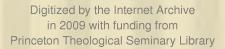
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DOCTRINE

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ETERNAL HELL TORMENTS

OVERTHROWN.

IN THREE PARTS.

- 1. OF THE TORMENTS OF HELL, THE FOUNDATION AND PILLARS THEREOF, SEARCHED, DISCOVERED, SHAKEN AND REMOVED, ETC.
 - 2. AN ARTICLE FROM THE HARLEIAN MIS-CELLANY ON UNIVERSALISM.
 - 3. DR. HARTLEY'S DEFENCE OF UNIVERSALISM.

BOSTON:

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TORMENTS OF HELL,

THE

FOUNDATION AND PILLARS THEREOF, SEARCHED, DISCOVERED, SHAKEN AND REMOVED.

TOGETHER WITH

INFALLIBLE PROOFS THAT THERE IS NOT TO BE
A PUNISHMENT AFTER THIS LIFE FOR ANY
TO ENDURE THAT SHALL NEVER END.



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PREFACE.

IT cannot be considered improper to introduce the following work, on the Torments of Hell, with a brief account of its Author. The first edition appeared in London, in 1658, and no secresy was maintained in regard to its origin. It was avowedly the production of one Samuel Richardson, a writer of some note, if we may judge from the size and number of the works he wrote. Very little, however, is known of him. I have searched all the usual sources of biography for some account of this singular individual, but without success. By a reference to that scarce and valuable book, Watt's Bibliotheca, it appears that he was the author of the following works: 'Considerations on Dr. Featley's Dipper Dipt,' quarto, London 1645. 'Justification by Christ alone, a Fountain of Life and Comfort,' quarto, London, 1647. 'The Necessity of Toleration in Religion,' quarto, 1647. 'An Answer to the London Minister's Letter to his Excellency and to his Council of War, as also an answer to J. Geree's Book, &c.' quarto, London, 1649. 'The Cause of the Poor pleaded,' quarto, London, 1653. 'An Apology for the present Government and Governor,' quarto,

London, 1654. 'Plain Dealing,' in answer to Mr. Vavasor, Powell and others, quarto, London, 1656. None of these works to our knowledge have descended to the present age. The most of them, we should judge from the titles, referred to the peculiar events of the author's own time; and they would lead us to think that he was possessed of a bold and enterprising character.

Of the work that follows, the present, we believe, is the fourth edition. The original edition came out, as we have said, in 1658; the second, in 1660. The third was published many years after, with a selection of scarce and valuable pieces that were entirely out of print, with a view to their preservation. This edition is from the third. It is a faithful copy in every respect, except that the antique orthography is avoided, the style is in some cases modernized, and a few passages have been elucidated where the sense was obscure.

It will be universally conceded that this is a rare and curious work. It abounds in a great variety of arguments, some of them strange and whimsical, but others very cogent and convincing. The author was unquestionably a man of originality, of talent, of fearlessness, of reflection, of study, though he sometimes decided hastily, and involved himself in inconsistency. He has said enough however to accomplish fully the object he proposed, viz. to search, discover, shake and remove the pillars of the erroneous doctrine of endless hell torments.

It should be remembered that it is one hundred and seventy-five years since this work was written. At that time very few doubted the doctrine of endless hell tor-

ments; very little was understood of biblical criticism; and the most extraordinary licenses were indulged in the interpretation of the sacred writings. The reader will, therefore, wonder, not that the author was sometimes wrong, but that he was so often right; and that he grasped the whole of the subject in his mind, arriving at the same conclusions, in regard to the principal facts, to which critics of the present age have come, with all their multiplied advantages. It does not appear, however, that he was perfectly clear on all points. There are a few passages in the work which seem to favor the notion of the annihilation of the wicked. They ought not however to be understood as giving the author's opinion decidedly on that point; because in other parts of the work he openly and indisputably teaches the doctrine of universal salvation. He must be regarded as an undoubted believer in the final restoration of all mankind. It will furthermore appear, that he did not hold the doctrine of punishment in the future state, in any sense.

The publication of the original edition of this work, called out the friends of the doctrine of endless torment in its defence. Nicholas Chewney, published in London 1660, a work entitled 'Hell's Everlasting Torments Asserted.' There came out also in 1675, in London, another work, in octavo, bearing the title, 'Causa Dei, or an apology for God, in the perpetuity of infernal torments,' by Richard Burthogge. And also in 1679, John Brandon, Rector of Finchamstead, Berks, published a work in London, in answer to the Torments of Hell, entitled 'Everlasting Fire no Fancy.'

In regard to the other two tracts which I have connected with the above in this work, it is necessary only to remark, that they had never been published in this country before. The article from the Harleian Miscellany I have given entire. This was probably written about the same time with the work already noticed, but remained in manuscript in the Earl of Oxford's Library until 1744, when it was first published. This is the second edition. The extract from Dr. Hartley's work on Man consists of two chapters, and embraces all that work contains on the subject of Universalism. Those who are acquainted with Dr. Hartley's book will remember, that it is almost entirely occupied with the subject of man's physical and moral constitution; and it is not until the close that he discusses man's expectations concerning the future. As it is doubtful whether this work will ever be re-published in this country, or if it should, whether it will fall generally into the hands of Universalists, we have ventured to publish separately all that part of it which relates to the salvation of all mankind.

TORMENTS OF HELL.

CHAPTER 1.

SECTION I. Of Christ's descending into Hell.

Some of the learned say, Christ descended into hell, and for proof allege Psalm xxi. 10, Acts ii. 27. Dr. Willet says, that those words of Christ (descended into hell) are not found in the most ancient creeds. Dr. William Whitaker says, I could produce fifty of the most ancient creeds that have not these words, (descended into hell,) in his answer to Campion, p. 215. Mr. William Perkins on the creed saith, It seems likely that these words (he descended into hell) were not placed in the creed at first, and that they crept in by negligence; for above threescore creeds of the most ancient Councils and Fathers want this clause, (he descended into hell) among the rest it is not found in the Nicene creed, nor found in the Romish Church, nor used in the churchof the East

Also some of the learned say, Christ descended not into hell, yet it is an article of their faith: but if you say he did not descend into hell, they will

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say you deny the faith, and are a heretic and a blasphemer; and you may be glad you can escape so. They themselves interpret hell otherwise than for a place of torments never to end. Mr. Bucer saith, Christ descending into hell, is to be understood of his burial. Mr. Calvin saith, Hell is the sorrow of mind Christ was in before his death. Why hast thou forsaken me? is God's hiding his face, when Christ was on the cross, saith Dr. Whitaker against Campion, p. 211. For upon the cross he said, It is finished, John xix. 30; therefore his suffering was at an end. Some of the Papists confess Christ suffered not after his death: Luke xxii. 42, 44. Ursinus Catechis, p. 350. Mr. Perkins saith, hell is the inward sufferings of Christ on the cross. Bernard makes the grief of Christ's soul his hell.

Dr. Ames, in his Marrow of Divinity, p. 65, saith, that of the place of hell, and manner of torture there, the scripture hath not pronounced anything distinctly. If so, then the word of God saith not anything at all of them: for that which the Scripture speaks, it speaks distinctly, else it could not have been read distinctly, Nehem. viii. 8. That which is spoken expressly is spoken distinctly: the spirit speaks expressly. 1 Tim. iv. 1, 3. The word of the Lord came expressly, Ezek. i. 3. That which is not spoken distinctly, cannot be understood, as appears, Cor. xiv. 2, 17.

Dr. Fulke saith plainly, that neither in the Hebrew, Greek, nor Latin, is there a word proper for hell, (as we take hell for the place of punishment of the ungodly.) Fulke's Defence Translation, pp. 13,

87, 89. Is not this a full testimony against their opinion of the torments of hell? For if it be not to be read in the word of God, what have we to do with it? We are not to believe anything in religion, unless it be written. How readest thou? saith Christ. Revealed things belong to us, Deut. xxix. 29. As it is written, I believed. 2 Cor. iv. 13. They confess it is not written: then sure I am it is not to be by any affirmed nor believed. Meddle not with things not revealed; they are but groundless conceits, fables, and traditions of men.

The word hell is not in the Hebrew and Greek Bible; for the word in the Hebrew, for which the English word hell is put, is sheol; the proper signification of sheol is the grave, as all that be learned in the Hebrew do know. Sheol hath its signification of shaal, to crave or require: therefore it is one of the four that is never satisfied. Prov. xxx. 15. We learn the propriety of the Hebrew word from the learned Rabbies, saith Dr. Fulke. Def. Trans. Bib. p. 90. The Hebrew Doctors and Jewish Rabbies are for signification of words faithful interpreters; they say, sheol is the grave. Rabbi Levi, according to the opinion of the learned, expounds sheel to be the lowest region of the world, opposite to heaven If I descend into sheol, thou art present. So R. Abraham on Jonah ii. And David Chimchi, and R. Solomon, read Psalm ix. 16, 17. Let the wicked be turned into sheol: that is, death's estate or deadly bed. Jonah calls the belly of the whale sheel, Jon. ii. 2, 3. Rabbi Solomon Jarchi, on Gen. xxxvii. 35, saith, that the true and proper interpretation of

sheol is keber, which is the grave. The hoar head is said to go down to sheol, Gen. xlii. 38. In Numb. xvi. 33, it is said, they, their substance, and cattle, went alive to sheolah; that is, the pit, or grave. Our bones are scattered at the very brink or mouth of sheel, Psal. cxli. 7. Jacob said, I will go down to my son Joseph to sheol, Gen. xxxvii. 35 .-The Protestant writers say sheol properly signifies the grave; Dr. Fulke's Answer to the Preface Rhemist, p. 22. So also in his Defence, p. 91. Mr. Beza saith, that sheel properly signifies nothing but the grave, or pit. Fulke saith, the best of the Hebrews that either interpreted Scripture, or made dictionaries, Jews or Christians, say sheol properly signifies the grave, p. 89; and that deliverance from the lowest hell, is deliverance from the greatest danger of death; so Fulke's Answ. Rhemist, pp. 13, 39, 135; and so the late Annotation of the Bible interprets it. And Augustine on Psalm xxxvi. 13, for lowest hell reads lowest grave; and so Dr. Willet, Synop. p. 1049.

The Chaldee Paraphrast retaineth the word sheol, and translates it, the house of the grave, pp. 11, 15. They interpret sheol, keburata, the grave: Job xxi. 13. Beith keburata, the house of the grave, pp. 17, 12. Rabbi Abraham Peristsol joins sheol and keber together, both signifying the grave; and so doth Dr. Fulke in his Defence, p. 91. And so Mr. Cartwright on Acts ii. 27. Mr. Cradock saith, hell is not mentioned in the Old Testament, except as it is taken for the grave; in his Good News, p. 43.

Sheol enforces not any place of punishment, because it signifies not any place of punishment; so

says Dr. Willet, Synop. p. 1055. Also he saith the word sheol cannot be translated, except for the grave. There are four words in the Psalms expressing the same thing in effect that sheol doth, yet none of them applicable to signify any place of torment; the first is shacath, fovea, the pit, Psalm xxx. 9; the second is bhor, the lake: the third is keber, the grave; both these words used for the same thing, Psalm lxxxviii. 3. The word is sheol, ver. 45, the other word used as expressing the former: and all these three do contain a description of death and the grave. The fourth is tehemoth, abyssus terræ: Thou wilt take me from the depths of the earth, Psalm lxxi. 20. In all which there is no mention of a place of torment. Willet Synop. p. 1050.

The Greek translates sheel into haden or hades of Adam, because Adam tasted death, and went to the grave, Gen. iii. 19. The gates of sheel is death; sheel and hades are said to have gates, Isaiah xxxviii. 10. Psalm ix. 13. Mat. xvi. 18.

The Septuagint express a place generally to receive the dead; the word used in the Greek instead of the Hebrew word sheol, signifies a dark place, such as the grave or pit in which the dead are laid. Dr. Fulke saith, some take the Greek word for hell, but it signifies the grave; hell it cannot signify when used by those that believe no hell. The Greeks say plainly, that their souls shall vanish like light smoke, or light air; Fulke's Def. p. 92. Also he saith, if the Greek and Latin interpreters had before us translated amiss, which gave occasion to divers errors, must we (knowing the true signification of the word) follow them?

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The word hell is not in the Greek; the Greek word for which they put the English word hell, is gehenna; ge in Greek is the earth, or ground, and henna is borrowed from the Hebrew, from the valley of Hinnom. Dr. Lightfoot, in his epistle prefixed to his Harmony, saith, It is well known the judgment of gehenna is taken from the valley of gehenna; Tophet or gehenna are names of the places of idolatry; there was the idol Moloch.

Section II. Of Hell-fire, Mat. v. 22, and the everlasting fire, and unquenchable fire, Mat. xxv. 41, 46. Fear him that hath power to cast into hell, Luke xii. 5. The damnation of hell, Mat. xxiii. 33.

Mat. v. 22. The fire of gehenna, and the everlasting fire, &c. How the Jews understood them is evidently to be seen in their writings; they understood these expressions to signify the fire of the vailey of Hinnom; so saith Dr. Lightfoot to the reader, in his Harmony, because of the law thou art delivered from the judgment of gehenna and Baal-Tur. Gem. i. 1.

The Protestant writers confess that Mat. v. 22. xxv. 41, 46, Luke xii. 5, are to be understood of the fire of the valley of the son of Hinnom, which is Tophet; so Mr. Cartwright, Dr. Fulke, Mr. Trap, and the late Annotations on the Bible, and others, for in danger of hell-fire &c. read, in danger of being burned in the valley of Hinnom, or Tophet;—the damnation of hell, gehenna; they interpret these places of the valley of Hinnom, or Tophet, which place was near to Jerusalem, where they of-

fered their children to Moloch, Josh. xv. 8. King Josiah defiled Tophet, the valley of the son of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or daughter pass through the fire to Moloch, 2 Kings xxiii. 10. Josiah commanded all the carrion of the city of Jerusalem to be carried into that valley, and burned there, that the carrion might not annoy the city; thither, saith David Chimchi, were carried all the filth and unburied carcasses, to be burned. The Sanhedrim of the Jews, for some offences, sentenced the bodies of the offenders to lie unburied in that valley, to burn with the carrion cast there, which, among the Jews, was considered a great disgrace; and for offences most criminal, they burned the offenders alive in that valley. They placed the malefactor in a dunghill up to the knees, and put a towel about his neck, and one pulled it one way and one another way, till being strangled he was forced to open his mouth; then they poured scalding lead into his mouth, which went down into his body, and so burned his bowels; Talmud in Sanhedr. Per. 7. Mr. Cartwright saith, the Jews sent thither their guilty to be burned in that valley, and those they burned there they dealt with as guilty.

Observe the following reasons: First, it is confessed by all, that Christ speaks and alludes to the Jewish practice in their judicature; therefore the places abovesaid concern them. Secondly, the speech of Christ was to the Jews by birth and education; they wrote the New Testament, and though it be penned in Greek, it speaks the phrase of the Jewish nation. The apostle, preaching to the Jews,

used the word gehenna, James iii. 6. Christ and his disciples used known terms, that they might the better be understood. Thirdly, because the Jews had not power to send them to the hell they speak of in the future world. Fourthly, because the last, only, of the three sins is said to be judged to the fire of gehenna, which if it were to be understood as some would have it, it will follow that some sins deserve not hell eternal, and shall not be punished there, which is contrary to themselves, who teach that the least sin deserves hell eternal. Fifthly, Mat. v. 22, shows the severity of the Jews and Pharisees in punishing anger without a cause. Racha is a word of disgrace, which signifies a crafty fellow, or wicked wretch. To apply it to any one was as great fault as to say fool, if not greater, yet it was punished less: Thus, he who was guilty of rash anger was in danger of the judgement; he who contemptuously said racha, was in danger of the council; but if he said fool, he was in danger of hell-fire, i. e. in the true sense, to burn in the valley of the son of Hinnom.

SECTION III. Of the word Everlasting.

- 1. The fire of the valley of Tophet is so called, in that it did burn day and night, and went not out.
- 2. The words ever and everlasting the Greeks understand to mean an age; ever and everlasting are of similar signification, and are used for a limited time, a time during life: He shall serve his master forever, Exod. xxi. 6; Levit. xxv. 46; that is, until his own or his master's death; longer he could not

serve him. The everlasting priesthood, Exod. xl. 15, was only until Christ came; then it was to cease, as appears, Heb. vii. 12—14. It is said, they shall inherit the land forever, Isa. x. 21; that ever was but a little while, as appears, Isa. lxiii. 18.

- 3. Inasmuch as fire is durable, and goeth not out until the combustible matter be consumed, it may be called everlasting and unquenchable; for the fire that destroyed the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah is called eternal fire, because it indeed consumed those cities; but where no wood is the fire goeth out, Prov. xxvi. 20.
- 4. If fire were everlasting, it will not follow that what is cast into it is everlasting; the wicked are compared to chaff and stubble; fire is not long in consuming them. Burn the chaff, Isa. v. 24. If any say chaff will be ever burning, and never consumed, we know the contrary.
- 5. Consider that the scripture sometimes uses words that exceed their signification, and they are not strictly to be understood according to their literal signification; as John xxi. 25, The things that Jesus did, if they should be written, I suppose the world itself would not contain the things that should be written. A large expression! What! will not the whole world contain a record of the actions of one man? The meaning is, they would be exceedingly numerous, or too great. So sin, and the strength of the Ethiopian army are said to be infinite, Job xxii. 5, Nah. iii. 9; that is, very great; for the world and all it contains is finite, Isa. xl. 17. These considerations show how such words are to be understood, and it may satisfy us herein.

Is it not a very strange thing that they themselves should confess that the English word hell is in the Hebrew sheel, and in the Greek hades and gehenna, and that they are to be understood as aforesaid, and still should translate these same words by the English word hell, and then, expound hell as a terrible and dreadful place of torment, never to end? O horrible abuse and blasphemy against God and his word! and even all men are deluded and deceived thereby. Verily, verily, they deserve the name they give to others, of denying the word of God.

Section IV. The story of Dives. Luke xi. 19-31.

This affords no proof of any torments in hell, because it is a parable, not a history; on a parable we are not to ground a doctrine. The story of Dives is no more a proof of a punishment after this life, than Judges ix. 8, is a proof that trees did formerly walk and speak; for it is said, the trees went forth and said, &c. The story of Dives is not to be understood according to the letter for the following reasons:

- 1. It saith, there was a rich man in hell, yet all confess the body is in the grave.
- 2. How could Dives see so far, as Abraham's bosom is from hell? Mr. Leigh saith, the great chaos between Abraham and Dives signifies an infinite distance, which overthroweth their seeing, and speaking to each other.
- 3. It saith, he saw Abraham; yet they say, hell is a place of utter darkness; how can anything be seen in a place of utter darkness?

- 4. By what means can Dives know Abraham from another, seeing, as all confess, his body is in the grave until the resurrection?
- 5. How could Dives speak to Abraham, his body being in the grave? Can any speak without the organs of the body?
- 6. How shall Dives hear Abraham at so great a gulf and distance, as heaven is from hell?
- 7. How comes Dives to have such charity in hell to his five brethren, seeing he had none to them when on earth?
- 8. Dives would have Abraham to send to them, which cannot be, because Abraham knoweth us not, Isa. lxiii. 16.
- 9. How shall Abraham send, seeing he hath no communion with us, nor passage to us?
- 10. To what purpose will it be to send? If they will not hear Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded if one rise from the dead, ver. 31. It is therefore a parable, and the scope of it is, as Dr. Fulke saith, that those that will not hear Moses and the Prophets, are not to expect to be called, neither by vision nor apparition, ver. 26, 30. This parable is not done, but represented, saith Mr. Cartwright on Luke xvi. 30. The story of Dives in hell is one of their main pillars of hell-torments, and by that which is said, it is shaken and removed.

Section V. Of Tophet. Isaiah xxx. 63.

This place is no proof of endless hell-torments, the believers in endless torment themselves being judges. They say, hell is deep under ground, and Tophet is a place above ground, as hath been showed. Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that this place shall no more be called Tophet, nor the valley of the son of Hinnom, but the valley of slaughter; for in this place will I cause them to fall by the sword before their enemies, by the hand of those that seck their lives, and their carcasses will I give for meat for the fowls of the heaven; and they shall bury in Tophet, till there be no place to bury in; Jer. xix. 6; vii. 32. They confess Tophet is the valley of the son of Hinnom; Tophet, Hebrew, Toph, Timpanum, that is to say, gehenna. The Greek gehenna signifies a tabret or drum-head, or anything that makes a noise. Tophet is ordained of old, (Hebrew, yesterday,) prepared, fitted for the king, and those with him whom the Lord will there slay for their sins, by their enemies; it is deep and large, fit for great armies to meet and fight in; fire and much wood to consume the carcasses slain there; the breath of the Lord like a stream of brimstone doth kindle it, Isa. xxx. 33 (not a stream of fire and brimstone, but like it;) the destruction being from God was great and terrible, or fire and brimstone shall be sent from heaven to destroy them there, as Ezek. xxxiii. 18. Dan. vii. 10. Gen. xix. 24. Tophet is another of their chief proofs of the torments of hell, and with that which is said, it is shaken and removed.

Section VI. Of Isaiah lxvi. 24. They shall go forth, and look upon the men that have transgressed against me, for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring to all flesh.

This place is not to be understood of any punishment after this life, because it saith their careasses shall lie to be seen, and others shall look upon them. In hell they will confess the carcasses of the wicked are not now, nor hereafter shall be; for a carcass is without life, therefore not capable of suffering. If they say, at the end of the world soul and body shall be united to suffer, how is it then a carcass after the end of the world? How shall they be an abhorring to all flesh? for then there will be no flesh to go forth to look upon them. The late Annotations on the Bible, on Isaiah lxvi. 24, say, the carcasses are the forces of Gog and Magog, which shall be slain near Jerusalem, as Ezek. xxxix. 4, 10, and xxxviii. 18, 23, containeth, and is apparent; for after the slaughter is made of them, they shall lie a long time unburied, and seven months shall the children of Israel be in burying them, that they may cleanse the land, Ezek. xxxix. 11, 12. Also the judgments inflicted upon them show it to be in this life, as pestilence, overflowing rain, great hail-stones, fire and brimstone, Ezek. xxxviii. 22. And the end for which God punished them, shows it to be in this life; which was, that God might be magnified, and sanctified in the eyes of many nations; after the end of the world he cannot be sanctified in the eyes of any, much less many

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nations. The worm hath reference to those that are bred and fed upon dead bodies, as Acts xii. 23, especially such as lie long upon the ground, until they rot and become as carrion. Job xxi. 26. Isaiah xiv. 11. The fire hath reference to the burning of those bodies, not fit to be stirred and removed; but to be consumed by fire in the place where they lay. Isa. ix. 5. Ezek. xxxix. 6, that lie rotting upon the face of the earth, until they crawl all over with worms and maggots. The sight of such is a loathsome spectacle; therefore it is said they shall be an abhorring to all flesh. The Greek renders it a sight or spectacle; it hath relation to Tophet, before mentioned. The Hebrew doctors say the same on this place; they shall go forth out of Jerusalem into the valley of Hinnom, and there they shall see the carcasses of those that rebelled against me. So D. Chimchi, and Ab. Ezr. in loc.

The worm that shall not die, and the fire that shall not be quenched, is in this life, and not, as they say, in hell, Mark ix. 44, 46. Rev. xiv. 10, 11. Ezek. iii. &c. Ezek. xxxviii. 22, concern the destruction of Gog and Magog, as hath been showed.

SECTION VII. Concerning Mat. v. 26. They shall not come out thence till they have paid the utmost farthing.

This place Mr. Leigh doth allege to prove hell-torments, and the Papists allege it to prove their purgatory, and to as much purpose; for ver. 25, 26, is Christ's counsel to avoid differences, and to com-

pose them that fall out between man and man in this life, to prevent suits in law, and imprisonment; so the text shows, and Chrysostom expounds it so .-The word in the Greek is an adversary of the law, Prov. vi. 3; Luke xii. 58, mention is made of the magistrate and gaoler, which are terms and offices properly fitting the business of this life; a like place is Mat. xviii. 34. To understand Mat. v. of an endless hell, doth imply free will, and falling from grace; and that suffering in hell is a satisfaction and payment of the debt, they will confess. In hell there is no gaol delivery, nor any redemption; therefore it suits not to their purpose. It is conceived, that hell is deep within the earth; reason concludes it must be dark; the grave is called the land of darkness, Job x. 21, 22. The cruelty of the enemy is called thick darkness, Joel ii. 2. The Greek poets say it is dark; they compare the darkness thereof to a certain territory that lies between the Baiæ and Cuma, where the Cimmeria inhabit, so environed with hills, that the sun never came to it; whereupon the proverb comes, darker than the darkness of Cimmeria; but the chief cause is, because they are in darkness without the light of the word; for darkness is in this life. We cannot order our speech by reason of darkness, Job xxxvii. 19. Where no light is, there is utter darkness; When the eye is evil, the whole body is full of darkness, Mat. vi. 23. The dark places of the earth, full of cruelty, Psalm lxxiv. 20. Ignorant men are in the dark, and full of works of darkness, Rom. xiii. 12, that would have others tormented with cruel tortures and death, be-

cause not of their opinion on religion. All unconverted men are in darkness; they are of the night. 1 Thes. v. 5. Christ is the light, and saints are the children of the light: What communion hath light with darkness? 2 Cor. vi. 14. Darkness covered the earth, till Christ the light came, to give light to them that sat in darkness, Isa. lx. 2. Luke i. 79. Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, Col. i. 13. Who hath called us out of darkness into his marvellous light, 1 Pet. ii. 9. The people that sat in darkness saw a great light, and to them that sat in the region and shadow of death, light is sprung up, Mat. iv. 16. Ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord, Eph. v. 8. The chains of darkness are not material chains, but so called, because they are fast in darkness, and cannot get out. The law worketh wrath; when that cometh into a dark and ignorant soul, it causeth weeping and gnashing of teeth, Luke xiii. 28, being sad and comfortless.

Section VIII. Of burning the Tares. Mat. xiii. 30.

This is to be done at the end of the world, ver. 39. The tares are the wicked, the harvest is the end of the world; by which it appears, the wicked with the earth shall be consumed by fire, ver. 40, 42. 2 Pet. iii. 7. Are any so weak, as to imagine the earth will always burn, and never be consumed? 1 have seen a man burned to ashes in an hour in our coal fire: they say our fire is but painted fire to that in hell; if so, then it will of necessity follow, that so much as that fire is hotter than our fire, so much

the sooner shall the body be burned and consumed in that more fierce and terrible fire.

Section IX. The Wrath to come. 1 Thes. i. 10. Mat. iii. 7.

The late Annotations on the Bible say, they were to fill up a full measure of their own and their fathers' sins, because God intended to sweep them away by the hand of the Romans, to cut them off by a temporal death, which was the wrath to come, to fill up their sins; for the wrath is (not shall) come upon them to the uttermost, 1 Thes. ii. 16. We are by nature the children of wrath, that is, liable to wrath, inward and outward: Thy wrath lieth hard upon me, Psalm lxxxviii. 7. The wrath of God is the hiding of his face, Isa. liv. 8. Outward wrath is temporal destruction; he cast upon them the fierceness of his wrath, Psalm lxxviii. 49. Destroyed them, Deut. vii. 10. Lev. x. 6. Josh. ix. 20; xxii. 22. Ezek. xxv. 7. 2 Chron. xix. 13. Psalm xc. 6, 7.

SECTION X. Of the word, Cursed.

It is to be barren; so the earth and fig-tree were cursed, Mat. xxi. 20. It is to be a servant of servants, Gen. ix. 25. Josh. ix. 23. It is to want prosperity, Deut. xxxviii. 16—19. It also signifiest to die a violent and disgraceful death, 2 Kings ii. 24. Deut. xxi. 23; to be a fugitive, a wanderer, Psalm lix. 12—15; to eat in sorrow, Gen. iii. 17; and to endure pain and hardship.

SECTION XI. Of Eternal Damnation.

The word damned, Mark xvi. 16, Rom. xiv. 23, in Greek is judged; damnation is judgment; eternal damnation is eternal judgment. A judgment is a sentence; the sentence is to a second death, called eternal, because it is not to be reversed.

SECTION XII. Of the word, Reprobate.

This word in the Greek signifieth one of no judgment: a reprobate mind is a mind void of judgment; see Rom. i. 28. 2 Tim. iii. 8. Titus i. 16. See the notes in the margin.

SECTION XIII. Of the word, Fire.

Fire is put for fiery trials, 1 Pet. iv. 12. Inward troubles,—fire in my bones, Lam. i. 13; ii. 4. The tongue is a fire, James iii. 6. His word is a fire, Jer. xxiii. 29. God's spirit is fire Baptized with fire, Mat. iii. 11. God is a consuming fire, Heb. xii. 29.

Bellarmine and Bullinger, and others, say the fire of hell is material fire, kindled with wood, and allege in support of this opinion Isa. xxx. 33; lxvi. 24. The fire of hell is true and substantial fire, kept under the earth, to punish withal, saith Tertullian.

But the fire of hell cannot be corporeal fire, for the following reasons:

1. Our fire is corporeal; they say our fire is but painted fire, a shadow to that; therefore that is not corporeal fire.

- 2. Corporeal elementary fire is light, and enlightens the place where it is; in hell they say is utter darkness. If so, the fire of hell is not corporeal fire.
- 3. Corporeal fire consumes speedily all combustible matter cast into it: they say the fire of hell ever burneth, and never consumeth that which is cast into it; therefore it is not corporeal fire.
- 4. They say the fire of hell is invisible; then it is not corporeal; for that which is corporeal may be seen.
- 5. Corporeal fire may be quenched: the fire of hell, they say, is unquenchable; therefore it is not corporeal fire.
- 6. Corporeal fire goeth out without wood: theirs doth not; therefore it is not corporeal fire.
- 7. They say the fire of hell is eternal; if so, it is not corporeal: corporeal fire is seen, and things seen are not eternal.
- 8. They say the absence of God is the greatest torment in hell: corporeal fire is a greater torment to the body than the absence of God.

Lastly, Corporeal fire cannot work upon a spirit; the devils are spirits, and therefore cannot be tormented with corporeal fire, saith Willet, Synop. p. 1023. To say God is able to make corporeal fire work upon a spirit, and able to make men to live without food or refreshment to eternity, and to make fire burn without wood, is no proof that he will do so; and it is as silly a kind of reasoning, as to say God is able to do all things—with God all things are possible, therefore he will do all things. Men should not build their vain conceits upon God's power, without his word.

Others say, the fire of hell is not corporeal, but spiritual fire. But this cannot be true; for there is no spiritual fire: if it ceaseth to be natural fire, it ceaseth to be true fire. It cannot be spiritual, because they say it is natural; it cannot be natural, because they say it is spiritual; it cannot be either of them, because they say it is partly corporeal and partly spiritual, the one to burn the body, and the other to burn the soul. Hell-flames are material, yet not all material, saith Willet, Synop. p. 1010. If so, there are two fires in hell. Bernard saith, fire shall burn thy flesh, and a worm thy spirit, conscience accusing. Isidore saith, their minds burn with sorrow, and their bodies with the flames.

Others again say, hell-fire is neither material nor spiritual, nor mixed, but metaphorical, figurative: so Austin, and some of the modern preachers say. Calvin thinks that there is no true fire in hell; for, saith he, the wood and worm are to be taken metaphorically: but saith another, that the fire is to be so taken, I utterly deny.

CHAPTER II.

Ten Opinions of the Learned of the Place of Hell.

- 1. Edward Leigh, Hugo, and others, say, hell is a bottomless pit; but there is no place without a bottom. [The expression is a figure.]
- 2. It is generally agreed, that hell is in the lower parts of the earth; but where those lower parts are, Mr. Perkins on the creed saith, no man is able to define. The lower parts of the earth is a great abasement, saith Dr. Fulke on Phil. ii. 7; the lowest degree of Christ's humiliation, Eph. iv. 9. One part of the earth is not put in opposition to another part thereof, but to heaven, Psalm ciii. 11. David saith, thou hast fashioned me in the lowest parts of the earth, Psalm cxxxix. 15. Was David born in hell?*
- 3. Bishop Bilson, Mr. Wheatly, and others, say, hell is below; but how many miles it is to hell they do not say, nor can they tell.
- 4. Bellarmine, Lyra, and others, say, hell is in the earth, near the centre thereof; if so, ye may know how far it is to hell, the earth being round, the circumference thereof being twenty one thousand and six hundred miles; the whole consisting of 360 degrees at 60 miles a degree: the diameter of the terrestrial globe is six thousand seven hundred and eighty-two miles and one eleventh; so that to the centre or middle point is three thousand three hundred and ninety-one miles and a fraction; being the distance of the centre of hell from the surface of the earth. But in the day of judgment, when the earth shall be consumed with fire, as 2 Pet. iii. 7, where

shall hell be? It surely cannot be in the centre of the earth, when there is no earth.

- 5. Mr. Leigh and others say, hell is a lake; the lake is a sea, as appears Luke v. 1, 2, where the swine were choked, Luke viii. 33, whose common depth is not half a mile. Men seek hell in the bottom of the sea, because they know not where to find it. Hell cannot be the lake, because hell was cast into the lake, Rev. xx. 14.
- 6. Others say, hell is in the air, the Devil is the Prince that ruleth in the air, Eph. ii. 2. The air, then, is the Devil's hell, saith Willet, Synop. p. 1018. If so, then all we that are alive are in hell; we do not find it a place of so great torment, for almost all men like it well, for they desire to dwell there.
- 7. Others say, hell is above, near the third heavens, within the view of the glorious saints, and allege for it Isa. lxvi. 24, Rev. xiv. 10. If so, it is very far to hell. Astronomers say, that there are three heavens above the firmament: where the fixed stars are is 116,000,000 of miles above the earth; which is so high, that if a stone or weight should fall from thence, and continue falling an hundred and fifty miles an hour, it would be eighty-eight years, two weeks, four days, five hours, and twenty minutes in falling down to the earth.
- 8. Some say, the absence of God's face is hell; but that is not called hell, but wrath, Isa. liv. 8. This was Cain's punishment; From thy face shall I be hid; my punishment is greater than I can bear, Gen. iv. 13, 14. The hiding of God's face causeth sadness, and the breaking of the bones of comfort, Psalm li. 8. Behold his eyelids try the children of

men, Psalm xi. 4. If shut, they are troubled; if open, they are comforted.

- 9. Some say, hell is in this life, and is a guilty. accusing conscience. Dr. Willet saith, a guilty troubled conscience is a hell and prison of the soul. What may rather be called hell, than anguish of the soul? The judge's tribunal is in the soul; God sitteth there as Judge; the conscience is the accuser. fear is the tormentor. Guilt in the soul wounds the spirit; a wounded spirit who can bear? Prov. xviii. 14. The spirits in prison, 1 Pet. iii. 19. This is the wrath of God, that abideth upon him who believeth not in the Son, John iii. 36. Heaven is God's face and presence, and our greatest joy in this life, Exod. xxxiii. 15, 16, and so will be in the next, Psalm xvi. 11. Thou wilt fill me with the joy of thy. face: in thy presence is fulness of joy, Acts ii. 28. Pleasures or pleasantness, that is, pleasant joys at thy right hand; in the full enjoyment of thee are sweet delights eternal. Some say hell is a local place: Augustine saith, it is not a place. Dr. Willet saith, the place of hell maketh not the torments. It is a question, saith he, whether the place make hell, or the absence of the presence of God. Synop. p. 1056.
 - 10. Another saith, hell is on the other side of the blue cloud that appeareth to us in the air. Others say, where the place of hell is they cannot tell, whether it be in the earth, or in the water, or in the air. It is not revealed, saith Greenwood; they that have taken pains to find it out, are as far from it as ever. Some of the ministers in France affirm, that Father Cotton, the Jesuit, did inquire of the Devil

for a plain place of Scripture to prove purgatory; so they are at as great a loss to prove hell by a plain place of Scripture truly translated, their hell of torments never to end. Also the learned do not agree upon what Scripture to ground their doctrine of hell torments; for that place which one of them alleges to prove it, another of themselves deny it. That it is so to be understood, Mr. Ainsworth on Psalm xvi. 10, saith, that place through custom is taken for the place of the damned, but is not so to be understood, the word being sheol. Marlorate on Apoc. p. 282, saith, the fire of gehenna is the place of the damned; others of them deny it. Mr. Leigh saith, the story of Dives proves it; Dr. Fulke and others deny it.

See ye not the great doubting and uncertainty they are at among themselves? They grope in the dark, without light, Job xii. 25; by their reeling, staggering, and stumbling, they are so drunk, that they can find no ground to stand upon; they understand not whereof they affirm, yet each is tenacious of his own opinion. It is very strange, that in a thing so signal, of which they say they see it in the word of God, they can in no way agree concerning it. O, ye learned in the seven liberal sciences, tell us how to reconcile these things in point of truth, or tell us, inasmuch as ye speak contrarieties, as yea and nay, which of you we are to believe. Have we not all cause to say herein, Where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world? 1 Cor. i. 20. He frustrateth the tokens of liars, and maketh diviners mad, and turneth wise men backwards, and maketh their knowledge foolishness, Isa. xliv. 25.

CHAPTER III.

Mr. Leigh's proofs of Endless Hell-torments examined.

Edward Leigh, Esq. master of Magdalen Hall, in Oxford, presents his reasons to prove hell-torments, or punishment after this life, for some to endure, never to end; let them be considered.

1. Mr. Leigh saith, the conscience that men have a fear of some punishment after this life, proves it.

Answer. If they have, that doth not prove it; because the conscience of men are as they are instructed, according to the proverb, such doctor, such scholar. Hence it is that the conscience of a Papist tells him it is not lawful to eat flesh in Lent, nor on Friday. And whose killeth you, will think he doth God service, John xxi. 2, that is his conscience. The consciences of some men are almost, if not altogether, for some evil; therefore the doctrine cannot be thus proved.

2. Mr. Leigh saith, the heathen held there was a hell, a being and place for wicked men after this life.

Ans. Why did ye not say and prove that they held such persons shall be in torments, never to end? The heathen do not believe that there is to be such a punishment after this life; for they deny the resurrection of the body, therefore they burn the body, and save the ashes in an urn for a memorial. They believe, as Pythagoras the philosopher taught, that the soul goeth from one body into another man or beast; so that some of the philosophers grew so

tender, that they would not kill any beast or fowl; for they said, it may be my brother or my sister. These heathen Greek poets were long before the coming of Christ; in their treble division of the world, they feign three gods, Jupiter, the god of heaven, Neptune, the god of the sea, and Pluto, the god of the earth, in which they say he keeps his court and palace; (no word of torment-that would make it a poor court and palace;) so Homer and Noninus, Greek poets. Homer wrote of the destruction of Troy, which was near a thousand years before the birth of Christ. Homer is one of the most ancient records extant. It seems in his time there was no mention of a hell of torments never to end. The aforesaid poets call Pluto Summanus, as being chief of the manes, or spirits below. To pacify these ill spirits, a feast was kept in February, with wax-candles burning to Pluto, called Candlemas day; so Mr. Jess in his almanac. The Cretians are always liars, Titus i. 12, the greatest liars in the world, that will fancy, feign, and say anything. Is it a thing possible, that wax-candles above the earth, should give light thousands of miles into the earth, to pacify those ill spirits there? It seems they are not in any great torment, if a little light will pacify them.

The poets say, hell is twice as deep as heaven is high. Astronomers say, Jupiter, the second planet, is seventy-two millions of miles above the earth. If hell be twice as deep, it is a hundred and forty-four millions of miles to hell, which is fabulous. So are Cerberus' three heads, and Charon's boat to row men to Pluto. So the phantasy of purgatory did

first spring from the heathen poets long before the coming of Christ, as appears by Plato and Virgil, who have described at large the whole commonwealth, and all the orders and degrees of purgatory. These, with their Elysian fields, and many other of their barbarisms, by long use became venerable.

Your opinion is fitter for heathens than for Christians; if the heathen do hold as you do, are we to believe in religion as the heathen? I care not what they or any others say, unless they can read it me in the word of God. We cry, to the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them. Isa. viii. 20.

3. Mr. Leigh saith, clear reason proves it. God is just; many abominable sinners enjoy more prosperity in this life, than those that live far more innocently; and they must be punished hereafter, according to the multitude and heinousness of their sins, Psalm lxxiii. 17.

Ans. I see you are more bold to affirm, than able to prove.

Doth reason deny the punishment to be just, except it never end? The Scriptures which you allege, say that punishment shall have an end; and you say it shall never have an end; and that is your clear reason. To say some are worse than others, therefore they are to suffer a punishment never to end, so you exclude Mary Magdalen and the poor Prodigal; but it is your bare affirmation without proof. Your reason is, that God should show mercy to little sinners, but none to the great sinners; they must not be saved; but this your clear reason is clear against

the will and wisdom of God, who is pleased to save the worst of sinners, as appears, Luke vii. 47; 1 Tim. i. 15; Acts ix. 13-15. If some enjoy more prosperity than others, must they therefore suffer a punishment never to end? Outward prosperity is a great blessing; but you make it a great curse. If what you say were true, there is no cause in the day of prosperity to rejoice, Eccl. vii. 14, nor to say, O Lord, I beseech thee send me now prosperity, Psalm cxviii. 25. In saying greater sinners, you judge according to outward appearances both for sin and punishment, and may be mistaken in both, what they are in the inner man, for sin and punishment; you know not the heart of unbelief and rebellion of spirit in others, nor how God punisheth them in their spirits. Sin is punished in this life.

4. Mr. Leigh saith, it is just that those should suffer forever, who if they had lived would have sinned forever. Cast them out of my sight, Jer. xv. 1.

Ans. If it be just that we should suffer forever, it is just that our surety should suffer forever. Do you consider that the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope? Rom. viii. 20.

Cast them out of my sight, is no proof that they shall suffer forever, but rather that they shall be utterly destroyed; for if they have any being, whereever they be, they cannot be out of the sight of God; your justice is not God's: his is a death; your's is not a death, but another thing.

5. Mr. Leigh saith, God's intentions from everlasting were to glorify his justice as well as his mercy, Rom. ix. 21, 23, fitted to destruction.

Ans. Know you anything of God's intention that is not revealed in his word? Deut. xxix. 29. Or doth the word say that God doth not glorify his justice, unless he inflict so great a punishment without end? You give neither scripture nor reason to prove what you say is just. The justice of God was revealed and made known, in causing the earth to swallow up Korah and his company; they were vessels of wrath prepared, fitted to destruction; your opinion denies the word of God, that saith they are fitted to destruction; for you say they are never to be destroyed, die, nor end.

6. Mr. Leigh saith, the covenant under which unregenerate men stand, and by which they are bound over to this wrath, is everlasting.

Ans. There are but two covenants, Gal. iv. 24, the old and the new, Heb. viii. 13, and xii. 24. The old is no more everlasting than the priesthood of it; the breach of the covenant of works is death, therefore not eternal life in misery.

7. Mr. Leigh saith, in that torment they curse and accuse one another.

Ans. When you write again, I pray tell us how you know that in hell they do so; for the word of God saith not so; nor have you been there to hear it, nor have they that told you so. To affirm things in religion, not revealed in the word of God, is to presume above that which is written, and contrary to 1 Cor. x. 11, Rom. xv. 4. Socrates, a heathen

philosopher, was more wise and modest in not affirming things which he knew not; being asked what was done in hell, he said he never went thither, nor communed with any that came from thence; yet you and others affirm with great boldness and confidence things which you know not. Some say, in hell the eye is afflicted with darkness, whereas darkness is no affliction to the eye; also they say, their ears are afflicted with horrible and hideous outcries, their noses with poisonous and stinking smells, (of what, 1 pray?) their tongues with bitterness as of gall, the whole body with intolerable fire. The damned shall prize a drop of water worth ten thousand worlds; cursing shall be their tunes, blasphemies their ditties, lamentations their songs, and shrieking their strains; they shall lie shricking and screaming continually. Ye see how men sat their brains at work to invent lies; for all they say is without warrant from the word of God. One saith, their torment in hell is so great, that they cannot forbear roaring; and you say they curse and accuse one another: so that one of their vain imaginations contradicts another, and all of them the word of God. They will not deny that those in hell are in the greatest trouble; and yet they cannot speak, when in less . trouble; I am so troubled I cannot speak, Psalm lxxvii. 4; therefore they cannot curse and accuse one another, as you affirm.

8. Mr. Leigh saith, divines unanimously concur, &c.

Ans. If they do, it is not binding to us; for we are satisfied they are not infallible. There must be

errors, 1 Cor. xi. 19; they have the greatest share. The priests, Popish and Mahometan priests, Baal's priests, and all other sorts of priests, concur; common consent is sooner believed than naked truth; it is high time to cease from man, for wherein is he to be accounted of? Isa. ii. 22. Truth, and not any number of men, is to be followed. Every one must give an account of himself to God, Rom. xiv. 3, 11, 12. Luther said, he esteemed not the worth of a rush a thousand Augustines and Cyprians against himself; all churches err. Panormitan said, more credit is to be given to one speaking the truth, than to all men in all ages speaking the contrary.

They are likely to concur and agree, if they take the counsel they give, as not to question principles. It seems we must take all upon trust and hearsay, without trial; they all say it, therefore it is true. But the Bereans would and did search the Scriptures to see if the things were so, as the Apostles preached; see 1 John iv. 1. Acts xvii 11.

Let it be certainly made to appear that God hath said anything contrary to anything that I have said, I desire with all my heart to submit to it; without that, I cannot yield the sovereignty of my judgment and conscience to the concurring consent of blind guides, ignorant and erroneous men, though in sheep's clothing, and covered all over with the titles of godly, learned and holy saints, or presbyters, or ministers of Christ. The Papists call their church, holy church, and their priests, holy priests, and their orders, holy orders, and all holy, if you will believe them.

Some say, the Jews report that in Tophet, the valley of the son of Hinnom, there was a great ditch, which could never be filled; that they called this the mouth of hell; and that the Chaldeans, when they slew the Israelites, threw them in there. If this report be true, which hath been brought to prove hell, then it will follow that the mouth of hell is near Jerusalem, and that God doth give to the wicked power to cast his people into hell.

How much weight there is in your reasons to prove a punishment after this life never to end, let who will judge; for my part, I profess I do not see how they serve to your purpose; your nakedness. appears, and your opinion hath neither Scripture nor reason to support it, and therefore it must needs fall, 2 Tim. iii. 9. You have done all you can, and can come to no surer bottom to rest upon, than supposals and imaginations, wresting Scriptures, and consent of others; your glory is, that all are of your mind, though without good ground or reason, as is showed. Also in that you allege reasons to prove hell-torments, it giveth me occasion to believe that in your own judgment the scriptures you allege prove it not; for if you believe the Scriptures prove it, to what purpose serve your reasons? Or do you think that those who doubt the sufficiency of your proof of it by scripture, will be satisfied with your reasons as a full proof of it? If there be any such, they may be to them of some use.

The learned contradict themselves. Mr. Bolton saith, Thou must live in endless woe in fire and brimstone, which thou mightest so often and so

easily escape, which overthrows the doctrine of election. Also they say, the sense of loss in hell is greater than the sense of pain; so they make the sensible want of the presence of God the greatest forment in hell, and that is in this life; I am cast out of thy sight, Psalm xxxix. 22; it followeth by their doctrine, that the greatest torment of hell is in this life.

9. Mr. Leigh saith, in his Body of Divinity, the sense of God's wrath, rage of conscience, guilt, fear, despair, the soul cannot melt with greater torment.

Ans. If this be true, then there is not a worse torment in hell than in this life.

Water is so scarce in hell, that Greenwood saith, the damned prize a drop of water above ten thousand worlds; and yet they affirm those in hell shall continually weep, &c. Therefore their own sayings agree not.

The first author of the opinion of the torments of hell, never to end, was Marcion, the heretic, who held, that Christ was not a man only in semblance, and that there were two beginnings, two Gods, one good, one bad. That there were torments for some in hell, was first invented by him; he determined the reward of the creature, either in torment or refreshment, to be laid up for them in hell. He was the first author thereof, by Tertullian's confession, as saith Dr. Fulke in his Defence, pp. 83, 84. See and behold the original of your opinion of the torments of hell. An evil man out of the evil treasure of his heart, bringeth forth that which is evil, Luke vi. 45.

CHAPTER IV.

The Seven Pillars of Hell shaken and removed.

- 1. The Greek Fathers were the first pillar of hell-torments. This came to pass by reason of the ignorance of the Fathers in the Hebrew tongue; their not understanding the word *sheol* deceived them; so saith Dr. Fulke in his Defence, p. 77.
 - 2. The second pillar of hell-torments were the writers of the Hebrew and Greek copies of the Bible; their defect hath put us to a great loss. The original copy which the Apostles wrote is not only unknown to us, but to the learned. We do not hear of any alive in England who can produce the New Testament which the Apostles wrote. It is not enough that they say we have books in Hebrew and Greek, unless we could certainly know that these copies, as they call them, agree word for word with those which were written by the Prophets and Apostles. Many boast of God's preserving the Hebrew and Greek Bible amidst so many enemies; as God hath been pleased to deliver up Christ his people, so also the Scriptures into the hands of sinners, to be used at their pleasure. It is wonderful to consider, what adding and altering the Scriptures have been subject to; one Pope publishes what he pleases for Scripture, as Pope Urban V.; and within two years Pope Clement, who succeeded him, calls them in and burns them, and puts out what he pleases, and calls it the Holy Scriptures. If you

will believe the testimony of the learned and godly Protestant writers, who have not been esteemed blasphemous nor heretics, as Dr. Fulke, Mr. Beza, Mr. William Perkins, Dr. Ames, and others; Dr. Fulke saith, that some Greek copies are altered, it is not unlike, in his Answer to the Rhemist to the reader, p. 43. And what is more, he saith, corruption hath happened to all copies this day extant, in his Answer to Preface, pp. 11, 15, 16. Whole verses are omitted in some copies; 1 John v. 7, is not in some copies, (the Syriac, which is as ancient as the Apostles, reading not this verse at all,) but is extant in others. There are at least sixteen various Greek copies of the New Testament, Jus. Divinum, p. 66. Dr. Lightfoot, saith, Mr. Beza was a man that always questioned the text; to see so many differing copies would put any one to a stand which to believe. Mr. Perkins saith, it must not seem strange that words in the margin have crept into the text. Dr. Ames saith, helps to government, in 1 Cor. xii. 28, are not in the original; he supposes these words to have been inserted by the Prelates in favor of their government. The preachers who call themselves divines, have assumed and challenged divine authority to frame all copies and translations, and to expound all texts according to their own minds, to maintain their own doctrine and practices, to uphold their own power and standing. Hence it is that the translations of different parties agree not; that party that would have the magistrate punish idolatry, &c. have made a text for it, Job xxxi. 28, to be punished by the judges; but these words are not in

the Hebrew, but are an addition of their own, as appears by the Bible printed in London by the assigns of John Bill, in the year 1640, and the Geneva Bible differs from this, and from the translation printed by the Stationers, London. The English translation hath a variety of differences, not without evident contradiction among divers places that might be instanced; see Dan. vii. 9, 18; in the Geneva translation, ver. 9, is, I beheld till the thrones were set up: and in the King's translation, printed by the Company of Stationers, London, the same verse is, I beheld till the thrones were cast down. And ver. 18, it is, But the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom; and in the Geneva translation the same verse is, And they shall take the kingdom of the saints; both cannot be true, and which of them is an Englishman to believe? Some say, Luther added the word only to the text; being asked why he did it, he said, he did it to make the Apostles say more plainly, Faith only justifieth. Dr. Fulke, Defence English translation, p. 80, saith, we follow in our translation, as near as we can, the Holy Scripture in such sense, if anything be doubtful, as the proper circumstance of the place will lead us unto, that we may attain to the meaning of the Holy Ghost. then, it seems, if the translator think the Holy Ghost meaneth this or that, he may translate it so. Is not this a large liberty? The Jews take no such liberty.

The ministers of Lincoln diocese in the abridgement of their grievances delivered to King James, pp. 11, 13, 14, say, that the English translation of

the Bible is a translation that takes away from the text, and adds to the text, and that sometimes to the changing and obscuring of the Holy Ghost. And Mr. Broughton, the great linguist, in his advertisement of corruption, tells the Bishops, that the public translation of the scriptures in the English is such, as that it perverts the text of the Old Testament in eight hundred forty and eight places, and that it causes millions to reject the Old 'Testament. And Dr. Featly, Doctor of Divinity, in his Dipper Dipt, p. 1, saith, no translation is simply authentical, or the undoubted word of God. In the undoubted word of God there can be no error, but in the translation there are and may be errors. The Bible translated therefore is not the undoubted word of God, but so far only as it agrees with the original, the writings of the Prophets and Apostles. And forasmuch, as our English translation, as he saith, is not the undoubted word of God, what is that preaching worth that is proved by it? The false glosses and interpretations which are put upon the scriptures by men learned in the languages, who have made inconsiderate and hold assertions without proof in not keeping to the true and proper signification of the words thereof, have caused many errors, and great trouble and confusion. They put the word Lucifer for the Day Star, Isa. xiv. 12. They have forsaken the fountain and digged to themselves cisterns, as Jer. ii. 13, and we see the people are willing to give themselves up to a ministry of fables, 2 Pet. i. 16. that makes the scriptures say and unsay, which being interpreted is to make them say just nothing.

The force of education, and the custom the countrymen live in, is such, as ordinarily engageth them to a prejudice and evil opinion against all principles contrary thereunto, though of divine inspiration. Hence the Papists, Turks, and several sorts of Protestants, cry down and censure each others judgment and opinion as abominable error, heresy, and blasphemy.

3. The third pillar that upholds hell-torments are fond Expositors, who interpret sheol for hell-torments; so Dr. Fulke calls them, in his Defence, p. 90. I would know why interpreters understand and translate a hell of torments from the Hebrew and Greek, which is not in them, as themselves confess, as hath been showed. They will take sheol figuratively, and say, by tophet hell is figured, which is a fancy, a fable, and delusion, that is strong in many, who expound scripture without sense or reason; it is as improper to interpret sheol for a place of torment, as to interpret the word house to signify a horse. The scripture is not of private interpretation; a sense arising out of the brain of an interpreter is a private interpretation; and as the scriptures are not of man, but of the Holy Spirit, so the interpretation of them is not to be of man, but of the Holy Spirit. Oracles signify the answer of God, Rom. iii. 2. See John xii. And how readest thou, Luke x. 26. To interpret words figuratively which are to be understood literally, and words literally which are to be understood figuratively, is licentious, and destructive to the faith of the Gospel. We are not to interpret any place figuratively, unless that figurative sense be expressed in a plainer place of Scripture. If a man will have an erroneous persuasion, and whatsoever the scripture saith to the contrary he will have it to be a figurative sense, he will be left in the clouds of his own persuasion; so instead of proving their hell of torments never to end by the Scriptures, Ruffinus and others say, they who will not believe it, shall feel it; which is no proof, but a mere shift, a very lie such as nurses use to still children, by telling them of a great bulbeggar, and that a man will come down the chimney and carry them away; but none except children and fools will be scared with such bulbeggars.

4. The fourth pillar which upholds their hell-torments, is the consent of their preachers; their learned and godly men agree herein; but their weak, and various, and uncertain grounds declare, that they have not studied the point. But when teachers and hearers are ignorant, anything will serve and pass for truth; the simple believe every word. All sorts of priests agree and abuse the people. The Mahometan priests blow a powder into the eyes of them that come to see Mahomet hang, which maketh them so blind, that forever after they are led; and the priests say, that the glory of the sight of Mahomet is so great, that it takes away their sight forever after. About Easter time, for ten days there is great joy about a great fire for their priest Mahomet, and those who cast themselves into the fire, and are burned to death, are counted martyrs. Once a year the tomb of Mahomet is carried abroad upon a cart, and his priests say, that those who put

themselves under the wheel of that cart, and are crushed to death, do die martyrs; and some are so simple as to do so, that thus they may die martyrs. So the Antichristian priests, and all sorts of priests, have greatly deluded and deceived the people, blowing something into their ears, that forever after they are not able to hear and receive the truth. But as Mr. Beza did detest the Papists' limbus and purgatory, so do I their dreams of hell; it being a device of man without scripture, with all their uncertain brain-sick fancies; for the imaginations of men have no end.

- 5. The fifth pillar of hell is their wresting the Scriptures to uphold their hell of torments. This cozens and deceives many, under color of Divine authority, when it is only human, though they are not pleased publicly to say so, because it seems not to their purpose; the Scriptures they allege to prove it have been considered. If any say I wrest Scripture, I appeal to the learned in the languages, for to them concerneth the decision of the signification of words, who (as I have showed) testify with me.
- 6. The sixth pillar of hell is their arguments and reasons which they bring to prove hell-torments, which have been considered.
- 7. The seventh pillar of hell is a strong persuasion that is in men, that the believing of hell-torments is a great means to leave sin, and live a holy life; and the not believing of hell-torments is a means to commit all sin with greediness, and to live as they list; for they say, men live as though there were no hell.

Carnal hearts of men take offence at everything, as the law of works, and doing to be saved; the doctrine of election, God's free grace and salvation only and alone by Christ, without works, Rom. iv. 6. is charged to be one of the greatest doctrines of liberty to sin that ever was, and is by the ignorant made a stumbling-block and rock of offence, and a cause of carelessness in many. Ludowick said, if I be saved, I be saved; if I be damned, I be damned. The Papists say, if good works save us not, to what purpose shall we do them? then we may live as we list; if we be appointed to life, we shall be saved, though we sin never so much; if we sin, we have an advocate, 1 John ii. 1. Not anything can separate us from the love of God, Rom. viii. 38, 39. If we be not appointed to life, we cannot be saved, though we should do never so much good. Ye see how this truth is turned into wantonness; the Apostle exhorts us not to turn the grace of God into wantonness, Rom. vi. 1, 15. The corrupt heart of man is ready to do it. There are many things in Paul's epistles, which the ignorant and unlearned (who know not God in Christ) wrest to their own destruction; will any therefore say, that the doctrine of election and salvation by Christ alone is not a doctrine fit to be taught, nor come abroad? If so, the Scriptures must not come abroad.

Moreover, the doctrine of the Protestant ministers is charged, not only to be a doctrine of liberty to sin, but a blasphemous doctrine; to teach that the fall and sin of man was decreed, they say is to make God the author of evil. The Protestant writ-

ers say, that the sin of man was determined of God. Dr. Willet, Synop. p. 760. He also saith, the Protestants hold that the fall of Adam was both foreseen of God, and decreed to be, not permitted only. They allege Gen. xlv. 5, 8; 2 Sam. xxiv. 1; Acts ii. 23; iv. 27, 28: Should walk after their ungodly lusts, Jude 18. For the creation was subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him that hath subjected the same in hope, Rom. viii. 20. Dr. W. Whitaker against Campion the Jesuit, saith, 'Now answer me, Campion, do you think that which any one doth, how wicked soever, is done whether God will or not? If you hold that any thing is done against God's will, what Providence or omnipotency do you leave him? For he that permitteth that to be done, which he would by no means have to be done, it is certain, that he is not endued with so great power as that he can forbid that which he would not have done; wherefore, you must needs confess, that all things which are done, are done by the will of God:' and p. 196, 'all confess, God could have hindered sin to be, if he had so pleased; but he would not hinder it, therefore it was his will it should be. The will of God, and not sin, is the cause of God's decree, and the being of all things; the will and pleasure of God is the womb from whence springeth every work of the creature, Rom. iv. 11.' God must first will his creature to stand or fall, before he can do either, Acts xxi, 14. Phil. ii. 13. The evil actions of men are not only foreseen of God, but decreed, saith Mr. Par, in his Grounds of Divinity. We are not saved from sin, except we have committed sin, therefore

salvation from sin is not without committing sin, saith Fulke, p. 121. God willed and decreed his glory and man's happiness, therefore he willed and decreed the means to it. The end and moving cause of his willing sin to be, is for his glory, for which cause it was necessary for sin to be. If sin had not been, how should the goodness of God, in giving man eternal life in glory, have appeared, his love in sending Christ to die? If there had not been sin, there had been no need of Christ's coming, nor of his death and righteousness. . Most of the great works of God in this world, and that to come, have dependence or reference to sin. How'should we have lived by faith, exercised the fruits of the spirit, or have any happiness or glory in the world to come if there had been no sin? He who willeth the end, willeth those things which are necessarily referred to that end; taking away sin was decreed before the world, therefore the being of sin was decreed .-Christ's death was determined before the world, for the end of Christ was to restore Adam's fall; if Adam had not fallen, there had been no need of a Christ to restore him. The saints were chosen to life before the world: choice hath reference to the fall, therefore the fall was decreed.

If the will of man had been the first and chief cause of the being of sin, then the will of man should be the cause of God's will, and so man shall be the original cause of the salvation of himself, and so much the cause of it, that without his will it could not have been; and so the determination of God what to do, shall not be from himself, but from

the will of man, which is contrary to Eph. i. 11. If man should will sin before God willed it, then shall the will of God depend and wait upon the will of man:-as if God should say, if man will sin, then will I will his salvation: and if God should first will to send Christ to save man, and leave it to man's will and power whether he shall fall or not, then it was possible for man to stand, and so to frustrate the decree of God; for if man had not sinned, God's decree of sending Christ had been void and of none effect. Mr. Perkins saith, God decreed the fall of Adam: if the fall was decreed, and if man had power to stand, then he had power to frustrate God's decree, which no wise man will affirm. And then that saying, that Adam had power to keep the law is without truth; if he had, consider Ezek. xviii. 2-4. God willeth all things well, he sinneth not, nor can he sin, because he is under no law. God commands men to keep the law, which no man can do; he commands men to think no vain thoughts, and not to sin. We cannot avoid some vain thoughts, and in many things we sin all. Christ saith, No man can come to me except the Father draw him, John vi. 37, 44. If they be drawn, they come: draw us, and we will run after thee, Cant. i. 4. If I put sufficient strength to move the earth, motion must needs follow; when men sin, they are beguiled, enticed, deceived, drawn away; they like men have transgressed, Hos. vi. 7.

We are to distinguish between that which follows a doctrine in its own nature, and that which follows by accident, or rather, that a corrupt heart draws from it, and is not from the nature and working of the doctrine itself. It is strange to consider, men are so set upon the Popish principle to be saved for their works, that they count all profaneness which crosses their way. Some have burned the Bible, and Dr. Crispe's book of Salvation by Christ alone; the treatise of Mr. Archer, late of All-hallowes, London, entitled Comfort to Believers against their Sins and Sorrow, was, burned by the hangman. The same spirit is alive to burn this also; I expect nothing better from such as are not taught of God; they condemn those things which they know not, and think they do God service when they persecute the truth and the professors of it.

That the fear of the torments of hell is no such preserver against sin, is evident; for those who sin with the greatest greediness, the greatest sinners, they do believe there are hell-torments; for though they be never so wicked, they hope it doth not belong to them, or they hope to repent and lead new lives before they die; though they sin for the present, they hope to make God amends for all: as an Arminian, being drunk, said, that he was now in a state of damnation; but, he said, he would be in a state of grace to-morrow; so he comforted himself. The lives of many heathens, who have denied the resurrection of the body, and therefore did not hold a hell of torments after, have been better than many who seek to escape hell, and gain heaven by their own works. If fear of hell were a preserver against sin, then those who are delivered from the fear of hell, who believe they shall be saved, would sin more than others; but we find the contrary, that none are more free from sin than these.

Experience teaches, that although the fear of hell at first startles and frights men, yet it is soon over, and is no preserver against sin. I knew one set before him the torments of hell, to keep him from sin; and finding that would not do, he added vows and curses to keep him from sin. I knew another, who wished the devil to take him, soul and body, if he did not do the thing he spake of; and yet I knew he did it not. Another wished he might sink into hell immediately, if he did the thing he spake of; yet he did do it before he went from the place. The reason is, because the lusts of men are stronger than the fear of hell, resolutions, and curses.

Because men are not given up to the lusts of their own hearts, it may be that they find that liberty to sin is the greatest misery and bondage in the world: it hath all misery in it, whether they sin with more or less fear; and could they enjoy all the pleasures of sin for a season, they will find they have made a bad bargain of it. What fruit had ye of those things whereof ye are now ashamed? Rom. vi. 21. If I sin, thou markest me, Job x. 14. Be sure your sin will find you out, Numb. xxxii. 23. In keeping thy commands there is great reward, Psalm xix. 11; in breaking them a great punishment, loss of inward peace and comfort, a guilty accusing conscience, disgrace, affliction, losses, crosses, and death; The bloody and deceitful man shall not live out half his days, Psalm lv. 23. I will curse your blessings, Malachi ii. 1. See Deut. xxviii .- the whole chapter.

Men sin because they are led captive by the devil at his will, 2 Tim. ii. 26; iii. 6. Also men sin because they are under the law; so long as a man is under the law, sin will have dominion over him, Rom. vi. 14. Sin shall not have dominion over them that are under grace.

Men sin because they have not received power from on high against sin; until they receive that power, they cannot but sin; thou hast led captivity captive, and given gifts for men, Psalm lxviii. 18. Until Christ, by his spirit, sets the soul at liberty, it is in bondage, and enthralled to base lusts; but if the Son make you free, ye shall be free indeed, John viii. 36, but not till then; see Eccl. viii. 11. The punishment of the magistrates keeps men from abusing others, more than the fear of hell; men would be exceedingly dissolute if under no discipline of superiors.

Men go to sin for comfort, sweetness, and satisfaction; but when satisfied, they go not to sin. To act for life is no love to God, nor self-denial, nor any spiritualness, nor will it do them good; it is not accepted of God, nor will it continue; those who are thus restrained do oftentimes exceed all others in sin. The spiritual soul, which lives in the enjoyment of the love of God, needs no such weights to procure its motion; he acts from a new life and principle to the glory of God, and the good of others. And in this work and labor of love is more sweetness than is in all the pleasures of sin, which are but for a season.

It is a great ignorance for any to think, that it is in the power of any man to sin as much as he will. If this be proved, all objections are answered; and this the scripture proves, that without the will of God men cannot do anything, not so much as go to a city, unless God will, James iv. 13, 15. God worketh, governeth, and disposeth all things, after the counsel of his own will, Eph. i. 11. Acts xviii. 21. Rom. ix. 18. Who hath resisted his will? God's will is done, Luke xi. 2. Heb. ii. 4. Eph. i. 5. Acts xiii. 22. The measure of men's sins is set; men cannot do more nor less than their measure; they fill up their measure always, 1 Thess. ii. 16. It was determined how many times Peter should deny Christ, Luke xxii. 31, 34, compared with ver. 61. God saith, if you will believe him, the wicked shall do wickedly, Dan. xii. 10. They cannot cease from sin, 2 Pet. ii. 14. That which is determined shall be done, Dan. xi. 26. He that restraineth the clouds, that they drop not down rain, he made a decree for the rain, Job xxxiii. 26, and the earth that it bring not forth grass, Deut. xxix. 23. He that stilleth the winds and the tempest, Psalm cvii. 29, 30, that saith to the waves of the sea, hitherto shalt thou come, but no further, and here shall thy proud waves be staid, Job xxxviii. 11, he restraineth men from doing their wills when he pleases; they would go further, but he restraineth them, Job xviii., that they cannot do the things they had appointed to do, Gen. xx. 6; xxxi. 24; xxxv. 5. Rev. xx. 3, 12. O Lord, I know the way of man is not in himself; it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps, Jer. x. 23. Prov. iv. 12. The preparation of the heart,

and the answer of the tongue is from the Lord, Prov. xvi. 1. A man's heart deviseth his way, but the Lord directeth his steps, Prov. xv. 9. The heart of the king is in the hand of the Lord: as the rivers of waters, he turneth it withersoever he will, Prov. xxi. 1. Man's days are determined, Job vii. 1; xiv. 5, 14. And the bounds of his habitation, Acts xvii. 24; so are his works and sins. Surely the wrath of man shall praise thee, and the remainder of wrath shalt thow restrain, Psalm lxxvi. 10.

Setting aside the opinions and conjectures of men's devised fables, I am fully satisfied with the testimony of the word of God, (besides their own testimony, which is sufficient against themselves,) with which I see through the thick darkness of the inventions and traditions of men.

CHAPTER V.

Several Considerations, showing that there is not to be a Punishment after this life, that shall never end.

1. We do not find the place of hell mentioned in any of the six days work of God; if it be a place, it is created a place, and so a part of the creation of God.

The whale is mentioned in scripture; if there be a place of hell, it is a greater thing, and inasmuch as it is not found in the creation of God, it may well be considered as the creation of man, a vain imagination of man; for their reasons prove not its actual existence, nor do they agree among themselves of the proof of it, neither where it is, nor what it is.

- 2. Solomon was wiser than all men, 1 Kings iv. 31, yet he spake not any thing of the torments of hell, nor of any punishment never to end. He spake from the cedar to the hyssop; he spake also of beasts and fowls, of creeping things, and of fishes, ver. 33. If he had known of any hell and torments there, he would have spoken of that also.
- 3. The Jews, unto whom were committed the oracles of God, Rom. iii. 2, to give unto us, have delivered no such thing to us, nor do they believe any such thing: for the Hebrew doctors understand the seventh day of seven thousand years, which is in the world to come, he blessed, because in the seven thousand years all souls shall be bound up in the

bundle of life, in the world to come; Ainsworth, on Gen. ii. Aday with the Lord is as a thousand years, 2 Pet. iii. 8. The Jews say, as the world was made in six days, so it should continue six thousand years, and no more; and that the seventh day is the seven thousand years in the world to come, in which all souls shall be blessed. Also they say, a good man and a bad man died; afterwards, one in a vision saw the good man walking in gardens, among pleasant fountains of water; but the bad man near a river, and his tongue reaching after water, but could not reach it; Talmud Jerus. in Chag. fol. 77, col. 4. Inasmuch as these things are received among them for truth, though they be but Jewish fables, yet by them we see evidently that they do not believe the opinion of a torment after this life never to end. The Jews and Hebrew doctors were great searches of every tittle of scriptures; and if this doctrine had been there to be seen, they or their Prophets should have seen it.

4. The saints recorded in scripture did not believe that there was to be a punishment for any to endure, never to end. This is evident, because when they made a confession of sin, and the punishment due to them for the same, they do not confess to have deserved any such punishment. They confess, to us belongs confusion of face, Dan. ix. 8, 11. It is of the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed, Lam. iii. 22. Thou hast delivered me from death, Psalm cxvi. 8.

Nor do we find that they ever gave thanks for any such deliverance. If they had known of any such

deliverance, it must have appeared to be the greatest deliverance, which any could enjoy, requiring the greatest acknowledgment and thankfulness. Nor doth it appear that they did ever pray for, or express any desire of such deliverance. As they express neither, it is a ground to judge that they knew of no such punishment. If there had been any such deliverance, they should have known it, it should not have been hidden from them; they admired the deliverance effected in saving their lives from death, speaking of it as the greatest deliverance, Ezek. vi. 3—14. The kindness of the Lord not to die, 1 Sam. xx. 14.

Do you suppose, if Moses and Paul had believed there was so great and exceeding torment without end, that they would have desired that their names might be blotted out of the book of life, Exod. xxxii. 33, and to be separated from Christ, Rom. ix. 3, to endure such torment without end? I do not believe that they were willing so to suffer.

- 5. Christ, when on earth, spake of the destruction of Jerusalem, which was to come, and wept because they were to suffer that, Luke xix. 42, 44. He would much more have spoken of a punishment never to end, and wept for them that should suffer that, if there had been such punishment for any to endure.
- 6. When God doth warn any from sin, from the consideration of punishment, there is no mention of any punishments except those to be endured in this life. See 1 Cor. x. 1—11. They shall die of grievous deaths, Jer. xvi. 4. 2 Chron. xix. 10. Death

threatened, Ezek. iii. 18, 19, xxxiii. 3—16. Titus iii. 10, 11. Confounded be all they that serve graven images, Psalm xcvii. 7. A punishment in this life, Jer. ix. 19. Death for idolatry, Jer. xliv. 7. The punishment of idolatry set for an example, 2 Pet. ii. 6. Be instructed, lest my soul depart from thee, and I make thee desolate, because of thy sins, Micah vi. 13. See Jer. ix. 11. Abomination that makes desolate, Dan. xi. 31. He turned the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah into ashes, condemned them with an overthrow, making them an example, 2 Pet. ii. 5—7. He that threatened death, would have threatened a punishment never to end, if there had been such a punishment to be inflicted upon any.

7. God's punishment of sin is not of so large an extent as his mercy; for his punishing of sin is but to the third and fourth generation, Deut. v. 9. Thy mercy is great above the heavens, and thy truth unto the skies, Psalm eviii. 4. By truth in this place understand the punishment of sin, because the word mercy is put in opposition, which lieth in forgiving sin. The heavens are far above the skies; astronomers say the clouds and skies are not more than fifty miles above the earth, but the heavens are more than a hundred and sixteen millions of miles above the skies; but the mercy-seat above, Exod. xxv. 21. His name is his glory; his glory above the heavens, Psalm viii. 1. Why is it said he punisheth the iniquity of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation, and not to the tenth and twentieth, but to declare that his justice is satisfied therewith, and requireth not a further punishment?

God doth punish sin in the sinner, and upon his children, to the third and fourth generation, because there is not to be a punishment after this life, never to end.

- 8. Death and the fear of it is called the terror of God, Gen. xxxv. 5. The King of Terrors, Job xviii. 11. 14. Therefore death is the greatest punishment, and most terrible; but if there were to be a punishment never to end, not death, but that punishment would be the king of terrors; for death is not terrible at all in comparison of that.

9. Sin is punished in this life to the full;if you will believe God, he saith, according to their works and doings I punished them, Ezek, xxxvi. 18. Hosea xii. 2; xiii. 11. Jeremiah 1. 25; xxvi. 18; ix. 9, 11. Job xx. 28. Every transgression received a just recompense, Heb. ii. 2. Would ye have sin to be fully punished in this life, and afterwards in the world to come, with a punishment never to end? That sin is punished in this life, see Isa. 1xv. 3-16. Deut. x. 17, 18. Micah vi. 10. Hag. i. 6. Lam. iv. 6. I will punish the world for their iniquity, they shall fall by the sword, Isa. xiii. 11-22. Outward calamity and death, the punishment of sin, Lam. iii. 39. 1 Pet. ii. 14 .-Recompense their sin to the full, Jer. xvi. 18. For the violence of the sin of man, when all flesh had corrupted his way, God saith, I will destroy them with the earth; a flood of water to destroy all flesh, Gen. vi. 11, 12, 17. 'To punish sin twice, is as disagreeable to justice, as to receive the payment of one debt twice.

10. There is not a worse thing than the dregs of God's fury, anger, and wrath; and these are poured out in this life. God doth not only begin to punish sin in this life, but he also finishes it in this life; for it is said, he poured out all his fierce anger, he cast upon them the fierceness of his anger, wrath and indignation, Psalm lxxvii. 49, (Death.) So it was poured out, Isa. xxiv. 1-12. Ezek xix. 12. Accomplished my fury, Ezek. v. 13. It consumed them, Ezek. xliii. 8. For yet a very little while, and mine anger and indignation shall cease in their destruction, Jer. x. Wrath passed, Job xiv. 13. Taken away all thy wrath, Psalm lxxxv. 3. He hath poured out all his anger, Lam. iv. 10, 11. Zeph. iii. 3. The punishment of their iniquity is accomplished, Lam. iv. 22. Ezek. v. 13; vii. 8; xx. 21. The dregs of the cup of my fury accomplished, Ezek. xiii. 14, 15. Therefore there is no continuance of it after this life; for when Achan was dead, it is said, the Lord turned from the fierceness of his anger, Josh. vii. 26. But if what they say were true, his death was but the beginning of the Lord's fierce anger.

CHAPTER VI.

Many Infallible Proofs that there is not to be a Punishment after this Life, never to end.

- 1. The Scriptures hold forth no such thing, as hath been showed; we ought not to presume above that which is written; revealed things belong to us, Deut. xxix. 29.
- 2. The doctrine of a punishment never to end is contrary to the word of God, because it maintains that the wicked shall have eternal life. If man was to live forever, why was the flaming sword set to keep the way of the tree of life? Gen. iii. 24. Lest he put forth his hand and take of the tree of life, and live forever. No eternal life came by the first Adam: eternal life came by Jesus Christ, who is the tree of life, eternal life promised and given by Jesus Christ: Eernal life by Jesus Christ, Rom. v. 21; and, he that eateth of this bread shall live forever, John vi. 58. Because I live, ye shall live also, John xiv. 19. God sent his Son, that we might live through him, 1 John iv. 9. Only believers have eternal life: he that believeth on the Sonhath eternal life; he that believeth not the Son shall not see life, John iii. 36. Whosoever believeth shall not perish, but have everlasting life, John iii. 14, 15. I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, John x. 28. The wicked abide not forever, 1 John ii. 17. If ye live after the flesh ye shall die, Rom. viii. 13. Him will God destroy, (in the Greek it is corrupt) 1 Cor. iii. 17. The

preaching of the cross is to them that perish foolish, 1 Cor. i. 18. 2 Thes. ii. 10. Utterly perish, 2 Pet. ii. 12. Luke xiii. 3. To their own destruction, 2 Pet. iii. 16. Abideth in death, Rom. vi. 21, 23. 1 John iii. 14. They shall be destroyed forever, Psalm xcii. 7.

If they perish and not have eternal life, then they cannot live forever. God said, if thou eatest, thou shalt surely die, Gen. ii. 17; but the serpent said, ye shall not die, Gen. iii. 4. So the serpent, which is the devil, hath taught men to say as the serpent said, Now they have eaten they shall not die, but shall live forever, and never die; which is to say, God is the liar, and that which the devil said is truth. The word saith, him will God destroy, Mat. xxi. 41. 1 Cor. iii. 17; vi. 13. They shall be destroyed, 2 Pet. ii. 12. Swift destruction, their end is destruction, 2 Pet. ii. 1. Their opinion saith, they shall never be destroyed, die, nor end, which is no destruction. The word saith, The last enemy is death, 1 Cor. xv. 26. Their opinion saith, that is not the last; there is one after it, which is much worse, and will never end. It saith, God's anger is forever, he will never turn from it: contrary to Jer. iii. 12; Psalm l. 5; lxxxix. 5; lxxviii. 38. Mr. Bolton saith, they shall suffer so long as God is God; if so, then they have eternal life, (though in misery,) whereas the Scripture doth not declare eternal life to be for all men, John vi. 45, 46, 47. Promised to us eternal life, 1 John ii. 17, 25. I give unto them eternal life, to as many as thou hast given me, John xvii. 2, 3. In hope of eternal life, Titus i, 12. As many as were ordained to eternal life believed, Acts

xiii. 48. They that have done good unto the resurrection of life, John v. 29. If it be granted that the wicked have not eternal life, as hath been proved, it will follow that they cannot suffer forever, so long as God is God; and therefore all their building of a punishment never to end falls: grant the first, and the latter must needs follow.

If Adam had not sinned, he should have died; as appears from the following considerations:—

- 1. He had, in his creation, a natural body, 1 Cor. xv. 44: that which is natural is not eternal, ver. 46, he was of the earth, earthly, ver. 47, 43, therefore mortal and corruptible, ver. 53, 54.
- 2. Man in his first being was corporal and visible to be seen; things seen are not eternal. Mr. Bolton saith, if Adam had stood, he could not have conveyed to us a body immortal, or not dying, in his Treatise of Heaven, p. 131. Basil saith, if God had given Adam an immortal and unchangeable nature, he had created a god, and not a man, Augustine, in his Book of Confessions, saith, because the Lord created man of nothing, therefore he left in man a possibility to return to nothing, if he obeyed not the will of his maker.
- 3. Man in innocency needed food, &c. That which depends on mutable and earthly things, is earthly and mutable: we see it in all other creatures that live upon perishing things; they all perish; and herein man, by the first Adam, hath no pre-eminence above a beast. Heaven and earth were created, therefore had a beginning; and although they have a much longer life than man, are to have an end; heaven and earth shall be dissolved, 2 Pet. iii. 12.

If Adam had not died, (Rom. v. 12.) he should have continued in this world, and should not have gone to the world to come; therefore by his fall he lost no happiness nor eternal life in that world; for he could not by that fall lose more than he had, and was to have. Death is according to nature; but to attain immortality is above nature. Adam, being earth, and from the earth, his enjoyment, life, and loss, and punishment, must of necessity be earthly. How cometh he then by his fall to be capable of a punishment never to end, unless by his fall he could purchase eternal life, which none will affirm? Eternal life cannot be by the first man, much less by sin.

I deny not but the wages of sin is death, Rom. vi. 23. There is a difference to be put between a natural death and a judicial death: the first is from nature, the second is from sin. If the common death that all die, Heb. ix. 27, were the punishment of sin, as most men think, then Christ by freeing his people from the punishment of sin, by bearing death for them, of necessity must free them from dying a natural death: but Christ freeth none from a natural death, yet freeth them from the punishment of sin. Therefore, to die the common death is no part of the punishment of sin; for where sin is satisfied, or pardoned, or forgiven, the punishment is not inflicted; if it be, how is it forgiven? Even men, when they pardon, inflict not the punishment. All confess the sins of some men are pardoned; how then comes it to pass that those whose sins are pardoned, do nevertheless die for sin? He that keepeth my sayings shall not see death, John viii. 51; is not to

be referred to a natural death, but it speaks of enduring a judicial death, John iii. 16. The Scripture declares that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, the just and the unjust, Acts xxiv. 15. The unjust would enter into life, but shall not, John v. 29. Unto whom I swear in my wrath, that they should not enter into my rest, Psalm xcv. 11. Heb. iv. 5-7. And you yourselves thrust out, Luke xiii. 28. When they rise to judgment at the last day, they shall be consumed with the earth by fire, that is their end; so that not to enter, to be thrust out, the second death, and to perish, is one thing. If they live forever, and have eternal life, how do they perish? and how is the end of those things death? Rom. vi. 21, if there be no end? To be carnally minded is death, Rom. viii. 6; how is this true, if they live forever, and never die?

Sin, being a transgression of the law, is a legal sin, and so it is to have a legal punishment; this, for some sins, is death, Rom. vi. 23. inflicted by God, as Gen. xxxviii. 7, 10, and by man. A legal death is not from nature, but from sin, and is a second death. If a man for murder be put to death, in dying, he dieth the first and second death; for in dying, he dieth a natural death, and a judicial death; this latter is a second death, inasmuch as it is not from nature, but from sin.

Men put the stress of the punishment of sin upon the second death; but what that second death is, they cannot agree among themselves. The ministers, in their late Annotations on the Bible, on Rev. xx. 6, on such the second death hath no power, interpret it, not to be destroyed by Antichrist, nor by the Turk, so then, according to their interpretation, it is not a punishment never to end. Mr. Perkins saith, the second death is a total separation from God; if so, it is not a punishment without end; for God is every where, Psalm cxxxix. 7, 8; and if they be any where, how are they absent from God?

If the second death be a death, it is not a life of misery, never to end; that is not a death, unless eternal life be death. They confess eternal life in misery is worse than death; if so, it is not a death, but another thing.

The first death is the destruction of the body, a separation of soul and body; the second death must be like it; the second death is an image of the first, else how is it a death, and a second death? The second Adam being man, was an image of the first; the Scripture saith, the second death is like the first, Luke vi. 1. The second is like to it, Mat. xxii. 39, therefore, as the first death, so the second, is a separation of soul and body, else how is it a death, or a second death?

Reuben, by going into his father's bed, deserved a judicial legal death, but did not die for it, Gen. xlix. 3, 4, xxxv. 22. 1 Chron. v. 1. Let Reuben live and not die, Deut. xxxiii. 6. A judicial or second death. The Jews (Onkelos) read Deut. xxxiii. 6. Let Reuben live and not die the second death, and Jonathan on Isa. lxvi. 6. I will deliver their carcasses to the second death; and ver. 17. The Lord will slay them with the second death. By which it appears the Jews count the second death is to be slain; and if so, it is not a life of misery, never to

end, as some say. The book of the Revelation speaks of the second death: Dr. Featly, and Dr. Lightfoot, and others say, that Book treats of the church, and things done in this world; and if so, then the second death is a punishment of this life. They also interpret heaven, in that Book, to be the church; and the late Annotations on the Bible, and Mr. Brightman, and others, on Apoc. xx. 10, say, that the devil, in that place, is the great Turk.*

* As the subject of the second death is one of considerable importance, and as the views expressed above are believed not to be generally correct, we subjoin the following remarks, which were furnished the editor of this edition some time since by a highly respected clergyman in Vermont.

'The phrase second death occurs, I believe, in no part of the Scriptures, except in the Apocalypse. It is found, Rev. ii. 11, xx. 6, 14, and xxi. 8. By this term is generally understood final perdition,-eternal separation from God, and exclusion from heaven and happiness; or, in other words, that punishment which will be inflicted on sinners in a future and immortal state of existence, and from which there will be no deliverance. Respecting this book, commentators are much divided in opinion; not only as it respects the time when-the person by whom it was written, but also, as to the time when the events predicted in it were to be fulfilled. It is not my design, at this time, to enter into a discussion of these points. In a series of articles on the 'coming of Christ,' which I am preparing for publication, I intend, more fully to investigate these particulars, than my present limits will permit. Suffice it to say, I believe with Grotius, Lightfoot, Sir Isaac Newton, Bishop Newton, Wetstein, and many other learned writers, that this book was written before the destruction of Jerusalem; and this opinion, I think, is clearly supported by the language of the Revelator, both at the beginning and close of the book. The first and third verses of the first chapter, appear to me most clearly to establish the above opinion. 'The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to show unto his

It is their opinion, which implies that the wages of sin is not death; they say it is a life of misery never to end, which is worse and more than death;

servants things which must shortly come to pass; and he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John:—Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein; for the time is at hand. The same sentiment is clearly expressed in verses 10, 12, and 20 of the last chapter. 'And he saith unto me, seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book; for the time is at hand.—And behold I come quickly, and my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be.—He which testifies these things saith, surely I come quickly.' Keeping in view the above observations relative to the time when the predictions contained in the Apocalypse should be fulfilled, we shall be prepared to enter directly into the discussion of the question, What is to be understood by the words second death?

'A second death presupposes a first which is to be suffered before the infliction of the second; and when we speak of a first and second death, or of a first and second thing of any kind, we naturally suppose that some analogy exists between the two deaths, or things spoken of. Now, on the supposition that by the first death we are to understand the death of the body, and by the second the endless punishment of the soul in hell, what analogy can we discover? Natural death, or the death of the body, is an extinction of life, and of all consciousness; it destroys all sensation, either of pleasure or pain, and places the body beyond the reach of happiness or misery. But is this the effect which the second death is supposed to produce on the soul? No; but the very reverse. Instead of terminating the sufferings which had been previously endured, in a degree. it increases them to infinity, and perpetuates them to all eternity.

'But, admitting for a moment, the doctrine of endless punishment to be true, and that this punishment is properly expressed by the term death; can we with propriety call it the therefore their opinion is contrary to the word that saith, it is death. Filled with all unrighteousness, haters of God, despiteful, proud, inventors of evil things;

second death? In order to solve this question, it will be necessary to consider the different deaths mentioned in the Scriptures; and in doing this, we will refer to the first account given us of death, in the Bible. God said to Adam, 'in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.' Adam disobeyed the divine command; he ate of the forbidden fruit; and if we consider the denunciation of God true, we must believe that he died the death with which he was threatened, on the day he transgressed. This is the first death of which the Scriptures give us any account; and, I ask, what death was this? Not a natural death, or death of the body; for, although we are not told how old Adam was at this time, we are informed that after this event happened, he begat sons and daughters; and finally, that he died at the age of nine hundred and thirty years. The question returns; what death did Adam die on the day of transgression? Answer; the very death with which he was threatened. He died to innocence, purity and holiness. He died to the enjoyment of that peace and happiness, which conscious innocence only can bestow on man. This death passes upon all men, not only in the day, but in the moment of transgression. Hence, the Scriptures teach us, that ' to be carnally minded is death;' that we are ' dead in trespasses and sins.' If, therefore, what is usually termed moral death, be the first death which mankind suffer, (and this, I think will not be disputed,) natural death, or the dissolution of the body, is the second; and this eternal punishment, if it is properly expressed by the word death, must be considered the third death.

'Having now, as I conceive, ascertained what is to be understood by the first death; let us search for a second death to which mankind are exposed, and which bears some resemblance or analogy to the first. And here, I will bring into view those passages where the phrase 'second death' occurs. The first passage is Rev. ii. 11, 'He that overcometh, shalk

they that commit such things are worthy of death, Rom. i. 29—32. These are great sinners; yet the word saith not that they are worthy of more than death;

not be hurt of the second death.' These words were addressed to the church in Smyrna; and by consulting the centext, we find they were informed of some of the trials and tribulations they were to endure from their enemies, and admonished to be 'faithful unto death.' The members of this church, whether converted Jews or Gentiles, were, previous to their conversion to Christianity, in that state, which, in Scripture, is termed dead in sin ;- 'alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that was in them.' By their conversion, they became spiritually alive; for, 'to be spiritually minded is life and peace.' Our Lord had predicted, that during the time of unparalleled tribulation which should come on his followers previous to his coming in judgment upon Jerusalem and the Jewish nation, through the influence of false prophets and persecution, the 'love of many should wax cold;' and it is a well-known fact, that at this time, many renounced Christianity, and turned back again to their heathen religion. They became a second time dead; or, in other words, they were 'hurt of the second death,' and their last state was worse than their first. This view of the subject is supported by the words of the Revelator in the first verse of the next chapter. Addressing the angel of the church in Sardis, he says, 'I know thy works, that thou hast a name, that thou livest, and art dead.' This church, although it still lived in name, had become cold and dead; spiritual life had departed from it; and it had been overcome by the second death. Here, then, we find a death which some had suffered, in all respects similar to the first death, though greater, or worse in degree; as it was more difficult to renew one who was under the influence of this death to spiritual life, than to convert him at first.

'The next passages where this phrase occurs, are in chap. xx. verses 6 and 14. 'Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection; on such the second death hath no power. And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire.

and therefore why should any say, they are worthy of more than death? And if the end of these things is death, Rom. vi. 21, therefore there is not anything

This is the second death.' In this chapter, the Revelator obviously alludes to the resurrection mentioned in Dan. xii. 2, and referred to by our Lord, John v. 25. That the prophet was speaking of a moral, and not a literal resurrection, there can be no doubt from his subsequent language; for he expressly declares, that when God 'shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished.' Ver. 7. As the time was at hand when the 'power of the holy people' (i. e. the Jews) was to be scattered; when the kingdom was to be taken from them, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof; (Mat. xxi. 43,) and when the dead Gentiles were to be raised by the power of the Gospel to spiritual life; the Revelator could with the greatest propriety make use of the same figurative language in describing those events which had been previously used by the prophet and our Saviour. Christ expressly told his followers. that those who endured unto the end of those trials and afflictions which he had predicted, should be saved; and it is a historical fact, that of all those who continued faithful, not one was known to have perished during the long and calamitous siege and destruction of Jerusalem, and the Jewish nation .-Thus, not only were their natural lives preserved by their obedience to the instructions of their Master, but they continued in the enjoyment of spiritual life. Over them, the second death had no power.

'The only remaining passage is in ch. xxi. 3. 'The fearful and unbelieving, &c. shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone; which is the second death.' As the destruction of the Jewish nation and polity—the abolition of the legal dispensation, which was a ministration of death, were represented by the casting of death and hell into the lake of fire; so the establishment on earth of the Messiah's kingdom; that kingdom which was to come to the children of men, 'with power,' is fitly decribed by the descending of the 'holy city, New

to come after death, 2 Kings vii. 4. The soul that sinneth shall die, Ezek. xviii. 20; that is, all that sin doth bring forth. God, in giving his law, did express the punishment of the breach of it, saying, In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die. Gen. ii. 17. Dying thou shalt die, that is, naturally and judicially. Not touch it lest ye die, Gen. iii. 3. To bear iniquity, is to die for it, Lev. xxii. 9. Numb. xviii. 22. That one man die for the people, John xviii. 14. The body is dead because of sin, Rom. viii. 10. He that is dead is freed from sin, Rom. vi. 7. Neither sin nor punishment hath anything to do with a dead man. This iniquity shall not be purged from you till ye die; then it is purged from them; if this iniquity be purged from you till ye die, we learn that death acquitteth, Talm. Jerus. Sanched, fol. 27, col. 3.

After man had sinned, God expounded the punishment of the breach of his law, Gen. iii. 14—20. It is evident that the punishment of the old serpent the devil, and of the woman, and of the man, for their sin, are only punishments of this life; there is not the least word of any punishment after this life, much less of a punishment never to end. So that by that which is said, we may judge of what Mr. Bolton and others say, of being everlastingly in a red hot scorching fire, deprived of all possibility of dying,

Jerusalem, from God out of heaven; a representation of which is given in the preceding part of the chapter. And as the characters described in this verse did not possess the spirit of this kingdom, they could not enjoy its life; but, with the unbelieving Jews, were 'cast out into outer darkness,' and fell under the power of the second death.'

or of being ever consumed in torment eternally. They say, the fire of hell burneth far hotter than ten thousand rivers of brimstone; how do they know this, seeing they never felt it, nor any others who can have told them of it? Three drops of brimstone will make one so full of torment, that he cannot forbear roaring out for pain; yet it must be borne so long as God is God. O eternity, eternity, eternity! If so, they shall have eternal life, which is contrary to the Scriptures, as hath been proved, and is therefore to be rejected. Also they say, that the souls of the wicked go immediately, at death, to hell, to the devils, contrary to Eccl. iii. 21; xii. 7. Gen. ii. 7. Heb. xii. 9. Zech. xii. 1. If the devils are in hell in torment, as they commonly and vainly imagine, hell is in the wicked: the devil's evil spirits are there, and rule there in the children of disobedience, Eph. ii. 2. 1 Pet. v. 8. Jude 14. Mat. viii. 28; xxv. 39-41.

Adam in innocency being a natural man, he had the law of nature written in his heart; the breach of that natural law caused a temporal curse and punishment, and not any eternal. They that think eternal life is to be had for our works, our well-doing, are prone to think eternal life may be lost for our not well doing: but the way of the gospel places not eternal life and eternal death in misery upon our doing, Rom. iv. 2—5. Also the Scripture speaketh not of an eternal death, and therefore there is no such thing.

3. Their opinion of a punishment after this life never to end, makes not sin, but Christ, to be the

cause of men's thus suffering. This is evident, because if Christ had not come, there had been no resurrection: and if no resurrection, there could be no suffering of any torment after this life; for if there were no resurrection, men would perish in their graves: that would be their end. If Christ be not risen, they which are fallen asleep are perished, 1 Cor. xv. 17, 18. That the resurrection came by Jesus Christ is also evident, because Christ saith, I am the resurrection, John xi. 25. By man, that is Christ, came the resurrection, 1 Cor. xv. 21, therefore it is called the resurrection of Christ, 1 Pet. iii. 21. His resurrection, Rom. vi. 5. Phil. iii. 10. 1 Pet. i. 21. Christ is called the first fruits, because he first rose from the dead; after him others. If Christ had not risen, no man should ever have risen from the dead; therefore it is said, they came out of their graves after his resurrection, Mat. xxvii. 53. And since Christ is the resurrection, and the cause of it, inasmuch as it came by him, sure none will deny, that if there had been no resurrection of the dead, there could be no suffering after death, so long as God is God; therefore it follows, if any shall so suffer, Christ is the cause of it, for without him they could not have lived forever, and therefore could not suffer forever. And is it not very hard and unreasonable, and contrary to the word, to charge Christ to be the cause of their so suffering? seeing Christ came in love to the world, John iii. 16, to save, and not to destroy, Luke ix. 56; xix. 10, not to make any miserable; he came to save sinners, 1 Tim. i. 15. Luke iv. 18. He rose again for our justification.

Therefore, if none can so suffer, unless Christ be the cause of it, there is no such punishment for any to endure, never to end.

4. The Scriptures declare what Christ came to do, namely, to deliver us from the hand of our enemies, Luke i. 74, to taste death for every man, Heb. ii. 9. See Luke iv. 18. The last enemy is death, 1 Cor. xv. 26. He abolished death, 2 Tim. i. 10. He hath promised deliverance from death and the grave; I will redeem them from death, Hos. xiii. 14. He that keepeth my sayings shall not see death, John viii. 51, 52. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? 1 Cor. xv. 55. I will ransom thee from the power of the grave: he saith not from the torments of hell, nor from the punishment never to end. O death, I will be thy plagues! O grave, I will be thy destruction! Hosea xiii. 14. So that if there be a punishment after death and the grave, there is no mention of Christ's delivering us from it. The Scripture saith, he is able to save from death, Heb. v. 7: this is as much as to say that salvation from death is sufficient, and that there is no further thing to be delivered from beyond death and the grave: if there were, deliverance from these would not be satisfactory, because not sufficient: for if there is to be a punishment after death, who shall deliver us from that? Christ delivereth from death and the grave; and as no further deliverance from anything is mentioned, therefore no such deliverance was necessary, nor is there anything of the kind to be delivered from. So ye may see that their opinion makes void Christ's suffering, and the saints' comfort; for if a

punishment never to end be due to man for sin, Christ must forever suffer that punishment to free us from it, or we must suffer it. Protestant writers confess, that the way and means by which Christ frees us from the punishment of sin, is by his suffering that punishment which we were to suffer. To this the Scriptures agree, Gal. iii. 13. Isa. liii. 4-7. So that if Christ our surety hath not suffered the said torments forever, then hath not Christ suffered enough: namely, that which we were to suffer; and so hath not delivered us from that punishment. That Jesus Christ hath not so suffered, is evident and confessed by the Protestant writers. Some of the Protestants say, (1.) the reprobates in hell suffer the want of vision or sight of God forever, final rejection. (2.) They shall be perplexed with the horror of a guilty conscience. (3.) Deprived of the gifts of the Holy Spirit. (4.) Instead of virtues, they are defiled with wickedness, indignation, desperation. Christ suffered none of these, saith Willet, Synop, p. 1010. Far be it from us so to conceive, p. 1014. Also they say, (1.) in hell is inward and outward darkness; (2.) a lake of fire and brimstone; (3.) fire unquenchable; (4.) worm and prick of conscience; (5.) malediction; (6.) desperation, second death. Christ suffered none of these; therefore he suffered not the torments of hell; they do not believe he suffered them forever, for they will not say he is now in that place. If Christ had suffered the pains of the damned, yet unless he suffered them without end, he suffered not the punishment of the damned in hell, which they say we were to suffer.

Also they say, the damned suffer not those torments without sin and desperation; will any say that Christ so suffered also? They say, in hell they shall see the story of their sins before their eyes, the wrath of God lying upon them for their sins, cruel indignation, horrible outcries, blasphemies, fretting for horrible torments, endless pains, without all hope or comfort. Who dare say, Christ suffered any of these? Some, that are for the torments. of hell, confess that it stands not with the dignity and worthiness of Christ's person, nor with the holiness of his nature, nor the dignity of his office, to suffer in that local place eternally. Final rejection, with desperation, with the worm of conscience, agreeth not to the holiness of his person; final rejection Christ suffered not, nor eternal flames, nor the second death; for Christ to suffer these, were to destroy the work of our redemption. Christ could not be subject to destruction, Willet's Synop. p. 1009. Christ suffered none of these punishments, therefore he suffered not the torments of hell .-Christ was heard, in that he feared. Christ did not fear the torments of hell, therefore he did not partake with us, nor deliver us from them. He did not deliver us from anything which he did not suffer: eternal fire in hell he did not suffer, nor are the pains of this life the pains of hell, as they understand it; therefore if there be any such hell or punishment, Christ suffered it not, and therefore we must suffer it.

See ye not whither this their doctrine tends? to overthrow the sufficiency of Christ's suffering, and

our comfort, in leaving us to suffer the said torments ourselves; Christ leaving his suffering an example, If we suffer with him, &c. Rom. viii. 17. Must we suffer the torments of hell? I believe Christ hath borne the whole punishment of sin; in this I am satisfied, and desire no more; but how Christ suffered the torments of hell, neither I, nor they, can see. They say, Christ, being God, made an infinite satisfaction, paying at once upon the cross that which we should have been forever in paying. I grant Christ is God; but the Godhead did not, and could not suffer. If the Godhead of Christ was to make satisfaction to God, then it seems God satisfieth God; and if Christ as God was to make satisfaction, to what purpose did he become man and die? If ye say he was to make satisfaction both in his Godhead and manhood, doth the Godhead need the help of the manhood to make satisfaction?

It is not proper to say, God was to be satisfied; for he never was unsatisfied. God is perfect, infinite, happy, unchangeable; how is he so, if he were ever unsatisfied? To say God is, or ever was, unsatisfied, is in effect to deny the being of God, to say he is not happy; for satisfaction and content belong to happiness; where there is no satisfaction, there is no content or happiness, because no perfection. God is one; to us there is but one God; God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself, 2 Cor. v. 19, that is, Father, Word, and Spirit. God is one, not one divine nature in Christ satisfying, and another divine nature in the Father satisfied; but the Father in the Son, God in Christ. The essence of God

is one and the same, reconciling the world to himself. God was never unreconciled to the world; it is only man that is at enmity and unreconciled; therefore it is said, he reconciled them to himself. The change is in the creature, not in God, Malachi iii. 6. If the manhood of Christ was to make satisfaction to God, how can man, who is finite, satisfy that which is infinite? Unless you will affirm that the Godhead of Christ did suffer, there was not anything to suffer except the manhood of Christ; can the suffering of man satisfy God? Man is finite; so is all he performs or suffers. Sin is a transgression of the law; sin is a disorder of the creature's first and chief being, which stands in righteousness, and it is an eclipse of the glory of man. Sin is a defect, and a discovery of the weakness and mutability of the reasonable creature. Sin cannot impeach God; if thou sinnest, what doest thou against him? Or if thy righteousness be multiplied, what doest thou unto him? If thou be righteous, what givest thou unto him, or what receiveth he at thy hand? Thy wickedness may hurt a man as thou art, and thy righteousness profit the Son of man, Job xxxv. 6-8. God hath all satisfaction in and from himself, not from anything without, or besides himself.

God gave not a law to himself to satisfy, but to man; the law belongs only to the human nature, therefore Christ was a man; he took on him the form of a servant, and became obedient to death, the death of the cross, Phil. ii. 7, 8. A body, Heb. x. 5. Obedience belongs to the human will; the man Christ was made a curse for us; he was bruised for our iniquities, and with his stripes

we are healed, Isa. liii. 5. 10. It was blood that washed away our sins, Rev. i. 5. Therefore it was said, by the obedience of one [man] we are made righteous, Rom. v. 19. The word saith not, by the obedience of God, nor of God-man, God is satisfied, but by the obedience of one man we are made righteous, the man Christ Jesus, 1 Tim. ii. 5.

The worthiness of Christ's person did not abolish the equity of God's law, and exempt him from suffering that which he ought to suffer, Luke xxiv. 26. Some say, the suffering of Christ was infinite; but the word saith not so; the punishment of sin is death; he tasted death, he died for us; but it is no infinite thing to die. They reply, the sin of man is infinite, because committed against an infinite God. To say sin is infinite, in a strict sense, is to attribute too much to sin, and too little to God; to give that to sin which is proper to God. To make sin equal to God, is in effect to deny the being of God, because there can be but one infinite. Also, to say sin is infinite, is to make all sins equal in enormity and magnitude; for there are no degrees in that which is infinite. Sin not being infinite needs not an infinite satisfaction. They say, infinite majesty being offended, infinite punishment was imposed; but this is only their say-so, because it is without the word of God. The punishment of sin is not to be taken from the infiniteness of God, but from the penalty expressed in his law, for the breach of it, which is death, Gen. ii. 17.

5. The word saith, God's fury is like fire; in the fire of his jealousy he shall make a speedy riddance of

all them in the day of the Lord's wrath, Zeph. i. 18. But to continue in torment forever is no speedy riddance; therefore there is to be no such punishment. The pouring out of the fiery anger of the Lord is a day, Zeph. i. 15, 18. Rom. ii. 5. Ezek. xiii. 14; xxii. 22. Isa. xiii. 9, 13. The day of the Lord is at hand, Isa. xiii. 6. Joel i. 15. A punishment never to end in no manner corresponds with a day; therefore there shall be no such punishment.

- 6. The doctrine of the torments or hell never to end, hath caused, and doth daily cause, much sin:—
- 1. It causeth fear; fear hath torment, 1 John iv. 8. He that feareth is not perfect in love, 1 John iv. 18. A servile and a slavish fear is sin.
- 2. It causeth many evil and hard thoughts of God.
- 3. Fear troubleth the hearts of many of the Lord's people, and maketh them sad with their lies. God complains of this, Ezek. xiii. 22. Their lies caused them to err, after which their fathers walked, Amos ii. 4. Christ saith, Let not your hearts be troubled, John xiv. 1. The fear of hell doth greatly trouble the hearts of many. It is God's will to comfort the sad, to release them that are bound, Isa. xl. 5, 9; lxi. 1—4. A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver, Prov. xxv. 11.
- 4. Fear distracts and greatly discourages the soul, hinders faith; that which delivers the soul from fear, fits it to serve God without fear, in holiness and righteousness, all the days of our lives, Luke i. 74, 75.

- 5. Fear unfits and disables the soul in regard to every good work towards God or man; it unfits for any outward occasion; it is a weight that depresses the soul, and makes it weak; it straiteneth the heart; but hope comforteth and enlargeth it.
- 6. The doctrine of hell-torments provokes the soul to envy and unbelief, and hinders subjection to God. If the soul apprehends itself liable to so great and everlasting punishment, it cannot submit to God, nor be quiet. This caused Francis Spira to wish he were above God. The light of truth causes the soul to sin less, and to be less troubled, to have fewer hard thoughts of God, and less to fret against the Lord.
- 7. This doctrine causes an exceeding and unreasonable trouble of mind, and melancholy. Such trouble is sin, John xiv. 1. A merry heart doeth good, Prov. xvii. 22. The knowledge of the truth in regard to this subject gives peace to the fearful mind, and causes, as it were, a heaven upon earth.
- 8. This doctrine hath caused many to murder themselves, taking away their own lives by poison, stabbing, drowning, hanging, strangling, and shooting themselves, casting themselves out of windows, and from high places, to break their necks, and by other kinds of death, that they might not live to increase their sin, and increase their torments in hell.*
- * Here we see the same dreadful effects attended the doctrine of endless misery nearly two hundred years ago which attend it now. It was then the cause of anxiety, despair, and suicide, as we suppose it always was before, where fully believed, and as we know it has been of late years. Let posterity know, that within the last ten years, there have been a large number of suicides, which must be attributed to the doc-

- 9. This doctrine provoketh to the greatest sins, as despair; also to the wickedness which the world lieth in, namely, working for life, to perform duties to escape hell and obtain heaven, which is to tread under foot the blood of Christ as an unholy thing, Heb. x. 29, in seeking to be justified by the law of works, and not alone by the perfect righteousness of Jesus Christ, Rev. i. 5. Jer. xxiii. 6. Heb. x. 10, 14.
- 10. Freedom from fear causes love; love causes service; the love of Christ constraineth; it tends to the comfort of many, who through weakness of faith give way to Satan's temptations. To fear the torments of hell causes a feeble mind; comfort the feeble minded, 1 Thes. v. 14. It is a comfort to many, whose children and friends die, and leave no testimony of their conversion, to be free from this fear; for the fear that they are to suffer so great and endless torment, hath saddened and troubled the heart of many a parent and friend.
- 11. God hath said, he will not contend forever, nor be always wroth; for the spirit would fail before him, and the souls he has made, Isa. lvii. 16. Man is not able to dwell with everlasting burnings, Isa. xxxiii. 14. To be in so great a torment as they speak of, without end, ease, and refreshment, the spirit must fail, (a small thing will make the spirit fail;) and if so,

trine of endless torment. That doctrine makes men melancholy; it drives them to despair; they know not what to do; and they sever the brittle thread. Fathers and mothers, in repeated instances in the United States, have murdered their children, lest they should grow up, and commit sin, and be damned. Can a doctrine which produces such dreadful consequences be the doctrine of God?—ED.

the reason is the same against the being of a punishment never to end.

- 8. It is not agreeable to the God of nature to go contrary to the law of nature, which he hath written in the hearts of mankind. There is implanted in man a universal love to man, especially to their own offspring, whether obedient or disobedient. How strong is the love of parents to their offspring when in misery, and to others also in misery and want! Surely no man doth desire that any man or creature should endure the torments they speak of, one year, much less their own children; how then may I, or can I, think God to be less compassionate, less merciful than cruel man (Jer. l. 24; vi. 23. Hos. iv. 1. Isaiah xlix. 15,) to his offspring? We are all his offspring, Acts xvii. 28. Surely God exceeds man in goodness; if ye being evil know how to give good things to your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give good things to them that ask him, Mat. vii. 8-11. Thou Lord art good, and doest good, Psalm cxix. 68. Mat. v. 45. Though they were evil, and did evil, God did good, and gave rain, Acts xiv. 17. They say the fire, Dan. iii. 21, is nothing to hell, and that the greatest torment man can devise is scarcely a shadow to that in hell; by which they declare God to be more cruel than man.
- 9. If man had deserved so great punishment, why may not God show so much mercy as not to inflict it, as well as to let his sun shine, and his rain fall, on them that do not deserve it, seeing he could (if he so pleased) hinder it? We see men show more kindness to a rebellious and disobedient child than

he deserveth; may not God do the same? So much as God is greater than man, so much greater is his mercy, love, and goodness, than that which exists in man; yea than that which is, or ever was, in all men. All their love, and mercy, and goodness, came from him; and it is all but as the least drop, compared with that great sea and ocean of mercy and love, which is in him. How little a portion is heard of him? Job xxvi. 14. All nations before him are as nothing, and they are counted to him less than nothing, and vanity, Isa. xl. 12, 15, 17, 22. O how great is he that hangeth the earth upon nothing! Job xxvi. 7. He can and will do for the worst creature far above that which it is able to ask or think.

10. God's general goodness in the creation of the world extends to all his creatures; and also in his ordinary dispensations, it extends towards the whole universe of mankind, and is for their benefit. He hath provided room enough for all men and creatures, and all good things for all; the profit of the earth is for all, Eccl. v. 9. God hath commanded us to do good unto all; he that hath two coats is to impart to him that hath none; and he that hath meat must do so likewise, Luke iii. 11. All this manifests God's good will, and the care he exercises over mankind; he that would not have them suffer the torment of misery and want, that taketh care to prevent that little and short misery, will not impose a far greater torment, never to end.

11. The doctrine of hell-torments lesseneth the goodness of God, and limits it to a few, whereas the Scripture declares it extends to all, Rom. v., the

whole chapter. The creature itself shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God, Rom. viii. 21. The whole creation, and every creature, angels and men, Jews and Gentiles, ver. 20. Mark xvi. 15, in bondage to corruption, subject to vanity, idolatry, and delusion of the devil, who know not, nor partake of the glorious liberty of the sons of God, shall be delivered from this bondage into the said liberty; for God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself, 2 Cor. v. 19. This is spoken to persuade them to be reconciled to God, ver. 20, which shows it to concern mankind. The Protestants in Poland understand by every creature, angels and men: they say there will come a time, when the angels and wickedest men shall be freed. Origen, one of the Fathers, held, that all should at last be saved, men and devils. The generality of the Fathers held, that all souls shall be purged by the fire of the last judgment, and so pass to salvation, Moulin, p. 135. See Rom. xi. 22, 23, 27. All flesh shall see the salvation of God, Luke iii. 6. See 1 Tim. ii, 3-6, Isa, xlv. 17. The glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it, Isa. xl. 5. The times of the restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of his holy prophets since the world began, Acts iii. 21. They shall in time be delivered from their bondage, for which deliverance they groan. Are not all, angels and men, obedient or disobedient, the creation of God? If so, the worst shall partake of the liberty of the sons of God? As the whole creation came from

God, (or rather is in God, for in him we live) it shall be taken up into the same glory. A good cannot extend too widely; the farther it extends, the better. If it be good to show mercy to some, is it not more good to have mercy on all? Rom. v. 18. Plato could say, God being a supreme good, there was no envy in him towards any of his creatures, but rather a desire that all might be made like him. This is a great and glorious discovery of God. In him we live and move and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said; for we are all his offspring, Acts xvii. 28. I have wondered how the heathen poets came to know this truth; surely God did manifest it unto them. If all men are in God, all men are in Christ; for Christ saith, I and my Father are one, John x. 30. Also, if all men are in God, (in him we live and move, &c.,) then all men are in Christ; for God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, 2 Cor. v. 19. All confess that all who are in Christ shall be saved: as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive, 1 Cor. xv. 22. I see God is good, and doth good, and it is suitable to the being of God to do good to all, and no such torment, of such continuance, is agreeable to the mind and will of God.

Rom. chap. v. puts the second Adam in opposition to the first, his saving to his sinning. If all nations be blessed, Gen. xxii. 18, every particular is comprehended in the general word All. It is a great lessening of the greatness and glory, of the fullness and riches, of God's grace, to say that God hath made this world for all, who are many, and the

world to come, far better than this, for only a very few. Shall the fruit of Christ, the sun of righteousness, be more narrow and confined than that of the sun in the firmament, whose excellency is, that its bright rays and beams are dispersed into every corner of the universe?

12. The doctrine of hell-torments is not agreeable to the spirit of a saint. We may know the mind of God by the mind of a saint; we have the mind of Christ, 1 Cor. ii. 16. He that is turned to the Lord is one spirit, 1 Cor. vi. 17. God is in them, of a truth, 1 Cor. xiv. 25. Christ in us, Col. i. 27. Stephen, when stoned, cried, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge, Acts vii. 60. Saints are ever merciful, Psalm xxxvii. 26. The desire of the righteous is only good, Prov. xi. 23. Such torment, of such continuance, is by no means agreeable to the gracious mind, and merciful heart of a saint; he desires not any man or creature to be in such torment an hour; therefore such torments cannot be agreeable to the mind of God. We find that the more fully the Lord manifests himself in any of his people, the more their minds are humbled, the more loving and merciful they are, even to their enemies, and can do them good for evil.

13. Such torments do not in the least correspond with the mind and will of Christ. He is full of love and mercy to the worst men: it was truly said of him, he was a friend to publicans and sinners; he was their best friend. When they crucified him, he said, Father, forgive them, Luke xxiii. 34. When the disciples would have had fire come down from

heaven to consume his enemies, he rebuked them, Luke ix. 54, 55. He that will by no means allow his enemies to suffer a short death by fire, will not inflict upon them a more terrible fire never to end. Ye may know the mind of God by the mind of Christ. for Christ is God, alike, equal, Acts xx. 28. Heb. i. 3. And as one; I and my Father are one, John x. 30.

- 14. Such punishments do not correspond with the fruits of the holy and blessed God. The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, goodness, &c. Gal. v. 22. 23. The fruit of the Spirit is in all goodness, Eph. v. 9. The words of the Lord are pure words, Psalm xii. 6. The words of the pure are pleasant words, Prov. xv. 26. Good words, comfortable words. The Holy Spirit is called a comforter, not a tormentor. The pure spirit of love sends forth only love and sweetness.
- 15. Such torment does not correspond with the nature of God. God is love, 1 John iv. 16. It is his nature; there is no anger or fury in love; fury is not in me. Isa. xxvii. 4. God wills us to love our enemies, who abuse, wrong, and hate us; much more will God love his enemies, Luke vi. 35. If God should love only them who love him, do not even the publicans the same? Mat. v. 46. All that is in God is infinite. God is love; his love therefore is infinite, without bounds or limits, though we, in our shallowness and narrowness, have often set bounds and limits to that which is infinite. There never was any beginning in God, therefore no beginning of his love. The infinite blessed God is one and always the same; I am the Lord, I change not, Malachi iii. 6. This love delights in mercy and love, and not

in the punishing of sin; that is his strange work, Isa. xxviii. 21. Christ died to answer the law which we transgressed.

Christ did not purchase the love of God; he loved us before the world began, and ever will, John xiii.

1. God was never destitute of love. Christ saith, Thou hast loved them as thou hast loved me, John xvii.

23. At what shall God be angry, or dissatisfied? God was never angry with Christ nor his people, nor at the being of sin, nor at Christ's taking our sins upon him; for he laid them on him, even the iniquity of us all, Isa. liii 6.

16. It is not suitable to the mercifulness of a father towards his child, of a creator to his creature, the work of his hands, to impose so great a punishment without end, upon any of them: that would be worse than to forsake the works of his hands, and is contrary to Psalm cxlv. 3, 9. Your heavenly Father is merciful, Luke vi. 36. Rich in mercy, Eph. ii. 4. The Lord is gracious, of great mercy; the Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works. All thy works shall praise thee, and thy saints shall bless thee, Psalm cxlv. 8—10. He is good to all, he despiseth not any, Job xxxvi. 5, and no respecter of persons, Acts x. 34.

17. Sin cannot overcome the love of God; where sin hath abounded, grace did much more abound, Rom. v. 20. This declares the mercy of God to be greater than sin; if so, the grace of God is to all, to the worst, for sin abounds in them most: and where sin abounds, grace abounds much more; if so, then all their sins shall be forgiven. If any are to suffer

endless torment for their sins, how has grace abounded to them much more than their sins? Answer this if you can. With the Lord there is mercy, Psalm exxx. 7. The Lord is good to all; therefore to the worst of men; His tender mercies are over all his works; therefore over the worst of men, for they are the works of his hands, Isaiah lxiv. 3. Therefore there is no punishment for any to endure, never to end. He that bids us not to be overcome by evil, but to overcome evil with good, will not himself be overcome by evil, but will overcome all evil with his infinite goodness. That which is finite cannot possibly overcome that which is infinite.

18. God is just; therefore he will not do anything which is not just and right. The greatest punishment of the breach of his law is death. He will not inflict another, much less, a worse punishment than he hath expressed in his law. Justice is in number, weight, and measure; God requires things equal. Ye may see the mind of God in his command, forbidding anything to be done, but that which is equal and suitable to the fact; as eye for eye, tooth for tooth, foot for foot, stripe for stripe, Exod. xxi. 24-26. How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her, Rev. xviii. 7. What measure you mete to others, shall be measured to you again. Murder, a horrible and grievous sin, is punished with an equal punishment in this life, -life for life; he that sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed, Gen. ix. 6. Life for life is equal; but to lose life for life, and also to suffer an endless punishment in addition, is not equal.

19. It is no profit nor pleasure to God that any should suffer endless torment; he hath no pleasure in the death of any, Ezek. xviii. 31, 32. Much less can it be any pleasure to him that any should suffer a torment never to end. He desires mercy, and not sacrifice, Mic. vi. 6. If so, he desires not that any should be so sacrificed in a torment never to end. God abhors cruelty, Amos i. 3, 6, 13, and casting off pity.

20. It is not for the glory of God to impose endless torments on any. Glory consisteth not in imposing great and terrible punishments; that belongeth to cruelty, and is abhorred by the light of nature. Glory consisteth in great mercy and forgiveness, Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7. The greater the mercy and forgiveness, the greater is the grace, and the more it redounds to the glory of God. Love covereth all sins, Prov. x. 12. He that covereth tsansgression seeketh love, Prov. xvii. 9. If man's glory is to pass over transgression, (Prov. xix. 11,) much more is it for the glory of God to do so. God made all things, and doeth all things for his glory; he seeketh his glory in the exceeding greatness and riches of his grace, Eph. ii. 7. It is more for his glory to save all, than to save a few. By the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life, Rom. v. 18. Sin could not hinder Manasses, Mary Magdalen, persecutors, and wicked prodigals, from finding mercy. It cannot be that cruelty dwells in God, who is love, and whose goodness is unsearchable, past finding out, far above all we can ask or think. There is such a confused noise among

men, of the grace and love of God, so many voices that we are in confusion, and know not what to make of it. Look above, and hearken to the sweet voice in the region of love. What are the voices in heaven? they agree in one: no voice comes from heaven, but love, peace, and good will to man. Let men say what they will, I rest satisfied in the voice above, which is a voice of love and good will. This is enough to satisfy any one who has doubted: and suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host, praising God, and saying, Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men, Luke ii. 13, 14, not only to some men, but to all people, ver. 10. This is glad tidings indeed, good news from heaven, the best news that ever was, that God hath good will to men; there is no ill will, all is good will to men; this causeth peace and praise. Glory be to the Highest for his sweet peace and good will to men, to all people.

To conclude:—In reading the Scriptures, we are not to understand any text in such a sense as is not plain in Scripture, or is contrary to Scripture, or contrary to the law of nature, or contrary to the general goodness of God to mankind, or contrary to the gracious spirit and mercifulness of a saint, or contrary to the mind of Christ, which he declared when on earth, or contrary to the fruits of the blessed spirit, the nature of the love, goodness, and mercy of God; or in such a sense as shall tend to contradict or lessen the glory of God, or lessen the greatness and riches of his grace; for it is not to be imagined that God, who is only wise, should do and teach contrary things.

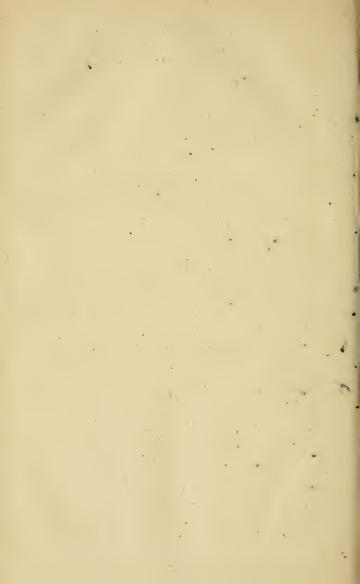
Sure I am, from hence arises no inconveniency to the gospel, nor is it any dishonor to God, nor any grief, nor any obstacle to the faith and love of any good man, nor any discouragement to any man in serving God, that there is not to be a punishment for any to endure, that shall never end. Nothing can be more plain than that which hath been said, to any one who will agree to the truth. Some will not agree to anything though ever so plain and certain, if it be contrary to the tradition of their fathers: this their way is their folly; and their posterity approve their sayings, Psalm xlix. 13. Who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? Isa. liii. 1.

Some believed the things that were spoken, and some believed not, Acts xxviii. 24. They make a man an offender for a word, and lay a snare for him that reproveth in the gate, and turn away the just for a thing of naught. Isa. xxix. 21.

O God the Lord, the strength of my salvation, thou hast covered my head in the day of battle, Psalm cxl. 7. So be it.







NATURAL AND REVEALED

RELIGION

EXPLAINING EACH OTHER:

IN TWO ESSAYS:

THE FIRST SHOWING WHAT RELIGION IS ESSENTIAL

TO MAN: THE SECOND, THE STATE OF SOULS

AFTER DEATH AS DISCOVERED BY

REVELATION.

The following Essays are copied from the "Harleian Miscellany," published in 1745, a work which was
made up of a collection of scarce, curious, and entertaining pamphlets and tracts, as well in manuscript as
in print, found in the Earl of Oxford's Library. It
will probably never be known who was the author
of the Essays. They were found in the library of the
Earl, and had never before been published. See
"Modern History of Universalism," pp. 80-83.

EDITOR.

NATURAL AND REVEALED

RELIGION.

ESSAY I.

On the Religion essential to Man.

In Religion, all true principles must depend upon one only principle; this only principle is that of a self-sufficient being.

Every relation between two intelligent beings is necessarily founded in the nature of both. Now religion is essantially no more than a relation between God and man. It can therefore be founded only in the nature of these two beings.

Then every point of doctrine, every opinion, which is evidently opposite as well to the nature of God, as to that of man, ought to be deemed false, or at least foreign to man's essential religion.

From hence it is plain, that the religion, essential to man, must be simple, evident, free from all contradiction; that it must exclude everything false and imaginary; that it cannot require any man to strain his belief to what savors of an impossibility, much less to what savors of a contradiction.

If God is self-sufficient, he is perfectly disinterested; for what is infinite can lose nothing, as it can

gain nothing. Therefore he did not make man out of nothing to increase his own happiness; consequently his creating him capable of happiness could be for no other end, but to render him happy. If this be his end, which cannot be doubted, this end subsists invariably. God is therefore concerned for the happiness of those beings whom he has created.

The conclusion from hence is plain, that, since God does nothing for his own advantage, he has nothing in view but the advantage of his creatures; that whatever is called religion, is reduced to this. (If it be objected to this, that the scripture says, God made all things for his own glory: I answer, that it is not from the expressions of scripture we form the idea of God, but on the contrary, by the idea of God we rectify whatever these expressions seem to ascribe to him, that is either imperfect or contradictory;) therefore every other idea of religion is so far from honoring God, that it really dishonors him, by supposing him to be like unto men, who, in consequence of their insufficiency, cannot be perfectly disinterested.

The first idea a man has, is, that he exists: He finds he could not be the author of his own existence, so that the source of existence resides elsewhere: Where must it reside? It must be in some being that has not received its existence from any other; man, therefore, is obliged to own, that there is a first, a self-existent being. The first discovery, (which you see is only an unavoidable consequence of experience) is sufficient to lead him to others, I mean to more particular ideas concerning the attri-

butes of that first being. As whatever we are capable of feeling, tasting, or knowing, must necessarily proceed from that first cause; this idea leads us to discover, in the first Being, not only power, but also wisdom and goodness, and this discovery also arises from experience.

Nothing is more familiar to experience, than the sentiment of joy: this sentiment, which is only momentary in man, gives him some idea of a more real felicity, whereof that which he feels is only a specimen or sample. From this experience he concludes, that the Author of his being, having made him capable of so delicious a sentiment, must be the source of all felicity.

Another thing, which he feels, leads him still farther: I mean the invincible inclination he has to happiness; and, as this desire is inseparable to his being, it must likewise be ascribed to the author of his being; from whence he justly concludes, that happiness is the end of his being. This conclusion leads him to another: he finds it is not completely attained in this world, consequently there must be one hereafter, which will accomplish that end. All these sentiments naturally arise from a man's considering himself only: let us now introduce him into society. He observes that the earth produces all the necessary things for man's subsistence, but this, being not equally divided, begets the language of mine, and thine: this language occasions another, namely, that of just and unjust, true and false.

When we hear men say to one another, this is false, that is unjust, he inquires into the meaning of

these terms. He finds that the word false consists in the denying what we know to be true, or affirming what we know not to be so.

That what is called *unjust* consists in taking from another what is allowed to be his, or in not keeping one's promise.

But, notwithstanding he has clear ideas of what is truth or falsehood, justice or injustice, yet, upon examining things more, he sometimes observes, that falsehood lends such assistance to injustice, that judges are sometimes at a loss to discern who is in the right, and who in the wrong; so that sometimes the innocent suffer, and the guilty escape: he then concludes, that if a Being, equitable in the highest degree, suffers, for a time, that justice should not be rightly administered, it is, because he reserves to himself the care of distributing it hereafter in the most exact proportion, when the unjust and the murtherer will receive the retribution due to their violence, and the poor and innocent persons, who sunk under the weight of injustice, will receive a proportionable recompense.

Hence we may see that real religion is not so much above the reach of man as some would persuade us; for it does not consist so much in a knowledge acquired by the instruction we receive from others, as in that we receive or attain from ourselves by sentiment and experience.

But some perhaps will say, that such a religion as this founded on our natural faculties is not sufficient for salvation: this is only the religion of nature, which is infinitely inferior to revealed religion, which is not founded on sentiment and experience, but on faith, since the Christian is obliged to believe what he does not see.

Don't let attachment to words mislead us. Natural religion, say these men, is greatly inferior to revealed. This is a lame proposition. Here is one equivalent to it: Nature in children is greatly inferior to education.

The use of education is most certainly not to destroy nature, but to bring it to perfection. Revealed religion ought to be with respect to men, what education is with respect to children; it can only build upon the foundation of nature.

This being supposed, 't is plain, revealed religion bears a relation to our natural faculties, and ought neither to destroy them or be substituted in their room. This idea of substitution, which we adopt without being aware of it, would appear ridiculous in any other case, as may be proved by an example taken from education:-A school-boy has a good natural genius for arithmetic, and desires to learn' the rules of it. A master gives him a book of sums, all done to his hand: the scholar then has no more to do but to believe, without examining, the exactness of every one of the rules, being pretty sure the master is not mistaken. I say, this book would in that case be substituted in the room of the natural capacity which the boy has for cyphering. He will not exert it, as finding the work ready done to his hand: but what is the boy the better for this? All that he will know is this, that he must believe, without knowing why, that such and such figures so put together make such a sum.

Thus you tell me I must believe without examining, because God hath said it; but this examination, which you exclude, necessarily supposes another, or perhaps several, before I can be convinced of this. For, from my knowing there is a God, it does not follow that 't is he that speaks in such a book. That book, say you, carries with it the marks of truth, for which it ought to be received. Very well. You no longer then insist that I should believe without examining, since you yourself invite me to judge of this book by the marks it carries with it. But how shall I judge of them? By what rule shall I be enabled to discern what you call the marks of truth? In order to do this, I must consult the principles of truth, and from them form my notion of these marks.

People are undoubtedly guided by a false notion, when they consider revealed religion, and the religion of nature, as opposite to one another. To decide the matter, a person need only ask himself, whether the means can be opposite to the end? And whether we can warrantably extol the means above the end, to which they are subservient?

Well now, allowing that our rational man has examined, and is entirely satisfied by the marks, that such a book contains the revealed will of God; for he cannot think it strange that the Deity should interest himself for men, who are the work of his own hands, and that for the same reason he should employ different means to form and perfect them, like a father who takes pains to form and perfect his children; that, God having placed us amongst such

a number of different objects, he should condescend to warn and instruct us as to the use we are to make of them; and that, considering the shortness of life, he should also warn us of what is to be our future portion, according to the use we shall make of our time here.

By examining this revelation, he finds it exactly agree with the religion of his understanding. He finds the author of it, Jesus Christ himself, declaring that both the law and the gospel centre in the accomplishment of this immutable law: Do to others as you would that they should do to you. And this he has made good by most of his precepts.

But it will be said, if the whole doctrine of Christ centered there, what did he teach men that they did not know before? I answer, that Jesus Christ has (properly speaking) required nothing of men, but what they themselves could perceive to be just. He appealed on all occasions to their discernment. He never grounds his precepts upon his own authority, but upon their agreement with common sense, upon the force of truth, which they are capable of feeling, when they do not wilfully oppose it. If I do not speak truth, said he, do not believe me. He invites men to examine, and made the most simple amongst them judges of his actions.

Now, such is the nature of the understanding, that it can believe nothing but what it discovers to be true. If God should require men to believe what they can't discern to be true, he would in that case disown the intelligent faculty which he has given them; truth would no longer have any force to con-

vince and persuade; they must become like those idols of whom 't is said, that they have eyes, but see not, &c. If men could believe what they please, to what purpose should we appeal to common sense, and ask those questions in every body's mouth, Is it not true? Is it not just? Accordingly we find Jesus Christ speaking to men, always supposing them to have understanding and liberty. He appeals to the understanding of the Jews against their laws and customs, which they reckoned to be most sacred, such as observing the Sabbath, &c. For common sense would have told them, that the Sabbath must have been made for man, and not man for the Sabbath. If so, the doing or receiving good, on that day, would not have been looked upon, as they pretended or imagined, a breach of it. He does not stop at the letter of the law, we see, but enters into the spirit of it: he appeals to themselves, whether any of them would not, or ought not to take care of his ox or his ass on that day.

But then 't is urged, that if the nature of the understanding be such, that it can believe nothing but what it discovers to be true, what must we do with the mysteries of revealed religion? The word mystery denotes something hid, the knowledge of which God has reserved to himself: let us therefore confine ourselves to evident and undoubted truth; and if so, what would be the consequence of such a conduct? Would it hinder us from knowing and practising the duties of natural and revealed religion?

No, but we should be ignorant of a great many things. We should indeed be ignorant of that art which passes under the name of controversy: we should have no idea of those distinctions of words, and of those subdivisions ad infinitum, which have enriched dictionaries. We should be ignorant of those names of sects, Arianism, Pelagianism, Socinianism, &c. We should not have known to what a pitch animosity, rancor, bigotry, and ambition can be carried under the name of zeal. If we had been ignorant of these things, would not the world have been a gainer in other respects? Wars about religion, which of all wars are the bloodiest, had never been known. Christians would have made (without these controversies) the study of religion to consist in being good men. The gospel would only lead them to that: in every page of it, they will find instructions tending to make them sincere, equitable, and beneficent. Every man then who should be wanting in such virtues, or have their opposite vices, would be deemed (as indeed they are) void of religion. For what is called devotion would not supply the place of religion where the fundamentals of it are wanting. Men would not damn one another then: that privilege would be unknown to them, and they would be as little acquainted with that of tyrannising over the consciences of others.

But, if you set aside mysteries, religion would be reduced to something so very simple, that the most illiterate men may understand it. What advantage would the learned have over them? And would it be reasonable that they, who consume themselves in

laborious researches about mysteries, should have made no farther progress than the greatest part amongst the illiterate! In answer, I say that I know the gospel was preached to the illiterate, and I know that the religion proper for all mankind ought to be within the reach of the illiterate. From whence I may justly conclude, that Christ did not require of any one to penetrate into things which are obscure; nay, I go farther in my belief, that what is a mystery to the illiterate, will be equally so to those learned men who have exhausted themselves, perhaps, in useless researches. Is this a conjecture only? Not in the least. These learned men have multiplied contradictions, in proportion as they attempted to explain those mysteries. Therefore let those who are lovers of truth embrace in its full force this maxim: Things which are hid are to God, but things revealed are to us, and to our children, to do them.

Whenever we put this question to ourselves, What is the end, or design of religion? The most natural answer that occurs is, that religion is intended to make us good men, that is, upright, equitable, beneficent, sincere, or true in our discourse, as well as in our conduct: this answer all Christians unanimously approve of. If this be the end, as we are all agreed in it is, must we, before we are capable of attaining it, know thoroughly all the different senses which are put upon the different passages in Scripture? And also which is the true genuine sense? But perhaps my whole life would not be sufficient for such a study. At what time, then, must I begin to be a good man? From hence I may safely con-

clude, that the essential part of religion is uprightness and sincerity, and the accessory part is a knowledge of particular things offered to us in Scripture.

When a thing contains two parts, the one essential, the other accessory, in order to know which part is essential, if you cut off one part, and, by so doing, you do not destroy the essence of the thing, then it is plain, the part cut off is only accessory.

Now I ask: If you remove from the idea of religion that fund of uprightness above mentioned, and place in its room all the acquired knowledge, which the written revelation offers, what would happen? Would a man, in this case, have any religion? On the other hand, if you remove from religion that acquired knowledge, and substitute in its room a fund of uprightness, as before described, I ask, whether such a man would be void of religion?

It may, however, and ought to be observed, that what is only accessory, with respect to one man, may be essential in respect to another; for, if sincerity requires me to assent to every truth that is either sensible or evident, all the truths, which appear to me as such, become essential with respect to me.

Let us now proceed to show how this essential religion is to be practised. The comparison, we are apt to make upon all occasions, between the Supreme Being and those men we call sovereigns, is apt to lead us into numberless mistakes. Christians, by it, are accustomed from their infancy to consider religion as something by which God is

honored: so, early do they fancy to themselves, that, when they pray to him, or praise him, he is much obliged to them for it; and that, by giving alms, and doing what we call good works, they honestly purchase heaven.

If afterwards they do not think so grossly, this opinion subsists in the main, though, perhaps, so secretly, that they themselves are not aware of it. We find our common discourse receive some tincture from this opinion: we talk of glorifying God, and paying him the homage that is due, as a thing advantageous to him: we insinuate, that he must be highly offended (not to say affronted) by those who refuse to pay him this homage.

The usual distinction between what we owe to God, and what we owe to ourselves, gives many people room to make separate articles of them. They give him his portion, if we may use the word; they set apart a certain time for worshipping him; in short, they render unto God what they think is his due; so that it would be hard to convince many people that this part of religion, which seems only to relate to God, does, like all the rest, tend solely to the advantage of man: for, if, according to the foundation-principle here laid down, God is a self-sufficient being, our worshipping him can benefit none but ourselves.

Yet, what strange metamorphoses some people imagine are produced by devotion! During these happy minutes, an unjust man puts on sentiments of equity, a severe man sentiments of humanity, a proud man sentiments of humility. Now, let us

examine, whether there is anything in all this; whether we do not impose upon ourselves. Sentiments put on! does not this phrase seem to imply a contradiction? Is it in a man's power to assume what sentiments he pleases? No, but he may strongly imagine them; and these imagined, not to say imaginary sentiments, is called putting on, because the appearances of them are put on, and afterwards we are apt to take it for reality.

What proves them to be merely borrowed is, that we are presently stript of them. This is experienced in seasons of high devotion, which, as soon as over, the very next day we find, that we are no longer the same men which we believed ourselves to be the day before; and yet it is in these efforts of devotion, that many people make their christianity to consist. They complain, and blame themselves for their lukewarmness, and that want of fervency, which they ought to have, but not their neglect of practising the duties flowing from beneficence; lament, above all, the badness of their memories, in not retaining the good things which they read and hear, but neglect to blame themselves for not performing the duties they do remember. These borrowed sentiments, on which they set so great a value, is what makes them neglect the study of themselves. They torment themselves about what is not in their power, and oftentimes neglect what deserves their greatest attention.

No imaginary effort can deserve the name of virtue, for virtue must have truth for its foundation. I ask, can a man, that is six feet high, persuade himself that he is but four?

It is plain, our passions cannot be commanded: we cannot love, hate, or fear, purely by being bid to do it. But then, say you, if the passions are not under command,-if love, for instance, is not to be commanded, because the heart is framed in such a manner, as not to love anything but what appears amiable to it, what shall we do with several precepts of the gospel, enjoining us to love our neighbor as ourselves, &c. ? Must we suppose, that the gospel commands us to do a thing impossible? Or must we blindly suppose, that it is possible for us to love, upon command? Surely, neither one, nor the other. The first supposition would be injurious to the Author of the gospel, the second opposite to the laws of nature. What medium must be then taken? It is plain, nature and the gospel have but one and the same original: when, therefore, I read, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another: let us examine into the other parts of the gospel, and the difficulty will soon cease; we there shall find other commands of the same import, where the difficulty above mentioned will quickly vanish. Here is a proposition will do it: All things, which we would that men should do to you, do ye also to them in like manner; for this is the law and the prophets. Are we not, by this, commanded to be equitable, or to endeavor to be so? Without dispute, we are. Here then, the voice of the gospel and that of nature are but one and the same voice; consequently, we cannot refuse our assent to it: there is no room here for the pretence of impossibility. So that you see, in this

sense, it is not impossible to obey our Saviour's precept of loving our enemies; and he himself shows you how to do it, by doing good to them that hate you. Now, it is plain, we can easily conceive a difference between loving one, and doing good to him; if the former is not in our power, the latter surely is; for to love any one, we must think him possessed of some amiable qualities; whereas, to do good to him, it is sufficient if we see him in want of it.

To conclude as I began: I say that in true religion, all that are called the duties of men, whether relating to God, to our neighbors, or ourselves, when strictly considered, melt as it were into one another, and all tend to procure him good, and that happiness for which he was made. For, seeing God is a self-sufficient being, he does nothing for his own advantage; he can have no other view than the advantage of his creatures; therefore whatever is called religion is reduced to this; any other idea of religion is so far from honoring God, that it really dishonors him; for otherwise, you suppose him to be like unto men, who, in consequence of their known insufficiency, cannot be perfectly disinterested.

From hence it is evident, even to a demonstration, that the principle of a self-sufficient being is so far from ruining religion, that it is the real basis of it; it is so far from destroying morality, that it comprehends the strongest motives to it: for the self-sufficient being, having no need of his creatures, has, in what we call religion, no other interest in view but theirs; no other aim, but that of making them hap-

py; which was the sole design of his creating them, all his laws having the same tendency.

NOTE TO PAGE 106.

'Will receive a proportionable Recompense.'

The writer here seems to express the opinion which has been entertained by some, that rewards and punishments are not, in this life, proportioned to men's actions. We beg leave, therefore, to present the following extract from Dr. Benson's Life of Christ. He was an author of high repute, and a full believer in the doctrine of a future retribution; but he held that rewards and punishments are distributed among men in this life, according to the characters they possess. Editor.

'The doctrine of our text doth most properly and immediately point out the misery of wicked men, or the connexion between vice and misery. And that connexion is indeed very remarkable, and affords mankind a most excellent lesson. There have been crimes which have given men more exquisite miserv. than being stretched upon the rack, or undergoing the greatest bodily torments. And again. But all vice, in proportion o the degree and aggravation of it, is sooner or later so much misery, Envy is the rottenness of the bones. Revenge may gratify a man whilst his passion rages. But as soon as he has satiated his malice, the demon of revenge comes thundering back upon himself, and pours out her torment upon the furious and implacable, giving him more exquisite misery than all that he could inflict upon his adversary. The covetous and ambitious are never satisfied. For irregular desires grow much faster than to be appeased with the greatest success. The tumultuous pleasures of the voluptuous and the debauched end with a short-lived transport, but leave the mind in a disordered state; create fears and dangers by breaking in upon the honor and peace of families, as well as upon a man's own honor and integrity, which ought to be dearer to him than all the world. Indulging to sense and appetite impairs the

health of the body, destroys the vigor of the mind, breaks in upon its peace and harmony, puts the faculties in disorder, creates tumult and confusion, anarchy and uproar, distress and misgivings of heart; brings on various diseases, and sometimes sudden and premature death. Is it virtue or vice that commonly ruins men's estates, disturbs the comfort of families, renders men useless and contemptible in themselves, and the scorn and detestation of the sober and thinking part of mankind, whose esteem and approbation every wise man will above all things court? Who are the grand disturbers of neighborhoods towns or kingdoms? the plagues and terrors of human society? the virtuous or the vicious? And it ought to be added that wicked men, in common calamities, are as liable to suffer as the good. In war, famine, pestilence, sickness and death, and the like, and that they want those supports and refreshments, under their calamities, which religion affords the virtuous and good man. But, if they were to escape more frequently than they do, it has been known that worldly success has been some men's utter ruin, even as to the possessions and enjoyments of this present transitory life.'

' But, continues the Dr. on the other hand, ' Between virtue and happiness, there is, in the wise constitution of God, the most close and strict connexion. The pleasures of a man are of two sorts, sensible and rational. The sensible pleasures of this life may be enjoyed by a good man, provided he indulges them no further than reason allows. The checks of conscience which restrain him, and direct him to keep within proper bounds, are so far from being his misery, that they are his honor and singular felicity. They either keep him in the paths of righteousness, or lead him back to virtue's ways, when he has wandered from her amiable paths. But besides sensible enjoyments, the good man has the pleasure of acquiring useful knowledge; and the high delight which flows from virtuous practice: of which last the wicked man is wholly incapable, as long as he continues wicked. The good man therefore, is so far from being of all men the most miserable, that he is of all men the most happy. His piety doth not lead him to any monkish austerities, or ridiculous mortification and abstinence,

but conduces to the health of his body, the peace, order, and harmony of his mind, the good of his estate, and the welfare of his family and friends. He has deservedly more reputation than his wicked neighbor; is more valued by thinking and good men; is in reality a better member of civil society. as well as an ornament to the church of God. Whether his life be longer or shorter, it is formed upon the rules of wisdom. that is, of virtue and true religion. He can look all round him, and take satisfaction that all is well on every side. If he considers his relation to God, or man; if he looks backward or forward, considers his present existence, or that which is to come, all, all yield him satisfaction and delight. He considers himself as raised from nothing to the rank and dignity of a rational creature; that he is acting according to his rank by imitating the most perfect being; that he stands well with him: and that as he is like him now, he hopes to be happy with him forever. Blessed is the person that is in such a case: yea thrice happy that man, whose God is the Lord.

'One would think that as piety and virtue conduce to men's present happiness, this argument might have some weight with the voluptuous, ambitious and worldly minded man, and put them upon trying virtue's ways, which are all ways of pleasantness, and all who e paths are paths of peace. There is not, indeed, perfect felicity in this world; but the good man comes the nearest to it of any man upon the face of the earth. And virtue and true religion tend to a man's most solid and durable felicity.'

ESSAY II.

State of Souls after Death.

Agreeable to the foregoing abstract or plan of the Christian Religion, let us now consider the state o souls after death, as discovered to us by revelation.

Mankind are agreed that the ideas of goodness and justice are inseparably connected with the idea of God; but our custom of settling these attributes n opposition to each other, is a proof that we are strangers to their nature.

We usually say, that justice gives way to goodness, or goodness gives place to justice; and hence imagine, that they are so far from being one and the same, that there is even a considerable distance between them. If we survey them in another light, and trace them up to their origin, we shall find that goodness is, as it were, the centre of justice, the latter losing itself in the former.

Let us then represent to ourselves the infinite being in the eternity, prior to the existence of time, before any creatures came out of his hands. Let us represent to ourselves this being self-sufficient designing to form intelligent beings; let us suppose ourselves acquainted with this purpose, before it was put in execution: what can we presume concerning the state of these new beings, that are to come from the hands of a perfectly happy being, but they will be rendered as happy as their finite capacities will admit of?

For the perfectly happy being, wanting nothing for himself, cannot create beings with a view of making addition to his own felicity; it must be then to make them happy as he himself is, in proportion to finite and infinite. Hence it follows that the idea of infinite goodness is inseparable from that of an infinitely happy being; the pure and perfect good cannot do, or confer, anything but what is good, and, did it communicate anything else, it would be inconsistent with itself.

This idea of goodness in the Deity is a positive one, which justice is not; equity therefore constituting without dispute the essence of justice, I would ask whether infinite goodness and perfect equity do not harmoniously agree? and whether they can be set in opposition?

Hence it follows that the effects of sovereign goodness are never suspended, but that we even share of them when under punishment; some resemblance we see of it in the chastisements that parental affection inflicts. Thus the Deity, by the small portion of benevolence we feel in ourselves, invites us to judge how far his own immense goodness may reach.

Now let us suppose that a man who has this idea of infinite goodness, but has never heard talk of a

miserable eternity; how do we imagine such a man would relish the first proposal of it? what horror would not such an image give him? He would conclude that those who admit of such a state, have a God different from his; that they were never acquainted with the immense goodness of the supremely happy being. He would even conjecture, that those, who espouse this opinion, feel not within themselves those characters of beneficence which are inseparable from human nature.

In reality, this strange opinion degrades the Divine Goodness, and places it below human goodness. For it supposes that God could not foresee what would befall the work of his own hands; that he ventured to give being to an infinite number of creatures, without any certainty of being able to make them happy.

It will be granted, that this plan is worthy of God, and its end above all fully satisfactory; but still it may be objected, that, in order to arrive at this happy end, there is a terrible interval; the unavoidable miseries of the present life are light, and will soon have an end; but the additional prospect of future sufferings, the end of which we know not, is terrible; would it not be more worthy of immense goodness to exempt men from all manner of punishment after this life, since they were formed and infallibly destined for bliss? Why does not that now happen, which one day will certainly be brought about?

This question amounts to the same as that concerning the fall of the first man: Why did not God prevent his making that use of his liberty? Or rather, why did he create him a free agent? for a confined liberty is no liberty. Such difficulties as these take their rise from our ignorance, and our short-sighted views of things. A being without liberty would no longer be a man, and then we might ask, Why God thought fit to make men? Now let us return to something certain.

It is certain, that infinite goodness cannot make a present of anything to man, but what is for his good. Since therefore man is endowed with liberty, and that this might prove prejudicial to him, it necessarily follows, that it is in itself so essential to man's nature, that Divine Wisdom could not divest him of it, without divesting him of the quality of man.

We likewise clearly see, that the good, accruing to him from it, must infinitely surpass the damage he may possibly sustain from it; without which we may presume that Divine Wisdom and Goodness would never have made him a present of so pernicious a nature.

Let us now examine whether the scripture contradicts this notion. Indeed, there are repeated expressions of eternal fire, and the worm that dieth not, &c. But are not the terms, eternal, eternity, and never, very equivocal, both in Greek and Hebrew, most commonly signifying a long period of time, and sometimes an indefinite time? It is said the slave shall continue in his master's house forever; and Jeremy speaks of the temple and sacrifices, as of things that never were to be abolished. God swore to David, that a successor upon his throne should never fail.

Now let us agree upon an incontestable principle for understanding the scriptures. It contains truths which we may call eternal and unchangeable, which are the foundation of all the rest, independent of expressions, figures, parables, &c: of this sort are the spirituality, eternity, omnipotence of God, and whatever else we can know of his perfections. Next to these, which serve as a foundation to all the rest, we find in scripture God's design of saving men through his Son. These truths, which are the basis of all religion, and as there are in scripture a prodigious number of figurative, allegorical, equivocal, and even contradictory expressions, must we not then judge of their true sense, not by what the words seem to import, but by those unshaken truths that never can vary?

Thus we see the spirituality of God takes away the literal sense of his eyes, hands, nostrils, &c; in like manner his sanctity will not allow us to ascribe to him the passions of wrath, jealousy, fury, and partiality. Thus this unerring rule is applicable to a thousand places in scripture, and would clear up abundance of difficulties, if rightly applied.

Let us try it upon the present subject: what supports the eternity of hell torments? Why only three or four expressions of eternity, the worm that never dieth, &c. which may be taken in different senses. But what supports the contrary opinion? Why, those very unchangeable truths which are the basis of all religion.

God is wise, just and good. Justice is not opposite to goodness, nor goodness to justice. I go a step

further, and say they are so inseparable, that we cannot suppose a man to be just unless he is good, or good unless he is just. In God, goodness and justice are boundless. If God's justice is not attended either with hatred, fury or revenge, but is inseparable from infinite goodness, can we conceive it will condemn millions of creatures formed after God's own image, to dreadful and never-ending misery, and even doom them to the hatred of God, to rage, to despair and blasphemy to all eternity? May we not rather on the contrary say, that the chief business of this sovereign justice, is to make just whatever is unjust, and render the crooked straight? What is more unjust and contrary to the views of the Creator, than that myriads of his creatures should forever hate him? Once more I ask, can sovereign justice will injustice, or permit it to subsist to all eternity?

Let us now proceed to consider the design of Jesus Christ's coming into the world: the New Testament tells us in almost every page, that it was to save all men. And is it not surprising that the expression, all men, so often repeated, should make no impression on the minds of men, while those of eternity and forever have been received without restriction. The particularist tells us, by all men is meant the elect only. The universalists say 't is an offer of grace to all men. But those universalists that are against the eternity of hell torments, think that God's declaring his desire, that all men should be saved, will accomplish it in its utmost extent. It expresses, say they, a positive will, which sooner or

later will have its effect, and not a bare wish that all men may be saved.

No sooner did Adam fall, but the promise of salvation was made to him and his posterity. St. Paul is very express on this subject: As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive. This proof I think is exceeding strong, by the comparison made between Adam and Christ. Therefore as it is past dispute, that in Adam all die, so it is unexceptionably true, that in Christ all shall be made alive. what the apostle subjoins is a proof, that this will happen at very different periods: But every man, says he, in his own order; Christ the first-fruits, afterwards they which are Christ's at his coming. 'T is plain by this coming, he means the last judgment, and by those that are Christ's, the souls of the just. Nevertheless, he afterwards speaks of another future period, which he calls the end. And then the end shall come, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even to the Father. But what is this end? That all things should be subjected to him. But is it a forced or a voluntary subjection? If the former, he would never speak of it as a thing to come, because from the foundation of the world, all things are subject to him. If the latter, there is no more hell, What follows seems to prove this clearly: The last enemy that shall be destroyed, is death. Is the separation of the soul from the body the death here meant?, No, for after the coming of Christ, there is no room for that death.

Another proof, that the death here mentioned is not temporal death, is, that St. Paul ranks it with the enemies of God, over whom Jesus Christ should

reign till they were all destroyed; temporal death is no enemy, but an agent in God's hands to execute his orders; but 't is spiritual death which is called enmity against God, a rebellion of the creature against the Creator; 't is this death to which the title of enemy perfectly agrees.

Now, when Christ hath delivered up his kingdom to his Father, then God is said to be all and in all. Now these words could have no sense if hell torments were eternal. God can never be all and in all, but by restoring the order of things. Indeed, these words are an irrefragible argument for the abolition of sin and hell, and the restoration of all the creatures; which is farther confirmed by St. Paul's exclamation, O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? Now if death and the grave have no other sting but sin, and this sting must be destroyed, does it not follow that hell must be destroyed also? Since 't is certain that, if sin were killed in men, there would be no hell.

This chapter alone affords sufficient arguments for the support of this doctrine; but we will not entirely stop here. In the second of Hebrews, 'tis said that Jesus Christ tasted death for all men. And elsewhere, that he is made the propitiation for the sins of the whole world, and that every knee shall bow at the name of Jesus, of things in heaven, &c. I shall only dwell a little on the last verses of the fifth of the Romans, that are very clear in this case, where the Apostle compares Jesus Christ to Adam, and also the fruits we reap from each: As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, so that death is passed upon all men: in like manner, by the righteousness of one,

the gift is come upon all men to justification of life. For, adds he, As by the disobedience of one, many, &c. This word, many, here undoubtedly comprehends all mankind. All were made sinners by Adam, therefore all ought to be made righteous by Christ. And here we may very justly apply that excellent but abused text, Where sin did abound, grace did much more abound. That is, the grace of Christ Jesus is so abundant that it shall at last destroy the sins of all mankind, so that, as sin has reigned unto death, , in like manner grace should reign by righteousness unto eternal life. As if he had said, the reign of sin and death must come to an end, to make room for that of grace through all eternity.

Let us now, after having considered the end of Christ's coming, in support of this subject, examine the nature of justice. At the end of the second commandment, we find a positive declaration of the eternal laws of justice and mercy. In the first part God shows himself as a powerful and jealous God, punishing iniquity to the fourth generation; but in the last he is represented as exercising mercy to thousands of generations. Doth not this show plainly, that justice in his punishments is restrained within certain bounds, whereas mercy knows no limits? To this it may be objected, if bounds be set to the divine justice, what becomes of its infinity? I answer, that divine justice, considered in itself, is without bounds; but its infinity does not consist in punishing without bounds, but in being infinitely equitable, entering into an infinite detail of what can render every creature more or less culpable, and more or less pardonable in weighing with a perfect equal balance, not

only actions, but particular intentions, motives, knowledge, circumstances, temptations; in a word, in entering into the infinite proportions of rewards and punishments, so that it incline not to one side more than another. Now was it to punish infinitely there must needs be a heavier weight in the scale of rigor, than in that of clemency, which cannot suit with the idea of justice.

The first verse of the 118th Psalm is, as it were, an abridgement of the whole, saying, O, give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good, because his mercy endureth forever. What does this declaration tell us? That immense goodness is not confined to the short space of this life; since it endureth forever, it must certainly be employed in the life to come, for the benefit of such subjects as shall be capable of receiving its influence. But who are those subjects? The same Psalm is very express on that article. They are such as having been rebels against God, have been humbled, mortified and crushed by his justice, who have felt inexpressible anguish on account of their transgressions. But then here follows one of the strongest expressions against the eternity of their torments: He will not always chide, nor keep his anger forever.

But, granting my arguments for a restoration be true, I have made this objection to myself: To what purpose is it to set in too clear a light truths that may possibly encourage licentiousness and remissness? Would it not be better to have mankind in an error, that may be a means to awaken their attention and lead them to virtue? I own that the knowledge

of this truth is not absolutely necessary.* We may rest satisfied with the speaking of hell in the terms of scripture, and leave every one to explain them in the sense he likes best. However we don't find, that the opinion about the eternity of hell torments produces any very remarkable effect, or proves a sufficient curb to prevent mankind's going on in wicked courses. The fear of a violent distemper, of twenty or thirty years continuance, would make a deeper impression on them. What can be the reason of this amazing indifference about an evil of so desperate a nature, which they profess to believe, and yet do nothing towards avoiding it? It is true they imagine they believe it, but see how they make themselves easy! Every one is persuaded that he himself is not of the number of the wicked, whose portion shall be in the lake of fire and brimstone; they cannot conceive, if they be not notoriously wicked, that God will condemn them to frightful and endless torments. They are sensible, indeed, that they are guilty of several faults; but, where is the man, say they, without sin? Besides, for these they ask forgiveness daily; and what are the merits of Christ good for, if they do not deliver men from

^{*}We differ entirely from the writer here. Nothing is more necessary to men than a knowledge of God's goodness and love, and his purpose to save mankind. This writer was not alone, however, in supposing it was not necessary to preach the doctrine of Universalism, for Dr. Thos. Burnet, who wrote a book in defence of the sentiment, entertained the same opinion. Mod. Hist. Universalism, p. 100. It is said, Dr. Watts found much fault with Burnet in this particular.

everlasting misery? Nay, even sinners of the first magnitude hope to escape hell, either by repenting, as they propose to do sooner or later, or through the infinite mercy of God; for it is as easy, say they, for God to pardon the greatest as the least sinners; by a single act of his will he can make a creature happy forever, or let him perish eternally; surely then he will not choose the last, because that would suppose cruelty in an infinitely merciful being.—
Thus it is plain, that, the more terrible hell becomes, by supposing it eternal, every one more easily persuades himself that Divine Mercy will exempt him from it.

Hence it is evident, that the greater number of Christians, who profess the belief of the eternity of hell-torments, are so far from using it as a motive to holiness, that it is only made a handle to sloth and security. This may seem to be a paradox, but it is no hard matter to explain it.

For, the greater disproportion the punishment men are threatened with seem to have, either with their crimes, or the ideas they form to themselves of the mercy of God, the more confidently they persuade themselves that eternal fire will not be their lot. But if, instead of determining the duration of the torments which sinners must undergo, we should rest satisfied with telling them what we find in the second chapter to the Romans, That there shall be tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doth evil; and that in so just a proportion, that every one shall bear the punishment of his iniquity, and shall eat the fruit of his works: It would then be impossi-

ble for the conscience of the most profligate not to acquiesce in this judgment, nor could any one flatter himself with impunity under any pretext whatever. This unchangeable truth, That God shall render to every man according to his works, so often repeated in scripture, is written in indellible characters on the consciences of all men. They all know that the idea of proportion is inseparable from that of equity; no proportion can be found betwixt a wicked life, of a few years, and eternal torments; nor is there less disproportion found between such punishment and boundless mercy.

By this time we see, that the objections against making known this doctrine dwindles almost into nothing; nay, if we compare the effects arising from the two opinions, which is most likely to be productive of good? Persons in the first case are only actuated by servile fear, which makes them easily satisfied, if they forsake scandalous sins, which put them in fear of hell; therefore, when once they come to lead a good life according to the world, they fancy themselves entirely screened from eternal damnation, so that they need not give themselves any farther trouble; they are content with the lowest place in paradise; and, provided they do but escape hell, they aspire at nothing more. But those that are actuated by the strong impression of this truth, That God will render to every man according to his works, are set to work after another manner: They know that God cannot be mocked; but that, whatever a man sows, that shall he reap.

Does not St. John say (which is the summary of all that I have said) We know, when the Son of God shall appear, we shall be like him, and shall see him as he is; therefore every one that hath this hope, purifieth himself, even as he is pure. We cannot see God as he is, without being like him; it is impossible to be like him, without being purified not only from acts of injustice, but also from the whole source of wickedness which is as it were incorporated with us; therefore such as in this life have only touched on, or begun this great work, must certainly continue it in the next till they become like Jesus Christ, otherwise they cannot see him as he is. If it be objected that there is no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus: My first gives a solution to this difficulty, viz. That God, properly speaking, does not punish men, but leaves them to reap the fruits of what they have sown.

Upon this principle it must be observed, that the souls which after this life suffer torment, proportioned to the evil which is in them, do not pass into that state of suffering by a sentence positively pronounced by God. God has no torment to inflict upon his creatures; whence then can they proceed? I answer, which cannot be too often repeated, from themselves.

I ask, what is sowing to the flesh? It is gratifying our vicious inclinations, and thereby riveting those habits which at last tyranise over us. What is reaping corruption? It is experiencing the torment resulting from that tyranny, being deprived of the objects which we could not part with, without feeling cutting remorse, for having voluntarily

attached ourselves to them. When therefore we suppose hell torments will one day end, we do not depart from the ideas which both scripture and good sense give us of it; such as an eternal fire, a worm that never dieth; for it is but too probable, that the sufferers of those dreadful torments will reckon every hour an age, and every age an eternity.

To conclude, then: Let us see whether the doctrines of purification and restoration in another life will not reconcile the disputes, that have so long subsisted between those two grand parties of divines, called *Particularists* and *Universalists*: The former restrain God's will to a small number, called the elect, whereas the latter maintain, that God will save all men.—The former reply,

'That the will of God is efficacious, and therefore 'he cannot fall short of his purpose; that, if he 'willed all men to be saved, he would save them 'effectually; that it is annihilating his omnipotence 'to say, he desires to save all men, but that he 'cannot.'

The Universalists, on the other hand, maintain, 'That it is injurious to the goodness of God to say, 'that he cannot save all men, and will only save a 'part; that it is accusing him of cruelty, who 'desires that none should perish, but that all may 'come to repentance; that, if this will has not its 'effect, the fault is not on God's part, but on man's, 'who resists the gracious will of his Creator.'

Hence it appears, that the divines of both denominations, after they have assented to the thesis in general, deny it, when they come to particulars. The former injure the idea we have of the goodness of God; the latter, those we entertain of his omnipotence. Let us now see, whether we cannot unfold the riddle: and, first, it is granted to the Particularists, that the will of God is efficacious; that he cannot be frustrated of his purpose; and that all those, whom he has predestinated to salvation, and for whom Christ died, will he infallibly saved. It is likewise granted the Universalists, that God wills all men should be saved; that he destines no one to misery; and that Christ hath tasted death for every man.

This seems contradictory; but we shall be able to clear up the matter, if we here join together the different theses of each party.

Particularists. The acts of the divine will are efficacious.

Universalists.* God wills all men to be saved.

Therefore all men will one day be saved.

Part. All those, whom God has predestined to salvation, will infallibly be saved.

Univ. God predestinateth none to wrath, but to salvation.

^{*} Universalists in this instance mean those that were formerly called so, viz: not such as held absolutely to the salvation of all mankind, (for the name of Universalists was not at first applied to them,) but such as held that all men might be saved, if they would. See Mod. Hist. Universalism, p. 138, note. Nicholson's Encyclopedia, Art. Universalists; and Mosheim's Eccle. Hist. Cen. xvii. Part ii. ch. ii. sec, 14.

Therefore all will be infallibly saved.

Part. All those, for whom Christ died, will partake of salvation.

Univ. Jesus Christ tasted death for all, and was lifted up from earth to draw all men to him.

Therefore all will partake of salvation, and at last be drawn after him.

I foresee the argument will be denied, and retorted as follows, viz.

Salvation is promised only to those who are sanctified.

Infinitely more die, who are not sanctified, than who are.

Therefore all men will not be saved.

Now, to show, that the first conclusion is just, and the second false, we need only join to these two propositions a third, drawn from the principles of the Universalists:

Salvation is promised only to those who are sanctified.

God wills, that all men come to repentance and the knowledge of the truth.

All of them do not attain to it in this life.

Therefore this must be done in the other.

In order to support this conclusion, let us make use of some principles of the same divines:

God offers all men the means of sanctification, but commits no violence on their liberty; all do not make the advantage of the proffer; all do not make use of those means to come to repentance and sanctification.

I ask now, shall the purposes of God be frustrated by the resistance of man? Will he not find some method for bringing them to repentance and holiness without forcing their liberty? If they do not correspond with those means in this life, which is but of a minute's duration, when compared with eternity, will he confine his concern for the restoration of his work to that short span? Shall not he, who is so well acquainted with all its springs, be able to bring it back to himself at last?

By the knowledge of these truths, we manifestly perceive the unchangeable attributes of the Deity, his goodness, his omnipotence, wisdom, justice, holiness, faithfulness, and mercy.-First, I say, his Goodness, as God wills the happiness of all his creatures, and their return to the primitive perfection they had received at his hands. His Omnipotence, as it hence appears, that the will of God is efficacious, that his arm is not shortened, but that he is able, sooner or later, to accomplish all his designs. His Faithfulness, as it hereby appears, that his gifts and calling are without repentance; that, having once destined man to bliss, he doth not desist from his first design. His Mercy, as he furnishes the most rebellious with the means of sanctification; as he extends the effects of his mercy, not to some only, but to all without exception, not only in this life, but also in the life to come. His Justice, by leaving every one to reap the fruits of what he has sown;

by making tribulation and anguish fall upon every soul that doth evil, and making them eat the fruit of their own doings and devices. His Holiness, in his not being re-united to his creatures before he has sanctified them, till they become children of light. Divine Justice will be the same to them, that fire is to hay and stubble; and this fire will not cease to burn till all unrighteousness is consumed; then only justice will cease to be rigorous, without ceasing to be just.

And when we take a view at large, and see how disproportioned the means of salvation are offered to mankind in general, or even to Christians in particular, some of whom are, in respect of others, like to many beasts of burthen, bowed down from their youth under the weight of toil and labor, which scarce allow them time to enquire whether they have souls to cultivate, and prepare for a future life; and who, on observing such disproportions between those, who, by nature are of equal dignity, can discern impartiality in God? Surely nothing can account for this conduct, but the knowledge of a state of purification, where those, who have been unprovided with the means of coming to the knowledge of the truth in this life, will find them in another. This also justifies the equity of God, in all the dreadful judgments inflicted on whole nations, a great part whereof knew neither good nor evil. In reality, did we not know that in the other life there will be a perfect compensation, both in regard to the means of salvation, and blessings and miseries, should we

not be tempted to cry out, Is there knowledge in the Lord, and does he weigh all men in an equal balance?

Now let us sum up all briefly, recounting the practical uses of these opinions. Is any thing more proper for overturning the false maxims so much in vogue, in which numbers securely lull themselves asleep, than the knowledge of an unchangeable justice, that constantly judges of things as they really are? And of a mercy, which is so far from being contrary to justice, that it concurs with it in the grand design of purifying mankind?

This being laid down, what will become of the hopes of those, who imagine that mercy will prevail against justice and stop its course, so that they shall feel none of its effects?

If God is capable of anger, provocation and revenge, as we have proved, he is incapable of being appeased, of being moved with repeated cries, or feeling compassion like ours, which proceeds only from the weakness of our nature. This being supposed, what will become of those flattering hopes, that we shall appease the Deity with tears; that, on begging grace and mercy, he will be easily prevailed on to relent?

If the greatest favor God can do men is to purify them, and if this is the only way by which they arrive at happiness, how can they desire mercy to exempt them from purification? Could they obtain their request, they would obtain eternal torment, since, without holiness, they will never see God.

Upon the whole, I know not whether any other

system contains motives so efficacious for engaging mankind to walk in the ways of real holiness; any system, which can make religion more venerable, in the eyes even of libertines, or more lovely to the lovers of truth; that places in a clearer light the wonderful harmony of the divine attributes, and the reasons we have to love sovereign perfection.

13

END.



HARTLEY

ON

UNIVERSALISM.

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MELLANNAFIED.

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O N

UNIVERSALISM.

OF THE FINAL HAPPINESS OF ALL MANKIND IN SOME DISTANT FUTURE STATE.

I. It is probable from reason that all mankind will be made happy ultimately. For, first, it has been observed all along in the course of this work, that all the evils that befal either body or mind in this state, have a tendency to improve one or both. If they fail of producing a peculiar, appropriated intermediate good effect, they must, however, necessarily contribute to the annihilation of that self, carnal or spiritual, gross or refined, which is an insuperable bar to our happiness in the pure love of God, and of his works. Now, if we reason at all concerning a future state, it must be from analogies taken from this; and that we are allowed to reason, that we are able to do it

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with some justness, concerning a future state, will appear from the great coincidence of the foregoing natural arguments for a future state, and for the rewards and punishments of it, with what the scriptures have delivered upon the same heads; also because a similar kind of reasonings in respect of the future states, which succeed in order from infancy to old age, is found to be just, and to afford many useful directions and predictions. We ought therefore to judge, that the evils of a future state will have the same tendency, and final cause, as those of this life, viz. to meliorate and perfect our natures, and to prepare them for ultimate unlimited happiness in the love of God, and of his works.

Secondly, the generation of benevolence, by the natural and necessary tendency of our frames, is a strong argument for the ultimate happiness of all mankind. It is inconsistent to suppose, that God should thus compel us to learn universal unlimited benevolence; and then not provide food for it. And both this and the foregoing argument seem conclusive, though we should not take in the divine benevolence. They are both supported by the analogy and uniformity apparent in the creation, by the mutual adaptations and correspondencies of things existing at different times, and in different places: but they receive much additional force from the consideration of the goodness of God, if that be first proved by other evidences; as they are themselves the strongest evidences for it, when taken in a contrary order of reasoning.

And as the benevolence of one part of the creation is thus an argument for the happiness of the other; so, since benevolence is itself happiness, a tendency to learn it in any being is also an argument for his own happiness. And, upon the whole, since God has commanded his beloved sons, the good, to love and compassionate every being, that comes within their cognizance, by the voice of their natures speaking within them, we cannot suppose, that these his favorites (to speak according to present appearances, and our necessary conceptions, which with this caution is justifiable) will fail of their proper reward in the gratification of this their benevolence.

Thirdly, the infinite goodness of God is an argument for the ultimate happiness of all mankind. This appears without any particular discussion of this attribute. But it may not be amiss for the reader just to review the evidences for it above exhibited, and their tendency to prove the ultimate happiness of all God's creatures.

Fourthly, The infinite happiness and perfection of God is an argument for, and, as it were, a pledge of, the ultimate happiness and perfection of all his creatures. For these attributes, being infinite, must bear down all opposition from the quarters of misery and imperfection. And this argument will be much stronger, if we suppose (with reverence be it spoken!) any intimate union between God and his creatures; and that, as the happiness of the creatures arises from their love and worship of God, so the happiness of God consists, shows itself, &c. (for

one does not know how to express this properly) in love and beneficence to the creatures. As God is present every where, knows and perceives every thing, he may also, in a way infinitely superior to our comprehension, feel every where for all his creatures. Now, according to this, it would seem to us, that all must be brought to ultimate infinite happiness, which is, in his eye, present infinite happiness.

Fifthly, The impartiality of God, in respect of all his creatures, seems to argue, that, if one be made infinitely happy upon the balance, all will be made That benevolence, which is infinite, must be impartial also; must look upon all individuals, and all degrees of happiness, with an equal eye; must stand in a relation of indifference to them all. Now this is really so, if we admit the third of the foregoing suppositions concerning the divine benevolence. If all individuals be at last infinitely happy upon the balance, they are so at present in the eye of God, i. e. he is perfectly impartial to all his creatures. And thus every intermediate finite degree of misery, how great soever, may be consistent with the impartiality of God. But to suppose, before the creatures A and B existed, that A was made by God to be eternally happy, and B made to be eternally miserable, seems as irreconcileable impartiality, as to his benevolence. That both should be made for eternal and infinite happiness, one to enjoy it in one way, the other in another; one by passing through much pain, the other by passing through little or perhaps none; one by an acceleration in one period of his existence, the other

in another, &c. &c. is perfectly consistent with God's impartiality; for, the happiness of each being infinite at present in the eye of God, his eye must regard them equally. And, even in the eye of finite beings, if A's happiness seems less than B's, in one respect, because A passes through more pain, it may seem greater in another, because he arrives at greater degrees of it in less time. But this is all appearance. Different finite beings form different judgments according to their different experiences, and ways of reasoning. Who therefore shall be made the standard? Not the inferior orders, certainly. And, if the superior, we shall not be able to rest, till we conclude, that all that appears to all finite beings, is false and delusive; and that the judgment of the infinite being is the only true real judgment. Now I have endeavored to show, according to the method of ultimate ratios, how, allowing the third supposition concerning the divine goodness, all individuals are equally happy in the eye of God. And thus the impartiality of God is vindicated, according to the truth and reality of things, in the judgment of his own infinite understanding.

Sixthly, All the foregoing reasons seem to be somewhat more short and clear upon the hypothesis of mechanism; but it is not invalidated by that of free-will. For free-will must be considered as the production of infinite power, and therefore as being suited to the rest of the divine attributes, his benevolence, happiness, and impartiality, and to all the methods, by which God conducts men to benevo-

lence and happiness. Or, if the hypothesis of freewill be a bar to the foregoing reasonings in their full extent, it cannot, however, account for misery upon the whole, much less for eternal misery. To suppose that God wills and desires the happiness of all his creatures, and yet that he has given them a power, by which many of them will, in fact, make themselves eternally miserable, also that he foresees this in general, and in each particular case, is either to suppose God under some fatal necessity of giving such a power; or else to take away his unlimited benevolence in reality, after that it has been allowed in words. If therefore God has given men free-will in such a measure, as that they may bring upon themselves finite miseries thereby in the present state, or in any future intermediate one, we must, however, suppose it to be so restrained, as that it shall not occasion infinite and eternal misery. The cause of the cause is also the cause of the thing caused; which is surely as evident in the application of it to the present subject, as in any other instance, where it cannot be applied.

Seventhly, There are many obvious and undeniable arguments, taken from the relative attributes of God, which first exclude the eternal misery of his creatures, and then establish their ultimate happiness by necessary, or, at least, by probable consequence. Thus the whole tenor of nature represents God to us as our creator, preserver, governor, friend, and father. All ages and nations have fallen into this language; and it is verified every day by the wonderful beauty, harmony, and beneficence,

manifested in the works of the creation, and particularly in the exquisite make of our bodies and minds. Shall then a Creator, who is a friend and father, create for eternal infinite misery? Can any intermediate suppositions, free-will, perverseness, reprobateness, &c. reconcile and unite extremes so utterly discordant? Will he preserve an existence, which ceases to afford happiness, and can now only produce misery without end? Will not the governor and judge of all the earth do right? In whatever manner sin be estimated, it must be finite, because it is the work of a finite mind, of finite principles and passions. To suppose therefore a sinner to be absolutely condemned to infinite irreversible misery, on account of the finite sins of this life, seems most highly injurious to the justice of God. And to say, that this infinite irreversible misery is not merely the consequence of the sins of this life, but also of those to be committed in another, is to give a power of repenting, and becoming virtuous, as well as of sinning, in another life; whence the sentence might be reversed, contrary to the supposition.

The worst man of those who go to heaven, and the best of those who go to hell, seem to us, if we will reason upon these subjects, as we do upon others, to differ but by an infinitesimal difference, as one may say; and yet the reward of the first, being eternal, however small in each finite portion of time, must at last become infinite in magnitude; and the punishment of the last in like manner. There would therefore be a double infinite difference in the reward and punishment, where the virtue and vice

causing these respectively, have only an infinitely small one. To say, that, in such cases, the rewards and punishments of another life may be so conducted, by a mixture of happiness and misery in each, as that the balance shall not become ultimately infinite in either, is to take away all hopes and fears relating to a future state; i. e. morally and practically to take away the state itself.

Again, can it be supposed, that an infinitely merciful Father will cast off his son utterly, and doom him to eternal misery, without farther trials than what this life affords? We see numberless instances of persons at present abandoned to vice, who yet, according to all probable appearances, might be reformed by a proper mixture of correction, instruction, hope, and fear. And what man is neither able nor willing to do, may and must, as should seem, be both possible to God, and actually effected by him. He must have future discipline of a severer kind for those whom the chastisements of this life did not bring to themselves. Yet still they will all be fatherly chastisements, intended to amend and perfect, not to be final and vindictive. That the bulk of sinners are not utterly incorrigible, even common observation shows; but the history of association makes it still more evident; and it seems very repugnant to analogy to suppose, that any sinners, even the very worst that ever lived, should be so, should be hardened beyond the reach of all suffering, of all selfishness, hope, fear, good-will, gratitude, &c. For we are all alike in kind, and do not differ greatly in degree here. We have each of us passions of all sorts, and lie open to influences of all sorts; so as that the persons A and B, in whatever different proportions their intellectual affections now exist, may, by a suitable set of impressions, become hereafter alike.

These and many such like reasonings must occur to attentive persons upon this subject, so as to make it highly unsuitable to the benevolence of the Deity, or to the relations which he bears to us, according to the mere light of nature, that infinite irreversible misery, to commence at death, should be the punishment of the sins of this life. And, by pursuing this method of reasoning, we shall be led first to exclude misery upon the balance, and then to hope for the ultimate unlimited happiness of all mankind.

II. It is probable from the scriptures, that all mankind will be made ultimately happy. In considering the doctrine of the scriptures upon this head, it will first be requisite to show, that the texts alleged to prove the absolutely eternal and irreversible misery of the wicked in another life, may justly be interpreted in a different sense.

Now the Greek words translated eternal, everlasting, and forever, in the New Testament, do not by derivation stand for an absolute eternity, neither are they always used in this sense in the New Testament, the Septuagint, or pagan authors. The same may be said of the corresponding Hebrew words. It is true indeed, that they generally represent a long duration; and this is sometimes limited by the context, or nature of the subject; sometimes not.

Now, according to this interpretation, the punishments of the wicked will be of great duration, suppose of one or more long ages or dispensations. But one might rather conclude, from the words of the original, if their derivation be considered, that they will end at the expiration of some such long period, than that they will be absolutely eternal.

If it be said, that the eternity of God is expressed by the same words,-I answer, that here the nature of the subject gives a sense to the words, whereof they are otherwise incapable. It may be urged in like manner, that the duration of future rewards is expressed by the same words; but then the absolute eternity of this duration is not perhaps deducible at all from these or any other words. We must in this entirely refer ourselves to the bounty and benevolence of our Creator, and depend upon him for all our expectations. Besides, the nature of the subject differs widely here. To suppose the misery of the wicked to be, in every respect, equal and parallel to the happiness of the good, is quite contrary to the general tenor of the scriptures, and looks like setting up the Manichean doctrine of two opposite infinite principles, a doctrine every where condemned in effect, though not in express words, both by the Old and New Testament. We may add, that the happiness of the good is also denoted in scripture by incorruption, indissolubility, &c. as well as by the words applied to the punishments of the wicked.

The words of our Saviour, where their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched, are thought by some to be a strong argument for the absolute eter-

nity of future punishment. But as these words are taken from Isaiah, and allude to the punishment of the malefactors, whose carcasses were suffered to rot upon the ground, or burnt in the valley of Hinnom, they appear to be too popular and figurative to justify such an interpretation. And yet they seem plainly intended to declare the very long duration of future punishment; and that, as the worms, which feed upon a putrefied body, or the fire, which burns it in this world, do themselves come to a certain and known period, the misery of another world, and the fire of hell, will have no definite one, but continue till they have consumed the sin and guilt which feed them. In this way of interpretation, the passage under consideration would agree with that concerning the payment of the last farthing.

Our Saviour's expression concerning Judas, viz. that it had been good for him, that he had not been born, cannot indeed be alleged for the proof of the eternity of future punishment; but it seems to oppose the supposition of the ultimate happiness of all. However, this expression may be popular and proverbial; or it may perhaps denote, that his last agonies, or his sufferings in another world, should outweigh all his preceding happiness, or some way admit of an interpretation consistent with the proposition under consideration; for it does not appear to be sufficiently clear and precise for an absolute disproof of it. We may add, that as every man, who at his death falls short of the terms of salvation, whatever these be, crucifies the Son of God afresh, according to the language of St. Paul; so

he will have reason, according to his then necessary conceptions, to wish with Judas, that he had never been born. O that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end!

Now, as the words of the New Testament do not necessarily infer the absolute eternity of punishment; so the general tenor of reasoning there used, with numberless passages both of the Old and New Testaments, concerning the mercy of God, his readiness to forgive, &c. favor the contrary opinion, and this is a farther reason for interpreting these texts of an indefinitely long duration only; and that especially if the small number of them, and the infinite importance of the doctrine which they are supposed to contain, be also taken into consideration.

To the same purpose we may observe, that there is nothing in all St. Paul's Epistle, from whence the absolute eternity of future punishment can be at all inferred, except the words, everlasting destruction from the presence of our Lord, 2 Thess. i. 9, though the Epistles to the Romans and Hebrews are both of them general summaries of the christian religion, and though he speaks in both of future punishment. In the Epistle to the Romans, he says, Tribulation and anguish (not eternal tribulation) shall be upon every soul of man, that doth evil; also, that the wages of sin is death, not eternal death, or eternal punishment; whereas the gift of God is eternal life. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, he asks, of how much sorer punishment than temporal death, an apostate is to be thought worthy? Which seems not likely for him

to do, had he believed it eternal. In like manner, there is nothing of this kind in St. Luke's Gospel, or his Acts of the Apostles, in St. John's Gospel, or his Epistles, or in the Epistles of St. James, St. Peter, or St. Jude. And yet good men now, who believe the eternity of punishment, scarce ever fail to insist upon it most earnestly in their discourses and exhortations. For, if it be a doctrine of the christian religion, it is so essential a one, as that it could not have been omitted by any inspired writer, nor fail to have been declared in the most express terms, which certainly cannot be said of any of the texts alleged to prove the eternity of punishment. The words translated eternal, and forever, must have been ambiguous to the Jews, i.e. to the first Christians; and the figurative expression, their worm dieth not, &c. is far less determinate than many phrases, which our Saviour might have chosen, had it been his intention to denounce absolutely eternal misery.

To this we may add, that it does not appear from the writings of the most ancient fathers, that they put such a construction upon the words of the New Testament; and the omission of this doctrine in the ancient creed shows, that it was no original doctrine, or not thought essential; which yet could not be, if it was believed; or that many eminent persons for some centuries were of a contrary opinion. And indeed the doctrine of purgatory, as now taught by the papists, seems to be a corruption of a genuine doctrine held by the ancient fathers concerning a purifying fire.

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It may perhaps be, that the absolute eternity of punishment was not received, till after the introduction of metaphysical subtleties, relating to time, eternity, &c. and the ways of expressing these, i. e. not till after the pagan philosophy, and vain deceit, had mixed itself with and corrupted Christianity.

Still farther, it does by no means appear to be consonant to the nature of the christian religion to interpret the New Testament in a strictly literal manner, or adhere to phrases in opposition to the general tenor of it. Our Saviour in many places appeals to the natural equitable judgments of his auditors. The evangelists and apostles all enter into the reasons of things; the gospels are short memoirs; the epistles were written to friends, and new converts; and the nature of such writings must be very different from that of a precise determinate law, such as that of Moses, or the civil law of any country. And indeed herein lies one material difference between the rigid Jewish dispensation, and the Christian, which last is called by St. James the perfect law of liberty. From all which it follows, that we are rather to follow the general tenor, than to adhere to particular expressions. And this will appear still more reasonable, when it is considered, that we are vet but novices in the language of the Old and New Testaments, the relations which they bear to each other, and their declarations concerning future events.

Another argument against interpreting the passages above referred to, in the sense of absolutely eternal misery, is, that there are many other passages

whose strict and literal sense is contrary thereto. And in such a case it seems, that the infinite goodness of God, so many ways declared in the scriptures, must soon turn the scale. For the scriptures must be made consistent with themselves; and the veracity and goodness of God seem much rather to oblige him to perform a promise, than to execute a threatening. I will mention a few passages, some of which it may be observed even establish the contrary doctrine of the ultimate happiness of all mankind.

Thus the most natural, as well as the most strict and literal sense of the words, As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive, is the ultimate happiness of all the children of Adam, of all mankind. God's mercy is declared to endure forever; and he is said not to keep his anger forever: which expressions, in their first and most obvious sense, are quite inconsistent with the absolute eternity of punishment. Our Saviour says, that the person who is not reconciled to his brother shall not be discharged till he has paid the last farthing; which intimates, that there is a time when he will be discharged. In like manner, the debtor, who owed his lord ten thousand talents, is delivered over to the tormentors, till he pay these. To say that he can never pay them, because as we have all our faculties from God, so we can merit nothing from God, is to embrace the mechanical hypothesis, which, in the judgment of all, must be utterly inconsistent with the eternity of punishment. For, if a man cannot have merit, he cannot have demerit. To suppose a creature any

way brought into being upon such terms as to be only capable of demerit, seems most highly injurious to the attributes of God, by whatever means this be effected, the fall of our first parents, or any other.

Again, God in judgment remembers mercy. This is said in general; and therefore it ought not to be confined to the judgments of this world. And to do so, when all the pleasures and pains of this world are everywhere in the New Testament declared unworthy of our regard in comparison of those of another, is highly unsuitable to the goodness of God. But indeed this cannot be done without departing from the most obvious literal sense. The same may be said of the passages, God is not extreme to mark what is done amiss; that he is loving to every man; that his mercy, his tender mercy, is over all his works, &c. Can it be said with any appearance of truth, that God will give an infinite overbalance of misery to those beings whom he loves?

It may well be supposed, that though the punishments of a future state be finite, yet this should not be declared in so many words in the scriptures. For such a procedure would be analogous to the gradual opening of all God's dispensations of mercy. Mankind in their infant state were not able to receive such kind of nourishment; neither are all perhaps yet able. But, if future punishments be absolutely eternal, it is hard to conceive why this should not have been declared in the most express terms, and in many places of scripture; also how there should be so many passages there, which are apparently inconsistent therewith.

There remains one argument more, and of great weight in my opinion, against interpreting any passages of scripture so as to denounce absolutely eternal misery. This is, the declaration of the scriptures concerning the smallness of the number of the elect, and the great difficulty of entering in at the strait gate, already taken notice of. To suppose future punishments to be absolutely eternal, is to suppose, that the christian dispensation condemns far the greater part of mankind to infinite misery upon the balance, whilst yet it is every where declared to be a dispensation of mercy, to be glory to God, and good will to men; which is a great apparent inconsistency. And indeed, unless the doctrine of absolutely eternal punishment be taken away, it seems impracticable to convince the world of the great purity and perfection required by the gospel in order to our entrance into the kingdom of heaven. If there be no punishment in another state, besides what is absolutely eternal, men of very low degrees of virtue will hope to escape this, and consequently to escape with impunity: whereas, if there be a purging fire, into which all the wicked are to be cast, to remain and suffer there according to their demerits, far beyond what men generally suffer in this life; and if there be only few, that are admitted to happiness after the expiration of this life, without such farther purification; what vigor and earnestness should we use to escape so great a punishment, and to be of the happy number of those whose names are written in the book of life!

This may suffice to show, that the absolute eterninity of future punishment cannot be concluded from the scriptures. We are next to inquire what evidences they afford for the ultimate happiness of all mankind. I have already mentioned some passages, which favor this doctrine; but I intend now to propose two arguments of a more general nature.

First, then, it may be observed, that the scriptures give a sanction to most of the foregoing arguments, taken from the light of nature, for this doctrine, by reasoning in the same manner. Thus the punishments of the Jews and others are represented as chastisements, i. e. as evils tending to produce a good greater than themselves. Our benevolence to our children is represented by Christ, as an argument of the infinitely greater benevolence of God our heavenly father. God promises to make Abraham happy by making his posterity happy, and them happy by making them the instruments of happiness to all the nations of the earth (which they are still to be, probably, in a much more ample manner, than they have ever yet been). Now this shows, that the happiness, intended for us all, is the gratification of our benevolence. The goodness of God is every where represented as prevailing over his severity; he remembers good actions to thousands of generations, and punishes evil ones only to the third and fourth. Not a sparrow is forgotten before him; he giveth to all their meat in due season; pities us, as a father does his children; and sets our sins as far from us as heaven is from earth, &c. All which kind of language surely implies both infinite mercy

in the forgiveness of sin, and infinite love in advancing his purified children. We are all the offspring of God, and, by consequence, agreeably to other phrases, are heirs of all things, heirs of God, and co-heirs with Christ, members of the mystical body of Christ, and of each other, i. e. we are all partakers of the happiness of God, through his bounty and mercy. God is the God of the Gentiles, as well as of the Jews; and has concluded them all in unbelief, only that he might have mercy upon all. And, in general, all the arguments for the ultimate happiness of all mankind, taken from the relations which we bear to God, as our creator, preserver, governor, father, friend, and God, are abundantly attested by the scriptures.

Secondly, there are in the scriptures some arguments for the ultimate restoration and happiness of all mankind, which now seem sufficiently full and strong, and which yet could not be understood in former ages; at least, we see, that, in fact, they were not. Of this kind is the history of the Jewish state, with the prophecies relating thereto. For we may observe, that, according to the scriptures, the body politic of the Jews must be made flourishing and happy, whether they will or no, by the severities which God inflicts upon them. Now the Jewish state, as has been already remarked, appears to be a type of each individual in particular, on one hand, and of mankind in general on the other.

Thus, also, it is foretold, that Christ will subdue all things to himself. But subjection to Christ, according to the figurative prophetic style of the

scriptures, is happiness, not merely subjection by compulsion, like to that to an earthly conqueror. Agreeably to this, all things are to be gathered together in one in Christ, both those which are in heaven, and those on earth: and St. John saw every creature in heaven, in earth, under the earth, and in the sea, and all that were in them, praising God.

The prayer of faith can remove mountains; all things are possible to it; and, if we could suppose all men defective in this article, in praying with faith for the ultimate happiness of mankind, surely our Saviour must do this; his prayer for his crucifiers cannot surely fail to obtain pardon and happiness for them.

We are commanded to love God with our whole powers, to be joyful in him, to praise him evermore, not only for his goodness to us, but also for that to all the children of men. But such love and joy, to be unbounded, presuppose unbounded goodness in God, to be manifested to all mankind in due time; else there would be some men, on whose accounts we could not rejoice in God. At the same time, the delay of this manifestation of God's goodness, with the severity exercised towards particulars, in their progress to happiness, beget submission, resignation, fear and trembling, in us, till at last we come to that perfect love that casts out fear.

It may perhaps be, that the writers of the Old and New Testaments did not see the full meaning of the glorious declarations, which the holy spirit has delivered to us by their means; just as Daniel, and the other prophets, were ignorant of the full and

precise import of their prophecies, relating to Christ. Or perhaps they did; but thought it expedient, or were commanded, not to be more explicit. The christian religion, in converting the various pagan nations of the world, was to be corrupted by them; and the superstitious fear of God, which is one of these corruptions, may have been necessary hitherto on account of the rest. But now the coruptions of the true religion begin to be discovered and removed, by the earnest endeavors of good men of all nations and sects, in these latter times, by their comparing spiritual things with spiritual.

How far the brute creation is concerned in the redemption by Christ, may be doubted; and it does not seem to be much or immediately our business to inquire, as no relative duty depends thereon. However, their fall with Adam, the covenant made with them after the deluge, their serving as sacrifices for the sins of men, and as types and emblems in the prophecies, their being commanded to praise God (for every thing that hath breath is thus commanded, as well as the Gentiles), seem to intimate, that there is mercy in store for them also, more than we may expect, to be revealed in due time. The Jews considered the Gentiles as dogs in comparison of themselves. And the brute creatures appear by the foregoing history of association to differ from us in degree, rather than in kind.

It may be objected here, that, if this opinion of the ultimate happiness of all mankind be true, it is not, however, proper to publish it. Men are very wicked, notwithstanding the fear of eternal purishment; and therefore will probably be more so, if that fear be removed, and a hope given to the most wicked of attaining everlasting happiness ultimately.

I answer, First, That this opinion is already published so far, that very few irreligious persons can be supposed to believe the contrary much longer: or, if they do believe absolutely eternal punishment to be the doctrine of the scriptures, they will be much induced thereby to reject revealed religion itself. It seems therefore to be now a proper time to inquire candidly and impartially into the truth. The world abounds so much with writers, that the mere opinion of a single one cannot be supposed to have any great weight. The arguments produced will themselves be examined, and a person can now do little more than bring things to view for the judgment of others. The number of teachers in all arts and sciences, is so great, that no one amongst them can or ought to have followers, unless as far as he follows truth.

But, Secondly, It does not seem, that even the motives of fear are lessened to considerate persons, by supposing the fire of hell to be only a purifying one. For it is clear from the scriptures, that the punishment will be very dreadful and durable. We can set no bounds either to the degree or duration of it. They are therefore practically infinite.

Thirdly, The motives of love are infinitely enhanced by supposing the ultimate unlimited happiness of all. This takes off the charge of enthusiasm from that noble expression of some mystical writers, in which they resign themselves entirely to God,

both for time and eternity. This makes us embrace even the most wicked with the most cordial, tender, humble affection. We pity them at present, as vessels of wrath; yet live in certain hopes of rejoicing with them at last; labor to bring this to pass, and to hasten it; and consider, that every thing is good, and pure, and perfect, in the sight of God.

END.









