

DISSERTATIONS:

The *FIRST* on

The *TREE OF LIFE* in *PARADISE*,

With some Observations on

The *CREATION* and *FALL* of *MAN*;

The *SECOND* on

The *OBOLATIONS* of *CAIN* and *ABEL*.

By *BENJAMIN KENNICOTT*, of *Wadham College*.

— Εδίδξαντο τον λόγον μετα πάσης σοφουμειας, το
καθ' ημεραν ανακρινοντες τις Γραφας, η εχει ταυτα
ΟΥΤΩΣ. *ACT. APOST. 17. 11.*

O X F O R D,

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TO

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The Rev. Dr. THOMAS HUNT. The Rev. Dr. GEO. WYNDHAM.

My Honoured BENEFACTORS,

THERE is scarce any Pleasure more agreeable to the Human Mind, than that which arises

from reflecting on Favours received, when there is a power of expressing a proportionable Gratitude. But You have rendered that almost impossible, by the measure as well as nature of Your Conde-

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scension and Liberality ; Condescension --- such, as shews that Pride is the farthest removed from true Nobility of Soul; and Liberality --- such, as not only relieves, but makes the Receiver happy.

Charity indeed is become the reigning Virtue of our Country ; its tutelar defence, its brightest ornament. And therefore every one, who has experienced the benevolence of British Virtue, and the greatness of its Publick Spirit, should be careful to encourage, by acknowledging it, with a pious Gratitude. And if this be a Duty incumbent upon all that are obliged, 'tis peculiarly so on Me ; who have felt a very uncommon share of Favour, and have found many Fathers, where I could not presume to expect Friends.

'Tis to You I think my self bound to express this sense of my present Happiness ; You, who have raised the character

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rafter even of Beneficence ~~it self~~ --- by contending who should exert it in the most obliging manner, and yet confer the least obligation. 'Tis to some of You I stand indebted for that generous Subscription, which has placed me in this Theatre of Learning ; and to others of You for that Favour and Condescension, by which my Situation here has been rendered still more happy and delightful.

I beg Your Acceptance therefore of my warmest Thanks, thus publicly offered, for the many instances of Your Goodness, so publicly conferred ; and especially for Your Leave to honour my self with the mention of Your Names, in my present appearance before the World. An Appearance this --- arising only from the persuasions of Some of You, to whose Judgment I pay a profound Deference ; and from the fondness of an opportunity to make known
that

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that Duty to You All, 'which (if Kindness, if Charity can at all oblige) You have so richly deserved; and which will, I hope, be the Characteristic of my Life, 'till Ingratitude become a Virtue.

You are entitled, by the strongest claim, to the Labours as well as the Acknowledgments of my Life; and have abundantly more Right to the Production now before You, than to the Fruit of a Tree transplanted into Your own Garden. I have the greatest reason to wish there may be found something useful, and therefore agreeable, in the following Dissertations; on Your account, as well as on my own. And as I doubt not of their containing some Mistakes, it may be decent to observe---that many of You have not yet perused what is here presented You; and therefore have condescended to be the Patrons of the Author only, and not of his Performance.

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The Subjects However will appear, I presume, of consequence ; and to be worthy of a careful consideration. This indeed is evident from the first view of them in themselves ; and it may be further strengthened and ascertained by observing—that our great Countryman Mr. MEDE had minuted them both down for his consideration ; but Death deprived the World of his valuable explanation of them.

What this celebrated Writer proposed, I have ventured to consider. The principal Observations, on which the main part of each Dissertation turns, occurred to me in considering the Original Text ; and I humbly submit the whole, that is here built upon them, to the Judgment of Your Selves, and the rest of the Learned World ; hoping for Your Favour, and their Pardon.

May this little Present, offered only as an Earnest of my grateful Wishes, be
thought

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thought not unworthy Your Acceptance !
The Design You will approve, from that
principle of Religion, which animates
Your Actions ; and forgive the Manner
of its Execution, from that principle of
Candor, which I have so frequently ex-
perienced in the Favours received from
You All. And may the Giver of every
good and perfect Gift, who alone is able
to recompense such a profusion of Good-
ness, reward You an Hundred-fold for
Every Act of Generosity conferred on

Your very dutiful

and most obliged

humble Servant,

BENJAMIN KENNICOTT.

A
DISSERTATION
ON THE
TREE OF LIFE in PARADISE,
With some Observations on
The CREATION and FALL of MAN.

DISSERTATION

T H E F I R S T.

WHILE the Enemies of Reveal'd Religion make it their business and ambition to revile the Sacred Book, in which it is contain'd ; 'tis certainly the duty of its Friends to shew an equal warmth in the vindication and defence of it. And as the Cavils of Unbelievers are frequently founded on the Mistranslation of particular Passages, it may be proper for every one, who (from his acquaintance with the Original Languages) can solve any of these Difficulties, whether real or pretended, to contribute so far his Mite to that great Work, which has of late years been so frequently and so successfully undertaken. A Glorious Work this ! ~To clear up the difficulties of the Sacred Writings, and reconcile the inconsistencies objected to the accounts which they contain ; that so the Word of God may shine forth

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in its native and commanding splendour, and become the admiration of all the sons of Men.

This indeed should be the business; because it is the duty of All; 'tho, more properly, of the Preachers of this Revelation. And these, it must be confess'd, have a task arduous indeed; not to be discharg'd but with the utmost zeal, temper'd with the coolest discretion. For they must, in these days, like the Workmen of old in Nehemiah's, build up the Wall of Jerusalem with one hand, and hold a weapon in the other to repel the Enemy of their Labours.

The present then is an endeavour to vindicate some part of the History of Moses; and Moses, whether we consider him as the earliest Historian, or as the Jewish Legislator, does under both these characters lay a ~~lasting claim~~ ^{claim} to our respect and veneration. For as from him we have the only true account of the Creation and Origin of the World, so upon the strength of his History, and the Prophets which succeeded him, Christianity rises like a fair Superstructure, regular and beautiful; and consequently every attempt to detract from, or add to the credit of the former, is an attempt to shake, or establish the honour of the latter.

Now among all the places pick'd out for ridicule and censure, we cannot easily find one,

that has occasion'd more triumph to the infatigable Infidel, and more frequently escap'd the understanding of the serious Believer, than the account of the Two peculiar and remarkable Trees in Paradise—*The Tree of Life*, and *the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil*. The latter of these has been lately clear'd up, (and the objections that might be made to his solution of it consider'd) by the celebrated Author of the *Essay on Virtue*^b; and the business of this undertaking is to attempt a rational account also of the former. It may not then be improper first to place together, in one view, the account of Both from the English Translation, as it is from thence the objections have been drawn; which done, I shall endeavour to clear the sacred relation from the absurdity imputed to it.

Gen. II. 8. *And the Lord God planted a Garden eastward in Eden; and there he put the Man, whom he had formed.* 9. *And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every Tree that is pleasant to the Sight, and good for Food; the Tree of Life also in the midst of the Garden, and the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.* 15. *And the Lord God took the Man, and put him into the Garden of Eden, to dress it, and to keep it.* 16. *And the Lord God commanded the*

^b Dr. Rutherford, page 273.

Man, saying, Of every Tree of the Garden thou mayest freely eat. 17. But of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die. Chap. III. 1. Now the Serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field, which the Lord God had made; and he said unto the Woman, Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every Tree of the Garden? 2. And the Woman said unto the Serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the Trees of the Garden. 3. But of the fruit of the Tree, which is in the midst of the Garden, God hath said, ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die. 4. And the Serpent said unto the Woman, Ye shall not surely die. 5. For God doth know, that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened; and ye shall be as Gods, knowing Good and Evil. 6. And when the Woman saw that the Tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a Tree to be desired to make one wise; she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her Husband with her, and he did eat.—Then follows the divine examination of the offenders, with their several sentences; after which we read, in Verse the 22.—And the Lord God said, Behold, the Man is become as one of us, to know Good and Evil. And now lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the Tree of Life, and eat, and live for ever. 23. Therefore the Lord God sent him

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him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the ground, from whence he was taken. 24. So he drove out the Man; and he placed, at the east of the Garden of Eden, Cherubims and a flaming Sword, which turned every way to keep the way of the Tree of Life.

Now tho' the objections, that have been made to the History of Moses, have fallen, perhaps, more plentifully on this part than any other; yet the principal intention of this Dissertation (as before observ'd) is to obviate those objections, which have frequently been urg'd against what is here said with regard to the TREE OF LIFE.

It is agreed then, among the Friends of this History, that the use of the Tree of Life was — *to render, or preserve the first Pair immortal.* But in what manner this Immortality was to be effected by their eating of it—whether the Tree was to communicate so surprizing an effect by being *frequently*, or by being *once* tasted — or whether *absolutely*, and by its own inherent virtue; or *conditionally*, and by a virtue sacramentally convey'd from God;—these points (with others on this head) have generally divided those, who have attempted to explain them. For whoever examines carefully into

c Well therefore might Mr. Salkeld observe — That tho' almost all the Writers and Fathers of the Greek and the

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the whole of this matter will find an uncommon diversity in opinion, among the wisest Expositors; and that there are few, who agree in any single method of interpretation, notwithstanding so many, with a laudable design, have attempted a rational illustration of it. From hence it is evident, that some considerable *difficulty*, if not *mistake*, must be at the bottom, which occasions such remarkable *uncertainty*; and therefore it may be presumed, that any new attempt to clear the History in this particular will, if honestly intended, be pardon'd by such, as may think it to fall short of the design of it; and be well receiv'd by such (if there should be any such) as may think it a proper and well-grounded explanation.

I shall therefore propose some of those objections, which have been made, and seem to lie against the generally-receiv'd opinions about the Tree of Life; and that upon each of the different interpretations before enumerated. After which, in order to obviate the force of such objections, I shall endeavour at a rational and consistent sense of those texts, where the Tree of Life is mention'd; which, I imagine, may be done by a careful attention to the Original History, in a manner not yet attempted.—For

Latin Church agree, that the effect of this Fruit was Immortality; yet in the manner, *how*, they do not agree. See his Treatise on Paradise, p. 58.

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tho' it has been taken for granted, that Moses tells us of one particular Tree of Life in Paradise; yet, as the supposal of such a Tree existing or not ~~existing~~ seems to affect no other part of the sacred pages; as also the asserting its real existence has been frequently objected to as absurd, and is allow'd to be very difficult of explanation — it may be worth while to consider, whether the account of Moses may not be fairly understood, without admitting such a particular Tree; by rendering the phrase עץ חיים TREES OF LIFE, in the sense of *Trees for food in general*. If so, all cavils about a *Tree of Life* disappear of course; and also the character of Moses, which the Deists attack with peculiar bitterness, will appear in this one respect, as it certainly is in all, invulnerable by their keenest satyr.

To begin then with the Objections to this particular of the Mosaic History, as generally understood. And here it may be first observ'd — that if there was in Paradise one Tree of Life, which was to render the first Pair immortal; such an effect must have been produced either by their eating of its fruit *frequently*, or by their tasting of it *once only*.

That the Immortality of the first Pair was not to be ~~the~~ consequence of their *frequent* eating of this Tree, seems to appear from the following considerations. The Garden of Eden had

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had been furnish'd by God with all the various sorts of Trees, that were good for food; and Adam had receiv'd an order, or licence, to eat of all, or each of them, as he pleas'd (excepting only the Tree of Knowledge) for the support of his animal life. But if there was in the Garden one particular Tree, which by an extraordinary operative quality was to be the support of human life, or the antidote against mortality; this had been sufficient to preserve Adam from Death, while the use of all the other Trees of food had been thereby superseded: and if so, may not these be said to have been given in vain? But we know that God does nothing without the wisest contrivance; and therefore it should seem, as if the Trees of food in Paradise (especially as every species of Fruit-Trees was planted together in this one Garden) that *these*, I say, were for the nutriment and support of Adam's Life; since there appears no other use arising from their being planted in Paradise.

Now if the Tree of Life was only — a Tree, whose fruit being eaten *frequently* was to render the eaters of it immortal; such an effect must have been produced either by *its own single* and *separate* virtue, or by a virtue *in conjunction* with that of the other Trees in the Garden. But if we say — It was by *its own single* virtue, then we make useless the other Trees; and if we say
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By its virtue *in conjunction*, then we bring it down from any pretensions to superior excellence, it settles upon the same level in use and honour with the other Trees its companions, and consequently all the *Trees of food* in the Garden become equally *Trees of life*.

It was this difficulty, perhaps, which has induced many^d to ascribe the Immortality arising from this Tree to its being eaten of but *once* only. And thus the celebrated Dr. Jenkin, in his Reasonableness of the Christian Religion^e — Since God has endued our ordinary food with a power of nourishment, no man can reasonably doubt, but that he might endue this fruit with such a virtue, that it should have made men immortal to taste of it; and we may well suppose, *says he*, that if they had *once* tasted of this fruit, they should have suffer'd no decay, but have liv'd in constant vigour here, tho' partaking afterwards only of other nourishment.

The Interpreters of this sort ground their opinion on the reason, which God gives for his driving Adam out of Paradise; namely, — *Lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the Tree of Life, and eat, and live for ever*^f. It is

^d Thus Ruppreus affirms — Quod fructus arboris vitæ, *semel sumptus* vitam præstitisset immortalem. Salkeld on Paradise, p. 68.

^e Vol. II. p. 260.

^f Gen. III. 22.

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certain, that this text seems a better support for the last interpretation, than any other interpretation can be furnish'd with from the History it self. This I say, upon the common acceptation of the words. For who, that reads this clear and express passage, and sees God banishing Adam, after eating of the Tree of Knowledge, lest he should take also of the Tree of Life, and eat, and live for ever; who can read this, and not conclude, that if Adam *had* taken, and eaten of the Tree of Life, he *would* have liv'd for ever? This, according to the receiv'd opinion, seems the only conclusion from the words; and they are the words of God himself. But this sense, however confirm'd by the present Versions of the Text, will probably soon appear indefensible; and if so, the Original Words will certainly yield us another interpretation.

But before we proceed to any arguments against this opinion, let us previously lay down Two Observations; which, as they are the ground-work of the History it self, must be also of all the Explications of it: and these are—That of every Tree in the Garden, excepting that of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, God had given Man liberty to eat freely; and—That, upon the Fall, Man forsook Immortality, and became subject to Death.

First.

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First then ; supposing in Paradise a Tree of Immortality, of which Adam was allow'd to eat, we may reasonably suppose that he was *acquainted* with so extraordinary a Tree ; and, if so, that he made a ready use of it, as the great security and privilege of his condition. But if Adam did eat of this immortalizing Tree, how came he presently mortal ? How could he, who, on the present supposition, had render'd himself immortal by eating of the Tree of Life, become mortal by eating of the Tree of Knowledge ?

Secondly ; supposing Adam *not acquainted* with the virtue of this Tree, yet as he had liberty to eat of all the Trees, but one, in the Garden, and this among the rest ; we must grant, that he *might* have tasted it. And therefore, if the Tree was endued with a power of conferring Immortality by being *once* tasted of, the effect must have been the same, if Adam had tasted it, whether he was preacquainted with this virtue of it, or not.

Thirdly ; Adam was created either absolutely immortal, absolutely mortal, or conditionally immortal. If he was created absolutely immortal, he could not have died ; but die he did. If he was created absolutely mortal, he could not but die ; and therefore was not a Candidate for Immortality. But if he was created conditionally immortal, and this conditionally

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nal Immortality hung (as we are assur'd it did) on his eating or not eating of the Tree of Knowledge; it seems impossible he could be allow'd by God free liberty to eat of a Tree of Life, which would render him immortal, and consequently not mortal in case of his violating the divine command.

Fourthly; it seems as if such a Tree would have been altogether unnecessary. Adam, we have seen, was created conditionally immortal; in consequence of which, if he sinn'd, he was to die. But what if he did not sin? Was he still to die? No; the contrary is certain, and in general understood in the following manner — that Adam was not to have had an Eternity of existence on this Earth; but that his Body would have continued free from dissolution, till God should have thought fit to translate him, without Death, to some happier Region, for the enjoyment of Eternity ^g. If Adam then, while innocent, could not have died; what need was there for a Tree of Immortality to preserve his Life? — It was by *Sin* (as we are assur'd by St. Paul ^h) that *Death enter'd into the World*; and consequently all those Pains, Diseases and Decays of Nature, which are only

^g Two Instances of such a Translation from Earth to Heaven, without dying, we meet with in the cases of Enoch and Elijah. See 2 Kings II. 11; and Gen. V. 24, explain'd by St. Paul in Heb. XI. 5.

^h Rom. V. 12.

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(the *Mortis pralibamina*, or) the foretastes of our Dissolution, enter'd by the same channel. And as Adam, while innocent, could not have known Death, or Disease; the fruits of the Trees in general, which God gave him to eat, certainly would, in their original perfection, have been a sufficient support to his animal part, without the intervention of a Miracle, when he could not possibly stand in need of it. For tho' it should be properly said by Dr. John Clarkeⁱ — That Death, or the dissolution of the Body, is the necessary consequence of those laws by which the Body is fram'd; yet it is as properly observ'd by A-Bp King^k — That from the necessary Mortality of Bodies since the Fall no argument can be drawn for the same necessity before the Fall. The reason indeed of such a difference this great Writer leaves us unacquainted with; but, possibly, that may appear hereafter.

And Fifthly; if the first Pair had this suppos'd liberty of rendring themselves immortal, it is scarce possible but the Serpent would have put them in mind of it, as an effectual confirmation of what he so roundly asserted — *Ye shall not surely die*. For we may reasonably suppose a Tempter, of much less subtilty than the Old Serpent, would readily have said — If,

ⁱ See his Serm. Boyle's Lect. Vol. 3. p. 201.

^k See his Origin of Evil; Ch. 4. Sect. 3.

when

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when ye have tasted this Tree of Knowledge, and are become *equal to God*¹, ye imagine Death will be the consequence; ye have at hand a Tree of Life: repair to that, and ye shall be then equal to God both in Knowledge and Immortality. And it is still ~~his~~ possible to be conceiv'd, why Adam, (supposing such a Tree with such a virtue) when he had broke the divine injunction, when he saw his shame, and trembled under the expectation of divine Justice; why he had not then repair'd instantly to the Tree of Life, to secure himself from that Death, which was the sanction of the divine restraint. Whereas, instead of thinking of such a ready and obvious means of safety, (had there been any such) we find him going for Fig-Leaves to twist round him, and conceal his shame.

These Arguments then may suffice to shew, that very considerable difficulties attend the attributing Immortality to this Tree of Life, consider'd as producing this effect by being *once* eaten of. And the consideration of it, as producing such an effect by being *frequently* eaten of, has been before shewn to be attended with no slender objections. So that if these consi-

¹ Gen. III. 5. Drusus in locum — *Mox eo locum vertit fecit Deus*; nam Elohim tam Deum significat, quam Deus: Tom. I. pag. 20. — See also Dr. Rutherford, in his Essay on Virtue, p. 279.

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deductions are of weight, and should appear conclusive, as perhaps they may ; then this Tree of Life was not to communicate Immortality *absolutely*, and by its own inherent virtue ^m. And if thus much be allow'd, then (supposing it to convey such Immortality) it must have been design'd to convey it *conditionally*, and by way of Sacrament ; for this is a necessary consequence, and the only part of the Alternative.

This latter Opinion then is now to be consider'd ; and I shall introduce it in the words of Mr. Willet, in his Hexapla on Genesis ⁿ—The Tree of Life, says he, was not so call'd, because it was able to give Immortality, and preserve from Death for ever ; nor only because it was able to preserve Man from Death, till such time as he should be translated to Immortality. For it is evident, that this Tree had no power to give Immortality at all by the taste of the fruit of it — First ; because no corruptible food can make the Body incorruptible — Secondly ; Man had, by his Creation, power gi-

m Le Clerc in Gen. III. 22. — Quis credat Arborem fuisse ullam, quæ nativâ virtute vitam in æternum hominibus conservare potuerit ?

Léquien, in his Edition of Johannes Damascenus, in his Note on the Tree of Life, says — Maximus utrumque Lignum figurato sensu intelligit, propter difficultates quæ ex Scripturæ Literâ consequi videntur. Tom. 1. Lib. 2. cap. 11.

n Page 27.

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ven him not to die, if he had not sinn'd; wherefore Immortality was the gift of his Creation, not the effect of his eating of this Tree—Thirdly; if it could have given Immortality, it must have had a power to preserve from Sin; otherwise it was no more the Tree of Life, in regard of the effect, than any other Tree in the Garden: for if he had not sinn'd, he should not have died, what fruit soever he had eaten of, the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil only excepted. Our opinion then, *says he*, is this — that it was call'd the Tree of Life, not so much for the *operation*, (tho' it might give strength and virtue also to the Body) but chiefly for the *signification*, because it was *a Sign of Life receiv'd from God*. And herein we approve rather the opinion of St. Austin, who thinks it was call'd the Tree of Life, not effectively, but significatively; as a Sign of true Immortality, which ~~he~~ should receive of God, if he continued in obedience.

But I presume, that this latter Opinion lies expos'd to as considerable opposition, as either of the two before mention'd. For if the Tree of Life was to communicate this uncommon virtue, not inherently and primarily, but mediately and secondarily; or (as it is, perhaps, more generally express'd on this occasion) if it was not to communicate it absolutely and naturally of it self, but conditionally ~~and~~ supernaturally

tually from God ; then it must have had the nature of a *Sacrament*. And this is what some considerable Authors, leaving the other Explanation, (probably on account of the before-mention'd difficulties) have determin'd and adher'd to; or, at least, have hung fluctuating between the two, not determining for either, but leaving the Reader to choofe which he could relish best.

Thus A-Bp King affirms °—that the Tree of Life was truly *Sacramental*, an outward and visible Sign, and means of Grace ; which, *says he*, is the true notion of a Sacrament. Thus the famous Dr. Clarke p—The Tree of Life was the ancient and original *Emblem* of Immortality—By the use of the Tree of Life (*whatever is implied under that expression*) Adam was to have been preserv'd from dying—By Sin Adam was justly excluded out of the Paradise of God, and put out of the reach of the Tree of Life, this *miraculous* means of being preserv'd from Death. Mr. Taylor, in his Treatise on Original Sin q, tells us — The Tree of Life can be consider'd, with any shew of truth, only as either a *pledge* and *sign* of Immortality, or as an appointed *means* of preventing the decay of the human frame, supposing Adam had continued

o Page 78 of the Supplement to the Origin of Evil.

p Sermon. 135. p. 123. Vol. 2. Edit. Fol.

q Page 28.

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obedient. And Mr. Stackhouse^r, tho' with the learning of the present and past Ages before him, is uncertain *how much*, and *what kind* of power to ascribe to this Tree; for he acquaints us — that the Body of Adam was to enjoy the privilege of Immortality, either by a power continually proceeding from God, whereof the Tree of Life was the divine *Sign* and *Sacrament*; or by the inherent virtue of the Tree it self, perpetually repairing the decays of nature.

But in answer to these, and all Explanations of the same kind, it may be observ'd first — that there is not the least ground in the text for making the Tree of Life a *Sacrament*, or a Tree design'd to convey Life sacramentally. Yet, not to urge the want of foundation for this opinion, the opinion it self seems easy to be refuted. For if the Tree of Life was a *Sacrament*, it had the properties of a *Sacrament*; and if it had the properties of a *Sacrament*, then the *Fruit* of it was appointed by God to be the outward and *visible Sign* to Man of something inward and *invisible*, to be conferr'd by the *former* on the *latter*. And as in all *Sacraments* there are certain terms or conditions necessary to be perform'd by Man, in order to his thus receiving benefits from God; so, upon the very supposition, when these terms or con-

^r Hist. of the Bible, Vol. I. pag. 36. and 44

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ditions are either neglected or violated on the part of Man, the benefits on the part of God are suspended: in so much that if Man should then continue to partake of the *Sign*, he could no longer partake of the *thing* originally signified. This is evident. Let us apply it then to the present case. The Tree of Life, we are told, was a Sacrament; the Fruit of it the outward Sign; a Life-giving Power to be communicated by God to Adam the thing signified; and the Condition, on which this Power or Virtue was to be thus communicated, was Innocence, or Adam's continuing in his original Uprightness.

Hence it appears, that Adam, after his Fall, could no longer receive Life or extraordinary Support from the Sign; because the Condition, on which he was to receive the thing signified, was broken^s: and therefore, had he continued in Paradise, this Tree of Life, in the present view of it, could have been of no peculiar service or assistance to him. But this, we know, is contrary to the express meaning of those words — *And now, lest he put forth his hand,*

^s Thus, in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, tho' a Man receives the outward elements of Bread and Wine, he cannot receive the inward or spiritual benefits thereby signified — that is, the *Bread* will not be to him the *Bread of Life* (John. 6. 48.) nor will the *Wine* be virtually to him the *Blood of Christ* (Matth. 26. 28.) unless he receives with a proper Faith, and in such a disposition of Mind, as is necessary on that solemn Occasion.

(after his Transgression) *and take also of the Tree of Life, and eat, and live for ever.* Wherefore we must conclude, that the same virtue or use (whatever it be suppos'd) continued in this Tree after, as before Adam's Transgression.

It would be as endless as it is unnecessary to cite all the various Opinions, which have appear'd upon this Subject; it may not, however, be improper to subjoin two, of a different kind from the foregoing. We have already then consider'd the Tree of Life, as conferring Immortality, by being *frequently*, and by being *once* eaten of; as design'd to preserve the human Body from Death *absolutely* of it self, and *conditionally* by a virtue deriv'd from God after the manner of a Sacrament: and so far we have seen, that the explications of this matter are attended with their several difficulties.

There are some Writers then, who have ascrib'd other purposes to this Tree of Life, and among these Mr. Worthington, in his late Essay on Man's Redemption, tells us — The design of the Tree of Life was to repair all Decays, *Natural* and *Moral*; and tho' it seems to have been capable of conferring Immortality, after the eating of the Tree of Knowledge, yet that it was design'd only for repairing Bodily Decays, is surely too low a notion

of it; its fanative virtue must have reach'd also to the Soul. This opinion, not at all appearing to be supported by the History, seems not to require a particular consideration.

There are, lastly, others, and these a numerous Body, who have asserted, that this Tree of Life was not at all design'd for the support of Adam's Bodily or Present Life; but have resolv'd the whole use of it into *Allegory*, making it to represent the Future and Celestial Life, with which Adam was to be rewarded for his Obedience ^u. Among the various Authors of this figurative opinion, I shall select the following testimony of the learned Heidegger ^w, — The Tree of Life was dignified by that name, not because it had implanted in it a power of conferring Eternal Life on Man, or because it was healthy or fruitful beyond the other Trees of the Garden; but because it was given Man for a certain *Pledge* of that *Eternal Life*, which he was to *obtain*, after a course of *perfect Obedience*. For, *says he*, as to *I know not what physical effect*, to afford Man a present Remedy against Diseases and Infirmary, which many attribute to this Tree — this is by no means to be

^u *Arbor vitæ signum & sigillum vitæ coelestis æternæ, Adamo ex fœdere operum promissæ, sub conditione perseverantiæ in obedientiâ. Cloppenburg, in Sacrif. Patriarchal. Schola Sacra; p. 10.*

^w See his *Histor. Patriarcharum*; Tom. I. Exercit. 4. Sect. 49.

admitted.

admitted. For if you imagine this done by the force of the Aliment, then the other Trees were in vain given to Adam for his Food; and if by a medicinal virtue, Adam, while innocent, had no internal principle or cause of Disease, which might want to be restrain'd by the power of Medicine. Wherefore (*he concludes that*) it deriv'd its Name, not from the Temporal Life, but the Life Celestial and Eternal.

But to this may be oppos'd the more rational and judicious opinion of Dr. Robinson on this Subject^x; which seems sufficient to set aside not this only, but all other Allegorical^y, Symbolical, and Mystic Interpretations of the Tree of Life. Many of our Divines, *says he*, will have this Tree of Life to be a Sacrament; but a Sacrament of *What*, they themselves are not agreed — Some affirm it to have been a Sign and Seal of the *Life Present*, which was to be preserv'd, in case of continued Innocence — Others of a *better Life*, to be exchang'd — Others of the *Life Eternal*, to be *given by Christ* — Others of the *Heavenly and Eternal Life*, pro-

^x Annales Mundi, p. 44.

^y — Nil opus esset, ut hanc cautelam interponerem, nisi ut intra certos limites coercerem *Allegorizandi* licentiam; quæ in immensum exire solet, & seculis ~~denudat~~ ipsam Legis *Literam* prorsus obscuravit — Multi nullum quantumvis legis apicem prætereunt, cui non allegoricum, forsitan & anagogicum sensum assuunt. Spencer de legibus Heb. Tom. 1. Lib. 1. Cap. 15. Sec. 2.

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mis'd to Adam by the *Covenant of Works*—Others of that *Grace* or Favour, by which Adam was to *live for ever*, in case of his *Obedience*. But, *as he observes*, all that has been said of Sacraments, ~~and of an allegorical and mystical sense~~ of this point, seems too *obscure* to agree with the *perspicuity*, too *labour'd* to be of a piece with the *simplicity*, so remarkable thro' the whole Mosaic Narration.

These Opinions then may serve to shew, as well the surprizing *Opposition* and *Uncertainty*², which have so remarkably distinguish'd Interpreters on this subject; as also the *Difficulties*, to which their several interpretations stand expos'd.

2 Dr. Burnet in his excellent Illustration of the Mosaic History, seems not at all satisfied as to the Tree of Life. *We are told* of a Tree of Life, *says he*, which we may reasonably think might be intended as a Preservative against all Decays of Nature—if *any such can be suppos'd* in so pure and perfect a State of Being. And again — *If the Tree of Life was of such a Nature, as to keep from dying &c.* See Boyle's Lect. Sermon. Vol. 3. p. 431. 514.

The same Uncertainty is remarkable in the first Volume of the Universal History; for the celebrated Author, speaking of Paradise, says — In the midst of this Garden were two Trees of a very peculiar, and, *it seems*, contrary nature; one call'd the Tree of Life, the fruit of which *had* the virtue of rendering those who eat it, *in some degree at least*, immortal &c. And — The Tree of Life, *it is said*, had the virtue to prolong life considerably, if *not* for ever. See Book I. Ch. 1. p. 110. 124. Ed. 8vo. See also Mr. Shackhouse, Hist. Bible, at the bottom of p. 44. And Dr. Sam. Clarke, whose words are cited, p. 17.

But

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BUT besides the Difficulties already taken notice of, as encumbering the several *particular Explanations* of the Tree of Life; there are three, which seem to lie against the *Existence* of the Tree itself: and as these ~~are not inconsiderable~~, they may be properly added here, at the conclusion of the Objections, which may be urg'd against the prevailing Opinion.

The First of these Difficulties then arises from the necessity we are laid under by the receiv'd acceptation, of supposing God to have imparted such a virtue to the Tree of Life, as he could neither recall nor alter; and therefore that he drove out the Man from Paradise, lest, by eating of it, he should (contrary to the divine will) acquire *Immortality*; which (from the present version of Gen. III. 22.) seems to have been annex'd to the Tree of Life by an *irrevocable Decree*

The Second Difficulty is—That if we suppose only one Tree, by which human life was particularly to have been supported; how could Adam's Posterity (supposing him and them to have continued innocent) have been able to come from the various parts of the Earth, and gather Fruit from it? Or how could this one Tree of Life have sufficed all Mankind?

^a See A-Bp King's 2d Sermon. at the end of his Origin of Evil.

The last Difficulty which I shall here take notice of, and which will be allow'd to be of some weight against the receiv'd Opinion, is this—On the supposition of one peculiar Tree of Life in Paradise, and that the danger was only on account of that one Tree; why was the Guard of Angels plac'd at the *Extremity* of the Garden^b, to secure the Tree of Life in the *Middle* of it; when this Tree might have been watch'd with much more safety and convenience, if the Guard had been station'd close by the Tree it self? This it seems no easy matter to account for upon the receiv'd Opinion; but if the Interpretation, here offer'd, be admitted, the reason will be evident.

And now, whoever shall think the *Difficulties* before enumerated to be *considerable*, and the *preceding Explanations* of the Tree of Life to be *not sufficiently rational* or *well-grounded*; will readily excuse this farther Attempt to render the Sacred History, in this respect, more defensible. For such is the intention and de-

b That this was the case is evident from the Hebrew Text ; for in Gen. III. 24. we read יֵנֶשׁ אֶת הָאָדָם ויִשְׁכַּן מִקֶּדֶס לִנְעוֹן אֶת הַכְרִיבִים וְאֶת לֶחֶץ הַחֶרֶב תִּמְחַפֵּזֶנָּה לְשֹׂמְרֵי אֶת דֶּרֶךְ עֵץ הַחַיִּים : It is the more necessary to attend to the Original of this verse, because the LXX have evidently mistook the sense of it ; rendering it—Καὶ ἐβόλετο τῷ Ἀδὰμ, καὶ κτενεύουσιν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ τοῦ θρόνου· καὶ ἐστὼς τοῦ χερυθίου· καὶ εἰς φλογίου ἐμφανίης, τῆς ἐξοφύλλου φωλίσσου εἰς αὐτὸν τε βολὴ τοῦ ζώου.

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sign of these Papers; and yet even the Interpretation, here propos'd, is offer'd only by way of *Conjecture*.

To be the more clear then in this important Endeavour, let us step ~~back to the Creation~~ of our first Parents, and accompany the History down to their expulsion from Paradise; for by this method only we shall be able to judge of the consistency of the present, or any other Explanation of this matter. And after having given what seems to be the meaning of the whole (with some new Observations interspersed) I shall endeavour to answer the Objections, that may be made to what is *New* with regard to the *Tree of Life*.

When God Almighty, in his infinite Goodness, and the consequent complacency he must take in communicating Happiness, had determin'd upon the Creation of this World; and the World, in obedience to the Creator's Will, arose from Nothing—we learn from the genuine and only History of this mighty Operation, that it was compleated in Six revolutions of Night and Day*. A World! form'd with such perfect symmetry, and adjust'd in such amazing beauty, as proclaim'd the hand of the Divine Geometrician.

* Gen. I. 31. See also the *Cosmogony*, at the beginning of the *Universal History*; p. 100. Edit. 8vo.

But

But as an Inanimate, or merely Animate Creation could not be the narrow purpose of infinite contrivance, nor render the Tribute of Wonder and Acknowledgement so eminently due to the Great Creator; ~~it~~ introduced to compleat the Scheme of Providence. The World indeed, and all ~~its~~ Apparatus, were but for the accompaniment of this great Inhabitant, and his Palace the Theatre was prepar'd, with all the decorations that could improve the Scene, and ~~the~~ brought forth that Master-piece — to act the noble part of a Free Agent — to offer up, as the High-~~ness~~ Nature, the Incense of Thanks for the perfect race of Beings — and by compleat Holiness to advance the Glory of his Maker, and secure the fruition of his own Happiness. Here was a Scheme, which none but a God, equally infinite in Goodness as in Wisdom and Power, could first meditate, and then carry into execution. A Scheme! which the more we contemplate, the more we must admire; and the more we admire, the more we must adore: especially when we consider Our Selves the happy Beings thus wonderfully provided for. — *Lord, What is Man, that thou shouldest be so gracious unto him! That thou shouldest create him but little lower than the Angels, and thus crown him with Glory and Honour^d!*

What *Man* is, is now the point in which we are concern'd; and his original condition will appear from the history of his Creation in the Book of Genesis. We read then in Chap. I. 26, 27. — *And the Lord God said, Let Us make Man in our Image, after our Likeness; so God created Man in his own Image, in the Image of God created he him: Male and Female created he them.* And in Chap. II. 7. — *And the Lord God formed Man of the dust^e of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of Life, and Man became a living Soul.* This is the concise, but full Account of our Father Adam's noble Origination.

But before we proceed to consider the Nature of Man, in more particular terms, it may be necessary that some notice be taken of that peculiar form, in which the history of his creation is here introduced. For we find, that God did not merely order Man to exist, and he existed; in the method he had taken with the other parts of his creation; but forms (as

^e The Original words are **פֶּחַל עֹפָר**; on which Heidegger has this Observation—*Infinuare voluit divinus Scriptor, non solum Terram esse Materiam, ex quâ factus homo; sed etiam hominem nihil aliud esse quàm Pulverem de terrâ sumptum, qui inolescendi proinde causas nullas habeat. Unde etiam *χωμας pulverem* primum hominem insignivit Apostolus, 1 Corinth. XV. 47. Hist. Patriarch. Exercitat. 4. Sect. 17.*

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it were) *a Divine Consultation*^f, before he enter'd on this noblest part and finishing stroke of his design.

What this Consultation means, or of whom it was intended by the Sacred Historian, has been matter of warm Controversy. But if we drop all prepossession and party-attachment (for there is such a thing in Religion, as well as in Politics; and in each of them, like a false Light, it will certainly mislead the man, who resolves to walk by its direction) it seems easy to find what Moses would have us here understand. God, being about to create Man, is introduc'd saying — *Let Us make Man, in Our Image, after Our Likeness*; in consequence of which the Historian tells us — *so God created Man in his own Image, in the Image of God created he him*. It is evident then, that God created Man in his own Image; this is mention'd thrice by way of Emphasis, and to prevent, if possible, all possibility of misconstruction.

Now what God did, was certainly the same that he propos'd to do; God created Man in his own Image, that is, in the Image of the Godhead, and therefore God propos'd to create him in the Image of the Godhead. But if God propos'd to create him in the Image of the

^f See the Cosmogony, at the beginning of the Univ. History, p. 91. Edit. 8vo.

Godhead,

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Godhead, the proposal must have been made to the Godhead ; because the words are — *Let Us make Man in Our Image*. And if the proposal be here made by God to the Godhead, it is absurd to suppose it made to the same Person, that makes it ; and consequently reasonable to think it made to the other two Persons in the Unity of the Godhead ^g. For we have certain evidence from the New Testament, that the *Three Divine Persons* are *One God*; and that Each took upon himself a distinct part, and separate character, in the grand scheme of Man's Redemption : and if *interested* so much at his *Redemption*, we may safely conclude them not *unconcern'd* at his *Creation* ^h.

g See this important Point farther explain'd in Dr. Knight's first Sermon. and Mr. Ridley's second Sermon. at Moyer's Lectures.

h That God did not here address the Angels, appears — from the words themselves ; Let Us make Man in *our* image, so God created Man in *his own* image — from the same manner of expression in verse the 22d of the third Chapter, where the words are evidently confin'd to the Deity — and from God's disclaiming any Consultation with inferior Beings, in these words of Isaiah XL. 12, 13, 14. *Who hath measur'd the Waters in the hollow of his hand ? and meted out Heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the Earth in a measure, and weighed the Mountains in scales, and the Hills in a balance ? Who hath directed the Spirit of the Lord, or being his Counsellor hath taught him ? With whom took he Counsel, and who instructed him ? — And* that God did not speak here, in the manner of Kings, of himself in the plural number, is plain ; because these are given as the very words of God, at the creation of the first Man. Yet

To

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To return now to the Nature of the first Man, who was form'd in consequence of this Consultation. His Material part then was the Dust of the Earth, work'd up into an organiz'd Body, to be sustain'd upon the common principles of Nutrition. And this Body was actuated by an Immortal Spirit; which was not made, like the Body, out of pre-existing Matter, but created out of nothing by the great *Father of Spirits*, and infused or breathed into the human composition; and, by this, *Man became a living Soul*, or was advanced into a Being capable of Life and Immortality.

This Compound Being God created *in his own Image, after his Likeness*; and as great stress is laid by the divine Historian on God's creating him in this manner, it may be proper to attend to the meaning of the words, which are evidently of some importance. The word *צֶלֶם* is here rightly translated *Image*; and signifies a *just picture or compleat representation*. But lest this should be too sublime a boast for any Creature, the Expression is immediately soften'd by the word *דְּמוּת*, which signifies

supposing Moses to write here according to the custom of his own times, the opinion of Kings speaking *then* of themselves in the plural number is without foundation; for Melchizedek, Abimelech, Pharaoh, and Balak, speak all in the singular number; and we find Saul, David, and even Solomon in all his glory, delivering themselves in the same style. See also Grotius Tom. I. 14.

likeness

likeness or resemblance; and this is render'd still more faint by the prefix'd preposition, which signifies *according to and in some agreement with*. Man therefore was created in the Image of God; not indeed in the express and full Image, but after the Likeness or according to the Resemblance of that unequal'd and supream Beingⁱ. So that as Man was by his Body allied to the Earth, and was to partake of the productions of that to invigorate his animal Nature; so by his Soul he was allied to Heaven, and was blest'd (in the degree a Creature of his order can be blest'd) with all the communicable Attributes of the Deity; becoming, as it were, the middle Creature in the scale of Beings. The Original Likeness or Resemblance then, which Adam bore to God, was in the enjoying such Excellencies in an inferior degree, as in God are absolute and perfect—Wisdom, Goodness, Power, and Immortality.

The Body of the first Man, says Dr. Burnet^k, was perfect, not only in its integrant parts, but in the most vigorous constitution and natural firmness, the most regular crasis and disposition of the Blood, the most equal motion of the animal Spirits; and all this, in the most

ⁱ Theodotion's Version of this passage is — *Facimus hominem in imagine nostrâ, quasi in similitudine nostrâ*. Orig. Hexapl. Edit. Montfaucon.

^k Boyle's Lect. Sermon. Vol. 3. p. 423.

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finish'd proportion, capable of living for ever in its original Perfection. This then, with all its Faculties and Powers, Appetites and Senses exactly suited to their several Objects was the *Natural Perfection* of the Body. And this Body was also perfectly subject to the Soul ; so as not to be naturally carried towards any thing that Reason disallow'd, nor in any other manner or measure than as Reason approv'd ; and this was its *Moral Perfection*.

But as all derivative Perfection is finite, it must be attended with some degree of Imperfection ; and what is in some degree imperfect, must be capable of miscarrying. The State, as well as Glory, of Human Nature was consequently *Free-Agency* ; and, from the nature of Free-Agency, Man being capable of choosing Good, he must be also capable of choosing Evil. 'Tis this Power, and a wise enjoyment of it, that constitutes Virtue ; and as the Happiness of Man, however great, was only to correspond with his Holiness (between which there is an inseparable connexion) so his Holiness or Obedience could not be made appear, but by something enjoin'd him, to which he might be disobedient. It is also evident, that none can be independent but God ; Man therefore, being necessarily a dependent Creature, must naturally expect some mark of his Dependency. This then God gave him, but in a Restriction

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the most mild and gracious; and as the same thing was to be the Test also of his Obedience, it was couch'd in the clearest and most self-evident Terms. And here we may observe, that no Moral Precept could have been at all proper on this occasion, as there was then scarce a possibility of his transgressing any such; it must have been therefore some indifferent action, neither good nor evil in it self, but so far only as it was commanded or forbidden ^l. What then so natural, what so agreeable to the state of our first Parents, considering they were to live all their Lives in a Garden, as the forbidding them to eat of the fruit of a certain Tree in that Garden; a Tree, near at hand, and therefore giving them a constant opportunity of shewing Obedience to the divine Authority, by their abstaining from it ^m? This, the Historian tells us, was really the case; and the Tree, which God selected for this purpose, was remarkably situated in the very middle of the Garden, the better to guard against mistake. This Tree, when chosen, God called—*the Tree of the knowledge of Good and Evil*; not that its fruit would make the eaters of it more knowing, or that this appellation of it was intended to imply any change, which, by their eating the

^l See Mr. Mede, Book I. Discourse 41. page 222.

^m See Universal History, Book I. Chap. 1. p. 131. Edit. 8vo.

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fruit of it, would be made in their intellectual faculties". But the Original Words עץ הָרַעַת טוֹב וְרָע may be translated — *The Tree, which is the Test of Good and Evil* — the Tree, by which God would try them, and by which it should appear, whether they would be good or evil — whether or no they would own the Sovereignty of their Maker, and obey or disobey his Commands. For in the verses, which immediately follow the account of Man's formation, we read — Gen. II. 8. *And the Lord God planted a Garden eastward in Eden; and there he put the Man, whom he had formed.* After which the history proceeds to the first mention of what is call'd the Tree of Life; and therefore I shall here lay before the learned Reader the Text it self. Verse the 9. — וַיִּצְמַח יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים מִן הָאֲדָמָה כָּל עֵץ נְחֻסֵּר לְמִדְּרָאָה וְטוֹב לְמַאֲכָל וְעֵץ הַחַיִּים בְּתוֹךְ הָנָן וְעֵץ הָרַעַת טוֹב וְרָע: Which words may be render'd thus — *Et germinare fecit Jehova Deus à terra omnem arborem desiderabilem ad aspectum, & bonam ad cibum & arborem vita^o; & in medio horti (or—in medio horti etiam) arborem cognoscendi bonum & malum.* In English thus — *And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every Tree that was desirable*

n See Dr. Rutherford's Essay on Virtue, p. 173.

o That these two Expressions are synonymous, or that the latter is only exegetical of the former will appear hereafter.

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to the Sight, and that was good for Food and a Tree of Life; and in the middle of the garden the Tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Leaving the vindication of this Construction to its proper place ^p, I shall proceed regularly with the History. Accordingly, in Verse the 16th. we read—*And the Lord God commanded the Man, saying, Of every Tree of the Garden thou mayest freely eat. 17. But of the Tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of that; for in the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die.* Here then was the Test of the Obedience of our First Parents, and this the Covenant God was pleas'd to establish with them in their state of Innocence; the Condition was only one, and on this hung their Happiness and Immortality.

For we may reasonably maintain, says the learned and pious Dr. Stanhope ^q, that not only actual Death, or a *necessity* of dying, but even Mortality it self, and the very *capacity* of dying, was properly a Penalty, and introduced by our first Parents Fall. Had they not fallen, it had not been so much as possible for them to have died. And with regard to this conditional Impossibility, Man may be truly said, in respect of Body as well as Soul, to have been made

^p See the Answer to the Last Objection, at the conclusion of this Dissertation.

^q Boyle's Lect. Sermon. Vol. 1. p. 696.

after

See Dr. Jennings's Letter to
June 28 - 1759

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after the likeness of the Immortal God. But now, because his Body was compounded of Materials *capable* in themselves of, tho' not originally *liable* to, Corruption; and because his Soul was endued with a principle of Freedom, which by making a good or bad choice might determine him to the consequences ordain'd by God for either; in this sense, and absolutely speaking, it was possible for him to *die*, because it was possible for him to *sin*: so that Man originally *might not*, and, supposing him not to have offended, *never could* have died. Thus stood the Immortality of Adam, and his Innocence was the Tenure by which he held his Happiness.

This was such a Scene as might naturally be suppos'd to move the envy and attention of Satan, that Prince of the degraded Beings, the Evil Angels. For these, being also created Free-Agents of an higher order and capacity, had, for some act of Rebellion against the Highest, been cast down from their native Habitations of Light and Joy¹. Man therefore being now created, and being with his Progeny

¹ See 2 Pet. II. 4. Jude VI. The Cosmogony at the beginning of the Universal History, p. 105. 8vo. Isaiah XIV. 12.—*How art thou fallen from Heaven, O Lucifer, Son of the Morning!* 13. *For thou hast said in thine heart I will ascend into Heaven, I will exalt my Throne above the Stars of God.* 14. *I will ascend above the Clouds, I will be like the most High.* 15. *Yet thou shalt be brought down to Hell.*

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(if found worthy) design'd, perhaps, to fill up the several Orders in the Celestial Kingdom, vacated by these Apostate Spirits; what wonder if these Spirits should contrive the Fall also of these terrestrial Beings, in order to involve them in equal blackness with themselves, and so frustrate the gracious purposes of this New Creation?

But whatever other designs God might have in creating Man, we may safely conclude him created for *his own Happiness*, and *his Maker's Glory*; and these purposes were too great and important not to raise the fury of the Evil Angels, and induce them to contrive his Ruin^s. Not that any Apostate Spirit could act by command or irresistible impulse; and consequently be an *independent Supreme Principle of Evil*. No: the power of such was limited, and *Temptation* was all that was allow'd, or could properly belong to it. And to have permitted the temptation of our first Parents, can be no impeachment of the divine Goodness; because, without a Trial, there had been no Virtue; nor could there, without an Attack, have been a possibility of Victory. 'Tis true, God permitted them to be tempted by the Devil, but they had strength enough to withstand the force of his Words; especially as God did not permit him to tempt them under an Angelic Ap-

^s Universal History, Book I. Ch. I. p. 125. 2^d Ed. 8vo.

pearance,

Is command or irresistibly imperious?

pearance, that so the Quality of the Speaker might not recommend his Rhetoric †.

And now, *what could have been done more to this Vineyard of the Lord, that the Lord had not done in it? — For this Vine, which his own right hand so eminently planted, and the Branch that he made so strong for himself? But, when he look'd (when he might reasonably expect) that it should bring forth Grapes, it brought forth Wild-Grapes. What wonder then, if God look down from Heaven, and behold, and visit this Vine? What wonder, if it be burnt with fire, and cut down, and perish at the rebuke of his countenance?* ‡

But, to drop from the loftiness of prophetic Language, let us take a literal view of this important Transaction. — The Chief of the fallen Spirits * (as we may infer from Scripture, and the reason of the thing) having selected the Serpent, as being the most subtle among the Beasts of the Field †, and evidently therefore

† See Scripture vindicated; p. 16.

‡ Psalm LXXX. and Isaiah V.

§ In St. John VIII. 44. *the Devil* is said by our Saviour to have been a *Murderer from the beginning*; which is plainly an allusion to this seduction of our first Parents, and the Mortality thereby introduced. In Rev. XII. 9. the Devil is call'd *the Old Serpent*. And the Author of the Book of Wisdom, who was well acquainted with the doctrines of the Jewish Church, tells us — *By the envy of the Devil came Death into the World*; Wisd. II. 24.

¶ Gen. III. 1. *The Serpent was more subtle than any Beast of the Field*. And our Saviour exhorts his Disciples to be *wise as serpents*; but to be *harmless as Doves*. Matt. X. 16.
the

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the most proper for his purpose, makes that the Instrument thro' which he might form his attempt on the Virtue of our first Parents; and as their happy Immortality depended on the not eating of the Tree in the middle of the Garden, *there* was of necessity to be his Plot.

Having therefore got a proper opportunity, the Serpent began to question the Woman about the nature of the divine Prohibition. More words, perhaps, had previously pass'd; which, not being material to the Historian's brief design, are omitted, and we are led directly to the point. Chap. III. 1. *And the Serpent said unto the Woman, Indeed! hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every Tree in the garden?* 2. *And the Woman said unto the Serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the Trees of the Garden.* 3. *But of the Fruit of the Tree, which is in the midst of the Garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of that, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.* Here then was a fair acknowledgment of the divine Prohibition; and therefore the Tempter had nothing left to do, but to endeavour to

y Milton IX. 91. ——— For in the wily Snake
Whatever Sleights none would suspicious mark,
As from his Wit and native Subtilty
Proceeding; which, in other Beasts observ'd,
Doubt might beget of Diabolic pow'r
Active within beyond the sense of Brute.

And in 2 Cor. XI. 3. we read — that *the Serpent beguiled Eve thro' his Subtilty.*

persuade

persuade her of her having been misinform'd; and that she should not die, whatever she might have been threaten'd with to keep her in awe and subjection. Wherefore he immediately replies— 4. *Ye shall not surely die*: And, to give weight to his assertion, he cunningly alludes to the Expression of עץ הדעת טוב ורע, made use of by God in a very different sense; and, quite in Character², perverts it to his own purpose in the following manner. 5. So far from dying, says he, that *God knoweth* (he hath told you himself in the very name of the Tree) *that in the day ye eat thereof, then your Eyes shall be open'd; and ye shall be equal to God ידעי טוב ורע knowing good and evil.*

Thus artfully was the Bait prepar'd; and we find that it went down, after some little deliberation. The Woman probably was taken with the beautiful appearance of the Serpent; was agreeably surpriz'd to hear him speak articulately; and was prejudiced strongly in his favour, because he had so seeming a Concern for her better welfare. 'Tis also probable, that the Serpent eat of the fruit of this Tree first himself, and made that eating of his an argument against the Mortality they had been taught to expect from eating it — I have eaten (he

² John VIII. 44. — *The Devil was a Murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the Truth, because there is no Truth in him; for he is a Liar, and the Father of it.*

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might say) and you still see me eat, but I die not; nay my capacity is enlarg'd: I speak! I reason! How greatly then shall *Ye* be exalted! *Ye* shall be like God, knowing all the principles of good and evil; and so be on an equality with that Deity, who would invidiously keep you dependent on himself, and prevent your greater Happiness*.

From the Serpent's eating the fruit of this Tree then the Woman takes encouragement; and therefore Moses lays down *this* as the first principle on which she reasons. The second is, that *it was pleasant to the eye*; and the last, that *it was* (as she was now inform'd) *a Tree desirable to make her wise*. 'Twas this, the last inducement, that struck her deepest;—to be on a level with God—to know good and evil—were powerful incitements; but had she given due weight to the consideration of her Creator's Prohibition (as doubtless it must have occur'd frequently to her mind) she had been effectually secur'd. But, however fatal the consequence, *equal to God* she would be; and so

a That the *Serpent did eat* of this fruit is probable because we read, that *the Woman saw the Tree was good for Food*. Now as the word *saw* must be understood here as an act of the Mind, and is frequently so us'd, it had been better render'd *consider'd*. But the Woman could not consider, or form any inference, that this Tree was good for Food, unless she had seen it tasted by some one; *and this*, in the present case, could be no other than the *Serpent*.

presently

presently eat, to put herself in possession of superior greatness: tho' she had no farther assurance of obtaining it, than the word of a Creature very inferior to herself, and that in express contradiction to the command of her Creator^b.

Hurried and heated by the rash action, and so full of expectation as to leave no room for reflection, she seeks her Husband; to make him partaker of her New Food, that so they might share the imaginary Happiness. The Arguments, by which she had been captivated were, no doubt, laid forth in all their forcible engagements; but we have reason to think, that Adam, more cautious and cool, was better fortify'd by the Command of his Creator. Yet, however guarded he was, or whatever expostulations he may be suppos'd to have made with his fallen Wife; we are inform'd, that *he also eat with her, or as she had done before him* (for the words will signify either) and by this fatal conjunction in the Sin, became a necessary companion in the Punishment.

b Milton IX. 896.

O fairest of Creation, last and best
Of all God's Works; Creature, in whom excell'd
Whatever can to Sight or Thought be found
Holy, Divine, Good, Amiable or Sweet!
How art thou lost! how on a sudden lost!
Deflac'd, deflower'd; and now to Death devote!

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We might be induced to believe, that the arguments of his Wife, with which she had been furnish'd by the Serpent, had some influence on his compliance; and that the subtle Tempter chose to attack him thus at second hand, by making the Wife the seducer of the Husband; as every word from one he so dearly lov'd would come with double force, and a much stronger probability of persuasion. But there is a remarkable assertion of St. Paul's, in his first Epistle to Timothy^c; where, among the reasons for the Superiority of the Man over the Woman, he gives this — *Eve, being deceiv'd, was in the Transgression; but Adam was not deceiv'd.* Now, if Adam was not deceiv'd, he must have eaten with a full conviction of the consequence, and out of love and affection for his miserable Wife^d. But it seems most rational to suppose the Apostle here to mean — that Eve was first deceiv'd, and that immediately by the Serpent; but that Adam eat, without seeing the Serpent, after the deception was finish'd; and therefore that he was partly induced by the arguments, and partly by the solicitations of Her, with whom, as he had sha-

^c 1 Tim. II. 14.

^d Milton IX. 997. ——— He scrupled not to eat
Against his better Knowledge; not deceiv'd,
But fondly overcome with female Charm,
1165 Who might have liv'd, and joy'd in mortal Bliss,
Yet willingly chose rather Death with Thee.

red in Happiness, he resolv'd also to share in Misery.^e

Thus fell the first happy Pair, forfeiting at once their title to Happiness and Immortality; for the terms of the Covenant, as before observ'd, were — that they should continue Immortal as long, and only as long as they continued Obedient. How long indeed the golden age of Innocence did continue, is not certain; nor, perhaps, relative to the case in hand. But that they did not immediately transgress the divine command, and especially on the day of their creation (as has been sometimes imagin'd) seems clear from this — that (besides the shortness of *one day* for the *several actions* done by Adam *before his Fall*) God himself, after the sixth day was past, declared every thing to be *very good*; which he could not have done, if Sin, that *greatest Evil*, had then enter'd into the world^f.

But leaving the Time of their Uprightness, which is impossible to be determin'd, we are assur'd of this — that they fell; and the first thing we read concerning them as fallen is an

^e James I. 13, 14, 15. *Let no man say, when he is tempted, I am tempted of God; for God cannot be tempted with Evil, neither tempteth he any man; but every man is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own Lust, and enticed. Then when Lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth Sin; and Sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth Death.*

^f Universal History, Book I. Ch. I. p. 121. Edit. 8vo.

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observation of the Historian — that *the Eyes of them both were open'd*^g. The Serpent, as we have seen, had before told them, that their Eyes should be open'd, and that they should be equal to God; and therefore the first thing Moses says of them is— *The Eyes of them both (indeed) were open'd, but*^h *they knew that they were naked.* And as this was the only Knowledge they acquir'd; so, in compliance with this recent sense of Shame, *they platted a few Leaves of the Fig-Tree together, and made themselves Coverings.*

To account rationally for this sense of Bodily Shame, which we are expressly told they were affected with now, and not before the Fall; it may (perhaps) be properly observ'd — that this Transgression of theirs was an *undue Election*; and that by this undue Election the Ascendant or Over-Balance was gain'd by the natural Appetites and Affections, which had been now *indulg'd*, above the powers of Reason, which had been arbitrarily *controll'd*, and brought into Subjection by a lawless Usurpation. So that we see how the inward Rectitude of Man was lost, as well as what is meant by *Original Corruption*; and may consequently account, why Adam should become sensible of Shame, and

^g Gen. III. 7.

^h The frequent necessity of thus rendering the Particle *but* appears from Noldius; See his *Particulæ Hebrææ* Part. 1 Signif. 59.

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be agitated with irregular Passions, as soon as his governing Power was dethron'd, and he had lost that original influence, which before kept all the faculties of the Body and appetites of Nature in perfect order.

The next thing, and what we might naturally expect to follow, is the appearance of *Jehova*, whose Voice they heard, as it came ⁱ louder and louder thro' the garden, in the evening of the Day. Upon the first sound of this awful voice (for 'tis probable God call'd to them more than once ^k) the Criminals, not knowing readily what to offer on their own behalf, *hid themselves from the presence of the Lord among the Trees of the Garden.* But tho' God, whose

i That the word *מַתְהַלֵּךְ* may be applied to the Voice of God, is plain from its being used in Exod. XIX. 19. in conjunction with the same word *קוֹל*; and that it must be so applied here, appears from Gen. III. 10.

k This seems evident from Adam's own words, Chap. III. 10. — *I heard thy Voice in the garden, and I was afraid — and hid my self.* The case then seems to be this — In the evening of the day God calls upon Adam to appear before him, and the Voice of God is said (in the majesty of the Hebrew phrase) *to walk towards him* in the garden; and perhaps *לְרוּחַ הַיּוֹם* may be render'd — *in the Wind of the day*, that is, the Voice of God came to him waving in the wind or breeze of the day. But Adam, instead of answering, endeavours to conceal himself. Upon this, God summons him *again*; and now, lest he should aggravate his guilt by a longer silence, he answers—that, upon hearing God's voice at first, he was struck with confusion; and had therefore endeavour'd to retire from him.

Eyes

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Eyer (in the Prophet's Stile ¹) *run to and fro thro' the whole Earth*, saw well the Subterfuge, which Adam had weakly chosen, and the cause also of his flying thus unusually ^m from his presence; yet, to increase his confusion, he calls unto him—*Where art thou?* In answer to which dreadful Summons the trembling Sinner reply'd—*I heard thy Voice in the Garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked; and I hid my self.*

Here it may be observ'd, that Le Clerc, and those who with him would have the word *Naked* here to signify—that he had *sinned*, do not seem to write consistently with the Text. For how strange would it appear, if, when Adam had said—*I heard thy Voice in the Garden, and I hid my self, because I have sinned*, that God should answer—*Who told thee that thou wast Naked? Hast thou eaten &c.* that is, (if these Interpreters are consistent with themselves) after Adam had *confess'd* his having *sinned*, God is suppos'd to say—*Who told thee that thou hast sinned? Hast thou sinned?*—This certainly is inconsistent enough; for God knew that Adam could not want an information that he had sinned, especially when his fearful conduct so loudly proclaim'd it, and even Adam himself had that moment *confess'd* it.

¹ Zech. IV. 10.

m Milton IX. 1080. —How shall I henceforth behold
The Face of God or Angel, erst with Joy
And Rapture oft beheld?————

But

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But the sense seems to be this—Adam, while innocent, was naked and not ashamed; when guilty, he became sensible of Shame; which was owing (as before observ'd) to the Ascendant which his Passions gain'd over his Reason, at the time of his transgression. For then, as these Passions were become superior in him, he began to feel the effects of their instigation, and so from a sense of Shame cover'd his Waist with Fig-Leaves. This *sense* of *Nakedness* then was the *effect* of his *Sin*; and therefore it is no wonder he fled from the Lord among the Trees of the Garden, to conceal (if possible) the Fig-Leaves he had twisted round him.

Let us now reconsider the Text. *And the Lord God said—Where art thou? And he said—I heard thy Voice in the Garden, and I was afraid because I was Naked; and I hid my self.* He seems here to bear off from the *confession* of the *Cause*, by *acknowledging* only the *Effect*; and owns so far, that he hid himself because he had found himself to be Naked. But God, who knew that this discovery, or sense of his Nakedness, could only arise from his Transgression, interrogates him again thus — *Who told thee that thou wast Naked?* No one could shew thee this—this must be thy own discovery, and is a strong presumption of thy loss of Innocence. — *Hast thou then eaten of the Tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat?* Or,

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as it is more spirited in the Original ⁿ, *What ! Of the Tree, which I commanded thee not to eat, of THAT hast thou eaten ?* The Man, confounded with the thunder of this enquiry, and expecting instant Death, if he could not offer something in his own Excuse, throws the blame upon his Wife ; which, however, he did not intend should rest there, but recoil back upon his Creator. *I have eaten*, says he, *but the Woman gave me of the Tree ;* even the Woman, whom Thou gavest to be with me, or to be my constant Companion. Upon this God address'd himself to the Woman, saying, *What is this that Thou hast done ?* The Woman, who had now still more to fear from the unexpected impeachment of her Husband, passes her guilt off upon the Serpent ; *the Serpent*, says she, *beguiled me, and I did eat.*

The Criminals having thus confess'd their Transgression, with the only poor Plea which each of them had to offer ; God proceeds to pronounce their several Sentences. That the Tempter, the grand Criminal, was present is very reasonable to suppose ; whether we consider his stay as voluntary, to enjoy the fruits of his Victory and Triumph, and overhear the doom of the fallen Pair ; or whether we consider it as involuntary, and that he was detain'd

n Gen. III. 11. הכן העץ אשר צייתך לבלתי אכל
ממנו אכלת :
or

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or recall'd by almighty and omnipresent Agency. Yet tho' the Tempter was present, God does not interrogate *him*, but begins with the denunciation of *his* punishment. The Serpent indeed had been only the Instrument made use of; but as the Tempter had been a Serpent in appearance, God, in his curse upon this Tempter, uses such expressions as suited entirely with the nature of the *Serpent*; yet at the same time the Curse was such as affected the *evil Spirit* conceal'd under that appearance. And this it seems reasonable to suppose our first Parents might have some notion of, on the following account — They had very sadly experienced the *assurances* of this Creature to be *false*, and instead of a *Friend* they had met with a most deceitful *Enemy*; wherefore they must suppose, from the *power* of his *assault*, that he was something *more* than a *Brute*, and, from the *malice* of his *deception*, that he was of an *evil Nature*: and farther, perhaps, they could not then reason.

But even this is not certain. We know that there was a necessity for God's making Revelations to Adam in Paradise, and that a frequent intercourse between the Creator and Creature must have subsisted before the Fall °. This then

° See Dr. Burnet's Demonstration, Boyle's Lect. Sermon. Vol. 3. p. 454. Mr. Stackhouse, in the Apparatus to his History, page 8. Bp Sherlock on Prophecy, Discourse the III. d. p. 53.

being granted, we may reasonably suppose, that God had made known to the first Pair so important a transaction as *the Apostacy and Punishment of the Rebel Angels*. Especially as this might be a very useful information, and be set forth before them for an Example, lest they also should fall under the same condemnation; and they might thereupon reason — *If God spared not the Angels of Heaven, how much less will he spare us the low inhabitants of Earth?* It appearing then that such an information might have been useful, we may presume it was actually made; since God certainly neglected no information that might conduce to the Benefit of his Creatures. On this supposition then all the Inconsistency, imputed by some to this Sentence on the Serpent, will be taken away; and we shall see it shine forth in the strictest conformity with reason. It is cloathed in the form of a *Parable* or *Similitude*, in the manner of the Eastern stile; and as the *necessity of the present case* requir'd. The nature of a Parable or Similitude is — to mean more than is express; and no just Critic will condemn such a Parable or Similitude, if it should not hold in minute circumstances, so long as the important parts of it correspond and mutually reflect Light upon each other.

Being thus far prepar'd, we come now to the Judgment of the Offenders, which is (if any thing

thing can be suppos'd to be) solemn and august. We see assembled together God, in his Shechinah, as the Judge; the Devil, veil'd under a Serpent, as the Deceiver; and the first human Pair, who thro' his deceit were become Transgressors. The Serpent (in appearance) having been the first in mischief, is doom'd first, and in the following words — *Because thou hast done this, be thou cursed above all Cattle, and above every Beast of the Field; upon thy Belly shalt thou go^v, and Dust shalt thou eat all the Days of thy Life: And I will put Enmity between Thee and the Woman, and between Thy Seed and Her Seed^q; this shall bruise thy Head, and thou shalt bruise his Heel.*

Now if we consider this as a Sentence on the Serpent only, it will appear trifling and ridiculous^r; if as a Sentence on the Devil only, there are some circumstances scarce applicable to that signification. And if we say it was a Sentence upon both (as it is very frequent in Scripture-Prophecy to vail a more important meaning under a less important meaning) then we shall be ask'd, how Adam could be sensible of that, when he knew nothing of the nature of the Evil Angels; and if he was not sensible

p See Mr. Mede, Discourse the 41st. p. 231.

q Galat. III. 16. — *He saith not unto Seeds, as of many; but as of one, and to thy Seed, which is Christ.*

r See Bp Sherlock on Prophecy, Discourse 3d. p. 62.

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of that, the chief meaning in it could be of no use or consolation to him. In short, it seems only explainable, (and very rationally explainable then) on the Supposition before laid down — that Adam had, by way of caution and to serve other great purposes, particularly the present, been pre-acquainted with the nature of the *Fallen Angels*; and, assisted by such an information, he must have easily apprehended the full meaning of this Sentence.

In a *Literal Sense*, he heard the Curse pronounced in the clearest terms upon the *Serpent*, which had been the Instrument in this deception. And that this Creature was here a proper Object of punishment appears from this — that, since all the Brute Creatures *are and were created* for the Benefit of Man, the Benefit of Man was intended by this punishment on the Serpent^s; as it was in all Ages to continue a living visible Evidence of God's displeasure against Sin, and of the certainty of the Fall, from the otherwise unaccountable Enmity subsisting thro' the World between Man and the Serpent^t.

^s See Mr. Mede, Discourse the 41st. p. 230.

^t The wisest Naturalists among the Heathens (proper Witnesses in the present case) have agreed that there is a mortal Enmity between the Human and the Serpentine species. See, among others, Pliny, in his Natural History, VII. 2; and Lucretius, IV. 642.

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In a *Parabolical Sense* the Curse has been fulfill'd with equal exactness, so far as the justness of a compleat Parable requires it : and in this view we are now to consider it, as a Sentence also on the *Devil* ^u. The nature of this evil Spirit we have suppos'd Adam pre-acquainted with ; and therefore he must infer, after the event, that this was the Being which seduced him, and consequently the Being to be now sentenced before him. — The Devil then, with his Adherents, was here cursed by God, and became a greater object of the divine displeasure and of human hatred, than all the other Orders of Beings — he was probably condemned to greater present anguish, and more dreadful expectations hereafter — he was already become the profess'd Enemy of the Woman and her Posterity ; and therefore one, to be born of the Woman, was to enter the lists against him, and with irreconcilable opposition pursue him and all his black Associates — the effect of which grand contest was to be, the Devil's bruising the Heel, or pursuing to Death him that was to be born emphatically his Enemy ; but that this Seed of the Woman was to bruise his Head, break the power, and lay waste the kingdom of darkness — and as the Deceiver was only to touch the material and inferior part of his Adversary, the Redeemer was

^u See Mr. Mede, Discourse the 41st. p. 229.

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to crush the potency of his spiritual Foe, and bind him in everlasting Chains *

To this Explanation I beg to add a passage from Dr. Burnet †. — Bruising the Serpent's Head, says he, implies the defeating his contrivances against Mankind. For first; as he thought, by seducing the first Pair, to have brought on their Death, and so have made an end of the whole Species at once; God promises that the Woman should live to have Seed. Secondly; as he seduced the Woman under the specious pretence of Friendship, while he intended her Ruin; a War is declared against the Devil and his Party, which should end in the ruin of them and their devices. And thirdly; as the Devil thought by drawing them into Sin and under the wrath of God, to bring them under a certainty of Death, and deprive them of the Happiness they were made for; God declares the Devil's Policy should be defeated by the Seed of the Woman: in which is implied a positive Promise— that Mankind, tho' by the envy of the Devil become *sinful* and therefore *mortal*, should receive thro' the Seed of the Woman *Forgiveness of Sins*, the *Resurrection of the Body*, and *Life everlasting*.

I have been the more minute in the Explication of this first and most important Prophecy,

* See Bp Sherlock on Prophecy, Discourse 3d. p. 70.

† Boyle's Lect. Sermon, Vol. III. p. 516.

as it is the very Groundwork and Foundation-Stone, on which our Redemption is built. And it has been provid'd by Bp Sherlock, in his very excellent Book on Prophecy^y, that Prophecy must have been an essential part of such a Sinner's Religion. For, says that great Author, had our first Parents been doom'd only to Trouble and Mortality, without any well-grounded hope or confidence in God; they must have look'd on themselves as rejected by their Maker, as deliver'd up to sorrow in this world, and as having no hope in any other. Upon this footing there could have been no Religion; for a sense of Religion without Hope is a state of phrenzy and distraction, void of all inducements to Love and Obedience. *They would (in the language of the Psalmist^z) have sat down in darkness and in the shadow of Death, being fast bound in misery and iron; because they had rebell'd against the word of the Lord, and lightly regarded the counsel of the most Highest. Then had their heart been brought down thro' heaviness; because, when they fell, there was none to help them.* If therefore God intended to preserve them as Objects of his Mercy, if he intended they should look upon him in a milder light than as an Almighty Being cloathed with Terrour; it was absolutely ne-

^y Discourse 3d. p. 53.

^z Psalm CVII. 10, 11, 12.

cessary he should 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. And this was exactly the case here in this Prophecy and Promise of a Redeemer ^a.

But probably one Objection may be still rais'd here, which is this — Supposing Adam, from a pre-acquaintance with the nature of the Fallen Angels, might see the *Devil* sentenced in the parabolical sense of this Prophecy; how could he possibly conceive so clearly the opposite Character of the *Redeemer*, which, in the nature of things, could not have been reveal'd to him before? I answer, that the words of this Prophecy will evidently support us in say-

^a That this Prophecy was meant of a Redeemer, and was fulfill'd in *Christ* alone, in the compleat sense, is granted by all Christians except the Roman Catholics. For it may be proper to observe here, that their Vulgate Version makes it a Prophecy of the *Virgin Mary*, and in opposition to Sense and Grammar reads it — *Inimicitias ponam inter te & Mulierem, & Semen tuum & Semen illius; IPSA conteret caput tuum, & tu insidiaberis calcaneo ejus.* But that the Original will not bear this, will appear to any capable examiner; and a concern for the honour of our Redeemer should make us abhor so blasphemous a Corruption. For this Version is more than authoriz'd by Popish Infallibility; and Episcopus (Oper. Theol. 176.) is favourable in his censure, when he says—*Concilium Tridentinum perperam egisse, quando eam (Vulg. Vers.) authenticam fecit, & ipsis Hebræis Græcisque fontibus præferendam esse judicavit.* See also Grossius, Tom. I. p. 35.

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ing — that Adam might certainly from them infer and expect *A Redeemer*; one, to be born ~~born~~ of the Woman, who should re-instate them in the possession of Happiness, and recover by his victory what they had lost by being defeated. And we may advance a step farther, and say — that Adam, probably soon after the divine Sentences were pass'd, was acquainted with the very *manner* of this promis'd *Redemption*; namely — that this Seed of the Woman should *die*, to atone for the Sins of him and his posterity; and by virtue of his Blood they should, tho' now become mortal, rise again to everlasting Life.

For I hope to prove in the following Dissertation, that *Sacrifice* was *instituted* by God just *at this time*; and if *Sacrifice*, then certainly the *Nature* and *End* of *Sacrifice*; and if the *Nature* and *End* of *Sacrifice* (which was *the Shadow of good things to come*) was at that time made known, certainly *the Death of the Redeemer* was then actually promis'd. Tho' in *what Age* this Sacred Power was to arise, and with what *peculiar circumstances* his Birth and Death were to be attended, the first Pair might not be inform'd; it being more than probable that they expected this Redeemer in the person of one of their own Sons. And had they known this Happiness was to have been poss'don'd for four thousand Years, they would

probably (notwithstanding the encouragement they had receiv'd) have sunk into extream despair^b.

I shall now go on to the Sentences on our first Parents—And can a more interesting, a more affecting Scene be display'd before us their Children? We see our great Progenitors stand trembling to receive their doom; somewhat however rais'd from the depth of fear by that merciful vengeance, which God had manifested in the Sentence on their Deceiver^c. And here we may conceive infinite Justice demanding Satisfaction, and the Death of the Offenders, while infinite Mercy interceded for their Pardon; and who but a Being equally infinite in Wisdom could have acted here to the Honour of all his Attributes? — But such is God! He had already bid the human Pair, in his Mercy, not to despair under the present evidence of his indignation; since one was to be born of the Woman, who should bruise the head of that Serpent, which had thus betray'd them into Misery. But that they might not go

^b See Dr. Delaney's Revelation examin'd with candour; Vol. I. p. 103.

^c Bp Sherlock, on Prophecy, Discourse 3d.—It could not therefore but be some comfort to them to hear the Serpent first condemn'd; and to see, that however he had prevail'd against *them*, he had gain'd no Victory over *their Maker*, who was able to assert his own Honour, and to punish this great Author of Iniquity.

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unpunish'd for so high a transgression, he, in his Justice, pronounces the following Sentences; which are weighty, and worthy the mouth of him from whom they proceed.

To the Woman, first in the transgression, he says—*I will greatly multiply thy Sorrow and thy Conception, in Sorrow thou shalt bring forth Children; and thy Desire shall be to thy Husband, and he shall rule over thee.* However flatly some may think of this Sentence, and treat it as immaterial and of little consequence; it is really so severe, that (we are told by Naturalists) the Pains of a Woman arising from bearing and bringing forth Children are much greater than those of any Brute Creature in the same Circumstances. This seems a Chastisement great indeed for one, who has a Sovereignty over the Beasts, and is of a far superior nature. And the latter part of the Sentence has been generally look'd upon, by the female part of the human species, as a Punishment very grievous to be born. The sense of this *Sentence* (which is not a *Curse*, as the Serpent's was) may, perhaps, be more properly given thus — *Multiplying I will multiply thy Sorrow and thy Conception, (or — the Sorrow of thy Conception^d) in Pain shalt thou bring forth Children; and to thy Hus-*

^d An *Hyndyades*, a figure very frequently made use of in the Sacred as well as Profane Authors.

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band shall be thy Obedience^e, forⁱ he shall rule over thee. Or, perhaps, the latter part may be more properly translated thus—*In pain shalt thou bring forth Children, yet^e thy desire shall be unto thy Husband; and he shall rule over thee.* As to the conclusion of this Sentence on the Woman, A-Bp King observes^h, that it was very equitable; the Woman, *says he*, had attempted to shake off the Government of God, and therefore God lays her under a double Subjection—to himself, and also to her Husband.

The Judgment closes with the Sentence upon Adam, which was as follows—*Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy Wife, and hast eaten of the Tree, of which I commanded thee, saying, thou shalt not eat of it; Cursed is the Ground for thy sakeⁱ, in Sorrow shalt thou eat of*

^e See Le Clerc upon this place.

^f See Nold. Heb. Partic. 7 Signif. 37.

^g Ibid. ————— 9 & 65.

^h See his Sermon at the end of the Origin of Evil, Vol. II. p. 72.

ⁱ Hesiod thus describes the happiness of the golden Age, in his *Erg. και Ημερ. Βιβλ. κ.*

Χρυσος μιν αλωπεγα γαιες (μαροπων) ανθρωπων.

Ωτι θιοι δ' ελπον, παντας θυμοι εχοντες,

Νοσφι παρ τι ποτα και ολυσθη· εδδ η θελοι

Γηρας εκλω, αμν δι κηκων εκταδιον απαιτταν.

————— Καρπον δ' εφερε ζωνδονθ' αρετρα

Αυτηματη, ποταμι τι και αψονοι —————

And Virgil has given us the condition of the Earth after the Curse, in words that seem to be a Paraphrase of the Sacred Passage before us—

it

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it all the days of thy Life. Thorns also and Thistles shall it bring forth to thee, and thou shalt eat the Herb of the Field. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat Bread, 'till thou return unto the ground, for out of it wast thou taken; for Dust thou art, and unto Dust shalt thou return. Let us now see what is also observable in this Sentence on our Father Adam; the reason of whose punishment being previously laid down, God proceeds to pronounce the Punishment it self—Because thou hast hearken'd to the Voice of thy Wife, in direct contempt of my authority, and hast eaten of the fruit of that Tree, which I commanded thee not to eat of; Cursed therefore shall be the Ground for thy sake, and the punishment of thy transgression; in sorrowful reflection and with great labour shalt thou eat of that, all the days of thy future Life. For it shall bring forth Thorns and Weeds in such abundance, as will (unless rooted up with

Georg. I. 127. ————— Ipsaque Tellus

Omnia liberius, nullo poscente, ferebat.

Ille malum virus Serpentibus addidit atris ———

Tum varix venere artes, Labor omnia vincit

Improbis, & duris urgens in rebus Egestas. ———

Mox & frumentis labor additus, ut mala culmos

Esset rubigo, segnisque horreret in arvis

Cardus; intereunt Segetes, subit aspera sylvæ,

Lappæque, Tribulique; interque nitentia culta

Infelix lolium & steriles dominantur arena. ———

————— Sic omnia Fatis

In posui ruere, ac retro sublapsa referri.

continual

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continual pains) overspread the Land, and leave thee but little room for that which is henceforth to be thy Sustenance. For know^y that, instead of the luxuriancy of Paradise, and the delicious Fruits of the Trees I here gave thee; thou shalt now feed on the Herb of the Field, and the produce of the Earth. The Ground, thus become less fertil ^k, will call for so much culture and manuring to enable it to yield thee Fruit; that thou shalt not eat Bread, but in the sweat of thy Brow. This henceforth shall be thy way of life, 'till thou return unto the Ground, out of which thou wast at first created. For, tho' Death is not immediately inflicted upon thee, yet thou art become mortal; and as thy composition is Dust, so after a period of days thou shalt return unto Dust again.

How severe, how awful is this Sentence; and yet how mild, how mix'd with Mercy, in comparison to what Adam might reasonably, and probably did expect from his offended God! Wherefore we may now suppose Adam, with uplifted hands to Heaven, to have broke

^k God made this Earth amiable and sweet, and the World a Scene of Happiness to a Creature that was to continue in it; but when Sin introduced Death, God in his Goodness curs'd the Earth by a diminution of its excellence, to make the World less desirable to a Creature, who was now so soon to leave it. Dr. Delaney's Revelation examin'd with candour, Vol. I. p. 77.

forth

forth into strains of Gratitude like the following of the devout King David — *Praise the Lord, O my Soul; and forget not all his Benefits! The Lord is full of Compassion and Mercy, long-suffering, and of great Goodness! He hath not dealt with Us after our Sins, nor rewarded Us according to our Wickednesses! For look how high the Heaven is in comparison of the Earth, so great is his Mercy! Look how wide also the East is from the West, so far hath he set our Sins from Us! In the multitude of the sorrows I had in my heart, thy Comforts have refreshed my Soul! The SNARES of HELL overtook me; but the LORD is become my SALVATION! Thro' the greatness of thy power shall thine Enemy be found a LIAR unto thee! Who then is he among the Clouds, that shall be compared unto the Lord! The Right-Hand of the Lord hath the PREEMINENCE; the Right-Hand of the Lord bringeth mighty things to pass! The Lord hath chastened and corrected me, but he hath not given me over unto immediate Death! As long then as I live, I will magnify thee on this manner, and lift up my Hands in thy Name!*

The Offenders being now sentenced, we might naturally expect to see them instantly driven forth from Paradise. But there are two things the Historian mentions as previous to that banishment, which are well worthy our consideration. The first is — *And Adam called his Wife's name Eve, because she was the mother*

*of all living*¹. 'Tis a matter of some surprize, that Le Clerc should make this passage a presumption of the Historian's breaking the order of time ; when nothing could possibly come on more regularly, and strike us more agreeably than this Incident, in this place. God had threaten'd Adam, that if he eat of the forbidden Tree, he should surely die. He did eat, and what could he expect ? Despair, we know, is the natural attendant upon Guilt ; and Adam could not think to escape Death, which is only a Natural Evil, when he had introduced Sin, that Moral Evil, into the World. How pleasing then must be the surprize, when he found that thro' the divine clemency he was still to live for some time ; and that his Wife was to bring forth Children, one of which was to break in pieces his Oppressor, and redeem the World ! And consequently, what more natural to follow, than that Adam should be entirely reconcil'd to his Wife ; who, having been the cause of his Happiness lost, was also to be the cause of his Happiness regain'd ? He had before call'd her *Woman*, as her common Name, or a Name for her and all her Sex, because she was taken out of Man ; and now he call'd her *Eve*, because he had found she was still to be the Mother of all living. ✕ Or, as some interpret it, because in her Fall (and his consequent

¹ Gen. III. 20.

on hers) all Men being become mortal, in her Seed all Men were to be made alive. This Nomination of his Wife then may be look'd upon as an *Act of Faith*, exercis'd by Adam upon the words of God just deliver'd in the Sentence on the Serpent. But the propriety of either of the Names, given by Adam to his Wife, can only appear to a person acquainted with Hebrew Learning.

The other Incident previous to the Banishment of our first Parents is — *Unto Adam also, and to his Wife did the Lord God make Coats of Skins, and cloathed them*; or, as it may be render'd — *Moreover the Lord God made for Adam and for his Wife Coats of Skins, and cloathed them*^m. This, however unconcerning an Information it may appear to some, would not have been inserted in the middle of this solemn History, unless something of moment were contain'd in it. The Prophecy our first Parents had heard, in the sentence on the Serpent, was doubtless, at the instant of its delivery, like a *Light shining in a Dark place*; just sufficient to banish the Darknes, and enliven the Breast with a gleam of Hope and Expectation. But here the comfortable Dawn breaks forth, and the *Day-Star* may be said (with a beautiful propriety) to *arise in their Hearts*. For now, as God knew the Prophecy abovemention'd could

^m Gen. III. 21.

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not as yet be properly understood, he instituted Animal Sacrifice, farther to illustrate and unfold this grand event—to be a continual visible Prophecy of the same future Redemption—that, by the present vicarious Sacrifice, Man might confess the Death he himself had deserv'd to suffer — and lastly, as *without shedding Blood* there was to be *no Remission*ⁿ, (and as, in consequence thereof, Adam's Repentance would not have been sufficient without an Atonement) that he and his Posterity might have recourse by Faith, for the remission of their Sins, to this Institution; as being typical of *the Lamb of God, virtually slain from the foundation of the World*^o.

What appears indeed in this verse, at first sight, is only this — that Adam and his Wife were now cloath'd with Garments made of the Skins of Beasts^p; which it would be absurd to

ⁿ Heb. IX. 22.

^o Rev. XIII. 8. See Bp Westen's Serm. Vol. II. p. 192.

^p There are some, who will have the word עֹר in this place to refer to the Skin of Adam and his Wife, and the meaning to be — *And the Lord God made for the first Pair Coats, or Coverings, of their Skin*. But the Hebrew word would probably have been then עֹרָא, with the Pronoun suffix'd to it. Yet, setting aside this remark, when we have prov'd Sacrifice to have been divinely instituted, and at this very time, (as will appear in the second Dissertation) I think there can remain no doubt about this passage. Especially as Cloppenburg (in his *Sacrificiorum Patriarchal. Scholâ*, p. 13.) has inform'd us that — In Scrip-

suppose

suppose meant any thing more than that such Skins were conveniently fasten'd round their Bodies^q. But as they could not have ventur'd upon this method of cloathing themselves without an order or leave from God, (they having naturally no power over the Lives of Animals^r) we are here told, that *God made these Coats* for them; that is, he gave them leave to kill the Animals, and perhaps direction how to adapt their Skins to the parts of their Bodies: for it is certain, that God is frequently said to *do* that, which is *done by his order* and appro-

turâ vox Heb. עור *nusquam* reperitur aliâ significatione, quam pro *externâ animalium pelle* usurpata. To which he subjoins this Observation — Deinde videtur hic esse prima origo legis illius, quæ exstat Lev. VII. 8; quâ Sacerdos, qui offert holocaustum, habebit pellem ejus; ubi est eadem vox עור. There is indeed one place, where the word עור *seems* to signify *the Skin of Man*; Ex. XXII. 27. **הוא שמלחו לעור במה ישכב** I say *seems*, because All the Versions are not agreed to give it that meaning here; the Samaritan referring the word to the Skin of a *Beast*, and rendring the place — *Hæc vestis ejus est pro PELLE suâ in quâ dormit*. Yet if we understand the word to signify in this place *Human Skin*, it is us'd here so differently from what it is in Gen. III. 21. (having both the ל before and the Pronoun after it) that but little Service can arise from the Observation.

q Le Clerc observes here — Ut verum fatear, hic non *Vestes*, sed *Tabernaculum* pellibus contactum intelligendum suspicor. But why care should be taken by God to make a Tent or Habitation in *Paradise*, when in the very next words we read of God's turning the ~~first Pair~~ out of *Paradise*, seems ~~very~~ *unaccountable*.

r See Dr. Burnet, Boyle's Lect., Serm. Vol. 3. p. 447.
bation.

bation. Now the question is — Whence these Skins, of which the Coats or Garments, here mention'd, were made? This has employ'd the invention of former Interpreters, but seems now to be almost universally resolv'd into this — that they were the Skins of Beasts offer'd up in Sacrifice. For these Skins (as we cannot suppose any Animals died of themselves, so soon after their Creation) were therefore most probably the Skins of Beasts slain; and if so, these Beasts were certainly slain either for Food, or in order to make these Coats, or for Sacrifice. For Food they could not be slain, because the Flesh of Animals made no part of human Sustenance 'till after the Flood'. Neither is it possible to suppose that Adam, after the Sentence just past upon him for Sin, would have dared to kill God's Creatures without his Order or Permission; which, it may be presum'd, God would not have given only for such a Use, when there were yet so few Creatures in the world. Wherefore as they must be slain for Sacrifice, Sacrifice was then certainly instituted'. These then seem to be easy conse-

s This is clearly inferr'd from the Grant of Animal Flesh to Noah in these words (Gen. IX. 3.) *Every Moving Thing, that liveth, shall be Meat for You; even as the green Herb* (which was your former food) *have I* (now) *given you all things.*

t These Animals being Holocausts, their Skins only could fall to the share of Man; and by giving these for

quences,

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quences, and the Sacred Writer might think them sufficient for the present, in this place; where he is hastning on, with the Banishment of our first Parents from Paradise full before him.

The account, which Moses gives us of this expulsion from Paradise, is usher'd in, in a very solemn manner "— *And the Lord God said, Behold! the Man is become as One of Us*; or, as the words may, perhaps, be better render'd *Behold! the Man (הָאָדָם) hath been, or behaved, as if he were equal to One of Us**, as to * *the Test of Good and Evil*. These words, as Bp Patrick observes, plainly insinuate a Plurality of Persons in the Godhead; all other Explications

Coats to our first Parents, God seems peculiarly to have intended to remind them constantly of their Sin—their desert of Punishment by Death—and the divine Goodness in the substituted Satisfaction; so that Adam might have said, in the words of St. Paul (Gal. VI. 17.) — *Henceforth let no man trouble me, for I bear on my Body the marks of my Redeemer*.

u Gen. III. 22.

w *As if he were equal to one of us* — that is, says Dr. Rutherforth, He hath disown'd our Authority, set himself up for a proper Judge of Good and Evil, and put himself on a level with One of Us; by throwing off our Government, and refusing submission to our Command. That the particle וְ is us'd for *equality in state and dignity* appears from Ruth II. 13. Essay on Virtue, p. 129.

x That the particle הָ, here prefix'd to אָדָם, signifies *quod attinet ad* is prov'd from that use of it in 1 Sam. IX. 23; and Psalm XVII. 4. See more instances in Noldius, Partic. הָ Signif. 30.

seeming

seeming forced and unnatural: and this famous Text, compar'd with that other in *Gen.* I. 26 &c. (explain'd in page 28.) will readily assist and throw light upon each other. It has been frequently indeed asserted, that the words *Behold! the Man is become as One of Us, to know Good and Evil* — are spoken by way of Irony or Sarcasm. But this is very strange, tho' the reason of such a refuge is evident; namely, the difficulty of rationally explaining the words (as they stand there) in a literal and plain sense. But this difficulty, I presume, is entirely remov'd by the different version before given, and the sense of the words as here explain'd. I shall only, previous to this explanation, observe — that God was at this time determining the fate of a World; that he had just before made his fallen Creatures the promise of a Redeemer, as an evidence of his Mercy; and was now about to drive them out of Paradise, as an evidence of his Justice: and certainly this of all seasons was the most unlikely for God to express himself (as observ'd before) in Irony or Sarcasm. On the contrary, as we should be extremely cautious of ascribing such methods of expression to the Deity, especially on an occasion the most important; let us, consistently with the dignity of the Subject and the nature of the Text, understand the Address here made, as made by one to the other

other two Persons subsisting in the Unity of the Godhead.

And now, as the following Verses seem to give the fairest appearance of argument for one real Tree of Life or Immortality, I shall insert such a Paraphrase, as may help to take away the prepossession in favour of such an acceptance, and at the same time vindicate the Translation here given; which, tho' new in some parts, will still be found literally render'd from the Original.

Verse the 22d. — *And the Lord God said, Behold! The Man has been, (or behav'd) like One of Us, as to the Test of Good and Evil. Behold! the Man, whom we so lately created in our own Image, and in such happy Circumstances, has shook off our Authority, as to that Tree by which it was to appear whether he would be good or evil; and by thus slighting our Prohibition, he has acted as if he were our Equal, and set up for Independency.*

*And now lest he put forth his hand, and take again of the Trees of Life, and eat, and so live on all his Days—*What then remains of his punishment for this high Transgression? He has been sentenced to Mortality, and to a Life of Pain and Trouble for his future hard subsistence. And now, that he may not live in opposition to this sentence, by stretching forth his hands with the same ease and happiness as before, and

take again of the fruit of those Trees of Life, which I gave him here to feed upon; lest he eat for the future, as in time past, without that Labour to which he stands doom'd, and so live on happy all his days — Let us banish him from Paradise.

23. *Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden, to till the Ground from whence he was taken.* In consequence then of this divine deliberation, God sent forth the guilty Man from the Garden of Eden, that seat of perfection and delight; to till, for his future maintenance, the accursed Ground, which might constantly remind him both of his Origin and Dissolution; for from the Ground he was but lately taken, and after some time he was to return thither.

24. *So he drove out the Man, and placed at the east of the Garden of Eden Cherubim and a pointed Flame¹, which waved it self to and fro, to guard the passage to the Trees of Life.* Thus God expell'd the Man from Paradise; and at the east of the Garden² (on which side probably was the only Access) he placed a Guard of Angels. And these, being by their office Mi-

¹ y Psalm CIV. 4. *He maketh his Angels Spirits, and his Ministers a flaming Fire.* So that the Sacred Writer evidently expresses himself here by an *Hebryades*; using the double Expression of *Cherubim* and *a flaming Sword* (or *a pointed flame*) instead of *Angels in a fiery Appearance.*

² See page 25.

nifters of the Divine Pleasure, took their station there; and patroll'd in a fiery Appearance, to prevent the return of Man, from Labour and a painful Subfiftence, to Paradife and the Trees of Life.

AND now, if we look back, and think over this important piece of History, it may perhaps be allow'd to be rational and confiftent; without admitting the exiftence of a fingle Tree of Life, or one particular extraordinary Tree, whose Fruit was capable of rendering the eaters thereof Immortal. But the prefent Explication will be entitled to a more favourable acceptance, when feveral Objections, which lie againft it, are remov'd; and to attempt this fhall be the bufinefs of the remainder of this Differtation.

I. The first then, and perhaps moft weighty Objection with fome to the foregoing account, may be this — That it does not yet fufficiently appear, upon rational principles, how Adam in Paradife was immortal, efpecially without the ufe of a Tree of Life; and how he became naturally mortal, after he was expell'd Paradife.

This Diversity in the Nature of Adam is indeed the hinge on which the matter principally turns; and tho', with fome, enough may have

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been already said to establish these two Propositions — that Adam was *conditionally immortal* before the Fall — and *naturally mortal* after it; yet I shall here treat this case a little more at large, beginning with a quotation from Dr. John Clarke, who maintains the contrary opinion. Man, *says he*^a, was originally made mortal, and the threatening of Death to him in case of Disobedience does not at all imply, but that he might have been mortal in his state of Innocence; whether he should actually have died or no, while innocent, the Scripture is silent, and we have no natural means of knowing. To this determination the Dr. adds his opinion of Mortality, on the following philosophical principles — That so long as the Nourishment is proper to assimilate itself to the several parts of the Body, as it approaches them in its several channels; or so long as the solid particles, suppose of Salts, retain their form and texture; so long Life is preserv'd and maintain'd: and when the Nourishment becomes unfit to assimilate it self, or the saline particles lose their power of attracting the Fluids; in either of these cases all their motion will cease, and end in corruption, confusion and death.

But that Mortality was not the condition of human nature at first, seems evident from the words of St. Paul, and the nature of the Cove-

^a Boyle's Lect. Sermon, Vol. 3d. p. 200.

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nant made with Adam at his Creation. St. Paul tells us—^b *By one man Sin entered into the world, and Death by Sin*; consequently, if there had been no Sin, there could have been no Death; and where there is no possibility of Death, there can be no Mortality. Again; the Apostle by an elegant Catachresis calls Death, which is the Punishment, the Wages of Sin—^c *the Wages of Sin is Death*. But if there be an inseparable connexion between Sin and Death (as is extreamly evident) there must be, in the reason and nature of things, the same inseparable connexion between Holiness and Life, or Innocence and Immortality.

The Covenant with Adam was—^d *In the day thou eatest of the Tree of probation thou shalt surely die*. Now a Law, made with a punishment annex'd to the violation of it, is an implicit Covenant, that none, but the disobedient to that Law, shall suffer the Sanction or Penalty of it. And does not Reason write it with a Sun-Beam, that, in the case before us, Adam, while obedient to the divine Law, could not have felt or suffer'd Death, which was to be his punishment for the violation of that Law? The Threatnings as well as Promises of God are conditional, and imply their contraries; and

^b Rom. V. 12.

^c Ibid. VI. 23.

^d Gen. II. 17.

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this with regard to the present point, is illustrated with ease and beauty by Dr. Turner*, in the following manner — Would not a Son think, if his Father should threaten to disinherit him in case of Disobedience, that he should prevent that misfortune, and secure his Inheritance by a continued and uniform Obedience? The case is exactly similar; and withal so plain, that to mention the contrary opinion seems to confute it.

As the Immortality of Man before, and the Mortality of Man after his Fall, appear therefore plain from Scripture, and the reason of things; let us now see, whether this diversity can be accounted for on principles of Nature; and how it will appear, that as God governs all things according to their Natures, so here he left natural causes to produce natural effects.

Dr. Clarke has here assisted us with the following Maxim in Physics—That so long as the Nourishment receiv'd into the Body is proper to assimilate it self to the several parts of the Body, so long Life is preserv'd and maintain'd. Now the Food, yielded by the Fruits of those Trees which Adam was to eat in Paradise, was doubtless the most proper for Nutrition; and therefore the most proper to assimilate it self to the several parts of the Body, for the support of which it was intended; consequently

* Boyle's Lect. Sermon, Vol. 2d. p. 357.

as long as he had eaten of this Food, he had, upon the above principle, been immortal. For we must suppose, that his Instinct as an Animal, and much more his Reason as an Intelligent Being, would have always induced him to obey the call of Hunger, which is an effect of meer sensitive nature.

The Dr's Counter-position then is this—that when the Nourishment becomes unfit to assimilate it self to the several parts of the Body, the motion of the Fluids will in time cease, and the consequence will be corruption, confusion and death. Now we are assur'd, that, immediately after the Fall, the nature of human Food was alter'd for the worse; that the Ground and its Productions were curs'd, for a punishment on Man; and that he was, from that time, to eat the Herb of the Field. This seems to imply, that the fruits of Trees were no longer to be his sustenance; frequent changes being made in human food, by the express command of God, during the infancy of the world. And thus Grotius explains the matter, in his comment on Gen. III. 18. — *Herba, quæ & Frumentum in se comprehendit, opponitur illis beatarum Arborum fructibus.* But supposing the fruits of the Trees did continue to be eaten, they were to be now but Part of human food; and were certainly affected by the Curse upon the Ground, with which they were

were so inseparably connected. So that we may fairly conclude, that as our first Parents had render'd themselves obnoxious to Death by their Disobedience, this change made by God in their food was to bring about their dissolution in a natural way. And as the food they were to make use of, immediately from the date of their Sentence, was of a different and worse nature; 'tis plain that the aliment, now so different from that before the Fall, would not be productive of the same but a different effect; and therefore being become less fit to assimilate it self to the several parts of the body, the motion of the Fluids would in time cease, and consequently the strong original composition of Man would sink at last into corruption, confusion, and death.

With how critical an exactness then was fulfill'd the divine Covenant made with Adam in Paradise, and couch'd in these words — *In the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die!* For tho' it is generally said, that these words were fulfill'd by Adam's then becoming mortal, tho' he did not die in nine hundred Years after; yet the words are express — *In the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die.* For this reason it seems preferable to render the words (which are remarkably adapted to the case in hand) as follows — *In the day, thou eatest thereof, dying thou shalt die.* This is the literal version, and
it

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it is here strong and beautiful; for we find that in the very day he transgress'd, the Ground was curs'd, his Food was alter'd and impair'd; and, tho' his Life was not to *expire* till after many years, he then *began to die*, and every succeeding day led him a step forward to the Grave: so that he might be truly said, in the language of St. Paul, to *die daily*^f.

II. The Second Objection probably may be — that the word *γν* *a Tree*, which is singular, is here used twice in the plural number; being render'd *Trees*, in explaining the 23d and 24th verses of the third chapter. To vindicate this manner of translating it in those two places, it seems sufficient to observe — that the same Noun, in the singular number in the original, is by our English Translators themselves twice render'd *Trees* in this very chapter, and cannot be render'd otherwise. The places are Verse the 2d, in which the Woman says to the Serpent — *We may eat of the fruit of the Trees in the Garden &c.* And Verse the 8th, where we read — that *Adam and his Wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord amongst the Trees of the Garden*; or more literally, *in the middle of the Trees of the Garden*. No one, I suppose, will object to the propriety of the Translation in these two places; the necessity of it in both

^f 1 Cor. XV. 31.

being very clear and obvious. The truth is, that the Noun *עץ* signifies more properly *Lignum* than *Arbor*; and thro' this history of the Creation and Fall is used plurally, or for the whole Genus of Trees: unless where it is confin'd by the emphatic article, or a necessary restriction in the sense. And therefore, in Verse the second^s above-mention'd, we first find the word evidently signifying plurally; and immediately after, when restrain'd by the article, properly translated in the singular number.

It may also be observ'd, that in Chap. II. 9. the word seems only brought forward a second time, to introduce the word following it; the Hebrew Language having very few Adjectives. And therefore the Historian, instead of a word signifying *conducive to Life*, probably call'd forth the word *Tree* from the former part of the sentence, and express'd himself thus — *Out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every Tree, that was desireable to the Sight, and that was good for Food and a Tree of Life* — instead of — *and a Tree conducive to Life*. And we find the same word, meaning the same thing, repeated in Chap. III. 6. without any farther use than the strength of the Sentence — *And when the Woman*

g Gen. III. 2. — *מִכָּרִי עֵץ הַגֶּן נֹאכַל* *We may (or shall) eat of the fruit of the Trees of the Garden.* 3. *וּמִכָּרִי הָעֵץ אֲשֶׁר בְּתוֹךְ הַגֶּן* *But of the fruit of the Tree, which is in the middle of the Garden — God hath said, ye shall not eat thereof.*

saw

saw that the Tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the Eyes, and a Tree to be desired &c. And this may obviate any objection to the version of the word in the above-mention'd place; as if there was a necessity for its signifying something different from the same word just before it, because of its being repeated.

III. A Third Objection may be made to the present rendring of the word לעולם in Chap. III. 22.—that it is made to signify *the days of Adam's Life only*, and not *for ever*. In answer to this I observe, that the word עולם is used as often, perhaps, finitely as infinitely; and that it can signify nothing more than the Age or Life of Man, in places where our Translators have frequently render'd it *for ever*. Thus Exod. XXI. 6.—*Then his Master shall bring him unto the Judges, and he shall bore his ear through with an Awl, and he shall serve him for ever.* And 1 Sam. I. 22.—*But Hannah went not up; for she said, I will not go up until the Child be weaned; and then I will bring him, that he may appear before the Lord, and there abide for ever.*

IV. A Fourth Objection may be brought against the rendring the particle ו, in Chap. III. 22. by—*Again*. This conjunctive particle is well known to have various significations;

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but among all that the Critics have given it, none seems to flow more naturally from it, than the translating it by—*insuper, iterum, and etiam atque etiam*^h. The radix of it is lost among the Hebrew words, but the Arabians have preserv'd it, and it is *جاء* *multus fuit, abundavit, auxit adjecto cumulo, &c.* And therefore may with the greatest propriety be render'd in English—*again, or frequently.* And thus we meet with it, in 1 Sam. XXIV. 12 ; where David, having cut off the skirt of Saul's Coat, while he lay in the Cave of En-gedi, brings it forth to him after his going out of the Cave, and beseeches him to look upon it, and to look upon it again, and to consider it well, as the strongest confirmation of his innocent intentions towards him ; and, in the midst of his beautiful Address, he thus artfully bespeaks him — *ואבי ראה גם ראה את כנף מעילך בידי* — *Et vide, mi pater, etiam atque etiam vide oram pallii tui in manu meâ.*

V. A Fifth Objection may be made to what has been before observ'd ; namely, that the only food of Man, before the Fall, seems to have been the fruits of the Trees. But this is not of consequence to the principal point ; however, as it carries probability with it, I shall offer a few observations in defence of it.

^h See Koerber's Heb. Particles, p. 15.

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We read in Gen. I. 29. — *And God said, Behold I have given you every Herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the Earth; and every Tree, in the which is the fruit of a Tree yielding seed, to You it shall be for meat.* This, at first sight, may perhaps appear unfavourable; but let us take in the following verse — *And to every Beast of the Earth, and to every Fowl &c. have I given every green Herb for meat; and it was so.* The sense now seems clear, — that Man was to eat of the fruits of the Trees; and that Birds, Beasts and Reptiles were to eat of the produce of the Earth. The English Version may therefore be corrected thus — *And God said, Behold, I have (indeed) given you every Herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth: but every Tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed, shall be to You for meat; and to every Beast of the earth have I given every green Herb for meat; and it was so.*

God seems here to have inform'd Adam of something deserving his peculiar attention — Observe, says he, that I have given you the Dominion over all the Creation, and consequently every Herb of the field is in your power: but this is not to be Your Food: Your Food is to be from the Trees, and therefore remember — that the Herb of the field is my bounty to the Animal Creation, and of this sustenance no power of Yours shall deprive them;

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them : and it was so ; that is — this was the original Constitution of things, and so it continued 'till the Fall. For after the Fall we find God *condemning* Adam, as a part of his *punishment*, to the *eating the Herb of the field* ; and it does not appear likely, that God should condemn Adam, when guilty, to eat the Herb of the Field, if he had eaten that before, while innocent.

Perhaps then it may be allow'd, that Adam at first was to eat of the fruits of the Trees ; and, after the Fall, of the Herb of the Field. And the reason of the divine Injunction, so different in these two respects, (if I may be allow'd the liberty of a Conjecture) seems to to have been this — God might intend, that Man in Paradise should eat nothing but from on high, the fruits of the Trees only ; that so, while he was sustaining his Body, he might behold the Heavens, whither, after an age of Innocence, he was to be translatedⁱ : but after his Fall, being degraded in his food, he was condemn'd to stoop to the Earth for sustenance ; that so he might not forget his original from the Dust, and his speedy return thither.

VI. It may be objected also — that if there was in Paradise no Tree of Immortality, but

ⁱ Tull. *de Nat. Deor.* 2. — Cum cæteras animantes abjesset ad pastum, solum hominem crexit, ad Calique quasi cognationis &c Domicilii pristini conspectum excitavit.

all the Trees there were only for the support of Life, in the way of common nourishment; why was a Guard placed, to prevent the return of the first Pair into Paradise? To this several Answers may be given, and I hope the following are satisfactory. The Garden of Eden was prepar'd with peculiar ornament and beauty, as a worthy habitation for Beings of innocence and virtue ^k. When God therefore had so richly furnish'd this delightful Garden, it may not be absurd to suppose, that it continued free from that Curse, which, upon the fall, affected all the future habitation as well as food of Adam. And that when Man, for his Sin, was expell'd this happy place, and driven forth into a world render'd unfruitful for his punishment; Paradise, with its fruits, might flourish in its native perfection, 'till the Deluge put an end to all distinction between that and other places, and made them equal in one general desolation ^l. Supposing this, we present-

^k For when the Sacred Writers would express the exceeding fruitfulness and pleasure of a Country, 'tis to Paradise they have recourse for the sublime Idea. Thus Gen. XIII. 10. — *And Lot lift up his Eyes, and beheld all the Plain of Jordan, that it was well watered every where, even as the Garden of the Lord.* And Joel II. 3. *The Land is as the Garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate Wilderness.*

^l Salkeld on Paradise, p. 39. — It seemeth much more probable, that Paradise was destroy'd by the general Deluge. And thus Milton describes the Deluge, ll. 824.—

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ly see a reason for restraining Adam, under punishment for his Rebellion, from re-entring Paradise. I say, re-entring Paradise; because it is the opinion of some men of the first class^m, that Adam was created out of Paradise, and introduced into it by his Maker. Granting this (which is founded partly on these words — *And the Lord God planted a Garden, and there he put the man whom he had formedⁿ*) granting this, we shall see the present solution in a stronger light. For if Adam was created out of the Garden, and then, to influence his gratitude, admitted into it, as a place very superior in beauty to what he had before seen, and yielding Fruits of a much richer flavour than he had before tasted; we may easily account for the Guard's being placed to prevent his enjoyment of it, after his transgression.

So that if we suppose, there were in Paradise Fruits of a different kind and richer nature than out of it, with other peculiar circum-

All the Cataracts
Of Heav'n set open on the Earth shall pour
Rain day and night, till Inundations rise
Above the highest hills—then shall this Mount
Of Paradise by might of waves be mov'd
Out of his place, push'd by the horned Flood,
With all his Verdure spoil'd, and Trees cut off.

^m See Bp Patrick in his Commentary; Dr. Delaney in his Revelat. exam. Vol. I. p. 4; And Mr. Sale in the Univerf. History, Book I. Ch. I. p. 121. Edit. 8vo.

ⁿ Gen. II. 8.

stances

stances of happiness ; or that the Curse, which affected the Trees and their Fruits out of Paradise, might not extend to those within—I apprehend the present Objection may be solv'd either way ; and both Suppositions appear to be of some weight. For, as to the latter ; God, we are assur'd, does nothing in vain ; and no end could have been answer'd by his cursing Paradise as a punishment on Man, when he was not to re-enter it, and consequently could not be affected by the alteration. And if any one should be still inclin'd to assert, that Paradise was curs'd with the rest of the Earth, I would beg to ask in return—Why was a Guard placed at Paradise ? For if the Ground and Fruits of Paradise suffer'd in one common Curse with the rest of the Earth, doubtless the Tree of Life (above all things °) was impair'd with the rest, and render'd incapable of producing its former (suppos'd) extraordinary effects, for which there was now no longer occasion.

And as to the former Supposition—that the Trees in Paradise were preferable to all others, and peculiar in use and beauty ; this is confirm'd from several passages in Scripture, particularly in that noble passage of the Prophet Ezekiel, Chap. XXXI. *Speak unto Pharaoh,*

o Because (as Mr. Sale observes) it was now grown not only *useless*, but *inconsistent* with the Curse and Punishment of Man. Univ. Hist. B. I. Ch. I. p. 129. Ed. 8vo.

and unto his multitude, Whom art thou like in thy Greatness? Behold! the Assyrian was a Cedar in Lebanon with fair branches, of an high stature; the waters made him great; the deep set him up on high; his heart was exalted above all the Trees of the field; the Cedars in the very Garden of God could not overtop him; the Fir-Trees were not like his boughs, and the Chesnut-Trees were not like his branches; not any Tree even in the Garden of God was like unto him in his beauty; I have made him fair by the multitude of his branches, so that all the Trees of Eden, that were in the Garden of God, might envy him. The Gradation here (in this beautiful illustration of Greatness) from all the Trees of the Field to the Cedars of Paradise in particular, and the insisting so much that the Trees in Eden, in the very Garden of God, were not only unequal to it but might even envy its excellence—seems evidently to point out a superiority of nature in the Trees of Paradise to all others in the world.

It may be also proper to remember here, that Adam was now sentenced to hard Labour, and condemn'd to eat of the Herb of the Field in the sweat of his Brow; and this consideration is alone sufficient to account, why God should place a Guard at Paradise—lest Adam should return to those Trees, planted together by God in Paradise, of which he had so happily eaten before; and which had supported, and
would

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would support him still, without the toil which he was otherwise under a necessity of experiencing.

VII. Another Objection may be — that Allusions to this Tree of Life or Immortality are made in other parts of Scripture, and therefore such a Tree must have existed. But it may be observ'd, that meer probable Allusions will prove nothing; and unless we can find plain references to the very Tree of Life said to be described by Moses, it will not affect the present argument. It may not however be improper to consider the places, where these Allusions are suppos'd; and these are only, I believe, in the book of Proverbs and the Apocalypse.

We read in Prov. III. 18. — *She is a Tree of Life to them that lay hold upon her, and happy is every one that retaineth her.* These words are spoken of Wisdom, under a beautiful, but very usual and easy Metaphor. That Wisdom is attended with Fruits, and to taste the Fruits of Wisdom — this was always, and continues to be an approv'd method of expression. But Solomon here carries the figure one step farther; and as Wisdom yields the sweetest and most desirable *Fruits*, he calls her a *Tree*: and what kind of Fruit could he ascribe to this Tree, so charming and desirable as that

of *Life*. *Wisdom* then, he tells his Son, is a *Tree of Life*^p; and that whoever lays hold on her, will be improv'd in his Mind, in the same degree as his Body would receive benefit from such Fruits, as enervate his Animal Life.

But the Royal Writer could not here allude to the suppos'd Tree of Life in the Mosaic History, because the allusion would have been injurious to his design. For he tells us, that as *Wisdom is a Tree of Life to them that lay hold upon her, so happy is every one that retaineth her*; but *Adam*, upon the receiv'd opinion, would have been *unhappy*, had he eaten and retain'd the *Tree of Life*; and therefore God is said to have drove him out of Paradise in *Mercy*, that he might not be immortal in his misery^q.

As to the Revelation of St. John, it may be observ'd — that an Argument from thence to

p That there is nothing peculiar here intended by the *Tree of Life* is evident from considering that in Solomon's Language any thing that is *desireable* is call'd *Life*; and therefore we read Chap. X. 11. — *The Mouth of the righteous is a Well of Life*. — XIII. 12. 14; *When Desire cometh, it is a Tree of Life* — *The Law of the Wise is a Fountain of Life* — XV. 4; *A wholesome Tongue is a Tree of Life* — XVI. 22; *Understanding is a Well-Spring of Life* &c.

q God (says Dr. Delaney) is represented by Moses as deliberating, and assigning the most gracious reason imaginable for removing our first Parents from Paradise; even lest they should eat of the *Tree of Life*, and live for ever, which doubtless in their condition had been the greatest curse they were capable of. Revel. exam. Vol. I. Dissertat. 6.

prove

prove or illustrate any other part of the Sacred Writings, will (without a direct reference) be less readily admitted, than from the other Books of the New Testament. These are all written in a stile clear and simple, but yet noble and sublime; we read, admire, and confess their Divinity stamp'd in the most shining characters. Not that we have reason to doubt the Authority of this book of the Revelation of St. John; as it was acknowledg'd genuine by the Synod of Carthage, and establish'd by the sanction of the Sixth General Council'. But the argument of it is in general so obscure, and its signification so mystical, that no proof can be well drawn from it, to affect any other part of the Bible, unless it refers clearly to the point in question. That the places mentioning a Tree of Life in this book of St. John, do not refer to the Mosaic History, seems plain; because the Copy, supposing it such, would be very unlike to the Original.

We read in Revelat. XXII. 1, 2. — *And he shewed me a pure River of Water of Life, clear as Chrystal &c. In the midst of the Street of it, and of either side of the River was there a Tree of Life, which bare twelve manner of Fruits, and yielded her Fruit every month; and the Leaves of the Tree were for the healing of the Nations.* But that this Image is not borrow'd from Ge-

r See Vencer on the 39 Articles, Vol. I. p. 187.
ness,

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nesis, seems evident from hence — that here is first a *River of Water of Life*, which is not in the History of Moses — that here are at least *Two Trees of Life*, one on each side of the River; whereas in the Mosaic account there was (upon the receiv'd opinion) but one, and no River that we read of as running near it — that *each Tree* here bore *twelve* manner of *Fruits* is a circumstance certainly miraculous, and such as we have not the least reason for supposing in the Garden of Eden; for in *that* all the Trees were doubtless created so, as to yield each one peculiar kind of Fruit, according to its separate Law, and the nature of that Seed, which it contain'd in it self — and that the *Leaves* of these Trees were for the *healing of the Nations* seems to confirm the contrariety. For the suppos'd Tree of Life in Genesis could not be for the *healing* or cure of the first Pair, to recover them either from *Disease*, in a literal sense; or *Misfortune*, in a figurative: the first they could not suffer, while they continued innocent; and as soon as they experienced the second, they were cut off from what had been (in such a case) their infallible remedy.

So that we may fairly conclude, that St. John had not here, (and if not here, then not in other places, where the suppos'd allusion is less particular; especially as the *whole* is *one continued Vision*, and therefore certainly *carried on*
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under the *same Ideas*) that St. John, I say, had not here any view to the Description of Moses. But the Allusion is here evidently made to the Description given us by Ezekiel, in which the Trees are expressly call'd *Trees of Meat*, and not *Trees of Life*; tho' St. John uses the latter phrase as synonymous, and exegetical of the former. This Opinion is confirm'd by Mr. Lowth, in his Commentary on this Prophet — Ezekiel, ~~say~~ he, being at Babylon, is in this vision made acquainted with the form of the Second Temple, which was to be built after their return from Captivity; and St. John, in the Revelation not only describes the Heavenly Sanctuary by Representations taken from the Jewish Temple, but likewise transcribes several of Ezekiel's Expressions — and among these the Commentator mentions particularly this place of Revelat. XXII. 1, 2.

That this is the case will immediately appear, upon comparing the two places; and the Comparison will be greatly serviceable to the illustration of the present Argument. Ezekiel XLVII. 1. — *Afterward HE (the Angel) BROUGHT ME again unto the door of the house; and behold, WATERS ISSUED OUT from under the threshold of the house eastward. 7. And behold, at the bank of the River were VERY MANY TREES, ON THE ONE SIDE AND ON THE OTHER. 9. — And every thing shall LIVE, whither the RIVER cometh.*

12. *And*

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12. *And BY THE RIVER, upon the bank thereof, ON THIS SIDE AND ON THAT SIDE, shall grow ALL TREES FOR MEAT — or, as the words may be render'd—EVERY TREE OF MEAT ; it shall bring forth NEW FRUIT according to ITS MONTHS — the Fruit thereof shall be for Meat, and the LEAF thereof for MEDICINE.*

This then is part of the Vision describ'd by Ezekiel ; let us now see how St. John has copied from it. Revel. XXII. 1. — *And HE (the Angel) SHEWED ME a pure RIVER OF WATER OF LIFE, — PROCEEDING OUT OF the throne of God and of the Lamb. 2. In the midst of the Street of it, and OF EITHER SIDE OF THE RIVER, was there the TREE OF LIFE—*or, as the words ' may be render'd—*were there TREES OF LIFE ; which bare TWELVE manner of Fruits, yielding their FRUIT every MONTH ; and the LEAVES of the Trees were for the HEALING of the Nations.*

We see then that St. John has transcrib'd almost every remarkable Circumstance set down by the Prophet ; and there is the utmost reason

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τ ἕλαι ζων. For that ἕλαι, which answers exactly to עץ in signification, may be construed plurally — appears, not only from the Observations above laid down, but from the LXX using it in that manner, Gen. III. 2. — Ἀπο φρεν τῆ ἕλαι τῆ παραδείσου φάγουμαι. And in verse the 8th — Ἐπε λελυμένοι ο υι Ἀδὰμ καὶ τ ῶτη αὐτῶν ἵ μωσιν τῆ ἕλαι τῆ παραδείσου.

therefore

therefore to conclude — that the former had the latter carefully in view, in this description. From this Comparison it may be proper and useful to draw a few Observations. First; that by St. John's using the words *Tree of Life* instead of what Ezekiel calls *Tree of Food*, it is evident that the Terms are synonymous, and of the same signification. Secondly; that in both descriptions there is a necessity of understanding *more* Trees of Life, or Food, *than one*; the plurality is expressly mention'd by Ezekiel, and must be inferr'd from St. John, because the Tree in *his* description is *on each side* of the River. Thirdly; the Prophet tells us of *very many Trees*; and therefore the Evangelist must design the same *very many Trees*, as his appears to be so exact a Transcript. And lastly; if Ezekiel should be thought to have fetch'd his description from Paradise (as may be perhaps imagin'd from the parallel expressions of — *Every Tree of Food*, Ezek. XLVII. 12; and — *Every Tree that was good for Food*, Gen. II. 9;) then from the words of Ezekiel explain'd by St. John it will appear still in a stronger light, that there was not in Paradise One particular Tree of Life, but that *All the Trees of Food* in the Garden were called *Trees of Life* in general.

VIII. The last Objection that is likely to be made to what is before laid down, is this

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— that, after all, the genius of the Hebrew Language seems to require, that the words עץ חיים *Tree (or Trees) of Life*, in Ch. II. 9, should be connected with the words בחור הגן *in the middle of the Garden*. To this I answer, that the conjunctive particle Vau (*and*) is sometimes found in Scripture prefix'd to one word in a sentence, when it must necessarily be transpos'd in translation, and be given in the sense before two or more words which immediately precede it: and if so, the same liberty of language will be allow'd here, of which there is a necessity in other places. An instance of this we find in Gen. XXII. 4. The third Verse runs thus — *And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and saddled his Ass, and took two of his young men with him, and Isaac his Son, and clave the wood for the burnt-offering, and rose up, and went towards the place of which God had told him*. After which it follows in the original ביום השלישי וישא אברהם את עיניו וירא את המקום מרחק; Which Words, literally render'd, are — *Tertio die & elevavit Abrahamus oculos suos, & vidit ipsum locum è longinquo*; And must be render'd in English — *And on the third day Abraham lift up his eyes, and saw the place afar off*. Here then we see a necessity for constituting the Vau, tho' prefix'd to the verb, before the words preceding that verb. For the two first words cannot be join'd to the end of the

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the third verse, this is evident; and therefore they must be connected with the words following in the fourth verse; which they can only be, by construing the particle at the beginning of the first word, tho' it is prefix'd to the third word in the sentence.

This instance then being express, and the force of it evident, there is already sufficient authority for transposing the same particle, in the same manner, in any other place where the Sense requires it. But one instance more has occur'd to me, which I shall take notice of; not doubting but many others may be found of the same nature. This is in Gen. XXVIII. 6. — *When Esau saw that Isaac had blessed Jacob, and sent him away to Padan-Aram, to take him a Wife from thence; בברכו אתו ויצו עליו And that, as he blessed him, he gave him a Charge &c.* "

u There is a remarkable passage, in 2 Corinth. XII. 7, which requires the same transposition of the particle; and this will clear up the Sense, and free it from the innumerable attempts that have unsuccessfully been made for want of it. It is Εδωκε μοι σκολος τη σαρκι αγγελος Σαταν ου με τλανιζει. The general rendring of which words at present (see, among other instances, the Nova Acta Erudit. Lips. 1743. p. 284.) is, that there was given to the Apostle a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan, to buffet him. But surely as this σκολος τη σαρκι was given by God, it cannot well be call'd the messenger of Satan; and if we attend to the history, we shall find it impossible, because it was given for the glory of God, in opposition to Satan. St. Paul, having been receiv'd up into the third Heaven, and honour'd more than all the Apostles with

These two Examples being produced as Authorities, let us now take a view of the passage in question; which is *בְּתוֹךְ הַגֶּן וְעֵץ הַדַּעַת טוֹב וָרָע* *And in the middle of the Garden the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil.* So that it appears there is nothing new attempted here, by way of violence to the words; but only a method of Interpretation is applied, which must be observ'd in other places in the same book of Genesis. Thus much then may be sufficient, by way of critical solution, in answer to the present Objection.

But there are a few other things necessary to be observ'd in this place. And first; if the words *in the middle of the Garden* be taken in a strict sense, they must be connected with the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. The necessity of this arises from attending to Chap. III. 3, where we find the Woman thus describing the Tree of Knowledge to the Serpent — *We may eat of the Fruit of the Trees of the Garden; but of the Fruit of the Tree, which is*

the abundance of Revelation; God renders him contemptible by *some bodily Infirmary* — First, that the greatness of the divine Power might be the more illustrious in the weakness of the Instrument, and that the Apostle's pride might be prevented by the insults of false Teachers. For the *Messenger of Satan* means here a false Teacher, in opposition to a true Apostle call'd the *Messenger of God*; (Gal. IV. 14.) and therefore the sentence should be render'd — *There was given me a thorn in the flesh, that so the Messenger of Satan might insult me.*

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in the midst of the Garden, God hath said, ye shall not eat thereof. So that the Tree, which claim'd the Center of the Garden (if we take the words in a strict sense) and was very properly placed there to prevent Mistake, was the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil; and consequently, in verse the ninth of the preceding Chapter, the words *in the middle of the Garden* cannot be connected with the Tree of Life, whatever is meant by that expression.

If it be said, that the words *in the middle of the Garden* are to be understood in a laxe Sense; as signifying only *in, or near, or about the middle of the Garden*; then they may be applicable to what goes before, and to what comes after, in the following manner—*And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every Tree that was pleasant to the Sight, and good for Food; but the Trees for Life (or, but every Tree of Life) in the midst of the Garden, and also the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil.*

The Argument then is safe still. For tho' the Trees, that were design'd for ornament and were desirable to the sight, might be dispers'd thro' the several parts of the Garden, so as best to answer the beauty and perfection of the whole; yet the Trees for Food might be placed together in the middle, near each other, for the readier support and more easy choice of those, who had free liberty to take of what
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fort they pleased. And if we grant this, the Tree of Probation will appear still with greater propriety in the Center, with all the other Fruit Trees around it; because the first Pair could not then pass thro' the choice of their Food, without having in their eye that Tree, which stood full before them, which way soever they approach'd it; and was therefore a constant test of their Obedience or Disobedience. — Of their Obedience, if they should eat of all but that, in conformity to the divine Prohibition; and of their Disobedience, if they presum'd to eat of that one Tree, when they had around them so many others equally conducive to all the purposes of eating, and differing only in this that they were not forbidden.

Thus have I endeavour'd to vindicate this remarkable particular in the Mosaic History from insult and objection; and to fix the sense of it in a manner, not only rational, but consistent also with that Simplicity and literal Plainness, which is the noble Characteristic of the Scripture Account of Paradise. I have also consider'd what Objections may probably be urg'd against the present Explanation; to which are subjoin'd such Answers, as seem to solve their several Difficulties. And, I presume, if the account here given of what is generally

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generally call'd *the Tree of Life* be thought satisfactory; we are freed from all the Infidel Wit hitherto spent upon it, and from the charge of accounting for Natural Things by the introduction of Supernatural Agency. For surely Divinity, as well as Poetry, will admit this standing Rule—

Ne Deus interfit, nisi dignus Vindice nodus
Inciderit —————

It may not be improper then, by way of Conclusion, to give a regular Translation of the History, so far as concerns these Trees, according to the present Solution; freed from the interruption of (what was before necessary) the several intervening Explanations. And, by this method, the Consistency of the History, upon the Principles here laid down, may be judg'd of at one View.

GEN. II. 8. *And the Lord God planted a Garden eastward in Eden; and there he put the Man, whom he had formed.* 9. *And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every Tree that was pleasant to the Sight, and that was good for Food and a Tree of Life; and in the middle of the Garden the Tree of the knowledge of good and evil.* 16. *And the Lord God commanded the Man, saying — Of every Tree of the Garden thou mayest freely eat, excepting the Tree of the knowledge*
ledge

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ledge of good and evil: thou shalt not eat of that; for in the day, thou eatest thereof, dying thou shalt die. Chap. III. 1. Now the Serpent was more subtle than any Beast of the Field, which the Lord God had made; and he said unto the Woman — Indeed! Hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every Tree of the Garden? 2. And the Woman said unto the Serpent — We may eat of the fruit of the Trees of the Garden; 3. Excepting the fruit of the Tree, which is in the middle of the Garden: God hath said, Ye shall not eat of that, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die. 4. And the Serpent said unto the Woman — Ye shall not surely die. 5. But God knoweth, that in the day ye eat thereof, then your Eyes shall be opened; and ye shall be equal to God, knowing Good and Evil. 6. And when the Woman considered, that the Tree was good for Food, and that it was pleasant to the eye, and a Tree to be desired to make them wise, She took of the fruit thereof, and did eat; and gave also unto her Husband with her, and he did eat. 7. And the Eyes of them both indeed were opened, but they knew that they were naked; and they twisted Fig-Leaves together, and made themselves Coverings. — 12. And the Lord God said — Behold! the Man hath behaved, as if he were equal to One of Us, as to the Test of Good and Evil: and now, lest he put forth his hand, and take again of the Trees of Life, and eat, and so live on all his days —
 23. Therefore

DISSERTATION I. 105

23. *Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden, to till the Ground; for from thence he was taken.* 24. *So he drove out the Man, and placed at the East of the Garden of Eden Cherubim and a pointed Flame, which turned to and fro, to guard the passage to the Trees of Life.*

A
DISSERTATION
ON THE
O B L A T I O N S
O F
CAIN and ABEL.

DISSERTATION

THE SECOND.

THE History of the Oblations of Cain and Abel, tho' concisely deliver'd by the divine Historian, has been always look'd upon as deserving the close attention of Mankind^a. And yet, however interesting the subject, however labour'd the disquisition of it has been, there seems to be one considerable article in the case of Abel remaining yet unobserv'd; and the other particulars of this History have not been, perhaps, so happily explain'd, as to render any farther attempt towards their illustration needless.

This of Cain and Abel is the first Act of Worship, recorded in sacred Scripture; and was attended with a very remarkable contrariety of event to the two Worshippers — Ac-

^a This piece of History (says Bp Sherlock) is all the account we have of the Religion of the Antediluvian World. Discourse III. p. 75.

ceptance

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ceptance to the one, and Rejection to the other. It must be therefore matter of useful speculation to see clearly into the cause of such a difference; which, as it was made by God, had certainly for its foundation some equitable and important reason. And in order to the right understanding this piece of History, there seems to be requir'd a careful consideration of the *Offerers*, the *Time of their Offering*, and the *Nature of their different Oblations*: all which circumstances are regularly contain'd in the following Verses of the fourth Chapter of Genesis —

1. *And Adam knew Eve his Wife; and she conceived, and bare Cain; and said, I have gotten a man from the Lord.* 2. *And she again bare his brother Abel: and Abel was a keeper of Sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the Ground.* 3. *And in process of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the Fruit of the Ground an Offering unto the Lord.* 4. *And Abel, he also brought of the Firstlings of his Flock, and of the Fat thereof. And the Lord had respect unto Abel, and to his Offering.* 5. *But to Cain, and to his Offering he had not respect.*

In conformity to the method before propos'd, and the regularity of the History, I shall begin with the consideration of the *Persons offering*:

DISSERTATION II. III

offering: and these, we read, are *Cain* the First-born, and *Abel* the Second Son of the Original Human Pair; whose circumstances, both before and after their Fall, have been consider'd in the preceding Dissertation.

The third chapter of Genesis concludes with the Expulsion of this first Pair from the Garden of Eden; and down to that period we have already accompanied the Mosaic History. Let us now regularly proceed with it, from the beginning of this fourth chapter; which opens with the birth of Cain, the first Child that was born into the World.

Concerning the distance of time, from the Creation to this birth of Cain, there are various Opinions. But, as it is impossible to determine how long the Parents continued in Paradise; so it is, for that reason, impossible to determine how long they had lived, when this Son was born to them out of Paradise. That he was born out of Paradise — is certain; and that he was begotten out of Paradise too — seems probable from the history. Had ~~this~~ Child been born, while the first Pair were happy, upright and immortal in Paradise, he had been born in the same rectitude and purity of Nature he had receiv'd from his Parents; and consequently would have been (when advanced in years) a Man in the same situation, and in the same circumstances, as his Father
when

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when first created. But we have Reason, as well as Scripture, to convince us, that he was not born in the original Purity, but under a Corruption of Human Nature. And God; by permitting his wicked mind to operate so strongly, and his passions to rise to that pitch of turbulency and disorder, seems to convince us — that Man did not come *thus* out of the hands of his Creator; but that such behaviour was the effect of some alteration, introduced into the human composition by the defection of our first Parents from their innocence ^b.

This being premis'd, we come to the Name of *Cain*, which has been variously accounted for. But the reader of the Bible, by a little acquaintance with the Original, must have observ'd the manner of deriving proper Names in

b Dr. Conybeare, in his Defence of Reveal'd Religion, p. 111 — It is observable, and acknowledg'd by the best and wisest men we know of, that there is, in the present circumstances of our Nature, a strong tendency and propension to things in themselves wrong. Those who have consider'd matters, with no better light than human Reason could give them, have been apt to conclude, that our Nature was not always in the same state, in which we find it now; — that as it came pure out of the hands of our Maker, our Understanding must have been clearer and more extensive, and our Affections or Passions more governable. Of this, which could only be conjectur'd by natural Light, the Sacred Writings have given us a distinct account; informing us, that our Nature, originally upright, hath been depriv'd and corrupted by the Transgression of our first Parents.

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the first ages of the world; how they frequently are given from some remarkable circumstance attending the Birth or Life of the person so nam'd, and generally have that meaning express'd in words near the place, where the Name is first mention'd. And this is evidently the case with respect to Cain; for we read in Gen. IV. 1. וַתֵּלֶד אֶת קַיִן וְהָאָמֶר קָנִיתִי אִישׁ אֶת יְהוָה; So that the Name *Cain* was certainly deriv'd from the verb *canithi* (I have gotten,) and signifies *Acquisition*; and this word *canithi* (with the words following it to compleat the Sense) is expressly given by Eve, as the reason for her calling her Son by that name—*And she conceived, and bare Cain; for she said, I have gotten a Man from the Lord.*

The Name of Cain being thus ascertain'd, let us attend to those other words, here accompanying it, about which there has been so much warm disputation; namely — קָנִיתִי אִישׁ אֶת יְהוָה which our English Translators have render'd — *I have gotten a Man from the Lord.* The Critics, that have consider'd these words, may be divided into two classes; into those who imagine Eve to have expected the Redeemer in this Son, and those who imagine the contrary: and each of these classes may be variously sub-divided, according to the many different expositions, which each person has

c See Noldius, Partic. 1, Signif. 37.

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given to support his own determination. But the learned world is so well acquainted with these various explanations, or rather attempts towards an explanation, that I shall only offer that Opinion, which seems to come the best recommended by the words themselves and the circumstances of the history.

In the sentence, which God before pass'd upon the Serpent, a Promise had been given (for the punishment of the Deceiver, and the consolation of the fallen Pair) that *the Seed of the Woman should bruise the Serpent's Head.* From these words then Adam and his Wife might naturally expect *A Redeemer* ; one, who was to be born of the Woman, and to recover for them the Favour of God and that Happiness, which by their Sin they had forfeited. In what manner this mighty Operation was to be accomplish'd, they might not know ; otherwise than that it was to be done by the Redeemer's Death : and this, if Sacrifice was instituted by divine command to Adam, they must know from the typical nature of that institution. Now as the Person and Time of this Redeemer were not specified, they were at liberty to expect him in the Person of their First Son ; and, this being the most obvious and natural acceptation of *the Seed of the Woman*, 'tis probable they took the Promise in this sense.

This

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This being premis'd, let us consider the Text — *And Eve conceived and bare Cain; for she said, I have gotten a Man from the Lord.* But the original words may be render'd — *I have gotten a Man according to the Lord; and according to the Lord is, by all the rules of speaking, equivalent to — according to the word of the Lord.* And indeed the learned Translators of Queen Elizabeth's Bible acknowledg'd this version, having their marginal reading — *According to the Lord's Promise.* This rendring of the particle *אֶלֶּל* is authoriz'd by Noldius, and confirm'd by the following passage. Hagg. II. 4, 5. *I am with you, saith the Lord of Hosts (אֵלֶּל הַרְבֵּר) according to the word that I covenanted with you.* Upon this interpretation then the whole verse will run thus — *And Adam knew Eve his Wife, and she conceived, and bare Cain; for she said, I have gotten the Man, according to the word of Jehova.*

Having offer'd this explication of the first verse, with respect to Cain, let us consider the second, with respect to Abel; and tho' there have been still more opinions about this Name than the former, yet a fresh solution may be yet wanting here to give satisfaction. The Name *Abel* will admit various Interpretations the more easily, because the sense of it is not ascertain'd in the text: that it is not, is very remarkable in the present case; since his Mo-

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ther's two Names *Woman* and *Eve*, the Names of his elder brother *Cain* and his younger brother *Seth*, are all clearly defin'd in the context, where they are first mention'd.

This Name of *Abel* has been generally said to signify *Vanity* or *Trouble*; but as these Significations seem only embraced for want of a more apposite Etymology, I shall offer a new one, after previously laying down a few observations. First, that Names were not always impos'd at Birth. Or, supposing the contrary to this to be true; yet, Secondly, that another Name was frequently superinduced from some extraordinary circumstance attending the Life of the Person so nam'd: which latter Name abolish'd the former, and became the only Name, by which such person was afterwards spoken of and recorded.

This being then frequently the case^d, why may we not imagine the Name of *Abel* to have been superinduced also, on some very remarkable occasion? Supposing therefore that the same allowance may be made in this, as in other cases, I shall at present take it for granted — that *Abel* was the Name given to Eve's Second Son, from some extraordinary circum-

d To give a few Instances — *Eve*, *Abraham*, *Sarah*, *Paul* and *Peter* were Names, not given to these persons at their Births, but superinduced perhaps about the middle, or towards the decline of their Lives.

stance

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stance attending him, long after his nativity. Now we know, that Abel was the *first* of the human species that *died*; and that, as his *Life* was remarkably *pious*, his *Death* was peculiarly *unhappy*; being *privately* and *insidiously* murder'd by his own brother, in the *bloom* of his life; on account of the preference God had given to his Oblation. It may be thought very likely then, if a Verb can be found that contains the idea of each of these particulars, that *Abel* (or, as it should be writ *Habel* or *Hebel*) must be deriv'd from that root, and be a Name given him in consequence of his unfortunate end.

We have accordingly, in the Arabic Language, the verb *هَبَلَ habal*, signifying primarily—*Orba nato fuit Mater, & morte amisit eum*; and also—*qua necessaria essent quæsit*—*properus fuit*—*machinatus, insidiatus fuit contra aliquem*—*observavit ut obruere posset, & captavit opportunitatem*—Significations these, so wonderfully applicable to the case of righteous Abel, treacherously murder'd in his youth by his own brother, and so expressive of the affliction of his Mother consequent on such a Murder; that it seems to carry conviction at

. e 'Tis generally imagin'd, that Abel was murder'd in the 129th Year of Adam's Life, because Seth was born in the 130th; and that Seth was born soon after the Death of Abel seems easily inferr'd from the Name of *Seth*, and the circumstances of the History.

first

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first sight. It being an Arabic Etymology can be no objection to it, because the Arabic Language is a Dialect of the Hebrew; and many entire verbs, with some significations of other verbs, having been lost in the scantiness of the latter (as the Bible is the only book pure in that Language) have descended to us in the copiousness of the former^f

Thus then we may presume the word *Abel* was deriv'd; and that, tho' it is used by the Historian as his name *during* his *life*, yet it was given him immediately *after* his *death*, and became the only name by which he was thenceforth known and recorded. The custom of doing this in other instances has been observ'd before, and it is confirm'd by a careful attention to the history in this chapter. For we have no sooner read of the birth of the first Son, whom his Mother nam'd *Cain*, but we read of the birth of the second Son, which the Historian tells us was *Abel*; but we don't find, that this was the name given him by either of his Parents, in the form observ'd as to the preceding and succeeding Son. On the contrary (which is remarkable) he is not call'd *Abel* in any Speech made either *of* him, or *to* him dur-

^f See Dr. Hunt's celebrated Oration on the Antiquity &c. of the Arabic Language; p. 53. Ockley's Introduction to the Oriental Languages; p. 117. And Polyglott. Bible, Prolegom. 14; p. 94.

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ing his life. I shall only observe farther, that when Eve had brought forth the third Son, which the Scripture mentions, it is said — *She called his Name Seth; for God, says she, hath appointed me another Seed instead of Abel, whom Cain slew; or, as it should have been render'd, for Cain hath slain him* — Words! so remarkably determining the meaning of Abel's Name in the sense before given, that possibly it may be now admitted as a satisfactory account of it.

The Names of these Brothers being thus settled, we come to the next thing observable in their history, which calls for no Explanation, as the words carry their own determinate meaning — *And Abel was a keeper of Sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the Ground.* The care of Adam is here remarkable, in his bringing up his two Sons to the separate offices of an *Husbandman* and a *Shepherd*; Cain, the first-born, being appropriated to that employment which was the most necessary, in order to raise Food from the unfertile Earth; and Abel to what was useful in the second place, whether we consider Cattle with regard to their Wool and Skins for Cloathes, or to their Bodies for the purposes of Sacrifice: and thus, says the great *Ld Bacon*, were those Brothers dedicated, the one to the *active*, and the other to the *contemplative* scenes of Life.

But

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But the care of Adam appears most conspicuous in his concern for their behaviour towards God ; and we shall find, I hope, by what will be offer'd hereafter, that he instructed them (as they grew up) in the nature of their obligations to the Being who had created them —the nature also of his own Transgression, and the universal consequences thence arising. It is also very probable, that Adam and his Wife were so aw'd by reflecting on the greatness of their first Offence, and led so sincerely to repentance by the goodness of God, that thro' the remainder of their days they endeavour'd to conciliate the favour of God by their own pious behaviour, and a religious education of their Children.

But as Children are not capable of performing the higher Acts of Worship, which are adapted to Men of age and consideration ; 'tis probable that Sacrifice, which was instituted before this time (as will be prov'd hereafter) was constantly offer'd up by Adam for himself and family, 'till his Sons became qualified for the Office, without his farther superintendency. And as each of them had been probably a long time married, they might be now first advis'd to meet and offer for themselves and their families ; as was the constant Oeconomy of the Patriarchal times. We may therefore reasonably suppose, that when Age and Circumstances appear'd

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appear'd first to require it, Adam appointed that his Sons should, with a brotherly affection, come together, and offer their Oblations to the same God, in the same Manner, and at the same Time they had always seen *him* offer; in strict conformity to the divine Will, and the nature of their own Necessities.

As to the *Time*, which their Father had always observ'd for the solemnizing such sacred Services, it seems reasonable to conclude—that it was *some Stated Time*, regularly returning. This, I say, it is easy to infer from Reason; and we assert farther from Revelation — that this Stated Time was the return of *every Seventh Day*, from the finishing the Creation; which, by the express command of God, Adam was to sanctify and keep holy. For we read in Gen. II. 1, 2, 3. — *Thus the Heavens and the Earth were finished, and all the Host of them. And on the Seventh Day God ended his Work, which he had made; and he rested on the Seventh Day from all his Work, which he had made. And God blessed the Seventh Day, and sanctified it; because that in it he had rested from all his Work, which God created and made.*

This Subject being very important in its consequences, and the Second Point which I have in view in the present Dissertation; I shall here endeavour to prove the four following Propositions—which, however foreign they

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may

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may at first sight appear to the Subject in hand, will be found (I hope) to be of some affinity ; or, at least, be pardon'd, on account of some New Observations probably contain'd in them.

Proposition the I. That this Blessing and Sanctifying the Seventh Day contain'd an Order from God to Adam and his Posterity, to observe a Weekly Sabbath, or one day in seven after an holy manner.

II. That tho' this Command was reinforced by a more awful delivery of it from Mount Sinai; yet it was expressly observ'd by the Children of Israel, before that delivery of it from Mount Sinai.

III. That this Observation of theirs must have been in obedience to some positive Institution ; and as there is no intermediate or second Institution, it could be only in obedience to this first Institution, which consequently continued in force down to the delivery of the Law from Sinai.

IV. That the same Institution was observ'd, during the Ante-Mosaic Oeconomy ; and that this Sabbath was the Day, on which Cain and Abel came together to offer their Oblations to the Deity.

First then—that this Blessing and Sanctifying the Seventh Day contain'd an Order from God
to

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to Adam and his Posterity to observe a Weekly Sabbath, or one day in seven after an holy manner. Let the words of the Institution be here repeated — *Thus the Heavens and the Earth were finished, and all the Army of them; and on the Seventh Day God had compleated his work, which he made (on the other six,) and he rested on the Seventh Day from all his work, which he had made: and God blessed the Seventh Day, and sanctified it; because on that day he rested from all his work, which God created and made.* This second chapter of Genesis begins with a review of the preceding: and, as God, at the finishing his Creation, is describ'd as surveying the whole, and pronouncing it *very good*, the Historian seems to copy his example; and looking back with pleasure on his account of so wonderful an Operation, he here enters on a more particular detail of what most concerns Man, at this interesting conjuncture.

Thus then, says he, in the number of Days and the Order before set down, were the Heaven and the Earth compleated, with the whole Army that was assigned to each of them. But as the history of the other Planets of the Solar System (suppos'd with good reason, by some, to be part of the Creation describ'd in the preceding chapter) was beyond the commission of Moses; and as the Inhabitants of this Earth

g See the Universal History, p. 85. Edit. 8vo.

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are only concern'd in the account of their own Origin and Character — as Beings of such and such an Order — created under such and such Circumstances — and whose Happiness was to be the result of such and such Services; so Moses seems only to hint at the *Army* or *Inhabitants* of *Heaven* in the Planetary Worlds, and confines his narration to his Companions here, the Co-partners of Human Nature. He therefore goes on to tell us, what was the next act of the Deity, after finishing his Creation; namely — that, *having ended his Work on the Sixth day, he blessed the Seventh day, and sanctified it.*

And here let the original words be as differently render'd as they can be, without violence to their meaning, they must signify thus much — that when God had in Six days finish'd the Creation, he commanded the succeeding, or Seventh Day to be observ'd by the first human Pair, as a day of peculiar holiness. For as no one, I suppose, will assert — that this Sanctification of the Seventh Day was to be observ'd by GOD; or, that a Being essentially (and therefore always) infinite in Holiness, could be more holy on this than the preceding days; this Act of Holiness must be referr'd to MAN. And how Man was to behave, in consequence of this injunction, will appear from the Nature of the Words, and the peculiar Time of their delivery. The

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The Words are **וַיְבָרֶךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת יוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי** the English Version of which is—*And God blessed the Seventh Day, and sanctified it.* The verb **וַיְבָרֶךְ** carries with it a double Idea; first of *Blessing*, secondly of *Worshipping*, and that in the particular manner of bowing on the Knees. These two senses may be united, when spoken of Man; but the first only can be understood, when confin'd to God. If then we suppose this Verb to be in the Conjugation Pihel^h, the sense will be—*God blessed the Seventh Day, or honoured it with peculiar marks of his favour.* But the word **וַיְבָרֶךְ** may be here better understood in Hiphil; and then, from the known power of that Conjugation (which is to make, or order to do a thingⁱ) it will signify—*God ordered to bless and worship by adoration.* And as the Particle **אֶת** may, by the authority of Noldius^k, be render'd *Upon*, the sense will be expressly thus—*And God ordered (Man) to bless and worship on the Seventh Day.* The other verb **וַיְקַדְּשׁ** may be also understood

^h *Intensivam significationem* verba in Piel habent, quæ in Kal sunt activa; tum enim studium & continuatio actionis hic superadditur. Glassii Philol. Sacr. Lib. 3. Tract. 3. Can. 16.

ⁱ Quæ verba in Kal activa sunt, in Hiphil translationem actionis in aliud subjectum agens significant; & (ex Erpenio) Hiphil verbis Kal addit causam, cujus virtute, impulsu, jussu, vel permissione fit actio. Glassii Philol. Sacr. Lib. 3. Tract. 3. Can. 17.

^k See Noldius, Partic. **אֶת**, Signif. 10.

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in Hiphil, and will then be — *and ordered to sanctify, or set apart for sacred uses*¹; and the whole will consequently run thus — *And God rested on the Seventh Day from all his Work, which he had made; and God caused (Man) to bless and worship on the Seventh Day, and ordered (him) to sanctify it.* This Interpretation, as it seems conformable to Grammar, and expresses the Sense best (tho' the other amounts to the same, but with less clearness) I humbly offer to the judgment of the Learned.

But as this seems an Alteration of some consequence, I beg to vindicate the liberty of making it, before I leave this point. The Reader, who is happily acquainted with the Original Language, will grant it, I believe, with little hesitation; as he knows the words may be construed either way, so as to be most consistent with the context; and as he knows also, how frequently this Alteration should be made in the English Version of the Bible, to improve the Sense of it. One instance of this kind has occur'd to me, which I shall here observe; that, as the necessity of correcting the Version in that place seems evident, I may be the better supported in making the alteration abovemention'd.

¹ See this sense of the verb establish'd by Mr. Mede, Book I. Disc. 2.

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The place is in Gen. XXIV. 35 — *And the Lord hath blessed my Master greatly, and he is become great, and he hath given him Flocks and Herds &c.* How perplex'd is this Sentence from the confusion of the nominative case *He* ! The Lord hath blessed — he (my Master) is become — he (the Lord) hath given him (my Master) Flocks and Herds &c. But the Original is clear of this strange mixture, and flows smoothly on in a beautiful uniformity of person וידוע ברוך את אדני מאד ויגדל ויתן לו צאן ובקר which is — *And the Lord hath blessed my Master exceedingly, and he hath made (him) great, and he hath given him Flocks and Herds &c.* This Sentence being produced as an Authority for the preceding alteration, let us now see how this Injunction, for the sanctifying a Seventh Day, stood, with respect to the first human Pair.

Adam and his Wife had been both created on the Sixth Day; and with them God finish'd the work of his Creation. It is therefore highly reasonable to suppose, when God had, on the remainder of that day, given them a view of their Situation, their Circumstances, and their Relation to himself and to each other, that he should command them to devote the day following (as the *First-Fruits* of their Time) to a grateful acknowledgment of that Goodness, which gave them so happy an existence: and
that,

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that, as he himself, after making the World in six days, rested on the seventh; so they, in a devout remembrance of it, should then forbear what was afterwards to be their Employment, and give up that one day to Thanksgiving and the Adoration of their Creator. After this manner was the Day appointed; and doubtless it was carefully observ'd, and kept holy to the Lord.

The observation of this first Sabbath being thus determin'd, with the Holiness exercis'd thereon by our first Parents; it follows to be prov'd — that this holy Observation of the Seventh Day could not be confin'd to that single day; but that it was instituted likewise to be continued in the same manner, upon every successive revolution of Seven Days^m. For it will be allow'd a conclusive Maxim—that every *wise Institution* must be *design'd to last* as long as the

m *De publico cultu Dei, cujus maxime causâ creatus homo est, ut primum est creatus, moneri hominem par fuit. Hic autem quia peragi commodè nisi statis quibusdam diebus non potuit, ne hominibus fortasse vel non conveniret omnibus de tempore, vel minus idoneum eligeretur; Deo ipsi placuit diem, qui futurus erat huic negotio aptissimus, paulo post principia rerum designare. Cum enim postularet ipsa res, ut quam primum de Cultûs ejus Tempore constaret, propter quem & humanum genus præcipue conditum, ipseque Mundus videretur; quis puter hoc a Deo non nisi post annos 2500 demum uni traditum genti, quod hominum intererat omnium cognoscere? Annal. Mund. Robinson S.T.P. Lib. I. p. 58.*

usefulness

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usefulness of that Institution *continues*; consequently, if the usefulness of a Sabbath continued, the Sabbath must have been design'd to continue also, and to be in force after its first Observation.

Now the Use of the Sabbatical Institution, no doubt, was — that Adam, by a regular return of such a Sacred Day, might be reminded of the divine Goodness and Mercy in his own Creation—that, while innocent, he might employ the Seventh part of his Time, in the grateful tribute of Praise and Acknowledgment—and that, if guilty, he might not only continue to remember himself as the Creature, or visible production of an invisible God; but under the enlarg'd Character of a necessitous and guilty Creature.

Besides: tho' *Words*, by divine appointment, convey'd fix'd Ideas to the minds of the first human Pair and their Family; yet *Letters*, under the amazing brevity of an Alphabet, certainly were not the invention of this first Age of the world. And therefore, as *Oral Tradition* was then the only possible method of conveying down Informationsⁿ, the Institution of a Sab-

n And, considering the longevity of the Patriarchs, a true account of things was easily handed down this way from Adam to Moses, the author of the Pentateuch. For Adam died only 126 years before the birth of Noah; Noah lived more than 50 years after the birth of Abraham; Abraham is suppos'd to have lived with Jacob;

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bath. was greatly serviceable in these farther particulars—That Adam, convening his Family on the regular returns of that day, might declare the wonderful manner of the World's Creation—that *the Sea was God's, and he made it; and that his hands prepared the Dry-Land*—that *it was He that made THEM, and not They THEMSELVES*; and therefore to him they were to pay their Thanks for being Human Creatures—that as all they enjoy'd was the effect of his Bounty, a return of part was expected from them by way of Eucharist and grateful Acknowledgment—that they were to consider themselves as endow'd with the principle of Free-Agency, and consequently as accountable for their Behaviour here—that all the shining Beings they beheld above, and the beautiful Creatures surrounding them below, were the Productions of Almighty Power—that he himself was created in perfect Innocence, and compleat Happiness; and tho' he had by Sin forfeited the privileges of his Birth, yet God had graciously promis'd him a Redeemer, one who should recover the Happiness of Mankind, and triumph over their common Enemy—that tho' he himself was become subject to, and they were born under, a depravation of Human

Jacob with Levi; and Levi with his grandson Amram, who was the Father of Moses. Bp Williams, Boyle's Lect. Sermon. Vol. I. p. 165.

Nature;

Nature, and (from the ascendancy of their Passions over their Reason) with a propensity to act amiss; yet they had power to prevent, and at the same time a possibility of Pardon for not preventing, such Misbehaviour—that therefore they were to expect the reconciliation and favour of God, upon a devout application for Forgiveness; which was however only to be obtain'd by virtue of their future Redeemer's Death, a constant Faith in which they were to exercise and represent before God, by observing the typical Institution of animal Sacrifice—that this Sacrificial Service, instituted by divine command, was to continue, 'till the Redeemer should lay down his Life for them and their Posterity, by the Oblation of himself once for all—And lastly, that each of his Sons should afterwards, in their Families, discharge the same threefold Character, as he, their Father had done before them; i. e. of a King, to govern and regulate the behaviour of his

o Luke I. 68. *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath visited and redeemed his people—70. As he spake by the mouth of his holy Prophets, which have been SINCE THE WORLD BEGAN.* And Acts III. 18.—*But those things which God before had shewed by the mouth of all his Prophets, that Christ should suffer, he hath so fulfilled—20. And he shall send Jesus Christ, which before was preached unto You—21. Whom the Heaven must receive, until the times of restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of ALL his holy Prophets, SINCE THE WORLD BEGAN.*

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Children ; of a *Priest*, to assemble them, and offer up their sacred Oblations ; and of a *Prophet*, to instruct them in the great Events already past, and the wonderful things reveal'd by God, and remaining yet unaccomplish'd ^p.

These then are some of the important Lessons, which Adam may reasonably be suppos'd to have taught his Children, and which his Sons were to teach their Children ^q; in order to preserve them all from Irreligion and Idolatry. And as a Sabbath-day, or a Weekly day of Rest from Labour, in order to assemble for the giving and receiving these Informations, and to perform these Acts of Worship, was the wisest, and indeed (as far as appears

p Adamum eo fine considerat Deus, ut virtutum operumque suorum *testis*, *præco*, atque *laudator* esset ; &c, uti communis humani generis magister, filios nepotesque moneret, quid in hac vitâ &c post eam sperandum meruendive habeant. Witsii *Ægyptiac. Lib. II. cap. 15.*

q Fuerunt sane Patriarchæ *Doctores publici*, qui cœlestis doctrinæ veritatem tradiderunt suis, & sedulâ repetitione altè infixērunt : nec Doctores tantum fuerunt, sed etiam *Prophete*, latentes & abditos eventus divinarum rerum consciâ mente explicantes. Heidegger Exercit. 3. Sec. 7. Immo mihi verum videtur, quod alicubi memini a Cl. Pearsono notatum esse, *Noachum* a S. Petro (in Epistolâ secundâ II. 5.) *Octavum Prædicatorem Justitiæ* dici, quam Moyses nusquam dixerit quinam fuerint septem Justitiæ præcones, qui illo fuerint priores : credendum est tamen, & Deum in terris *semper* habuisse *Ecclesiam*, & in Ecclesiâ semper extitisse *Justitiæ Præcones*, & septem quidem Noacho quadantenus similes. Bp Cumberland, de Legibus Patriarcharum, p. 419.

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to us) the only method likely to accomplish such great Ends ; we may conclude from all our ideas of an infinitely wise and good Being, that he instituted the Sabbath-Day, in order to a continual observation. So that the Patriarchs might have used Words like those of the Psalmist ¹, and said of the Sabbath — *We have heard and known, and our Fathers have told us, that we should not hide it from the Children of the Generations to come ; but to shew the Honour of the Lord, his mighty and wonderful WORKS that he hath done : he made a Covenant with Adam, and gave him a Law, which he commanded that our Forefathers should teach their Children ; that their Posterity might know it, and the Children which were yet unburn ; to the intent that when they came up, they might shew their Children the same ; that so they might not forget the WORKS of God, but keep his Commandments.*

It may be proper also to observe—that there seems to have been the same necessity for the institution of a Sabbath under the Patriarchal Oeconomy, as when the Israelites were gone forth into the Wilderness. The Argument, wherein the great strength of the Objectors to the Patriarchal Sabbath lies, is this — that a Sabbath was given to the Israelites at Sinai to preserve them from Idolatry. This indeed is conclusive for the Israelites ; but can it be ex-

¹ Psalm LXXVIII.

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clusive of the Patriarchs? The Israelites, it may be said, were going to inhabit among Idolatrous Nations. True: but did not the Patriarchs dwell among such as were equally Apostates from the Worship of the True God? And was not the Religion of the latter equally therefore in danger with that of the former? And was it not, at some times, as nearly perverted? It will be said also, that the Israelites, having liv'd in Egypt for many years, had given into the Customs of their Idolatrous Masters; and therefore a Sabbath was instituted to heal them of that inveterate Distemper. But is it not more for the honour of God, that he be suppos'd to have instituted a Sabbath, by way of Prevention, rather than by way of Cure? That, as he foresaw the future falling off of Mankind from his Worship, he should rather promulge a Law *preventive* of such Apostacy?

s Plerique quidem non dubitant, quin Idololatriam in Patriarcharum domos invexerit primus Serugus filius Reu seu Rhagan; sic & Eusebius. Eurychius primordia Idololatriæ refert ad tempora Kahtanis seu Joctanis, qui strar Phalegi fuit; & Idololatriæ incrementum refert ad tempora Serugi. Ut de origine Idololatriæ ipse dicam, id certum est, tempore Therachi falsis Diis litatum & inservitum esse. Nec Therachum ipsum auctorem esse dici potest, quum falsos Deos dicuntur coluisse ii, qui trans flumen habitârunt- מעור a seculo: Quin igitur inter Semum benedictum & Therachum in familias Patriarcharum irrepserit, ambiguum non est. Heidegg, Hist. Patriarch. Exer. 1. Sec. 32.

And

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And do we not find that this was actually the case? — Let us not then confine the Mercy of God; or disown his Goodness, as not extended to all his Creatures. The Sacred Historian has expressly assur'd us, that, at the finishing the Creation, God commanded the observation of a Sabbath, in remembrance of the Creator and his Works; and certainly such a Command must extend, and must have extended, to all Mankind, because they all are Creatures^t.

It is indeed asserted by some—that the Text in Gen. II, commanding a Sabbath, is a *Prolepsis*; and mention'd there only by way of *Anticipation of the Jewish Sabbath*, instituted about Two Thousand Five Hundred Years after. But the Uniformity of the History, and the Regularity of the Narration, are sufficient to set aside so forced an Interpretation^u. I shall,

^t It may be observ'd, that our Saviour tells us (Mark II. 27.) *The Sabbath was made* (or instituted) *dimittimus*, for the sake of MAN; not for one particular Nation, but for the benefit of Mankind. And therefore we may apply St. Paul's words in Rom. III. 29; and say — *Was the Sabbath then for the JEWS only, or is it for the GENTILES also? Yea, for the GENTILES also.*

^u — Mihi quidem hoc pro certo statuitur, ad *Destinationes* atque *Anticipationes* non esse fugiendum in Scriptis Divinis, nisi cum sensus verborum occurrit impeditus, qui serat præ se vel falsum, aliquid, vel adsonum & alienum: at nihil hic ejusmodi. Vera & perspicua sunt omnia; & cur hic locus eodem quo narratur temporis ordine non sit intelligendus, equidem nihil perspicio. *Annal. Mund. a Robinson, p. 57.*

however

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however, for a fuller confutation of it, draw a few observations from the Fourth Commandment it self ^w

The intent of the First Table of the Decalogue confessedly was to secure the Worship of the True God, after a proper manner. But tho' the First precept of this Table may be well thought the most important, as being the foundation of the rest; yet the Fourth precept only begins with the word *Remember*. Were not the Israelites then equally, or rather more carefully to remember, to have no other Gods but one? Were they not, at least equally, to remember that this one God was not to be worshipp'd under any visible Representation? Yes, certainly; and therefore as this *Remembrance*, so peculiarly prefix'd to the Fourth Commandment, does not infer any Superiority in that Commandment, it must refer to the previous Institution of the Sabbath, which it enjoin'd. For God tells them by the whole tenour of that Commandment, that it was only a Renewal of what he had enjoin'd at his finishing the Creation, and what had been before observ'd. And therefore they were to *remember*—that the same sacred Institution was continued and incorporated into that System of Laws, which he then gave them. For the words זכור את יום השבת לקדשו are not (as they are sometimes ren-

^w Exod. XX. 8.

der'd)

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der'd) *Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath Day*; but—*Remember the Sabbath Day, to keep that holy.*

Thus God begins the Commandment with referring them to a *prior* observation; and then he lays down the *manner and extent* of the Obligation of it — *Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work; and the Seventh Day is the Sabbath* (not of, but) *to the Lord thy God* (a Rest from Labour to attend upon the Worship of God) *on that thou shalt not do any work; Thou, nor thy Son &c. nor the Stranger that is within thy Gates.* This mention of the *Stranger's* being to observe a Sabbath is a Proof that the Command of a Sabbath is not merely Jewish, as has frequently been asserted ^x. No Stranger could join in eating the Passover, without being first circumcis'd, and thereby initiated into Judaism ^y; but a Stranger might, nay was oblig'd (we find) to keep the Sabbath, tho' he had not been circumcis'd. The reason of which remarkable distinction is — that Cir-

x The following Observation of Bp Cumberland confirms this point—*Sumo pro concessò, seu manifestà veritate, quod omnia Sacrificia quæ Peregrini e gentibus aliis permittebantur offerre Deo, in lege Mosaicà, ea omnia licita fuerunt, virtute legum Patriarchalium & Naturalium; nullaque a Mosaicis legibus data esse iis Privilegia, præter ea, quæ ante legem ex jure gentium ad omnes homines pertinebant.* De Leg. Patriar. in Orig. Gent. antiq. p. 464.

y Exod. XII. 43, 44,

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cumcision was a *National*, and the Sabbath an *Universal* Institution; the former given in command to Abraham, and obligatory only on his Descendants; while the latter was given in command to Adam, the Father of all Mankind.

After this clause concerning the Stranger, follows the Reason of the Command, exactly the same with what was deliver'd at its first Institution — *Because in Six Days the Lord made Heaven and Earth, and rested on the Seventh Day; therefore the Lord blessed the Seventh Day and hallowed it; or — therefore the Lord caused Man to worship on the Seventh Day, and ordered him to sanctify it.* Thus the very Letter of the Precept tells us, that as the Sanctification of one day in seven was (by way of Analogy to, and in Remembrance of the Creation) given in command to Adam, the Parent of Mankind, and only re-authoriz'd at Sinai; all Mankind must have been, and must be, oblig'd by virtue of the Sabbatical Institution.

Thus much may be thought sufficient to prove the First Proposition; which will, however, receive additional strength and confirmation from arguments that will be introduced hereafter.

The Second Proposition now offers it self to our thoughts; which is — that, tho' this Command of a Sabbath at the Creation was reinforced

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forced by a more awful delivery of it from Mount Sinai; yet it was expressly observ'd by the Children of Israel, before that delivery of it from Sinai.

We read in the history of the Travels of the Israelites, that they came to the Wilderness of Sin, which is *between Elim and Sinai*, on the fifteenth day of the second month after their departing out of Egypt — that *from the Wilderness of Sin* they went to *Rephidim* — and *from Rephidim* they came to the Wilderness of Sinai, in the third month². The intermediate time, between the fifteenth day of the second month and their arrival at Sinai in the third month, was spent at Sin, where they murmur'd and were fed with Manna; and, after that, at Rephidim, where they murmur'd again, and were satisfied with Water, and where they fought the Amalekites. And therefore whatever was done and observ'd, in the Wilderness of Sin, must have been done and observ'd before they came to Mount Sinai, and consequently before the delivery of the Law from thence.

Now we read in Exod. XVI. 1 — *And all the Congregation of the Children of Israel came unto the Wilderness of Sin.* 2. *And they murmured against Moses in that Wilderness.* 3. *And said, You have brought us forth into this Wilderness, to kill this whole Assembly with hunger.* 4. *Then*

2 Exod. XVI. 1. XVII. 1. XIX. 1, 2.

S 2

said

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said the Lord unto Moses — Behold! I will rain Bread from Heaven unto you; and the people shall gather a certain rate every day. 5. And on the Sixth day they shall prepare that which they bring in; it shall be twice as much as they gather daily. — 22. And on the sixth day they gathered twice as much Bread, two Omers for one Man; and all the Rulers of the Congregation came and told Moses. 23. And he said unto them, This is what the Lord hath said, To morrow being the Rest of the Holy Sabbath unto the Lord, bake what ye will bake to day, and seethe what ye will seethe; and that which remaineth lay up until the morning. 24. And they laid it up until the morning, as Moses bade. 25. And Moses said, Eat that to day; for this day being the Sabbath unto the Lord, to day ye shall not find it in the field. 26. Six days ye shall gather it; but on the Seventh day, which is the Sabbath, on that there shall be none. 27. Yet there went out some on the Seventh day to gather, but they found none. 28. And the Lord said unto Moses, How long refuse ye to keep my COMMANDMENTS and my LAWS? 29. See! Because the Lord hath given you the Sabbath, therefore he giveth you on the sixth Day the Bread of two Days, abide ye then every man in his place; let no man go out of his place on the Seventh Day. 30. SO THE PEOPLE KEPT THE SABBATH ON THE SEVENTH DAY.

This

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This Chapter then, being express, is abundantly sufficient to establish the Second Proposition — that the Israelites observ'd a Sabbath Day before the giving of the Law from Sinai^a. And it is remarkable, that all the expressions, mentioning a Sabbath in the above-cited verses, speak of it, not as a novel Institution, but as an Institution the people were very well acquainted with. To morrow, says Moses to the Rulers, is the Holy Sabbath unto the Lord; and therefore, as he knew them perfectly sensible of that, he only tells them, how they were to act at that time with regard to the miraculous gift of Bread from Heaven; which was not to fall on the Seventh day, as it did on the other six, that so the destination of that one

^a This then is a sufficient answer to that Objection, drawn from a passage in Nehemiah, which Dr. Spencer and others insist upon as of great consequence in the argument against a Patriarchal Sabbath. The words are in Nehemiah IX. 13, 14. *Thou camest down also upon mount Sinai, and spakest with them from Heaven, and gavest them right Judgments, and true Laws, good Statutes and Commandments; and madest known unto them thy holy Sabbath.* For it appears that a Sabbath was actually commanded, and observ'd by the Israelites, before they came to Sinai; and therefore a Sabbath could not be first commanded the Israelites from Sinai. So that the word *הירעת* should be render'd *agnoscere, animadvertire, attendere, curare, curam gerere eos fecisti.* For these are its significations; and the word implies here that solemn and awful reinforcement of the Sabbath, which God made at Sinai, punishing the violation of it with Death. Numb. XV. 35.

day

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day to sacred uses might not be render'd uselefs and ineffectual.

Having thus shewn, that the Sabbath was observ'd by the Children of Israel, before the delivery of the Fourth Commandment from mount Sinai; I shall proceed to prove the Third Proposition; which is—that this Observation of theirs must have been in obedience to some Positive Institution; and as there is no intermediate or second Institution, it could be only in obedience to the first Institution given in command to Adam.

I shall introduce what I have to offer here with a quotation from the celebrated Author of the Religion of Nature delineated ^b. We shall find ourselves bound, *says he*, to worship God in the best manner we can. And to do this, these things may in general be said to be requir'd; an intent Mind, a proper form of Words, a proper Posture, a proper Place, and a proper Time. As to this last Article it must be here observ'd, that all times cannot be equally proper; and therefore, for private Worship, the compos'd hour and the softer season of Retreat and Silence ought to be sought, and, as far as fairly may be, contriv'd. But there ought also to be a Publick Worship of the Deity. For a Man may be consider'd as

b Sect. V.

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a Member of a Society; and, as such, he ought to worship God publicly, if he has Capacity and Opportunity. Or, the Society may be consider'd as *One Body*, that has *common* Interests and Concerns; and, as such, is oblig'd to worship the Deity, and offer up one *common* Prayer. And farther, toward keeping Mankind in order, it is necessary there should be some Religion profess'd and even establish'd, which cannot be without some Publick Worship; and were it not for that sense of Virtue, which is principally preserv'd (so far as it is preserv'd) by National Forms and Habits of Religion, Men would soon lose it all, run wild, and act like the worst of Savages^c.

If then there is a Necessity for *Publick Worship*^d, there must be also a Necessity for fixing on some *Stated Time* for the exercise of this

c The true Religion, notwithstanding the ten Persecutions and all the artifices of cruelty which Hell and Heathenism could contrive, grew and increas'd by means of a *Weekly Assembly*, and the duties then perform'd; and ~~this~~ Julian the Apostate was so sensible of, that, when all his Wits had been at work for restoring the Heathenish Impiety, he could not think of any way more effectual, than ordering all his Philosophers to *preach it up weekly to the People*. Dr. Prideaux's Connect. Part I. Book 6.

d Id scilicet naturalis Ratio dicitur, quum Homo sit animal *ομιλητικον καὶ πολιτικον* non privatim solum Deum colendum esse, sed & publicè atque in cœtu: ad eam rem necessariam esse designationem certorum locorum, *ubi* conventus fiat, & conditionem temporis *quando*. Porro qui dies Numinis cultui sacriati erant, iis hoc esse agendum,
Publick

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Publick Worship; and this, as it is a self-evident Truth, the Opposers of Religious Institutions have the ingenuity to assent to, as *the voice of Reason*. The Author of the *Leviathan* tells us^c — Reason directeth not only to worship God *in Secret*, but also, and *especially in Publick* and in the sight of Men; for without that, (what in Honour is most acceptable) the procuring others to honour him, is lost. And the Author of Christianity as old as the Creation says^f — It is the voice of Nature, that God should be *publickly* worhipp'd; and that Men should do this in the most convenient way, by appointing amongst themselves Time, Place, Persons, and all other things which require special determination.

The concession, which this Writer found himself oblig'd to make, holds strongly in favour of the point before us; but we must guard against his inference—God must be publickly worhipp'd, and in the most convenient way; therefore MEN should *appoint* among

atque *huic uni rei operandum*. Sic volunt Leges Atticæ, sic Romanæ; habebat tamen illa ~~magis~~ Lex suam *quandam exceptionem*, quam dictabat æquitas: nam (apud Macrobiū est) Umbro negabat eum pollui, qui *opus* vel *ad Deos pertinens* Sacrorumve causâ fecisset, vel aliquid ad *urgentem vitæ utilitatem* respiciens aditasset. Wits. Ægyptiac. Lib. 2. Cap. 16. Sec. 5.

^c Chap. XXXI. p. 171.

^f Page 115, 116.

themselves

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themselves *Time* &c. This deduction he was necessitated to draw from his disbelief of Revelation; for as God must be publickly worshipp'd, and at some stated Time, if God has not reveal'd that Time, Man must appoint it.

But (Thanks be to God!) We have, and acknowledge a Divine Command, *whereunto we do well that we take heed, as unto a Light that shineth in a dark place*. For had this Appointment of the publick return of Divine Worship been only of, and from Man; how vague and uncertain, how remiss or violent, how wild and changeable had been the various Institution in various places; and how distracted the exercise of all Publick Sacred Solemnities! The World had been a Theatre of Religious Discord; or rather, Religion had been lost in the tumult. The different Forces, impress'd on all sides to give it each its peculiar direction, would, when at once applied, have answer'd the same purpose, as the Principle inherent in Matter; which is remarkable for its opposition to Life and Motion. And therefore, to prevent such a Quiescence of Publick Worship, it was necessary, that God should impress his Authority on some Stated Time for the observation of it, by the force of which the World might uniformly agree in celebrating the appointed time; as the Planetary Bodies

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revolve in harmony and order, by the power of those Principles, which are impress'd upon them by the God of Nature.

Human *Wisdom* then being *too weak to ascertain* what portion of our Time should be devoted to Publick Worship, and human *Power unable to establish* an uniform Obedience; God, *the God of Order*, has been pleas'd to make known his Will, and fix the observation of an holy Sabbath. One Day in Seven he has appointed, on which Men may abstract themselves from Labour, and the common Businesses of Life; and be employ'd in the sublime Contemplation of the Creator, and Themselves his Creatures; and consequently exercise the proper Acts of Worship arising from so interesting a Relation ^b. The Words of this Institution have been before consider'd; and as a Weekly Sabbath was evidently design'd for a perpetual Remembrance of the Creator, and was usher'd in at his compleating the Creation; so, from

h Philo, on this Subject, has a Passage which is truly noble, and therefore very worthy of our Observation.
— Επιδόσκει ο Θεός τῆς μέλλουσας ἐν βροτῇ τῇ κοσμοῦ πολιτείας ζῆν, κερδαίνεσθαι ἐν ταῖς αἰσίοις, καὶ κρῖναι τὰς ἐπονομασίας Θεοῦ, ὥστε μὴ ἔξω ἀνισταμένης ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἐξ, συχνοῦται δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφουμένης τῇ ἐπίστασι, καὶ μακάρι μὲν τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἐχέουσας· ἐπισκοποῦντας δὲ καὶ αἱ τῶ μὴ κρῖναι ἐν ταῖς ἀστέρας ἐφεσχόν· λόγον καὶ δόξαν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡρώωνι καὶ καλῶς λαμβάνουσαι ἐν τοῖς ψυχῆς βυβάσιν· συνδράσκουσαι καὶ συνδρασκουμένης τῶν νοήσας, οἷς τὸ τέλει τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν κινήσας, καὶ ὥστε τέλει τὸ καλὸν αὐτῆς ἐκκρίνεται ἀσφύλακτον. De decem Oraculis Tom. II. p. 197.

the

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the reason of the thing, it must be commensurate to and of equal continuance with the Creation.

Where then is the Wonder, if no Second Institution of this Sabbath be any where recorded, when there evidently was no need of it; as the First continued, and ever will continue, in full force and obligation? Upon the coming up of his chosen People from Egypt indeed, God incorporated this among the other Laws he gave them, written with his own Finger; that so he might (as it were) set his Seal to what he originally deliver'd in command to Adam, the more strongly to enforce their obedience. He also bound this Precept upon them, with a strictness peculiar to that People, and for a double reason too — the remembrance of the *Creation*, and the additional blessing of their *Delivery from Egyptian Bondage*. But that there is no Institution of the Sabbath, between that to Adam and this Confirmation of it at Sinai, seems clear upon a due Enquiry. The only place, which has been suppos'd to look that way, or which some would willingly have wrested to that sense, is in *Exod. XV. 25*; which I shall therefore now carefully consider.

The Israelites were come forth from Egypt, and having pass'd the Red Sea were arriv'd at Marah; and there they murmur'd at the bit-

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terness of the Waters. For we read, Verse the 23d — *And when they came to Marah, they could not drink of the Waters of Marah, for they were bitter.* 24. *And the people murmured against Moses, saying, What shall we drink?* 25. *And he cried unto the Lord, and the Lord shewed him a Tree, which when he had cast into the Waters, the Waters were made sweet; there he made for them a Statute and an Ordinance, and there he proved them.* 26. *And said, if thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God, and wilt do that which is right in his sight, and wilt give ear to his Commandments, and keep all his Statutes; I will put none of those Diseases upon Thee, which I have brought upon the Egyptians; for I am the Lord that healeth thee.*

It is surprizing to observe what an heap of Commandments some Jews, and some Christians too, have affirm'd to be contain'd in those few words — *there he made for them a Statute and an Ordinance.* In Seder Olamⁱ we are assur'd, that *Ten Precepts* were here given to the Israelites, Seven of which were the Precepts of the Sons of Noah; and to these were added the *Sabbath*, the *Judgments*, and the *Honour* to be paid to *Parents*. Salomon Jarchi tells us^k — There was given at Marah to the

ⁱ Meyer's Seder Olam, p. 101.

^k See Selden de Jure Nat. & Gent. Lib. I. Cap. 10.

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Israelites *part* of the *Chapters* of the *Lam*, in which they might exercise themselves; namely, concerning the *Sabbath*, the *Red Heifer*, and the *Judgments*. But does not this method of interpretation rather provoke our aversion, than raise our approbation? Certainly it does: and therefore Manasseh Ben Israel, the celebrated President of the Amsterdam Synagogue, censures these Interpreters very freely — What, says he¹, if some of the old Writers do assert that the Precept of a Sabbath was given at Marah? And what if they do produce those words for their Authority? Mr. Selden observes, that he leaves the point undetermin'd; but says that great man — Manasseh Ben Israel was not the only Master among the Jews, who rejected the opinion of a Sabbatical Institution at Marah.

The Truth seems to be, that some Jews were desirous at any rate to have the honour of the Sabbath to themselves, and some Christians were very ready to yield up their claim; and therefore Both seem to have been willing to fix the Institution of it at Marah, to prevent the Doctrine of its *Universality*; which would otherwise follow of course, because it was observ'd before the giving of the Law. But the Institution of a *Sabbath* is as difficult to be extracted from the word *Statute*, as the form of

¹ See Selden de Jure Nat. & Gent. Lib. 3. Cap. 9.
the

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the Jewish *Civil Government* is from the word *Ordinance* or *Judgment* ; tho' both have been so frequently ascrib'd to the virtue of these two words.

Let us consider the place carefully, with the context — *There made for them a Statute and an Ordinance* — Who made? The Original gives us no nominative case ; which it certainly would have done, had there been such mighty consequences depending ; especially as the nominative case generally abounds in the Hebrew Language. Besides : there is not the appearance of a reason for the Institution of a Sabbath in this place, rather than another. The Israelites were now very near to Sinai, from whence they were to receive their Law ; and, if a Sabbath was never yet instituted, 'tis scarce possible to think that God would promulge *one* important precept of that Law, about *a fortnight* before the *rest* ; and that, when promulg'd, it should lie so deeply conceal'd under the word *Statute*.

But it may be proper to observe, that the words *Statute*, and *Judgment* or *Ordinance* are us'd very indiscriminately thro' the Bible, and frequently signify nothing more than the *word of God* in general^m. Thus in Psalm CXIX. 5. — *Oh ! that my Ways were so direct, that I might*

^m See the Prolegom. to the Polyglott Bible, Idiorism the 14, p. 45.

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keep thy Statutes — 20. *My Soul breaketh out for the very fervent desire it hath alway unto thy Judgments* — and 116. *Oh! teach me thy Judgments.* So that the words — *there he propos'd to them a Statute and an Ordinance, and there he tried them* — seem to signify, that there either God, or Moses by his order, propos'd the following general Covenant to the Israelites—that *if they would obey him, he would be their God, and preserve them from evil.* And this he did to try them, whether or no they were willing to regulate their future behaviour according to his Will, and to receive him as their Lawgiver.

For it is evident that the words do not of themselves imply either the Institution of a Sabbath (which was instituted before,) or of their Civil Government (which was instituted after;) and therefore the sense of the place, regularly consider'd, will certainly determine us against such a forced construction. The Israelites were now come to Marah; and complain'd against God and their Leader Moses, on account of the bitterness of the waters. They were apprehensive, that such an apparent scarcity of what was necessary both for meat and drink, in those Defarts of Arabia, would immediately reduce them to various Sicknesses, and soon to Death. To abate, therefore, their murmurings for the present, God works a Miracle to sweeten the waters; and to silence
their

their complaints, and ease them of future fears, he takes occasion from the preceding circumstance to propose the following trial of their Obedience — *If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God, and do that which is right in his sight, and wilt give Ear to his Commandments, and keep all his Statutes; I will put none of those Diseases upon Thee, which I have brought upon the Egyptians: for I am the Lord that healeth thee* (or, that am ready and able to remove Plagues and Diseases from thee ⁿ.) So that the Statute and Ordinance, which he made, or rather propos'd to them at Marah to try them, was expressly contain'd in the words above-cited; unless we will tear in pieces the Sentence, by inserting what has not the least agreement with the argument; and dissolve that Unity, by which it is so firmly connected — *And when the Waters were made sweet, there he proposed to them a Statute and an Ordinance, and there he tried them; for he said, If thou wilt diligently hearken &c. I will put no Diseases upon thee &c. I am the Lord &c.* ° —

n See the Prolegom. to the Polyglott Bible, Idiotisms the 57 and 58, p. 47.

o Dr. Shuckford tells us (Connect. Vol. III. p. 1.) that this Statute and Ordinance was given to *Moses*, and that God here made trial of *his* Obedience, and not that of the people of *Israel*: for this, he says, must be the sense of the place. But, (with deference to so great a Name) the contrary seems evident from the tenor of the whole pas-

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But lastly; what will put this point (and it is a point of Moment) out of all doubt, is the following passage from the Prophet Jeremiah, which refers directly to this place. Chap. VII. 22, 23. *I spake not unto Your Fathers, nor commanded them, at the time that I brought them out of the Land of Egypt, concerning the matters of Burnt-Offering, or Sacrifice; but only this very thing commanded I them, saying; Obey my Voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my People; and walk ye in all the Ways, that I shall command (not, as in our English Version — that I have commanded) You, that it may be well unto You.* The Prophet cannot, in this celebrated Passage, refer either to the precise time of the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt, or to what was transacted at Sinai; for at the first time he instituted the Passover, which is fre-

sage, and in particular from the antithesis in it between the *Israelites* and the *Egyptians* — *I will put none of those Diseases on Thee, which I have brought upon the EGYPTIANS.* The Dr. indeed observes, that the *Affix* used by Moses does not signify *them*, but *him*; and therefore Moses was here spoken of, and not the Israelites. The observation is true, but the inference from it can be of no force for this undeniable reason — because God very frequently speaks of the *Israelites* collectively, as *one Body*, or *Person*, and addresses himself to them in the *singular* number. Among many instances, one in Exodus (XX. 2.) will establish this assertion; for God certainly there speaks to all the Israelites, and yet the *Affix* is singular — *I am the Lord thy God, who have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of Bondage.*

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quently term'd a *Sacrifice*; and the same Hebrew Word, which the Prophet here makes use of, is twice applied to the Passover by Moses himself ^p. Nor can he be understood of what pass'd at Sinai; for there God spake to the Israelites concerning the *whole of Burnt-Offerings and Sacrifices*: and therefore he must refer to this Transaction at Marah, which was just after their coming forth from Egypt; when God tried them, to know whether they would agree to walk in all the ways, not which he did then command them, but which (as Jeremiah here explains it) he was soon to command them from Mount Sinai.

Upon the result then of this Enquiry it seems fully to appear, that a Sabbath was not instituted in any part of these words; and if not in these words, I believe there is no other intermediate place, between Gen. II. and Exod. XX. that can, with any appearance of Argument, be cited to that purpose. And if this be true, it will of consequence follow from the whole — that as the observation of a Weekly Sabbath, recorded of the Israelites in the Wilderness of Sin, before they came to Sinai, was in obedience to a divine positive Institution; so that must have been the very Institution given in command to Adam, because there is

^p Deut. XVI. 5, 6. מִצֵּי Dr. Stanhope, in his Note on Charron of Wisdom; Vol. II. p. 728.

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no intermediate Institution. And, lastly, it is from hence evident— that that original Institution was not valid for one day only, but continued in force down to the delivery of the Law from Sinai.

I proceed now to the Fourth and last thing propos'd upon this Subject, which was to prove—That the Institution of a Sabbath was observ'd, during the Ante-Mosaic Oeconomy; and that this Sabbath was the Day, on which Cain and Abel came together to offer their Ob-lations to the Deity.

Before I offer any arguments on this head, I shall prepare the way, by answering a very common Objection; which is— That if the Patriarchs had observ'd a Sabbath, some mention of it would have been found in the history of their times; and therefore, as the Objectors affirm there is no such observation mention'd, they conclude against the observation in *their* Days. To this, I hope, a satisfactory Answer may be given, by observing—That the Silence of a History, as to the continuance of a Custom once instituted therein, is no Argument against the continuance of that Custom, provided the reason of its observation still subsists. But that there is mention made of such an observation will, probably, appear hereafter. Yet, supposing the contrary; the Objection, deduced

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from such a Silence in the History, may be entirely confuted by asking and answering the following Question. — Was the *Rite of Circumcision* observ'd by the Israelites, after they were settled in the Land of Canaan? I suppose it will readily be answer'd in the Affirmative; because Circumcision was the great Sign of God's Covenant with their Father Abraham, and the Characteristic Mark of the peculiar people of God.

If this then be the Answer, as it indubitably must, I believe the Objectors will be unable to find one Text recording the particular observation of Circumcision, from the settling of the Israelites in Canaan down to the Circumcision of our Saviour Christ; which is from Joshua Chap. V, to St. Luke Chap. II, and contains the space of one thousand four hundred and fifty Years. Wherefore, as Circumcision was constantly observ'd by the Israelites, tho' not mention'd in the Sacred History; so might the Sabbath by the Patriarchs, tho' we have no continued information of it ^q.

^q Quotiescunque publici conventus (inter Patriarchas) agi poterant, consentaneum est ut credamus, & Sabbatum fuisse toties ritè celebratum; quamvis de utroque Moses conticescat in primo suorum; quemadmodum in libris, qui post Mosen sequuntur sex, Sabbatum non legimus observatum, nec inde tamen colligimus neglectum. Annal. Mund. Robinson S.T.P. p. 58.

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The Reason in these cases seems to be this—The Historian, having once given the origin and cause of such and such an Institution, as was always to be observ'd, and therefore could not be forgotten; thought it needless to mention the repeated times of its observation, which every one, from the words of the Institution it self, must otherwise be well acquainted with.

After this previous Remark, I presume, we may fairly conclude—that tho' we have few, or should have no notices, of the Patriarchs observing a Sabbath; yet that will not conclude against their observation of it. But, I hope, we are not without Arguments, even here; which will appear, first, by considering the *early observation* of WEEKS among all Nations, and the *foundation* of that Custom.

When Adam was at first introduced into Being, we may with reason suppose him to have look'd around, and admir'd the various goodness displaid over the face of the Creation; the Earth, no doubt, won upon his love, while the Heaven excited his wonder. He might, nay he must have observ'd the two great Luminaries, shining with peculiar eminence in the canopy that cover'd him; the one now rising, now setting; the other now encreasing, now decreasing, in a regular and harmonious manner. From the apparent journey
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of the Sun, and the superior light consequent on his appearance, he might measure the boundaries of Day ; and, from the milder radiance of the Moon, he might fix the limits of Night : or, rather, he might define *Day* to be the *presence*, and *Night* the *absence*, of the *Sun* : and thus, doubtless, the first existence of Time was measur'd. But he might also compute by a collective number of Days ; from a new to a full, and from a full to a new Moon ; and so form a *Lunar Month*. And farther, 'tis possible, that he might fix upon the measure of a *Year* also. But it seems probable, that, *of these*, the Custom of measuring Time by *Days* only was all that took place in the first ages of the world. I say *of these*, because there was another method of computation, i. e. *by a revolution of SEVEN DAYS*, which prevail'd in the infancy of the world, and afterwards travell'd with mankind thro' the several parts of it.

That such a Revolution of Time was thus observ'd, is plain from *Prophane* as well as *Sacred History*. As to the former, the Testimonies subjoin'd are very full and express ; which I have therefore deliver'd in the words of their several Authors ^r.

^r GROTIUS tells us (De Verit. Christ. Relig. Lib. I. Sect. 16.)—Intra septem dies peracti operis memoria servata non apud Græcos tantum & Italos, honore dici septimi, quod ex Josepho, Philone, Tibullo, Clemente Alex-

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The Question here arising then will be
— How early this observation of Weeks pre-

andriño & Luciano discimus (nam de Hebræis notissimum) sed & apud Celtas & Indos, quibus omnibus per *hebdomadas* digesta tempora; quod nos docent Philostratus, Dion Cassius, Justinus Martyr, & vetustissima dierum nomina. With this agrees the testimony of HUETIUS, (Demonstrat. Evangel. Prop. 4. Cap. 11. p. 264.) — Per *hebdomadas* dierum discreta fuerunt Ægyptiis temporum spatia, Græcis, nec non & Brachmanibus Indis, & Gallis nostris, & Germanis, nec non & Britannis, & ipsis etiam barbaris Americanis. To these words of Huetius, BUDÆUS (Selecta Jur. & Gent. p. 234.) gives his Consent, and strongly confirms the validity of his Opinion. SCALIGER (De Emendatione Temp. p. 9.) informs us — Ex diebus sunt *συνηγεῖται καὶ οὐμάδες*, quæ notationes temporum constituent; *primum σὺνηγε* ex diebus dicitur *Septimana*, res omnibus quidem Orientis populis ab ultimâ usque antiquitate usitata. JOSEPHUS (In Lib. 2do contra Appion. Cap. 29.) says — Οὐδ' ἐστὶ καὶ παλαιοὶ ἐκάλουν ἑβδομαδα, ἡ δὲ βεβαιοῦται, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ. ἐστὶ μὴ πρὸς ἑβδομαδα, καὶ ἀργυρῶν ἡμερῶν, πένθ' καὶ ἀλφειοῦται. This famous passage, so often brought to prove the *universal observation of a weekly Sabbath*, is allow'd by SEIDEN (Jus Nat. & Gent. Lib. 3. cap. 22.) to prove the *universal computation of Time by Weeks*; which is sufficient to entitle it to a place among the Authorities here produced. That the observation of Weeks was in use among the *Egyptians* from remote antiquity, is allow'd on all hands, and appears from those words of HERODOTUS (Lib. 2. Cap. 82.) — Καὶ ταῦτ' αἰεὶ Ἀιγυπτίους ἐν ἑβδομαδίᾳ μὲν τὴν καὶ ἡμερῶν ἡμερῶν ἦσαν ὅτι ἐστὶ — Which words Commentators understand of the Seven Days of the Week, dedicated by the Egyptians to the Seven Planets. But that the Egyptians (tho' they might be, and probably were the first inventors of the *planetary title of each Day*) were not the first who observ'd a *septenary revolution of Days*, seems evident from the best Authorities, and a due con-

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vail'd in the world. And here it must be remember'd, that, with regard to the Heathen Nations, the Origin of Weeks among them (as Heathens) is impossible to be determin'd. For such a method of computation appears in some of their oldest Histories; and therefore must be suppos'd to have been observ'd antecedently to the writing such Histories; but how long before is the point. And here it is also to be remember'd — That whatever *Custom* has prevail'd over the world, among Nations the

sideration of the Universality of the Observation. For Mr. SELDEN affirms (*Jus Nat. & Gent. Lib. 3. Cap. 22.*) — In Sineusum ipsorum paganismi fastis, & civili temporis calculo, observationem vetustissimam, hodieque esse hebdomadis recurrentis eodem modo ac ordine, quo apud alias gentes.

s Their ancient Poets also afford us light, upon the present Subject; for thus Æschylus, in his *Εκτα υπ' Οησεως*, says—

Τὸς δ' ἑβδομάς σ' ἔτιμον ΕΒΔΟΜΑΓΕΤΑΣ

ΑΝΑΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ αἰετ' ————— 807.

The Scholiast, on the word *ἑβδομαγεταις* subjoins — *τις Απολλωνος λεγει, ος, ος ἑβδομη ημερη τι μαιον γαπητις, καληθη ἑβδομαγεταις*. But this *Birth* of Apollo, or the Sun, on the *Seventh* day of the month (so celebrated among the Heathens) evidently took its rise at first from the custom of computing *Time* by *seven days*, of which *the day of the SUN* was the *principal*. Indeed the word *ἑβδομαγεταις* gives us the idea, not only of the *chief*, but the *first* of the Seven Days; and implies *THE DAY OF THE SUN standing at the head of the other six*, and leading them on in order. And Mr. Selden assures us, that *Sunday* was the *first* day of the Week, in the East, from the remotest antiquity. *Jus Nat. & Gent. Lib. 3. Cap. 22.*

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most opposite in Policy and Customs in general, Nations not united by Commerce or Communication (when that Custom has nothing in nature or the reason of things to give it birth, and establish to it self such a currency) it must be deriv'd from some *Revelation* ; which *Revelation* may in certain places have been forgotten, tho' the Custom, introduced by and founded on such *Revelation*, still continued. And farther — this *Revelation* must have been made antecedent to the Dispersion at Babel ; when all Mankind, being but one Nation, and living together in the form of one large Family, were of one Language, and govern'd by the same Laws and Customs ; which Laws and Customs were carried by the various Families of Mankind into all those parts of the world, where they severally settled upon their Separation, and so were deliver'd down regularly to their Posterity¹.

¹ Abraham was the fifth from Peleg, and all mankind liv'd together in Chaldea, under the government of Noah and his Sons, until the days of Peleg : so long they were of one language, one society, and one religion : and then they divided the Earth, being forced to leave off building the tower of Babel : and from thence they spread themselves into the several Countries which fell to their shares, *carrying along with them the Laws, Customs and Religion, under which they had 'till those days been educated and govern'd.* Sir Is. Newton's Chronology, p. 186.

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This will certainly be found to have been the case with the Custom of *computing Time by Weeks*. And the single, but celebrated Testimony of *Theophilus Antiochenus*, in his Epistle to Autolycus ^u, is sufficient to confirm the application — *Επι μὲν καὶ ὥς τῆς ἑβδομῆς ἡμέρας, ἣν πάντες μὲν ἄνθρωποι ὀνομάζουσιν· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ἀγνοοῦσιν, ὅτι παρ' Ἑβραίοις ὁ καλεῖται ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ ἐκλήνισται ἐρμηνεύεται ΕΒΔΟΜΑΣ· ἡ-τις εἰς πᾶν ἴσθ' ἄνθρωπων ὀνομάζεται μὲν, δι' ἣν δὲ αἰτίαν καλεῖται αὐτῷ καὶ ἰσχυραία.*

But here it may be said, as it is by *Le Clerc* ^w and some others — that the Custom of computing time by Seven Days might take its rise from the *Seven Planets*; and therefore, having its foundation in Nature, was not a Custom introduced by Revelation. This however seems rather to have been said for the sake of serving a favourite Hypothesis, than for any real strength the Argument contains ^x. For the day of the Sun, the day of the Moon, the day of Jupiter, Saturn &c. were certainly Names given to the Seven Days of the Week, long after the

^u Lib. II.

^w See his Note on Grotius de Verit. Christ. Relig. Lib. I. Cap. 16. p. 42.

^x Thus Bp Leng — The Reason of the composition of Days into Weeks, fetch'd from the seven Planets, seems to be an invention of Idolaters long after the thing it self was settled in practice, but the true reason lost. Boyle's Lect. Sermon. Vol. 3. p. 56.

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Week was form'd and observ'd; consequently the Week was not form'd, and the Days of it first nam'd from the observation of those Planets. It would be almost as good an Argument for the Year's not being divided into, or observ'd under the successive revolution of twelve Months, before the time of the Julian Kalendar; because each Month then receiv'd a new Name, which has continued among the European Nations ever since. No: the *Year*, we know, was a computation of time in use every where long before; and the computation of time by *Weeks* also was in use long before Mankind were acquainted with our Solar System, or (more properly) with the Planets that for some Ages were thought to compose it.

We are told in a late learned Treatise, the Author of which has made very deep Searches into the Rise of Astronomy — That to suppose the Observations of the Babylonians not to go higher than Seven or Eight Hundred Years before Christ, has all the evidence that can be expected in so intricate a Subject, at this distance of time. But that Abraham introduced Astronomy into Egypt (as Josephus will have it) or that it was even known there in his time, may very deservedly be question'd :

y A Letter to Martin Folkes Esq; on the Rise and Progress of Astronomy, by the Rev. Mr. Geo. Colliard; p. 10.

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much less probable still is it, that the immediate Descendants of Seth were the Authors of this wonderful and complex Science. And Sir Isaac Newton informs us ² — that, in the Year before Christ 1048, the Edomites were conquer'd and dispers'd by David; and some of them fled into Egypt: and that these Edomites carried with them their Arts and Sciences, among which were their Navigation and *Astronomy*. The same great Author tells us farther — that, 14 years after this, Ammon reign'd in Egypt, and was the first that built long and tall Ships; for the enabling which to cross the Seas without seeing the Shore, the Egyptians *began, in his days*, to observe the Stars, and from this beginning Astronomy had its rise.

If then Observations upon the Planets were not made till so many Years after the Dispersion, the custom of computing by Seven Days could not arise from the nice observation of the Seven Planets; if that custom was much earlier, and observ'd not only soon after, but long before the Dispersion. That this was the case will appear to any one that peruses the beginning of the Book of Genesis; from which I shall hereafter draw a strong confirmation, in the history of Noah.

But the World is, I believe, generally agreed that the computation of Time by Weeks was

² See his Chronology, p. 12. 14. 208.

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one certain method of measuring it, before as well as after the Dispersion. And therefore, as this computation could not be deriv'd from any Planetary Observations, at a time when Mankind must be suppos'd unacquainted with the Number of the Planets in our System; and as the calculating from one to seven Days, and then recalculating from one to seven Days, and so on, has no more foundation in nature than a calculation from one to six, eight or ten: therefore this Custom of measuring Time by Seven Days, so very early in use, and so prevailing thro' the World, must have owed its birth to something out of Nature — that is, to some divine Institution, which introduced the Custom, when it had no inherent fitness to introduce it self ^a.

And here we are furnish'd at once with an Institution, coeval with the Existence of Adam, which will afford us the brightest evidence, and without which we shall be still bewilder'd in darkness. It has been already observ'd, that

a Nolim prætrahere negare denominationem dierum a 7 Planetis Ægyptiorum esse *δεσνη*; ipsa tamen Septimanz observatio originem longe sanctiorem atque antiquiorem habet. Pulchre admodum Johannes Philoponus, a Photio laudatus (de Mund. Creat. Lib. 7. Cap. 14.) *Εκατο γὰρ ἡ συντεταγμένη πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὡς τὰ μέρη αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν, αὐτῶν εἰς ἐκείναις ἀνεκκελευμένη τὸν ὅλον ποῦναι χρόνον πᾶσι ἐν τῇ τοῦτο τῇ εἰρηνηϊστῇ, ὡς μὲν αὖτε ἀπὸς Μαννῶν.* Wicl. Ægyptiac. Lib. III. Cap. 9. Sec. 2.

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at the finishing the Creation God commanded the Seventh Day, from the beginning of the Creation, to be kept holy; and this on every return of the Seventh Day. And it has, I hope, been prov'd from Fact that it was observ'd afterwards, in obedience to this Command. Wherefore *the Origin of Weeks* must of necessity be owing to this Institution, and *the weekly celebration of an Holy Sabbath*.

Having thus seen that the computation of Time by Weeks was introduced by the institution and observation of a Sabbath, we may observe here — that as the *continued observation of a Sabbath* proves the *origin of Weeks*, so the *origin of Weeks* proves the *continued observation of a Sabbath*. For a Sabbath must have been *twice* observ'd at least, in order to constitute the intermediate Six Days, and compleat a Week. And from hence it also follows — that the design of the Command, given by God to Adam, was not only for one day of Rest and Holiness (it being impossible that Adam could be said to *rest*, when he had not yet begun to *work*) but for a weekly and continued observation of a Day, excepted from Labour, and devoted to sacred Employments; a Day to be observ'd by all, as it concerns all, from the beginning to the end of the World.

This then appearing to be the Design of the Institution, we may presume that a proper use
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was made of it by the great Fathers of the Human Race, in a pious obedience to the divine Command. For it seems to be certain, that the Patriarchs had *fix'd Places* ^b for assembling for Publick Worship — that they actually

^b Gen. XII. 8. *And Abram removed from thence unto a mountain on the east of Beth-El — and there he builded an Altar, and called upon the Name of the Lord.* After this he went down into Egypt; and upon his return we read, Chap. XIII. 3—*And he went on his Journeys from the South, even unto Beth-El, unto the place where his tent had been at the beginning—unto the place of the Altar, which he had made there at the first; and there Abram called on the Name of the Lord.* So that we find the Patriarch pitch'd again in the same Place, made use of the same Altar, and perform'd the same Worship — by calling on the Name of the Lord; or, as some render it — by calling upon his Family and Servants יהוה בשם *in the Name of the Lord.* This last sense seems confirm'd from Chap. XVIII. 19; where God says of Abraham — *I know him, that he (יצוה) constantly commands his Children and his household after him, and they shall (or, that they shall) keep the way of the Lord &c.* That יצוה may be thus render'd, see Leusden's Edit. of Buxtorf's Gram. p. 49. This Place then, selected thus by Abraham, we find remarkably distinguish'd in Chap. XXVIII. 17. *This is none other but the House of God — 18. And Jacob took the Stone that he had put for his pillow, and poured Oil upon the top of it. 19. And he called the name of that place Beth-El. 22. And said—this Stone, which I have set for a pillar, shall be God's House.* On these last words Heidegger observes—*Locus lapidem continens futurus sit Domus Dei, sanctificatione & applicatione; quia ibi Deus ab hominibus vult coli, & gratiosam suam presentiam effectis restari.* Recte igitur Abenezra notat hic insinuari Locum fixum precibus. Exercit. 16. Sect. 23.

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held *Sacred Assemblies* ^c — and that they had *Priests* ^d to officiate in these Assemblies. The consequence of which is — that they must also have had a *stated Time*; for *When*, as well as *Where*, is absolutely necessary to be determin'd, in order to form a regular Publick Assembly. And what time can we so rationally conceive

^c We read, for instance, that Cain and Abel *brought* their Offerings together to the same place; and, that they offer'd in the presence of a Company (which must be their own Families) seems plain — First, because Cain, had he only been with his Brother, would certainly have slain him upon the spot; and not have stifled his resentment, till he had afterwards invited him into the fields, and so have murder'd him in cold Blood. And Secondly, St. Paul (Hebr. XI. 4.) tells us, that God gave a *publick testimony*, or *called Witnesses*, that he accepted Abel's Offerings — *καταμαρτυρησεν οτι ος αυτος ευχρηστωσεν εν κυνω*.

^d The Sacerdotal Office was perform'd at the first by the Fathers and principal Persons in the Patriarchal Families; and the first person we find distinguish'd by the title of a *Priest* was Melchizedek, *the Priest of the most high God*; Gen. XIV. 18. In Exod. XIX. 22. we find Priests among the Israelites, before the giving of the Law. Jethro also was a Priest of the true God, as may be infer'd from Exod. XVIII. 1. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. And in Gen. XLI. 50, we read that Joseph married a daughter of Potipherah, Priest of On; who was probably a Priest to those in that part of Egypt, who were as yet untainted with Idolatry. Heidegger observes of this *Nephew-in-Law* of Joseph's — *Sacerdotem hunc esse liquet ex usu verbi כהן 47. 22, ubi legitur quod Josephus pepercit לכהנים Sacerdotibus*. Hac voce *Sacerdotes* intellexerunt antiquissimi Interpretes; Græci, qui reddunt *ιερευς*; & Paraphrastes Chaldaeus Onkelosus, qui pro כהנים habet כומרין *Hierophantas*. Exercit 20. Sect. 17.

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to have been appropriated to this use, as the Day appointed by God himself?

It may be proper now to consider—whether such an observation of a Weekly Sabbath may not be found in the histories of some of the *Patriarchs*, either expressly, or by a fair induction.

Let the first example then be that of holy *Job*; which will appear, perhaps, to be corroborative of the present argument: especially as we have the authority of *Origen* for asserting *Job's* observation of a Sabbath Day*. For tho' it is not agreed among the Learned, in what age the divine Poem bearing his Name was penn'd; some great Authorities appearing for the Age before, or during the Egyptian Slavery; and others for the Age before, or during the Babylonish Captivity: yet if, with *Bp Sherlock*^f, we approve the former opinion, and suppose the Book of *Job* to be the oldest Book in the world,—then an argument may be drawn from the beginning of that Book, to confirm *Job's* observation of a Sabbath as well as of Sacrifice.

That *Job* was a Worshipper of the true God, is indubitable; and that he held a regular Assembly for Divine Worship, is plain from those

* *Origen* affirms that *Job* observ'd a Seventh Day. See *Smith on the Lord's Day*, p. 283.

^f *Dissertat. II.* p. 206.

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places in which it is observ'd—that himself, his Family, and his Friends too came together to present themselves before the Lord—And that he sent for his Sons, after their days of Feasting were expir'd, and sanctified them; offering Burnt Sacrifice for any Sins which they might have committed in the days of their Jollity. That by *the Sons of God* in Gen. VI. 2. is meant *Persons professing the true Religion*, is granted by all; except a few Commentators, that will have them to be *Angels*, or *Demons*, or *Incubi*, or any thing but what they should be, consistently with sense and reason. The same phrase seems to carry the same sense here; and, if St. Chrysostom's assertion be

g For if we allow, that the *Assembly*, here describ'd, was *real*; and should affirm that by *the Sons of God* are here meant *the Angels of Heaven*; it will be difficult, perhaps, to assign the *Place* of this Assembly. If we say—it was in *Heaven*, it may be ask'd—how could Satan ascend thither, and be readmitted among the Blessed Angels, from whose company he had been banish'd for ever, by a divine decree? If we say—it was on *Earth*; we will not be easy to explain, or conceive the manner *how*, and the occasion *why*, this Assembly (of God, Angels and Satan) was held. Whereas, on the Supposition that *the Sons of God* mean here *Persons professing the true worship of God*, the Passage will, perhaps, be much clearer, and more agreeable to Reason as well as Scripture: for both these inform us—that the Tempter is more diligent in his attempts upon Mankind, at their solemn times of Devotion; and therefore the Son of Sirach advises (Ecclus Chap. II. 1.) *My Son, if thou come to serve the Lord (αὐτῷ θεῷ δουλεύῃς) prepare thy Soul for Temptation.*

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truth^b — that the *Angels* are no where call'd the *Sons of God* in Scripture, this must be the sense of the words in this place. And if so, these persons cannot be the Sons of Job *only*; because, after the destruction of Job's Family, the Sons of God assembled *a second time* to perform their Religious Servicesⁱ. So that here we find a regular Assembly of People, of different Families, twice met to present themselves before the Lord; or, for the solemn performance of Publick Worship. And as Job thus continued uncorrupted in his Religion, and express'd his sense of it by a careful observation of Sacrifice (which was then the great instituted means of conciliating the divine Favour) he was, doubtless, equally careful to perform these Sacred Services on the Sabbath Day. For the Institution of *that* must have descended to him with the Institution of *Sacrifice*; both being enjoin'd by the same Authority, and both observ'd by those Patriarchs, from whom his Religion was handed down. In a word — we seem to find this very matter so recorded in the Text; for in Chap. I. 6. we read יְהִי הַיּוֹם וַיְבָא בְנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים לְהַתִּיצֵב עַל יְהוָה

^b Οὗτοι γὰρ οἱ εἰς πρῶτον τὴν εἰσόδον, αὐτὰς πρὸς ἀγγέλους τούτους γὰρ ἦν ὁ θεὸς ἐπισημαίνων. Καὶ σέσωται ὅτι διέσωσε καὶ ἀγγέλους καὶ θεὸς ἐπισημαίνων· ἀνθρώπους γὰρ καὶ ἀγγέλους καὶ θεὸς, ἀγγέλους δὲ ἁπάντων. Chrysostom in Homil. 22 in Gen. cap. 6.

ⁱ Job II. 1.

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which words may be render'd—*And it was the Day, and the Sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord*: which significant Phrase is repeated, in the same words, upon the Second religious Assembly, related in the beginning of the Second Chapter.

From JOB let us ascend to ABRAHAM, the Father of the Faithful; and on him God bestows this ennobling Character^k — *Abraham hath obeyed my Voice, and kept my Charge, my Commandments, my Statutes, and my Laws*. From these words is it not obvious to infer—that, as God had commanded the Observation of a Sabbath, and *Abraham observed all God's Commandments*, therefore *Abraham observed the Commandment of the Sabbath Day*? Mr. Selden informs us^l, that most of the Jews drew that inference; and he produces many Authorities for his assertion. Here then (so far as this inference from the Text will lead us, and the Testimonies of some of the most considerable Jewish Writers can be of Service) we have *Abraham*, the Friend of God, observing the Institution of a Weekly Sabbath.

Let us now consider a part of the history of NOAH. We read in Gen. VII. I. — *And the Lord said unto Noah, Come Thou &c. into the*

^k Gen. XXVI. 5.

^l De Jure Nat. Gent. Lib. III. Cap. 13 & 14.

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Ark. Mr. Bedford observes^m, that all the special Communications, which Man held with his Creator in the first Ages of the World, were probably made upon the Sabbath, or weekly day of Holiness; and therefore that this Command to Noah was given on the Sabbath-Day. During the Six Days following the Sabbath then he enters the Ark, and takes in with him his Seven Human Companions, and the Beasts and Fowls; with Provisions for the whole Society. This being compleated, we read in verse the tenth &c.—*And it came to pass, after Seven Days, the Waters were upon the Earth; in the six hundredth year of Noah's Life, in the second month, the seventeenth day of the month; the same day were all the fountains of the Deep broken up &c.*

The day then, on which the Deluge began, being the Sabbath, Noah kept it in the Ark; for being close confin'd, and his Labour finish'd, he was at liberty to observe it as a Day of Rest, and had the utmost reason to devote it to holy purposes. In verse the twenty fourth we read, that the Waters prevail'd over the Earth an hundred and fifty Days; and therefore the Ark rested on the seventeenth day of the seventh Month. On the first day of the tenth Month were the tops of the mountains seen; and this day happening, in a regular progres-

^m Scripture Chronology, p. 29 &c.

sion

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tion of Weeks, to be the Sabbath Day, we may presume that God chose on this day to give Noah an Earnest of that Deliverance he was then piously requesting.

At the end of forty days after this, which was the twelfth day of the eleventh Month, and *the Day before the Sabbath*, Noah sent forth the Raven, to discover, whether the Earth was yet dry. And this, it is highly probable, he did on that day, that he might the better know how to adapt his Devotions on *the day following* (which was the Sabbath;) either by praying to God for some farther Token of his Loving-kindness, or by praising him for the Tokens already vouchsaf'd him. At the end of another Week, on the day before the Sabbath, Noah sent forth a Dove; and the Dove, finding no place to rest, return'd into the Ark; by which Noah knew that the Waters were yet upon the Earth, and therefore probably spent the next day (the Sabbath) in praying for their abatement. Noah staid *yet other Seven Days*; and again he sent forth the Dove, no doubt with the same view as before: and in the Evening, the beginning of the Sabbath, the Dove return'd with an Olive-Leaf, that thenceforth celebrated Emblem of Peace and Safety. After this Noah staid *yet other Seven Days*, and sent forth the Dove, on the day before the Sabbath as usual; but the Dove return'd not unto him any more.

Upon

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Upon this, Noah, resolving to be an Eye-Witness of the State of the World, pitches upon the first day of the New Year for this surprising Prospect; and, removing the covering of the Ark, he sees the Face of the Ground dry. This survival of the general destruction was so wonderful a Display of the divine Mercy to him and his Family, that he doubtless employ'd the next Day (which was the weekly Sabbath) in acts of gratitude and praise: and a noble opportunity he had to commemorate at once the goodness of God, in finishing the Creation of the World at first; and the mercy of God, in giving that World a miraculous Re-existence.

But tho' the Face of the Ground was dry, on the first day of the first month, yet the Earth was not dry till the twenty seventh day of the second month; and on the next day, which was again the Sabbath, God spake unto Noah, and gave him his command to leave the Ark, as he had before to enter into it. And as Noah spent six days, or the time between one Sabbath and another, in going into the Ark with all the Creatures; so probably the same time was spent in bringing them out again. Noah's labour being therefore again ended on the day before the Sabbath, and himself set ashore safe upon the New World; he, the next day, put together a few stones for an
Altar

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Akar unto the Lord, and with a grateful heart offer'd a Sacrifice to God his Deliverer. And God accepted the Burnt-Offering of the pious Noah, and appear'd on the same day to him and his Sons, blessed them, made a Covenant with them, and establish'd the Rainbow as a Sign of that Covenant for ever.

This piece of History is so important, and the particulars of it so conclusive — for Noah's observation of a *Sabbath*, as well as his computation of time by *Weeks*; that the length of it will probably be pardon'd; especially as it could not be easily contracted.

'Tis time now that the case of CAIN and ABEL be consider'd; to which all that has been before observ'd on the Sabbath is only, tho' necessarily, *introductive*. For, I hope, it has been prov'd — that God's blessing the Seventh day in Genesis (Chapter the Second) contain'd an Order to Adam and his Posterity to observe one day in seven after an holy manner — that tho' this Order was reinforced at Sinai, yet a Sabbath was observ'd by the Israelites before they came to Sinai — that this observation of theirs must have been in obedience to this *first* original Institution — and that this Institution was observ'd during the Patriarchal Oeconomy. It remains then only to infer from all the above observations—that, in virtue of such an Institution,

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Institution, so set apart for sacred uses, so observ'd by Job, Abraham, Noah &c. Cain and Abel also came together, and offer'd their Ob-
lations to God, on the same Sabbath Day.

But besides this *presumptive* Proof, which (all circumstances consider'd) may possibly be thought convincing; there is a strong *positive* Proof to be here superadded, the force of which will, upon a due consideration, be probably acknowledg'd.

Our English Version tells us, Gen. IV. 3.
— *And in process of time it came to pass that Cain brought &c.* But if we examine the Original, we shall find it וַיְהִי מִקֵּץ יָמִים *And it was at the End of Days*, וַיָּבֵא קַיִן *And Cain brought &c.* The Question then is, — What is here meant by this *End of Days*? And tho' the general Stream of Interpreters runs for its implying no more than *after some time*, or *in process of time*; yet perhaps the Expression will appear more determinate in its meaningⁿ.

It has been observ'd, that the first Vau, with the three words adjoin'd, is an entire Sentence — *And it was at the End of Days*; and the next Vau begins another entire Sentence — *And Cain brought &c.* — and that this, and such like Expressions refer always each to *some stated time*, according to the times or things the Author is

ⁿ *At the end of Days is at some stated Time.* Mr. Romaine's Sermon before the Lord Mayor, p. 15.

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then speaking of. The Noun קץ, it is certain, signifies the extremity by which any continued quantity is separated; and, when applied to time, the conclusion of so much time, as the word adjoin'd to it, specifies. And therefore *Fagius*, commenting on this place, tells us—It seems entirely rational, that by this phrase —*the End of Days*—be understood some certain and appointed time, on which they met for the Worship of God; for there was always, even before the Law, an Order in the Church of God, by the means of distinguish'd times: and this opinion, says he, is confirm'd by the word קץ, which does not simply signify *an End*, but *an End certain, precise, and determinate*.

The point then now is — What determinate portion of time is meant by the word ימים *Days*; and it seems necessary that it should here signify either a *Week* or a *Year*. The latter is the opinion mostly, I believe, indulg'd; tho' perhaps without the greatest reason, as may appear from the following Considerations.

'Tis plain that the Historian gives these as *his own* words; and therefore had he intended to signify — *at the end of the Year*, he probably would not have us'd the word ימים *Days*, but שנה *a Year*, which he so frequently uses in the very next Chapter; and which is us'd by God himself, Gen. XVII. 21. Or he would have us'd that other Phrase בצאת שנה *in the end of the*

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the Year, which we meet with in Exod. XXIII. 16. But what may be urg'd with greater force, the very phrase *שנה מקץ* is us'd by this same Author in Exod. XII. 41. Wherefore his not using either of these expressions, especially the latter, but expressing himself by the former, seems to prove the one chosen in opposition to the others.

Besides : I don't find that the very phrase *מקץ שנה* signifies *at the end of the Year* any where in the Bible ; it occurs indeed but in one other place, as in the text here disputed, and that is in 1 Kings XVII. 7 ; and there is no possible reason for confining the expression to *a Year* in that Place. Wherefore we may conclude, with the learned *Guffetius* ° — that neither is there any reason why we should think *a Year* intended in this place : for, *says he*, on the contrary rather, the revolution or course of the *Year* will scarce agree with the affair in hand ; for if you should begin the *Year* from the month *Tifri*, those Oblations would have been *too late*, and if you begin with *Nisan* they had been *too soon*, there not being at that time Fruits to offer.

As there is nothing then in the words implying the *End of the Year*, but (if the observation of this last Critical Author be just) rather the contrary ; let us see, whether there be

o Commentar. Ling. Ebraicz, p. 314.

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any reason to determine us for the other sense — that it came to pass at, or after the conclusion of a Week ; that is, on the Sabbath Day.

It has been already observ'd — that one day in seven was commanded by God to be kept holy — that in consequence of this Command to Adam a Weekly Sabbath was kept holy — and, it may be added, that the word שַׁבָּת signifies such a determinate stated time, as best agrees with the circumstances of the context where it occurs. Wherefore, as the Sabbath Day was the Day on which Sacred Rites were to be perform'd, in the days of Cain and Abel ; there can be no doubt but that this *End of Days*, on which these Brothers came with their Oblations, was the Sabbath Day, at or after the conclusion of the Week.

This will be farther strengthen'd by considering how early in the world this was perform'd ; it being the *first Act* recorded of the *first Son* of Adam ; at a season, when it is extremely probable there was no other computation of time, than that of *Days* from Nature, and that of *Weeks* from the Sabbatical Institution and Observation †. Or, supposing *Years* then in use, the word שָׁנָה was appropriated to

† Ex Syncelli Chronologiâ observavit Salmasius, priusquam ratio computandi per *Menses & Annos* ab Astrologis inventa fuisset, veteres illos Patres distinxisse *tantum* per SEPTIMANAS. Witfii Ægyptiac. Lib. 3. Cap. 9. Sec. 1.

that

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that signification; as we find in Gen. I. 14. And therefore, as the word יום (a Day) did, in the plural number (when without a numeral Adjective adjoin'd, to confine it to *Days*) signify a *Week*, as the only *collective body of Days* then in use, or known under the name of ימים *Days*; so we find the word plainly used for a *Week*, in Gen. XXIV. 55.

For Abraham's Servant, having succeeded in his Journey, to take a Wife for Isaac, at the house of Bethuel; is importunate with Rebecca's Parents to set out with her immediately on his return, after so long an absence. But her Relations, being desirous of her company for a short time, at least for a *Week* (the usual time of celebrating the *Nuptial Feast*^q) say to the Servant — חשב הנער אהנו ימים או עשור — which words may be well render'd by that very apposite phrase in use among us — *Let the*

q Gen. XXIX. 27. *Fulfill her Week*—that is, as Abarbanel rightly explains it — Exple cum Leâ septem dies nuptiales, & mox ego & uxor mea dabimus tibi etiam Rachelem: lic Syrus aliqui Interpretes convivium intelligunt, neque in historiâ hebdomadi annorum locus est. Seder Olam, p. 264. And to the same purpose Heidegger—*Hebdomadam Annorum* mentio non est nisi in *Scriptis Poeticis de rebus futuris*, non item in historicis & ubi de contractibus agitur. Tum solennitatem nuptialem definitam fuisse tempore hebdomadæ dierum, seu 7 dierum, satis colligi potest ex Judic. XIV. 12; & ex ratione legalis conjugii, & ex rerum gestarum ordine, & ex sacrâ *Chronologiâ*. Exercit. 15. Sect. 11.

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Damsel abide with us a Week, or Ten Days. For it is plain, that the word ימים cannot in this place signify *a Year*; since it would then be — *Let the Damsel abide with us a Year, or Ten*; which, all things consider'd, had been a Request very strange and unaccountable. Neither can the words signify, as in our English Version — *Let the Damsel abide with us a few days, at the least ten*; because the particle אֵל, as appears by Noldius, never signifies *at least* in the whole Bible. So that the above — *Let the Damsel abide with us a Week, or Ten Days*—is the only rational explication that remains to be given; and (considering that a Week was the stated time of celebrating the Nuptial Feast) it is so natural and easy, as to want no farther recommendation.

To strengthen the force of this Instance, I shall add another, of still greater weight, from Gen. XXIX. 20; where we read וַיֵּדֶן בְּעֵינָיו יָמִים אַחֲרָיִם *Et fuerunt in oculis ejus quasi dies uni.* The sense of the context is this — Jacob agreed to serve Laban seven years for Rachel, Laban's daughter; and Rachel's beauty was so great, and Jacob's love so strong, that the seven Years of servitude for her sake were in his eyes but as — What? This is the point of difficulty, if there be any in it; but notwithstanding the different renderings of the place, the nature of the Comparison and the liveliness of
of

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of the Antithesis will oblige us to call it *Seven Days* — And the SEVEN YEARS were in his opinion but as SEVEN DAYS, or (which is the same) as ONE WEEK. So that as ימים in the plural Number then signified Seven Days, or a Week; the word אחדים, the plural of אחד (which strictly answers to *as* and *unus*, and essentially signifies *One*) is here added, and confines it to *One Week*. For, I believe, it will be allow'd to be an invariable rule in writing — that a Noun Adjective, in sense unalterably singular, can in the plural number be only connected with such a Substantive, as in the plural number signifies singularly, or collectively under a singular denomination.

In short then—As Adam was commanded to devote every seventh day to sacred offices, and as his Posterity were to do, and did the same, working the other six days — and as the word ימים *Days* appears, from the two instances just cited, expressly to have signified a *Week* in the infancy of the world; certainly this *End of Days*, after which Cain and Abel met to offer their Oblations, will be allow'd to signify the *End of the Week*, on the Seventh or Sabbath Day, after the other six days were finish'd, and the Week from the last Sabbath expir'd.

1 There is a material Objection, or two, still remaining to the doctrine of a Patriarchal Sabbath, to which it may be necessary to subjoin an Answer. And first—as to

Having

Having thus, with all the brevity I could on so extensive a subject, consider'd *the Time*, on

the Sabbaths being called a Sign to the Jews—it may be observ'd, that the word *Sabbaths* is a general name, including the other Jewish Festivals. But even *the Sabbath*, or weekly day of Holiness, might well be call'd a *Sign* to the *Jews*, without excluding the *Patriarchs*. For the Jewish Sabbath was a Sign, as being founded on a double reason; the second of which (the Egyptian deliverance) evidently distinguish'd that people from all others; and was therefore, as a Sign, constantly to remind them of the particular care of Heaven, and what uncommon returns of goodness they were to make for so singular a deliverance. But there is great reason to believe, that the *Sabbath* of the Israelites was alter'd, with their *Year*, at their coming forth from Egypt; and a short attention to this point may not be here improper. The case then seems to be this—At the finishing the Creation God sanctified the seventh day—this seventh day, being the first day of Adam's Life, was consecrated, by way of *First-Fruits*, to God; and therefore Adam may reasonably be suppos'd to have *began* his computation of *the days of the Week* with the *first whole day* of his own existence. Thus the Sabbath became the first day of the Week. But when Mankind fell from the worship of the true God, they first substituted the worship of the Sun in his place; and, preserving the same weekly day of worship, but devoting it to the Sun, the *Sabbath* was thence call'd *SUN-DAY*. For that *Sunday* was originally the *first* day of the Week, and is so still in the East, is prov'd by Mr. Selden, *Jus Nat. & Gent. Lib. 3. cap. 22.* Thus the *Sabbath* of the *Patriarchs* continued to be the *Sunday* of the *Idolaters*, 'till the coming up of the Israelites out of Egypt; and then, as God alter'd the beginning of their *Year*, so he also chang'd the day of their Worship from *Sunday* to *Saturday*. The first reason of which might be—that as Sunday was the day of Worship among the

which

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which Cain and Abel came together to offer their Oblations; I proceed to the Third and

Idolaters, the Israelites would be more likely to join with them, if they rested on the *same* day; than if they were to work on that day, and serve *their* God upon *another*. But a second reason certainly was—in order to perpetuate the memory of *their deliverance on that day from Egyptian Slavery*. For Moses, when he applies the fourth Commandment to the particular case of his own people, (Deut. V. 15.) does not enforce it, (as in Exod. XX. 11.) by the consideration of *God's resting on the seventh day*, which was the Sabbath of the Patriarchs; but binds it upon them by saying—REMEMBER *that thou wast a Servant in Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence, through a mighty hand, and by a stretched-out Arm; therefore the Lord thy God hath commanded THEE to keep THIS SABBATH DAY*. Allowing then the preceding Observations, we immediately see how the Sabbath of the Christians naturally reverted to Sunday, after the abolition of Judaism, without any express Command for the alteration. Rp Cumberland (Orig. Gent. Antiq. p. 400.) tells us—Gentes omnes, post Christi præcipuè tempora, in eandem cum Patriarchis Ecclesiam Catholicam fuerint vocandæ. And that the Christian and Patriarchal Sabbaths are the same is evidently affirm'd by Justin Martyr, in the following passage—Τῆς δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἡμετέρας ἡμέρας πᾶσι τοῖς συναχθεὶς ποιούμενον· ἀκούοντες τῆς εὐαγγελίας, καὶ οὐ τοῦ τοιοῦτου καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου τοῦ ψευδὸς ΚΟΣΜΟΥ ἀκούοντες· καὶ ἰσχυροῦς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ ἡμετέρου Σωτῆρος, Τῇ ΑΥΤῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ τῆς αἰῶνος αἰῶνος. . Apolog. prim. Edit. Thirlby, p. 98.

But here it will be objected, that the *Fathers* in general, and *Justin Martyr* in particular, have asserted—that the Patriarchs did not observe a Sabbath. To this, tho' a *boasted Argument* with some, I hope the following observations from JUSTIN MARTYR will be a sufficient Answer. He asserts indeed that the Patriarchs did not fabbatize, or keep the Sabbaths (p. 174;) but he also asserts, that neither did they make Oblations (p. 183,) or offer Sa-

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Principal Point in view in this Dissertation, namely—*the Nature of their Oblations*, and the Foundation of that Difference which God manifested between them, by rejecting the one, and accepting the other.

First then, let us take a view of the Offering brought by the elder brother Cain. We read in Verse the 3d — *יִבֵּא קַיִן מִפְּרִי הָאֲדָמָה* — *מִנְחָה לַיהוָה* which the English Translators have render'd — *And Cain brought of the Fruit of the Ground an Offering to the Lord*; but the

crifice (p. 222.) But he must know that they did make Oblations, and offer Sacrifice; and therefore can only mean, that they did not offer or sacrifice *after the Mosaic Ritual*, and according to the form of the Jewish Ceremonies. For his dispute with Trypho the Jew evidently turns upon the Obligation, or Non-Obligation of the Jewish Law on Christians; and therefore he must speak of *Jewish Sacrifices*; and if of Jewish Sacrifices, consequently of *Jewish Sabbaths also*: otherwise his argument against the necessity of observing the Jewish Sabbaths and Sacrifices among Christians, drawn from the non-observation of them among the holy Patriarchs, had been of no force. It may be added—that Trypho *charges* Justin with *not observing the Sabbath* (p. 156;) and yet Justin *affirms*, that he *observ'd the Sunday Sabbath*; which, he says, was the day on which God had finish'd the World (p. 98;) so that the Sabbath meant by the Jew must be *the Saturday Sabbath*, which was *peculiar* to the Jewish Nation; and was enjoin'd, as Justin observes (p. 175,) *that the Jews might know and remember that God had redeem'd them out of Egypt*. —So that, for any thing contain'd in these Objections to the contrary, the doctrine of a Patriarchal Sabbath remains still upon a firm foundation.

Original

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Original is — *And Cain brought of the Fruit of the Ground a Mincha to Jehova.* And here two words offer themselves for explanation — פרי *Fruit*, and מנחה *Mincha*; the first of which would need none, had not Grotius made it necessary by a strange conjecture on its meaning in this place. For he tells us, that perhaps מפר הארמה *of the Fruit of the Ground* means nothing more than what the Heathens, many ages after, understood by their *Sagmen*; which was a sort of Turf, cut out of sacred ground, and carried sometimes in the hand of a Roman Ambassador.

But what possible agreement can be discern'd between this custom, and the case of Cain? — Yet even supposing a parallel, the words can never signify any such thing. For the word פרי, when join'd with ארמה, has always the sense of *Fruit that is eatable and good for food*; and certainly the Fruit of the Ground, especially when presented for an Offering unto the Lord, will be always thought to mean something more than a little Earth and Grass. Indeed this thought of Grotius is so very unaccountable, that I don't find he has been follow'd by a single Commentator^s; and there-

^s Grotius seems here to deserve the censure pass'd on him by the learned Heidegger—Sæpe vir, cætera magnus, ex paganis ritibus talia, obtorto collo, ad explicationem rerum sacrarum rapit; quæ, si propius intueare, nec cælum nec terram attingunt. Exerc. 5. 19.

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fore we may conclude, according to the obvious information of the words in the text—that Cain's Offering was of the Fruit, or eatable Fruits, of the Ground; the particular species of Fruit indeed is not defin'd, and therefore we must be satisfied with that general idea which the words afford us.

Let us now proceed to the other word *Mincha*; which must be carefully consider'd, as great weight will be laid upon the sense of that hereafter. A *Mincha*, says BUXTORF, when applied to Civil Life, signifies a Present, indeterminately; but when applied to things Sacred, it signifies determinately Sacrum Frumentaceum, an Offering of Corn or Bread. GUSSETIUS tells us — When a *Mincha* is given by man to man, it denotes some great dignity in the receiver, of which such gift is an acknowledgment; and it denotes subjection, at least submission in the giver: but when a *Mincha* is presented by Man to God, it *always* signifies an *Unbloody Oblation*, and there is not one instance of its being used for an Animal Oblation, thro' the Bible. RELAND, in his *Treatise of Sacrifices* ^u, informs us — All Oblations, which according to the divine will were consum'd, after having been consecrated by certain rites, are call'd by the general name of

t Commentar. Ling. Ebraicæ, p. 473.

u Antiquitates Sacræ vet. Hebræor. Par. 3. pag. 141.

Oblations;

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Oblations ; and as they consist either of Animals, or of Meal, Oil, Wine and Frankincense, they are divided into two sorts, the *Bloody* and the *Unbloody*. The *Bloody* or Animal Oblations are call'd *Mactations*, and the *Unbloody* Oblations of Corn or Meal *Minchas* ; the rest being call'd *Libations* ; and to the *second species* Reland himself refers the Oblation here brought by Cain. Dr. OUTRAM agrees exactly with these celebrated Authors, and observes ^w—that the Oblations which were consum'd in a sacred rite (such only as were esteem'd Sacrifices by the Jews) were either of things *inanimate* or *animate* ; that Offerings of the former kind were in Scripture term'd *Minchas* (in Latin, *Ferta*, *Dona* or *Dapes* ;) and the latter *Mactations* (in Latin, *Victimæ* or *Hostiæ*.) To these human Authorities I shall only add that of Mr. MEDE, who says ^x—All the Offerings in the Law were either holy or most holy Oblations ; the first were call'd *Terumoth*, the second *Korbanim*. These last were of two parts or kinds, *Zebach*, and *Mincha* ; the former being the slaughter and shedding the blood of Beasts, and the latter the burning and ascending of inanimate things, as Meats and Drinks ; and this *Mincha* was for the most part join'd to the *Zebach* or bloody Sacrifice ^y

^w De Sacrificiis, p. 84.

^x See his Works, Fol. p. 286 and 287.

^y Ibid. ————— 358.

But

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But a few passages of divine Authority will fix the meaning of this word *Mincha*, beyond dispute; by evincing — that, when applied to a Sacred Oblation, it always signifies an *Unbloody*, and not a *Bloody, Oblation*. The first place, in which the word occurs, is the Text before us, which expressly tells us — *that Cain brought of the Fruit of the Ground a Mincha to Jehova.*

In Exod. XXIX. 38 &c. we have the institution of the perpetual Morning and Evening Oblation, in the following words—*Now this is that which thou shalt offer upon the Altar; two Lambs of the first year, day by day continually. The first Lamb thou shalt offer in the Morning, and the other Lamb thou shalt offer at Even; and with the first Lamb A TENTH DEAL OF FLOUR MINGLED WITH THE FOURTH PART OF AN HIN OF BEATEN OIL; and the fourth part of an hin of Wine for a Drink Offering. And the other Lamb thou shalt offer at Even, and shalt do thereto, according to the MINCHA (or Meat-Offering) of the Morning, and according to the Libation (or Drink-Offering) thereof.* So that the Flour mingled with Oil is expressly call'd the *Mincha* or *Meat-Offering*. But it must be here observ'd, that as we now in general appropriate the word *Meat* to *Flesh*, the *Mincha* should no longer be render'd the *Meat-Offering*, but the *Bread-Offering*.

In

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In Levit. II. 1 &c. we have a particular description of the word *Mincha*, and its invariable meaning in things Sacred; for we read—*If any will offer a Mincha to the Lord, his Offering shall be fine Flour, and he shall pour Oil upon it, and put Frankincense thereon—And if thou bring an Oblation of a Mincha baked in the Oven, it shall be unleavened Cakes of fine Flour mingled with Oil—And if thy Oblation be a Mincha baked in a Pan, it shall be fine Flour unleavened, mingled with Oil; thou shalt part it in pieces, and pour Oil thereon: מנחה חרא this is a Mincha.* Here then we have the *very Definition* and precise meaning of the *Mincha*, as expressly given us as words can give it. And this determines the sense of the word absolutely, at least in the *five Books of Moses*; because the inspir'd Author, wherever he mentions the word *Mincha*, as a Sacrificial Term, certainly uses it in the *same sense*: especially when he appears so minutely to have *fix'd* its meaning. And therefore, as the Book of Genesis was undoubtedly writ by Moses in the Wilderness, *after* the delivery of the Law and the divine appointment of the Sacred Rites contain'd in this book of Leviticus; the word *Mincha*, when used sacrificially, ~~must~~ be suppos'd to carry the *same idea* in Genesis, which had been settled upon it by God himself, before Genesis was compos'd.

But

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But there seems to be no possibility of mistaking it; and therefore I shall only observe farther—that the *First-Fruits of the Ground*, are included under the word *Mincha* in this Chapter, Verse the 12th; and in Numbers, Chap. V. 15, *an Offering of Barley-Meal*, without Oil or Frankincense, is also called a *Mincha*. So that from these Texts (to which many others equally clear might be added) it is extremely evident—that *the Mincha* was *Sacrum Frumentaceum*, *an Offering of the Fruit of the Ground*, in opposition to an Animal Oblation, from which it is carefully distinguish'd.

Cain then brought of the Fruit of the Ground a Mincha to Jehova; and Abel, he also brought of the Firstlings of his Flock, and of the Fat thereof. Grotius tells us, in his Commentary, that Abel's Offering consisted of *Wool and Milk*, and that it was not an Animal Sacrifice. For as the word מִבְּכֹרֹת sometimes signifies *of the best in its kind*, as well as *of the First by birth*, he will have it to mean here — that Abel brought of the *best* of his Flock; that is, says he, of the *Wool* of the best of his Flock. But (besides the impossibility of finding *Wool* in this Word or Sentence) was ever *Wool* known to be a *proper Oblation* to the Deity? Yet supposing, but not granting it, it will soon appear that such an Interpretation is not only extremely harsh, but will never suit the Words; for if it
be

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be allow'd by all, that *Cain's bringing OF THE fruit of the Ground* means his bringing *THE fruit of the Ground*; certainly *Abel's bringing OF THE firstlings* (or best) *of his Flock* must mean *his bringing THE firstlings* (or best) *of his Flock*. For if the remarkable Sameness in the Original Phrase be not preserv'd in the Sense, and if both parts be not construed by the same rule; Words may signify what every Expositor chooses to have them, and Accuracy in stile is of no farther service. But there is no occasion to dwell upon an Absurdity, which it is sufficient to have mention'd. — Abel then brought the Firstlings of his Flock an Offering to the Lord; and if for an Offering, certainly for a Sacrifice, which was the only way of offering Animals to the Lord. And if Abel brought Animals for a Sacrifice, the following word ומחלבהן cannot be render'd (as Grotius would have it) *and of the Milk thereof*^z; but must be render'd (as

z Grotius pervertit simplicitatem orationis Mosaicæ. Nam ubi de Sacrificio sermo est, & oblatum dicitur מחלב, ne unus locus scripturæ ostendi poterit, in quo חלב habeat sensum *Lactis*: tum talia Sacrificia in populo Dei nunquam fuerint usitata. Præterea Paulus Sacrificium Abelis vocat זבח; quid opus זבח, sacrificio *mafacto*, si Lac tantum & Lana offerri debuerint? Aliud est זבח, aliud מנחה; quæ posterior vox usurpari solet de oblatione rerum inanimatarum. Quod si חלב sit Lac, ubi igitur mentio Lana? Denique quàm frivolum est, eo loco qui agit de Sacrificiis, quæ porissima laus fuit capere ex Primogenitis, כבדות interpretari non de Primogenitis,

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in our English Version) *and of the Fat thereof*: because *Milk* was not, and the *Fat* always was a part of a regular animal Sacrifice. But as these Animals were *Holocausts*, the word may, perhaps, be better understood here in the *concrete*, than in the *abstract*; as signifying — *and of the fattest, or best of them*. For it is frequently us'd in this manner in other parts of Scripture^a; and the sense of the whole will be then—*And Abel, he also brought of the Firstlings of his Flock, and of the fattest of those Firstlings*.

Perhaps there is scarce any short History in the Bible, concerning which more irrational Stories have been feign'd, and about the particulars of which Interpreters are less reconcil'd, than this of Cain and Abel.

There is however a general harmony in asserting — that this Offering of Cain's was *the Fruit of the Ground*, and Abel's *an Animal Sacrifice*; that each brought a *single* and distinct Present, *this a Bloody, that an Unbloody Oblation*: and farther than this it does not appear that any Expositor has gone. Yet if we consider the Original Text with closeness and attention, probably we shall find reason to believe — that *Abel's* was a *double Oblation*; an

sed de iis quæ eximæ sunt magnitudinis! Heidegger Exerc. 5. Sect. 10.

^a See Numb. 18. 12. Gen. 45. 18. Pl. 147. 14 &c.

Oblation,

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Oblation, not only of an *Animal Sacrifice* peculiar to himself, but of the *Fruit of the Ground*, in common with his Brother. And this Observation, tho' I presume it was never yet publickly made, will possibly help to set this important article of Sacred History in a more advantageous point of view, than it has yet appear'd in.

Let us observe the words of the Original Text, which only can be decisive in the present case; and these it may be proper to produce here at length, that the nature of the Argument may be the more conveniently determin'd. We read in the Third and following Verses — וַיָּבֵא קַיִן מִפְּרִי הָאֲדָמָה מִנְחָה לַיהוָה : וְהָבֵל הֵבִיא נֹחַ הוּא מִבְּכֹרֹת צֹאנוּ וּמִחֻלְבָּהֶן וַיִּשַׁע יְהוָה אֶל הָבֵל וְאֶל מִנְחָתוֹ : וְאֶל קַיִן וְאֶל מִנְחָתוֹ לֹא שָׁעָה : Which Words, literally render'd, are — *And Cain brought of the Fruit of the Ground a Mincha to Jehova; and Abel brought, he also of the Firstlings of his Flock, and of their Fat. And Jehova had respect to Abel, and to his Mincha; but to Cain, and to his Mincha he had not respect.* Here then we find, that the Lord had respect to Abel, and to his Mincha; but if the Lord had respect to Abel's Mincha, Abel certainly brought a Mincha; and if Abel brought a Mincha, he certainly brought of the Fruit of the Ground. For Mincha, when applied to a Sacred Obla-

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tion, is found to be explain'd by, and put for, an Oblation of the Fruit of the Ground; or an Unbloody, in opposition to a Bloody, Sacrifice. *Mincha* then having this determin'd Signification, (as is evident from the Authority of Scripture and those great Men before cited) and Cain's Offering of the Fruit of the Ground being expressly term'd a *Mincha*; Abel's bringing a *Mincha*, at the same time, must have been his bringing of the Fruit of the Ground, in common with his Brother.

From hence it is evident, that Abel's was truly and properly a DOUBLE OBLATION — an *Animal Sacrifice*, expressly; and *the Fruit of the Ground*, by a necessary deduction. The turning also of the Sentence favours us very remarkably in the present case — *Cain brought of the Fruit of the Ground a Mincha to Jehovah; and Abel brought, he also &c.* And Abel brought — what? No doubt, *of the Fruit of the Ground*, just before mention'd, is here understood as if repeated. And thus the LXX. very justly render this place — καὶ Ἀβὴλ ἤνεγκε, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν πρῶτων &c. In this Version the particle καί, being repeated, evidently separates the sentence; and so in the Original, the particle καὶ cannot be join'd to the Verb immediately before it, from the nature of the position, and its connection with a second nominative case. Neither will the Sense suffer us to say — *Cain brought*

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brought of the Fruit of the Ground, and Abel brought also a Sacrifice; but the original words are very remarkably placed, and the repetition of the nominative case plainly demands a different rendering.

The Words therefore are literally — *Cain brought of the Fruit of the Ground a Mincha to Jehova; and Abel brought (the same) he also (brought) of the Firstlings of his Flock, and of their Fat.* And the words being thus explain'd, it very regularly follows — *And Jehova had respect to Abel, and to his Mincha; but to Cain, and to his Mincha he had not respect.*

To this Observation — that Cain brought a single, and Abel a double Oblation, the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (generally allow'd to be St. Paul^b) gives an extraordinary testimony. For in Chap. XI. 4. we read — *πιστις Ἰησοῦν Ἀβελ ὅτι καὶ προσέφερε τῷ Θεῷ, δι' ἧς ἐμαρτυρήθη ὅτι δίκαιος, μαρτυροῦντος ἐπὶ τοῖς δώροις αὐτῆς τῷ Θεῷ καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἀποθάνοντος ἐπὶ λαλήσει.* Our English Version of which is — *By Faith Abel offered unto God a more acceptable Sacrifice than Cain, by which he obtained Witness that he was righteous, God testifying of his Gifts; and by it he being dead yet speaketh.* But the words *πλεονα Ἰησοῦν* may be better render'd — a greater, or fuller Oblation (—a Sacrifice exceeding that of Cain, says Dr. Hammond) — an Oblation that

^b See Chapman's Eusebius, Vol. II. Preface p. 19.

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was greater or more in Number, rather than in Value. For tho' the positive *πλεον* does sometimes signify *excellens, præstans* &c. yet none of the best Lexicographers give it that sense in the other degrees of comparison; but *πλεον* has constantly the sense of *plus, amplius, copiosior & numerosior*. And it appears from *Stephans's Greek Concordance*, that *πλεον* has not the sense of *præstantior* thro' the whole New Testament. Indeed the idea of Number strikes us at once; and the modern Translators have injur'd their translation in this place, by not attending to the history here alluded to. I say, the modern Translators; for in *Wickliff's Translation* in the *thirteenth Century*, we find the proper meaning of the word here preserv'd — by feith abel offride a mych more sacrifice than caym to god, by whiche he gat witnessyng to be just, for god bare witnessyng to hise ghiftis; and by that feith he deed spekyth ghif. But as *a much more Sacrifice* was found, upon the improvement of the English Language to be a little uncouth; in *Queen Elizabeth's Version* it was alter'd for — *a greater Sacrifice*, which also preserves the true sense of the word *πλεον*, especially in this place.

There is another word in this Verse, which will farther confirm the Observation before

c See the several Lexicons of Budæus, Constantine, Gesner, Gillius, Hederic, Leigh, Scapula and Stephens.
made,

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made, and that is — *duplex* GIFTS — *God testifying of ABEL'S GIFTS* — by which a plurality is plainly and expressly confirm'd ; as this Act of Abel, which we are considering, can be the only one here referr'd to by the Apostle.

Thus much may suffice to shew the *Nature* of the *Oblations* of Cain and Abel; and to prove, that the former brought the single Offering of the Fruit of the Ground, and the latter the double Oblation of the Fruit of the Ground and an Animal Sacrifice.

The next point is to consider — What Inducement these Brothers had to the making their Oblations ; after which, it will be proper to fix the foundation of that difference, which God manifested between them, by rejecting the Oblation of Cain, and accepting that of Abel.

The Offering of Cain appears to have been of the Fruit of the Ground — *Cain brought of the Fruit of the Ground an Offering to the Lord.* This sort of *Oblation*, tho' falling within the meaning of the word *Sacrifice*, (as that, in its original Sense, is the offering a thing by *Man* to *God*, or making that *Sacred* which before was *common*) yet in general is now call'd an OFFERING ; in opposition to that sort of Oblation, which was of Animals, and is generally term'd a SACRIFICE.

The

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The first Question then is — What Inducement Cain might have to bring such an Offering to the Lord. The Answer to this seems clear; as it is agreed that this Act of Cain's might be in obedience to the voice of Reason^d. For how widely soever the Learned have disagreed about the origin of Animal Sacrifices; and however warmly the Advocates for the *Divine Institution* insist upon the necessity of a Revelation in this latter case; they allow—that Nature might inform Men of a duty incumbent upon them to worship God—that the common dictates of Gratitude might put them upon applying *part* of their substance to the honour and service of him, who gave them the *whole* — and that, as Offerings of the Fruit of the Ground were always accounted, and distinguish'd by the title of, *Eucharistic Offerings*^e; such an Eucharistic Offering might be made, and probably therefore was made by Cain, out of a conviction of the Divine Superintendency, and as an acknowledgment of the Divine Blessing. Had Cain been void of all religious sentiments, he had not brought an Offering; but his bringing a Mincha, and offering it up unto the Lord, points out some Gratitude in the Offerer, and insinuates a Belief — that every

^d See Dr. Nicholls, in his Conference with a *Quaker*, Part II. p. 295.

^e See Deut. XXVI. 1—12.

Gift, conducive to the happiness of human life, descended from above.

But tho' this *Offering of Cain's* might be the result of rational deduction only, the *Sacrifice of Abel* must evidently be ascrib'd to another and higher principle of Influence. For tho' the *Human Institution of Animal Sacrifice* had formerly many, in the last Century some, and perhaps in this Age a few Advocates; yet the generality of the Learned are at present agreed in asserting the *Divine Institution*: and the Arguments of the opposite side have been so judiciously and fully answer'd, that there seems but little room for strengthening the force of what they have offer'd to the world.

I shall therefore, for the more regular conducting the present design, offer some Arguments, which are usually urg'd to vindicate the *Divine Institution* of Animal Sacrifices; and which, receiving additional strength from a few Observations here added, may perhaps establish that controverted and important point. After which, I shall endeavour to draw from thence a proper illustration of the history before us.

That Animal Sacrifices were not instituted by Man, seems extremely evident — from the acknowledged *Universality* of the Practice —

By the most exact accounts taken from those who

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from the *wonderful Sameness* of the manner, in which the whole World offer'd these Sacrifices — and from that *Merit and Expiation* which were constantly suppos'd in, and to be effected by them.

Now Human Reason, even among the most strenuous Opponents of the Divine Institution, is allow'd to be incapable of pointing out the least *Natural Fitness or Congruity* between *Blood and Atonement*, between the *killing of God's Creatures* and the *receiving a pardon for the violation of God's Laws*. This consequence of Sacrifices, when properly offer'd, was the invariable opinion of the Heathens, but not the whole of their opinion in this matter : for they had also a traditionary Belief among them, that these Animal Sacrifices were not only *Expiations*, but vicarious *Commutations*, and substituted *Satisfactions* ; and they called the Animals, so offer'd, their *αντλοχα*, or the Ransoms for their own Souls &c.

But if these notions are so remote from, nay so contrary to any lesson that Nature teaches, have liv'd upon the spot with the Hottentots^b, and have had the best opportunity of knowing their customs, we learn, that they pray to a Being that dwelt above, and offer Sacrifice of the best things they have, with eyes lifted up to Heaven. And these people are by all allow'd to be the most degenerate of the Human Species, and to have surviv'd the common instincts of Humanity. *Young's Voyage to Surat*, pag. 498.

g Dr. Stanhope's Sermon. Boyle's Lect. Vol. I. p. 790.

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as they confessedly are ; how came the whole World to practise the Rites founded upon them ? 'Tis certain that the wisest Heathens — Pythagoras, Plato, Porphyry, and others ^b, slighted the religion of such Sacrifices ; and wonder'd, how an Institution so dismal (as it appear'd to them) and so big with absurdity, could diffuse it self thro' the World. They saw that so it was, but how it was — this was the matter of their astonishment.

The disclosing this grand secret then is sufficient (one would think) to recommend the Book of Revelation to some honour among Mankind ; since that Book only can teach us why the Heathens do, and why their Forefathers did, offer up Animals in Sacrifice. And further — it might soberly be expected, that the Men of *Reason* would cease to boast of its *Sufficiency* in *Religious Matters* ; when they find a Religious Institution, observ'd thro' the world, inexplicable on the mere principles of Reason ; and only to be seen thro' by that light, which (descending from above to guide us into all truth) is convey'd to us in the sacred pages.

But these Unbelievers, finding their Oracle of Reason silenc'd in the present point, hit luckily upon an expedient to clear themselves from this distress ; and it came out at last — that *Sacrifice was the Invention of Priest-Craft*. A

^b See Spencer de Leg. Heb. Lib. 3. Cap. 1. Sec. 3.

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bad resource this ! And such as displays at once the wretchedness of that cause, and the obstinacy of its votaries. It has been allow'd by one of the great Doctors of Infidelityⁱ — that the first Sacrifices were offer'd (as they certainly were) by Fathers and Heads of Families ; and — that the *acceptableness* of the Sacrifice consisted in the *deariness* and *value* of it to the Owner or Offerer.

But how came these Fathers and Heads of Families, so naturally interested in, and presiding over, the welfare of their several Families, so willingly to part with their Flocks, to create to themselves such a constant expence, and to offer so continued an injury to their Families ? Where can be the Priest-Craft here ? For either these Fathers of Families, who first instituted such Sacrifices, were Priests, or they were not : if they were, then the Priests practis'd their craft to their own sole detriment, which was surely a very strange kind of policy ; and if they were not Priests, it is somewhat hard to place the invention of them to the score of Priest-Craft^k.

Another Advocate for the Sufficiency of Reason^l supposes — the Absurdity prevail'd by de-

ⁱ The Moral Philosopher, p. 220 and 235.

^k Dr. Delaney, Revel. examin'd, Vol. I. p. 10.

^l Author of Christianity as old as the Creation, cited by Mr. Ridley in his Treatise on the Christian Passover, p. 4.

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grees; and the Priests, who shared with their Gods and reserv'd the best Bits for themselves, had the chief hand in this gainful Superstition. But it may be well ask'd—Who were the Priests in the Days of Cain and Abel? Or what Gain could this Superstition be to them, when the one gave away his Fruits, and the other his Animal Sacrifice, without being at liberty to taste the least part of it? And certainly the practice of these Sons of Adam may be here cited, upon the credit of Moses, as an ancient and valuable, if not a divine Historian; and 'till older and better Evidence be produced against him, the Facts, which he attests, may be insisted upon as produced by a great Authority. But it is worth remarking, that what this Author wittily calls *the best Bits*, and appropriates to the Priests, appears to have been the *Skin* of the Burnt-Offering among the Jews^m, and the *Skin and Feet* among the Heathensⁿ.

Dr. *Spencer* observes^o, that Sacrifices were look'd upon as *Gifts*, and that the general opinion was—that Gifts would have the same effect with God, as with Man; would appease wrath, conciliate favour with the Deity, and testify the gratitude and affection of the Sacri-

^m Lev. VII. 8.

ⁿ See *Potter's Antiquities*, Vol. 1, Book 1, Chap. 3.

^o Lib. III. Ch. 3. Sec. 2.

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ficer : and that from this principle proceeded expiatory, precatory and eucharistical Offerings. This is all that is pretended from Natural Light to countenance this Practice. But how well soever the comparison may be thought to hold between Sacrifices and Gifts, yet the opinion that *Sacrifices would prevail with God*, must proceed from an observation that *Gifts had prevail'd with Men* ; an Observation this, which *Cain and Abel* had little opportunity of making ^r. And, if the Coats of Skins, which God directed Adam to make, were the remains of Sacrifices (as observ'd in the preceding Dissertation ^q) sure Adam could not sacrifice from this observation, when there were no Subjects in the World, upon which he could make such observation. Besides : if Offerings to God were made upon this Principle, then Cain and Abel offer'd on the *same wrong* Principle ; and if upon the same wrong Principle, tho' differently express'd, *why* did God respect the latter, and reject the former ?

Yet even supposing Men to have instituted such a worship, and to have chose such a service for their Creator — supposing them so fallen from the true ideas of the Divine Being, as to imagine him capable of being blinded by gifts and corrupted by bribery, and that he

p Ridley on the Christian Passover, p. 6.

q Page 68 &c.

would

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would *eat the flesh of Bulls and drink the blood of Goats* — (which are certainly propositions as wild as are easily supposable) yet can it be suppos'd — that God would have testified his acceptance of such a service, by fire from Heaven — that Abel, Noah &c. could have obtain'd his favour by it — that he would have made it a Sign of his Covenant with Abraham — that he would have constituted it as the Whole, almost, of the Mosaic Service — and that he would have sent down his own Son to die a Sacrifice, in compliance with, and to compleat such an unmeaning and sanguinary Institution?

Let it be added — that no Being has a right to the Lives of other Beings, but the Creator, or those on whom he confers that right; and it is certain, that God had not given Abel a right to the Creatures, even for necessary food, much less for unnecessary cruelty. And therefore, if God had not empower'd him to take away their Lives, and appropriate their Bodies to the purposes of Sacrifice; Abel certainly had not been accepted, and *the imagination of their Hearts*, who sacrificed after him, *had been only evil before the Lord continually*: or at least God would have said to such rash Worshipers — *By what Authority do ye these things, and Who gave ye this Authority? In vain do ye worship Me, teaching for Doctrines the Commandments of Men.*

There

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There are indeed some passages of Scripture, which are generally cited to prove, that God himself *disowns* the Institution of Sacrifices; and the chief of these are Isaiah II. 11, 12, and Jeremiah VII. 21, 22, 23. The first is — *To what purpose is the multitude of your Sacrifices unto Me, saith the Lord? I am full of the Burnt-Offerings of Rams, and the Fat of fed Beasts; and I delight not in the blood of Bulls, or of Lambs, or of He-Goats. When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand to tread my Courts?* Now this Passage is evidently intended for a reproof to the Hypocrisy of the Jews', and a Check to that Confidence they repos'd in those ritual performances, tho' void of that real Devotion, that sincere Repentance, and that inward Purity, which alone are acceptable to God, and to promote which these Rites were instituted. The Context—*bring no more VAIN Oblations &c.* proves this to have been the design of the Prophet; and the want of comparative degrees in the Hebrew Language will not suffer great stress to be laid here on the negative form of speech. The known instances of — *I will have Mercy, and not Sacrifice — Whoever hateth not his Father &c.* are a proper and sufficient Key to this and the like passages'. For these kind

r See Mr. Mede's Works, p. 352.

s See Polyglott Bible, Prolegom. Idiotism 6.

of Negatives, in the Hebrew Idiom, do not absolutely exclude the thing denied, but only imply a preference of the thing set in opposition to it. And the words of Samuel to Saul (1 Sam. XV. 22.) are a beautiful Comment upon this passage of the Prophet Isaiah — *Hath the Lord as great delight in Burnt-Offerings and Sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold! to obey is better than Sacrifice, and to hearken than the Fat of Rams.*

The passage from Jeremiah is — *Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel; put your Burnt-Offerings unto your Sacrifices, and eat Flesh: for I spake not unto your Fathers, nor commanded them, in the Day that I brought them out of the Land of Egypt, concerning Burnt-Offerings or Sacrifices: but this thing commanded I them, saying, Obey my Voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my People.* But these words cannot possibly be understood of God's disowning the institution of Sacrifice, for reasons mention'd in page 153; and 'tis plain, that they refer to the Transaction at Marah, and the Proposal there made by God to the Israelites, soon after their coming forth from Egypt; which Proposal is couch'd in almost the same words with those of the Prophet here appeal'd to. And therefore, either this passage has not the least view to the original Institution of Animal Sacrifices; or, at most, it cannot be under-

stood in the sense contended for by the Advocates for the Human Institution.

It may be proper, before I leave this point, to subjoin the following Argument, with which Reason furnishes us *against* the Human Institution. — Whatever practice has obtain'd universally in the World, must have obtain'd from some dictate of *Reason*, or some demand of *Nature*, or some principle of *Interest*; or else from some powerful *Influence* or *Injunction* of some Being of *universal Authority*. Now the practice of Animal Sacrifice did not obtain from *Reason*; for no reasonable notions of God could teach men, that he could take delight in Blood, or in the Fat of slain Beasts; nor will any man say, that we have any *Natural Instinct* to gratify, in spilling the Blood of an innocent Creature; nor could there be any temptation from *Appetite* to do this in those ages, when the whole Sacrifice was consum'd by Fire; or when, if it was not, yet men wholly abstain'd from Flesh; and consequently this practice did not owe its origin to any principle of *Interest*. Nay, so far from any thing of this, that the destruction of innocent and useful Creatures is evidently against *Nature*, against *Reason*, and against *Interest*; and therefore must be founded in an *Authority*, whose Influence was as powerful as the Practice was universal; and that could be none but the *Authority* of God
the

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the Sovereign of the World, or of *Adam* the founder of the human race. If it be said, *of Adam*; the question still returns — What motive determin'd *him* to the practice? It could not be *Nature*, *Reason*, or *Interest*, as has been shewn; and therefore it must have been the *Authority* of his *Sovereign*. And had Adam enjoin'd it to his Posterity, 'tis not to be imagin'd that they would have obey'd him, in so extraordinary and expensive a rite, from any other motive than *the Command of God*†.

If then the strongest arguments for the Human Institution of such Sacrifices prove so inconclusive, we may reasonably infer — that they were instituted not by *Man* but *God*. But let us see, what information Scripture affords on this side the question; and whether we have not evidence enough to give us satisfaction here. The Book of Genesis, indeed, directly favours neither the one nor the other opinion; and this first mention of Sacrifice, in the case of Abel, is not to give us an account of Sacrifice, *how* or *when* it was instituted, much less is it any evidence that there was *none before*; but is only occasionally related in the history of transferring the Seniority, or right of Primogeniture (and so the Parentage of the Messiah) from Cain into a younger line; which was ab-

† Revelat. examin'd with candour; Vol. I. Differ. 8.

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olutely necessary to be known *. The truth, however, of the *Divine Institution* may with great safety be collected from several passages ; and particularly from those that regard Abel's Sacrifice, with which at present we are more immediately concern'd.

We read that *Cain brought of the Fruit of the Ground an Offering unto the Lord*; and we have seen that Abel was not behind in this expression of his Gratitude, for *he also brought an Offering of the Fruit of the Ground*. Yet Abel not only equall'd, but excell'd his Brother; for we read, that *HE brought MOREOVER of the Firstlings of his Flock, and of their Fat*. Upon this the Historian informs us — that *the Lord had respect unto Abel, and to his Mincha; but to Cain, and to his Mincha he had not respect*.

There is in the Epistle to the Hebrews a remarkable passage (before quoted) which will throw great light upon this place. For the inspir'd Author of that Epistle assures us, it was by Faith that *Abel offered a greater Sacrifice than Cain*; i. e. that Cain, having not Faith, brought only of the Fruit of the Ground; but Abel, having Faith, brought of the Fruit of the Ground, and an Animal Sacrifice. If then Faith was the principle, that influenced Abel to bring the Animal Sacrifice, he certainly did not bring it from the dictates of Reason only.

u Moses's sine principio, p. 216.

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For we have the express testimony of the Apostle—that *Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God* *; the consequence of which is, that Abel offer'd this Sacrifice in obedience to *the word of God*, which evidently means *the word of God reveal'd*.

There is another definition of Faith, in the first Verse of the Chapter before appeal'd to *; and of that very Faith, for which St. Paul celebrates his list of Worthies, at the head of whom stands Abel — *Faith*, says he, *is the substance* (or, as some render it, the subsistence) *of things hoped for, and the evidence* (or demonstration) *of things not seen*. It has been very properly remark'd † — that all the Heroes and pious Men, produced as actuated by this divine principle of Faith, render'd themselves thus renown'd by a belief of something declar'd, and, in consequence of such belief, the performance of some action enjoin'd them by God. — *By Faith, Noah, being warn'd by God, prepared an Ark*; i. e. he believ'd the warning which God gave him, and obediently made the Ark which he had appointed him to make. — *By Faith, Abraham, when called to go into a strange Land, which God promis'd to give him for an inheritance, obeyed*; i. e. he believ'd that God would

w Romans X. 17.

x. Hebrews XI. 1.

y Shuckford's Connection, Vol. I. Book 2. p. 86.

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give him what he had promis'd, and, in consequence of that belief, did what God commanded him. And thus it was, that *Abel by Faith offered a greater Sacrifice than Cain*; because *he believed* what God had promis'd, *that the Seed of the Woman should bruise the Serpent's head*; and, in consequence of that belief, offer'd such a Sacrifice for his sins, as God had appointed to be offer'd *until the Seed should come*.

St. Paul also tells us in the same Chapter ¹, — that *Abel died in Faith, not having received* (the completion ² of) *the Promises* ^b, *but having*.

¹ Heb. XI. 13.

² Acts XIII. 32, 33 — *And we declare unto You glad tidings, how that THE PROMISE, which was made unto the Fathers, God hath FULFILLED the same unto us their Children.*

b That these Promises include the *Promise of the Messiah*, is plain — first, because *that* is *THE Promise*, peculiarly and emphatically so call'd throughout the Scripture — and secondly, that temporal Promises, or the Assurances of God as to bringing the Seed of Abraham into the Land of Canaan, (call'd frequently *the Land of Promise*) are not entirely, if at all meant here, appears fully from this very place; for the Apostle says of *all* the Patriarchs, whom he had mention'd in the beginning of this chapter — *These ALL died in Faith, not having received the Promises*; but Abraham is one of the Patriarchs mention'd, and of *him* it is expressly said — that *he sojourned in THE LAND OF PROMISE*. From all which it follows, that some other Promise must be here intended. And as Abel, Enoch and Noah (three of the Patriarchs included in the word *ALL*) had not receiv'd the Promise of *entering the Land*
seen

seen them afar off; and was persuaded of them, and embraced them^c. This belief then of Abel's in some Promise made before by God, but then ~~not~~ accomplish'd, was Abel's Faith; and by the virtue of this Faith Abel was induced to offer an Animal Sacrifice, thereby testifying his firm belief in the future completion of that Promise, with which the offering of Animal Sacrifice was intimately connected. What this Promise means will be soon seen at large; but 'tis previously to be here observ'd — that the Apostle's certifying, that Faith induced Abel to offer an Animal Sacrifice, proves Abel's motive to the observation of that Rite to have been not from Reason, but Revelation.

of Canaan, it must have been some other Promise, made in the first Ages, and frequently repeated, to which the Apostle here alludes — and what Promise can that be, but the Promise of a future Redeemer, made to Adam, and commemorated in the Patriarchal Sacrifices? — Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath visited and redeemed his people, and hath raised up an horn of SALVATION for us — as he spake by the mouth of his Prophets, which have been since the world began. Luke 1. 68 &c.

^c Our Church, in the second part of the Homily on Faith, makes this use of the 11th Chapter of the Hebrews — All these Fathers, Martyrs, and other holy Men, had their Faith surely fix'd on God; they look'd for all the Benefits of God the Father, thro' the Merits of his Son Jesus Christ, as we now do; and altho' they were not nam'd Christian Men; yet it was a Christian Faith, which they had; they look'd when Christ should come, and we be in the time when he is come.

The

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The fourth chapter of Genesis furnishes us with a very remarkable passage, which probably will give an additional illustration to the present Argument; and it is the Expulsion of God with Cain, after the rejection of him and his Fruit Offering—*If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? And if thou doest not well, Sin lieth at the door*^d. These words have receiv'd as great a variety of Interpretations, as most passages in the Bible; but I shall only produce one, which seems to clear all the difficulty, and, for its harmony with the Context, to merit our approbation. It has been very rightly observ'd -- that the word חַטָּאת, here render'd *Sin*, frequently signifies a *Sin-Offering*, or an *Animal to be sacrificed for Sin*; and therefore should be so render'd in this place. The necessity and custom of this version of the word will appear from the following passages—Levit. IV. 21. 29; VI. 25. And from these and other passages in the *Old Testament*, the Expression is transferr'd into the *New*; in 2 Corin. V. 21; Heb. IX. 28^e.

From these instances it is evident, that the word חַטָּאת must be, and is, frequently render'd a *Sin-Offering*; and if we render it so in the place under consideration, we shall immediately see the Passage clear and consistent with

d Gen. IV. 7.

e See Chapman's Euseb. Vol. I. p. 311.

the Context. For—Cain had brought a Minch to the Lord — Abel had done the same, adding an Animal Sacrifice—God rejected Cain, and accepted Abel—Cain was therefore very wroth ~~upon~~ upon which God expostulates with him, thus — *Why art thou wroth &c. If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? And if thou doest not well, a Sin-Offering lieth even at thy door.* As if he had said—Why art thou so angry at the preference shewn to thy Brother, as if it were an instance of Partiality in me; whereas it is only the effect of Laws, which I had before declared: for knowest thou not, that if thou dischargest thy Duty fully, thou shalt be accepted; and that if thou failest therein, I have appointed an Atonement for Sin, by the Sacrifice of an Animal, that is entirely in thy power, near at hand, and that *coucheth* or lieth down even before thy door? — Here then we have God himself enforcing the observation of Animal Sacrifice; and commanding it, as the known Remedy then provided for the Lapses of Mankind.

It may be proper to observe, at the conclusion of this head, that no argument can be fairly drawn against the Divine Institution of Sacrifice before the Law, because such Institution is not mention'd 'till the giving of the Law. For whoever considers carefully, will find that *the Law*, is, in part, a *Republication*

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of antecedent Revelations, and Commands long before given to Mankind. For how otherwise came the distinction of *Beasts*, into *clean* and *unclean*, to be establish'd in the days of *Noah* ^f? Nature did not teach it; and therefore, tho' the Distinction was not register'd till we come down to Deuteronomy^g, it certainly was introduced by God at the same time that he instituted Sacrifice. Another instance will sufficiently confirm this Observation, and that is — the Law of *Leviration*, as it is call'd; or that Law, by which one Man, upon the decease of his Brother without Children, was oblig'd to take his Brother's Wife. We find this Law first commanded by God in the book of Deuteronomy^h, but it certainly must have been instituted, and by the same Authority, long before; because in Genesisⁱ we have an account of a Man destroy'd by God himself, for disobeying it. Wherefore, as these Institutions were *before* made, tho' not recorded; so might Sacrifice, as (I hope) it fully appears to have been.

We have now seen, that Abel offer'd an Animal Sacrifice, and that his motive to this kind of Oblation could not be from Reason or Na-

f Gen. VII. 2.

g Deut. XIV. 3 &c.

h Deut. XXV. 5.

i Gen. XXXVIII. 10.

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ture, because the one acknowledges the Rite absurd, and the other cruel and inhuman. And as it remains that the Sacrificing Animals must have been *divinely* instituted, we have seen that it absolutely was so — from several Testimonies of holy Scripture in the case of Abel, and from the Expostulation of God with Cain.

Let us proceed then to observe *why* and *when* God instituted this Rite ; after which the *Foundation* of that *Difference*, which God made between the Oblations of the two Brothers, will easily appear.

Adam was created happy and immortal, and being a Free-Agent had it in his power to secure the continuance, or incur the forfeiture, of those Blessings. Innocence preserv'd was the tenure, by which he held his high privileges ; and to the preservation of that Innocence God had contributed every thing he could, consistently with the freedom of human action. In his infinite wisdom he laid one positive and easy restraint on him, to preserve in his mind a due sense of that dependency, which must be the character, and indeed is the happiness of created Beings : and what in his wisdom he thus propos'd, for the trial of human duty, his holiness was concern'd to prevent the violation of. Hence that awful denunciation

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— *In the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die.*

God having thus, by an establish'd law, denounced Death to Sin, the execution of that law, one way or other, became as necessary to the vindication of the divine Attributes, as the first enacting it. For tho' the Mercy of God is a gracious concern for his Creatures, and their Welfare ; yet the Justice of God is a jealous concern for Himself, and his own Glory : and therefore it was become necessary, that the Punishment so threaten'd to Sin, should be inflicted, in case of Sin ; and no deliverance granted, but on such conditions as the Deity offended should think equivalent to the Punishment of the Offender, and therefore worthy his acceptance ^k. This is what Divines properly call *Satisfaction*, *Expiation* and *Atonement* ; the necessity of which arises from the necessity of Punishment, the necessity of Punishment from the divine denunciation of Misery and Death to Sin, and that denunciation from the infinite Holiness (or, which is the same, the infinite Aversion to Sin) in the Deity.

Now Adam and his Wife fell — and therefore, the Covenant being broke, their Happiness lost with their Innocence, and their Lives forfeited by their Transgression, the conse-

^k See Dr. Turner, Boyle's Lect. Sermon. Vol. II. p. 373.
quence

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quence might be reasonably expected to be the immediate destruction of the Offenders. But God, *whose thoughts are not as our thoughts*, even here found a method to punish, and yet preserve; *in the midst of Judgment remembering Mercy*. The Offenders lost their Happiness, yet did not become miserable; they became mortal, but did not die immediately.

For tho' the just demerit of their Transgression was — that their *Bodies* should die, or be immediately dissolv'd, without the possibility of a Resurrection; and — that their *Souls* should be consign'd over to Remorse and Torment, which for its greatness is term'd the Second Death, and for its duration Eternal Death; yet God (so adoreable is his clemency!) was pleas'd to save the Offenders, as monuments of his grace, and objects even of his favour. They had no sooner been seduced to Sin, but he promis'd them a Saviour, to counter-act the ruinous design of their hostile Seducer; a Saviour — who, by rescuing their *Bodies* from the Grave, should give them a Second and Eternal *Life*, at the general Resurrection; and, by redeeming their *Souls*, should put it in their power to make that Second and Eternal Life, a Life of *Eternal Happiness*.

But as the Life of the First Pair was thus absolutely forfeited; and as, in the divine Appointment of things, *without shedding of Blood there*

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there was to be no Remission ; it became necessary, that *Blood*, which is *the Life*, should be shed, in order to the *Remission* of their Transgression : and this Blood or Life must have been either the Blood or Life of themselves, or of some other in their stead. The rigour of the Law could have been only executed in the very Letter of the Sanction ; and since that ordain'd the Malefactor's *own* Death, all short of that was the Lawgiver's departing from his Right : and as God, the Lawgiver, was at full liberty to depart so far as he judg'd convenient, he might choose what Compensation he pleas'd, and upon what conditions ; and *why*, and *when* the effects of his goodness should be still suspended. For any thing less than the absolute forfeiture of the Life of the Offender must be look'd upon as the act of infinite grace and mercy.

This Compensation then God first promis'd the Offenders themselves, and in the fulness of time accepted at the hands of his own Son ; for the Son of God, voluntarily offering his own Life a Victim to the Divine Justice, the Father accepted it as a vicarious Ransom. The *Equity* of this *Commutation*, or *Satisfaction*, has been often demonstrated¹ ; and the *Fitness* and *Propriety* of it are equally conspicuous. For Death being the Punishment of Sin, an

¹ See Dr. Stanhope's Sermon, Boyle's Lect. Vol. I. p. 794.
Atonement

Atonement for Sin could not be made by a Sinner, whose Life (as such) was forfeited to the Divine Justice; and, consequently, could not have the least pretence to Merit and Expiation. Hence the impossibility of our being redeem'd by *Man*. Christ therefore, who did no Sin, when he suffer'd the Punishment of Sin, became a proper and meritorious Sacrifice for Sinners. Again: as the Sins to be aton'd for were, not only those of our First Parents, but of the whole Human Race; and as every Sin is the greatest affront to an infinitely holy Being; so the Atonement was requir'd to be of infinite value, which could only arise from the infinite Dignity of the person so atoning. And hence the impossibility of our being redeem'd by *Angels*. The Redeemer therefore, who appear'd in behalf of Mankind, seems to have been the only one that could cancel their Debts, and offer a plenary Satisfaction; and being both *God* from all Eternity, and becoming *Man* in the fulness of time, he was *partaker* of the *perfect Nature* of those Beings *for whom*, and of that Being *to whom*, he was to make Atonement; and consequently could clearly expiate the Guilt of the former, and fully satisfy the Justice of the latter ^m.

In this short view of the nature of our Redemption, we see all the Attributes of the

^m See Dr. Turner's Sermon. Boyle's Lect. Vol. II. p. 393.
Deity

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Deity glorified ; *Mercy and Truth meeting together, Righteousness and Peace kissing each other* : the whole — a Scheme of the most righteous Mercy, and the most merciful Vengeance ! We see the necessity of a mighty Ransom, and (tho' we acknowledge and adore the *Free Grace* of God herein displaid) we assert — that this Ransom was *fully* discharg'd by the meritorious Death of Christ, the Lamb of God, that expiated the Guilt and took away the Sins of the World. Not that this taking away Sin was *literally* or in a natural sense true, so that Sins committed were render'd uncommitted, (which is physically impossible) but *legally* or in a judicial sense ; so that the Offenders were absolv'd from the guilt, and freed from the punishment of their past Sins ; and remain'd, *upon their Repentance and future Obedience*, fit Objects of the Divine Favour ⁿ.

Such then was the Redemption, which rescued lost Mankind, and was promis'd our first Parents in those few but comprehensive words — *The Seed of the Woman shall bruise the Serpent's Head*. But tho' the infinite goodness of God admitted the virtue of this Redemption to commence and operate from the *Aera* of this Promise ; his infinite wisdom decreed that

ⁿ See Dr. Turner's Serm. Boyle's Lectures, Vol. II. P. 374.

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about four thousand years should pass away, before it was to be in fact accomplish'd.

Hence then arose the Institution of Animal Sacrifices; namely—to keep alive in the world, thro' this long succession of ages, the belief of and reliance upon the *future* Redemption; while every innocent Animal, so slain, was to be a standing *Prophecy* of the great immaculate Sacrifice afterwards to be offer'd up once for all. —An Institution this so expressive of the thing

o Heb. IX. 25, 26. *Nor yet that Christ should offer himself often, as the High Priest entereth into the holy place every year, with the Blood of others; (FOR THEN MUST HE OFTEN HAVE SUFFERED SINCE THE FOUNDATION OF THE WORLD:) but now, once in the end of the world, hath he appeared to put away Sin by the Sacrifice of himself.* On these words Bp Weston observes—that from the opposition press'd here, and elsewhere, between Animal Sacrifices and the Sacrifice of Christ, (as to the Space to which their virtues could be extended) one may be determin'd to interpret the *ETERNAL Redemption obtained for us* by Christ (Heb. IX. 12:) to be such as reaches to *all Times and Ages* of Men; since the Original does very well agree to it. We construe it therefore (says that learned Prelate) *the Redemption of Ages, of All Ages and Generations*; available to redeem them from their Sins thro' every period of each of them. For as to the Generations, which pass'd *before* the Blood of this Redemption was shed; we say, that every *Person* of them, that obtain'd Forgiveness, obtain'd it *solely* in virtue of that *future* Blood-shedding; and that *all the Sacrifices for Sin* of the *Patriarchs*, *BEFORE*, or *after the Flood*, and those appointed by the *Law*, had no acceptance, but for *the sake* of that *One Oblation*, which they shadow'd and foreshew'd. *Serm. Vol. II. p. 189 &c.*

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thereby signified, that it demands a wisdom more than human to contrive it; and could only be, as a Type, appointed by him, who alone foreknew the nature of the Antitype.

Reason indeed teaches us to maintain with St. Paul — *that the blood of Bulls and of Goats could not take away Sin*; but then, what that could not effect by any *inherent fitness*, might be effected by a divine positive appointment of it, as a *medium of conveyance*: and therefore the Blood of such Animals, when offer'd up to God, was to be esteem'd by Men as expressive of, and typifying, for a time, the Blood of the True Redeemer; by the actual effusion of which all its prophetic and symbolical representations were to be done away — Like the Moon, which having no intrinsic brightness, shines only by a light borrow'd from a nobler Body; and disappears, at the rising of the Sun, as being no longer of service to Mankind.

We have now seen that Animal Sacrifice was instituted by God, for *what reason*, and at *what period of time*; but, with regard to the latter, it may be proper to subjoin a few observations more. That this Rite was enjoin'd soon after the Transgression of our first Parents in Paradise, appears evident now from various considerations. In particular, it may be ask'd — What was the *end* of such Sacrifice? Was it not the

she instituted means of procuring *pardon for Sin* : And was not Adam the *first Sinner* : And was not the *Transgression* in Paradise the *first Sin* : Certainly no point of time then can be fix'd upon as more proper, rather none so proper, for the institution of a Rite typifying the future Death of the Redeemer of Mankind, as when the Redeemer was first promis'd, and when Mankind began to want the benefits of his Death, and the means of Reconciliation. It has been already prov'd, that Abel brought an Animal Sacrifice, when his Father was not yet one hundred and thirty years old ; and every reason that can be given for the Divine Institution in command to *him at that time*, will be much stronger for its being given in command to *his Father at the Fall*. And that his Father actually did Sacrifice seems now clearly deducible from the divine history, and that remarkable passage in it — *of God's making for the first Pair Coats of Skins*. But this has been consider'd at large in the preceding Dissertation ^p.

If then God commanded Adam to offer Animal Sacrifice, and the practice of this Rite was design'd to be of such eminent service as well as consolation, not to him only, but his sons after him ; we may reasonably suppose that he was careful to inform his sons of the Divine In-

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stitution, Use, and Necessity of it; that so *they also might be Heirs of the Promise*. But we have not only probability for our support here; for we read, that Abel, Adam's second son, *did* offer an Animal Sacrifice, and consequently must have been made acquainted with the Institution by his Father; and, no doubt, he had seen his Father frequently perform the sacred solemnity. But if Abel was thus happy in the lessons, and instructed by the example of his Father; certainly his elder brother enjoy'd the same opportunities, and had heard the importance of the Rite as frequently inculcated.

The question therefore is — Why did not Cain also offer an Animal Sacrifice? He had been told, that God instituted it — he had seen his Father perform it — he saw his Brother perform it — and why did He himself neglect it? That there was a communication of Substance or Property between the two Brothers, is plain; for if *Abel* brought of the Fruit of the Ground, which *Cain* presided over, as being the *Husbandman*; certainly *Cain* might have brought of the Firstlings of the Flock, which *Abel* had the care of, as being the *Shepherd*. The reason then, why Cain neglected it, must be either — because he did not think himself a *Sinner*; and so had no need of a *Sacrifice*; or, because he did not believe the *Use* and *Efficacy* of that *Divine Institution*. But as there is no Man, who

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who liveth, and sinneth not; so no Man can be insensible that he has sometimes sinn'd. Wherefore, as he could not neglect this Rite from a persuasion of his being Sinless; it remains, that he must have neglected it, thro' a disbelief of its Use and Efficacy. Tho', perhaps, both suppositions may be better united; and Cain will then appear to have taken *little* notice of his Sins, and *less* of the method instituted by God for the expiation of them.

The Offering, which Cain brought, has been constantly look'd upon as an Act of Piety, for the time when offer'd; and it is generally agreed, that it would have been accepted by God, had the Offerer been unblameable in the other circumstances of his Oblation ^q. And if this be true, St. John, when he tells us ^r, that *Cain's behaviour* on this occasion *was evil*, must be understood to mean — that Cain sinn'd, not in bringing what he brought, but in neglecting what he should have brought; evidencing thereby a flagrant disrespect of the divine goodness, in the violation of so gracious a command. Approach God he did, and with an appearance of duty seem'd to exercise the virtue of Gratitude; but, having not Faith, he

^q Lege latè, Deus instituit Oblationes ex Primitiis, minime id facturæ, si iis ritè peractis nullo modo oblectabatur. Heidegger Exerc. 5. Sec. 22.

^r John III. 12.

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paid no regard to the Institution of Animal Sacrifice, tho' enjoin'd his Father by God himself. And surely his Offering, tho' made as an acknowledgment of dependence on God for the good things of this life, cannot be suppos'd acceptable to God ; when the Sinner, that offer'd it, dar'd be confident of his Maker's favour, tho' he despis'd his Institution ; and to appear as serene as Innocence could make him, when his Mind was corrupted by Pride, and blacken'd by Infidelity.

Whereas Abel, with a decent gratitude and humble piety, brings his Offering, as a *dependent* Creature ; and a Sacrifice also, as a *Sinner*^t : and so compleated what was afterwards (under the Jewish Law) esteem'd as a perfect and compleat Oblation — a *Mincha*, or unbloody Offering, added to a *Moltation*, or bloody Sacrifice^s. Abel was deeply sensible, that all he enjoy'd was the gift of God ; and he acknowledg'd the beneficence of the Donor, by consecrating a Part as a thanksgiving for the Whole. Conscious also of his own frailty, he acknowledg'd his Life forfeited by a defective obedience to the divine Will, and there-

^s In cultu Spirituali, non debet a gratiarum actione abesse supplicatio pro beneficiorum continuatione ; neque a Supplicatione gratiarum actio. Cleppenburg Sacrif. Patriarchal. Schola Sacra, p. 5.

^t Levit. XXIII. 10 &c.

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fore, in the full assurance of Faith, offer'd up an Animal Oblation, to obtain Pardon for his Misconduct, and conciliate the divine Favour.

There is in the Epistle of St. Jude ^a a short passage, which has greatly perplex'd the Interpreters of it; but which may probably receive light from, and reflect light upon the Subject we are now considering. The words are—*Wo unto them, for they have gone in the way of Cain.* Let us therefore see, whether a meaning may not be affix'd to *the way of Cain*, that will coincide with the Apostle's argument, and illustrate the character of Cain, agreeably to those ideas we have just been forming of him. It is plain from the whole of the Epistle, that St. Jude is cautioning his Christian Brethren against such false Teachers, as then infested the Church, and perverted the doctrines of the Gospel; Teachers, that were at the same time *Mockers*, and denied with derision that fundamental article of Christianity — the Redemption of the World by Jesus Christ. For in Verse the 3d we read — *Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common Salvation, it was needful for me to write unto you and exhort you, that you contend earnestly for the Faith once delivered to the Saints.* 4. *For there are certain Men crept in unawares, ungodly Men, turning the Grace of God into Lasciviousness, and denying*

^a Verse the 11th.

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the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ—or, as it may, perhaps, be render'd more consistently with the Apostle's Design — *And denying Jesus Christ, our only Master, God and Lord.*

Now as it is against Men of this Character that the Apostle exerts himself, we may observe a propriety in his adding — *Wo unto them, for they have gone in the way of Cain.* For Cain, we have seen, slighted the Promise of a Redeemer, which was reveal'd to his Father; despis'd the Institution of Sacrifice, which was typical of that Redeemer; and so rejected him that was to come, even *the Seed of the Woman*, that was to *bruise the Serpent's Head*. And as Cain was too proud to acknowledge his own Sins, and so self-sufficient, as to despise and mock at the doctrine of a Saviour; he seems to have preach'd the same infidel and conceited notions to his Children. For St. Jude here assures us, that *Enoch, who was the Seventh from Adam* (and whose Prophecies were therefore deliver'd on account of the impious principles of the Sons of Cain) *prophefied, saying* "—*Behold! the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his Saints to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their*

w See Bp Sherlock's Opinion on this passage, *Dissertation. I.* p. 189. And Bp Cumberland, *Orig. Gent. Antiq.* p. 406.

ungodly

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ungodly deeds, and of all their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him *. So that we may fairly conclude — that the Apostle here consider'd the character of Cain in the same light, in which we have before view'd it.

We have before us then, in these Brothers, two Persons essentially distinguish'd in their characters by their different behaviour towards God; and therefore it is consonant to reason, that God should distinguish in his behaviour towards them: how otherwise is the honour of God inviolate? The Patriarch Abraham's expostulation with the Deity † may be here urg'd with propriety—*That be far from Thee, to treat the Righteous as the Wicked; and that the Righteous should be as the Wicked, that be far from Thee! Shall not the Judge of all the Earth do right?* And what Equity can be greater, what Justice shine forth more illustriously, than for God to reject the Offering of an *haughty Cain*, when he disbelieves the use, and despises the benefit of Animal Sacrifice—a divine Rite, in-

* Quilibet autem hæc examinans ratiocinetur accuratius — an non Cain ita dura contra Deum fuerit locutus, quod contra hosce ritus Sacrificiorum proterve egerit, peccatum suum non satis agnovit, non magnificerit usum Pœnitentiæ, non confirmationem Remissionis peccatorum, non Gratiâ divinâ in futuro Messia promissâ. Franzii Scholæ Patriarcharum, p. 46.

† Gen. XVIII. 25.

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stituted for his own Salvation; and to *accept* the same Offering from *an humble Abel*, because accompanied with an Animal Sacrifice, in a ready compliance with the divine Injunction. *Righteous is the Lord in all his ways, and just in all his dealings with the Children of Men; and therefore the Lord had respect unto Abel, and also to his Mincha, or Offering, because accompanied with a Sacrifice; but unto Cain, and to his Mincha, or Offering, he had not respect, because he brought no Sacrifice.*

The FOUNDATION then of this DIFFERENCE, which God manifested *between these two Offerers*, seems now clear and rational; and to be a Difference, not arising from any arbitrary decision or Partiality in the Deity, but laid deep in the very Nature of the Oblations, and grounded upon Reason and Equity. And this Interpretation will, I hope, appear with some small advantage, after the various unsatisfactory accounts already given; the greatest part of which have been thought to conduce but little to, however calculated for, the Credit of the Sacred History.

Such, for instance, is the Opinion, which commonly prevail'd of old, that the Difference here shewn by God was occasion'd by *a different kind of Division*, which the two Brothers made of their Oblations. This notion, tho' grounded on the translation which the LXX have
given

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given of the seventh Verse in this fourth Chapter, does not seem to have a proper foundation in the original account of this matter. And therefore the Emperor Julian, that cunning and avow'd Enemy of Revelation, laid hold of this Opinion in order to expose the History. For he puts this very question to a Christian, with whom he was disputing — Why, *says he*, did God accept Abel, and reject Cain? The Answer was, that Abel *divided* his Offering *'better* than Cain. Upon which he asks, Wherein that better Division consisted — urging it with an impious confidence, because he knew such an opinion could not be defended to satisfaction: and indeed his Opponent took the wisest way of answering him — by silence; choosing to drop, what he had no rational foundation for defending². This then is one of the many Opinions, which have discredited the History before us.

Such also is the Opinion — that God accepted Abel, and rejected Cain; because the one was a good, and the other a bad Man. But, tho' it is true that *the Sacrifice of the Wicked is an abomination to the Lord*, yet 'tis evident that the divine approbation and rejection were here occasion'd, not by the antecedent Lives of the

² See Julian's Words in *Cyrril. contra Julian.* Lib. X. p. 347. Edit. Spanhem. Lipsæ.

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Offerers, but the nature and concomitant circumstances of their present Oblations.

For this reason others (and these indeed a numerous body) have asserted, that this Difference was made, because the elder Brother did not bring of the First or Best of his Fruits, as the younger did of the Firstlings of his Flock. But this Opinion seems also very weakly grounded, and inadequate to the explication of the History; for whether Cain did or did not bring of his First-Fruits cannot be determin'd from the Original, and therefore neither supposition can support an argument on the case before us. Besides: this account (supposing it better grounded than it really is) cannot take place, because it opposes the solution of it, which is given by St. Paul.

It has been also said—that Cain was rejected, because he came with an intention against his Brother's Life; but surely this is strange enough, when it is as clear as the Sun, that his resolution against his Brother's Life was not antecedent to, but the very consequence of his being rejected, when he found his Brother accepted by God.

It would be as endless, as it is unnecessary, to produce more of the strange accounts given of the point before us; because it is not, so immediately, the business of this Attempt to point out the absurd Comments upon it, as to search
after

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after a rational Interpretation of it. There are indeed some, whose Observations on this important piece of history well deserve the Thanks of Mankind ; but it does not seem to appear — that All the Particulars had been observ'd, and uniformly explain'd together.

This therefore the present Dissertation endeavours to perform ; with what success, must be submitted to the Judgment of others. It may, however, be presum'd — that there appears from the preceding Observations to arise a proper foundation for the distinction made by God on this occasion : since the grateful Offering and Thanks of Abel, accompanied with the proper marks of his Repentance, and Obedience to the Divine Commands, must be suppos'd acceptable to God ; when the same Gratitude of Cain might be rejected, because not accompanied with Sorrow for his Sins, or Faith in the Method instituted by God for his Forgiveness.

The New Testament gives us two remarkable Characters, which, for their similitude to the two former, and the same contrast in both, may be here properly subjoin'd ; especially as they mutually illustrate each other — and these are the Characters of the PHARISEE and the PUBLICAN, as describ'd by St. Luke. These Two, it seems, went up into the Temple together, as did Cain and Abel to their place of
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Sacred Assembly. The *Pharisee*—a Man highly opinionated of his own Righteousness, advances, like *Cain*, to offer up not a Prayer, but a Thanksgiving—he could not stoop to the low acknowledgment of Sin ; but exalts his own Character, by dwelling on the guilt and wretchedness of his Companion. While the *Publican*, like *Abel*, with a pious Penitence and a graceful Humility, dwells upon his own unfitness to approach the Deity ; and, smiting upon his Breast, utters this powerful Petition — *God be merciful to me, a Sinner !* Our Saviour's Intercession also is applicable to the case before us — *I tell you, that this Man went down to his house justified, rather than the other ;* that is (when freed from the Hebrew Idiom) — *this Man returned justified (or esteem'd righteous) and not the other.* For the words of Solomon are express — *He that covereth his Sins, shall not prosper ; but whose confesseth and forsaketh them, shall have Mercy.* And let us also remember that standing Rule in the Divine Oeconomy, deliver'd by a greater than Solomon—*He, that exalteth himself, shall be abased ; but he, that humbleth himself, shall be exalted.*

St. Paul draws an Observation from the Behaviour of Abel before consider'd, which is well worth our notice ; namely — that *Abel, being dead, yet speaketh.* And as Abel's Example is held

held out to us by the Apostle, to excite not only our Praise, but our Imitation ; it may not be improper to conclude with a few short, but weighty Lessons, which this Preacher of Righteousness speaketh to us from the Grave. And these are — that with a decent Solemnity we observe the Weekly Return of an Holy Rest unto the Lord — that we cultivate in our Minds, and evidence in our Actions, a constant Gratitude to God and Man — that we rest not however in the exercise of Moral Virtues, but pay a dutiful and devout obedience to those Positive Constitutions, which are enjoin'd by the Word of God — that we exercise as lively a Faith in the Redeemer now come, as he did before his coming ; and let this divine Faith equally influence our Conduct — that True Religion has always subsisted upon the same Principles of Faith and Obedience ; tho' differently express'd, according to the different exigencies of different Ages — and that the Holy Scriptures contain a regular and consistent History of Providence, superintending for the Salvation of Mankind, and blessing the World with gradual discoveries of Knowledge ; so that what in the first Ages was a promising Dawn brighten'd up into a glorious Morning, and is now establish'd in a perfect Day.