

revealed unto him, *i. e.* so revealed that he had certainly known that the revelation came from God, (and that he should have power to believe it upon any other account of revelation than this, is an improbability of the first magnitude,) doubtless, all men now are invested with a power of believing it upon such terms, *viz.* in case it shall be revealed unto them so that they shall certainly know that the revelation cometh from God. For though the apostle John speaketh of unbelievers under the gospel as men that "make God a liar," in that "they believe not the record that he hath given of his Son," 1 John v. 10, yet his meaning is not to charge them with offering this indignity unto God knowingly, wittingly, and, as it were, to his face, or as if they knew well enough this record to have been given by him, and yet would not trust or believe him therein; but by their unbelief at this great point, they are said to "make him a liar" in this sense, *viz.* because they reject that as a fable or untruth, which yet hath been spoken and asserted by God himself for truth, yea, and that upon such terms, that by a diligent and strict inquiry they might come to a certain knowledge that it was spoken and asserted by him. For otherwise the light of nature and force of conscience are scarcely in any man, much less in the generality of unbelievers, so far wasted or spent with sinning as that they can immediately and directly, or any otherwise than constructively, or in a consequential, indirect, and remote way, call God a liar. Therefore, doubtless, if men received no other power in Adam to believe than only in case of such a revelation of the gospel made unto him, or them in him, by God, which he or they must needs know came from God, they received no other power of believing, in him, whilst he stood, than what they generally receive by or from Christ since Adam's fall. So that to fetch the inexcusableness of men in the sin of their unbelief, from Adam, is to travel to the Indies, with extreme hazard and expense, to bring the same commodity from thence which a man hath, and this every ways as well conditioned, and in sufficient quantity for his purpose, at his own home.

4. If all men received power in Adam to believe savingly, or to justification, then must Adam himself needs be supposed to have received this power. If so, then must it be supposed withal to have been some ways useful, beneficial, and serviceable for some end and purpose of concernment unto him. For to conceive that it was a mere impertinency or superfluity is an unsavoury notion. If the power we speak of were any ways useful unto Adam, then was it useful either for the enabling him to believe unto justification whilst he remained yet innocent, or, in case he should fall, to carry along with him into his lapsed condition, that in this he might be enabled by it to believe accordingly. But that it was not useful to him in the former consideration is evident, because during his estate of innocency he remained under a covenant of works, in which case he neither had any necessity of believing in order to his justification, having not yet sinned; or if any necessity in this kind

had been upon him, his believing could not have justified him, inasmuch as the law of justification by faith was not yet given or published by God. Nor was it, or could it be useful unto him in the latter consideration; for, doubtless, he carried nothing saving or justifying with him out of his estate of innocency into his lapsed condition, which was a condition of sin, misery, and condemnation, especially until the promise of a Saviour was given, and that trumpet of the great jubilee had sounded, that "the seed of the woman should bruise," or break, "the serpent's head." Gen. iii. 15.

5, and lastly for this, It is no ways probable that men received power in Adam to believe, or at least that any such power, though received in him, is of any account with God to render men inexcusable under the sin of unbelief in the days of the gospel, (which is of equal conducement to our purpose,) because the Holy Ghost assigns other grounds and reasons, as we lately heard, to assert this inexcusableness, but no where gives the least intimation, either of any such power to believe as we now oppose, received by men in Adam, much less of any relation which this power should have to that inexcusableness of unbelievers under the gospel, which God hath projected or provided for upon other terms. Therefore,

2. Suppose it should be granted, that men generally did receive in Adam such a power of believing which is so much contended for; yet God having made a second, a new covenant, a covenant of much more grace, love, and mercy with them, (whereof substantial and large proof hath been made in the premises,) it is no ways consonant either to the wisdom of God or to the unsearchable riches of his grace, in this new covenant, that he should proceed in judgment against them upon any advantage taken from their condition under the first covenant. If men will here be peremptory, and say that such proceedings in judgment against men are consonant enough both to his wisdom and to his grace, in the new covenant, let them either, 1, produce some Scripture to evince such a consonancy; or else, 2, let them confess and profess that they are in a sufficient capacity, by means of that light of reason, judgment, and understanding that shineth in them, to judge and conclude what is agreeable to the wisdom or grace of God, without warrant and direction from the Scriptures. To decline both these is, being interpreted, to profess will and obstinacy under the name of judgment. The former, I am certain, they cannot do; if they do the latter, they sin against the first-born of those principles which they chiefly employ in the defence and maintenance of their cause. But,

3, and lastly for this also, The Scriptures themselves, as they are altogether silent of any purpose or intent in God to judge or condemn men upon any thing for which they may seem accountable from the first covenant made with them in Adam, so do they frequently mention and assert the counsel and purpose of God to proceed in the judgment and condemnation of men by the gospel, and upon such articles relating to the covenant of grace, of the neglect or breach whereof men shall be found guilty: "He that

rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him; the *word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day,*" John xii. 48. He doth not say, "the word that I have spoken shall judge him," &c., but, "*the same shall judge him,*" &c., which, doubtless, hath this emphatical import, that the word which he hath spoken, (since his coming in the flesh, or in the gospel,) and no other word whatsoever but this, shall "judge him," (*i. e.* be insisted upon to evict him guilty, or worthy of condemnation.) As for all that the apostles spake in their preaching the gospel, and what other ministers thereof speak in theirs, so far as they preach the truth of the gospel, or that which being neglected will render men liable unto judgment, is constructively, and in effect, but the same word with that which Christ taught and spake in the flesh. In like manner the apostle Paul, speaking of himself, and his fellow-apostles, and all ministers of the gospel, expresseth himself thus: "For we are unto God a sweet," or the sweet, "savour of Christ, in them that are saved and in them that perish," 2 Cor. ii. 15. How was the apostle, or how are the faithful ministers of the gospel, the "sweet savour of Christ unto God in those who perish?" viz. as the effectual tender of Christ unto men, in the name of God, for their salvation, rendereth them utterly inexcusable, and every ways, and most justly liable to the judgment of God, if they accept him not by believing on him. So elsewhere he asserts disobedience to the gospel as the great article of indictment against those that shall be "destroyed" by "Jesus Christ, when he shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire," &c. 2 Thess. i. 7, 8. And most frequently the sentence of condemnation is bent against the sin of non-believing and neglect of the gospel, Mark xvi. 16; Heb. ii. 2, 3; John viii. 24, &c. So that there is no colour, but that which is very washy, for any power of believing received in Adam by the generality of men; and yet less colour is there for such a conceit as this, that God should bring the vengeance of eternal fire upon their heads for not believing with that power which they received in Adam; for other power to believe besides this our adversaries allow them none. Questionless the Holy Ghost, who is so solicitous from place to place to vindicate the righteousness and equity of God's proceedings in the condemnation of wicked and unbelieving men, would have insisted more or less upon that ground which our adversaries make the *prora* and *puppis*, the first and last of his vindication in this kind, (I mean their investiture in Adam with power to believe,) had there, 1, been any such investiture: and, 2, had the consideration thereof been of any value for such a purpose.

Seventhly, If all men have power to believe, 1, that God is; 2, that he is a rewarder of those that seek him, then have they power to believe justifyingly, or to acceptation with God: But all men have this power: Ergo. The consequence in the major proposition the apostle makes unquestionable, where he saith, "He that cometh unto God, must believe that he is; and that he is a rewarder of

those that seek him," Heb. xi. 6. By "coming unto God," it is clear, by the whole carriage of the context round about, that he meaneth a coming unto him with acceptation, and so as *εὐαριστῆσαι*, to please him. And Calvin himself, all along his commentaries upon the place, taketh it for granted that the apostle speaketh of such a faith, or believing, *quæ gratiam apud Deum conciliet*, which procureth grace and favour with God.

The minor proposition is the sense of learned men generally, especially of such who have acquainted themselves with the writings of philosophers, and other studious and learned men amongst the heathen. In these writings they find many sayings, wherein the authors do not only avouch the certainty and unquestionableness of the being of God, but that very property also, the belief whereof the apostle here principally requireth to give a man access with acceptation unto God, viz. his being "a rewarder of those who seek him." And besides the apostle himself expressly affirms, that *τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ*, *i. e.* that which is knowable of God, (or, as Calvin interprets it, "*Quod de Deo cognosci operæ-pretium est*," *i. e.* that which is worth a while to be known of God,*) was *φανερὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς*, manifest in them, or to them; yea, and further, that God himself "made it" thus "manifest." Rom. i. 19. A little after, he chargeth them thus, that "when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations," &c. Rom. i. 21, assigning this for the ground and cause of that most severe and dreadful proceeding of God in judgment against them, in delivering them up to "a reprobate mind, to vile affections, to uncleanness," &c. Now, unquestionless, 1. This "glorifying of God as God," imports, amongst other things, a believing, trusting, depending on him, as "a rewarder of those who seek him." For they who do not thus believe or depend upon him, cannot be said, whatsoever they shall measure unto him besides, to "glorify him as God." 2. As certain it is, that had they not had a sufficiency of power thus to have "glorified him," (I mean, "as God," and as "a rewarder of those who seek him,") the neglect or non-performance of it would have been no provocation in the sight of God so signally exasperating or provoking, as to have kindled a fire of such high indignation in his breast against them, which should burn so near to the bottom of hell as that specified. "The servant," saith our Saviour, "that knew not his Lord's will, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes," Luke xii. 48. Yea, doubtless, had not this servant been in a capacity of knowing "his lord's will," in case he had been duly inquisitive after it, he had not been "beaten with" any "stripes" at all, though he had committed such things which had been "worthy of stripes" in other men. This is evident from that great principle of equity attested by our Saviour in the words immediately following, "For unto whomsoever much is given, of him

* Calv. Instit. lib. i. cap. v. sec. 1.

shall be much required," ("of him," *i. e.* of him only,) and consequently not of others, to whom little hath been given. And if we shall go along with the said principle whither it will directly lead us, we shall be brought by it to this conclusion, that unto whomsoever nothing is given, of him nothing will be required; as in the parable of the talents, we hear of no servant called to account but only such who had received talents, one or more. Therefore, without controversy, the heathen generally had, and have power, means, and opportunities sufficient to come to the knowledge of this gracious property in God, that "he is a rewarder of those who seek him," and consequently of "coming to him" with acceptance. And let me add this by the way, That he that hath a sufficiency of power and means to come to the knowledge or belief, 1, that "God is," 2, that "he is a rewarder of those who seek him," is not by this sufficiency simply necessitated either to believe the one or the other. It is with the generality of men in this respect as it is with God himself; as well the one as the other have power to do many things which yet they do not, and therefore are not by a power of acting necessitated unto action. Yea, it is a principle owned by our adversaries themselves, that men generally have power to do more than they do; and it is an unquestionable rule in the art of reason, that à negatione actûs, ad negationem potentiæ, non valet argumentum. So that in case it should or could be proved, (which I believe never yet was, nor ever will be proved,) that no heathen wanting the letter of the gospel, and the oral ministry of it, ever yet believed on God to justification, or was accepted with him, yet would it be no sufficient proof that therefore they had no power thus to believe on him, or to do that upon the doing whereof they should have been accepted with him. But that the heathen had, and have, power vouchsafed unto them by God whereby to repent and to believe, if their will were answerable to their power in this kind, might be yet further evidenced by a far greater vote from the Scriptures, but that in levying this here we should anticipate a considerable part of our intentions relating to the second part of this work. And besides, three of the most considerable passages, Rom. x. 18; Acts xiv. 16, 17: Rom. ii. 4, pregnant with the truth we now contend for, have, I remember, been largely opened and argued by us upon the same account elsewhere.* I shall, at the present, conclude the point in hand with a parcel of discourse from the writings of Mr. Calvin, who, in "An Epistle, showing how Christ is the end of the Law," prefixed before the French New Testament, discourseth to this effect: "After that Adam was left in such confusion, he was fruitful in his cursed seed, to bring forth a generation like unto him; that is to say, vicious, perverse, corrupted, void and destitute of all good, rich and abounding in evil. Nevertheless, the Lord of his mercy, who doth not only love, but is himself love and charity, being yet willing by

* Divine Authority of the Scriptures Asserted, p. 183—185, &c.

his infinite goodness to love that which is not worthy of love, hath not altogether dissipated, lost, and overwhelmed men, as their sin did require; but hath sustained and supported them in sweetness and patience, giving them time and leisure to return unto him, and set themselves to that obedience from which they had strayed. And though he did dissemble and was silent, (as if he would hide himself from them,) suffering them to go after the desires and wishes of their lust, without laws, without government, without any correction by his word; yet he hath given them warnings enough, which might have incited them to seek, taste, and find him, for to know and honour him as it behoved them. For he hath lifted up every where, and in all places and things, his ensigns and arms, yea, so clearly and intelligibly emblazoned, that there was no one could pretend ignorance of the knowledge of so sovereign a Lord, who had in so ample a manner exalted his magnificence, viz. That in all parts of the world, in heaven and in earth, he hath written, and even engraven, the glory of his might, goodness, wisdom, and eternity. Saint Paul therefore saith very true, that the Lord never left himself without witness, even towards them unto whom he hath not sent any knowledge of his word. Forasmuch as all the creatures, from the firmament to the centre of the earth, might be witnesses and messengers of his glory unto all men, to draw them to seek him, and after having found him, to welcome him; and do him homage, according to the dignity of a Lord so good, so powerful, so wise, and eternal; and also did help each one in its place to this quest. For the birds singing, sung God; beasts cried aloud unto him, the elements stood in fear of him, mountains reasoned with him, rivers and fountains cast their eyes upon him, herbs and flowers smiled on him. Although that indeed there was no necessity to seek him very far, by reason that each one might find him in his own self, being that we are all kept up and preserved by his virtue dwelling in us. In the meanwhile, for to manifest more amply his goodness and infinite clemency among men, he hath not contented himself to instruct them all by such documents as we have expressed, but hath specially given to understand his voice to a certain people," &c.*

* Adam apres avoir esté deietté en telle confusion, il a esté fecond en sa maudite semence, pour engendrier generation semblable a lui; c'est a dire, vicieuse, perverse, corrompue, vuide et despourveüe de tout bien, riche et abondante en mal. Toutesfois, le Seigneur de misericorde (qui n'aime pas seulement, mais luy mesme est amour et charité) voulant encores par sa bonté infinie aimer ce qui n'est digne d'aimer, n'a pas du tout dissipé, perdu, et abysmé les hommes, comme leur iniquité le requeroit; mais les a soustenus et supportés en douceur et patience, leur donnant terme et loisir de se retourner a lui, et se r'adresser a l'obeissance, de laquelle ils s'estoyent destournés. Et combien que dissimulast et se teust (comme s'il seüst voulu cacher d'eux) les laissant aller apres les desirs et souhaits de leur concupiscence, sans loix, sans regimine, sans correction quelconque de sa parole; neantmoins il leur a baillé assez d'avertissemens qui les devoient inciter a le chercher, taster, et trouver, pour le cognoistre et honnoier comme il appartenoit. Car il a eslevé par tout, en tous lieux, et en toutes choses, ses enseignes et armoiries; voire sous blasons de si claire intelligence, que ni avoit celui qui peust pretendre ignorance de ne cognoistre un si souverain Seigneur, qui avoit si amplement exalté sa magnificence: C'est, quand en toutes les parties du monde, au ciel et en la terre il a escrit, et quasi engravé la gloire de sa puissance, bonté, sapience, et eternité. Sainct Paul donc a dic bien vray, Que le Seigneur ne

To this so large and lightsome an acknowledgment of sufficient means vouchsafed by God unto the heathen, whereby to come to the knowledge of him, of his goodness, power, &c., and consequently to repent, and believe in him, I shall not need to subjoin such sayings as these, "That the knowledge of God is naturally inbred" or implanted "in the minds of men;"* "that this knowledge is stifled or corrupted, partly by their foolishness, partly by their malice;"† with other passages of like import extant without number in this author.

Eighthly and lastly, If wicked men, and such who perish in their sins through impenitency and unbelief, have not sufficient power and means to repent and believe, then, when God most graciously, most affectionately, most earnestly invites them to repent and believe, and this in order to their peace and salvation, he rather insults over them in their extremity of weakness and misery, than really intends any thing gracious or of a saving import to them: But to conceive thus of God is most unworthy of him, and dishonourable to him, and not far from blasphemy: Ergo. The reason of the connexion in the major proposition is, because to profess love to a man that is in imminent danger of his life, and upon this account to persuade, press, and be earnest with him to do that for the safety of his life which the persuader in this case absolutely knoweth to be impossible for the persuaded to do, (as suppose it were to make him wings, and fly in the air beyond the seas, or to turn himself into a fish, and live in the seas, or the like,) such an addressment as this to such a poor wretch would be basely illusory and insulting, nor could it admit of any better interpretation. In like manner, if God, knowing that a natural and ungodly man is in the utmost danger of perishing for ever, and withal, that he hath no power to repent or believe, shall yet vehemently and affectionately urge, press, and persuade such a man to repent and believe, that he may not perish, can such an application as this bear any other construction than as derisory, and proceeding from one who doth not simply delight in the death of a sinner, but to make the death of such a miserable creature as full of gall, and bitterness, and misery as

s'estoit jamais laissé sans tesmoignage; mesme envers ceux ausquels il n'a envoyé aucune connoissance de la parole. Veu que toutes les creatures, depuis le firmament jusqu'au centre de la terre, pouvoient estre tesmoins, et messagers de sa gloire a tous hommes, pour les attirer a le chercher, et apres l'avoir trouvé, lui faire recueil et hommage, selon la dignité d'un Seigneur si bon, si puissant, si sage, et eternel; et mesmes aidoyent chacune en son endroit, a ceste queste. Car les oiselets chantans, chantoient Dieu, les bestes le reclamoyent, les eslemens le redoutoyent, les montagnes le raisonnoient, les fleuves et fontaines lui jettoient cillades, les herbes et fleurs lui rivoient. Combien que veritablement il ne feust pas mestier de le chercher fort loin. Veu que chacun le pouvoit trouver en soi mesme, entant que nous sommes tous substantes et reserves de sa vertu habitante en nous. Cependant, encore pour plus amplement manifester sa bonté et clemence infinie entre les hommes, il n'a pas esté content de les instruire, tous par tels enseignements, qu'avons declairé: mais il a specialement fait entendre sa voix a un certain peuple, &c.

* Dei notitiam hominum mentibus naturaliter esse inditam.—*Calv. Institut.* l. i. c. 3, in titulo.

† Eandem notitiam, partim inscitiâ, partim malitiâ, vel suffocari vel corrumpi.—*Idem, Institut.* l. i. c. 4, in titulo.

he well knows how to do? Therefore, certainly, when God "stretcheth out his hand all the day long" to wicked men,—when he saith, "Turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways: why will ye die," &c.,—when he saith, "Repent, and turn yourselves from all your transgressions, so iniquity shall not be your ruin,"—and again, "Turn at my reproof," with the like, he knoweth that what he thus earnestly and affectionately requireth of them, and presseth them unto, they have power to perform; otherwise, in such expressions as these, he should be like unto a judge or king, that, having sentenced a lame man to death for treason or some other crime, should promise him his life in case he would run twenty miles within an hour's space, and accordingly press him with much seriousness unto it. I have met with nothing, to my best remembrance, from the pen of any defender of the contrary faith to obstruct or check this argument in the course of it; nor am I able to imagine what can with any face of reason or of truth contest with it.

To say, that when God, with the greatest earnestness of expression, calls upon wicked men to repent, he only signifies unto them what would prevent their destruction, were it found in them, but supposeth not any principle or power in them to exhibit or perform it; such an allegation, I say, as this hath neither salt nor savour in it: for, to what account can it be brought, that God should inform wicked men how or which way they may escape destruction, if it be supposed withal that they are in no capacity, no, not so much as under a possibility, of receiving any benefit by such an information? Besides, God cannot truly and cordially profess that he "desireth not the death of a sinner," or "of him that dieth," upon the account only of an information directed to such a man concerning the way or means of his escape, unless it be supposed withal that he is made capable by him of benefit by such an information, and in a condition to make use of it in order to an escape. And, to conclude, mere informations are not wont to be given in exhortatory or preceptive language, as, "Turn ye, turn ye," &c., nor in such pathetic strains as "Why will ye die, O house of Israel?" nor with such promises annexed as "So shall not iniquity be your ruin:" nor, lastly, where they are of no use neither to those to whom they are given nor to him that giveth them, nor to any others; which, upon consideration of particulars, would plainly appear to be the case before us.

To say that in such affectionate exhortations and expressions as those under present consideration, God only expresseth his will of approbation, signifying that righteousness, and repentance after sin, and so the peace and salvation of his creature, upon and by means of these, are things simply agreeable to his nature, mind, and goodness, but doth not intend to signify any will or purpose in himself to work repentance in the persons to whom he thus speaketh, nor yet that they have power to repent

without him, is an allegation as inconsiderable, and inconsistent with reason, as the former. For,

1. If righteousness, and repentance after sin, and the salvation of the creature hereupon, be simply agreeable to his nature, mind, and goodness, then why should not the repentance, and, upon this, the salvation, of those persons to whom he particularly addresseth himself in those gracious and earnest compellations and exhortations of which we now speak, be every whit as agreeable to his nature, mind, and goodness as the repentance or salvation of any other persons in their case? He no where signifieth any difference in this kind. Or, if the repentance and salvation of some sinners be agreeable to his nature, mind, and goodness, and not of others, it is a plain case that the repentance and salvation of the creature, simply considered, are not the things that are so agreeable to him, but the repentance and salvation of such and such particular subjects: for repentance and salvation are the same things, and of the same nature, in what persons or subjects soever: no personal consideration whatsoever altereth their natures or essential properties. Again,

2. If the intent of God were to express or signify his approbative will of the repentance and salvation of his creature, or the agreeableness of these to his nature, mind, and goodness, he would rather have expressed it in applications of himself unto such persons or subjects whose repentance and salvation he really intendeth and desireth, than in addressments made to those whose repentance and salvation he desireth not, nay, whom he was resolved from eternity (for this is the voice of the oracle consulted by our adversaries) to destroy for ever. It were very improper and hard for a judge or prince to make a feeling and affectionate discourse of their clemency, goodness, and sweetness of nature, their great averseness to acts of severity, &c., unto such persons whom they had been of a long time resolved, and before any cause administered by these persons of such a resolution against them, to put to a terrible, torturing, and ignominious death, especially at or near the time when this most severe execution is intended to be done upon them.

3, and lastly, The argument propounded by us, and with whose vindication we are yet in labour, doth neither suppose that God will work repentance, as our adversaries call "working repentance," in the persons there spoken of, *i. e.* that he will work it upon any such terms that it shall necessarily or infallibly be effected, nor yet that the persons themselves can repent without God. That which it supposeth is this, that God is so far moving and assisting the hearts, wills, and consciences of these men in order to their repentance, that, if they were but willing to do what he enableth them to do in reference and order to the same, their repentance would be effected, and they saved upon it: in which case, I mean, if they should repent, this repentance

were most justly ascribable unto God, not to themselves, inasmuch as it is he that, 1. Giveth them power and abilities to repent: 2. That secretly forms and fashions their wills so as to make them willing actually to repent: 3. That supports their wills, thus framed, to and in the production of the act itself of repentance. Whereas that which men themselves do, in, towards, or about their repentance, is so inconsiderable in comparison of what God doth, that the greatness of his grace and interposure herein, deserves, in a manner, all the praise and honour that belongs unto the action: although it be true also that the person himself who repenteth, or in whom repentance is wrought, must of necessity be so far, or to such a degree, interested and active in the work, that the work itself may be as truly and properly ascribed unto him, or called his, as it is ascribed unto God, and termed his: for it is man that repenteth, not God, though what he doth in repenting he doth by the operating and assisting grace of God; in which respect it is said to be his gift. But concerning the conjuncture and respective interests of the first and second causes in the production or raising of one and the same act, we shall, God willing, discourse more particularly in the second part of this work, where also we shall clear and discharge all those passages and texts of Scripture from their hard service, which are compelled by some to serve against this great truth, of that high importance for the glory as well of the grace as justice of God, That all men without exception have a sufficiency of power vouchsafed unto them by God whereby to repent and to believe unto salvation; and that it is through want of will, or rather willingness, not of power, that any man perisheth. At present, to the further confirmation of the main doctrine commended in this discourse, we argue thus,

In the eleventh place: "If God intended not the death of Christ as a ransom or satisfaction for all men, then are there some men whom he never intended to save, but to leave irrecoverably to everlasting destruction and perdition." This proposition, I suppose, stands firm and strong upon its own basis, and needs no prop of proof or argument to support it. For, God intending to save no man but by the death of Christ, evident it is, that if there be any man or number of men for whose salvation he did not intend this death, that he never intended their salvation. Therefore I assume: "But there are no such men or number of men whose salvation God never intended, or whom he intended to leave irrecoverably to everlasting perdition. Ergo." The reason of this proposition is, partly because whatsoever God at any time intends he intended always, yea, from eternity: partly also because there was a time when all men were righteous and holy, viz. during the whole time of Adam's integrity, in whose loins all men then were, and so must needs be partakers of the same holiness and integrity with him. So that unless we shall say

and hold that God never intended the salvation of just and holy men, but to leave them irrecoverably to everlasting perdition, we cannot say that there are or were any men, or any number of men, whose salvation he never intended, or whom he intended to leave irrecoverably to everlasting destruction. Yea, all men had a being in God himself before they received or had a being in Adam, in which respect Adam himself is called "the son of God," Luke iv. 38; viz. because he received his being from him, as (though not after the manner that) children receive their beings from their parents or fathers. Now, wheresoever, or in what estate or condition soever, Adam was, there were all men in the same estate and condition with him. So, then, all men considered as being in God, were nothing but God himself, according to the common and most true maxim of divines: "Quicquid in Deo est, est Deus;" whatsoever is in God, is God. The truth of this maxim was clearly evinced by us, Chap. iv. of this discourse, where we argued the absolute simplicity of the Divine Essence, or God. Therefore, if God purposed from eternity to leave any man or number of men irrecoverably to eternal destruction, this purpose was conceived or taken up by him against these men whilst they were yet only in his will and power, and consequently, whilst they were nothing but himself. But that God should peremptorily resolve and decree never to save, nor to intend to save, but to design and consign over irrevocably, irreversibly, irrecoverably, to eternal misery and destruction millions of men whilst they were yet perfectly righteous and holy, yea, whilst they were yet nothing but himself, is, doubtless, a notion hardly incident to the judgment or thoughts of any man who trembles to think irreverently or unworthily of God.

It is like it will be here pleaded, that God, in his purpose or decree to leave the men we speak of to everlasting perdition, doth not look upon them, or consider them, as being in himself, nor yet as being righteous and holy in Adam, but as men that would in time prove corrupt, sinful, and abominable; and for God to decree to leave men thus considered to irrecoverable destruction, is no ways unworthy of him. I answer,

1. If God, in his decree of reprobation, considered men as sinful and wicked, then he passed over, and took no knowledge or notice of them, whilst they were yet righteous and innocent; or if he did take knowledge of their righteousness, yet, this notwithstanding, and, as it were, with the neglect and contempt of it, he passed that most dreadful doom or decree of an eternal reprobation against them. Whereas the Scriptures everywhere commend and highly magnify the constant love, care, and respects of God towards the righteous: "The righteous Lord," saith David, "loveth righteousness, and his countenance doth behold the upright," Psa. xi. 7. And again: "For thou, Lord, wilt bless the righteous; with favour wilt thou compass him as with a shield," Psa. v. 12. So again:

“The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous,” Psa. xxxiv. 15; (to omit many other places of like assertion.) From whence it evidently appears, 1, That God beholds and sees, and cannot but behold and see, those that are righteous; 2, that seeing and beholding them such, he always loves them, and delights in them. Therefore it is impossible that God at any time should not see and behold the persons we speak of, being righteous, and whilst righteous; and 2, that, seeing and beholding them such, he should not love them, and intend graciously to them; and consequently, that all this while he should intend or decree the extremity of all evil and misery against them.

2. It is altogether inconsistent with the righteousness and equity of God's proceedings, to neglect or pass by the present condition or ways of men, either of righteousness or unrighteousness, and to respect them, or measure out unto them, either grace or displeasure, either reward or punishment, according to their future condition, or according to what he foresees their ways will be afterward. All God's purposes and decrees relate unto men according to the nature and exigency of their present conditions, not of their future. If a man be at present in a condition of righteousness, he is under the gracious influence and benediction of that decree of God, whereby he hath decreed life, and peace, and blessedness to righteous men. And suppose it be known unto God that this man, righteous at present, will afterwards forsake his righteousness, and turn aside into ways of unrighteousness, yet whilst he remaineth righteous he is not under the dint or danger of that decree of God which respects unrighteous men, and whereby wrath and judgment are decreed against them. That disposition or principle which we now ascribe unto God is most clearly asserted in the Scriptures by himself, and that by way of vindication of his righteousness from the unworthy conceits of those who judged otherwise of him: “If a man *be just*, and *do* that which is lawful and right; and hath not eaten upon the mountains, neither hath lifted up his eyes to the idols of the house of Israel,” &c., “*he is just*; he shall surely live, saith the Lord God,” Ezek. xviii. 5, 6, 9: *q. d.* During this posture, or course of righteous walking, he is under the blessing of that gracious and unchangeable decree of mine, wherein life and peace are decreed unto righteous men. “But when the righteous *turneth* away from his righteousness, and *committeth* iniquity, and *doeth* according to all the abominations that the wicked man doeth, shall he live? All his righteousness that he hath done shall not be mentioned; in his trespass that he hath trespassed, and in his sin that he hath sinned, in them shall he die,” ver. 24, *i. e.* perish for ever, viz. unless he repents, and turns back again to his former course of righteousness. So again: “Therefore, thou son of man, say unto the children of thy people, The righteousness of the righteous shall not deliver him in the day of his transgression. As for the wickedness of the wicked, he shall not fall thereby in the day that he turneth from his wickedness; neither shall the righteous be able to live for his

righteousness in the day that he sinneth. When I shall say to the righteous that he shall surely live; if he trust to his own righteousness, and commit iniquity," as many being in an estate of grace, upon a presumption that they cannot possibly fall away, too frequently do, "all his righteousness shall not be remembered; but for his iniquity that he hath committed, he shall die for it. Again, when I say unto the wicked, Thou shalt surely die; if he turn from his sin, and do that which is lawful and right; if he restore the pledge, give again that he had robbed, walk in the statutes of life, without committing iniquity; he shall surely live; he shall not die," Ezek. xxxiii. 12—15. By these, and very many more places of like consideration, in reference to the business in hand, which might be added, it is fully evident, that particular men, or the persons of men, from time to time, come under the eternal decrees of God, either of life or death, of salvation or condemnation, not according to the nature, exigency, or import of their potential or future, but of their actual and present conditions respectively; and consequently, that if the generality of men were either from eternity righteous, (and righteous they must needs be whilst they were in God, and in him only, and were nothing but God,) or at any time after their creation, as they were in Adam during the time of his innocency, they must needs, whilst they were in these capacities or conditions, be under that eternal decree of God, by which or wherein life, and peace, and happiness are decreed unto righteous men, and so could not be from eternity under a decree of reprobation.

3, and lastly, If God from eternity looked upon the far greater part of men (all those I mean who are reprobates, so called) as persons that would in time prove sinful, or as persons in time proved sinful, and, under this prospect of them, passed a decree of reprobation upon or against them, then was this sinfulness wherein he beheld them the ground or cause of this decree of reprobation, or not. If not, to what purpose is it pleaded or stood upon in reference to the said decree? And why is it not plainly and right-down affirmed that God reprobated them out of his mere will and pleasure, without the interveniency of any consideration of sin, to incline or move him thereunto? And if this be so, he need not in his decree of reprobation look upon them as sinful, but simply as men. If he looked upon them simply as men, then he looked upon them as the pure and perfect workmanship of his own hands; if so, then the perfect workmanship of his own hands must be the object of his reprobation, and consequently that which is good: "For God saw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good," Gen. i. 31. But impossible it is that that which is good, especially "very good," should be the object of God's reprobation. Again, if that sinfulness, wherein it is pretended that God looked upon men when he reprobated them, was any ground or cause of such his reprobation, then was it a ground or cause morally moving him hereunto, for other influence or efficiency upon him it could

have none. If so, then, 1. The will of God may have a cause superior to it, and productive of it; which is generally taken for an impossibility. 2. If the sinfulness of men foreseen moved God morally to conceive or make a decree of reprobation against them, then was this decree made by him in a way of justice and equity; yea, upon such terms that, had he not made or passed such a decree upon the grounds and reasons that were before him, he had been unjust. If so, there being the same reason why he should pass a like decree against those men also who are now called his elect, inasmuch as a like sinfulness in them was foreseen likewise by him from eternity, he must be unjust, because he hath not passed a like decree against these. The truth is, that such a decree of reprobation as men commonly notion in God, involves so many inextricable difficulties, palpable absurdities, (that I say not intolerable blasphemies also,) that my hope is it will shortly, mole mali sui ruere, fall and sink with the insupportable weight of its own evil in the minds and judgments of men. As for those places of Scripture, with the arguments commonly drawn from them, which are counted the pillars of such a reprobation, we shall in due time, the inflexible hand of death, or some other grand diversion, not preventing us, by the gracious assistance of the Spirit of truth, clearly answer, and disengage from that service. In the mean time we shall further countenance the doctrine in hand with this demonstration:

“If Christ died not for all men without exception, then is the sin of Adam more extensive, or extensive unto more, in a way of condemnation and death, than the death of Christ, and the grace given by him unto the world, is in a way of justification and of life.” The reason of this consequence is apparent, viz. because the sin of Adam extended unto all men, without exception, in a way of condemnation. Therefore I assume: “But the sin of Adam is not extensive unto more in a way of condemnation, than the grace given by Christ is in a way of justification. Ergo.”

This latter proposition is clearly enough asserted by the apostle, and this over and over: “But not as the offence, so also is the free gift,” (*i. e.* the free gift of grace by Christ unto the world;) meaning that the offence or sin of Adam did not operate so forcibly, or with so high a hand, towards or to the condemnation of men, as the grace given by Christ operateth towards or to the justification or salvation of men. For thus he explains himself in the words following: “For if through the offence of one many be dead,” *i. e.* obnoxious or liable unto death, “much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many,” Rom. v. 15. As if he should have said, There is great reason to conceive and judge that the grace of God, and the gift of Jesus Christ thereby, should be much more effectual to procure the justification and salvation of many, than the offence of one the condemnation of many; partly, because the offence of one wrought only in its own strength and native tendency in bringing con-

demnation and death upon many, having only the permissive will of God, not his operative or designing will, for or towards the production of such an effect; whereas the operative and projecting, or designing, will of God, interposed, went along with, yea, and magnified itself in the gracious gift by Jesus Christ, in order to the bringing of the justification of life upon or unto many; partly also, because Jesus Christ, being the eternal Son of God, consecrated and given by the Father for this end and purpose, viz. to bring the justification of life unto or upon many, (*i. e.* to put many into such an estate of justification, wherein continuing they should live or be saved,) was a far more likely person to carry on and make good his engagement for the justification of many, than Adam, being a weak creature, and of an earthy frame, was to bring the condemnation of death upon many. Now to say, that "by the offence of one," a far greater number of men, incomparably more, are "made dead," (brought into an estate of condemnation and death,) than by the grace of God, and by the gift of Jesus Christ through this grace, are brought into an estate of justification, is quite to alter the property of the apostle's arguing in this place, and to invert the express tendency of it. For whereas his intent clearly is to assert a far more emphatical likelihood or rationality, that the grace of God in the gift of Jesus Christ should operate and prevail to the justification of many, and that accordingly it doth thus operate and prevail, than the sin of Adam to the condemnation of many; such an assertion as that mentioned makes him to say, or at least itself saith, that whether there be more likelihood or rationality, or no, that the grace of God by Christ should justify many, than that the sin of Adam should condemn many, yet for matter of fact it is otherwise; and that the grace of God by Christ justifies a few only in comparison, whereas the sin of Adam condemns all without exception. To affirm, for the strengthening of the faith of believers, (upon which account, questionless, the apostle here speaketh it,) that there is a far greater probability that many should be justified by Christ than that many should be condemned by Adam, and yet to affirm withal that, this probability notwithstanding, many, yea, all without exception, are condemned by Adam, and but a very few, comparatively, justified by Christ, is to blow hot and cold with the same breath, and to pull down with the one hand what a man builds up with the other.

The commensurableness or coextensiveness of the grace of God in Christ, in order to the justification of men, with the sin of Adam in respect of the condemnation of men, is very pregnantly avouched, the second and third time also, by the same apostle, in these subsequent passages of the same contexture: "Therefore, as by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation, even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one many shall be made righteous," Rom. v. 18, 19. In these two verses, the condemned ones

of Adam, and the justified ones of Christ, are, as we formerly observed,* computed by one and the same numerical expression. In the former, we hear of the condemnation of no more than *all men* by the offence of Adam, and of no fewer than all men justified by Christ; in the latter, of no more than *many* made sinners by Adam, nor of any fewer than *many* made righteous by Christ. Now as Peter was admonished by a voice from heaven "not to call that common which God had cleansed," Acts. x. 15; so neither is it safe for any man to make that number lesser which God hath made greater, nor to assert a signal disproportion between two numbers which God hath computed and drawn up to a perfect equality.

How uncouth and broadly incongruous and irrational their interpretations are, who carry the sense of these passages another way, and make the *all men* of Christ no men at all, in comparison of the *all men* of Adam, and the *many* of Christ few, in comparison of the *many* of Adam, hath been demonstratively argued in the sixth chapter of this Discourse, where likewise the expositions of Mr. Calvin, Bucer, and other orthodox expositors upon the said places, were produced in full accord with the sense and interpretations now awarded by us.

Only one thing we shall briefly add in this place. Whereas the apostle, in the latter of the two last recited passages, expresseth the guilt contracted by men from Adam, in a verb signifying the time past, ἀμαρτωλοὶ κατεσάθησαν, *have been* made sinners, and the righteousness or justification brought unto men by Christ, in a verb of the future tense, δίκαιοι κατασταθήσονται, *shall be* made righteous, which to some may seem to import, that the apostle intends to make the justified ones of Christ in this place, no more than those who *shall be* actually justified and saved in the end, the number of which cannot be equal to those made sinners by Adam; I answer, 1. That the justification accruing unto the world by Christ, is a little before expressed in a verb signifying the time past also, viz. where he saith, as we lately heard, that "the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπερίσσειε, *hath* abounded unto many," Rom. v. 15. Therefore the collection specified, as issuing from the latter expression mentioned, is illegitimate and groundless. 2. Tremellius from the Syriac, translates the said latter expression in the present tense; Multi justī fiunt, *many are* made righteous; which notes only the nature of the gracious transaction of Christ, which is, to make many righteous, not the event. 3. There is scarce any thing of a more common and known observation about the Scriptures than the mutual enallage or change of tenses, the present being sometimes put for the preter, and sometimes for the future; and so these reciprocally. So that unless either the scope of the place, or exigency of the sentence, will enforce it otherwise, there is no

building any observation of weight upon the particularity of a tense. Now the scope of the place in hand is so far from enforcing any such supposition as this, that the justified ones of Christ, spoken of in this chapter, are only those who shall be saved at last, that it enforceth the quite contrary, as hath been shown. And for the sentence, it requireth no such supposal upon any account whatsoever. But 4, and lastly, The reason, I conceive, why the apostle varieth his expression about the justification brought unto the world by Christ, mentioning it, in the latter place, in a verb of the future tense, whereas he had in the same period expressed the guilt brought upon the world by Adam, in a verb of the preter tense; the reason, I say, hereof, I conceive to be, because it is more easily and more generally believed that guilt is come upon the world by Adam, than that justification is come unto it by Christ. In which respect he mentioneth the former as a thing done, and generally so known and confessed to be; the latter, because more questioned and less believed, he asserteth more vigorously and commandingly; the future tense being frequently in Scripture, as in other writings also, employed to carry strong assertions and strict commands. So that this period of the apostle, "As by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous," may be paraphrased thus: As you easily believe, and take it for granted, that by the disobedience of one many have been made sinners, and so guilty of and liable unto death, *i. e.* that all men, as they come respectively to be conceived and born, were made liable unto death by the disobedience of one long since acted, and should have perished for ever should not grace have prevented it, so certainly will it appear and be found true, in due time, that many, even as many, yea, the self-same, both number and persons, in their successive conceptions also and comings into the world, those already born, and those that hereafter shall be born, have been and shall be "made righteous," *i. e.* have been and shall be delivered from the guilt of sin and liableness unto death, "by the obedience of one," *i. e.* by the obedient and submissive deportment of Jesus Christ towards his Father, in yielding of himself up unto death. In what sense men may be, and are by the apostle said to be, "by nature children of wrath," Eph. ii. 3, and yet not liable unto condemnation, either in their respective conceptions or births, shall, God assisting, be argued and cleared in more convenient place. Only at present, to stay stomachs, we say, 1. That the word "nature" doth nowhere signify either the natural conception or the natural birth, nor always, if anywhere, partnership or communion in the human nature, or a descent from Adam in the ordinary way of propagation, but sometimes an innate or inbred principle in a man, one or more, as 1 Cor. xi. 14, Rom. ii. 14, &c.: sometimes also a course or series of actions whereunto a man falleth and addicteth himself of his own accord, without any compulsion or necessitation either from within or from without, through inconsiderateness or the

like; and so likewise the habit or evil propension voluntarily contracted by such actions. And in this sense it may well be taken by the apostle in the clause specified, the carriage of the former part of the verse inviting unto it. So that men may be said to be "by nature children of wrath," when they voluntarily follow or suffer themselves to be led by such sinful inclinations, which are apt to breed or be engendered in flesh and blood, or in the "natures" of men. 2. "By nature," cannot signify, by natural birth, nor by communion in the human nature, nor by descent from Adam, or the like; because then it would follow, that all children whatsoever, dying infants, or children, should perish everlastingly; at least if by "children of wrath" be meant in an estate of condemnation or under the actual displeasure of God; because all partake alike of the natural birth, of the nature of man, are of a like descent from Adam, &c. 3. Some ancient expositors interpreted the word φύσει, "by nature," prorsus, *i. e.* utterly, or altogether. Theophylact and Œcumenius, γνησίως, verè, seu germanè, *i. e.* truly, or indeed. 4. Chrysostom's interpretation of the place is of much affinity with that first mentioned. The apostle, saith he, "saith, we have provoked God, and made him wroth, that is, we were wrath, and nothing else. For as he that is the child of a man, is by nature a man, even so we also were children of wrath even as others; that is, none was free, but we all did things deserving wrath."* 5, and lastly, By "children of wrath," the apostle may very probably mean persons that had been lost, and were worthy wrath, or deserving death. And thus Calvin interprets. "By children of wrath," saith he, "understand simply such as were lost, and worthy of eternal death."† According to the import of this interpretation of the phrase, "children of wrath," all men may truly be said to be "by nature," *i. e.* by natural propagation, or by their descent from Adam, "children of wrath," and yet be born in an estate of justification, or in an actual and immediate capacity of salvation by Christ. As it is with those, who have arrived at years of discretion, and actually believe: they carry original defilement still about them; they were, in respect of what was derived unto them from Adam in their natural conception and birth, wholly lost, and are still, notwithstanding their faith, in the rigour and strictness of justice, worthy of eternal death; and yet, by means of their faith and the gracious compact and covenant which God hath made with those that believe, they are not in an estate of condemnation, or liable to eternal death. In like manner children may possibly be conceived, and so born into the world, with original sin, and yet not with or under the guilt of it: this may be dissolved and taken away by the superabounding

* Παρωξυναμέν, φησι, τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ παρωργίσασμεν, τουτέστιν, ὀργή ἡμεν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον. "Ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἀνθρώπου ὦν τέκνον, φύσει ἀνθρωπός ἐστιν, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς ὀργῆς τέκνα ἡμεν, ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τουτέστιν, οὐδὲς ἦν ἐλεύθερος, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐπράττομεν ἄξια ὀργῆς.

† Per filios iræ, simpliciter intellige perditos, ac morte æternâ dignos.

grace of God vouchsafed unto the world by Jesus Christ, though the sin itself remaineth. So again, children, as soon as conceived or born, may be, and are, in strictness of account, worthy of eternal death by reason of that communion they had in Adam's sin, being in his loins when he sinned; and yet this worthiness may not be imputed unto them, or charged upon them, being, as we suppose it clear from the Scriptures, expiated or atoned by the great sacrifice of Christ in his death. This interpretation of the apostle's saying, "We were by nature children of wrath even as others," is, I conceive, of all the rest, least liable to any material exception. But we have gone beyond the line of our late intentions in following this chase: we retire, with a purpose to conclude this chapter, with the addition only of one argument more for the confirmation of our main doctrine. Therefore,

In the thirteenth and last place, The universality of redemption purchased by Christ I further argue and demonstrate from the consideration of some of the principal types under the law, by which the compass and unlimited extent of it were prefigured. I shall insist only upon two: the brazen serpent, and the feast of jubilee.

First, concerning the brazen serpent: Our Saviour himself owneth and asserteth a typical correspondency in the erection and usefulness hereof with himself in respect of that great and gracious design and purpose of God in sending him into the world: "And as Moses," saith he, "lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life," John iii. 14, 15. A type being a kind of similitude, and the property or condition of this not being, in the proverbial expression, "to run on all-fours," *i. e.* to answer or hold proportion in all particulars, indeed, many times not in more than one only, therefore our Saviour, to prevent all misunderstanding in the interpretation or application of the type mentioned, particulariseth that very respect or consideration in himself, and his sending into the world, which was prefigured and expressed in the type alleged by him, in these words, "That whosoever believeth in him should not perish, &c." To understand clearly what there was in the type answering, in a way of prefiguration, that consideration in Christ's coming or sending into the world, which himself here insists upon as presignified hereby, we must have recourse to the history concerning the erection of the brazen serpent, unto which also himself sendeth us in that particle of comparison or resemblance, "as;" "As Moses lifted up," &c. The original of this brazen serpent, together with the counsel and intention of God in his erection, Moses recordeth thus: "Make thee," saith he to Moses, "a fiery serpent," *viz.* in similitude or form, "and set it upon a pole; and it shall come to pass that *every one that is bitten*, when he looketh upon it,

shall live," Num. xxi. 8; from which words it is most evident, that this "fiery serpent" (in form as Christ came "in the similitude of" that "sinful flesh," whose sting is so mortal to the world) was not intended by God as a means of healing or preservation to a certain, definite, or determinate number of persons, or that such and such by name, and no other, should look upon it in order to their healing, or that whosoever in the event did look upon it, and no other but these, should be healed by it; but that whosoever would, might look upon it, (for which end also Moses was commanded to set it up on high upon "a pole," where it might be readily visible unto all,) and that whosoever should or did look upon it, being bitten or stung with any "fiery serpent," might be healed thereby. Now, all men without exception being, as we all know and confess, stung, and that mortally, with the "fiery serpent" sin, unless Christ should be lifted up, upon the cross, *i. e.* suffer death, with an intent on God's part, 1. That every man, if he pleased, might believe in him; and, 2. That every man that should believe in him should be saved by him; he should altogether disanswer that famous type we speak of, and that in that very consideration and respect wherein he pleads a special conformity to it.

If it be replied, The correspondency between Christ and the brazen serpent is sufficiently salved in this, That as the will and ordinance of God in and about the brazen serpent was, that whosoever, being stung, should look up to it, should be healed; so is it his good pleasure in and about Christ, that whosoever believeth in him should be saved from that death which sin exposeth him unto. But this doth not imply or suppose Christ to be an universal Saviour or Redeemer. I answer,

1. That the brazen serpent was not ordained by God to be a condition or means of healing, by a looking up to it, only unto those, or for their sakes, who actually did look up to it and were healed by it, (unless we shall suppose that all those, without exception, who were stung of serpents, did look up to it, and were accordingly healed, which would be a supposition without sufficient ground,) but unto all those, without exception, and for their sakes, who were, or any time after should be, thus stung, whether they would or should look up to it for healing or no. Nor do we find in the words of the institution of it, lately specified, the least whisper or intimation of any exception of persons in this kind. Therefore, unless it be admitted that Christ died as well for those, or for their sakes, who, being sinners, as all are, do not or shall not believe in him, as for those who do or shall, he will not fulfil the type we speak of, no, not in that consideration wherein the richness and fulness of his grace was in special manner typified, as himself, in the words lately transcribed from his own mouth, plainly enough declareth.

2. If it be granted, that this is the will or intent of God, that

whosoever believeth or shall believe in him, shall be saved, it amounts to as much in expressness of consequence and import as we contended for; viz. that there is salvation purchased and procured by him for all men without exception. For that which is to be had upon the performance of such a condition, which, being performed, gives no being to it, must of necessity have a being there, where or from whence it is to be had upon the performance of this condition, whether this condition be performed or no. If it be true, that in case I shall go up into the chamber, I shall meet my friend or brother there, it must needs be true that my friend or brother is there, whether I go up to meet him there or no. In like manner, if this be a truth, that in case I shall believe on Christ, I shall find salvation for myself in him, it must of necessity be every whit as true that there is salvation in him for me, whether I believe in him or no: because my believing in him would not create any salvation in him more than what was in him before. So that if it were not in him before my believing, I could not have it, I should not find it in him, though I should believe. But the legitimacy of the consequence we speak of, from the premises unto which we relate it, and which are our adversaries' own resolute doctrine, we have argued and evicted at large, and this more than once, in our former discussions.*

Again, The other great type we mentioned, of the redemption purchased by Christ for the world, the feast of jubilee, plainly proveth this redemption to have been, in the purchase and procurement of it, general or universal, however, in the actual possession or enjoyment of it, it proves the benefit or blessing only of a few, by means of the non-acceptation of it by the greatest part of those for whom it was purchased. That the feast of jubilee under the law was a type, and that of a most clear and significant import, of the spiritual liberty and freedom from sin and misery, purchased by Christ, and proclaimed by God in the gospel unto the world, is the standing notion and sense of all parties in the present controversies. The tenor of the institution of this feast, as far as concerns the business in hand, runneth thus. "And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto *all* the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a jubilee unto you, and ye shall return *every man* unto his possession, and ye shall return *every man* unto his family," Lev. xxv. 10. And a little after: "In the year of this jubilee ye shall return *every man* unto his possession," ver. 13. "This returning of every man to his possession is," saith Mr. Ainsworth, "a figure of our restoring by Christ into paradise, the possession whereof Adam lost by sin." And, by proportion, the returning of every man to his family, (*i. e.* to his civil liberty and freedom,) is a figure of our restoring by Christ unto that spiritual liberty, or freedom from under the dominion and power of

* Chap. VII., pp. 177 178; Chap. VIII., p. 204.

sin, with all the hard consequences of such a bondage, whereof we were all deprived by Adam's sin. Now the tenor of the counsel and intentions of God, in the erection or institution of this feast, we see expressly to be, the ease, benefit, restitution to possessions and liberties of *every man*, without the exception of any. Yea, all servants that had refused their liberty at the end of the seventh year of their service, which their masters were expressly enjoined by the law, Exod. xxi. 6, to grant unto them, if they desired it, had the benefit and indulgence of the jubilee, and were then to be manumitted or set at liberty, if they desired it, as well as others; which plainly signified the riches of the grace of God in the gospel to be so great, that even wilful sinners, and such as have waxen old in ways of provocation, are hereby made capable of the love and favour of God in the pardon of all their sins. For, to note this by the way, the intent of this feast was not, I suppose, to compel, or necessitate every man, no, nor yet any man, to return either to his possession, or to his family, whether they would or no, but to afford them an opportunity, and to invest them with a liberty, or right of returning unto either, if they pleased. Because otherwise, it had been less matter of gratification, ease, or indulgence unto men, yea, possibly unto some, as viz. unto those, who had been found unwilling to return unto either, it had been matter of trouble and discontent. Πᾶν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον πρᾶγμα ἀνιάρδον ἔφην, (as the Greek epigram hath it) *i. e.*

Whate'er necessity imposeth,
The mind necessitated troubleth.

But to the point in hand. It being the clear and unquestionable intent of God, in and by the great and solemn feast of jubilee, to loose the two sore yokes of bondage and poverty from off all necks whatsoever, without any difference or distinction of persons, in one kind or other, he should be far more gracious and munificent in type or shadow, than in substance, in case he should not be every whit as large, free, and comprehensive in his intentions of affording means and opportunity unto men for deliverance from sin and death by Jesus Christ.

If it be objected; It is true, the intent of the jubilee was to invest every man (viz. that was a Jew, and of the natural seed of Abraham) with a right of power to return to his possession or family; but not to gratify every man simply, or to indulge the like privilege unto all the world. Therefore this rather proves the confinement of the intentions of the grace of God in Jesus Christ, unto his church or elect only, than the enlargement of them unto all the world; especially considering that the whole body of the people and nation of the Jews, were typical, and presignified the church or churches, which were afterwards to be raised up amongst the Gentiles. To this I answer,

1. Be it granted, that the body or nation of the Jews did typify the church or churches of the Gentiles, yet did not every single person of this nation typify a true member of these churches.

As, for example, Ahitophel did not typify a true saint, or a believer under the gospel, nor did Korah, Dathan, and Abiram typify so many godly or holy men among the Gentiles; nor had any unrighteous or wicked person of this nation the honour of typing out any true Nathaniel, or elect person, under the New Testament. If ungodly persons among the Jews were types of any thing, it was of such hypocrites or profane persons that should be found in the churches under the gospel. And if so, the intent of the jubilee being, as we have proved from the express letter of the institution of it, for the benefit, comfort, and ease of every man amongst them, as well of the wicked and unholy, as of the holy and righteous, it follows roundly, that this typified and taught, that the intentions of God, in and about the salvation afforded and exhibited by Jesus Christ unto the world, stood equal and indifferent towards all men without exception, without any distinction of holy and unholy, righteous and unrighteous, elect and reprobate, or the like.

2. Although the law of jubilee, as the whole ceremonial law, in all the parts and branches of it, was given particularly *unto* the Jews, yet was it not given particularly *for* the Jews, *i. e.* for the sake or benefit of the Jews only, but for the accommodation and benefit of all the world besides. And upon this account, I suppose, the apostle Paul calleth the ceremonial injunctions by Moses, the elements, or rudiments, not of the Jews, but of the world, Col. ii. 8—20; viz. because they were given with an intent, on God's part, to nurture and breed up the world, *i. e.* all nations as well as the Jews, in such a measure or degree of the knowledge of the Messiah, then to come, which he judged meet to impart unto the world until his coming. So that howsoever the Jewish nation was honoured by God above all other nations, in being made by him feoffees in trust, as it were, for the world, and had the keeping of the oracles of life committed unto them, yet had they no right or lawfulness of power, to deny any person under heaven part or fellowship with them, in any of their spiritual privileges, who should desire it of them in a due and regular way, and turn proselyte. Now there was no person of any nation, that was made by God incapable of the benefit or blessing of proselytism; and, consequently, the joy and privileges accruing unto men, by virtue of the law and feast of jubilee, did, though not in so immediate and direct a way, concern all other nations and persons as well as the Jews, or natural seed of Abraham. Even as the gospel and sacramental administrations annexed thereunto, in these days, are only possessed and enjoyed in and by the churches of Christ: but yet they are so, and upon such terms possessed and enjoyed by them, that whosoever from amongst the most idolatrous and heathenish nation under heaven shall believe, may and ought to have communion with them in such their possessions and enjoyments. Either of these answers is sufficient to loosen the joints of the loins of the objection.

The arguments and grounds laid down and managed in this chapter, together with those passages and texts of Scripture which we have heard speaking so distinctly and aloud the same things with them, have turned my thoughts and judgment about the intentions of God in the death of Christ upside down, and have filled me, mind, heart, soul, and conscience with this belief, that these intentions of his stand, and always stood, equally, impartially and uniformly bent for or towards the salvation of the world without any difference or variation in respect of any man, or numbers of men, considered simply as men, or as having done neither good nor evil. Yet are there three things more that have made my belief in this kind, measure heaped up, pressed down, and running over. The first is, that conjunctio magna, that great conjunction of all, or far the greatest part of the chief luminaries in the firmament of the Christian church, whilst the constitution of it was yet more athletic, healthful, and sound, I mean during the primitive times, the multiplied rays or beams of whose light concentrated in the same point of doctrine with us. Of this we shall, God assisting, give some competent account in the forepart of the chapter following. The second is, the frequent testimony given to this doctrine by those who are, or at least are so esteemed, the chief adversaries and opposers of it, who, as appears from their writings, are oft necessitated to assert or own it as a principle, without which they know not in many cases, how to make a consistent discourse, or manage the theme they have before them. Somewhat of this also we shall show in the latter part of the said chapter. The third, and last, is the apparent inconcludency and weakness of those arguings and reasonings, whether from the Scriptures or other principles, by which the cause of the contrary opinion is wont by the ablest patrons it hath, as far as men of this engagement are yet known unto me, to be pleaded and maintained. The demonstration of this is designed for the subject matter of the second part of this work, if God shall vouchsafe to make his sun to shine a birth-day for it.

CHAPTER XIX.

Wherein the sense of antiquity, together with the variableness of judgment in modern writers, touching the controversy under discussion, is truly and impartially represented.

FOR their sakes who are afraid to believe any thing, what pregnancy of ground soever there be to evince the truth of it otherwise, but only what they know, or at least think, that many other men, and these someways honourable in their sight, have believed before them, I have subjoined this chapter to those large debates which finished their course in the preceding chapters of this book, managed, I trust, to the satisfaction of all such who count it

more safe to stand upon a rock alone, or with a few, than upon a quagmire or quicksand with a greater company. But because all men have not this faith, I shall show unto those that want it a cloud of as honourable persons, I suppose, even in their own eyes, as any that have inhabited mortality since the apostles' days, standing upon the rock of that doctrine which hath been asserted and recommended in our former discussions. For who within that compass of time we speak of have had a spirit of greater glory resting on them than those that sat in the apostles' chairs next after them, and were pillars of light and fire in the Christian church in her primitive and purest days? And that these in their respective stations and successive generations were not only partakers, but defenders and assertors of the same faith with us in the doctrine of redemption hitherto maintained, is legible enough in the next ensuing testimonies; after which we shall show how fluctuating and inconsistent with themselves the judgments of later writers have been about the said doctrine, and how impossible it is for any man to be of an established conscience therein, that shall build himself upon their authority.

We shall begin with Augustin, the first-born amongst the fathers, though not in time, yet in worth and name; and from him proceed first unto those that lived before him, by a gradual ascent; and then to those that succeeded him, by a descent answerable. That Austin's doctrine concerning the intentions of God about the extent of the death of Christ, was the same with that asserted by us for orthodox and sound in our present discourse, needeth, I suppose, no greater proof than an impartial and due consideration of these and such like sayings, scattered up and down in his writings from place to place upon occasion. In that discourse wherein he makes answer, *ad articulos sibi falso impositos*, to certain articles falsely fathered upon him, he insisteth upon this, in the first place, as laid to his charge, that he should hold, "That our Lord Jesus Christ did not suffer for the redemption of all men."* The second he mentioneth is this: "That God should not be willing to save all men, though all men were willing to be saved."† In purging himself upon the former of these, he writeth thus: "Against the wound of original sin, wherewith in Adam the nature of all men was corrupted and become dead, and from whence the disease of all manner of concupiscence groweth, the death of the Son of God our Lord Jesus Christ is a true, potent, and the singular remedy, who being not liable to the debt of death, and the only person without sin, died for those that were sinners and debtors" in this kind. "Therefore as to the greatness and potency of the price, and as far as concerns one" and the same "cause of mankind, the blood of Christ is the *redemption of the whole world*. But they who pass through this world without the faith of Christ, and the sacrament" or sacred work "of regeneration, are strangers to" or estranged

* Quod dominus noster Jesus Christus non pro omnium hominum redemptione sit passus.

† Quod Deus omnes nolit servare, etiamsi omnes salvari velit.

from "this redemption. Therefore, whereas by reason of one" and the same "nature of all men and, by" one and the same "cause of all men truly undertaken by our Lord, all men may truly be said to be redeemed, yet all men are not" actually "brought" or delivered "out of captivity. The propriety," *i. e.* the actual possession and enjoyment "of redemption, is, doubtless, with them, out of whom the prince of this world is cast forth, and who are now not vessels of the devil, but members of Christ: whose death is not so bestowed upon mankind, that they who never come to be regenerate, should belong to the redemption thereof," *i. e.* should actually partake of this redemption, "but so that what by one only example" or exemplary act "was done for all men together," or at once, "might be celebrated in all particular persons, by a particular sacrament:" *i. e.* might by a particular administration of the sacrament of this redemption, meaning, I suppose, baptism, to each particular man, be plainly declared to relate unto, or to concern all particulars. "For that cup" or potion "of immortality, which was tempered and made of our infirmity, and the divine power" or virtue "hath in it wherewith to profit all men; but it profiteth no man unless he drinketh it."* What testimony from a man concerning his judgment in any point, can be imagined more pregnant, satisfactory and clear, than such wherein he expressly complains of being falsely charged with the contrary, and vindicates and explains himself accordingly? Beza, because of this testimony, so full and particular against his opinion of limited redemption, and being loath to have this his opinion encumbered with the opposite authority of this father, dischargeth it of the burden, by pretending that the book, or tract, wherein it standeth is supposititious, and not Augustin's. But besides the genius, phrase, and style, every ways *ὁμοιόζοντα*, resembling the author, whose name it beareth, Calvin, who of the two was a man of greater discerning abilities, acknowledgeth it accordingly.† Nor is there any piece in all those writings, which pass under the name of Augustin's works at this day, but may, upon a pretence every whit as plausible, be traduced as illegitimate.

Before I pass from this testimony, I desire the reader to take knowledge that the worthy author thereof, towards the beginning of the said tract, and a few lines before the recited testimony, profess-

* *Contra vulnus originalis peccati, quo in Adam omnium hominum corrupta et mortificata est natura, et unde omnium concupiscentiarum morbus inolevit, verum et potens et singulare remedium est mors filii Dei Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui liber à mortis debito, et solus absque peccato, pro peccatoribus et debitoribus mortuus est. Quod ergo ad magnitudinem et potentiam pretii, et quod ad unam pertinet causam generis humani, sanguis Christi redemptio est totius mundi. Sed qui hoc seculum sine fide Christi, et sine regenerationis sacramento pertranseunt, redemptionis alieni sunt. Cùm itaque per unam omnium naturam, omnium causam à Domino nostro in veritate susceptam, redempti omnes rectè dicantur, non tamen omnes captivitate sunt eruti: redemptionis proprietas haud dubium penes illos est, de quibus princeps hujus mundi missus est foras, et jam non vasa diaboli, sed membra Christi. Cujus mors non impensa est humano generi, ut ad redemptionem ejus, etiam qui regenerandi non erant, pertinerent, sed ita quod per unicum exemplum gestum est pro universis, per singulare sacramentum celebraretur in singulis. Poculum quippe immortalitatis, quod confectum est de infirmitate nostrâ, et virtute divinâ, habet quidem in se ut omnibus prosit; sed si non bibitur, non proficit.*

† *De occultâ Dei Provid. in Respons. ad Præfat. Opusc. p. 251.*

eth, that what he should deliver therein, was his sense and judgment in the respective articles, in opposition to the Pelagians and their doctrine.* From whence it manifestly appeareth, that in Augustin's days, it was no orthodox doctrine, but a Pelagian error, to hold that Christ died not for all men; inasmuch as the father complaineth (as we heard before) that he was falsely charged by some abettors of the Pelagian faction that he held, that Christ the Lord suffered not for the redemption of all men. Therefore they who traduce the doctrine maintained in this discourse, under the odious name of Pelagianism, either declare themselves notably ignorant of what Pelagianism meaneth, or else asperse that father, who, questionless, knew better than all his fellows what belonged to Pelagianism, with the blot of this ignorance. By his vote and verdict, the doctrine which contradicteth that asserted by us, is Pelagianism.

Another testimony from the same father, upon the same account, may be that formerly cited. Having rehearsed these words, "For God sent not his Son to judge the world, but that the world through him should be saved:" he infers thus: "Therefore as much as lieth in the physician, he came to heal the sick. That man slayeth himself, who will not observe the precepts of the physician. He came a Saviour unto the world. Why is he called the Saviour of the world, but *that he should save the world.*"† Elsewhere, addressing himself in his private devotions unto the Lord Christ, he speaketh to him thus: "I know thee to be true God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, the Creator, Saviour, and Redeemer of me, and of *whole mankind.*"‡ Again: "O thou unclean world, he cometh that should redeem thee, and thou art troubled: and him thou wilt destroy, when he was *mindèd to deliver thee.*"§ Concerning Judas he demandeth, "What did the sin of Judas, who sold him, by whom *he should have been*" or, was to have been "*redeemed?*"|| Afterwards he presenteth Christ, after his resurrection, speaking to the unbelieving Jews, who had crucified him, thus: "Behold the man whom ye have crucified; behold that God and man, in whom you refuse to believe. You see the wounds which you have inflicted, the side which ye have pierced: because by you, *and for you*, it hath been opened, and yet you will not enter."¶ In another place, thus: "Mankind falleth sick, not of

* Propositis ergo.

† Ergo quantum in medico est, sanare venit ægrotum. Ipse se interimit, qui præcepta medici observare non vult. Venit salvator ad mundum. Quare salvator dictus est mundi, nisi ut salvèt mundum?—*Aug. in Joh. Tract. 12.*

‡ Cognovi te verum Deum, et Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium Dei unigenitum, Creatorem, Salvatorem, et Redemptorem meum, et totius humani generis, &c.—*August. Soliloqu. c. 32.*

§ O munde immunde, venit qui te redimat, et turbaris: et hunc tu vis perdere, quando ille te disposuit liberare.—*Aug. de Symb. l. ii.*

|| Quid egit iniquitas Judæ, qui eum vendidit, à quo redimi debuit?—*Ibid.*

¶ Ecce hominem quem crucifixistis, ecce Deum et hominem, in quem credere noluistis. Videtis vulnera quæ infixistis, agnoscitis latus quod pupugistis: quoniam et per vos, et propter os, apertum est, nec tamen intrare voluistis.—*Ibid.*

bodily diseases, but of sins. This great patient" or sick man "lieth all along the world, from the east unto the west. *For the healing of this great sick man, the omnipotent physician comes down.*"* The same father (in another part of his works, comparing the first and the second Adam together) discourseth to this effect. "What therefore was justly due from Adam, Christ unjustly by suffering death, paid. He stretched forth his hand to the sweetness of the apple: Christ to the bitterness of the cross. He showed the tree of death; Christ the tree of life. He lift up himself against God and fell; Christ *humbled himself that he might lift up all.* Adam brought death upon all men universally; and Christ hath repaired" or, restored "life unto all men. Every one therefore looked towards the brazen serpent and was healed" of the wounds received "from the poisonous serpents. The brazen serpent set upon a wooden pole, overcame all the venom of the living serpents: and Christ being hung upon the cross, and dying, quenched the old poisons" or venoms "of the devil, and *delivered*" or freed "*all that were struck*" or stung "by him."† This father, in his dialect and manner of expressions could not more significantly declare for general redemption than he hath done in the now-recited testimonies. And the truth is, that passages and sayings of like import are very familiar and frequent in his writings. In one place he saith, "Judas cast away the price of silver for which he sold the Lord, and acknowledged not the price *with which himself was redeemed* by the Lord.‡" In another, "Unless he (Christ) had been crucified, the *world had not been redeemed.*"§ In a third, "For the blood of Christ is so" or, upon such terms "shed for remission of *all sins*" or for remission of the sins of all men "that it is able to blot out that very sin by which it was shed."|| In a fourth, "We read in the Scriptures that the safety" or salvation "*of all mankind is purchased*" or bought "with the blood of our Saviour, as the apostle Peter saith," &c. In a fifth, "If therefore the price of our life be the blood of the Lord, see then how it is not the earthly uncertainty of a field that was redeemed therewith, *but the eternal safety of the whole world.*"¶ In a sixth, "God in no" other "way provided more beneficially" or bountifully "for mankind, than

* *Ægrotat humanum genus, non morbis corporis sed peccatis. Jacet toto orbe terrarum ab oriente usque ad occidentem grandis ægrotus: ad sanandum grandem ægrotum descendit omnipotens medicus, &c.—Aug. de verbis Domini.* Ser. 59.

† Ille arborem necis, iste salutis ostendit. Ille se contra Deum erexit, et cecidit. Christus se humiliavit, ut omnes erigeret. Adam mortem universis intulit: et Christus vitam omnibus reparavit. Respiciebat ergo unusquisque ad serpentem æneum, et à venenatis serpentibus sanabatur. Serpens æneus in ligno positus venena vivorum serpentum superavit: et Christus in cruce suspensus et mortuus, antiqua diaboli venena restituit, et omnes, qui ab eo percussi fuerant, liberavit.—*August. de Temp.* Ser. 101.

‡ Judas projectit pretium argenti, quo ab illo Dominus venditus erat: nec agnovit pretium, quo ipse a Domino redemptus erat.—*Aug. in Enar. Psal. lxxviii.*

§ Nisi enim crucifigeretur ille, mundus non redimeretur.—*Aug. de Symb.*

|| Christi enim sanguis sic in remissionem peccatorum omnium fusus est, ut ipsum etiam peccatum posset delere, quo fusus est.—*Aug. Tract. 92. in Joh.*

¶ Legimus in Scripturis quoddam totius generis humani salus redempta sit sanguine salvatoris, sicut ait apostolus Petrus, &c. Et paulò post: Igitur si pretium vitæ nostræ sanguis est Domini, vide ergo quia illo non tam redempta sit agri terrena fragilitas, quàm totius mundi incolumitas sempiterna.—*Aug. de Temp.* Ser. 128.

when the very wisdom of God, that is, his only Son, consubstantial and co-eternal with the Father, attempted to assume whole man.* In a seventh, "What then is the meaning of, God is in the midst of her? This signifies that God is equal" or equally affected "unto all, and accepteth no man's person. For as that which is in the midst, is alike distant from all the extreme parts, so God is said to be in the midst" inasmuch "as he consults and provides equally for all."† In an eighth, speaking in a rhetorical apostrophe unto Thomas, he expresseth himself thus: "Thomas, look well on our price, diligently consider the prints of the nails, and in his very wounds acknowledge" or take notice of "the medicine or treasure of mankind."‡ And not long after, "Death was given unto one, that it might be taken away from all."§

It were easy to make this pile of testimonies far greater, but that we judge these specified abundantly sufficient to convince any man, that hath not abjured ingenuity, that Austin's habitual and standing judgment was, that Christ by his death atoned the sins of all men without exception. Nor can there, I verily believe, so much as one saying be produced out of all his writing, wherein the contrary is asserted by him. Many places, I grant, may readily be found, wherein he denies the possession, and actual enjoyment of the redemption or salvation purchased by Christ, unto many, as viz. to all final impenitents and unbelievers: of such an import as this is that saying of his: "The Lord did not by his resurrection repair" or restore "unto forgiveness, all" or any "unbelievers, and such who for their heinous sins were adjudged to eternal punishments."|| Such sayings as this, are of perfect accord with the doctrine asserted by us, Chap. xvii. of this discourse, where we acknowledged and proved at large, that notwithstanding the redemption purchased by Christ for all men, yet no man dying in impenitency and unbelief shall be saved. Now if Augustin were of this judgment, that Christ died for all men, there is little question to be made, but that this opinion or doctrine reigned generally in the Christian church in his days (and so had done before him) as orthodox and catholic; considering that he was, as the ablest, so the strictest and closest defender of that faith, which was more generally esteemed orthodox, and professed, taught, and held throughout the Christian world. Nevertheless let us hear other learned, pious, and orthodox writers delivering their sense about the said point, in their own words.

Ambrose, with whose ministry and eloquence Augustin was much

* Deus nullo modo beneficentiâ consulit generi humano, quàm cum ipsa sapientia Dei, id est, unicus filius consubstantialis patri, et cœternus, totum hominem suscipere conatus est, &c.—*Aug. de ver. Relig.*

† Quid ergo est, Deus in medio ejus? Hœc significat, quòd æquus est omnibus Deus, et personas non accipit. Quomodo enim illud quod in medio est, paria habet spatia ad omnes fines: ita Deus medius esse dicitur æqualiter omnibus consulens.—*Aug. in Psal. xlv.*

‡ Intuere Thoma pretium nostrum, signa clavorum diligenter attende, et in ipsis vulneribus medicamentum, vel thesaurum humani generis recognosce.—*Aug. de Temp. Ser. 138.*

§ Et mox: uni mors data est, ut omnibus tolleretur.

|| Neque enim infideles quosque et pro suis criminibus æternis suppliciis deditos, ad veniam Dominus resurgendo reparavit, &c.—*Aug. de Temp. Sermon. 137.*

affected, asserted the same doctrine without fear. "The sun," saith he, "is commanded to arise upon all men. And this sun doth indeed arise daily upon all men. But that mystical Sun of righteousness is risen unto" or, for "*all men*, is come to *all men*, hath suffered for *all men*, and is risen again for *all men*, and hath therefore suffered, that he might take away the sin of the world. But if any man believeth not in Christ, he depriveth himself of the *general benefit*, as if a man by shutting the windows, should shut out the beams of the sun, it doth not prove that therefore the sun is not risen upon, or unto all, because such a man depriveth himself of his heat. But as for what concerneth the sun, he keeps his prerogative: but this man acteth the part of an unwise man in shutting out" from himself "the favour of the common light." And a little before he had said: "The earth is full of the mercy of the Lord, because forgiveness of sins is granted" or given "unto *all men*,"* *i. e.* offered as a gift unto all. In another place thus: "The brazen serpent was (in a figure) as it were fastened to a cross, because it was" hereby "declared that the true serpent was to be crucified for mankind, who should frustrate" or, make void, "the poison of the serpent, the devil, being" indeed "cursed in the figure, but yet in truth was he, that should take away the sins of the whole world."† Once more: "So then he" the apostle Paul "saith, that there is a Saviour left to us for a suffrage of life," meaning, by whom life is voted in heaven for us "which the law could not provide: which" Saviour "God from the beginning decreed should be born: who because he was the only person that could be found without sin, having overcome the enemy of mankind, *abolished*" or, blotted out "*the sins of all men*."‡

Jerome, who also was contemporary with Augustin, though somewhat his senior, gave the right hand of fellowship unto him in the doctrine now under inquest. We shall only taste his judgment in this behalf, in a few testimonies from amongst many. "The Lord," saith he, "being about to suffer for *all the world*, and to redeem *all the nations* on the earth with his blood, makes his abode in Bethany, the house of obedience,"§ &c. Elsewhere, having recited that of our Saviour, "So God loved the world, that he gave

* *Mysticus sol ille justitiæ omnibus ortus est, omnibus venit, omnibus passus est, et omnibus resurrexit: idèd autem passus est ut tolleret peccatum mundi. Si quis autem non credit in Christum, generali beneficio ipse se fraudat: ut si quis clausis fenestris radios solis excludit, non idèd sol non ortus est omnibus, quia calore ejus se ipse fraudavit. Sed quod solis est, prærogativam suam servat: quod imprudentis est, communis à se gratiam lucis excludit.*—*Ambros. in Psal. cxviii. tom. ii. p. 948. edit. Paris.* Et pauld antè: Plena ergo est terra misericordiâ Domini, quia omnibus est data remissio peccatorum.

† In figura æneus serpens tanquam confixus cruci, quia verus serpens crucifigendus generi annunciabatur humano, qui serpentis diaboli venena vacuaret, in figurâ maledictus, in veritate autem qui totius mundi maledicta deleret.—*Aubr. Apolog. David. l. c. 2.*

‡ Salvatorem ergo nobis relictum dicit, ad suffragium vitæ, quam lex providere non potuit, quem ab initio Deus nasci decrevit: qui propterea quòd solus sine peccato inveniretur, devicto generis humani hoste, omnium peccata deleret.—*Aubr. Epist. ad Rom. c. 9.*

§ Passurus pro omni mundo Dominus, et universas nationes suo sanguine redempturus, moratur in Bethaniâ, domo obedientiæ, &c.—*Hieron. in Matt. xxvi.*

his only-begotten Son," &c., John iii. 16, he goeth on thus: "But if now a considerate reader shall in his secret thought answer, or reply, Why are there many who are not saved, if he saved them, and loved them, and spared their children, and redeemed them with his blood, and assumed them" or, their nature, "and exalted them, being assumed? There is a plain reason to be given; for they believed not, and grieved," or, exasperated, "the Holy Spirit,"* &c. A little after, speaking of John Baptist, of whom it is said that "he came to be a witness to bear witness of the light, that all men through him might believe;" he subjoineth, "He is not presently in fault, if many refused to believe; for the will of him that came, was that *all men should believe and be saved.*"† Once more, writing to Oceanus, he challengeth some erroneous person for suggesting unto him "that there are some sins which Christ cannot purge with his blood, and that the scars of men's old sins stick so deep in their bodies and souls, that they cannot be healed," or, made less, "by his medicine." Concerning whom he demandeth, "What else doth such a person but make Christ to have died in vain? For he died in vain, if there be any whom he cannot quicken," or, give life unto. "And John, pointing at Christ with his finger and voice, 'Behold the Lamb of God! Behold him that taketh away the sins of the world,' should speak an untruth, if there were any such persons in the world whose sins Christ had not abolished," or, blotted out. "For they who are not taken into consideration by the indulgence of Christ, must be proved not to belong to the world; or if they be of the world, one of the two must take place: if they be delivered from their sins, they give testimony to the power of Christ: if they be not delivered, they do in effect demonstrate the weakness of the thing; which God forbid that we should believe concerning him who is omnipotent."‡ He that remains yet unsatisfied whether this father held general redemption or no, may, if he please to seek, find more ballast for his thoughts in this kind, in what he hath written upon chap. xliii. and chap. xlv. of the prophecy of Ezekiel. I confess, that when he speaks of the application or actual enjoyment of the redemption purchased by Christ, he then limiteth it (as all

* Quòd si prudens lector tacitâ cogitatione responderit, quare multi non sunt salvati, si ipse salvavit eos, et dilexit, et pepercit filiis suis, et redemit eos sanguine suo, susceptique et exaltavit assumptos? Infertur causa perspicua: ipsi enim non crediderunt, et exacerbârunt Spiritum Sanctum, &c.—*Hieron. in Isai llii.*

† Et mox: Nec statim in culpâ est, si plures credere noluerunt: sed voluntas venientis hæc fuit, ut omnes crederent, et salvarentur.

‡ Dicit esse aliqua peccata, quæ Christus non possit purgare sanguine suo, et tam profundas scelerum pristinorum inhære corporibus atque animis cicatrices, ut medicinâ illius attenuari non queant. Quid aliud agit, nisi ut Christus frustrâ mortuus sit? Frustrâ autem mortuus est, si aliquos vivificare non potest. Mentitur Johannes digito Christum et voce demonstrans: Ecce Agnus Dei: Ecce qui tollit peccata mundi, si adhuc sunt in seculo, quorum Christus peccata non deleverit. Aut enim ostendendi sunt non esse de mundo, quos Christi ignoret indulgentia: aut si de mundo sunt, eligendum è duobus alterum: liberati à peccatis, Christi potentiam probant: non liberati, quasi adhuc rei imbecillitatem demonstrant. Absit hoc ab omnipotente credere.—*Hieron. Epist. 83, ad Oceanum.*

the fathers generally do, and as we expressly did Chap. xvii. of this discourse,) to the particular society of believers. We shall not need to cite places upon this account.

Chrysostom, who lived some years before Austin, was not at all behind him in avouching the same doctrine concerning the extent of the redemption of Christ. Writing upon those words, Heb. ix. 28, "So Christ was offered to bear the sins of many," he demandeth thus: "Why doth he say, 'of many,' and not of all? viz. because all have not believed. For he indeed *died for all men*, and *to save all men*, as much as was in him. For that death" of his "did counterbalance the destruction of all men. But he did not bear" or, offer up "the sins of all men, because they themselves *would not*."* So that he clearly resolves the perishing of men, not into any want of atonement made by Christ for them, but into themselves, and their own wilfulness in not believing. For he expressly saith, "that Christ died for all men, and that to save them." Again, commenting upon chap. ii. 9, of the same epistle, and having rehearsed these words of the apostle, "That he through the grace of God should taste death for every man," "not," saith he, "for believers only, *but for the whole world*: for he died for all men. For what though all do not believe? He hath fully done that which was proper for him to do."† Much to the same purpose in another place: "Although Christ did not gain all men, yet he died for all men," so "fulfilling that which belonged unto him."‡ Elsewhere, comparing the lamb offered in the Levitical sacrifices, with Christ the Lamb of God; concerning the former, he saith, that "it never took away any one man's sin so much as once; whereas the latter" taketh away "the sin of all the world;" and that "when it was in danger of perishing, it presently delivered it from the wrath of God."§ To reserve many other testimonies offered by this author in the case in hand, to another occasion, in case it be offered, upon Rom. iv. 25, he hath these words: "That thou mayst not say, How can we, being under the guilt of so many and such great sins, be justified? he showeth thee him that hath abolished" or, cancelled "all sins."||

Athanasius lived somewhat above a hundred years before Au-

* Διὰ τί δὲ πολλῶν εἶπε, καὶ μὴ πάντων; ἐπειδὴν μὴ πάντες ἐπίστευσαν. Ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων μὲν γὰρ ἀπέθανεν, εἰς τὸ σῶσαι πάντας, τὸ αὐτοῦ μέρος. Ἀντίρροπος γὰρ ἦν ὁ θάνατος ἐκείνος τῆς πάντων ἀπωλείας; οὐ πάντων δὲ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἀνήνεγκε, διὰ τὸ μὴ θελῆσαι αὐτοῦς.—*Chrys. in Heb. x. Hom. 17.*

† Οὐχὶ τῶν πιστῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης; αὐτὸς γὰρ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν. Τί δὲ εἰ μὴ πάντες ἐπίστευσαν; αὐτὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πεπλήρωκε.—*Idem in Heb. ii. 9.*

‡ Καίτοιγε οὐ πάντας ἐμελλε κερδαίνειν ὁ Χριστὸς, ἀλλ' ὁμῶς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἀπέθανε τὸ αὐτοῦ πληροῦν.—*Chrys. ad Rom. xiv. 15.*

§ Ἐκείνος μὲν οὖν ὁ ἄμνος οὐδενὸς καθάπαξ ἀμαρτίαν ἔλαβεν· οὗτος δὲ, τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης· κινδυνεύουσαν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀπολέσθαι, ταχέως ἀπήλλαξε τῆς ὀργῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ.—*Idem in Joh. i. 29.*

|| Ἴνα γὰρ μὴ λέγῃς, πῶς τοσοῦτοις ἀμαρτήμασι ὄντες ὑπεύθυνοι, δυνάμεθα δικαιωθῆναι; εἰδείξε τὸν πάντα ἀπαλείψαντα τὰ ἀμαρτήματα.—*Idem in Rom. iv. 25. Hom. 9.*

gustin, and yet was full of the spirit of that doctrine concerning the redemption by Christ, which we contend for. "Since," saith he, "the debt due from all men was meet to be paid, (for all men ought to have died,) for this cause chiefly he came," as it were, "on pilgrimage to us, and after the demonstration of his godhead by" his "works, it remained that he should offer up a sacrifice *for all*, delivering up his temple unto death for all men, that so he might discharge and free *all men* from that old transgression.*" Elsewhere: "With the blood of his passion," or, mactation, "he simply redeemed all men."† In another place: "There was need of death, and it was requisite that death should be endured for all, that what was due from all might be satisfied. Wherefore the Word, for that it could not die, for it was immortal, assumed to itself a body capable of dying, that he might offer that as his own *for all men*, and that suffering *for all* by means of his coming thereunto, he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the Devil,"‡ &c. In another tractate the same author thus: "It became the Lord, being desirous to make a renovation, to make new the first Adam, that, his sin being dissolved, he might take away sin on all hands *from the universe of mankind*."§ In another, thus: "For the coming," or, presence, "of the Saviour in the flesh, was the solution of death, and the safety" or, salvation "of every creature."|| If the reader desires to know more of the mind of this author, touching the point in question, he may please to peruse his learned tract, entitled, "De Incarnatione Verbi Dei," wherein he hath frequent occasion to declare his judgment therein.

Hilarius, another orthodox father, who lived not long after the former, writeth upon Matthew to this effect: "He," Christ, "admonished them to learn what this meaneth, 'I will have mercy, and not sacrifice,' viz. that the law bound up," or consisting only, "in the observation of sacrifices, could afford no help" unto men, "but that safety," or salvation, "was reserved *for all men whatsoever* in the indulgence of mercy." And presently after,

* Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ τὸ ὀφειλόμενον παρὰ πάντων ἔδει λοιπὸν ἀποδοθῆναι, ὠφείλετο γὰρ πάντων ἀποθανεῖν, διὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἐπεδήμησε τοῦτου ἕνεκεν μετὰ τὰς περὶ τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἀποδείξεις, ἤδη λοιπὸν καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τὴν θυσίαν ἀνέφερεν, ἀντὶ πάντων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ναὸν εἰς θάνατον παραδίδούς, ἵνα τοὺς μὲν πάντας ἀνυπευθύνους καὶ ἐλευθέρους τῆς ἀρχαίας παραβάσεως ποιῇ, &c.—*Athanas. de Incarn. Verbi.*

† Mactatus non interit, sed sanguine sue mactationis omnes simpliciter redemit.—*Athan. in Passionem Salvatoris.*

‡ Θανάτου ἦν χρεια, καὶ θάνατον ὑπὲρ πάντων ἔδει γενέσθαι, ἵνα τὸ παρὰ πάντων ὀφειλόμενον, γίνηται. "Ὅθεν ὁ λόγος, ἐπεὶ οὐχ οἴοντε ἦν αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν (ἀθάνατος γὰρ ἦν) ἔλαβεν ἑαυτῷ σῶμα τὸ δυνάμενον ἀποθανεῖν, ἵνα ὡς ἴδιον ἀντὶ πάντων αὐτὸ προσέγγκῃ, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ πάντων πάσχων διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα ἐπίβασιν, καταργήσῃ τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου, τουτίστι, διάβολον.—*Athan. de Incarn. Verbi Dei.*

§ Oportebat enim Dominum renovare cupientem, primum Adam renovare, ut soluto illius peccato, peccatum undique tolleret ab universo hominum genere.—*Athan. in Passionem Domini Segment. t. ii. p. 626. Edit. Paris.*

|| Ἡ γὰρ ἑσάρκος παρουσία τοῦ Σωτῆρος, θανάτου λύτρον, καὶ κτίσεως πάσης σωτηρία γέγονε.—*Idem in Epist. ad Adolphium contra Arianos.*

speaking of Christ: "He came unto," or for, "ALL MEN: how then doth he say that he came not to," or for, "the righteous?"* His answer is, that there were none such, but all were sinners. Elsewhere he discourseth thus: "The Son of God was born of a virgin for the sake of mankind, and the Holy Ghost himself assisting him in this operation, and overshadowing with his power, (being the power of God,) he planted the beginnings of a body for himself, that, being made man of a virgin, he might receive that nature of flesh in" or upon "himself, and that by the fellowship of this conjunction the whole body of mankind might be sanctified; that as *all men were hid*" or built "*in him*, by means of his willingness to assume a body, so again he might be related unto *all men*," or carried back into all men, "by that which was invisible in him,"† meaning his divine nature. Once more: "For he did this once, offering himself a sacrifice unto God, being to redeem" or recover "the *whole salvation of mankind* by the oblation of this holy and perfect sacrifice."‡ Lastly, (because this testimony, being somewhat more emphatical than its fellows, would not be omitted:) "For he took the flesh of sin, that in the assumption of our flesh he might forgive sins, being made a partaker hereof, by assumption, not by sinning, by" his "death blotting out the sentence of death, that *by a new creation of mankind*, he might *abolish the constitution of the former decree*, suffering himself to be crucified, that by the curse of the cross he might strike through," dissolve, or make void, "all the curses of that terrene" or earthly "damnation."§ Whether he calleth that "damnation," whereunto men became subject by Adam's transgression, "earthly," because he judged the extent of the penalty of it to consist only in the dissolution of the body by death, as if the punishment of hell fire came in upon the account of the gospel, in case it should be rejected, (which is the judgment of some amongst us,) I shall not dispute, nor undertake to determine, but pass on to hear the sense of other learned, orthodox, and pious fathers, much about the same time with the former.

Cyril of Jerusalem, much about the same times, delivereth his sense about the redemption of Christ thus: "The crown of the cross is this: it led by a light those that were blind through ignor-

* Admonuit ut scirent quid esset, misericordiam volo, non sacrificium; legem scilicet sacrificiorum observatione devinctam, opem ferre non posse, sed salutem universis in misericordiae indulgentiâ reservari.—Omnibus venerat; quomodo ergo non se justis venisse dicat? &c.—*Hilar. in Mat. can. 9.*

† Humani enim generis causâ Dei filius natus ex virgine est, et Spiritu Sancto ipso sibi in hac operatione famulante, et suâ, videlicet Dei, inumbrante virtute, corporis sibi initia consevit; et exordia carnis instituit, ut homo factus ex virgine naturam in se carnis acciperet, perque cujus admixtionis societatem, sanctificatum in eo universi generis humani corpus existeret: ut quemadmodum omnes in se, per id quodd corporeum esse voluit, conderentur, ita rursus in omnes ipse, per quod ejus est invisible, referretur.—*Hilar. de Trinit. l. ii.*

‡ Hoc enim fecit semel seipsum offerens hostiam Deo; omnem humani generis salutem oblatione sanctæ hujus et perfectæ hostiæ redempturus.—*Idem in Psa. liii.*

§ Carnem enim peccati recepit, ut in assumptione carnis nostræ delicta donaret, dum ejus fit particeps assumptione, non criminis; delens per mortem sententiam mortis, ut novâ in se generis nostri creatione, constitutionem decreti anterioris aboleret, crucifigi se permittens, ut maledicto crucis oblitterata terrenæ damnationis maledicta configeret omnia.—*Idem de Trinit. cap. l.*

ance, it set at liberty those that were detained under sin; and *redeemed the whole world of men*. And wonder not that the *whole world* should be redeemed, since he was not a bare man, but the only begotten Son of God that died for it.* And again: "Knowest thou why" or for what end "the kind Lord did not decline death? It was that the whole world might not be destroyed through sin;"† *i. e.* as appears from the former sentence and the scope of the place, that the whole world might be saved by him. In another place the same author saith, "Heaven and earth are full of his glory, the ends of the world are full of his goodness, full of his praise, the *whole nature of man* is full of his condescension," &c. A little after, speaking of Christ: "He," saith he, "that is the offerer is the same that is offered up *for the world.*" And not long after: "Let Adam rejoice, saying unto Christ, by Simeon, 'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word.' Now dost thou dismiss" or loose "me from eternal bands, now dost thou deliver me from corruption, now dischargest thou my sorrow."‡ Evident it is, that in this last testimony he bringeth in Adam speaking, not only, nor so much, in his own name, personally considered, but in the name of his whole posterity also.

Eusebius, another author of note about these times, attesteth the same doctrine, by affirming that "the saints of old, by the teachings of the Divine Spirit, came to learn long before that there was a certain venerable and great sacrifice, that should be highly accepted with God, which should in time come unto men, and which would be the *expiation of the whole world.*" And a little after: "This was the Christ of God, concerning whom it was said of old that he should come unto men, and should be slain, after the manner of a beast," or sheep, "*for all mankind.*" And again, not long after: "According to the testimonies of the prophets, there was found that great, and greatly to be esteemed price, for the redeeming both Jews and Grecians, I mean that expiation" or atonement "*for the whole world, that sacrifice for the souls of all men, that offering for every spot and for every sin, that Lamb of God,*"§ &c. Elsewhere he saith, speaking of Christ, that "he took

* Ὁ σταυροῦ στέφανος ἐφωταγώγησε μὲν τοὺς ἐν ἀγνωσίᾳ τυφλοὺς, ἔλυσε δὲ πάντας τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας κατεχομένους, καὶ κόσμον ὅλον ἀνθρώπων ἐλυτρώσατο· καὶ μὴ θαυμάσῃς εἰ κόσμος ὅλος ἐλυτρώθη· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀνθρωπος φιλόσ, ἀλλὰ υἱὸς Θεοῦ μονογενῆς ὁ ὑπὲρ ἀποθήσκων.—Cyril. Hierosolym. *Catech.* 13.

† Scisnè quamobrem non fugit mortem benignus Dominus? Ut ne totus peccatis perderetur mundus.—*Ibid.*

‡ Πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξας αὐτοῦ, πλήρη τὰ πέρατα τοῦ κόσμου τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ, πλήρη τῆς αἰνέσεως αὐτοῦ· πλήρη πᾶσα ἀνθρωπότης τῆς συγκαταβάσεως αὐτοῦ, &c.—Cyril. Hierosolym. *De Prophetiâ Simeone*, &c. Paulò post (de Christo loquens) αὐτὸς ὁ προσφέρων, αὐτὸς ὁ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου προσφερόμενος, &c. Et postea: Ἀγαλλιᾶσθω ὁ Ἀδὰμ διὰ Συμεῶν πρὸς Χριστὸν λέγων· Νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δούλόν σου, δεσπότα, κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σου, ἐν εἰρήνῃ. Νῦν ἀπολύεις με αἰωνίων δεσμῶν, νῦν ἀπολύεις με τῆς φθορᾶς, νῦν ἀπολύεις μου τὴν λύπην.

§ Qui venerabilem quandam Deoque acceptam, et magnam hostiam venturam olim ad homines, Divino indicante Spiritu, tantò antè didicerant, quæ totius mundi expiatio existeret, &c.—*Euseb. de Demonstrat. Evangel.* lib. i. c. 10. Et mox: Hic autem fuit Christus Dei, is de quo

care for the salvation of *all men that had been born from the beginning of the world*, and to destroy him by his death who had the power of death, the devil.* This author abounds with sayings of like import.

Arnobius, another Christian writer about the same times, of good account, bringeth in the heathen arguing and demanding of Christians thus: "If the Saviour of mankind be come, as you Christians affirm, why doth he not, by the same bounty, deliver all men? He doth not deliver all alike, who calleth all alike. He doth not keep back or reject any person from his sovereign grace," or, indulgence, "who affords the same power unto high, low, servants, women, children, of coming unto him." To this, this author answereth: "The fountain of life is open for *all men*, nor is any man denied the right" or, power "of drinking, nor driven away" from it. "If your pride" or, disdain "be such, that you reject the benefit of the gift offered, nay, if your wisdom be so great as to call those things which are offered by Christ, pastime and toys, how doth he offend who inviteth you" notwithstanding "who hath only this to do, viz. to expose the fruit" or, blessing "of his bounty to the arbitrement" or, free choice "of that right" or, power of choosing "which is given you?"†

Didymus, another author of note in this century, and who was Jerome's tutor, in his third book concerning the Holy Ghost, writeth to this purpose: "Wherefore the Father, even for their salvation not sparing his own Son, delivered him up unto death, that by the death of his Son, he being destroyed who had the power of death, that is, the devil, he might *redeem all those* that were held in the bands of captivity by him." Not long after, speaking of the Jews, "They," saith he, "rising to the highest pitch of impiety, betrayed and crucified the Lord the Saviour, who vouchsafed to come down to the earth *for the salvation of all men*." Afterwards, he calls "Judas the betrayer of his Master and Saviour."‡

antiquitatis à primis usque temporibus dictum est, quòd ad homines esset venturus, atque instar pecudis pro toto genere humano interficiendus. Et mox: Quando secundùm testimonia prophetarum inventum est magnum, magnique æstimandum pro redimendis et Judæis pariter et Græcis pretium, illud videlicet pro toto mundo piaculum, illud pro animâ cunctorum hominum sacrificium, illa pro omni maculâ et peccato purissima hostia, ille utique Agnus Dei, &c.

* Quandoquidem omnium, quicumque à condito ævo fuissent, salutem ipse curabat, nec non ut suâ morte deleteret eum, qui imperium mortis habebat, &c.—*Euseb. de Demonstrat. Evangel.* lib. iv. c. 12.

† Si generis humani, inquit, conservator advenit, cur omnino non omnes æquali munificentia liberat? Non æqualiter liberat, qui æqualiter omnes vocat: haud ab indulgentia principali quenquam repellit, aut respuit, qui sublimibus infimis, servis, sæminis, pueris, uniformiter potestatem veniendi ad se facit. Patet, inquit, omnibus fons vitæ, neque ab jure potandi quisquam prohibetur, aut pellitur. Si tibi fastidium tantum est, ut oblati respas beneficium muneris, quin imò si sapientia tantum prævalens, ut ea quæ offeruntur à Christo, ludum atque ineptias nomines, quid invitans peccat, cujus solæ sunt hæ partes, ut sub tui juris arbitrio fructum suæ benignitatis exponat?—*Arnob. lib. ii. contra Gentes.*

‡ Quapropter et pro eorum salute proprio filio non parcens pater, tradidit eum in mortem, ut per mortem filii sui destructo eo qui habebat mortis imperium, hoc est diabolo, redimeret omnes, qui ab eo captivitatis vinculo tenebantur.—*Didym. l. iii. de Spiritu S.* Et mox, de Judæis loquens: Ad impietatis culmen egressi, Dominum Salvatorem, qui pro cunctorum sa-

Basil, surnamed the Great, about the same time, or not long after, judged it a point of faithfulness unto him whose ambassador he was, to concur with his fellows in the same doctrine. "What," saith he, "could man give of so much value for the redemption of his soul? Yet was there found for *all men together* one worthy price of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which he shed" or, poured out "*for us all.*" Soon after: "If we consider his kindness and love to us, he calleth us brethren, and descendeth to the nature of man, who gave himself a propitiation *for the whole world,* and not for himself."* In another place he saith, "David, prophetically foreseeing the future grace of the loving-kindness of the Lord towards men, saith, that it is meet to serve and love him, who hath bestowed such and so great a benefit upon mankind, that he hath not spared his own Son, but hath delivered him up *for all men.*"† More testimonies from this author are at hand, if need be.

Gregory Nyssen, brother to the last-named father, stands by his brother in the pre-asserted doctrine, saying, that "as the beginning of death being first" only "in one, passed through the whole nature of man: in like manner the beginning of the resurrection, by means of one, extendeth itself unto the *whole nature* of man."‡ More plainly in another place: "He" (speaking of Christ) "sanctifieth unto God and the Father not only the first born of men, but even the *whole tribe*" or generation "of mankind, by means of the first-fruits of our lump being in him, that is, by means of that flesh which he took of us, enlivened with a rational" or, intellectual soul, "whereby he did, as it were, leaven the *whole mass*" or, concretion "of the essence" or, substance "of mankind with holiness."§

Gregory Nazianzen, another great light burning and shining in the house of the living God (the church) about these times, gave forth the light of the same doctrine in his ministry. Speaking of

lute descendere dignatus fuerat ad terras, prodiderunt et crucifixerunt, &c. Postea: Judam, proditore Magistri et Salvatoris sui vocat.

* Ἐάν δὲ τὴν ἐκ χάριτος αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς συγκατάβασιν, καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἡμᾶς ὀνομάζει, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον καταβαίνει, ὃς οὐ ὄψει τῷ Θεῷ ἐξίλασμα ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κόσμου πάντος. Pauld ante: Τί γὰρ δύναται ἄνθρωπος εὐρεῖν τηλιοῦτον ἵνα δῶ ὑπὲρ λυτρώσεως τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ; Ἄλλ' εὐρίθη ἐν ὁμοῦ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀντάξιον, ὃ ἰδὸθῃ εἰς τιμὴν λυτρώσεως τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν, τὸ ἄγιον καὶ πολῦτιμον αἷμα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐξέχει πάντων.—Basiliius M. in Psal. xlviil.

† Ἐπειδὴν προφητικῶς, προορώμενος τὴν μέλλουσαν ἕσσεσθαι χάριν τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ Κυρίου, τοῦτο φησὶν ὅτι δουλεύειν δεῖ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν, ὃς τηλικαύτην εὐεργησίαν εἰς τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων προκατεβάλετο, ὡς μηδὲ τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ φείσασθαι, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἡμῶν καταδοῦναι.—Basiliius M. in Psal. lxi.

‡ Καθάπερ δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ θανάτου ἐν ἐνὶ γενομένη, πάσῃ συνοῖ ἐξῆλθε τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ φύσει κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τροπὸν, καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἀναστάσεως δι' ἐνὸς ἐπὶ πᾶσι διατείνει τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα.—Greg. Nyss. Ora. Catechet. c. 16. Etiam c. 22, 23.

§ Ἁγιάζει δὲ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ παρὸι, οὐ μόνον τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρωτότοκα, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον φύλον διὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀπαρχῆς τοῦ ἡμετέρου φυράματος, τουτίεστι τῆς ἐξ ἡμῶν ληφθείσης αὐτῷ σαρκὸς ἐμψυχωμένης νοερώς, ὅλον ὡσπερ ἀναζυμώσας εἰς ἁγιασμὸν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης οὐσίας τὸ σύγκριμα.—Greg. Nyssen. de occursu Domini, &c. circa medium.

Christ, he saith, "To the Jews, he becomes as a Jew, that he may gain the Jews: to those that are under the law, as one under the law, that he might redeem those that were under the law: to the weak" he became "as weak, that he might save those that were weak. He is made all things unto *all men*, that he may win" or, gain to himself "*all men*."* In another place he saith, "There is no matter of wonder like unto that of my salvation: a few drops of blood refashioning the *whole world*, and, like that which causeth the coagulation of milk, knitting and gathering us together in one *with all men*."†

Elsewhere, in his Christian Poems, he speaketh to this effect :

From one we all proceed, we all one breath
Breathe out; to one we all incline;
God unto all alike, his birth, his death,
His resurrection, and heaven, doth consign. †

Epiphanius, a little before the two last-named Gregories, writing against heresies, asserteth the doctrine we contend for, as orthodox. "First," saith he, speaking of Christ, "He offered himself that he might discharge the sacrificing of the Old Testament, presenting" unto God "a more perfect living" sacrifice "for all the world." Afterwards: "How vain" and bootless "is all the understanding that accompanieth heresy? for they" heretics "even deny their own Lord, that bought them with his own blood."‡

Tertullian, who lived in the age next before the last-mentioned authors, though in some other points he declined the judgment of his orthodox predecessors, yet, in the doctrine under inquiry, he was one spirit with them. "What," saith he, speaking of the wood, by the casting of which into the water, the prophet Elisha caused the iron to swim which was sunk, "is more manifest than the sacrament," or, mystical signification "of this wood?" As, namely, "that the hardness of this world," meaning the obdurate world itself, "being sunk in the depth of error, is by the wood of Christ, that is, of his passion, delivered" or recovered "in baptism; that so that which long since perished by wood," or, by a tree, "in Adam, might be restored by the wood," or, tree, "of Christ." A little after, applying unto Christ the story of Isaac carrying the wood, where-with he was to have been offered, had not God recalled the com-

* Γίνεται τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ὡς Ἰουδαῖος, ἵνα Ἰουδαίους κερδάνῃ τοῖς ὑπὸ νόμον, ὡς ὑπὸ νόμον, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν, ὡς ἀσθενής, ἵνα τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς σώσῃ. Γίνεται πάντα πᾶσιν, ἵνα τοὺς πάντας κερδάνῃ.—Greg. Nazianz. Orat. 81. In initio.

† Οὐδὲν δὲ ὄλον τὸ θαῦμα τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας· βράνιδες αἵματος ὀλίγα κόσμον ὄλον ἀναπλάττουσαι, καὶ γίνονται καθάπερ ὄπος γάλακτι, πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἓν ἡμᾶς συνδέουσαι καὶ συνάγουσαι.—Greg. Nazianz. Orat. 42. paulò ante finem.

‡ Πάντες ἐνός, πάντεσσι πνοή μία, εἰς ἓνα πάντες Νέομεν· ὡς δὲ θεός πᾶσι βροτός Ἰσος ἐτύχθη, Καὶ θάνε, καὶ σὺνεγίρει, καὶ οὐρανὸν ἐρῶν ἔδωκε.

Idem. Carm. 3. Præcept. ad Virgin.

§ Πρῶτον μὲν ἑαυτὸν προσενέγκας, ἵνα λύσῃ θυσίαν παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, τὴν ἐντελεστέραν ζῶσαν ὑπὲρ παντός κόσμου ἱερουργήσας.—Ephr. adversus Hæreses, l. ii. t. 1. Hæresi 55. Et postea. Καὶ ὡς μέγαιος πᾶσα ἀίρεσέων ἡ διάνοια; ἰδοὺ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὶ ἐήρνησαντο τὸν αὐτῶν δεσπότην, τὸν ἀγοράσαντα αὐτοὺς ὡς τῷ ἰδιῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι.

mand given to Abraham on this behalf, and of the ram caught by the horns in a thicket, which was offered, he doth it in words to this effect: "Christ, in his own time, carried" his "wood upon his shoulders, sticking," or, hanging "upon the horns of the cross, having his head compassed about with a crown of thorns: For it became him to be made a *sacrifice for all nations*:" and afterwards he saith, that he "was made a sacrifice," or, offering, "in," or through, "all things for us all."*

Origen, about the same time, held forth the same doctrine in the world, affirming that "our Lord and Saviour, being led as a lamb unto the slaughter, and offered up as a sacrifice of" or, upon "the altar, procured remission of sins *for the universal world*," &c. A little after: "So then the world is trained up, first to seek remission of sins by divers sacrifices, until it should come to a perfect sacrifice, a complete and absolute sacrifice, a lamb of a year old, perfect, which should take away the sins of the *whole world*,"† &c. Elsewhere he maketh the apostle Paul to have said, that "Christ had given himself for the redemption of *whole mankind*, that he might redeem those that were kept in bondage by sins, *by tasting death without deceit, for all men*."‡ I present the reader only with a little from these authors respectively, in comparison of what upon the same account might be transcribed from them.

Cyprian, a worthy author and martyr of this age, counted it no injury to the truth to abet the same doctrine. Having mentioned some examples, as he termeth them, of a propagation of creatures otherwise than according to the common course of nature, he advanceth this demand to salve the possibility, or rather to evince the probability of the virgin's conception. "Shall, then," saith he, "that seem incredible to be done by the power of God for the *redintegration*," or new-making, "of the *whole world*, examples whereof are to be seen in the propagation of animal creatures?" Afterwards: "Christ then suffered not in the flesh with any detriment or injury to his Godhead, but that through the infirmity of the flesh, he might work salvation in *the midst of the earth*,"§ mean-

* Quid manifestius hujus ligni sacramento? quòd duritia hujus seculi mersa in profundo erroris, et à ligno Christi, id est, passionis ejus in baptismo liberatur, ut quod perierat olim per lignum in Adam, id restitueretur per lignum Christi.—*Tertul. adversus Judæos. c. 13.* Et mox: Et Christus suis temporibus lignum humeris suis portavit, inhærens cornibus crucis, coronâ spineâ in capite ejus circumdatâ. Hunc enim oportebat pro omnibus gentibus fieri sacrificium. Et postea: Sed Jesus ille Christus Dei Patris summus sacerdos, qui primo adventu suo humanâ formâ, et passibilis venit in humilitate usque ad passionem: ipse etiam effectus hostia pro omnibus nobis, &c.

† Vide ergo ne fortè sicut Dominus et Salvator noster, quasi agnus ad occisionem ductus, et in sacrificium altaris oblati, peccatorum remissionem universo præstitit mundo, ita fortassis et cæterorum sanctorum, &c.—*Origen. in Num. Hom. 24.* Et mox: Sic ergo imbuatur mundus, primò per diversas hostias remissionem querere peccatorum, donec veniat ad hostiam perfectam, ad hostiam consummatam, agnum arniculum, perfectum, qui tollat peccata totius mundi, &c.

‡ Nam cum superiùs dixisset, quòd pro omni genere humano redemptionem semetipsum dedisset, ut eos qui in peccatorum captivitate tenebantur, redimeret, dum sine dolo pro omnibus mortem gustat, nunc, &c.—*Origen. in Rom. iii. 25.*

§ Hoc ergo incredibile videbitur divinâ virtute ad totius mundi redintegrationem factum, cujus exempla etiam in animalium nativitate cernuntur? Et postea: Non ergo damno aliquo

ing, for all the world round about him. In another place he saith, "The corruption of nature, even in our first beginnings, deserved to be cast away and abandoned" by God. "But because the will was not in fault, God provided a remedy *against that general condemnation*, and tempered," or qualified "the sentence of his justice, removing that hereditary burthen from the posterity," or children, "and mercifully purging out the leaven of original corruption by the washing" of baptism "and anointing. But indignation and wrath deservedly returns back upon them, who, after the grace of this indulgence" from God, in the forgiveness of their sins, "voluntarily go astray and wander by sinning, abusing their own freedom, being led, not by necessity, but by will; nor doth there remain for them any benefit," or any thing gotten, "in the death of Christ, but the benefits" hereof "being despised by them, do most justly condemn them."* This passage is pregnant with the assertion of both the main doctrines vindicated in the present discourse, as viz., 1. That Christ hath died as well for those that shall be condemned and perish as for those that shall be saved, and, consequently, for all men. 2. That those also may be condemned and perish, who had sometimes obtained remission of sins by Christ.

That further may be taken into consideration, by occasion of the former part of this quotation, that it was the judgment and sense of the ancient fathers and Christians generally, (I know none to be excepted,) that in baptism there was always a particular application made to the person baptized of the general redemption purchased by Christ, so that he that was baptized, if an infant, received thereby exemption and deliverance from the guilt of original sin derived from Adam: if a person of mature years, not only this, but forgiveness also of all his actual sins committed formerly: For which opinion, though I do not as yet see any demonstrative ground, either in the Scriptures or in reason, and, God sparing me life to finish the second part of this work, I shall in one particular declare my sense in opposition to it; yet the opinion, I confess, so far taketh with me, partly for the proofs' sake which are produced, with some probability, for it; partly for the signal learning, gifts, sharpness of judgment, quickness of apprehension, and, above all, for the singular piety and zeal for the truth, found in so many assertors of it; partly also for those degrees of inevidence and inconcludency which are found in the arguments usually insisted upon to prove the contrary, that my soul cannot enter into the secret of those, who,

aut injuriâ Divinitatis Christus in carne passus est, sed ut per infirmitatem carnis salutem operaretur in medio terræ.—*Cypr. in Exposit. Symboli.*

* In originalibus enim corruptio naturæ alijci et exterminari meruerat: sed quia non erat voluntas in culpâ, providit Deus generali damnationi remedium, et suæ sententiæ justitiæ temperavit, hereditarium onus à sobole removens, et misericorditer ablutione et unctione medicinali corruptionis primitivæ fermentum expurgans. Sed in eos qui post hujus indulgentiæ gratiam voluntarii per peccata evagati sunt qui proprio abutuntur arbitrio, et voluntate, non necessitate ducuntur, indignatio et ira non immeritò redit: nec in morte Christi aliquis ipsis superest quæstus, sed justissimè eos beneficia contempta condemnant.—*Cypr. de Ablut. Pedum.*

upon a confident presumption that the said opinion is erroneous, refuse to offer their children unto baptism; hereby, according to the sense of all the fathers, as hath been in effect said, exposing their precious souls to a certain loss of salvation by Christ, in case they die before they come to years of discretion. Certainly it is no point of Christianity to lay such wagers as these upon the truth of any opinion which hath such a cloud of enemies and opposers of it, as all the ancient fathers, without exception, as far as yet I understand, and together with these (for we cannot reasonably imagine the contrary) all the Christian churches in the primitive times, with all the knowledge, parts, zeal, and faithfulness of both: yea, and some of our late Protestant writers themselves, and these of eminent worth and note, (see Chap. xiii., page 435,) especially when men have no better or more satisfactory grounds for their opinion than have yet been produced against the lawfulness of infant baptism. But this by the way.

Clemens of Alexandria, another famous champion of Christianity about these times, was of the same faith in the point in hand with his fellows. In one place he demands, "How is he," speaking of Christ, "a Saviour and Lord, if he be not the *Saviour and Lord of all?*" In another he termeth Christ the "disposer" or administrator "of all things according to his Father's will, governing" or taking order for "the *salvation of all men.*" Elsewhere he argueth thus: "Either the Lord doth not take care for all men, and this either because he is not able, which is not right" to suppose, "or because, though able enough, yet he will not: but this is not incident to him that is good: nor is he backward," or indisposed hereunto, "through voluptuousness, inasmuch as for our sakes he assumed flesh exposed to sufferings; or else he doth take *care of all*; which indeed becometh him that is made Lord of all: for he is a *Saviour, not of some, and not of others,*" &c.* In an oration to the Gentiles he calls unto them thus: "Hear ye that are afar off, and hearken ye that are near: the word is not hid" or concealed "from any: the light" thereof "is common, it *shineth unto all men,*" &c.†

Justin Martyr, whose writings, amongst those that treat of Christian religion, and are judged authentic, and not spurious, are the most ancient that I know since the days of the apostles, giveth frequent testimony to the truth of the same doctrine.

* Πῶς δ' ἂν ἐστι σωτήρ καὶ Κύριος, εἰ μὴ πάντων σωτήρ καὶ Κύριος; Et postea Christum vocat Πρῶτον διοικητὴν τῶν ὅλων ἐκ θελήματος πατρὸς κυβερνῶντα τὴν τῶν πάντων σωτηρίαν, &c. Non longè antè: "Ἦτοι γὰρ οὐ φροντίζει πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὁ Κύριος καὶ τοῦτο, ἢ τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι, πάθει ἂν, ὅπερ οὐ θεμιτόν· ἀσθενείας γὰρ σημεῖον ἢ τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι, δύνάμενος· οὐκ ἀγαθοῦ δὲ τὸ πάθος· οὐκοῦν ἀπὸ τρυφῆς ῥάθυμος, ὃ δὲ ἡμᾶς τὴν παθητὴν ἀναλαβὼν σάρκα· ἢ κήδεταί τῶν συμπτάντων· ὅπερ καὶ καθήκει καὶ Κυρίῳ πάντων γενομένῳ. Σωτήρ γὰρ ἐστίν, οὐχὶ τῶν μὲν, τῶν δὲ οὐ, &c.—Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. vii.

† Ἀκούσατε οἱ μάκραν, ἀκούσατε οἱ ἔγγυς· οὐκ ἀπεκρύβη τίνας ὁ λόγος· Φῶς ἐστι κοινόν, ἐπιλάμπει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις.—Clem. Alexand. in Orat. ad Gentis.

In one place he presenteth the saints "as knowing" or acknowledging "that he that hath wrought that great salvation for mankind, is praiseworthy, greatly to be feared, and the Maker" or Creator "of heaven and earth."* In another, speaking of Christ, he saith, that "now through the will of God, being made man for the sake of mankind, he submitted himself to suffer whatsoever the inconsiderate Jews were inspired by the devil to inflict upon him."† In a third he saith, that "Christ neither submitted himself to be born, nor yet to be crucified, as if he needed these things" for himself, "but for that kind" or generation "of men which in" or by "Adam was fallen under death and the deceit of the serpent."‡ By "mankind," or the "kind of men," he cannot mean a few, a circumscribed number, a small parcel of men, as the elect, so called, are known to be: these in no propriety of speech can be called τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος, "the generation" or "kind of men:" or, if in one place he should have meant "the elect" by such an expression, it is no ways like but that in some other he would have expressed himself more plainly. But what he means by τὸ γένος τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, "that genus" or "general kind of men," appears evidently enough by this descriptive character which he gives of it, ὃ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ ὑπὸ θάνατον ἐπεπτώκει, *i. e.* "which from Adam," or through Adam, "was fallen under death." This, we know, is the adequate and appropriate character, not of some men, but of all mankind without exception. But the sun is visible enough without a candle.

Ireneus, not long after the former, avouched the doctrine of our contest over and over. "As Eve," saith he, "becoming disobedient, became" hereby "the cause of death both to herself and to the universe of mankind; so Mary, having the man predestinated" by God, meaning Christ, "notwithstanding" her being involved in the death brought upon all mankind by Eve, yet, "becoming an obedient virgin, she proved the cause" or means "of salvation unto the universe of men."§ His meaning is, that by submitting unto the pleasure of God, signified unto her by the angel, concerning the bearing and bringing forth of his Son Jesus Christ in the flesh, she had the grace accordingly vouchsafed unto her to bear and bring him forth who was the "author or cause of salvation to universal

* Ἐπιγινόντας ὅτι καὶ αἰνερός, καὶ φοβερός, καὶ ποιητὴς τοῦ τε οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς ὁ τοῦτο τὸ σωτήριον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνθρώπειου γένους ποιήσας, &c.—*Just. Martyr. in Dialogo cum Tryph.* p. 300. Edit. Morel.

† Νῦν δὲ διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνθρώπειου γένους, ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος, ὑπέμεινε καὶ παθεῖν, ὅσα αὐτὸν ἐνήργησαν οἱ δαίμονες διατεθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνοήτων Ἰουδαίων.—*Idem, Apol. 2. pro Christianis.*

‡ Ὡσπερ οὐδὲ τὸ γεννηθῆναι αὐτὸν, καὶ σταυρωθῆναι, ὡς ἐνδεῆς τούτων, ὑπέμεινε, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ γένους τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὃ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ ὑπὸ θάνατον καὶ πλάνην τῆν τοῦ ὄψεως ἐπεπτώκει.—*Idem, in Dial. p. 316.*

§ Sicut Eva inobaudiens facta, sibi et universo generi humano causa facta est mortis: sic et Maria habens prædestinatum virum tamen virgo obaudiens, et sibi, et universo generi humano causa facta est salutis.—*Iren. lib. iii. adversus Hæres. cap. iii.*

mankind;" by which submission and service she, in a sense, became the cause or means also of this salvation. Elsewhere the same father saith, that "Christ recapitulated" or gathered into one "in himself *all nations* dispersed" up and down the world "even from Adam, *all tongues and every generation of men* together with the person of Adam himself.* In another place he gives this reason why Paul saith that "we are reconciled through the body of his flesh," viz. "because his righteous" or just "flesh reconciled *that flesh which was detained in sin*, and brought it into favour" or friendship "with God."† Now, that flesh which was detained in sin, was not the flesh only of the predestinate or elect, but of all mankind without exception.

These are the principal fathers and writers of the primitive times, and before Augustin, that are now extant or known: and all these with one mouth (as we have heard) and with a "nemine contradicente" give testimony to the truth of that great doctrine, which hath been avouched in this discourse, viz., that the redemption purchased by the death of Christ, was for all men, considered as men respectively, and not for the elect only or those that shall actually partake of it, and be saved.

The writers of best note and repute, since Austin (until these later times of reformation) and from whose writings the best and steadiest informations are to be had, what doctrines or opinions ruled in the churches of Christ, and amongst those Christians that were judged orthodox and sound in the faith, in their days, are these: Prosper, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, Leo, Fulgentius, Primasius, Gregorius, Beda, Theophylact, Anselm, Cæcumenius, Bernard. Let us briefly hear what is resolved by these respectively, upon the question concerning the intentions of God about the extent of Christ's death.

Prosper, well known for a thorough disciple of Augustin, and who served his generation not long after him, declareth his sense in the business in hand plainly enough, in words to this effect: "All men are truly said to be redeemed, yet all men are not gotten out of captivity. For that cup of immortality, which is tempered" or compounded "of the infirmity of men and power of God, hath in it wherewith to profit all men; but it helpeth not unless it be taken" or drank. "And the Lord Jesus expressly saith, that his flesh is bread from heaven" or, an heavenly bread "which giveth life unto the world. But except it be eaten, it giveth no life: as in the parable in the gospel, the marriage" feast "was prepared for all that were called; but they only enjoyed it, who came with a wedding garment unto it."‡ Elsewhere he saith: "Our Saviour is

* Significans, quoniam ipse, qui omnes gentes exinde ab Adam dispersas, et universas linguas, et generationem hominum cum ipso Adam in semetipso recapitulans, &c.—*Iren. adversus Hæres.* l. iii. c. 33.

† In corpore (ait Paulus) reconciliati carnis ejus, id est, quia justa caro reconciliavit carnem, quæ in peccato detinebatur, et in amicitiam adduxit Deo.—*Idem*, lib. v. c. 16.

‡ Rectè omnes dicuntur redempti, et tamen non omnes à captivitate eruti. Poculum

most truly said to have been crucified for the redemption of the whole world, both in respect of the human nature truly assumed by him, as also because of the common destruction" of men "in the first man: and yet" in a sense "he may also be said to have been crucified only for those, who receive benefit by his death," *i. e.* that his crucifying was, in the consequent intentions of God, intended only for such. "For the evangelist saith, that Jesus was to die for that nation; and not for that nation only, but that he might gather the sons of God dispersed into one, &c. He gave his blood for the world, and the world would not be redeemed, because the darkness received not the light."* These last words plainly interpret his meaning in those, wherein he had said, that "Christ may be said to have been crucified for those only who reap benefit by his death:" and imply, that his meaning herein was only this, that God by his consequent will or intention, intended the death of Christ, or the benefit of his death only for such who come in time to partake hereof, *viz.* by believing. Concerning the antecedent and consequent will or intentions of God, see before, Chap. xvii. page 581. He that yet questions the judgment of this author in the point, may please to peruse the brief sentence which he gives upon the ninth chapter or head, Capp. Gallorum; and especially those two books De Vocatione Gentium, (which though some ascribe unto Ambrose, yet are they discernible enough by some characters to be the writings of Prosper, and are cited under his name by the Synod of Dort.) In these he shall find general redemption by Christ, asserted ten times over, the main scope of these books being to prove, that there is no person of mankind simply excluded from participating in the saving grace of redemption purchased by Christ.

Cyril of Alexandria (about the same time with Prosper) filleth his writings with the same truth. "They," saith he, speaking of the Jews, "unjustly desire his death, wickedly lie in wait for him; unmercifully slay him, thrust him out of their land and city, who is the life, the light, the salvation of *all men.*"† Elsewhere: "Since it became" him "to suffer that corruption, sin and death, which man brought in" to the world "being by this means to be turned back," or, destroyed, "he gave himself a counter-ransom for the life of *all men.*"‡ Once more: "It is without controversy that the

quippe immortalitatis, quod confectum est ex infirmitate nostrâ et virtute divinâ, habet quidem in se ut omnibus prosit: sed si non bibitur, non medetur: Et ipse Dominus Jesus disertè dicit, carnem suam esse panem cœlestem, qui vitam dat mundo. At si non comeditur, non vivificat. Sicut in parabolâ evangelicâ, nuptiæ omnibus vocatis paratæ sunt, si ii soli iis fruuntur, qui ad eas veniunt cum veste nuptiali.—*Prosp. ad Capp. Vincent. c. 1.*

* Cum rectissimè dicatur Salvator pro totius mundi redemptione crucifixus, propter verum humanæ naturæ susceptionem, et propter communem in primo homine perditionem; potest tamen dici pro his tantùm crucifixus quibus mors ipsius proficit. Dicit enim evangelista, quia Jesus moriturus erat pro gente; nec tantùm pro gente, sed etiam ut filios Dei dispersos congregaret in unum, &c. Dedit pro mundo sanguinem suum: et mundus redimi noluit, quia lucem tenebræ non receperunt.—*Idem, ad Object. Vincent. cap. 10.*

† Φωνῶσι ἀδίκως, ἐπιβουλεύουσι δυσσεβῶς, φονοῦσι δυστρόπως, γῆς τε καὶ πόλεως τῆς αὐτῶν ἐξελαύνουσι, τὴν ζωὴν, τὸ φῶς, τὴν ἀπάντων σωτηρίαν, &c.—*Cyril. Alexand. l. ii. in Joh. c. 5.*

‡ Ἐπειδὴν γὰρ εἶδει παθεῖν, οὕτω μελλούσης ἀνατραπέσθαι τῆς ἐπεισάκτου φθορᾶς,

whole world is saved, Immanuel having died for it.* See more in this author upon the same account, *De Rectâ Fide ad Reginas, &c.* c. 22. circa initium. In *Joh. lib. ii. c. 1*, and in *iii. cap. Joh. ver. 17, &c.*

Theodoret, somewhat before the two last-named authors, conceived that he found the universality of redemption by Christ in the Scriptures. For commenting the fifth chapter to the Romans, he maketh the words of the apostle equipollent to these: "The munificence of grace overcometh the decree of justice. For when man sinned, the whole kind" or race "is punished. But now when *all men* behave themselves impiously and unjustly, he doth not inflict punishment" upon them "but granteth life" unto them.† Afterwards in the progress of his exposition upon the same chapter, he presents the apostle speaking thus to his Romans: "doubt not of the things I speak with relation unto Adam. For if these things be true, as they are, and that when he sinned, his whole race received a decree" or sentence "of death, evident it is, that the righteousness of" our "Saviour procureth *life for all men.*"

Leo, commonly styled the Great, very frequently bewrayeth his judgment to stand to the same point. Comparing the death of the Lord Christ with the deaths of other holy men, he saith, that "there were but single" or particular "deaths in every of these respectively, nor did any of these persons discharge the debt of any other by dying, whereas amongst the sons of men, our Lord Jesus alone was found, in whom all men were crucified, all men died, all men were buried, yea, and all men rose again."‡ Elsewhere thus: "That general and deadly hand-writing of our being sold" under sin and death "was" cancelled, and "made void, and the bargain of" our "captivity passed into a right of redemption."§ Once more: "That he" Christ "might repair the life of *all men*, he took on him the cause of all men; and that which he of all men was not bound to do, he made void the force of the old hand-writing, by making payment" of the debt due thereby "*for all men.*"||

Fulgentius, about the year 500, succeeded his predecessors in

καὶ τῆς ἀμαρτίας, καὶ τοῦ θανάτου, δίδωκεν ἀντίλυτρον ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ζωῆς.—*Idem, in Joh. l. v. c. 3.*

* Ἔστι δὲ οὐκ ἀμφίλογον, ὅτι σέσωσται πᾶς ὁ κόσμος, ἀποθανόντος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἐμμανουὴλ.—*Idem.*

† Superat, inquit, gratiæ munificentia justitiæ decretum: Tunc enim cùm homo peccasset, totum genus pœnas luit. Nunc autem cùm omnes homines se impiè et iniquè gerant, non supplicium irrogavit, sed vitam donavit.—*Theodoret. ad Rom. 5.* Et postea: Ne dubitate, inquit, quæ à me dicuntur ad Adam respicientes. Si enim illa vera sunt, ut sunt, et cùm ille transgressus esset, universum genus mortis decretum suscepit, clarum est, quòd Servatoris justitia vitam omnibus hominibus procurat.

‡ Singulares quippe in singulis mortes fuerunt, nec alterius quisquam debitum suo funere solvit; cùm inter filios hominum solus Dominus noster Jesus extiterit, in quo omnes crucifixi, omnes mortui, omnes sepulti, omnes etiam sint suscitati.—*Leo. Serm. xii. de Passione Domini.*

§ Evacuatum igitur est illud generale venditionis nostræ et lethale chirographum, et pactum captivitatis in jus transit redemptionis.—*Idem, Serm. x. de Passione Domini.*

|| Ut autem repararet omnium vitam, recepit omnium causam; et vim veteris chirographi, quod solus inter omnes non debuit, pro omnibus solvendo vacuavit.—*Idem, Epist. 72.*

the inheritance of their judgment concerning the universality of redemption by Christ. "As the devil," saith he, "smote" or wounded "whole man by deceiving him, so God, by assuming whole man, saved him, that so one and the same might be acknowledged both the Maker and *Redeemer of the whole creature*," or creation, "who was able both to make that which was not, and to *repair*" or restore "*that which was fallen*."*

Primasius, who lived somewhat more than a hundred years after Augustin, helped to keep the doctrine we plead alive in the world. "As Christ," saith he, "suffered reproach from his own," he means the Jews, "whom he *came to redeem*, when they said unto him, 'Thou hast a devil,' and offered him all other indignities, even to his passion itself; † so did Moses likewise," &c. If Christ came to redeem those who charged him with having a devil, with casting out devils through Beelzebub, and who maliciously prosecuted him with all manner of injuries and evil-entreaties, and this unto death, doubtless he came not to redeem the elect only, or such who in conclusion repent, believe, and are saved: for some of these, and particularly those that said he had an unclean spirit, were charged by him with that sin which he saith shall not be forgiven, neither in this world nor in the world to come. Matt. xii. 32, compared with Mark iii. 28—30. The same author elsewhere saith, that "Christ, as much as lay in him, *died for all men*, however his death profiteth none but only those who are willing to believe in him." ‡ And yet again: "The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost is" or are "the God of all men, and therefore desireth that *all that he hath made should be saved*." A little after, "The blood of Christ hath verily been shed *for all men*, benefiteth them that believe." §

Gregory, surnamed the Great, about the year 570, counted it neither heresy nor error to teach the same doctrine. "The Father then," saith he, "being just, and punishing him who was just," meaning Christ, "disposeth all things justly: because upon this account *he justifieth all*," or all things, "because he condemneth him for sinners who was without sin." || Elsewhere he termeth Christ "*The Redeemer of mankind*;" ¶ and in another place ex-

* Sicut totum hominem diabolus decipiendo percussit, ita Deus totum suscipiendo salvavit, ut agnosceretur idem creaturæ totius Conditor et Redemptor, qui potuit, et quod non erat facere, et quod dilapsum est reparare.—*Fulgent. ad Thrasimund.* l. i. c. 14.

† Sicut enim Christus improprium sustinuit à suis, quos venerat redimere, quando ei dixerunt dæmonium habes, et cætera mala ei intulerunt usque ad passionem, &c.—*Primas. ad Heb.* c. 11.

‡ Ita et Christus, quantum in se fuit, pro omnibus mortuus est, quanquam non prosit ejus passio, nisi solummodo iis, qui in eum credere volunt.—*Idem, ad Heb.* c. 2.

§ Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus omnium hominum Deus est, et ideo cupit omnes salvari, quos fecit. Et pauld post: Pro omnibus quidem effusus est sanguis Christi, sed credentibus prodeat, &c.—*Idem, in 1 ad Tim.* c. 2.

|| Pater ergo cum justus sit, justum puniens, omnia justè disponit; quia per hoc cuncta justificat, quodd eum, qui sine peccato est, pro peccatoribus damnat, &c.—*Greg. Mag. Moral.* l. iii. c. 11.

¶ Redemptor quippe humani generis, Mediator Dei et hominis per carnem factus, &c.—*Idem, Moral.* l. ix. c. 21. Vid. et l. xxxiii. c. 10.

pressly saith that "Christ redeemed all men by his cross; but yet that it remaineth, that he that endeavours to be redeemed," *i. e.* to enjoy the redemption purchased for him by Christ, "and to reign with God, be crucified."*

Bede, somewhat above a hundred years after Gregory, propagated the same doctrine in the world for truth. "Joseph," saith he, "in the Egyptian language, signifieth Saviour of the world. This is manifest in Christ, since under the figure of Joseph, he is declared to be the Saviour, not of the one only land of Egypt, but also of the *whole world*." And soon after, "But in our Joseph," meaning Christ, "the *whole world* deserved to receive increase."†

Theophylact, who lived more than two hundred years after him, viz. about the year 930, (as some of our best chronologers calculate the time of his mortality,) is a sufficient witness that the same doctrine was alive in the church in his time. "He verily," saith he, speaking of Christ, "died for all men: and canst not thou endure to pray for them?"‡ Elsewhere we have words to this effect from his pen: "As by the offence" or fall "of one, the curse came upon all men, (that which before he called judgment," or condemnation, "he now calleth an offence, that is, the sin of Adam,) even so by the righteousness of one, Christ, grace is come unto all men, giving unto them both justification instead of sin, and life instead of death."§ In another place he saith, that "the apostle showed how that all men were indeed condemned from" or by "Adam, but were saved from" or by "Christ."||

Œcumenius, somewhat above a hundred years after him, favoured the same doctrine, as truth. "Judgment," saith he, "*i. e.* condemnation, came from" or by "one Adam, upon all men: but the free gift and donation of God prevailed so far, that it even abolished" or blotted out "the sin of Adam: and not this sin alone, but all others likewise which men sinned after that sin: yea, and did not this only, but also brought them into a state of justification, that is, unto righteousness."¶

* Remansit quidem, quia non omnia nostra Christus explevit. Per crucem suam quidem omnes redimit; sed remansit, ut qui redimi et regnare cum Deo nititur, crucifigatur.—*Idem*, in 1 Reg. cap. ix. 24.

† Vocaturque Joseph linguâ Ægyptiâ, Salvator mundi. Manifestum est de Christo, quando sub figurâ Joseph, Salvator ostenditur, non tantum unius terræ Ægypti, sed et totius mundi.—*Bede*, in Gen. c. xli. Et mox: In nostro verò Joseph augmentum habere mundus omnis meruit.

‡ Ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἀπέθανε ὑπὲρ πάντων· συ δὲ εὕξασθαι οὐκ ἀνέχῃ; *Theophylact*. in 1 Tim. ii. 6.

§ Ἄρα οὖν ὡς δι' ἑνὸς παραπτώματος, εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἦλθεν ἡ κατὰρα (ὑπερ εἶπεν ἄνω, κρίμα, τοῦτο νῦν λέγων, παράπτωμα, τοῦτέστι, τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ Ἀδὰμ) οὕτω καὶ διὰ τοῦ δικαίωματος τοῦ ἐνὸς Χριστοῦ, εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἡ χάρις, διδοῦσα αὐτοῖς καὶ δικαίωσιν ἀντὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, καὶ ζωὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ θανάτου.—*Idem*, ad Rom. v. 18.

|| Ἐπειδὴ ἔδειξε πάντας ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἀδὰμ καταδικασθέντας, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σωθέντας, &c.—*Idem*, *ibid.* in vers. 20.

¶ Τὸ μὲν γὰρ κρίμα, τοῦτέστι, τὸ κατὰκριμα, ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς Ἀδὰμ εἰς πάντας ἦλθεν ἀνθρώπων· τὸ δὲ χάρισμα καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοσοῦτον ὑπερίσχυσεν, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἁμαρτίαν ἐξαλείψαι, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐκείνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἁμαρτή-

Anselm, not long after the last-mentioned author, appeared in defence of the same doctrine. "He alone," saith he, speaking of Christ, "as by dying paid," or discharged, "so did he blot out" cancel and make void "that hand-writing, which in a kind of hereditary way passed along from our protoplast," Adam, "through all generations."* Elsewhere, he exhibiteth God inviting "all men to come unto him, and declaring that *no person whatsoever needs fear a repulse*, since he desireth not the death of a sinner, but that he should live."† In another place he saith, that "Christ is become a means of safety, and this not of any inferior kind, but of that which is eternal; and this not to a few, but to all."‡ And again, that "God the mediator, which God hath placed between himself and men, underwent death for all men, that he might redeem all men from death."§

Bernard, somewhat after the year 1100, followed the tract of the same doctrine. In one place he saith, that "Christ wept for the sins of the *sons of Adam*, and afterwards shed his blood for them."|| In another, having repeated the words of the apostle, "If one died for all, then were all dead," he glosseth thus: "That namely the satisfaction of one might be *imputed unto all*, as this one bare the sins of *all*."¶ Once more, "And that is the profession of a Christian's faith, that he which liveth, should not now live unto himself, but unto him who died for all. Nor let any man say unto me, I will live unto him, but not unto thee; since he did not only live unto all men, but even died for all men also."***

Nor hath the doctrine asserted by us been thus fully and clearly attested only by that successive generation of orthodox and learned antiquity, which we have heard speaking, as it were, with one mouth the same things with us therein, in their particular and respective writings, but hath received credit and countenance, also, from all councils and synods of any ancient date, as far as my reading and memory are able to inform me, which have had occasion to take cognizance thereof, or of that which is contrary to it.

The first general council after the apostle's days, was that assem-

ματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἕπερ μετὰ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἐκείνην ἡμαρτον Καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς δικαίωμα, τουτέστιν, εἰς δικαιοσύνην ἤγαγε.—*Ecum. ad Rom. c. 7.*

* Solus chirographum, quod ex protoplasto per omnes generationes hæreditario jure veniebat, ut moriendo solvit, sic moriendo deletiv.—*Anselm. in 1 ad Cor. c. 15.*

† Venite ergo omnes: nullus timeat repelli: quia nolo mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur, et vivat.—*Idem, in Medit. de Passione Christi.*

‡ Christus factus est causa salutis, non cujuslibet, sed æternæ; nec paucis, sed omnibus; hæc tamen conditione, ut obtemperent ei.—*Idem, ad Heb. v.*

§ Mediator Deus, quem Deus inter se et homines posuit, mortem pro omnibus sustinuit, ut omnes à morte redimeret.—*Idem, 1 ad Tim. c. 2.*

|| Christus filiorum Adæ peccata deplorat: et certè pro quibus nunc lachrymas fundit, postea fundet et sanguinem.

¶ Nam si unus, inquit, pro omnibus mortuus est, ergo omnes mortui sunt: ut videlicet satisfactio unius omnibus imputetur, sicut omnium peccata unus ille portavit, etc.—*Idem, Epist. xc. post medius.*

*** Et hæc professio fidei Christianæ, ut qui vivit, jam non sibi vivat, sed ei, qui pro omnibus mortuus est. Nec mihi dicat quis, Ei vivam, sed tibi non: quandoquidem ille, non solùm pro omnibus vixit, sed et pro omnibus mortuus est.—*Idem, Serm. in verba Psal. xxiii. Quis ascendit, &c.*

bled at Nice, about the year 325, by the authority of Constantine the Great, in the twentieth year of his reign; a council that hath always been of sovereign esteem in all Christian churches. This council, in that symbol of faith, or creed, composed by the members of it, make this profession, or confession of their faith, in the point we speak of, "We believe that the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, for *us men*," not for us elect, or for us believers, saints, or the like, but for *us men*, "and for our salvation descended, and was incarnate and made man, suffered, and rose again,"* &c. Evident it is, that the council drew up this form, or confession of faith, for the use of the generality of those who professed, or should afterwards profess Christianity, with an intent and desire that every Christian respectively should make the same profession with them. Now, then, if their meaning in the said symbol were, that Christ was incarnate, made man, suffered, &c. only for such persons who were elect, as some call election, such, I mean, who should be actually saved, and not for the generality of men; one of the two must necessarily be supposed: either, 1. That they judged all professors of Christianity to be elect, in this sense, and, consequently, such as should be saved: or else, 2. That they intended that men should make profession of their faith at peradventure, and profess that they believed that, which they knew not whether it was true or no, and so could have no sufficient ground to believe it. Yea, and that many should make such a profession, wherein the event would certainly prove them to have lied both unto God and men when they made it. For certain it is, and demonstrable from the Scriptures, that all that profess Christianity in the world will not at last be saved. When, therefore, any of these shall profess and say, "I believe that Christ, the Son of God, was made man, and suffered for me," in case he did not suffer for him, which, say our adversaries, the event of his non-salvation will evince, in that profession of his, he must needs be found to have been a liar. Therefore, without controversy, the sense of the Nicene fathers, in the mentioned passage of their creed, was, that Christ became man, and suffered death for all men without exception. Now this Nicene creed, (as is well known to those that are a little versed in ecclesiastical history) was attested and subscribed by the three Œcumenical councils next following; the first at Constantinople, the second at Ephesus, the third at Chalcedon. Nor do I remember that it was ever censured or rejected by any council or synod, esteemed orthodox. I shall not insist upon that epistle of Cyril of Alexandria (an author lately mentioned,) written to Nestorius, the heretic, approved by three general councils: in which epistle Christ is expressly termed the Saviour of us all.† Gerardus Johannes Vossius, a late Protestant writer of good note, a diligent searcher

* Τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοῦς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα, καὶ σαρκωθέντα, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα, &c.—*Symb. Nicen. vid. Athanas. in Epist. ad Jovianum de Fide.*

† Τοῦ πάντων ἡμῶν Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ.

into, and impartial relater of matters of antiquity, reporteth, that by a synod assembled at Mentz, in the year 848, of which Rabanus Maurus was president, and at which Haymo was present, Goteschalcus the monk was condemned, who, amongst other erroneous opinions held, "That they who perish, although they sometimes believed, and were baptized, yet were not redeemed by Christ, but only sacramentally," or as far as the sign of redemption reacheth, "nor ever separated from the mass of perdition."* The same author addeth further, that soon after this Moguntine Synod, there followed a council of the church of Rhemes, and of many other bishops in France, whereof Hincmarus, a learned man in these times, was president; this council, he saith, approved the judgment of the former, touching their censure of Goteschalcus. Yea, he proceedeth, and saith yet further, that the church of Lyons, although in many things it rather inclined to Goteschalcus than to the two late-mentioned synods, yet in the particular in hand it approved the sentence of the said synods. In a large transcription which he exhibiteth from the acts of this last synod, he citeth words to this effect: "How then when they are baptized in the death of Christ, and are washed from their sins in *his blood*, is that true renovation and true purgation wrought, if they yet remain in the mass of damnation and perdition concrete, and not severed?"† He speaketh, as appears all along the discourse, of such persons who finally apostatise and perish. Therefore the clear sense of this council also was, that those who are washed from their sins in the blood of Christ, and consequently who were redeemed by him, may notwithstanding perish. The same doctrine, as the same author reporteth, was approved and further established by another synod held at Valentia, in France, consisting of the bishops or ministers of the fore-mentioned church of Lyons, and of two other churches; who professed that "They did believe it, as a thing meet to be held with the firmest belief, that as some of those who are truly regenerate and truly redeemed, are eternally saved by means of their continuance, through the grace of God, in their redemption; so that others of *them*, because they would not abide in the safety of that faith which they once received, and chose rather, whether by embracing corrupt doctrine, or by wickedness of life, to reject and *make void the grace of redemption* than to preserve it, are never able to arrive at the fulness of salvation, or to attain eternal happiness."‡

* Cujus inter dogmata erat, eos qui pereunt, etsi prius crediderint, et baptizati fuerint, non nisi signo tenus redemptos fuisse à Christo, nec unquam à perditionis massâ fuisse secretos. —Gerar. Joh. Voss. Hist. Pelag. lib. vi. Thesi. 12.

† Quomodo ergo in eis perficitur, dum in morte Christi baptizantur, et in ejus sanguine à peccatis abluuntur, vera innovatio et vera mundatio, si adhuc in damnationis et perditionis massâ concreti et non discreti, detinentur?—*Ibid.*

‡ Item firmissimè tenendum credimus, quòd omnis multitudo fidelium ex aquâ et spiritu regenerata, ac per hoc veraciter ecclesiæ incorporata et juxta doctrinam apostoli in morte Christi baptizata, in ejus sanguine à peccatis abluta, quia nec in eis potuit esse vera regeneratio, nisi fieret et vera redemptio, cum in ecclesiæ sacramentis nihil sit cassum, nihil iudicatorium, sed prorsus totum verum, et ipsâ sui veritate ac sinceritate subnixum. Ex ipsâ tamen multitudine

If my library would hold out, it is like I might be able to produce other councils and synods, besides these insisted upon, interested in the same doctrine which these, as we have heard, avouched for orthodox. But the joint testimony of those which have been produced is, I suppose, matter enough and proper enough to stop the mouth of that, whether ignorant or worse-conditioned calumny, which traduceth the opinion or doctrine of general redemption, as if it were an old rotten popish opinion that had been from time to time rejected and thrown out of the church by all orthodox and sound men. The truth is, I have not in all my reading, which I confess is of no considerable compass for my years, to my best remembrance met with the censure or rejection of the said doctrine in the acts or records of any one council or synod whatsoever, unless, haply, it be in the acts of the nuporous Synod of Dort. For to a man of an erect judgment, and whose spirit hath more of God and of a man in it than to suffer itself to be yoked with prejudice or base partiality, reading and weighing some passages in the records of this synod, it cannot lightly but be a matter of some difficulty, and which will cost him some of his thoughts to resolve himself clearly what the resolutions of this synod were touching the extent of the gracious intentions of God in, or about the redemption purchased by Christ, at least in case these resolutions of theirs be only estimated by their expressions. Do not such sayings as these distinctly sound universal atonement by Christ? "God, commiserating *mankind* being fallen, sent his Son, who gave himself a price of redemption *for the sins of the whole world.*" And a little after: "Since that price which was *paid for all men*, and which will certainly benefit all that believe unto eternal life, yet doth not profit all men," &c. Again: "So then *Christ died for all men, that all and every man* might, by the mediation of faith, through the virtue of this ransom, obtain forgiveness of sins and eternal life." I know no Remonstrant that holds more or otherwise in the point now under contest. Yet again they say, that "Christ by his death did not only found the evangelical covenant" between God and man, "but also obtained of his Father, that wheresoever this covenant should be preached, there should ordinarily such a measure of grace be administered" or given "with it which is sufficient to convince all impenitents and unbelievers of contempt or neglect, at least, in their non-performance of the condition."* Questionless if men be

fidelium et redemptorum, alios salvari æternâ salute, quia per gratiam Dei in suâ redemptione fideliter permanent;—alios, quia permanere noluerunt in salute fidei, quam initio acceperunt, redemptionisque gratiam potiùs irritam facere pravâ doctrinâ, vel vitâ, quàm servare elegerunt, ad plenitudinem salutis, et ad perceptionem æternæ beatitudinis nullo modo pervenire, &c.

* Deus lapsi generis humani miseratus, misit filium suum, qui seipsum dedit pretium redemptionis, pro peccatis totius mundi.—*Act. Syn. Nation. Dordrecht.* part. ii., p. 78. Paulò pòst: Quando illud pretium, quod solutum est pro omnibus, et quod omnibus creditibus certò proficiet ad vitam æternam, non proficit tamen omnibus, &c. Et mox: Sic ergo Christus pro omnibus mortuus est, ut omnes et singuli, mediante fide, possint virtute ἀντιλύτρε hujus remissionem peccatorum, et vitam æternam consequi. Et mox: Christus suâ morte non tantùm evangelicum fœdus fundavit, sed insuper impetravit à Patre, ut ubicunq; annunciatum fuerit illud fœdus, unâ etiam ordinariè ea mensura gratiæ supernaturalis administretur, quæ sufficiat ad convincendos omnes impenitentes et incredulos, contemptûs, vel saltcm neglectûs, ob non impletam conditionem.

duly and sufficiently convinced, or be in capacity of this conviction, that negligence is, or was, the only reason or cause why such or such a thing is not, or was not performed by them, it must be supposed that such men have, or had, sufficient strength or means to have performed it. For if men certainly know that they have not, or had not, a sufficiency of means or strength for the performance of a thing, it is impossible that they should ever be convinced that only negligence was the cause of their non-performance of it. The reason is, because a knowledge or persuasion that the performance of a thing is impossible, in respect of a man's weakness, or want of strength to perform it, is a certain cause of his non-attempting it, and consequently of his non-performing it. So that negligence in this case cannot be the only cause of his non-performance; nay, the truth is, that negligence is no cause hereof at all. Suppose a man doth neglect to try or to use means that he may fly like a bird in the air, yet this neglect of his cannot reasonably be looked upon as any cause of his not flying; but his inability to fly, in conjunction with a certain knowledge of such an inability in him, and of the invincibleness hereof, is the adequate and sole cause of his not flying.

The same synod elsewhere by other of its members expresseth itself thus, using the distinction of antecedent and consequent: without the knowledge whereof, the true state of the controversy in hand can hardly be understood. "But when we say," saith the synod, "that Christ died for believers and for his friends, this is to be understood *consequently*, so that the term" *i. e.* the event of his death; for what else they should mean by terminus, I understand not, "is hereby signified; as, on the contrary, he is said to have died *antecedently* for his enemies and unbelievers, (the word unbelief being taken negatively.)* What the mystery of their meaning should be in these last words, wherein they restrain their sense in what they had said to a negative unbelief, is above the reach of my understanding. But when they say that Christ died consequently for believers, and antecedently for unbelievers, they speak the whole heart of their adversaries, the Remonstrants, touching the intentions of God in and about the death of Christ, as far as so few words can express it. For neither do they in any of their writings, that ever came in my way, any where affirm or say that Christ died consequently for unbelievers, *i. e.* with any such intention that unbelievers continuing such unto the end should be saved. And for such who, though unbelievers at present, yet shall afterwards repent and believe, these Synodians themselves will not deny but that Christ died consequently. Concerning the distinction of antecedent and consequent, as it relates to the present controversy, we spake formerly.† But how that

* *Cæterum quando dicimus Christum esse mortuum pro credentibus et pro amicis suis, hoc intelligendum est consequenter, ita ut denotetur terminus ad quem; sicut e contrario antecedenter, dicitur mortuus pro hostibus suis et pro infidelibus (negativè accepto infidelitatis vocabulo).—Act. Syn. Nation. Dordr. part. ii. p. 99.*

† Chap. VI. p. 169; and Chap. XVII. p. 579, 581, &c.

assertion of the men we speak of, wherein they grant that "Christ died antecedently for his enemies and unbelievers," will find quarter at the hand of their own thesis, soon after subjoined, wherein they say that "Christ died *adequately* for all and *only the elect*,"* I leave to themselves and their friends to consider. I speak it with all simplicity of heart, and without the least touch or tincture either of prejudice or partiality, (impressions to which I am far from being a debtor for any part of my contentment,) that to the best of my memory and understanding, I never met with a piece of discourse from the hand of any judicious or learned man fuller of broad and pregnant inconsistencies, than the decisions of this synod in the points cognizanced by them. Only the writings and preachings of men interested in the same principles with them I find deeply baptized into the same spirit of self-digladation, whereof we shall, God willing, give instances by way of proof, to a sufficient proportion, before the close of this chapter.

Another member of the said synod, whose sentence and award in the controversies there agitated is, I suppose, synodical, (justified I mean, and approved by the body of the synod; otherwise no man can tell by the printed acts of this synod what the judgment hereof was, but only what was the judgment of the particular members thereof, in petty consorts apart by themselves, and not in conjunction with the entire body,) asserteth this position, that "there is a certain common philanthropy" or love of men "in God towards all mankind being fallen, and he *seriously willeth*," or hath willed, "*the salvation of all men*."† Afterwards, speaking of the condemnation of those who believe not, he saith: "This event is not of itself intended by God, but follows by accident upon the default of man."‡ Afterwards: "If this redemption be not supposed as a *common benefit bestowed on mankind*, that general and promiscuous preaching of the gospel committed unto the apostles to be performed among all nations, will" be found to "have no true foundation."§ And again: "How shall any necessity lie upon me to believe that such a benefit belongs unto me, which, though sufficient for me, yet was never truly intended for me?"|| Soon after he saith: "This redemption is the payment of a due" and valuable "price for us captives, not that we should come out of captivity after any manner," *i. e.* simply or absolutely, "but *that we might* and ought to come out of it,"¶ *i. e.* that we might come out upon our believing, as himself immediately explaineth.

* Sicut Christus pro omnibus et solis electis adæquate est mortuus, &c.

† Est communis quedam Dei *φιλανθρωπία*, quã dilexit totum genus humanum lapsum, et scribãd omnia salutem voluit.—*Act. Syn. Dordr.* par. ii. p. 103.

‡ Hic autem eventus per se non intenditur à Deo, sed per accidens hominis culpã sequitur.

§ Si hæc redemptio tanquam commune beneficium omnibus hominibus impensum non supponatur, indifferens et promiscua prædicatio evangelii apostolis commissa, apud omnes gentes obeunda, nullum verum fundamentum habebit.

|| Quomodo enim ex beneficio, sufficiente quidem, at mihi non destinato per veram intentionem, deducetur necessitas credendi, quod illud ad me pertineat?

¶ Hæc ipsa redemptio est solutio pretii debiti pro nobis captivis, non ut captivitati exiremus, quocunquo modo, sed ut exire possemus, et deberemus, &c.—*Vid.* p. 117.

It were easy to produce many other assertions and positions from the Acts of this synod of like sense and import with these, and which are of a most notorious comportance with the sense and opinions of those men about the death of Christ, whose opinions, notwithstanding, they stigmatized as heterodox and erroneous, yea, and which stand at utter defiance with their own doctrines and sayings in other places. For if God "seriously willeth the salvation of all men;" if salvation be "a common benefit bestowed by God upon all men, and be truly intended for" or unto "all men;" if God "gave his Son a price of redemption for the sins of the whole world;" (all which, with much more, we have heard and seen delivered and asserted by this synod;) how can it be true that "Christ died *adequately for all, and only for the elect;*" that Christ was "designed and given by the Father for a Mediator and head to a *certain number of men;*"* that the "Father loved *only the elect,* and gave only these unto his Son to be redeemed by him;"† that "the application of the benefits of Christ declares for whom the impetration of them was;"‡ that "God the Father ordained his Son Jesus Christ to be a Redeemer and propitiator for our sins, out of that love wherewith he particularly embraced his elect to eternal life?"§ with ten times more alike loudly dissonant from those former sayings. That notion of theirs which they oft repeat is, amongst many others, of very sad resentment, viz. that, "though some men be willing, or should be willing, to believe, or to partake of redemption by Christ, yet God is not willing they should;"|| whereas the Scripture saith expressly, that "if there be first a willing mind, a man is accepted according to that which he hath, not according to that which he hath not," 2 Cor. viii. 12; that is, when a man is truly willing to do that which God requireth of him, but wanteth either strength, means, or opportunity for the doing of it, and upon this account only doth it not, God doth not reject him, or punish him for not doing the thing, but regards and rewards him for the uprightness of his heart, and the preparedness and readiness of his will to do it, in case means and opportunities were vouchsafed him. So that, doubtless, if a man be truly willing to be redeemed or saved by Christ, no want of strength, means, or opportunities, in one kind or other, for his salvation, shall hinder him from being saved, because he is in

* *Christus ex merâ εὐδοκίᾳ Patris, destinatus et datus fuit Mediator et caput certo hominum numero, &c.—Act. Syn. Dorâ. p. 100.*

† *Quia item Pater electos suos, quos solos dilexit, quos solos redimendos filio dedit, &c.—Ibid. p. 94.*

‡ *Imò quid et quibus impetraverit Christus, applicatio ipsa demùm patefacit atque obsignat.—Ibid.*

§ *Deus Pater Filium suum Jesu Christum ordinavit in Redemptorem ac Propitiatorem pro peccatis nostris, ex dilectione illâ, quâ electos suos speciatim complexus est ad vitam æternam.—Ibid. p. 84.*

|| *Gratiam autem redemptionis intelligimus, non quâ possunt homines redimi, si velint, &c.—Ibid. p. 78. Si verò hâc distinctione hoc spectatur et infertur, Deum per mortem Christi, erga omnes et singulos esse placatum, velle ipsorum salutem, modo ipsi velint, ut Pelagianum rejicimus.—Ibid. p. 103.*

this case accepted (*i. e.* measured and estimated) by God according to the ability vouchsafed unto him, which extended only to the enabling of him to work and bring his heart to a true willingness of being redeemed and saved by Christ, and which he hath with all faithfulness employed and improved accordingly; and not according to any greater or further abilities, which haply are given unto others, but have been denied unto him. Now if God measures, judgeth, and esteemeth a man only "according to what he hath," *i. e.* according only to what power, means, or opportunities he hath for the performance of what is righteous and just, in case any man hath gone as far in or towards the performance hereof as such power, means, and opportunities do enable him to go, he must needs find grace and favourable acceptance with God, yea, the same grace and acceptance, proportionably, which he should or could have found with him in case, with more power, means, and opportunities, he had gone further, and done more. And besides, that God should not be willing that a man should be redeemed and saved by Christ, when as the man himself is truly willing in this kind, is a saying of a notorious inconsistency with truth, considering that the willingness of any man in this kind must of necessity proceed from a willingness in God semblable to it. For "it is God that worketh" in men as well "to will" as "to do;" and doubtless he worketh not in any man to will that which is contrary to his own will. But this by the way.

How scant and narrow that covering is which the synod casteth over the nakedness of the pre-mentioned contradictions to hide it from the eyes of men; and likewise how inconsiderable, and unworthy men professing the knowledge of God and of the Scriptures, those reasons and arguments are by which they seek to establish their own opinion concerning the death of Christ, in opposition to the judgment of those whom they voted heterodox and erroneous, we shall, God willing, show and prove in the latter part of this discourse. In the mean time let us briefly consider what companions and friends we have, even amongst those of the reformed religion and Protestant party of men, in that great article of our faith which we have contended for hitherto, the gracious intentions of God towards all men without exception in the death of Christ and the redemption purchased thereby.

First, Concerning those whose judgments and consciences rather consorted with Luther's doctrine than with Calvin's, being upon this account distinguished by the name of Lutherans: these (more generally, and almost universally, at least as far as my inspection into their writings informeth me), teach the doctrine of general redemption by Christ as orthodox and sound. I shall only insist upon a few passages from the writings of two or three known authors of the Lutheran persuasion, leading men in their way.

Melancthon, Luther's great associate, teacheth, that "*Every*

person of us apart ought to be firmly resolved of this, that we are pardoned and received by God; and that with this special" or particular "faith every particular man ought to apply the benefit of Christ to himself."* Elsewhere he saith, that the "counsel of God was, that *mankind* should be redeemed;" and presently after asserteth the "love of God in his Son towards *mankind*."† In another place he affirmeth that "God poured out his wrath against the *sins of mankind*," not of a few particular men, "upon his Son." A little after, speaking of Christ, he saith, "He feels a greater burden, viz. the wrath of God against the *sins of mankind*, which he knoweth to be poured out upon him. He sorrowed also," and was troubled, "that a great part of mankind would perish through a contempt of this" great "benefit of God"‡ In another place he saith, "It is necessary to know that the gospel is an *universal promise*, i. e. that reconciliation" with God "is offered and promised to *all men*. This universal" promise "it is necessary to hold fast against" any "dangerous conceits about predestination, lest we fall to reason thus, that this promise belongeth to some few others, but doth not belong unto us. But let us be resolved of this, that the promise of the gospel is universal. For as the preaching of repentance is universal, so the preaching of remission of sins is universal also. But that all men do not obtain the promises of the gospel," i. e. the things here promised, "it ariseth from hence, that all men do not believe."§ The writings of this author have in them a large and full eye of that doctrine which hath been protected hitherto.

Chemnitius, another learned champion of the Lutheran faith, riseth up in his might, from place to place, to maintain the same doctrine. "The whole transaction," saith he, "of the Mediator is considerable in this, whether" God "the Father be willing to accept that satisfaction and obedience for the *whole world*. Now, this he declared most signally in this, that he left not his Son, whom he smote for the sins of *the people*, in death, but raised him up from the dead, and placed him at the right hand of his

* Singuli statuere debemus, nobis ipsis ignosci, nos ipsos à Deo recipi: Hâc fide speciali, ut sic dicam, quisque sibi applicare beneficium Christi debet.—*Melancth. Loc. de Fide.*

† Et ai autem causas hujus mirandi consilii, cur hoc modo redimendum fuerat genus humanum, nondum in hâc infirmitate cernimus, &c. Conspiciuntur in hac victimâ justitia Dei, et ira adversus peccatum, et immensa misericordia erga nos, et amor in filio erga genus humanum.—*Idem, de Justificatione.*

‡ In quâ iram Dei adversus generis humani peccata in filium effundit.—*Idem, de Filio.* Et mox: (loquens de Christo) sentit majus onus, scilicet iram Dei adversus peccata generis humani, quam scit in sese effundi.—Doluit item magnam partem generis humani perituram esse, spreto hoc beneficio Dei.—*Ibid.*

§ Necessè est scire evangelium promissionem universalem esse: hoc est, offerri et promitti omnibus reconciliationem. Hanc universalem tenere necessè est adversus periculosas imaginationes de prædestinatione, ne disputemus hanc promissionem ad paucos quosdam alios pertinere, non pertinere ad nos.—Nos verò statuamus evangelii promissionem universalem esse. Sicut enim prædicatio penitentiae universalis est, ita prædicatio remissionis peccatorum universalis est.—Quod autem non omnes consequuntur evangelii promissa, eò fit, quia non omnes credunt.—*Idem, de Promissione Evangelii.*

Majesty.* Elsewhere he saith, "Lest therefore all mankind should perish for ever, that wonderful decree of the counsel of God concerning the incarnation of the Son of God was enacted, that he, being our Mediator in our nature assumed without sin, should be made subject to the law for us, and should bear sin, the guilt of sin, the wrath of God, and *the punishments of the sins of the whole world*, being derived" or cast "upon him."† Again: "The Father did not pour out part of his wrath or of the curse, but his *whole wrath*, with all the dregs of the curse, into that cup which he gave unto his Son, the Mediator, to be drunk by him in his sufferings." And presently after: "Christ, upon the cross, being about to commend his spirit unto his Father, saith, 'It is finished;' whereby he testifieth that all those things which were necessary for the expiation of sins, and for redemption from the curse of the law, were fully, sufficiently, and superabundantly consummated and discharged in" or by "his obedience and sufferings."‡ And that he doth not speak this with particularity of respect to the sins or redemption of a few, or of the elect only, but simply and with reference to the sins and redemption of all men, appears, 1. From the clear drift and purport of the discourse in hand, which was to prove, against his Tridentine antagonists, that Christ, in and at his death, left nothing unperformed that was necessary or required, viz. by way of satisfaction, of any person whatsoever, for his redemption or for the expiation of his sins; the sense and doctrine of his adversaries being, that indulgencies or satisfactory performances by those yet living, were available, not only for the elect being in purgatory, (for they no where appropriate this element unto them,) but for any or all without exception, which, according to the notion of their faith, were sent thither for want of a complete satisfaction made for their sins. 2. Soon after, in progress of the same discourse, he citeth this from the apostle, "Unus pro omnibus mortuus est— one died for *all men*," 2 Cor. v. 14; and from another apostle this, "Si quis peccaverit," &c., "If any man sin, we have an Advocate," &c.; "and he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but for the sins of the *whole world*," 1 John ii. 2. 3. There is not the least insinuation in the said passages of any

* Et tota illa actio Mediatoris, in eo vertitur, an pater illam satisfactionem et obedientiam acceptare velit pro toto mundo. Illud verò Pater in eo maximè ostendit, quòd filium, quem propter peccata populi percusserat, non dereliquit in morte, sed resuscitavit ex mortuis, et collocavit ad dexteram majestatis suæ.—*Chemn. Examen.* part. i. *de Justificatione.*

† Ne igitur totum genus humanum in æternum periret, pactum est mirabile illud Divini consilii decretum de incarnatione Filii Dei, ut is Mediator noster, in assumptâ sine peccato nostrâ naturâ, pro nobis legi subderetur, peccatum, reatum peccati, iram Dei, et supplicia peccatorum totius mundi, in se derivata portaret, &c.—*Idem, ib.* part. ii. *de Satisfactione.*

‡ Non enim partem iræ, vel maledictionis, sed totam iram suam cum universis facibus maledictionis Pater effudit in calicem illum, quem Filio Mediatori in passione bibendum proposuit.—*Idem, ib.* part. iv. *de Indulgentiis.* Immediatè post: Et Christus in cruce traditurus Patri spiritum, dicit, consummatum est: quâ voce testatur omnia ea, quæ ad expiationem peccatorum, et ad redemptionem à maledictione legis necessaria erant, obedientiâ et passione suâ, plenè, sufficienter, et abundanter consummata et persoluta esse.

limitation or restriction intended by him to the elect or their sins only. 4, and lastly, The general sense of the latter passages is fairly and fully comportant both with the express tenor of the former, and, indeed, with the judgment of the author in other parts of his writings, where he hath occasion to declare his sense in the point.

Luther himself led them into the way of the same doctrine, though, haply, he did not walk so uniformly or steadily in it as they did. "Christ," saith he, "is slain before," or in the sight of "the world, is condemned, goes down into hell," or into the grave. "But before God he is the salvation of *the whole world*, from the beginning to the end of it."* In another place, "The sins of the *whole world*, which are committed from the first man to the last day thereof, lie upon the back of that one man who was born of Mary."† Elsewhere, "We all fell in," or by, "the fall of Adam, our first parent, and *this fall* must be recovered by Christ, viz., by his ignominy, shame, reproach, and death," &c.‡ If Adam's fall, wherein all men without exception fell, be recovered or restored by Christ, all that fell thereby must needs be recovered or restored by him. If only the elect, so called, be recovered, this is no recovery of Adam's fall, but only of a small or less considerable part of it, or rather of some few persons only who fell thereby. The same author in another place saith that Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, writes, "That God promised by his prophets in the holy Scripture, the gospel concerning his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, namely, that all men should be saved by him, according to that which was said to Abraham, Gen. xxii. "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed," &c. And afterwards, "Christ, from the beginning of the world to the end thereof, remains the same, by whom all men are *together*," or alike "saved."§ Elsewhere, this author affirms the grace of God to be "*toti orbi communis*,"|| "*common to the whole world*;" and again he affirms that Christ is "*Vita et lux omnium hominum*," *i. e.* the life and light of all men; ¶ to omit many other passages of like import that might readily be drawn together out of the writings of this noble champion of the Protestant faith. So that there is little question but that the Lutheran party of the Reformed religion do more generally, if not wholly and entirely, for I want the opportunity of

* *Christus occiditur coram mundo, damnatur, et descendit ad inferos. Sed coram Deo est salus totius mundi, à principio usque ad finem.—Luther. in Gen. c. 45, ver. 5.*

† *Totius mundi peccata, quæ à primo homine inde ad novissimum diem fiunt, jacent in tergo unius hominis, qui ex Mariâ natus est.—Idem, Serm. I. de Passione, &c.*

‡ *Adæ namque primi parentis casu, omnes lapsi sumus, atque illum lapsum per Christum instaurari oportuit, ejus nempe ignominia, dedecore, opprobrio, et morte, &c.—Idem. Postill. in Domin. Trinitatis.*

§ *Paulus, Rom. i., scribit, Deum Evangelion per Prophetas sanctâ Scripturâ de Filio suo Jesu Christo Domino nostro promisisse, nempe omnes per ipsum salvos fore, &c. Et postea: Christus ab initio mundi usque in finem idem perdurat, per quem omnes juxta salvantur.—Idem, Ibid. Prima Dominica in Adventu.*

|| *In Domin. 3. Advent.*

¶ *Ad summam Missam in Natal. Domin.*

books to inform me concerning the respective judgments of them all, accord with us in the generality of redemption purchased by Christ.

For the finishing of the chapter in hand, and, upon the matter, of this first part of our discourse, it remaineth only that I desire the impartial reader seriously, and as in the presence of God, to consider whether the testimonies and sayings which shall be presented unto him, in the remaining part of this chapter, out of the writings of Calvin, and some other principal men that are generally looked upon as followers of his doctrine, and, consequently, as adversaries to the great doctrine of universal redemption maintained in this discourse, whether, I say, these testimonies and sayings do not evince above and beyond all contradiction, that these men were not so thorough, uniform, settled, or consistent with themselves in their judgments about the doctrine of redemption as men had need be, whose authority and judgments are commonly taken for the standard of other men's faith, and judged little less than equal to the foundations of the prophets and apostles themselves, in matters of religion. Certain I am that the frequent and notorious inconsistencies that occur in their writings about the great article of the Christian faith, so much argued and debated in our present discourse, have ministered an unhappy advantage to some of our adversaries of the synagogue of Rome, to elevate and expose to contempt the credit, worth, learning, authority, of the principal supporters and defenders of the Protestant religion.* I speak not those things, nor shall I speak any thing, God willing, at any time, to the undervaluing of the learning, parts, labour, faithfulness, signal serviceableness of these men to the Christian churches in their generations. I acknowledge that many of them equalized both in all intellectual and moral accomplishments and endowments, the best of the fathers, so called, of old. The only prize that we run for in the present race is, so far to reduce and temper their esteem and authority with us, that on the one hand, what was worthy, and of God, in them, may turn to a happy account unto us, and bless us; and on the other hand, that what was weak, and of men, in them, may not ensnare us, or balance the spiritual commodity accruing to us from what was honourable and beneficent in them, with loss and disadvantage.

I begin with Calvin himself, and humbly desire those that oppose his judgment and authority to obstruct the course of the doctrine avouched in this discourse, lest it should "run and be glorified" as truth ought to be, to consider whether these passages and sayings next ensuing be with it and for it, or against it. "Although," saith he, "there is nothing to be found in the world worthy the favour of God, yet he showeth himself propitious" or favourable "*unto the whole world*, in that he calls *all men without exception* to believe in Christ, which is nothing

* Vid. Johan. Paul. Windeck. Controvers. de Mortis Christi efficaciam, pp. 47—49, &c.; and pp. 258, 262, 267, &c.

else but an entrance into life;”* with more to like purpose transcribed Chap. v. p. 142, of this discourse. Certainly if God's calling of all men without exception to believe in Christ be a sufficient argument or sign of his propitious and favourable inclination towards them, he must needs really intend the grace or good of salvation unto them; otherwise his calling of them to believe, as, namely, if it should be accompanied with a purpose or intent in him, either simply to destroy them, or to increase their destruction, would rather argue his hatred than any propitiousness of affection towards them. And if God intends the salvation of all men without exception, certainly he hath provided salvation in Christ for them all. Elsewhere the same author saith, that “Although Christ suffered for the sins of the *whole world*, and be through the *kindness*” or good will “*of God indifferently offered unto all men*, yet all men do not receive” or take hold on “him.”† See this, and much more cited from him of like notion, Chap. vi. p. 176. In another place he discourseth thus: “Inasmuch as the utmost end of a blessed life standeth in the knowledge of God, that the entrance” or access “unto blessedness might not be shut up against *any man*, God hath not only implanted in the minds of men that which we call the seed of religion, but hath also manifested himself in the whole fabric” or workmanship “of the world after such a manner, and offers himself daily so plainly” or openly unto men “that they cannot open their eyes, but they must needs behold him.”‡ If God provideth that the passage or way unto happiness may be open for every man, or, which is the same, obstructed or shut up against no man, doubtless there is happiness, and consequently salvation, provided in, or procured by Christ for every man. For there is no way or access for any man unto happiness but by Christ; no, nor yet by Christ himself except only for those whose sins are atoned by him. Of like import with the former is that saying also: “The fuller and more comprehensive sense is this, that God was in Christ; and then, that by his intercession he reconciled *the world* unto himself.”§ Questionless if an expositor of Scripture meets with a figurative term or expression, I mean so apprehended by him, in the text which is before him, and which he is about to open, it is very improper for him to use the same word in the same figurative or improper sense in his exposition, especially without giving any notice of the figurativeness of it, or substituting a word of a more plain

* Tametsi enim in mundo nihil reperietur favore Dei dignum, se tamen toti mundo propitium ostendit. cum sine exceptione omnes ad Christi fidem vocat, quæ nihil aliud est, quam ingressus in vitam.—*Calvin. in Joh. iii. 15, 16.*

† Nam etsi passus est Christus pro peccatis totius mundi, atque omnibus indifferenter Dei benignitate offertur, non tamen omnes apprehendunt.—*Calvin. ad Rom. v. 18.*

‡ Quia ultimus beatæ vitæ finis in Dei cognitione positus est, ne cui præclusus esset ad felicitatem aditus, non solum hominum mentibus indidit illud, quod dicimus religionis semen, sed ita se patefecit in toto mundi officio, ac se quotidie palam offert, ut aperire oculos nequeant, quin cum aspicere cogantur.—*Idem, Institut. l. i. c. 5. sect. 1.*

§ Sed plenior erit sensus et uberior, quod Deus in Christo erat: deinde, quod ejus intercessione reconciliabat sibi mundum.—*Idem, de 2 ad Cor. v. 19.* Et mox: Quorsum ergo apparuit Deus hominibus in Christo? In reconciliationem, ut sublatis inimicitiiis, qui alieni erant adoptentur in filios.

and ready signification for the explaining of it. Therefore, if Calvin, by the word "world," 2 Cor. v. 19, understood the elect of God only, dispersed up and down the world, he would not in his exposition have used the same word to express them, especially without the help of some other, one or more, of a more plain and known signification in that kind. So that there is not the least question but that he, both in the text mentioned, as likewise in his Commentaries upon it, understood the word "world," in the ordinary and best known signification of it, *i. e.* for the generality or universality of men. Upon the same Scripture afterwards he demands, "For what purpose did God appear unto men in Christ?" He answereth and saith, "For reconciliation, that enmities being taken out of the way, *those that were estranged*" from him "might be adopted for sons." Now they that were estranged from God were not the elect only, but the whole universe of mankind with them. Therefore according to the express import of this piece of commentary, God designed in Christ the adoption of all men without exception for sons. Nor doth he any whit less than confirm the same doctrine in saying, that "As by the offence of one Adam, judgment or guilt came upon all men to condemnation: so by the righteousness of one Jesus Christ, the gift or benefit of God abounded unto *all men to the justification of life.*"* He speaketh likewise to the heart of the cause we plead, when he termeth that saying of the apostle, 1 Cor. viii. 11, "A memorable saying, whereby we are taught of how great an account the salvation of the brethren ought to be with us; and not only the salvation of them altogether, but of every one of them apart, inasmuch as the blood of Christ was shed *for every one* of them."† By "brethren," it is evident that he cannot mean only such who are elect, or predestinated unto salvation. 1. Because he speaks of all that profess Christianity, or that are members of any Christian church, amongst whom it is the known judgment of this author that there still are many hypocrites, and such who will not in fine be saved. 2. The elect, in his sense, I mean such who come at last to be actually saved, cannot be certainly known or discerned from others beforehand. Therefore this consideration, that Christ hath shed his blood for a man, can be no argument or motive at all unto me to regard his salvation the more, since it is impossible for me to know whether Christ hath shed his blood for him or no. His meaning then, when he saith that the blood of Christ was shed for every particular person of the brethren, must needs be that it was shed as well for those who will not be saved by it as for those that will. See before upon this account, Chap. viii. p. 191. And doth he not yet further plead the cause of the same doctrine with us when he saith, that "Since

* Sicut per unius Adami offensam, judicium, sive reatus venit in omnes homines ad condemnationem: sic etiam per unius Jesu Christi justitiam, donum sive beneficium Dei redundavit in omnes homines ad justificationem vitæ.—*Calv. ad Rom. v. 15.*

† Dictum memorabile, quo docemur, quanti nobis esse debeat fratrum salus; nec omnium modò, sed singulorum, quando pro unoquoque est fusus Christi sanguis.—*Idem, in 1 Cor. viii. 11.*

Christ will have the benefit of his death *common unto all men*, they do him wrong" or are injurious unto him "who by any opinion of theirs, restrain" or keep back "*any man* from the hope of salvation?"* Take this passage of his also into the account: "This is a marvellous love" of his "towards mankind, that he is willing to have *all men saved*, yea, and is ready to gather into salvation such as are perishing of their own accord. But the order here is to be observed, viz. that God is ready" or prepared "to receive all men unto" or upon "repentance, *lest any man* should perish."† In the heads of accord between him and the ministers of the Tigurine church, about the Sacrament, he saith, speaking of Christ, that "He is to be considered as a sacrifice of expiation, by which God is appeased" or pacified "towards *the world*."‡ In the Geneva Catechism, he teacheth all those that are to be catechised to look upon Christ as "*salutem mundi*," "*the salvation of the world*," yea, and to own him and believe in him, "as their surety, who hath undergone that judgment which they deserved, that he might render them free from guilt;"§ with much more of like consideration. So that unless it be supposed, that Christ died for all such persons without exception, who should be persuaded and brought to learn and use this catechism, it will apparently follow, that the composer of it, and all parents and others that shall put their children or other persons upon the learning and pronouncing the words hereof, shall put them upon the speaking and professing those things, and that as matters of their Christian faith, of the truth whereof they have no sufficient ground or assurance; yea, and which are much more likely to be false than true. For if Christ died for the elect only, *i. e.* only for such who in the event will be saved, these being but few, in comparison of those who will perish, evident it is, that; speaking of particular persons before they believe savingly, or to justification, it is more likely they will perish than that they will be saved; or, however, there is no sufficient ground to judge of them, or of any particular person of them by name, before they believe, that they are elected; or, consequently, that Christ was their surety, or died to free them from the guilt of sin. And if so, then they that are taught to say and profess, as an article of their Christian faith, that Christ died to save them, are put upon it, or tempted to profess that, as an article of their religion, which they have no rational or competent ground to believe to be so much as a truth. Yea, the clear truth is, that the opinion, which denieth the redemption of all men,

* Quàm itaque commune mortis suæ beneficium omnibus esse velit, injuriam illi faciunt, qui opinione suâ quempiam arcant à spe salutis.—*Idem*, in 1. *Tim.* ii. 5.

† Mirum hic erga genus humanum amor, quòd omnes vult esse salvos, et ultròd pereuntes in salutem colligere paratus est. Notandus autem hic ordo, quòd paratus est Deus omnes ad pœnitentiam recipere, ne quis pereat.—*Idem*, in 2. *Pet.* iii. 9.

‡ Considerandus est tanquam victima expiatrix, quâ placatus est Deus mundo.—*Idem*, *Opusc.* p. 872.

§ Ut palàm fiat judicium quod merebamur, tanquam vadem nostrum, subire, quo nos à reatu liberet.—*Calvin.* *Opusc.* p. 19.

without exception, by Christ, putteth all our ordinary catechisms to rebuke, as being snares and temptations upon all, or the greatest part of those who use them, to pretend a belief or confident persuasion of such a thing, which they have more cause to suspect for an error than to embrace as a truth. This by the way. If the reader, to those passages lately insisted upon from the undoubted writings of Mr. Calvin, will please to add those other, from the same pen, formerly mentioned,* which, though produced, haply, upon somewhat a more particular occasion respectively, yet speak, for substance, the same thing, he will, I presume, acknowledge, that which hath in effect been already said, that Calvin was not so far an enemy to general redemption, but that, without straining either his judgment or conscience, he did upon all occasions reconcile himself unto it, yea, and bottomed many carriages and passages of discourse upon it.

I was desirous to present the reader with the more variety, and greater number of testimonies from Calvin, wherein he plainly asserteth the doctrine of universal atonement, because he is generally notioned as a man clearest and most resolved in his judgment against it. I shall be more sparing in citations of a like import from others, who pass in common discourse as professed enemies, also, against the same doctrine: but whether they be so indeed, methinks these sayings following, with many more of a like inspiration, that might be added unto them, should put to a demurrer. "So God loved the world," &c. "By world," saith Musculus, "he understands universal mankind," † &c. In another place: "After the same manner," he saith, "it is in this redemption of mankind, whereof we speak: that reprobates and men deplorably" or desperately "wicked, do not receive it, neither comes to pass through any defect of the grace of God, nor is it meet that for the sons of perdition's sake, that it should lose the glory and title of a universal redemption, inasmuch as it is prepared for all, and all are called unto it." ‡ Elsewhere he saith, "Christ died not for his friends alone, but for his enemies also: *not for some men only, but for all men.*" This is the immense latitude" or compass "of the love of God." § I know not how a man can express his sense for universal redemption, though he should abound in it never so much, in words more significant and distinct. These passages, with many others like unto them, have been formerly cited from this author.

* See Chap. V. p. 142; Chap. VI. p. 176; Chap. VIII. p. 188, &c.; Chap. XII. p. 369.

† Sic Deus dilexit mundum, &c. Per mundum enim intelligit universum genus humanum, &c.—*Muscu. Loc. de Philanthropia.*

‡ Ad eum modum habet et redemptio ista generis humani, de qua loquimur, quod illam homines reprobri ac deploratè impii non accipiant, neque defectu fit gratiæ Dei, neque justum est ut illa propter filios perditionis, gloriæ ac titulum universalis redemptionis amittat, cum sit parata cunctis, et omnes ad illam vocentur.—*Idem. Loc. de Redemptione. Gen. Human.*

§ Christus verò non pro amicis tantum, sed et inimicis: non pro quibusdam tantum, sed pro omnibus mortuus est. Hæc est immensa divinæ dilectionis amplitudo.—*Idem, in 2 ad Cor. v. 14, 15.*

Peter Martyr hath these sayings: "His will was," speaking of God, "that it should be well *with all men*, and that one only should in the mean time suffer."* Again, "It was meet that for our redemption some good thing should be offered unto God, which should equally, or rather more, please him, than all the sins of the world had displeased him."† In another place, he readily granteth, that God, with that will which is called his "antecedent will, willeth that all men should be saved;"‡ which is the express notion and sense wherein we declared our judgment in the point of universal redemption by Christ.§ Elsewhere he produceth this Scripture, "God will have all men to be saved," to prove that God is not the author of sin in the world, and upon this account argueth thus: "If God will have men saved, then he useth good means, and doth not stir them up to sin: for sin brings men to destruction."|| If his sense were, that God willeth only that the elect should be saved, then, notwithstanding this argument, God might be the author of all the sins in the world that are committed by far the greatest part of men, viz. by all those that are not elected; which, doubtless, was as far from his mind as it is from truth. For if God's will that men should be saved, be a reason to prove that he inclineth not men unto sin, the probatory force of it in this kind can extend no further, than to such men only whom he willeth should be saved.

Bucer, if there were any agreement between his judgment and his words, was as full and thorough for general redemption as any man. "Whereas," saith he, "the world was lost" or, undone "by one sin of Adam, the grace of Christ did not only abolish this sin, and that death which it brought" upon the world, "but likewise took away *an infinite number of other sins which we the rest of men have added to that first sin.*"¶ Afterwards, "If we consider that every particular man by his transgressions increaseth the misery of mankind, and that whosoever sinneth doth no less hurt his posterity than Adam did all men, it is a plain case, that the *grace of Christ hath removed more evils from men than the sin of Adam brought upon them*: for though there be no sin committed in all the world, which hath not its original from that first sin of Adam, yet all particular men who sin, as they sin voluntarily and freely, so do they make an addition to their own proper guilt and misery: *all which evils since the alone benefit of Christ hath taken away, it*

* Voluit ille ut omnes benè haberent, unum interim pati.—*P. Martyr, Loc. Com. Class. ii. cap. 17, s. 19.*

† Oportebat ut ad nos redimendos bonum aliquod offerretur Deo, quod aut æquè, aut etiam magis placere posset, quàm omnia mundi peccata displicuissent.—*Idem, ib.*

‡ Unde si hanc Dei voluntatem respiciamus, illum facile dicemus velle omnes salvos.—*Idem, Loc. Class. iii. cap. i. s. 45.*

§ Chap. XVII. p. 561.

|| Loc. Com. Class. i. c. 14. s. 2. Si salvos vult, bonis mediis utitur, non incitat ad peccandum. Peccata enim ad exitium deducunt.

¶ Cùm enim ex uno Adæ peccato orbis perditus sit, gratia Christi non hoc solum peccatum, et mortem, quam intulit, abolevit, sed simul infinita illa sustulit peccata, quæ reliqui homines primo illi peccato adjecimus.—*Bucer. in Rom. v. 16.*

must needs be that it hath taken away the sins of many, and not of one only. Manifest therefore it is, that more evils have been removed by Christ than were brought in by Adam.* And yet further this author saith, "As by the fall of one sin prevailed over all, so as to make all liable unto condemnation: so, likewise, the righteousness of one so far took place on the behalf of *all men*, that *all men* may obtain the justification of life hereby."†

He that converseth much with the writings of other late Protestant authors, (such I mean to whom the lot is fallen of being esteemed orthodox,) shall, upon a little observation, ever and anon find them borrowing this principle of their adversaries, that Christ died for all men, to support and strengthen their buildings, being, indeed, a principle so necessary that in many cases men can make no tolerable work without it. I may, I suppose, without prejudice or loss in the least to the cause we have undertaken, supersede the multiplication of instances from other authors of the same persuasion and repute with those last named, whereby it would appear as clear as the light at noon-day, that there are few of them, if any, but that now and then do homage with their pen to that great and sovereign truth of universal atonement by Christ. I shall therefore conclude with some single testimonies from several men, leaving the reader to pursue his satisfaction concerning the rest by his own reading.

Pareus, writing upon that of the apostle, "That he through the grace of God should taste of death for every man," saith, that "whereas he saith, 'for every man,' it respecteth the amplification" or extent "of the death of Christ. *He died not for some few; the efficacy*" or virtue "*of it appertains unto all.* Therefore there is life prepared in the death of Christ for *all* afflicted consciences."‡

Gualter, preaching upon John iii. 16, and speaking of Christ, saith, that "he being to name those whom God so loved, doth not mention Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob, Moses, David, the prophets, the Virgin Mary, the apostles, or holy martyrs, but *the world*, which our evangelist affirmeth to *lie wholly in wickedness*, and of which Christ himself more than once affirmeth the *devil to be prince.*"§

* Verùm si consideramus singulos mortalium, suis quoque transgressionibus, malum generis humani auxisse, et non minùs, quicumque peccant, suis posteris nocere, atque nocuit omnibus Adam; in aperto est, gratiam Christi plura depulisse ab hominibus mala, quàm Adæ noxa intulerit. Nam licet in orbe nihil peccatum sit, quod ex illo primo Adæ lapsu non trahat originem, tamen singuli qui peccant, ut suâ quoque liberâ voluntate peccant, ita suum quoque adjiciunt reatum, suam adferunt perniciem. Quæ omnia mala, cum beneficium Christi solùm sustulit, certè jam multorum peccata sustulit, non unius Adæ. Manifestum est igitur plura per Christum mala submota esse, quàm Adam intulerat.—*Idem, ad Rom. v. 17.*

† Inferit hic apostolus, repetit, et summat, quæ tribus præmissis collationibus disseruit: hæc scilicet: sicut ex unius lapsu peccatum in omnes invaluit, ut reddiderit omnes condemnationi obnoxios, sic etiã unius justitiam in omnes homines obtinuisse, ut justificatio vitæ omnibus contingat.—*Idem, ad Rom. v. 18.*

‡ Quod dicit *ἐπὶ πάντος*, ad fructum mortis Christi amplificandum pertinet. Non pro paucis aliquibus mortuus est, sed ad omnes efficacia ejus pertinet. Omnibus igitur afflictis conscientis in morte Christi vita parata est, &c.—*Pareus, ad Heb. ii. 9.*

§ Et hoc quidem claris exprimit, quando eos nominaturus, quos ita dilexerit Deus, non Abrahami, aut Isaaci, aut Jacobi, Mosis, Davidis, prophetarum, Mariæ Virginis, apostolorum

Hemmingius, in his book of Christian Institution, hath this saying, amongst many others of like import: "There is no reason why any man should think that the Son" of God "was sent into the world that he might" or should "*redeem some certain select persons* out of mankind, but rather that he should take away *the sins of the whole world.*"*

Ursine, in his Catechetical Explications, discourseth thus: "As then Christ died for all men in respect of the sufficiency of his ransom, in respect of the efficiency of it only for those that believe, so also he was willing to die for *all men in common*, as to the sufficiency of his merit; that is, *his will was to merit* by his death," and this "most sufficiently," *i. e.* abundantly, "*grace, righteousness, life, for all men*, because he would have nothing wanting in him, or in his merit, that should render wicked men who perish inexcusable."† We formerly proved, that if Christ died sufficiently for all men, he died intentionally also for all;‡ upon which account, amongst all our opposers, we found only Piscator and Beza true to their principles, who as well deny that Christ died sufficiently as efficaciously, or intentionally, for all men.§ But if Christ "merited," *i. e.* purchased or procured, "by his death, grace, righteousness, life, most sufficiently for all men," and this so or with such an intent, "that nothing might be wanting in his merit to make those that perish inexcusable," doubtless he merited as much for those who perish as for those that are saved, and consequently died as efficaciously for the one as for the other. For what did he, or could he, merit more for those who come to be saved than "grace, righteousness, life," and this most sufficiently? Nor could he merit less for those who perish, to make them inexcusable, than such a sufficiency of grace, by the co-operation and assistance whereof they might have believed, as was sufficiently proved in the next preceding chapter.

Aretius, upon ver. 15 of the second chapter to the Hebrews, willeth us to "observe to whom the fruit" or benefit "of the death of Christ belongeth, and in what the deliverance which the apostle speaks of consists. This deliverance," saith he, "appertains unto all that were subject unto bondage in this life. Now we were all thus subject; therefore *the deliverance appertains unto all.* The deliverance is said to be general, or appertaining unto all men,

denique, et sanctorum martyrum meminit, sed mundi, quem totum in malo jacere evangelista noster testatur, et cuius principem esse diabolum ipse Christus non uno loco affirmat.—Gualter. *Hom. xx. in Johan.*

* Neque est quod quisquam existimet missum esse Filium in mundum, ut quosdam selectos tantùm de genere humano redimeret, sed potiùs ut totius mundi peccata tolleret.—Hemming. *de Institut. Christianã.*

† Ut igitur est mortuus pro omnibus sufficientiã sui λóτρου, pro solis credentibus efficaciã ejusdem, sic etiam voluit mori pro omnibus communiter quoad sufficientiam sui meriti; hoc est, voluit morte suã mereri gratiam, justitiam, vitam, sufficientissimè pro omnibus, quia nihil voluit in se et suo merito desiderari, ut omnes impii pereuntes essent ἀναπολόγητοι.—Ursin. *Catech. par. ii. quæst. 11.*

‡ Chap. V. p. 155. &c.

§ Chap. V. p. 157.

because *it appertains unto all*" or whole "mankind, although all do not acknowledge the benefit, nor receive it with a thankful mind. Thus it comes to pass that the said deliverance comes to be" eventually "efficacious in believers only."*

J. Fox, our countryman, in his *Meditations upon the Apocalypse*, hath this passage, amongst many others of a concurrent sense and notion: "The Lord Christ then came into the world, being sent by his Father. And wherefore was he sent? That he might repair the losses which *nature*," he means the nature of man, "had sustained. For the Lord, seeing the miserable and lost condition of our infirmity, so prone unto evil by an innate frailty, so loved *the world*, that of his own accord he bestowed his only begotten Son" upon it, "who might relieve the frailty" thereof, "change" or turn "death into salvation, pacify the wrath" conceived against it "in heaven," &c.† The condition of the elect, or of believers, was not miserable, or however not the condition of these only. Therefore, this author, in saying that "the Lord so loved the world, that he voluntarily bestowed," &c., could not, by "the world," mean such only, elect, or believers, but the generality of mankind, the condition of all which was equally "lost and miserable," and who are frequently signified and expressed by the word "world."

Lavater, preaching with his pen upon the prophet Ezekiel, teacheth the doctrine asserted by us in words to this effect: "Some say, I could willingly die, but that the greatness of my sins maketh me afraid of death. The minds" or consciences of these men "are to be raised with this consolation, that we know that God hath laid our sins upon Christ, so that he hath made satisfaction upon the cross for us all."‡ To a person troubled or dismayed with the fear of death through the greatness of his sins, it is a very faint consolation to understand or consider that God hath laid the sins of some few men upon Christ, or that he hath made satisfaction for the elect, or for those that believe, one main ground of his trouble or fear being whether he be of the number either of the one or the other. Therefore, doubtless, the author's sense in the passage was, that Christ

* *Observa hic primùm ad quos spectet mortis Christi fructus, deinde in quibus consistat liberatio illa. Spectat ad omnes illa liberatio, quicunque erant obnoxii servituti in hac vitâ. Eramus autem omnes; igitur ad omnes spectabat hæc liberatio. Generalis autem dicitur liberatio, vel ad omnes pertinens, quia ad totum genus humanum pertinebat, quamvis non omnes illud beneficium agnoscant, nec grato animo accipiant. Ita fit ut tantùm in fidelibus sit efficax illa liberatio.—Aretius, ad Heb. ii.*

† Venit ergo Christus Dominus in mundum à Patre missus. Et cur missus? Ut damna naturæ resarciret. Videns siquidem Dominus miseram et perditam infirmitatis nostræ conditionem, innatâ fragilitate ad vitia proclivem, sic dilexit mundum, ut Filium suum unigenitum ultrò imperaret, qui fragilitati succurreret, mortem in salutem verteret, in cælo iram pacificaret, &c.—*Foxus, in Apoc. c. xiv. p. 538.*

‡ Nonnulli dicunt, Equidem optarem mori, sed magnitudo peccatorum meorum facit, ut mortem refugiam. Erigendi sunt animi hæc consolatione, quòd scimus Deum peccata nostra Christo imposuisse, ut pro nobis omnibus in cruce satisfaceret.—*Lavater. in Ezek. Homil. xviii.*

hath made satisfaction upon the cross for all men without exception.

Chamier, as solemnly engaged an adversary against the opinion of general redemption as any, yet so far befriendeth the truth at unawares as to say that "the righteousness of Christ is common for the saving of *all men* unto eternal life."*

Mr. Perkins is known to have been very deeply also baptized into the same spirit of opposition to us in the present controversy, yet I find these words cited from him, (for I have not, I confess, as yet found them in the tract itself out of which they are cited: "Every person in the church, by virtue of this command of God, 'Believe the gospel,' is bound to believe that he is redeemed by Christ, as well reprobates as elect, though in a different consideration," &c.† These words I so much the rather believe are to be found in this author (though, as I now said, I have not yet met with them here) because I find the same words in effect, and not much differing in form, in other writers, partakers of the same apprehensions with him in the subject-matter in hand. For,

Zanchius expresseth himself to the same point thus: "As *every one* is commanded" by God "to believe, and this with a proper and singular faith, that Christ died for him, and that his sins are expiated by the death and blood of Christ, that his sins are pardoned for Christ's sake,—that he is justified in" or by "Christ; so he is bound also to be fully persuaded" in himself "that he was long before, as viz. before the foundation of the world, chosen in Christ, and predestinated to the participation of these benefits,"‡ &c. Such sayings as these from men who professedly stand declared in their judgments for such a personal and particular redemption which excludeth the far greatest number of men from part or fellowship in it, are unto me, though no hard interpreter either of men's words or actions, of an interpretation of no good accord with the honour of their authors.

Bullinger, in his writings, frequently riseth up in confirmation of what his fellows sometimes affirm in the behalf of the doctrine of our present contest. Amongst other passages of this interest, I read words to this purpose: "It remains then an indubitable truth, that the Lord Christ is a full propitiation, satisfaction,

* Eadem ratio est justitiæ Christi, quæ communis est omnibus servandis in vitam æternam.—*Chamier. Panstrat.* t. iii. lib. xxi. cap. xxi. sect. 3, page 914.

† Quisque in ecclesiâ mandato Dei, Crede evangelio, tenetur credere se redemptum esse per Christum, etiam reprobos perinde atque electos, sed aliâ atque aliâ ratione. Electus tenetur, &c.

‡ Ergo ut quisque jubetur credere, idque propriâ et singulari fide, Christum pro se mortuum esse, et sua peccata Christi morte ac sanguine expiata fuisse, se Patri per Christum reconciliatum esse, sibi peccata propter Christum esse condonata, se in Christo justificatum, &c.—ita etiam peculiari fide tenetur persuasum habere se ad horum beneficiorum participationem, longè antè, hoc est, ante mundi constitutionem, fuisse in Christo electum ac prædestinatum, &c.—*Zanch. de Natura Dei.* lib. v. cap. ii. qu. 1. thesi. 1.

offering, and sacrifice for the sins, for the punishment, (I say,) and for the fault" or delinquency "*of the whole world.*"*

J. Jacobus Grynæus numbereth him amongst his "orthodoxographers," (*i. e.* his orthodox and sound writers,) who reasoned thus against the Pelagian heretics, who denied that Christ died for all men: "If it were so, how could the apostle say, that as in Adam all die, so in Christ *all* shall be made alive?" yea, and saith withal, that "the catholic church utterly detests that opinion which denieth that Christ assumed the nature of man for all men, and that he died for all men."†

Dr. John Davenant, an eminent member of the Synod of Dort, instead of an answer to this argument of his adversaries against justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ: "If the righteousness of Christ, which is the general price of the redemption of all men, be imputed to us, then we may truly be called the redeemers or saviours of the world," replieth thus: "The righteousness of Christ then is not imputed" for example "unto Peter, as" or as it is "the general *price of redemption for all men*, but as the price wherewith his soul is redeemed in particular."‡ In which words he plainly enough supposeth the said righteousness of Christ to be a general price for the redemption of all men.

Kimedontius, a great professor of the way and doctrine of Calvin in the present controversies, yet complains of those, as "injurious to him and his party, and no better than false witnesses, who clamour against them as if they denied that Christ died for *all men*, and was not the propitiation for the sins of the whole world."§

Because I would not overcharge the reader's patience above measure, I shall omit the Catechisms and Confessions of many Reformed churches, as of the Palatinate, Bern, Basil, Tigurum, Schaffhusen, with divers others, in which there are very plain and pregnant assertions of the doctrine of universal atonement by Christ; and shall conclude the demonstration of what we lately observed, (*viz.* that the doctrine of general redemption is a principle or notion of that sovereign use and necessity, that the professed enemies thereof cannot forbear it, or make any rational earnings in many their theological discourses without it,) with a passage or Testimony from no fewer than fifty-two ministers of the

* Itaque relinquitur jam indubitatum, Christum Dominum plenariam esse propitiationem, satisfactionem, hostiamque et victimam pro peccatis, pro pœnâ (inquam) et pro culpâ totius mundi, &c.—*Bullinger. de Justific. Fidei.* Ser. vi.

† Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum aiunt humanam carnem non pro omnium salute sumpsisse, nec pro omnibus mortuum esse. Hoc omnimodis catholica detestatur ecclesia. Nam si ita esset, quomodo apostolus diceret, sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur.—*Orthodoxographia*, part. ii. p. 1503.

‡ Non igitur Petro imputatur (justitia Christi) ut generale pretium redemptionis pro omnibus, sed ut pretium quo illius anima in particulari redimitur.—*Joh. Davenantius, in Prælect. de Justitia Habil.* p. 331.

§ Injuriam nobis faciunt, et falsi testes reperiuntur, qui nos clamitant negare, Christum esse mortuum pro omnibus, et propitiationem esse pro peccatis totius mundi.—*Kimedont. Synops. de Redempt.*

city of London, and these non de plebe virum, which I find in a small pamphlet lately subscribed and published by them, and that for this very end, as themselves profess, to give Testimony against errors and heresies. In this their Testimony, bewailing the prevailing of errors and heresies, so by them called, they bemoan the case of many of those, whom yet otherwhile they judge the happiest men in the world, (those I mean for whom Christ died,) thus: "Thousands and ten thousands of poor souls, which Christ hath ransomed with his blood, shall hereby be betrayed, seduced, and endangered to be undone to all eternity."* No sense, rationality, or truth can be made of this saying, but by the mediation of this hypothesis or ground, viz. that such persons who have "been ransomed with the blood of Christ" may be "undone" (*i. e.* perish) for ever. For whatsoever men may be brought into "danger" of suffering, doubtless there is a possibility, at least, that they may suffer, as we have reasoned the case further elsewhere,† where also we put to rebuke that distinction of a possibility in respect of second causes, and in respect of the first cause or decree of God, evincing from express grounds of Scripture truth in this assertion, That "there is not the least danger of suffering inconvenience by any such means or causes, how likely or threatening soever, in themselves simply considered, to bring the inconvenience upon us, which we know to be thoroughly mated and over-balanced by means and causes of a contrary tendency and import." I here add, that should the meaning of the authors of the said passage be, that those "ransomed with the blood of Christ" are "endangered" in respect of second causes or means only, but are in the mean time perfectly secured by God, or his decree, from suffering the danger, there had been no such cause of taking up that most solemn and pathetic lamentation over them which they do, but rather of rejoicing on their behalf, that being so "ransomed," they are in no danger or possibility, through any "betraying" or "seduction" by any error or heresy whatsoever, of losing that grace or blessing of salvation which was purchased by the blood of Christ for them.

I shall not, I trust, need here to reinculcate that which hath been, and this more than once, so plainly expressed formerly, viz. that my intent in citing Calvin, with those other late Protestant writers which we have subjoined in the same suffrage of doctrine unto him, in favour of the doctrine of general redemption, is not to persuade the reader, that the habitual or standing judgment either of him, or of the greater part of the rest, was whole and entire for the said doctrine, or stood in any great propension hereunto, (though this I verily believe concerning sundry of them;) much less to imply that they never, in other places of their writings, declared themselves against it; but only to show, 1, That the

* A Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ, &c. subscribed by fifty-two London ministers, page 32.

† Remedy of Unreasonableness, pp. 13, 14.

truth of this doctrine is so near at hand; and, 2, That the influence of it is so benign and accommodatious unto many other truths and doctrines in Christian religion, that it is a hard matter for those that deal much in these affairs not to assume and assert it ever and anon, and to speak and argue many things upon the account of the authority of it; yea, though "extrâ casum necessitatis" on the one hand, and "incogitantia" on the other hand; they are wont to behold it, as God doth proud men, "afar off."

Let us draw up the sum total of the chapter, in a very few words, and so end it. First, we have seen the roots of that doctrine held forth in our present discourse, thoroughly watered with the fairest streams of the judgment, learning, approbation, and authority of the primitive times. Secondly, concerning times of a later date, we have found that the judgment and faith of that party of Protestant churches and writers which is known by the name of Lutheran, do more generally, if not universally, accord with the same doctrine. Thirdly, and lastly, that the other party of these churches and writers, viz. those who incline more to the sense and judgment of Calvin in matters of Christian concernment, together with Calvin himself, doth very frequently attest the same doctrine, yea, and cannot well want the service and assistance of it in the managing and carrying on many of their affairs. The result of all is, that no considering or conscientious person whatsoever hath the least occasion to decline, or keep aloof off in judgment, from the said doctrine for want of company, so great a number, as we have seen, of the best and most desirable, for companions in the way of faith, of those that have dwelt with flesh and blood since the apostles' days, having given the right hand of fellowship unto it in their respective generations.

CHAPTER XX.

The Conclusion: exhibiting a general proposal, or survey, of matters intended for consideration, explication, and debate, in the second part of this work.

THOUGH Christ the Lord reigneth, whilst his enemies are yet unsubdued, and not put under his feet, yet he reigneth not so like unto himself, nor with that peaceableness or desirableness of government unto his subjects, as he shall and will reign, at least in the glorious result of his mediation, when all that which in any degree opposeth him in his government shall be wholly taken out of the way, and no enemy left with any strength or power to infest, trouble, or cause the least disquietment or discontent in all his kingdom. In like manner, though the judgment and conscience of a man may reign with much contentment and satisfaction, in the holding and profession of many a truth, by the demonstrative evi-

dence and strength of such arguments and grounds upon which he clearly seeth it built; however he may see it also encompassed and assaulted on every side with such objections and difficulties which are not at present subdued under him; yet can they not be so well apayd, so full of peace and joy in this their kingdom, as they may and will when these objections shall be made to bow down before them, and lick the dust at their feet, and all difficulties be perfectly reconciled with that truth which they hold and profess in this kind. Upon this account, having in the precedure of our discourse settled this great doctrine, that "Christ gave himself a ransom for all men, without exception," upon such pillars of Scripture, reason, and authority, that no man that shall duly weigh the premises can reasonably question the truth thereof; I judged it necessary, nevertheless, (God not laying my intentions in the dust by the hand of death or otherwise,) to subjoin the vindication of the said doctrine, from all such objections, exceptions, or encumbrances, wherewith I find it on every side oppugned, and the course of it much obstructed in the minds and judgments of some: that so they who are or shall be persuaded of the truth of it, may sit with so much the more ease in their judgments, and reign in the happy contemplation and enjoyment of so blessed a truth, with so much the more peace and joy.

In our intended vindication of the said doctrine, or second part of this work, we shall, God graciously continuing his assistance, perform these three things. First, We shall deliver those texts, and contexts of Scripture, which, contrary to their minds and native tendencies and imports respectively, are compelled to serve against the said doctrine, these, I say, we shall, in the first place, deliver from this hard service, by loosing the bands of such interpretations, wherein they are detained upon that account. Secondly, We shall show, how the supposed iron and steel of such grounds, arguments and reasonings, wherewith the said doctrine commonly is assaulted, are "turned into stubble and rotten wood" before it. Thirdly and lastly, We shall give some general and brief answer to such passages and sayings, which are usually alleged and cited from the ancient writers, in way of opposition to this doctrine.

Concerning the Scriptures, which are commonly pressed to serve in that warfare we speak of, the truth is, that, as notice hath been formerly given, there is none of them can be brought to speak any thing at all, no, not in appearance, against the doctrine we plead, but only by the mediation of some deduction or inference raised and drawn from them by the reasons of men. There is no Scripture that hath yet been or indeed can be produced, wherein it is either affirmed, that Christ died only for the elect, only for believers, or the like; or denied, that he died for all men without exception. The particular places which are commonly managed with greatest confidence in the actors, and with most applause in the spectators, against the said doctrine, are these:

Matt. xx. 28. "The Son of man came not to be ministered

unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." Unto which several others of like phrase and expression, are wont to be added, as, viz. Matt. xxvi. 28, Rom. v. 15, 19, Heb. ix. 28, &c. From these Scriptures, with their fellows, such an argument as this is levied:

"He that gave his life a ransom for many, shed his blood for many for the remission of sins, made many righteous, &c., did not give his life a ransom for all, did not shed his blood for all for the remission of sins, &c: But Christ gave his life a ransom for many, shed his blood for many, &c.: Ergo."*

John x. 11. "I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep:" and verse 15, "I lay down my life for the sheep."† To these also other passages of somewhat a like import are frequently joined. As Eph. v. 25, where Christ is said to "have loved his church, and to have given himself for it," &c. From such premises as these, this inference or conclusion is much solicited: "Ergo, Christ gave his life for his sheep," *i. e.* his elect, "only; gave himself for his church only," &c.

Matt. i. 21. "Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins."‡ This text likewise is wont to be seconded with some others as sembling with it, as Acts x. 43,— "that through his name, whosoever believeth in him, shall receive remission of sins." So also Rom. iii. 25, and x. 4, Heb. v. 9, &c. Upon these and such like foundations, this inference is built: "Ergo, Christ came to save his people only, believers only, sanctified ones only, from their sins."

John xv. 13. "Greater love than this hath no man, that a man lay down his life for his friend." This I find paralleled and strengthened with these words from the same pen, 1 John iii. 16, "Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us."§ This pair of Scriptures afford unto some the joy of this consequence: "Ergo, Christ did not lay down his life for reprobates, or for those that are damned in hell, because then he should love them with the greatest love that could be."

John xvii. 9. "I pray for them: I pray not for the world." Upon this basis, this enthymeme is raised: "Christ refused to pray for the world,"|| *i. e.* the wicked of the world: "Ergo, certainly he refused to die for the world."

Rom. viii. 32. "He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?" From hence the doctrine of particular redemption is countenanced with this argument. "Unto all those for whom God spared not, but delivered up his own Son for them, he will freely give all things: But there are many thousands in the

* Vid. Acta Synodi Dordrec. part. ii. pp. 97, 112, &c.

† Vid. Acta Synodi Dordrec. part. ii. p. 101. Et Chamier. tom. iii. l. 9. c. 13. sect. 9.

‡ Vid. Acta Synodi Dordrec. part. ii. p. 97.

§ Vid. Collat. Hagiens. adversus secundam thesin Remonstrantium, p. 133.

|| Vid. Acta Synodi Dordrec. part. ii. p. 100, et Chamier. tom. iii. l. 2, c. 13, sect. 2.

world unto whom God will not give all things: Ergo, for none of these did God deliver up his Son."

As to these arguments and deductions pretending legitimacy of descent from the recited Scriptures respectively, we shall clearly demonstrate the nullity of such their claim, and prove that they have neither footing nor foundation in any the premises. But,

Secondly, Besides the recited pleas against the doctrine of general redemption, claiming such an immediate interest as hath been represented, in the Scriptures, there are many others seemingly confederate with some unquestionable principles and grounds both of reason and religion, and bearing themselves upon the Scriptures also, though in somewhat a more remote way. The most considerable, and those insisted upon with greatest importunity by the adversaries of the said doctrine, are these following. Such of them as I find in the writings of men of worth and name, I shall set down, with their respective authors, or abettors, noted in the margin.

1st Reason against general redemption. "If Christ, by his death merited for us," *i. e.* for those for whom he died, "the reconciliation itself of our persons with God, and that grace should actually and really be communicated unto us, which if he should not have done, he should not have benefited those that are his to such a degree, as Adam damnified those that are his, then did he not die for all men without exception."* But the antecedent is true: therefore the consequent also. The reason of the consequence in the proposition is, because certain it is, both from the Scriptures, and by experience, that the persons of all men are not truly reconciled with God: nor is grace actually communicated unto them. The minor presumeth of itself.

2nd Reason. "If salvation, being the thing promised in the new covenant, be not promised but only upon condition of believing, and all men do not, will not, believe, then certain it is that Christ by his death obtained not salvation for all men, but for believers only."† But the former of these is true: therefore the latter also. The consequence in the proposition is presumed to be undeniable.

3rd Reason. "If the death of Christ procured restitution unto life for all men, then were all men restored hereunto, either when Christ from eternity was destinated unto death, which must needs be false, because then no man should be born a child of wrath, nor should original sin hurt any man, inasmuch as this, according to such an opinion, should have been pardoned from eternity: nor should infants or others stand in need of the laver of regeneration, which is contrary to the assertion of Christ, John iii. 5: or else they were restored in the person of their first parent, when the promise concerning the seed of the woman was promised, which also is false; because our first parents themselves were not restored

* Acta Synodi Dordrec. part. ii. p. 82.

† Acta Synodi Dordrec. part. ii. p. 82.

to an estate of grace but by faith in Christ; therefore, neither their posterity, and so not all, whether believers or unbelievers: or else they were restored when Christ himself suffered death upon the cross; but this also is false: for so none should have been restored before this moment of time, which no man holdeth: nor are all men restored since this time, for without all doubt the wrath of God burned at the same instant of time and afterwards, against some of the accusers, condemners, crucifiers, and mockers of Christ.*

4th Reason. “If the impetration and application of the benefits of Christ be never separated, or disjoined in their subjects, then did he not impetrate these benefits for all men, (and consequently not die for all men,) because certain it is, that there is not an application of them made unto all men: But the impetration and application of these benefits are never separated the one from the other in their subjects: Ergo.”†

5th Reason. “They for whom Christ by his death actually procured and obtained reconciliation with God, forgiveness of sins, righteousness, and eternal life, are made real partakers of these benefits: the reason is, because nothing can be said to be procured and obtained by Christ for any man, which at one time or other he doth not partake and enjoy: But unbelievers who perish eternally, never come to be partakers of these benefits, reconciliation with God, forgiveness of sins, &c.: Ergo.”‡

6th Reason. “They who by the death of Christ are reconciled unto God, are saved by his life. This proposition beareth itself upon the authority of Rom. v. 10. But not all men, but only the elect and believers are saved by the life of Christ: Ergo.”§

7th Reason. “Those unto whom Christ was not ordained or given for a mediator, he did not reconcile unto his Father by his death, nor purchase remission of sins, or eternal life for them: But Christ was not ordained or given for a mediator unto reprobates persevering in unbelief, &c.: Ergo.” The assumption presumeth to lean on the breast of Rom. viii. 32, a place already specified upon a like account.||

8th Reason. “If reconciliation with God, remission of sins, and eternal life, be obtained for all men without exception by the sufferings and death of Christ, then it will follow that all those who have not by actual incredulity rejected the merits of Christ, remain truly reconciled unto God, have their sins remitted, and shall be eternally saved.” But this consequent is absurd: therefore the antecedent also.¶

9th Reason. “If Christ by his death made satisfaction for all men, then might all men, upon the performance of the condition of

* Acta Synodi Dordrec. part. ii. p. 82, 83.

† Acta Synodi Dordrec. part. ii. p. 87. vid. et p. 94, 97, 113, &c.

‡ Acta Synodi Dordrec. part. ii. p. 89, 113, &c.

§ Acta Synodi Dordrec. part. ii. p. 89, 90.

|| Acta Synodi Dordrec. part. ii. p. 90.

¶ Acta Synodi Dordrec. part. ii. p. 90.

the new covenant be saved; and again upon an universal non-performance of this condition all men might be damned: But as well the one as the other of these, are and were impossible: Ergo."* The reason of the consequence (as to the first branch of it) is, because satisfaction being made for any man's sins, there remains nothing further necessary to his actual discharge or salvation, but only the performance of the condition, upon which the application of the said satisfaction is suspended. The reason of the latter branch of the consequence is, because if satisfaction was made by Christ upon none other terms for some than it was for all, it clearly follows, that in case there be a possibility of a non-application of it unto some, there is a like possibility unto all: and consequently, a possibility of the non-salvation, or of the damnation of all. The minor stands (it seems) upon this bottom; that those whom God the Father hath given unto Christ to be redeemed and saved by him, of necessity must and shall be redeemed and saved by him; and those whom he hath not given unto him upon such an account (which are far the greater part of men) must, by a like necessity, perish or be damned, as not being redeemed by him, nor given unto him to be saved.

10th Reason. "If the will and intention of the Father, the obedience and oblation of the Son, and the saving operation of the Holy Ghost, or effectualness of calling or sanctification, be of one and the same compass or extent, then did not Christ die for all men: But all the three particulars mentioned are of one and the same compass, or commensurable: Ergo."† The reason of the consequence is evident: viz., because the saving operation of the Holy Ghost, or effectualness of calling, are not extended unto all men. The minor builds upon this sorites: the Father gives only his elect, whom alone he loves, to be redeemed by his Son: the Son only redeems those that are thus given unto him, as being those whom alone he loves: the Holy Ghost, being the love of the Father and the Son, sanctifies only the elect of the Father, and the redeemed of the Son.

11th Reason. "If no man wittingly and knowingly payeth a price of redemption for a captive, which he certainly knoweth this miserable man will never be the better for, then Christ died not for all men: But no man wittingly and knowingly payeth such a price upon such terms: Ergo."‡ The reason of the sequel in the major proposition, is, because Christ knew certainly that the greatest part of men would never receive any benefit by his death: and upon this account it is altogether irrational to suppose that he died for them.

12th Reason. "If Christ died for all men without exception, then now in heaven he intercedeth for all men without exception:

* Acta Synodi Dordrec. part. ii. p. 92. (ex parte.)

† Acta Synodi Dordrec. part. ii. p. 94.

‡ Acta Synodi Dordrec. part. ii. p. 94.

But he intercedeth not for all men: Ergo.* This latter proposition fears no contradiction, and therefore stands by its own strength. The reason of the major seems to be, because it is unreasonable to conceive that Christ should do the greater and more difficult thing, as viz., die for those for whom he is unwilling to do the less, viz., intercede.

13th Reason. "If God intends and decrees the salvation of all men by the death of Christ, then it must needs follow, either that all men are saved, or that God his intentions and decrees become frustrate and attain not their end: But neither of these are true: for, 1. Certain it is that all men are not saved. 2. As certain it is, that God's intentions and decrees never miscarry, or fall short of their ends: and to affirm this, is absurd, yea, blasphemous: Ergo."†

14th Reason. "If Christ by the counsel, intention, and decree of the Father, died for all men, it will follow that there is neither an election of any certain persons, nor a reprobation of any: But there is both an election of some certain persons, and a reprobation of some others: Ergo."‡ The reason of the major (because I find it not expressed) seems to be, because it is contrary to reason that God should intend or decree to give his Son to die for those whom he decreed to reprobate (*i. e.* to leave in the hand of everlasting perdition without all possibility of being saved) from eternity. And if there be no reprobation, there can be no election, inasmuch as these do "mutuò sese ponere, et auferre." The minor stands upon the authority of the common interpretations of such Scriptures, which are commonly insisted on to prove such an election, and consequently, a reprobation corresponding with it. All which Scriptures, at least all such of them which colour best with such an election, we shall (God willing) fairly examine upon the point.

15th Reason. "If Christ, according to the intention and counsel of the Father, hath suffered death for all men, then God should stand equally or indifferently affected towards all men, yea, and saving grace should be universal: But God doth not stand equally affected towards all men, nor is saving grace universal: Ergo."§ The consequence is supposed authentic without proof. The minor is argued, 1. From the gratuitous election of some. 2. From the like gratuitous vocation of some, as of the Israelites, Deut. iv. 7, Psal. lxxvi. 1, cxlvii. 20. 3. From the covenant made with Abraham, and not with others. 4. From the mystery of the calling of the Gentiles. 5, and lastly, From that special favour, love, and grace, wherewith God prosecuteth his elect.

16th Reason. "If Christ died for all men, and all men be not saved, then is God not omnipotent: But certain it is, 1. That all men are not saved, and, 2. That God is omnipotent: Ergo."|| The minor needs no proof, as to either part of it. The reason of

* Acta Synodi Dordrec. part. ii. p. 106. Collat. Hagiens. p. 132.

† Acta Synodi Dordrec. part. ii. p. 119.

‡ Acta Synodi Dordrec. part. ii. p. 119.

§ Acta Synodi Dordrec. part. ii. p. 119.

|| Acta Synodi Dordrec. part. ii. p. 120.

the consequence, in the major, is, because if Christ should die for all men, it would follow that God should be willing that such a benefit should be impetrated or procured for men, which he could not apply unto them.

17th Reason. "If Christ died for all men, and all men come not to be saved, then is the wisdom of God defective or imperfect: But certain it is, 1. That all men are not saved. 2. That the wisdom of God is not at all defective, but absolutely perfect: Ergo, Christ died not for all men."* The minor here also is presumed, as well it may. The consequence stands upon this supposition, That to fall short in compassing what a man intends, argues a deficiency in point of wisdom.

18th Reason. "If Christ should die, and make satisfaction for all men, and yet all men not be saved, God should be unjust, as viz. in receiving a full satisfaction for men, and yet refusing to receive them into favour, or to forgive them: But certain it is, 1. That all men are not saved; and, 2. That God is not unjust: Ergo, Christ died not for all men."†

19th Reason. "If Christ died for all men, and all men come not to be saved, then doth that great love out of which God gave his Son unto men, vanish into an unprofitableness or unusefulness in respect of men: For to what purpose, or of what use is the love of God, in the gift of his Son unto men, if he doth not withal give them faith in his Son? But certain it is, 1. That all men come not to be saved; and, 2. That the great love of God in the gift of his Son doth not vanish in unprofitableness: Ergo."‡ A like argument is framed upon the account of the great love of the Son himself towards those for whom he died. Christ, saith the argument, so loved us, that whilst we were enemies, he died for us. Is it now credible that he should not apply a benefit merited or procured with so much sweat, and with such precious blood, unto those for whom he merited it?

These arguments, with some texts of Scripture not here mentioned, cited to prove some particulars, together with some few sayings from the fathers, both which we intend to take and give knowledge of upon occasion, were in a manner the whole strength wherein the Synod of Dort so much magnified themselves against their adversaries, the Remonstrants, in the traverse of the second head of matters controversial between them, which concerned the intentions of God in and about the death of Christ, as far as I am able to observe from the records of this synod. Concerning which arguments, I shall say no more at present but only these two things: 1. That though they be somewhat numerous, yet there is none of them but lieth very opportune and fair for answer; and, 2. That some of them, if not the greater part, stand bent against such an opinion, which I believe their antagonists did not hold: certain

* Acta Synodi Dordrec. part. ii, p. 120.

† Acta Synodi Dordrec. part. ii. p. 120.

‡ Acta Synodi Dordrec. part. ii. p. 120.

I am, they do not oppugn that doctrine of redemption which is maintained in this book. Nevertheless, because they may possibly be conceived by some, less considerate, to rise up with much strength against it, we shall take them into consideration respectively in their places. I will not say that there have been sufficient grounds laid, yea, and sufficiently proved, in the premises of our present discourse whereon to frame satisfactory answers even to those that are counted pillars amongst them, but shall leave the consideration hereof to the intelligent and impartial reader, and to the disquisition about them intended in the second part of this work.

I do not meet with any thing of moment in any other author to infringe the credit of the doctrine of general redemption, which doth not make one spirit with one or other of the arguments levied, as we have heard, by the said synod. This which I shall presently recite from the collocutors of the contra-remonstrancy at the conference at the Hague, ann. 1613, is but the same in effect with the first and fifth of those used by the synod. "For whomsoever Christ died, and obtained remission of sins, and reconciliation with God, for these also he obtained, by his death, deliverance from the bondage of sin, and the spirit of regeneration for newness of life: But Christ did not obtain deliverance from the bondage of sin, or the spirit of regeneration, for all men: Ergo." If any man conceives there is somewhat more in this argument of the said collocutors, which I shall next transcribe, than in any of the former, I am content that it shall stand as additional unto them. I find it in this form:

20th Reason. "All they for whom Christ died can freely say, 'Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died for us,' Rom. viii. 34: But they are only believers, and the elect, that can speak thus, ver. 33, not unbelievers, Mark xvi. 16: Ergo." The minor is further strengthened by this consideration: The consolation raised from the consideration of the death of Christ, which the apostle here (Rom. viii. 32, 33, &c.) administereth unto the saints, or believers, would have little solidity or worth in it, in case reprobates and unbelievers could as truly say that Christ died for them also.

This argument likewise from the same authors, is virtually contained in that already mentioned in the fifteenth place. Yet let it have the honour of an argument by itself.

21st Reason. "If reconciliation with God, and remission of sins, be obtained for all and every man, none excepted, then should," or, ought, "the word of this reconciliation," *i. e.* the gospel, "be preached," or, declared, "and this continually, to all and every man: But the word of reconciliation is not thus preached to all and every man: Ergo." The reason of the consequence is, because they for whom reconciliation is obtained, not being capable of enjoying it but by faith, and faith not being to be obtained but by hearing the word of this their reconciliation, it seems contrary to all reason that they should be deprived of the means of believing.

22nd Reason. The learned Chamier advanceth this argument against us, the strength whereof the observant reader will find lodged in the nineteenth reason already propounded.* "To all those for whom Christ truly died, the death of Christ is profitable: But this death of his is not profitable unto all men: Ergo." The major he proves, 1. From the proper import of the particule, "for," which, saith he, always notes some benefit accruing to him, for whom any thing is said to be done. 2. From the state of the controversy. 3, and lastly, From the Scriptures, as where it is said, "He gave himself for us, that he might redeem us," &c. Tit. ii. 14. So again from Matt. xxvi. 28, Rom. v. 8, 9. The minor he proveth, 1. From the concession of his adversaries themselves, the papists, concerning infants who die unbaptized; all which they exclude from salvation, and consequently from all benefit by the death of Christ. 2. From the concession almost of all, concerning persons of years of maturity; viz. that very many of these perish everlastingly, and so never come to receive any benefit by the death of Christ.

23rd Reason. In the same place, the same author subjoineth this argument, the same in substance with the former; "If Christ died for all men, then all men are saved," or shall be saved: "But this is not so: Ergo." The minor, which needs no proof, he proves from John iii: 36, Rom. ii. 8. For the consequence in the major proposition, he cites the apostle's discourse, Rom. v. 8—10, under the notion of an express probation of it. "But God commendeth his love towards us," &c.

The Scriptures and arguments now propounded, are the effect and substance of all that I can readily find, or call to mind, pleaded and argued against the doctrine of general redemption, as it hath been stated, and asserted in our present discourse, excepting only some quotations from the fathers. If any thing of moment upon the same account shall further occur, or be offered unto me, either before, or under my examination of these, I shall not conceal it: but shall, as in the presence of God, and without the least touch or tincture of prejudice or partiality, acknowledge strength in any thing, where I apprehend strength, and show all submissive reverence to that which is above me. Yea, God knoweth that one reason moving me to exhibit beforehand, in the close of this first part, a particular of matters to be handled in the second, was, that in case any friend of the contrary doctrine conceives that he hath somewhat more pregnant or convincing, on the behalf of his opinion, either from the Scriptures, or otherwise, than any thing that I have yet taken into consideration, or intend to give satisfaction unto, he might have the opportunity of representing the same, either privately unto me, if he please, or otherwise publicly unto the world.

By occasion of the objection or argument mentioned in the four-

* Chamier, Panstrat. tom. iii. lib. 9, c. 13, sect. 19.

teenth place, we shall, by way of digression, launch forth into the deep of the great question concerning personal election and reprobation: and soberly inquire whether the Scriptures do any where hold forth or teach any such decree of reprobation in God from eternity, whereby the persons of such and such men, or of such a determinate number of men, before any actual or voluntary sin perpetrated by them; and without any respect had to such perpetrations, be decreed by him, to be left under an unavoidable necessity of perishing everlastingly. Here also we intend tenderly to inquire what the Scripture teacheth concerning the estate of infants; and more particularly, whether it can be substantially proved from them, that any infant or infants whatsoever, dying before the commission of actual sin, are adjudged by God unto hellfire.

In my answer to the argument propounded in the fifteenth place, I shall take occasion, digression-wise also, to inquire into, and discuss the great question about universal grace; viz. whether God vouchsafeth not unto all men without exception, a sufficiency of power or means whereby to be saved. Within the verge of this debate we shall modestly inquire, whether God doth not vouchsafe unto all men the same, or a like sufficiency, at least in a geometrical proportion, of means, whereby to be saved.

And because, amongst other Scriptures, the ninth chapter of the epistle to the Romans is frequently, and this in very many places and passages of it, brought upon the stage of these controversies and disputes, and more particularly supposed to deliver impregnable grounds for such a personal election and reprobation, which we apprehend the Scriptures generally, yea, and in this very chapter, as plainly to oppose, as many men do confidently avouch; we therefore intend a particular and entire explication of this chapter by itself. Yea, I am under some present inclination of thoughts, to engage upon this in the first place, and to publish it by itself, before I put hand to the greater work. But in this, I shall willingly be determined by the advice of friends.

Concerning the testimonies of the fathers usually produced in way of discountenance to the avouched doctrine of this discourse, I judge the transcription of them no ways necessary, until we come to give answers unto them; and therefore shall not encumber the reader's patience with them here. Unto whom, instead thereof, I shall address myself in this double request: 1. That he will please so far to comport with his own interest, and mine, as to strive by fervent and frequent prayer, to interest God himself in the composure of the work intended, that through much of his presence with me in the framing and inditing of it, if yet his good pleasure shall be not to judge a proportion of life and health for the finishing of it, too high a dignation for me, all my insufficiency for so great an undertaking may be drowned, so as not to appear in one kind or other, to the loss or disadvantage of any man, that shall please to bestow his time in the perusal of it, or of any part of it; and that I may be enabled from on high to bring

forth the truth in those high mysteries, which I shall be occasioned to search into therein, out of that thick darkness, which at present is spread by men round about them, into a clear and perfect light, that so they may become more savoury, more wholesome, and better prepared nourishment for the understandings and consciences of the generality of men amongst us, than they have proved hitherto. My second request to the reader, with which I shall discharge him at the present, is, that he will make such a covenant with his expectations and desires as not to look for the publishing of the second part of this work till after such a time, which may be reasonably judged competent for a man of a slow genius in writing on the one hand, and of almost continual diversions through by-employments on the other hand, to raise and finish such a building, as that in reason may be presumed to be.

THE END.

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A TABLE

OF SOME

GENERAL RULES FOR THE INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES,

DELIVERED IN THE FOREGOING DISCOURSE;

*The Knowledge and Consideration whereof will give much Light into the
Controversies there debated.*

It is frequent in Scripture to express a thing after the manner of an event, or consequent, which shall or will follow upon such or such an occasion or means some-ways likely to produce it, which yet frequently cometh not to pass: nay, the contrary whereunto many times follows, and comes to pass instead thereof, 300, Page 306, 322	these or the like explications or limitations, as much as in him lieth, as far as is meet or proper for him, &c. Page 328
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There is nothing more frequent in Scripture, than to ascribe the effects themselves, sometimes unto God, sometimes unto men, only upon their respective actings or doings of such things, which are of a natural, proper, or direct tendency to produce them, whether they be actually produced or no..... 266, 323, 328, 329	God is often, in Scripture, said to have done a thing, or given a thing, when he intends or purposeth to do or give it, though at present it be neither actually done nor given..... 291, Note.
When the doing or performance of such things are attributed unto God, wherein men also are to join and act with him to render those actings of his actually saving or eventually successful unto them, such attributions are to be understood with	The determinate signification of a word in one place, is no argument of the same sense or signification of it in another, 152, 160, 172
	There is scarce any idiom of speech more

- frequent in Scripture, than to mention or speak of an act simply and indefinitely, as performed and done, when the doing of it hath been fully resolved, concluded, on consented unto in the heart and soul, whether ever it be actually done or no,
Page 60
- It is a form of speech frequent in the Scriptures, to speak of things probable, or likely to come to pass, as if they would or should simply and certainly come to pass; and so again to use the infinitive mood in a potential sense or signification,
60
- It is not necessary that all things accompanying or relating unto those affections in man, which are attributed unto God, should be paralleled in him, or have something in his nature corresponding to them 80, 552
- It is a known propriety of the Greek tongue to import the reasons or grounds of things by their participles..... 416
- It is a frequent dialect of Scripture to call the means and cause, yea, and sometimes an opportunity only, which are proper and effectual for the compassing and obtaining a thing, by the name of the thing itself, which is to be or may be procured by them 182
- To put restrictions upon Scripture phrases, or assertions, without necessity, and this demonstrable either from other Scriptures or unquestionable grounds of reason, is not to interpret the Scriptures now in being, but (upon the matter) to make new..... 192, 530
- The particle, *iva, that*, doth not always import the certainty of the thing spoken of, by way of event, no, not when speech is of God himself, but oftimes the intention only of the agent.... 300, 306, 322
- God is said to do a thing, when he doth that towards the effecting of it, which is proper for him to do.... Page 265, 328
- It is a frequent Hebraism in the Scriptures, to call both things and persons, of special worth and excellency in their kind, elect, or chosen 333
- Such intentions and desires in God, and in Christ, which are real and cordial, may very possibly never take place or be fulfilled..... 80, 82, 299
- Many promises of God are to be understood with reference to the present state and condition of things 301, 317, 473
- The negation of the act frequently imports the negation of the power also..... 564
- The neuter gender for the masculine, is a frequent construction in the Scriptures, and emphatical..... 565
- Such conditional sayings, upon which admonitions, promises, or threatenings, are built, do at least suppose something in possibility, however by virtue of their tenor and form, they suppose nothing in being..... 369, 571
- A promise of receiving any thing upon the performance of an impossible condition, is equivalent to a threatening that a man shall never receive it..... 573
- Such constructions or forms of speech, wherein the consequent is put for the antecedent, and so again where the end or effect is named to signify the means proper for the procurement of either, are familiar and frequent with the Holy Ghost in Scripture..... 584
- The purposes and intentions of God, concerning such and such acts or dispensations, are very usually, in the Scripture, expressed by the names of the acts or dispensations themselves..... 597