a great and almost impracticable Work to compass the whole City with a Wall, yet *Titus* animating his Soldiers to attempt it, they in three Days built a Wall of thirty-nine Furlongs, having thirteen Castles on it, and so cut off all Hopes, that any of the Jews within the City should escape. "

"In the 21st chapter of *St. Luke*, *Christ*, speaking of the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, says, (Ver. 11.) *And great Earthquakes shall be in divers Places, and Famines and Pestilences, and fearful Sights, and great Signs shall there be from Heaven.* "

"Now to omit the frequent Earthquakes that happened in other Places in the Times of *Claudius* and *Nero*, *Josephus* informs us, that there happened in *Judea* and *Jerusalem* an immense tempest, and vehement Winds with

*Rain, and frequent Lightnings and dreadful Thundering, and extreme Roarings of the quaking Earth, which manifested to all that the World was disturbed at the Destruction of Men; and that these Prodigies portended no small Mischiefs. Josephus hath a particular Chapter of the manifest Signs of the approaching Desolation of the Jews; which Tacitus, a Roman Historian of that Age, almost epitomizes in these Words: Armies seemed to meet in the Clouds, and glittering Weapons were there seen; the Temple seemed to be in a Flame, with Fire issuing from the Clouds, and a Voice more than human was heard, declaring that the Deities were quitting the Place; which was attended with the Sound of a great Motion, as if they were departing. Josephus adds, what Tacitus also touches upon, That the great Gate of the Temple, which twenty Men could scarcely shut, and which was made fast by Bolts and Bars, was seen to open of its own Accord: That a Sword appeared hanging over the City: That a Comet was seen pointing down upon it for a whole Year together: And that before the Sun went down, there were seen Armies in Battle-Array, and Chariots compassing the Country, and investing the Cities: A Thing so strange, saith he, that it would pass for a Fable, were there not Men living to attest it. So particular an Account have we of the fearful Sights and Signs from Heaven mentioned by our Lord."*



"Our blessed Lord is as express in the Predictions of the Miseries which should befall that sinful Nation; Miseries so great, as to admit no Parallel. *\*There shall be, saith he, great Tribulation, such as never happened from the Beginning of the World to this Time.* Which Words Josephus seems to have transcribed, when he says, *Never was any Nation more wicked, nor ever did a City suffer as they did.* Nay, in another Place, he goes so far as to say, *All the Miseries which all Mankind had suffered from the Beginning of the World, were not to be compared with those the Jewish Nation did then suffer.* And indeed, the Account he gives of the Number who perished in that Siege is almost incredible; and much more so is what the *Talmud* and other Jewish Writers mention, of the Slaughter which *Hadrian's* Army made of them fifty-two Years after, when they rebelled under *Barchochebas*, and were besieged in the City *Bitter*. And yet our Saviour having farther said, That *†where-ever the Carcase was [i. e, the Jews] there should the Eagles [i.e. the Roman Armies] be gathered together;* they were accordingly harrassed and destroyed throughout the Roman Empire. When, saith Josephus, the Romans had no Enemies left in *Judea*, the Danger reached to

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\* Matth, xxiv. 21.

† Ibid. xxiv, 28.

*many of them living the remotest from it: For many of them perished at Alexandria, at Cyrene, and in other Cities of Egypt, to the Number of sixty thousand, in all the Cities of Syria. In a Word, Eleazar, in Josephus, having reckoned many Places where they were cruelly slaughtered, concludes with saying, It would be too long to speak of all theft Places in particular. "*

*"Again, our Saviour adds, That they should be led Captives into all Nations. Accordingly, Josephus informs us, That the Number of Jewish Captives was ninety-seven thousand: That of them Titus sent many to Egypt, and most of them he dispersed into the Roman Provinces; and so exactly fulfilled this Prediction."*

The Duration of the Calamity of the Jews, and their Restoration, are signified in these Words: *Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, till the Times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.* "This so exactly came to pass, that Vespasian commanded the whole Land of Judea to be sold to those Gentiles that would buy it; and Hadrian, about sixty-three Years after, made a Law, that *no Jew should come into the Region round about Jerusalem; as Aristo Pellaeus, who was himself a Jew, and flourished in the very Time of Hadrian, relates. Thus, saith Eusebius, it came to pass, that the Jews being banished thence, and there*

*being a Conflux thither of Aliens, it became a City and Colony of the Romans, and was in Honour of the Emperor [Hadrian] named Ælia. Jerusalem, saith Christ, shall be thus trodden down\* or subject to the Gentiles, till the Times of the Gentiles be fulfilled; that is, till by the Conversion of the Jews to the Christian Faith, the Fulness of the Gentiles to be converted to it, should come in with them: For Blindness, saith the† Apostle, hath happened to the Jews, till the Fulness of the Gentiles shall come in, and then all Israel shall be saved; and with them also the yet Heathen Gentiles. For if, saith he‡, the Casting away of the Jews was the Reconciling of the World, what shall the Receiving of them be to it, but even Life from the Dead? And again§, If the Fall of them were the Riches of the World, and the Diminishing of them the Riches of the Gentiles, how much more shall their Fulness be the Fulness of the Gentiles? Now here it is especially observable, that Julian the Apostate, designing to defeat this Prophecy of Christ, resolved on the Rebuilding of the City and the Temple of Jerusalem in its old Station, which was till his Time left in Ruins, Ælia being built without the Circuit of it. For in his Epistle to the Community of the Jews, he writes thus; The Holy City of Jerusalem, which*

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\* The Greek Word is παρθμξιν possessed and trodden by the Feet of the Gentiles.

† Rom. xi. 25, 26.

‡ Ibid. ver. 15.

§ Ver. 12.

*you have so long desired to see inhabited, rebuilding by my own Labours, I will dwell in.* Thus he began with an Endeavour to build that Temple, in which alone the *Jews* would offer up their Prayers and Sacrifices: But the immediate Hand of Providence soon forced the Workmen to desist from that unhappy Enterprize. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, an Heathen, who lived in those very Times, gives us the Story thus; That *Julian* endeavoured to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem with vast Expence, and gave it in Charge to *Alypius* of Antioch to hasten the Work, and to the Governor of the Province to assist him in it; in which Work when *Alypius* was earnestly employed, and the Governor of the Province was assisting, terrible Balls of Flame bursting forth near the Foundations with frequent Insults, and burning divers Times the Workmen, rendered the Place inaccessible; and thus the Fire obstinately repelling them, the Work ceased."

"The Story is very signal, and remarkable for many Circumstances; as 1st, The Persons that relate; *Ammianus Marcellinus* an Heathen, *Zemuch David* a Jew, who confesses that *Julian* was *Divinitus impeditus*, hindered by God in this Attempt; *Nazianzen* and *Chrysostom* among the Greeks, *St. Ambrose* and *Ruffinus* among the Latins, who flourished at the very Time when this was done: *Theodoret* and *Sozomen*, orthodox

Historians; *Philostorgius*, an *Arian*; *Socrates*, a Favourer of the *Novatians*, who writ the Story within the Space of fifty Years after the Thing was done, and whilst the Eye-witnesses of the Fact were yet surviving. "

"2dly, The Time when it was performed; not in the Reign of Christian Emperors, but of the most bitter Enemies of Christians, when they were forced to hide, and had not Liberty of speaking for themselves. Observe,

"3rdly, With what Confidence Christians urge this Matter of Fact against the *Jews* as a convincing Demonstration of the Expiration of their legal Worlhip, and of the Certainty of Christian Faith against the Heathen Philosophers, inquiring *What the wise Men of the World can say to these Things*: And against the Emperor *Theodosius*, to deter him from requiring them to rebuild a Synagogue, which had been lately bunt by a Christian Bishop.

"4thly and lastly, The unquestionable Evidence of the Thing: *This*, say the Christians, *all Men freely do believe and speak of; it is in the Mouths of all Men*, and is not denied *even by the Atheiets themselves*; and if it seem yet incredible to any one, he may repair for the Truth of it both to the Witnesses of it yet living, and to them who

*have heard it from their Mouths; yea, they may view the Foundations lying still bare and naked; and if you ask the Reason, you will meet with no other Account besides that which I have given; and of this all we Christians are Witnesses, these Things being done not long since in our own Time. So St. Chrysostom."*

The Reader who is inclined to see many Particulars of the Predictions of our Saviour, which relate to this remarkable Catastrophe, and which I have omitted for Brevity's sake, and how they were verified by the Event, will do well to consult Dr. *Whitby's* Preface, from whence the above Articles are taken.

The Observations I have to make on these Prophecies are as follow:

1st, The common Objection made to Prophecies in general, that they are so obscure and figurative, as not to be expounded but by the Event, cannot be urged against these, which are conceived in Words as simple and intelligible as those made use of by the Historian, who relates the Events corresponding with them.

2dly, It is very remarkable, that of the four Evangelists, St. *John* alone, who is said to have survived the Destruction of; *Jerusalem*, makes

no mention either of these Prophecies or their Accomplishment. Of the other three, in whose Gospels they are to be found, St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* died confessedly before that Period; the Time of St. *Luke's* Death is uncertain. May we not then from hence very fairly conclude, that this remarkable Silence of the beloved Disciple, with regard to Prophecies of such Importance to the Credit of his Lord and his Religion, was ordered from above, lest Unbelievers should say, what some had said of the Predictions of *Daniel*, that they were written after the Event?

3dly, As to the Prediction relating to the Duration of the Calamity of the *Jewish* People and their Restoration, though that is the only one of all those above-cited, not yet perfectly accomplished, I beg leave however to observe, that not only the miraculous defeating of the Emperor *Julian's* Attempt to rebuild the City and Temple of *Jerusalem*, but the present extraordinary Condition of the *Jews*, is such a Warrant and Proof, that this Prophecy also will have its Accomplishment in due Time, as cannot fail of powerfully striking those who will open their Eyes to view it. To induce the unobserving and unthinking People of this Age to do this, and to assist them in considering this living Evidence of the Truth of Christianity, which lies within their Notice, and even at their very Doors, I shall

lay before them Some Observations of an excellent\* *French* Author upon this Subject, whom I chuse rather to translate than to give his Arguments in my own Words.

§ 29. "†But neither the Dispersion of the *Jews* into all Nations, nor the general Contempt into which they are fallen, are so extraordinary, as their Preservation for so many Ages, notwithstanding this their Dispersion throughout the Earth, and the universal Contempt which all Nations have for them."

"Without a singular Providence, a People disunited, and divided into an infinite Number of distinct Families, banished into Countries, whose Language and Customs were different from theirs, must have been mingled and confounded with other Nations, and all Traces of them must these many Ages past have entirely disappeared."

"For they not only subsist no longer in a Body Politick, but there is not a single City, where they are allowed to live according to their own Laws, or to create Magistrates of their own; neither are they held together by any publick Exercise of Religion. Their Priests are without

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\* Principes, de la Foy Chretienne, tom. i. ch. 16.

† See the preceding Chapter.



Employment, their Sacrifices are suppressed. Their Feasts cannot be solemnized but in one only Place, and to that they are not permitted to repair."

"By what Miracle then have they been preserved amid so many Nations, without any of those Means which keep other People united? How comes it to pass, that having been scattered like so many imperceptible Grains of Dust, among all Nations, they have notwithstanding been able to subsist longer than any, and even to survive the Extinction of them all."

"Who can at this Day pick out the ancient *Romans* from the numerous Crowds of People, who have thrown themselves into *Italy*? Who can point out one single Family of old *Gaul*, from those of another Original? Who can make the like Separation in *Spain*, between the ancient *Spaniards*, and *Goths* who conquered it? The Face of the World is changed, both in the East and West; and all Nations are mixed and blended in a hundred different Manners; it is only upon Conjectures, and those oftentimes very frivolous, that a single Family can trace up its Original beyond the publick Revolutions of the State."

"But the *Jews*, by a Tradition which no Calamity, whether publick or private, hath been

able to interrupt, can go back as far as the ancient Stock of *Abraham*. They may be mistaken in allotting themselves to this or that Tribe, because since their Dispersion they have not any publick Registers; (which by the Way is a Proof that their law is abolished, since neither the Priests nor *Levites* can ascertain by any certain Monuments that they are of the Family of *Aaron*, and of the Tribe of *Levi*;) But every Father hath taken Care to tell his Children that he had an Original different from that of the *Gentiles*; and that he descended from the Patriarchs, who are celebrated in the Scriptures."

"The general Contempt into which they have fallen, should, one would think, have induced them to confound themselves with those People, under whose Dominion they lived, and to suppress every thing that tended to distinguish them. By separating themselves from those who were in Power, they only drew upon themselves their Hatred and Derision. In many Places they exposed themselves to Death, by bearing the exterior Mark of Circumcision. Every human Interest led them to efface the ignominious Stain of their Original."

"They saw every Day their Messiah still farther removed from them; that the Promises of their Doctors about his speedy Manifestations

were false; that the Predictions of the Prophets, whom they could now no longer understand, were covered with Obscurity; that all the Supputations of Time, either terminated in *Jesus Christ*, or were without a Period; that some among them lost all Hope, and fell into Incredulity with regard to the Scriptures."

"And yet notwithstanding all this, they still subsist, they multiply, they remain visibly separated from all other People; and in Spite of the general Aversion, in Spite of the Efforts of all those Nations who hate them, and who have them in their Power, in Spite of every human Obstacle, they are preserved by a supernatural Protection, which hath not in like Manner preserved any other Nation of the Earth."

"One must surely have very little Sense of what ought to give one Astonishment and Admiration, if this Prodigy does not strike one; and one must have a strange Idea of the Providence of God, to think he had no Hand in all this."

"But the Holy Spirit was not willing to leave us under any Uncertainty upon this Head; and hath declared to us by his Prophets, that the Preservation of the *Jews* is his Work. *Fear thou not, O Jacob, my Servant, saith the Lord, for I am*

*with thee, for I will make a full End of all the Nations, whither I have driven thee; but I will not make a full End of thee, but correct thee in Measure, yet will I not leave thee wholly unpunished.\*"*

"This Promise was made to the old Patriarchs, to whom God hath reserved Children, Heirs of their Faith, and to the Remnant of *Israel*, who in the End of the Ages shall believe in *Jesus Christ*."

"It is for their Sakes that the unworthy Posterity of the Unbelieving is suffered; and it is to maintain the Communication between the first Fathers and their latest Successors, that the Nation is preserved, notwithstanding their Iniquity, and in the Midst of Punishments, that threatened to overwhelm them."

"But let it be observed, that this Promise was made to the Nation of the *Jews* only; that all others shall be either exterminated or so confounded with each other, as to be no longer distinguished; and that it is the Efficacy of the Word of God, which preserves the *Jews* amidst every thing, that in all Appearance would otherwise have sunk them entirely, and swallowed them up."

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\* Jerem. xxx. 10, 11.

*"Thus saith the Lord, if my Covenant be not with Day and Night, and if I have not appointed the Ordinances of Heaven and Earth; Then will I cast away the Seed of Jacob and David my Servant; —for I will cause their Captivity to return, and have Mercy on them\*. This I say is the Promise, and the End of the Promise. The Jews shall one Day be recalled through Mercy; and for the Sake of Those who shall one Day be recalled, the Patience of God suffers all the rest, and his Power preserves them."*

*"Thus saith the Lord, which giveth the Sun for a Light by Day, and the Ordinances of the Moon and of the Stars for a Light by Night, which divideth the Sea, when the Waves thereof roar; the Lord of Hosts is his Name. If those Ordinances depart from before me, saith the Lord, then the Seed of Israel also shall cease from being a Nation before me for ever. Thus saith the Lord, If Heaven above can be measured, and the Foundations of the Earth Searched out beneath, I will also cut of all the Seed of Israel, for all that they have done, saith the Lord†."*

"That is to say, Heaven and Earth shall pass

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\* Jerem. xxxiii. 25, 26.

† Ibid. xxxi. 35, 36, 37.

away sooner than the *Jews* shall cease to be a distinct People. The same Power, which hath given Laws to Nature, watches over their Preservation. And the unheard-of Crime, which they have committed in crucifying the Saviour promised to their Fathers, and which hath filled up the Measure of their former Iniquity, will not move God to retract his Promise, and to reject entirely, and without Resource, the Posterity of *Jacob*."

"With what Light were the Prophets illuminated, to presume to speak in so great and lofty a Strain of a Thing so little probable as the Duration of a People, weak, dispersed, universally hated, and guilty of the greatest of all Crimes?"

"Who would question the other Prophecies, after seeing the Accomplishment of this? What more astonishing Proof can any one desire of the Truth of the Christian Religion, than these two Events joined together, the Dispersion of the *Jews* into all Nations, and their Preservation for sixteen hundred Years? One of these Things taken separately and by itself was incredible; and they became still more so by being united; but both these Prodigies were necessary to prove that *Jesus Christ* was the Messiah."

"It was necessary that those who had rejected him, should be banished into all Regions, should into all Parts carry with them the Scriptures, and should every where be covered with Ignominy.

"But that the Promises made their Fathers might be accomplished, it was necessary that their banished Family should be recalled, and that their Blindness being dissipated, they should adore him, whom\* *Abraham* had desired to see, and whom he had adored with a holy Transport of Joy and Gratitude."

"The *Jews* punished and dispersed, bear Witness to *Jesus Christ*. The *Jews* recalled and converted, will render him a Testimony still more awful and striking. The *Jews* preserved by a continual Miracle, that they may preserve to *Jesus Christ* the Stock and Succession of those who shall one Day believe in him, bear Witness to him continually."

"Had they been only punished, they would have proved his Justice only: Had they only been preserved, they could have proved nothing but his Power. Had they not been reserved to worship him one Day, they could not have proved his Mercy and Fidelity, nor have made

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\* John viii. 56.

him any Reparation for their outrageous Crimes."

"Their Dispersion proves that he is come, but they have rejected him: Their Preservation demonstrates that he hath not rejected them for ever, and that they shall one Day believe in him; and they declare by both, that he is the Messiah, and the promised Saviour. That their Miseries proceed from their not having known him; and that the only Hope they have left is, that they shall one Day come to the Knowledge of him."

"We ought not to demand why God supports them so long without enlightening them; and why he leaves so great an Interval between the faithful Fathers; and the Children that will hereafter become so too. To pretend to examine the impenetrable Judgments of God, and the Abysses of his Wisdom, is to pretend to *measure the Height of Heaven, and to search out the Foundations of the Earth*\*. God hath set Bounds to the Incredulity of the *Jews*, and to the Ingratitude of the *Gentiles*: His Mercy and his Justice succeed each other; and no one knows at what Time he will execute what he hath promised to the latest Posterity of *Israel*, although his Promises are infallible."

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\* Rom. xi. 32, 33.



*"Thus saith the Lord that created thee, O Jacob, and he that formed thee, O Israel: Fear not, for I have redeemed thee; I have called thee by thy Name; thou art mine. When thou passest through the Waters, I will be with thee; and through the Rivers, they shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest through the Fire, thou shalt not be burnt, neither shall the Flame kindle upon thee. Fear not, for I am; with thee: I will bring thy Seed from the East, and gather thee from the West. I will say to the North, Give up; and to the South, Keep not back: Bring my Sons from far, and my Daughters from the Ends of the Earth; even every one that is called by my Name. For I have created him for my Glory, I have formed him, yea, I have made him. Bring forth the blind People that have Eyes, and the Deaf that have Ears."*

"This Prophecy, truly admirable in all its Parts, is addressed to *Jacob*, the Head of the Tribes of *Israel*, and the Heir of the Promises of the Messiah and Salvation."

"His Posterity is dispersed into all the Quarters of the World. This is the State of the *Jews* since the Coming of *Jesus Christ*."

"Their Dispersion is the Punishment of

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\* Isaiah xliii, 1-8.

their Spiritual Deafness and Blindness. And with how great a Blindness, with how great a Deafness may one not deservedly reproach the *Jews*, for not having known *Jesus Christ*, and not having heard him, though he proved his Divine Mission by an Infinity of Miracles!"

"Their Condition seems desperate: The Waters are ready to overwhelm them; the Flames surround them on all Sides: But the Protection of God follows them throughout, and delivers them."

"This Protection is vouchsafed to the whole Body of the Nation, in favour of those, who shall one Day call upon that Name, which the rest have dishonoured with their Blasphemies."

"God out of mere Mercy will give a docile and faithful Heart to those, who shall renounce their former Incredulity. They will be the Creatures of his Grace, to which alone they will stand indebted for their Repentance and Return."

"They will not then begin to see a new Object; but an Object which their Blindness had concealed from them. They will not then hear a Teacher, who began but a few Days before to make his Appearance, but one whom

their voluntary and obstinate Deafness had kept them from hearing before.

"The Change will be in their Persons, and not in his Religion; that will remain what it is, but they will then begin to see it. *Jesus Christ* will take away the Veil that is upon their Eyes; but he will be the same. He will cure their Deafness; but he will speak the same Things."

"It is evident, then, that the *Jews* are preserved for him; and that the whole Body of the Nation subsists only by the Efficacy of that Promise, which is to lead the Remains of *Israel* to *Jesus Christ: Bring forth the blind People that have Eyes, and the Deaf that have Ears.*"

Can any one, after reading these several Prophecies above quoted, question the Veracity of the sacred Writers; who, by publishing them in this Manner, put their Master's Credit, and their own, upon Contingencies very remote, and seemingly improbable? And doth not the exact Accomplishment of these, and several other Predictions, which might have been produced, sufficiently establish the Authority of the Scriptures, and ascertain the Truth of all the Facts related in them?

§ 30. I come now to consider the second Argument to induce us to believe that *Christ* rose from the Dead, *viz.* The Existence of the Christian Religion.

From the Existence of the Christian Religion, may be drawn the same kind of Evidence of the Resurrection of *Jesus Christ*, and the Wonders attending it, as is exhibited to us of the Deluge by the many Petrifications of Shells and Bones of Fishes, and other Animals of distant Regions &c., found often in the Bottoms of the deepest Mines, and the Bowels of the highest Mountains; for, as it is impossible to account for those various Petrifications being lodged in so many Parts of the Earth, some many Leagues distant from the Sea, others very much above the Level of it, without admitting such a Subversion and Confusion of this Globe, as could not have been occasioned by a less violent Cause than the *Breaking up the Fountains of the great Deep*, and the *Waters flowing above the Top of the highest Hills*: so will it, I apprehend, be extremely difficult to account for the Propagation and present Existence of Christianity in so many Regions of the World, without supposing that *Christ* rose from the Dead, ascended into Heaven, and enabled his Disciples, by the miraculous Gifts of his Holy Spirit, to surmount such Obstacles as no mere

human Abilities could possibly overcome. In the former Case, a Cause superior to the ordinary Operations of Nature must be assigned for the Production of Effects plainly above, and contrary to those Operations: And for a Solution of the latter, Recourse in like manner must be had to an Agent of Power and Wisdom transcending and controlling the natural Faculties and Wisdom of Man; and this Cause, this Agent, can be no other than the great Lawgiver of Nature, the All-wise, and All-mighty Creator of Heaven and Earth. He alone could *break up the Fountains of the great Deep, open the Windows of Heaven, and cover the whole Earth with Water*; that is, bring on that, universal Deluge, which alone furnishes us with a Solution of many Phaenomena, otherwise unaccountable; and He alone could break the Jaws of Death, and the Prison of the Grave, *open the Kingdom of Heaven*, and shower down upon Mortals such mighty Gifts and Powers, as are the only adequate Causes that can be assigned of the astonishing and praeternatural Birth and Increase of Christianity. This will not appear exaggerated, if we consider the Difficulties the Gospel had to struggle with at its first Appearance, and the Inabilities, the human Inabilities I mean, of its first Preachers, to oppose and overcome those Obstacles.

The Difficulties they had to encounter were no less than the Superstition, the Prejudices, and the Vices of the whole World; Difficulties of so much the harder Conquest, as being derived, though by Corruption, from good Principles; namely, the Religion, the Nature, and the Reason of Mankind. How powerful an Opposition all these formed against the Gospel, will best appear from a short View of the State of the World under the first Ages of Christianity.

The *Jews*, though possessed of a Body of Laws framed, as they acknowledged, by God himself, had, however, by listening to the Comments and Traditions of the Scholastick and casuistical Scribes and Rabbins, so far departed from the Spirit and Intention of their Law-giver, as to place almost the Whole of their Religion in the Observance of ritual Purities and Ceremonies, to the Neglect of the *\*greater and weightier Matters of the Law, Judgment, Mercy, and Faith*; which, as our Saviour told them, they ought to have regarded, and not to have disregarded the others: That is, the *Jews* were fallen from true Religion into a Superstition, which differed from that of the *Gentiles*, principally, in that the *Gentiles* worshipped a Number of Deities, the *Jews* acknowledged and worshipped One alone; but still they worshipped

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\* Matt. xxiii. 23.

him superstitiously, with exterior Services only, Ablutions, Sacrifices, Observation of Days, and other ceremonial Duties; not perceiving, or not remembering, the great and wise End of those ceremonial Institutions; which, by not allowing any Forms of Worship, but those prescribed by the Law, and not admitting to that Worship any, but those, who by Circumcision would become perfect *Israelites*, not only tended to keep them from being mingled with the *Gentiles*, and learning from them their idolatrous Polytheism; by which Means that fundamental Article of all true Religion, the Belief of one God, though lost in all other Nations, was for many Centuries preserved among the *Jews*; but by the Facts and Festivals, the Purifications, Offerings, and propitiatory Sacrifices appointed in the Ritual, put them perpetually in Mind of the Duties of Prayer and Thanksgiving to God; of the Importance of moral Purity, the Obligation of Repentance, and the Necessity of an Expiation for Sin. But as Holiness of Life was of more difficult Practice than the Observation of Ceremonies, numerous and burdensome as they seem to have been, they soon became willing to commute; and reposing their chief Hopes of obtaining the Favour and Protection of God in their Compliance with the ceremonial Law, they turned their Attention principally to that; and attached themselves to it so strongly, that

though they did not scruple to commit a thousand Immoralities, they would sooner die than eat any unclean Meats, or suffer their Temple to be profaned.

From this Attachment to what they esteemed the Law of *Moses*, they presumed upon the special Favour and Protection of God, and looked upon themselves as sole Heirs of the Promises made to *Abraham* and *David*, and repeated and confirmed by all their Prophets. But the same Blindness that withheld them from seeing the spiritual Intent and Meaning of the ceremonial Institutions, kept them likewise from understanding the spiritual Sense of those Prophecies. The Blessing therefore promised through the Seed of *Abraham*, to *all the Nations of the Earth*, and the *Kingdom* stipulated to the *Posterity of David*, they preposterously interpreted to belong to themselves alone; and expounding the Deliverance of *Israel* intimated by the Prophets, and the Victories and Dominion of the Son of *David* in a carnal Sense, they expected, at the Time of *Christ's* Coming, a Messiah, who should not only deliver them from their Subjection to the *Romans*, but even conquer and subdue *them*, and all the other Powers of the Earth, to the Empire of the *Jews*, the sole Favourites of Heaven, and destined Lords of the Universe, under their invincible



glorious King. These Expectations, so flattering to the whole Nation, had so infected the Minds of all Orders and Degrees, that even the Disciples of *Jesus*, who were (some of them at least) of the lowest of the people, were a long while tainted with them, notwithstanding the spiritual Instructions, and plain Declarations of their Master to the contrary. And though, soon after his Ascension, they seem to have given up all Thoughts of a temporal Kingdom, yet could they not for some Time, nor without an express Miracle, be convinced that the *Gentiles* had any Title to the Mercies of God, or any Share in the Kingdom of the Messiah. Such was the Superstition, and such the Prejudices of the whole *Jewish* Nation.

To these national Prejudices may be added others arising from the peculiar Tenets of the different Sects, that divided among them almost the whole People of the *Jews*. The most powerful of these were the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*: Of whose chief Doctrines some Notice is taken by the Evangelists, as well as of their rancorous Opposition to the Gospel of *Christ*. The Reader who is desirous of seeing a more particular Account of the Opinions of these, and the other Sects, may consult the *\*Universal History*. It may be sufficient to

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\* Vol. IV. p. 169. & seq.

observe here, that they had all of them many Followers, had great Authority with the People, and had, especially the *Pharisees*, a large Share in the Government of the *Jewish* State. And though there was a constant Hatred and Rivalry between them, and consequently so great a Zeal in each for the Advancement of their particular Opinions, that they *would compass Heaven and Earth to gain one Proselyte*, yet they all agreed with the same Ardour to oppose the Progress of Christianity.

The idolatrous Superstitions of the Heathen World, and the zealous Attachment of every Nation and City to the Worship of their respective tutelary Deities, are too well known to be enlarged upon in this Place: But I must observe, that besides the Prejudices of the ignorant and bigoted Multitude, there sprung up from there Superstitions other Obstacles to Christianity no less formidable, though of a different Kind: for many Religious Rites and Ceremonies having, either by Prescription, or the Policy of Legislators, been mixed and interwoven with the Administration of Civil Affairs, the Worship of the Gods was become not only an essential Part of the Constitution, but the great Engine of Government in most States and Kingdoms. Thus, among the *Greeks* and other Nations, Omens and Oracles; among the

*Romans*, Auspices, Auguries, and Sacrifices, either of Thanksgiving, or Propitiation, were often very successfully employed upon great and important Occasions: On which Account, all the *Roman* Emperors, who had appropriated to themselves the Authority of the whole Empire, formerly divided among several Officers, after the Examples of *Julius Cæsar* and *Augustus*, either actually took upon them the Office, or at least the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, Chief Priest ; that is, according to the Definition of *Festus*, *Judex atque arbiter rerun; humnanarun; divinarumque*; the Judge and Arbitrator of human and divine Affairs. And hence those wise, as well as humane Emperors, *Trajan* and the Two *Antonines*, might possibly think themselves under a double Obligation, as Chief Magistrates and Chief Priests, of persecuting the Christians, whom they apparently considered as Innovators with regard to the Constitution, as well as Religion of the Empire. This, though no sufficient Excuse for such barbarous and inhuman Proceedings, may serve however to lessen the Astonishment we are apt to fall into, upon hearing that so virtuous a Religion as that of the Christians, was persecuted by so virtuous a Prince as *Antoninus the Philosopher*; though it must at the same Time be acknowledged, that there was in him a great Mixture of Superstition, however incompatible that is thought to be with

Philosophy. This may also serve to shew us the distressful Situation of Christianity, against whose Progress not only the superstitious Zeal of the Multitude, the Laws and Policy of almost every State and Kingdom, but the seeming Duty of even good and just Magistrates were fatally combined.

If too politick and pious Princes, Religion and the Laws of the State might serve for a Reason or Pretence for opposing Christianity, to wicked Emperors there was yet another Motive, distinct from any Consideration either of Duty or Policy, or even of their Vices; and that was, their own *Divinity*. After all the Power and Dignity of the *Roman* People, and their several Magistrates, was devolved upon the single Person of the Emperor, the Senators, by a Transition natural enough to Slaves, from Counsellors becoming Flatterers, had not only established by Law the absolute Authority of their Tyrants; but so far consecrated their Persons, even in their Lifetime, as to erect Altars to their Names, to place their Statues among those of the Gods, and to offer to them Sacrifices and Incense. Though these impious Honours were conferred upon all alike without any Distinction of Good or Bad; yet the latter, not being able from their own Merit to acquire to themselves any Respect or Veneration, had nothing to stand upon but the

Power and Prerogatives of their Office; of which therefore they became so jealous, as to make it dangerous for any one to neglect paying them those outward Honours, however extravagant and profane, which either the Laws, or their own mad Pride required. And hence adoring the Image of the Emperors, swearing by their Names, &c. became a Mark and Test of Fidelity, with which all who sought their Favour, or feared their Power, most religiously complied; all those especially who held any Magistracy under them, or governed the Provinces. And these, by their Offices, were yet farther obliged to take care, that within the Limits of their Jurisdiction, that most essential Part of the Duty of Subjects to bad Princes, exterior Respect and Veneration, was most punctually paid. Now, as the Doctrines of *Christ* were entirely opposite to all kinds of Idolatry, Christians were by this Test, with which they could by no means comply, rendered liable to the Guilt of that kind of Treason, which Tyrants and their Ministers never pardon, how apt soever they may be to overlook Crimes against Religion or the State. And that this Test was, among others, made use of against the Professors of Christianity, even in the best Reigns, is evident from a Passage in the famous Epistle of *Pliny* to *Trajan*, in which he relates his Manner of proceeding with those who offered to clear themselves of the Charge or

Suspicion of being Christians, in the following Words\*. *"Propositus est libellus sine auctore, multorum nomina continens, qui negarent se esse Christianos, aut suisse: Cum præunte me Deos appellarent, & imagini tua (quam propter hoc jusseram cum simulacris numinum asserri) thure ac vino supplicarent; præterea maledicerent Christo; quorum nihil cogi posse dicuntur, qui sunt revera Christiani. Ergo dimittendos putavi. Alii ab indice nominati, esse se Christianos dixerunt; & mox negaverunt; suisse quidoe, sed desrisse; quidam ante triennium, quidam ante plures annos: non nemo etiam ante viginti quoque. Omnes, & imaginem tuam, deorumque simulacra venerati sunt.; ii & Christo maledixerunt.* A Paper was set forth, without a Name, containing a List of many People, who denied that they either were, or ever had been Christians. Now these Persons having, after my Example, invoked the Gods, *and with Wine and Incense payed their Devotions to your Image (which I had caused to be brought forth for that Purpose, with the Images of the Gods)* and having moreover blasphemed Christ (*any one of which Things it is said no real Christian can be compelled to do*) I thought proper to dismiss them. Others, who had been informed against, confessed that they were once Christians, but denied their being so now, saying they had

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\* Epist. xcvi. 1. 10.

quitted that Religion, some three Years, others more, and some few even twenty Years ago. All these *worshipped both your Image, and those of the Gods, and did also blaspheme Christ.*"

To these powerful Patrons of Superstition, and Enemies of the Gospel, may be added others, whose Authority, though inferior and subservient to the former, at least within the Limits of the *Roman Empire*, was however of very great and extensive Influence; I mean the Priests, Diviners, Augurs, and Managers of Oracles, with all the subordinate Attendants upon the Temples and Worship of almost an infinite Number of Deities; and many Trades, if not entirely depending upon that Worship, yet very much encouraged and enriched by it, such as Statuaries, Shrine-makers, Breeders of Victims, Dealers in Frankincense, &c. All of whom were by Interest, to say nothing of Religion, strongly devoted to Idolatry.

It may not be improper also, under the Article of Religion, to mention the *Circensian*, and other Spectacles exhibited among the *Romans*, the Four great Games of *Greece*, the *Olympian*, *Pythian*, *Isthmian*, and *Nemean*; with many others of the same Kind, celebrated with great Magnificence in every Country, and almost in every City of *Greece* both in *Europe* and *Asia*;

all of which were so many religious Festivals, which by the Allurements of Pomp and Pleasure, not to mention the Glory and Advantages acquired by the Conquerors in those Games, attached many to the Cause of Superstition.

But Superstition, universal and powerful as it was, by its Union with the Interests and Pleasures of a considerable Part of Mankind, was not the only nor the greatest Obstacle that Christianity had to contend with. Vice leagued against it a still greater Number. The Ambitious and Luxurious, the Debauched and Lewd, the Miser and Extortioner, the Unjust and Oppressive, the Proud and the Revengeful, the Fraudulent and Rapacious, were all Foes to a Religion, that taught Humility and Moderation, Temperance and Purity even of Thought, Liberality and Clemency, Justice, Benevolence and Meekness, the Forgiving of Injuries, and *the doing that only to others, which we would have them to do to us*. Virtues agreeable indeed to Reason, and discoverable in Part by the clear Light of Nature; but the Difficulty lay in the bringing those to hear Reason, who had abandoned themselves to Superstition. And how was the almost extinguished Ray of Nature to be perceived, among the many false and glaring Lights of Religion, Opinion, and Philosophy, which recommended and sanctified



many enormous Vices? The Gods, like dissolute and despotick Princes, who have often been very properly compared to them, were themselves the great Patrons and Examples of Tyranny, Lewdness and Revenge, and almost all Kinds of Vice. And Opinion had magnified *Alexander*, and deified *Julius Cæsar*, for an Ambition, which ought to have rendered them the Object of the Detestation and Curses of all Mankind.

Neither was Philosophy so great a Friend to Virtue, or Enemy to Vice, as she pretended to be. Some Philosophers, on the contrary, denied the Being, at least the Providence of God, and future Rewards and Punishments; and, as a just Consequence of that Opinion, placed the Felicity of Mankind in the Enjoyments of this World, that is, in sensual Pleasures. Others affecting to doubt and question every Thing, took away the Distinction of Virtue and Vice, and left their Disciples to follow either, as their Inclination directed. These were, at least indirectly, Preachers of Vice. And among those who undertook to lead their Disciples to the Temple of Virtue, there were so many different, and even inconsistent Opinions, some of them so paradoxical and absurd, others so subtilized and mysterious, and all of them so erroneous in their First Principles, and so defective in many great Points of Religion and Morality, that it is no

Wonder that Philosophy, however venerable in her Original, and noble in her Pretensions, degenerated into Speculation, Sophistry, and a Science of Disputation, and from a Guide of Life, became a pedantick President of the Schools, from whence arose another Kind of Adversaries to the Gospel: A Set of Men, who from seeing farther than the Vulgar, came to fancy they could see every thing, and to think every thing subject to the Discussion of Reason and carrying their Enquiries into the Nature of God, the Production of the Universe, and the Essence of the Human Soul, either framed upon each of these, or adopted some quaint or mysterious System, by which they pretended to account for all the Operations of Nature, and measure all the Actions of God and Man. And as every Sect had a System peculiar to itself, so did each endeavour to advance their own upon the Ruins of all the rest; and this engaged them in a perpetual War with one another; in which, for Want of real Strength and solid Arguments, they were reduced to defend themselves, and attack their Adversaries, with all those Arts, which are commonly made use of to cover or supply the Deficiency of Sense and Reason; Sophistry, Declamation, and Ridicule; Obstinacy, Pride, and Rancour. Men of this Turn, accustomed to reason upon Topicks, in which Reason is bewildered; so proud of the Sufficiency of

Reason, as to think they could account for every thing; so fond of their own Systems, as to dread Conviction more than Error; and so habituated to dispute pertinaciously, to assert boldly, and to decide magisterially upon every Question, that they were almost incapable of any Instruction, could not but be averse to the receiving for their Master a crucified *Jew*, and for Teachers a Parcel of low obscure Persons of the same Nation, who professed to *glory in the Cross of Christ, to know nothing but Him crucified*, and to neglect and despise the so much admired Wisdom of this World; and who moreover taught Points never thought of by the Philosophers, such as the Redemption of Mankind, and the Resurrection of the Dead, and who, though far from forbidding the due Exercise of Reason, yet confined it within its proper Bounds, and exhorted their Disciples to submit with all Humility, and to rely with all Confidence upon the Wisdom of God, instead of pretending to arraign his Proceedings, *whose judgments are unsearchable, and whose Ways are past finding out.*

From this View of the *Jewish* and Gentile World, it is evident that every thing that most strongly influences and tyrannizes over the Mind of Man, Religion, Custom, Law, Policy, Pride, Interest, Vice, and even Philosophy, was united

against the Gospel: Enemies in their own Nature very formidable and difficult to be subdued, had they even suffered themselves to be attacked upon equal Ground, and come to a fair Engagement. But not relying upon their own Strength only (for Prejudice and Falsehood are always diffident and fearful) they intrenched themselves behind that Power, which they were in Possession of, and rendered themselves inaccessible, as they imagined, to Christianity, by planting round them not only all kinds of Civil Discouragements, but even Torments, Chains, and Death: Terrors, which no one could despise who had any Views of Ambition or Interest, and who was not even contented to reign, what he might otherwise have enjoyed in Peace, and without a Crime, his Reputation, his Ease, his Fortune, and his Life. These were the Difficulties which Christianity had to struggle with for many Ages, and over which she at length so far prevailed, as to change the whole Face of Things, overturn the Temples and Altars of the Gods, silence the Oracles, humble the impious Pride of Emperors, those earthly and more powerful Deities, confound the presumptuous Wisdom of Philosophers, and introduce into the greatest Part of the known World a new Principle of Religion and Virtue. An Event apparently too unwieldy and stupendous to have been brought about by mere human

Means, though all the Accomplishments of Learning, all the insinuating and persuasive Powers of Eloquence, joined to the profoundest Knowledge of the Nature and Duty of Man, and a long Practice and Experience in the Ways of the World, had all met in the Apostles. But the Apostles, excepting *Paul*, were ignorant and illiterate, bred up for the most Part in mean Occupations, Natives and Inhabitants of a remote Province of *Judea*, and sprung from a Nation hated and despised by the rest of Mankind. So that allowing it possible, that a Change so total and universal might have been effected by the natural Powers and Faculties of Man, yet had the Apostles none of those Powers, St. *Paul* alone excepted, who was indeed eloquent and well versed in all the Learning of the *Jews*, that is, in the Traditions and Doctrines of the Pharisees (of which Sect he was); a Learning which, instead of assisting him in making Converts to the Gospel, gave him the strongest Prejudices against it, and rendered him a furious Persecutor of the Christians. Yet of this Eloquence, and of this Learning, he made no use in preaching the Gospel; on the contrary, *\*When I came to you, (says he to the Corinthians) I came not with Excellency of Speech, or of Wisdom, declaring to you the Testimony of God; for I determined not to know any thing among*

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\* 1 Cor. ii. 1-4.

*you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified: And I was with you in Weakness and in Fear, and in much Trembling; and my Speech and my Preaching was not with enticing Words of Man's Wisdom. And in the preceding Chapter, comparing the Insufficiency of the Preachers of the Gospel with the Success of their Preaching, he attributes the latter to the true Cause, the Wisdom and Power of God, in these expressive Words: \*For Christ sent me to preach the Gospel, not with Wisdom of Words, lest the Cross of Christ should be made of none Effect. For the Preaching of the Crost is to them that perish, Foolishness; but unto us, who are saved, it is the Power of God. †For it is written, I will destroy the Wisdom of the Wise, and will bring to Nothing the Understanding of the Prudent. Where is the Wise? Where is the Scribe? Where is the Disputer of this World? Hath not God made foolish the Wisdon of this World? For after that in the Wisdom of God the World by Wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the Foolishness of Preaching to save them that believe. For the Jews require a Sign, and the Greeks seek after Wisdom. But we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a Stumbling-block, and to the Greeks Foolishness; but unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the Power of God, and*

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\* 1 Cor. i. 17, 18.

† Is. xxix. 14.

*the Wisdom of God ; because the Foolishness of God is wiser than Men, and the Weakness of God is stronger than Men: For you see your Calling, Brethren, that not many Wise Men after the Flesh, nor many Mighty, nor many Noble, are called. But Gad hath chosen the foolish Things of the World to confound the Wise, and God hath chosen the weak Things of the World to confound the Things that are mighty; and base Things of the World, and Things which are despised, hath God chosen; yea, and Things which are not, to bring to nought Things that are, that no Flesh should glory in; his Presence.*

This is a true Representation of the Condition of the first Preachers of the Gospel, and their Opposers. The latter were possessed of all the Wisdom, Authority, and Power of the World; the former were ignorant, contemptible, and weak. Which of them, then, according to the natural Course of human Affairs, ought to have prevailed? The latter, without all Doubt. And yet not the Apostles only, but all History and our own Experience assure us, that the Ignorant, the Contemptible, and the Weak, gained the Victory from the Wise, the Mighty, and the Noble. To what other Cause, then, can we attribute a Success so contrary to all the Laws, by which the Events of this World are governed, than to the Interposition of God, manifested in

the Resurrection and Ascension of *Jesus Christ*, and the miraculous Powers conferred upon his Apostles and Disciples? A Cause adequate to all the Effects, however great and astonishing. For, with these ample Credentials from the King of Heaven, even a poor Fisherman of *Galilee* might appear with Dignity before the High Priest and Sanhedrin of the *Jews*, assert boldly that *God had made that same Jesus, whom they had crucified, both Lord and Christ*; and make good his Assertion by proving, that He was risen from the Dead, strange and supernatural as it might seem, not only by his own Testimony, and that of his Brethren the Apostles and Disciples of *Jesus*, by whom he was seen *for forty Days after his Passion*, but by innumerable Instances of a Power, superior in like manner to Nature, derived upon *Them* from *Him*, and exercised by them in his Name. From the Scriptures also might the same ignorant and illiterate *Galileans*, shew against the Traditions of the Elders, the Learning of the Scribes, and the Prejudices of the whole *Jewish* Nation, that the humble suffering *Jesus* was the mighty triumphant Messiah, spoken of by the Prophets; since if, with reference to the Interpretations of those Prophecies, any Doubt could have arisen among the People to whose Expositions they should submit, to those of the Scribes and Elders, or those of the Apostles; the latter had to produce,



in Support of their Authority, the Attestation of that Holy Spirit, by whom those Prophets were inspired, now speaking through their Mouths in all the Languages of the Earth. And with regard to that other Point, of still harder Digestion to the *Jews*, namely, the calling the uncircumcised Gentiles to an equal Participation of the Kingdom of God, and consequently the abolishing Circumcision, and the whole Ceremonial Law, the Apostles were furnished with an Argument, to which all the Rabbins were not able to reply; by the Holy Ghost bestowing upon the Gentile Converts to Christianity, the same heavenly Gifts as he had conferred, at the Beginning, upon the believing *Jews*.

Invested with such full Powers from on high, might these same obscure *Jews*, notwithstanding the Contempt and Hatred which all other Nations had for that People, undertake and accomplish the arduous and amazing Task of preaching the Gospel to all the World. The Belief of One God is the fundamental Article of all true Religion; and the Unity of the Godhead is certainly discoverable, and even to be demonstrated by Reason. But this Article of Belief (as I have said before) was not to be found in the Religion of any Nation, besides the *Jews* ; and long Arguments and Deductions of Reason, by which it was to be demonstrated, were above

the Capacity of the greatest Part of Mankind. To prove this important Truth, therefore, in a Manner easy to be comprehended by the weakest, and yet not to be refuted by the strongest Understanding, the Apostles and their Followers were for many Ages endowed, besides all their other miraculous Gifts, with a Power over Devils or Dæmons, (the only Deities of the Pagans that had any real Being) permitted perhaps to shew themselves at that Time in extraordinary Operations, for the Sake of illustrating and proving this great Truth. By this Power they cast them out of many, who were possessed by them, drove them from their Temples, Groves, and Oracles, obliged them to confess their own Inferiority, to acknowledge the Dominion of *Jesus Christ*, and to declare his Apostles to be *\*the Servants of the most high God*, sent to *shew Mankind the Way of Salvation*. This Power they exercised in the Name of *Jesus Christ*, in order to prove his Mediation and Intercession between God and Man, the second Article of the Christian Creed. And as by this Power, thus exercised in the Name of *Christ*, the Apostles and their Followers were enabled to prove, even to the Senses of all Mankind, that there is but One God, and One Mediator: so from that and other miraculous Gifts of the Holy Spirit, healing all Manner of

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\* Acts xvi. 17. See, for many other Instances, *Whitby's General Praface to the Epistles*.

Diseases, speaking with various Tongues, prophesying, &c. did they derive to themselves Authority to teach the great Doctrines of Christianity, Repentance, Remission of Sins, Holiness of Life, future Rewards and Punishments, and the Resurrection of the Dead: Of which last, the Resurrection of *Christ* was both an Instance and a Pledge; as the Effusion of the Holy Ghost upon Believers was a clear Evidence of the Efficacy of Repentance, and the Remission of their Sins. And of the Necessity of a holy Life, and the Certainty of future Rewards and Punishments, nothing could afford a stronger and more convincing Argument, than the Lives and Deaths of these Ambassadors of God, who were apparently guided into all Truth by his Inspiration; and who, upon the Assurance of a blessed Immortality, not only practised all the Virtues they preached, but cheerfully underwent all Kinds of Sufferings, and even Death itself.

After this manner were the first Preachers of the Gospel, weak, ignorant, and contemptible as they were, furnished with Strength sufficient to overthrow the *strong Holds of Satan*, the Superstitions, Prejudices and Vices of Mankind; and by the *Demonstration of the Power of God*, an Argument whose Conclusiveness was visible to the dullest Capacity, enabled to confound the

Subtilties of the most disputatious, and surpass the Wisdom of the wisest Philosophers, in establishing Religion upon the Belief of One God, grounding the Obligation to Virtue upon its true Principle, the Command of God ; and deriving the Encouragement to Holiness of Life from the Promises of God, to reward those who should obey his Will with eternal Happiness, obtained by the Sacrifice and Mediation of *Jesus Christ*. Which last Point, together with the Doctrine of Providence, the free Agency of Man, and assisting Grace, how much soever beyond the Ken of Reason, yet could not but be admitted by all reasonable Men for certain Truths, as standing upon the Authority of Persons visibly commissioned and inspired by God. For what Conclusion of Reason, what Maxim in Philosophy is more evident, than that *Men speaking by the immediate Inspiration of God, cannot lie?* And is not the Divine Inspiration of the Apostles to be inferred with as much Certainty, from the mighty Wonders they performed, as the Divine Creation of the World from the stupendous Beauty, Order, and Magnificence of the Universe? Every Effect must have a Cause; and a supernatural Effect must have a Cause superior to Nature; and this Cause can be no other than God. There may be, indeed, and we are authorised by the Scriptures to say there are, many Beings both good and

bad, endued with Faculties and Powers exceeding those of Man: But these Beings are, doubtless, limited as well as Man in the Exercise of those Powers, and subjected to Laws prescribed to them by their great Creator; which, in respect to them, may be likewise stiled the Laws of Nature. From whence it follows, that they cannot break in upon or disturb the Laws of any other System of Creatures, though inferior to them, without the Permission of the Universal King; who, nevertheless, may certainly make use of them as Instruments to bring about his wise Purposes, even beyond the Bounds of their proper Spheres. Thus, in establishing Christianity, he thought fit to employ the Ministration not of Angels only, but of Dæmons, though in such a Manner as to leave no Doubt of their Subjection to his Sovereignty. The Angels were, upon many Occasions, assisting to *Christ* and his Apostles; the Dæmons trembled, and fled at their Command; and both of them, those by their Subserviency, and these by the Servility of their Obedience, manifestly declared *Christ* and his Apostles to be vested with an Authority and Power derived from their Lord and King. So that Mankind, seeing the Apostles possessed of a Power plainly paramount to the Powers of all other known Beings, whether Angels or Dæmons, could no more question their being commissioned and inspired by God,

than doubt whether the magnificent Frame of the Universe, with all the various Natures belonging to it, was the Workmanship of his Almighty Hands.

Thus by arguing from Effects, notorious and visible Effects, to Causes, the surest Method of investigating and proving some Kinds of Truths, I have endeavoured to demonstrate (if I may speak without Offence) the Certainty of the Resurrection of *Jesus Christ*, upon which the whole System of Christianity depends. For if *Christ* is not risen from the Dead, then, as St. *Paul* says, vain is the Hope of Christians, and the Preaching of the Apostles vain; nay, we may go still farther, and pronounce vain the Preaching of *Christ* himself. For had he not risen, and proved himself by many infallible Tokens to have risen from the Dead, the Apostles and Disciples could have had no Inducement to believe in him, that is, to acknowledge him for a Messiah, the *Anointed of God*; on the contrary, they must have taken him for an Impostor, and under that Persuasion could never have become Preachers of the Gospel, without becoming Enthusiasts or Impostors; in either of which Characters it is impossible they should have succeeded, to the Degree which we are assured they did, considering their natural Insufficiency, the

strong Opposition of all, the World to the Doctrines of Christianity, and their own high Pretensions to miraculous Powers, about which they could neither have been deceived themselves, nor have deceived others. Supposing therefore that *Christ* did not rise from the Dead, it is certain, according to all human Probability, there could never have been any such Thing at all as Christianity, or it must have been stifled soon after its Birth. But we know on the contrary, that Christianity hath already existed above seventeen hundred Years. This is a Fact about which there is no Dispute; but Christians and Infidels disagree in accounting for this Fact. Christians affirm their Religion to be of Divine Original, and to have grown up and prevailed under the miraculous Assistance and Protection of God; and this they not only affirm, and offer to prove by the same kind of Evidence, by which all remote Facts are proved, but think it may very fairly be inferred from the wonderful Circumstances of its Growth and Increase, and its present Existence. Infidels, on the other hand, assert Christianity to be an Imposture, invented and carried on by Men. In the Maintenance of which Assertion, their great Argument against the Credibility of the Resurrection, and the other miraculous Proofs of the Divine Original of the Gospel, founded in their being miraculous, that is, out of the

ordinary Course of Nature, will be of no Service to them, since they will still find a Miracle in their Way, namely, the amazing Birth, Growth, and Increase of Christianity. Which Facts, though they should not be able to account for them, they cannot however deny. In order therefore to destroy the Evidence drawn from them by Christians, they must prove them not to have been miraculous, by shewing how they could have been effected in the natural Course of human Affairs, by such weak Instruments as *Christ* and his Apostles (taking them to be what they are pleased to call them, Enthusiasts or Impostors) and by such Means as they were possessed of and employed. But this I imagine to be as much above the Capacity of the greatest Philosophers to shew, as it is to prove the Possibility of executing the proud Boast of *Archimedes* (even granting his *Postulatum*) of moving and wielding the Globe of this Earth, by Machines of human Invention, and composed of such Materials only as Nature furnishes for the ordinary Use of Man.

**Finis**