

that Animal that well near escapes his sight by reason of its smallness, as the *Acarus*, the *Cyrc* or Hand-worm, yet he shall plainly by the help of a Microscope behold in it all the conformation of its little Limbs useful for its being; all the Operations of Senses and Organs thereof; the several Faculties, Offices, and Parts subservient to it; the several *Viscera* that serve for the exercise of Life and Sense, it must needs render the Skill of the Author thereof admirable. But yet again, when possibly the Seminal Principle of this little Animal bears it may be as small a proportion to it as the Insect it self doth to greater Animals; it may be a little imperceptible Egg; and yet in that little Body all the Ideal parts of this Animal and that Principle that immediately conforms the several Faculties and Organs of this little Animal: The Power and Wisdom that conforms such a little *Semen* is no less wonderful, than if it had immediately conformed the *Animal* without the intervention of such a Seminal Particle.

And therefore most certainly the Conformation of these little *Molecula seminales*, if any be antecedent to the production of these Insects, is a work of intelligence, choice, election, design, and that of a most wise and intelligent Being; and cannot be the production either merely of Chance, as the *Epicureans* would have it; nor of that which little differs, namely, an ignorant, unknowing, unelective Principle, for such is barely Nature, unless they that use that denomination mean by it Almighty God.

And when I assert that these *Molecula seminales* antecedent to the production of any living or sensible nature, if there be any such, are produced by Almighty God; it is not my meaning, that they are therefore immediately created, or immediately put together or compounded (by the immediate Finger of God) if I may use that Expression to render the sense I intend: But it is sufficient, that the great and supreme intellectual Being having in his infinite Wisdom the Prospect of all things, hath so set and ordered the Motion of Second Causes, to bring together and mingle the constituent Materials of these *Semina*, and he by his Almighty *Fiat* hath annexed to such Compositions, and imprinted upon them the stamp and efficacy of a Seminal Principle; it will be equally the Work of Almighty God if these Compositions be brought together by the Motion and Heat of the Sun, or by the powerful Motion and Determination of various kinds of Ferments; some possibly originally created, and dispersed in the Earth, Air, and Waters; others accidental, arising from the corrupted and mingled Matter of dissolved Animals and Vegetables, whereof I shall in due time, God willing, give a more distinct Account; as if they were immediately created out of nothing: But the Mint, the Stamp, the Signature, the Seminal Efficacy of this *Molecula seminalis* is the Intention, Election, and *Fiat* of the glorious God, and can never be the bare production of a sordid unintelligent nature. So that although it should be granted, that the excrecence of those *Insecta animalia* is not at this day from the *Semina insectorum*, but that both in the first production of them in Nature, and the yearly or daily production of them now, they were *ex seminibus, non ex insectis decisis*; yet those *Semina* or *Seminales molecula* were not merely natural, as Nature imports a sordid production of things, but were the Work and Intention of the great and glorious God of Nature.

So

So then we may hereby see what would be purely natural in these *Semina*, what not. 1. It were thus far natural that the material Particles thereof possibly might have an existence in Nature before their Composition; whether these Particles were partly those *Igni spiritus*, and partly those *Humores primogenii* that were interperfed in Nature, or possibly the constituent Essentials both of the *Semina* themselves and of the Individuals produced by them. Again, 2. They might be thus far natural, that the immediate Instruments of the conjunction of these *Particula seminales* might be the Heat, or Influence, or Motion, or Agitation of the Heavenly Bodies, or what other natural Instrument the Divine Power might employ in their Coagmentation. 3. They would be thus far natural, that when these *Particula seminales* were conjoined together, and made up into their *Molecula seminales*, and when they had received their Signature, their Energy by the Divine *Fiat*, they would naturally produce their Effect, *viz.* the production of an Insect, when they had obtained a convenient *Menstruum* to lodge it, and the kindly Heat to ripen them; this would be as natural as any Operation of Heat or Cold, or other things are natural, which though they had their first existence by the Supernatural Power and Will of God, yet when they are in their existence they move and act according to that nature which is put into them, which is the Law of their Being, given them by Almighty God.

But the Virtue that gives these *Molecula seminales* their Energy of Productiveness, of Life and Sense, their Determination in their several *Species* and Ranks, that mints and stamps them as it were with their *Esse specificum seminale*, is the Institution and *Fiat* of the Divine Will and Ordination.

So that if there be at this day any *Semina of Insecta animalia ex non insectis* which gives them their several determinate *Species* and natures, though I am not of the mind of *Scotus*, that they have an immediate Creation by God, yet I am not of the mind of *Beregardus*, who thinks they are merely natural, and made up and put together without the Pre-disposition, Ordination, or Signature of the God of Nature; as the first power communicated to the primogenial natures of Animals and Men, to have a *Vis Seminativa* and *Prolifica* was in the first Creation of Mankind communicated to them by virtue of the Divine Institution and Benediction, though the way of exerting that Power, when produced, was natural.

But possibly much of what is in this Chapter is needless, if in truth the individual natures of Insects were at first created by God, without any pre-existing *Semen* (as we are sufficiently taught, *Gen. 1. 20. 25.*) and that the Seminal and Prolifick Power was given to them as other Animals, and consequently the *Semina viventium* were subsequent, and not antecedent to the first Institution of the Animal Nature, and an effect thereof.

Nn 2

C A P.

CAP. VI.

Supposing the Production of Insects were totally spontaneous, equivocal, and ex putrido, whether any Consequence be thence deducible for the like Production of perfect Animals, but especially of Men.

IT is true, that Insects, and those equivocal Generations, have an admirable perfection in their kind, not much unlike to those that we find in the more perfect Animals, and indeed they are so much the more admirable, because their little and almost imperceptible *moles* renders their distinction of Faculties and Organs the more curious and artificial.

They have their several Faculties, the Senses of Sight, Hearing, Touch and Taste; they have the digestive, egestive, and other parts of the Nutritive Faculty; and though their individual production may seem equivocal, and of no univocal Seed of the same kind, yet they have the Generative Faculty, and propagate their *species* as well as perfect Animals, and have therein distinction of Sexes, as appears by frequent experience, notwithstanding the doubt or contrary Opinion of *Aristotle*; and although their Phantasia is more lubricous and fickle than perfect Animals, yet it is evident that they have a Phantasia, as appears by their Motions and little Operations; and as they have Phantasia so they have Memory, as appears by the Returns of Bees and Pismires to their homes from great distances: And as they have these Faculties of Life and Sensation, so they have Organs accommodate and admirably fitted to those several Faculties, namely, to Nutrition, Augmentation, Generation, Sense, Local Motion, Phantasia, Appetite, which are so far from being contemptible, in respect of the smallness and petiteness of these little Animals, that indeed in some respect they are the more admirable, as a small Watch is an evidence of greater skill and artifice than a greater, or as a small Picture drawn to the Life commends the skill of the Painter sometimes more than a great Draught. But yet for all this, we must not think that these little Animals are of an equal perfection with the greater and nobler: *Cæsar's* Image drawn upon a Cherry-stone is a piece of great curiosity, but not of an equal perfection to his lively Statue in Brass, or that a Fly is of an equal perfection with an Eagle. Therefore I shall not fetch Arguments against the like spontaneous Productions of the greater Animals from any contemptible valuation of these smaller, and these little Models of sensible Life; for certainly they are curious and elaborate *automata*, in respect of their admirable minuteness and acturacy: But yet upon other Reasons it seems utterly inconsequential, that because these smaller Particles of sensible Nature may be thus spontaneously produced, therefore these greater Animals may be so; for it is apparent, that in things of an equality of perfection, there is by the Laws and fixed Rules of their several Natures several manners of their productions. If we should compare Vegetables among themselves, some will arise *ex furculo* as well as *ex radice* or *ex semine*, others will not; if we compare Sensible Natures among themselves,

selves, that seem to have an equality of perfection, as some sorts of Brutes and Birds, it will be hard to say which have the perfecter Nature, yet the production of the latter are *ex ovo*, the former *ex verme*; the former oviparous, the latter viviparous in the ordinary course of their natural production; and as at this day the former is not producible *ex ovo*, so the latter not producible without it. The several natures of things have distinguished them, as in their kinds, so in the manner of their production; and whatsoever the perfection of Insects *sponte orientia* may be, there is no Consequence to be drawn from the same to other more noble Animals.

But again, as there is no Consequence to be drawn from the one to the other, so there is in the very nature of the one kind and the other, and in the natural order of their production a great disparity and disproportion: so that in truth by the very Constitution and Frame of their Natures, the perfect Animals that we see only produced by the conjunction of Sexes and univocal Generation, cannot by any course or consistency in Nature (without the Supposition of Divine Power and Ordination) arise spontaneously: And that appears 1. In the disparity of the natural Productive Principle of the one and the other; 2. In the disparity of the natural Method of the perfecting of the one and the other; 3. In the disparity of the Natures of the Animals of the one kind and the other, having arrived to their complement and perfection.

First, touching the disparity of the natural Productive Principle of the one and the other, although it be admitted that Insects and *spontanea orta*, do or may arise from a *Semen* or Principle that is not univocal or formal; yet it must needs be agreed that the Natural Principle of such their production must be some analogal *Semen*, or some Seminal Principle that is suitable to such a Production, otherwise *quidlibet orietur ex quolibet*; there must be something that must determine the Matter to be an apt *Seminium* for such a Production, or else the Matter must determine it self; either there must be some determinate Vital or Spiritual Principle that is determined in it self, and determines the Matter (which *Paracelsus* seems to hold, that Bodies were first Spirits; and *Aristotle* seems to intimate, when he tells us, that *Animarum omnia plena*, and when the Matter is fitly prepared, there is an illapse of this Vital, Formative, Spiritual Principle into it) or else the inherent qualities or dispositions of Matter it self must be of force to mould it self up into these *Molecule seminales*, the Formative Principles of these *sponte orta*, (I speak in the Language of those that erroneously hold no higher Principles but such as are purely Natural.) But although such Seminal Particles as these may be sufficient for the production of Insects, yet they are not naturally accommodated for the perfection of the perfect Animals: For the *Semen prolificum* for the production of perfect Animals must receive its specifical conforming Principle, either by the Supernatural Power of Almighty God, or from the Specifical Nature of the Individuals of both Sexes, and if we could suppose an *Anima vaga* of the Sensible Nature, not confined to any Individual of the same nature, nothing could be a Matter fitly prepared for its reception but the *Materia seminalis ex individuo elicta*; neither is there any Matter, *extra compositum animale*, capable to advance it self to the nature of such a perfect Animal; for if either of these could

be

be done, we had as much reason daily to expect the like spontaneous productions of Horses and Sheep, as we find of Frogs and Worms.

Again, the *Vis conformatrix* and Seminal Particles of Insects is most plainly in Insects not confined to the *semina formalia utriusque sexus commixta*, for we see almost all their parts are seminal, and will by putrefaction advance to the production of their kind: Their productive power is not so strictly and severely bound to the *semen utriusque sexus*: Many have told us by experience and observation, that the Excrements of Flies, without any mixtion, will produce immediately Flies; that the Resolution or Maceration of Frogs and Worms will reproduce Individuals of the same species, as Kercher, lib. 12. *Mundi subterranei*, tells us.

But there are no parts of perfect Animals that are productive of their species, but the same is confined by the Laws of their Nature to a *semen formale ex utroque sexu decisum*. It is true, that their parts corrupted, as their Blood, Flesh, or Veins, will produce Insects and living Creatures of a different and baser kind than themselves, as Worms, Lice, Fleas, Flies, but they can never advance to the production of their own kind.

And the Reason is, because there is not possibly any transmission of that specifical vital formative Principle to any other part but the *semen formale* of the Individuals of that species; and that *Vis formatrix activa vitalis & sensibilis* must be communicated either by virtue of a participation of all the parts of the Producers, or by a kind of a specifical Idea, naturally produced by that Nature from whence it is derived, which evolves and expands it self being produced, or (which is more intelligible and probable than either of the former) by a participation of the vital and sensible Soul to the *semen prolificum* from the Producers; and there is no way of communication thereof in perfect Animals, but only to that natural and genuine *Semen* constituted, mixed, and ordered according to the Law of its Being; so that we cannot suppose any seminal Principle of perfect Animals, but this *semen prolificum utriusque parentis*, unless we shall *gratis*, and without either Reason or Example, wholly invert the natural order of things, and substitute a *Semen* contrary to the nature of the things that must be produced, or admit that which those great Assertors of Nature think below them to grant, and will rather suppose a thousand Absurdities than admit, namely, the Interposition of the Divine Power.

And 2. As the *Semen formativum* of perfect Animals is greatly differing from that of Insects, and therefore not capable of a spontaneous production as these; so it is apparent, that at least in *animalibus viviparis* it is impossible to be preserved, *sine receptaculo natura congruo, scilicet utero femineo*. The vital particles thereof are more fiery and volatile, and higher advanced than that *Semen* that is or may be sufficient for Insects, & *sine convenienti receptaculo avolabunt spiritus vitales, & ex interventu vel minimi frigoris mortuum & infecundum evadet*; but the *Semina* of Insects are more viscous and less volatile, in so much that their *Semina* will remain all the Winter in caverns and holes, and yet be fruitful the next Spring.

3. Again, the *Semen Insecti* being so small a Particle, and having as I may say so small a portion of Soul in it, is soon formed and brought to maturity: We may learn this in their univocal productions, or *ex coitu*.

Scaliger

Scaliger tells us, *Exercitat. 191. l. 2.* that the Glowworm brings forth his Eggs *postridie post coitum*; Malpighius in his curious Disquisition touching the Silkworm tells, that *quarto post coitum die* the Female brings forth ordinarily above 300, sometimes above 500 Eggs, and these will lie all the Winter, and with the warm heat of the Spring and some other assistance will prove vital, the next Spring; and Aristotle, *Hist. Animal. l. 5. cap. 27.* tells us, that *Aranea statim post ova parata incubant, & triduo peragunt, & quatuor septenis diebus iuxta accipiunt incrementa*; & *ibid. l. 6. cap. 37.* tells us, that *Mures si salem lambunt pariunt sine coitu*, and that even their young have been found with young before they saw the light. By all which it is evident, That although these little *Molecula seminales* will retain their fecundity longer than the Eggs of Birds, even a whole Winter, and possibly longer; yet when they have obtained a convenient Matrix, and the warm cherishing heat of the Spring, the formation, production, and maturation of Insects, and of that *Semen prolificum* which they univocally yield in their regular production is speedy and hasty; and consequently, that spontaneous Seed by which they may be produced, and the spontaneous production it self is soon dispatcht and perfected, a small portion and continuance of heat and time may perfect the whole process.

But it is otherwise in the perfect Animals, especially in those that are *Vivipara*, a long time is required for their formation and maturation, notwithstanding the great advantage of the place, and heat, and supplies of their formation and support, namely, the *Uterus femineus*. Thus the same Aristotle, *lib. 6. Hist. Animal.* gives us an account, whereof some go above 18 Months, as the Elephant; some 10 Months, as Cows and Mares; some 5 Months, as Sheep and Goats; the least about 2 Months, as Dogs and Wolves: and this is one Reason that Aristotle, *Problem. ubi supra*, gives, why these perfect Animals are not producible spontaneously, nor *sine conjunctione maris & feminae, vel sine utero femineo*. These *Uteri terrestres* fabled by Lucretius would never be warm or close enough for the production of those Animals who naturally are producible *in utero femineo*, and the intervening Winter would soon make them abortive, especially on either side of the Tropicks, where the heat and cold have their vicissitudes: And therefore it was providently, though fictitiously supposed by Celsus, that Ethiopia must be the only native Country for such spontaneous productions of the greater Animals and Men.

4. As the Earth was not a fit or competent *Arvum genitale* for viviparous Animals, so the nourishment, increase, and support of these viviparous Animals, *dum in utero morantur*, according to the very exigence and formation of these *Embryones*, cannot consist with any such spontaneous Productions: for besides the soft and warm *involucra* of the Chorion and Amnios, we know the very fabrick of their nature hath given them a means and Instrument of Nutrition, *per venam umbilicalem sanguinem maternum attrahentem & dirigentem*: This could never be supplied from any Terrestrial Veins, unless we should suppose that *Succus nutritius* of the Earth to become menstruous, and converted into Blood or other suitable consistence for the nourishment of the *Embryo*, or without any Reason or Experience warranting it, so suppose that some other way of nourishment should be *in Embryonibus terrigenis*.

5. Again,

5. Again, *post partum viviparorum, præcipue generis humani*, it is evident that naturally the *fetus* is weak, unable to support it self without the supplemental helps; care and superintendence of their Dams or Parents: some are blind; as Whelps or Kittens; some are destitute of those teguments that are necessary to defend them against the cold, as many kinds of Birds, that stand in need of the hovering of their Dams Wings for a considerable time after they are hatched, and are utterly unable to provide their own food, but are hourly supplied by their Dams, without which they must necessarily perish: and generally all viviparous Animals that are of univocal production are for a long time fed by their Dams Milk; without which, or some other artificial provision subministr'd to them by the help of others, they could not support themselves after their production; as young Horses, Dogs, Calves, Lambs: But this is much more conspicuous in Humane Infants, who from the time of their Birth for many Months can neither go nor stand, nor procure their own food, but stand in need of the care of others to keep them warm, provide them covering, and preserve them from being destroyed with their own Excrements. But on the other side, those small Animals which are supposed to be spontaneously produced, stand in need of no other means for their preservation, being produced, but that heat and circumjacent *menstruum* by or in which they are produced: and although these spontaneous productions, being produced, seem to propagate their *Species* by the coition of their Sexes, yet for the most part these generated Individuals, Mice excepted, retain still that natural *indoles* to preserve themselves, without any other supervenient assistance than what was at first sufficient after their equivocal production; this we daily see in the Eggs of Silkworms, of all sorts of Flies, Caterpillars and Worms, which though in their secondary productions by Generation, yet being ripen'd to fecundation by the heat of the Sun, they live upon Leaves and Grass, and take their food without the care or assistance of those Parents that produced them; and carry along with them the indication of that Method of Life which might be consistent with the condition of a spontaneous production, which is no way competible to the condition of greater Animals after their production.

6. Again, though the Faculties and Organs of a sensible as well as a vegetable Life appear in the smallest Insects, yet it is but a weak and imperfect Life of Sensation, and very little advanced above the Vegetable Nature. And this appears by very many Instances, as namely, in their generation many Insects do seem to arise from Vegetables without any other production; and they seem to be little else but the *Flos vegetabilis natura*, the more pure, active, lively *Effluvia* thereof; as the Flies that grow in the little *Vesicula* of the Leaves of Elms and Currants, the Worms in the Galls of Oaks and the Burrs of Wild Rose, the Worms and Flies which grow in the husks of Burrs; yea many times the Parts of Vegetables divided from the Stock will turn into Animals, as the Seeds of Lavender kept a little warm and moist, will turn into Moths; the Plant called the Horse-tail laid into Water, will grow into an Insect. 2. This also appears, that as the several parts of Vegetables, the Leaves, the Branches as well as the *formatum semen*, are seminal, and productive of their *Species*; so many times the parts of Insects carry with them a Seminal

Seminal Nature effectual enough to produce their *Species*, as hath been asserted by the Experience of many; which no way happens in perfect Animals. 3. This also appears in the manner of their Life; for we often see in Insects divided each part keeps its motion, as the several parts of Vegetables keep their animation; a Fly or Wasp whose Head is cut off, yet the residue of his Body will live a considerable time; Flies that seem dead either with Water or Cold; and continue so for some considerable time, by the Heat of the Sun or warm Embers will revive and return to Life and Motion; as a Branch torn from a Tree, that hath been severed from it three or four days or more, will resume Life by re-implantation and the Solar Heat: And whereas the Eggs of a perfect Animal, as of Hens, Geese, &c. will lose their Animatick Faculties being frozen or concreate with Cold, or being kept two Months or thereabouts: the Seeds of Insects will continue fruitful a whole Winter or more, and possibly as long as the Seed of Corn, Oaks, or other Vegetables; as is apparent in the Eggs of Flies and Silkworms, which though excluded in the last Summer will remain fruitful, and produce the Insect this Spring; and possibly some time after; so that they are in the next degree above Vegetables, and have a nature very analagous to them. But these things are not so in greater Animals of an univocal generation; this also appears in the great disparity of these degrees at least of perfection in the perfect Animal, above that of Insects of a spontaneous production: For though, as before is said, these little Animals have Faculties conformable to the Sensitive Life, so that we may plainly discover, at least in many of them, the Faculties as well as the Organs of Sense, Phantastie, Memory, Common Sense, Appetite, Passion, Local Motion; yet the more perfect and univocal Animals have greater strength and perfection in these Faculties, their Phantastie and Memory more exact, their Appetite more perfect and free; if I may so call it, they are capable of Discipline, which these smaller Animals are not: There is greater variety, complication, and curiosity in the state, frame and order of their Faculties, and a greater distinction and variety of operation in them than in the smaller Pieces of Nature. There are more Wheels, more variety and curiosity in their motions, more variety of ingredients into the Constitution of the *Automata* of the more noble Animals, than in the Insects that are *sponte orta*: so that for the Constitution of their Souls (the Principle of their Faculties and Motions) there is required a more curious, elaborate, and elevated Composition and Fabrick than in these minute Animals. And hence it is, that though it be not only possible but frequent that these Insects and minute Animals may thus spontaneously arise, yet it hath never been known so according to the settled Laws and Order of Nature: It is impossible these greater and nobler Animals can arise spontaneously, nor otherwise naturally than by the mixture of both Sexes, and a *Semen formatum* and *prolificum*, received and united *in utero famineo*, and impregnated as it were with that Specificical *Idea* and Formative Power derived from the Parents, and those other accessions which may elaborate, rectifie, and advance the Soul and its Faculties, and the Body and its Organs to their due proportion and perfection. And therefore there is no parity Reason in the production of Insects and perfect Animals, nor any Consequence to be drawn from the spontaneous production of one, to the like

like production of the other in any natural course, without the intervention of a Supernatural free Cause effecting the same besides and out of the road and course of Nature. And what may be said upon this account against the Consequence of the spontaneous production of other Animals from the spontaneous production of Insects, may with much more advantage be said against the Consequence of the production of Mankind by any natural spontaneous production; because the perfection of his nature, and the specifical excellence thereof, doth exceed the greatest excellence of other Animals far more than the noblest Animals exceed the Insects. And therefore as the spontaneous production of these Insects no way concludes the like production naturally possible in greater Animals, so if it were naturally possible, and *de facto* true that the greater Animals themselves were *sponte producibilia & producta*, it were not at all conclusive, nor deducible from thence that Mankind were producible naturally upon the like account. The nobleness of the structure of the Humane Body, the great curiosity and usefulness of most of his Organs, especially of his Tongue and Hand, the curious and useful configuration and disposition of his Nerves and Brain, the admirable variety and quickness of his Phantasy, the great retentiveness of his Memory, but especially the admirable power of his Intellect, Reason and Will give him a far greater specifical perfection above the most perfect Brutal Nature, than that hath above the meanest Insects: And therefore certainly, according to the ordinary Observations in Nature, and the Rules and Methods observable therein, requires the noblest and most advanced Method to produce it that Nature can afford.

But against these Reasons it may be, and is urged, That all these Observations and Inferences are bottomed upon the state and course of Nature, wherein we see things are in the state of things already settled; but in the first production of things it might be otherwise, and must be otherwise, if we admit an Origination of Mankind *ex non genitis*. And though in the ordinary course of Nature, as now things are constituted, the production of Mankind is *ex semine formato ab utroque parente deciso*, that his nourishment is *per venam umbilicalem*, that it cannot be otherwise now but *in utero famineo*, that the state of Infancy now requires those adventitious helps that are above remembered: Yet in the first state of Humane Production all these Suppositions must be laid aside, as unaccommodate to that state; another Seminal Principle, another method of Nutrition, another state and habit of the *Fetus*, must be and may be supposed in the first production of Mankind than now is to be found in the World, wherein the order of things is settled in a regular Method. If it should be supposed that a Mouse or a Rat were produced *ex putri*, we cannot suppose any such *Semen*, or *Vena umbilicalis*, or that it lived upon the Dams Milk; all which are notwithstanding supposable and necessary, when that equivocal Animal afterward propagates its kind.

I answer, That as it is true that Mankind and other Animals had an Original, and an Original in quite another way than now it is, and *ex non genitis*; so it is unquestionably true, that those Processes, Principles, and Methods which now serve in the production of Humane Nature or other perfect Animals, are no way conceivable, or applicable unto the first

first production of Man or Animals. And therefore I must not only grant that these Modes of Production, Nutrition, &c. are utterly ineffectual and unapplicable to the first Origination of Humane Nature: But I must suppose quite contrary, that in truth it is impossible they should be the Modes or Order of that first Origination.

But it must be remembered whom it is that I am here contending against, namely, not against those that do, and that truly refer the Origination of Man to the Divine Power and Will, and a Supernatural production: but against them that are the great Venerators of established Nature; that think it below their Gravity and Wisdom to recognize any other Efficient but what they find in Natural Causes and Effects; nor any other Rule of things but what they see, that take their Measures of their Conceptions and Sentiments from what is obvious to Sense, and the common Observation of things as they now appear, and for the most part frame all their Conclusions accordingly. And therefore that which I herein contend for by these Arguments is this, That a Man that duly considers the natures of things, and makes the course of Nature and the Observation thereof to be the Rule and Guide of his Sentiments, though he be drawn by the necessity of Reason, to grant and conclude that Man must needs have an Origination; and that in another way than now he hath; namely *ex non genitis*; yet it is not reasonable for him to conclude that he had this Origination upon a bare natural account, as the Insects and *sponte orta* have; because it quite thwarts and crosses all the appearances of Nature, and is wholly incongruous to the nature of things as they now stand.

And a Man that makes such a Conclusion must needs offer violence to his own Reason and Experience, and depart from those Laws and Rules of Nature, which he makes his Guide, and the Compaſs by which he steers his Judgment touching things; and suppose that natural which is wholly different from what it seems: And consequently, if the reason and nature of things compel a Man to assert that Mankind had their Origination another way than that in which it now is; the same reason and nature of things duly and impartially considered, must needs evince that it had not its Origination from any either casual or meer natural course of things: But by the Power and Will of a most wise, intelligent, bountiful, free, and powerful Being; who according to his Wisdom and Goodness first gave being to Man, yea and all other things, *secundum intentionem & beneplacitum sue voluntatis*. And since it is apparently necessary for any Man that will admit the first production of Mankind to be totally in another Method than now; and since they that will suppose a natural production of Man at first; must necessarily suppose a different production from that which now obtains: And since no more is asserted by those that suppose its Origination by the Will, Power, and Institution of Almighty God; this latter Supposition is much more reasonable and explicable than theirs that suppose the first Origination natural, yet totally different from what now it is, which is the great thing I intend in this long process touching the Origination of Man.

C A P. VII.

Touching the Matter of Fact it self, whether de facto there hath been any such Origination of Mankind, or of any perfect Animal; either Natural or Casual.

THIS I propounded as a distinct Inquiry at the first, namely, Whether or how far forth we have any Evidence of Fact touching any such casual or natural production of perfect Animals, but especially of Man. But the truth is, that this is but an Appendix to the former Chapter, for if there be any credible Instance of any such Production, all or any reasoning against the possibility thereof is but vain, for what hath been naturally or casually, may be again.

But on the other side, if in all the Successions of the Ages of the World there hath not been any Experience or credible Instance of any such Production, but contrarywise, since Mankind was first upon the Earth, both Mankind and all perfect Animals have had their being by natural Procreation and Generation, by conjunction of Sexes; it is a frenzy for any Man that pretends to Reason, to suppose a natural possibility of that to be either from a casual or meer natural Cause, which never had any Instance of its being or existence in such a manner.

The World hath now upon the shortest Account lasted above 5600 Years, and within the compass of these Ages of the World there have been in many Nations, especially among the Egyptians and Grecians, Men of great Wisdom and Understanding, and singular Industry to search into the History of Nature, and many of them have had great opportunities to know very much therein: and since their times, especially the generality of the wiser and more inquisitive sort of Men being alarmed by the Writings of those that went before them, have made it their business to search yet farther, and the Learned in all Ages have left the Essays of their Learning, Reason and Observation to succeeding Ages, and if any Prodigy or considerable Production hath happened in their times, they have sent us the News of it: But never in all the Ages of the World since these 5600 Years hath there been any credible Relation either of the casual or natural production of a Horse or a Dog, much less of a Man or a Woman happening within the compass of that time, abating some Poetical Fictions and Fables that have no colour of any Authentick History or Authority: And therefore Scaliger well saith, *Exercit. 193. Si bos aliquando ex partu ortus, cur post hominum memoriam ex ejusmodi procreatione nullus nascitur?* and therefore Aristotle, the wisest Pagan Philosopher that ever wrote, and the strictest observer and searcher into Nature, even upon the account of Experience and Reason tells us, *Lib. 3. de Gen. Animal. cap. ult.* that there never hath been, nor can be, according to the Rules of Nature, any such Production, though by way of Supposition that it some times had been, he gives us that Hypothesis of it that seemed to him most likely: And upon this very account, and partly because he was not acquainted with the Truths of God, or at least because he was not willing to acknowledge any other Original of things

but

but by Nature, he took up the Opinion of his Predecessor *Quellus*, touching the Eternity of the World, and of Mankind in it, and so absolved the difficulty of the Manner of the Origination of Mankind by denying it.

And therefore we have no reason to believe any such thing, since we find nothing in any Authentick History of any Man, or perfect Animal, since the first Being of Man upon the Earth hath been thus produced, abating the Fables of Poets touching the production of Men and Women out of Stones, by *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha*, cast over their heads, the Serpents Teeth sowed by *Cadmus*, the production of *Caslor* and *Pollux* out of an Egg, and those forlorn Fables of *Berogardus*; of the Green Man found in *England* in the Den of a Wolf 500 years since; the Blew and Red Men of *Rabbi Elcha*, that came out of the Mountains of *Armenia*: And therefore for want of any credible or particular Instances of any such productions, *Casalpianus* suppoeth, that they are in some unknown Mountains between the Tropicks, where the Heat of the Sun is more constant, fervent, and equable, than in Climates remoter from the *Equinoctial*; though he neither doth, nor can give any Instance of such a production there or elsewhere. To excuse this unexperienced Notion, and the difficulty of assigning any Instance thereof, they allude these ensuing Apologies.

1. That these Productions cannot be but under some notable Conjunction or Position of the Heavenly Bodies, which may be accommodate to such Productions, which Positions or Conjunctions not happening but after vast and distant Revolutions, the Experiment it self can rarely happen, and by length of time, before the like Revolution return, it is forgotten.

2. That those Productions could not be but in Matter excellently prepared and fitted for this production, which could not be but after some great and long continuing Flood or Inundation, that might prepare and dispose the Matter for the Activity of that great Revolution, and if these should not meet together, or in some convenient nearness, the production of Mankind and perfect Animals would be frustrated.

3. That in as much as provident Nature hath had for many Ages, and yet hath a sufficient *Seminiuum* and stock, for the preservation of the species of Men and perfect Animals raised by propagation and the mutual conjunction of Sexes, Nature is not necessitated to have recourse to this extraordinary way of peopling and furnishing the World, and therefore it cannot be expected but after some vast devastation, that may endanger at least the extinguishing of the species of things.

To these things I say first in general, That if Men shall upon such a Method of Arguing go about to establish a Supposition, that neither they nor any else have ever known or experimented, and make a Conclusion of a thing as natural, upon such Suppositions as never any Man knew or heard, to produce such effects, Men may assume any thing to be natural, which yet hath not footsteps in Nature bearing any analogy to it. But to the particulars:

As to the first, it is unreasonable to make such a Supposition, for since it is not possible for any Man to know whether there be any such Influence of the Heavens to effect such productions, unless by Experience and Obser-

Observations of some Men, or some other way the notice thereof were given to Mankind, it being a Matter of Fact, that can no other way be known but by Experience or Revelation; and since the bare beholding of those Heavenly Bodies, being of that distance, can never without Observation of Events give us any natural estimate of their Effects, what they are, or may be; and since it must needs be granted, that such imagined Conjunctions, as may be effectual for such productions, are at vast unknown distances, and such as no Age before hath, or indeed can leave us any Memorial of; it must needs be a vain and precarious assumption, to attribute any natural Efficacy to any Conjunction whatsoever for such a production. The Ancient and Divine Historian *Moses* gives us indeed an account of the Origination of Man, and all other Animals, but not upon any natural causation or activity of the Heavens or Heavenly Bodies; but as he gives us the History of the Things, so he gives us the true Resolution of the Cause, not a natural but a supernatural Cause, namely, the Intention and Volition of the Great and Wise God; and to exclude any imagination of a natural or necessary Cause of these productions, doth not only tell us in express terms, that the production of them was by the Energy of the Divine *Fiat*, but also that the production even of Vegetables themselves, that seem to have the greatest dependance upon Celestial Influences, was antecedent to the Constitution of those Heavenly Bodies. 1. As the Supposition of such a Natural Causality in the Heavens is merely precarious, so it seems even to our Sense apparently false; for we see every year, without any other than an ordinary Conjunction by the Access of the Sun, Insects and Plants, *sponte nascentia*, do arise; and we know, that ordinarily in the compass, or revolution of 800 or 1000 years, very great and considerable mutations happen in the Position and Conjunction of the Heavenly Bodies; and we know, that within the compass of Authentick History these Revolutions have happened above thrice; and since the latest *Epocha* of the Worlds Inception above five times; yet none of these great Revolutions have for any thing we ever knew or heard produced any one Horse, or Lion, or Wolf, much less any one Man, as a *Terrigena*. And therefore Experience (the best means to settle such an *Hypothesis*) doth not only not warrant it, but is evidently contrary to it, and denies it.

2. As to the second, the *Mosical* History gives us an account of an Universal Deluge, about 4000 years since; which lay long upon the whole Earth; and the *Grecian* History gives us an account of two very great Floods, namely, the *Ogygian* and the *Deucalian* Floods; and every Year gives us an account of the Inundation of *Nilus* in *Egypt*, a most fruitful Continent, and near the Sun, whereby the Soil is made admirably fruitful; and there is scarce any Age but some great portions of Land are laid dry, by the recess of some parts of the Ocean, which had lain covered for many thousands of years before with the sea. And as the universal Deluge was as great a preparation of the whole Earth, so these particular Inundations and Recesses of the Sea left particular Spots of Land as well prepared for such productions as can well be imagined; and yet in no Age have we any Instance of any such production, abating the Story of the *Egyptian Mice* which concrete after the recess of *Nilus*, which yet of most hands are agreed to be Insects, and *sponte nascentia ex putredine*. In-

deed

deed *Beregardus* tells us, *ubi supra*, out of *Camerarius*, that about *Cayro*, after the reflux of *Nilus* there are often seen divers Limbs or Parts of Mens Bodies, whether this be true or no, or if true, whether they are not only relicks of some Bodies swept away by the Inundations of *Nilus* out of their Graves or Sepultures, and torn alunder by the furious Cataracts of *Nilus*, is not clearly evident: But be they what they will, or whether the *Lusus natura*, yet they make nothing to this matter, unless *Camerarius* or some other had seen those *divulsa membra* come together, and configured into an humane Shape, and animated with a humane Life, which neither he nor any other have yet affirmed or pretended.

3. As to the Third, I say, 1. If by Nature they intend the great and glorious God, that most wise, intelligent, powerful Being, they do indeed in effect affirm what I have designed to prove, but do not make good their Supposition of such a Natural Cause as they declare in their *Hypothesis*, wherein they mean only that natural connexion and series of Causes whereby Natural Effects are naturally produced. And if they intend by Nature that unintelligent series or order of Natural Causes, or the blind and determinate Cause of Natural Productions; How comes that Nature to know when and where this necessity of Spontaneous Productions doth happen, or in what proportion, measure, limits or place it is necessary to be done? Such a provisional care requires a knowing and perfectly intelligent Being, that operates *ex cognitione, intentione, & voluntate*; which is not to be affirmed of Agents purely natural, who do therefore act according to a Law of necessity and determination, *non ex consilio & cognitione*. 2. It is plain, that Insects and Vegetables spontaneously produced, are produced every Year, and their production is as natural as the access of the Sun and the constitution of the Earth: These are procured every Year, whether there be any need of them or not, and possibly sometimes in greater numbers than is convenient for this inferior World. And although it be true, that the Divine Power doth intend, or remit, or manage these Productions *secundum regimen & consilium voluntatis*, yet it is most evident these Productions are ordinary, animal, and natural, without choice or design in inanimate Nature: If therefore these Productions be natural and periodical every Year, why should there not be as well productions of Men or perfect Brutes, if it were purely natural, as well as Frogs and Flies; since the former may be of more use, especially in many desolate places, than always the latter? How many great and vast Islands and Continents are there, especially in *Armenia*, which have no considerable number of Inhabitants, if any at all to people them? In *Ireland* there are great store of Wolves, and so there were anciently in *England*, till they were destroyed by the Industry of the Inhabitants: in *Ireland* their increase is by propagation, without any new production; in *England* they cannot increase by propagation, because here are none: How comes it to pass that Nature doth not produce new Wolves in *England*, as well as Frogs, Adders, Hornets and Wasps? If it be said, that Nature neglects it because they are noxious; as this is to make Nature an intelligent Agent, so it answers not the difficulty: For why doth she then not destroy the *Species* in *Ireland* upon the same account? But this is but a vanity: Nature as well intends the existence of a Wolf as of a Sheep, where the means of its production is equal,

equal, though Mankind prefer the latter, as more useful to him. If any thing therefore of this deliberative nature be to be found in the voluntary and intentional Regiments of things of this kind, it is to be attributed to the great and supreme Rector of the World, who doth work according to Counsel, Wisdom, and Will.

Upon the whole matter therefore I conclude, That as well by the reason of the thing, and upon true natural congruity, as also *de facto* and upon experimental Observations, Mankind, no nor the perfect Animals are not produced, nor producible by any meer natural Cause, as at this day, or in any Age or Time since their first Creation, otherwise than by a natural production, which is the Truth asserted by the Great *Verulam*, in his 9th Century, *in fine*.

As for the Heathen Opinion, which was, That upon great Mutations of the World perfect Creatures were first ingendred of Concretion, as well as Frogs, Worms and Flies, and such like, we know it to be vain; but if any such thing should be admitted (discouraging according to Sense) it cannot be, except you admit a *Chaos* first, and a commixture of Heaven and Earth: for the Frame of the World once in order, cannot effect it by any Excess or Casualty.

And as thus neither Casualty nor bare Nature cannot originate Mankind or any perfect Animal *ex putri*, so much less can Art. The Chymists tell us, that by re-union of separate Principles of Vegetables they will in a Glass revive a Vegetable of the same *species* at least in figure and effigies; this hath been pretended, but I could never hear any Man speak it that saw it done.

But never was any so mad, except *Paracelsus*, that could ever pretend to make up a Sensible Being, much less the Humane Nature: *Paracelsus* vainly and falsely pretended to the raising of an *Homunculus*, but yet not without the help of those *Naturales genitura utriusque sexus*; wherein notwithstanding he lyed, as he did in many things else, which he never could effect notwithstanding his vain boasting of his Skill.

Upon the whole Matter therefore I conclude, That the Origination of Mankind, or of the inferior perfect Animals, neither was nor could be the Effect of Humane Art or Skill, as *Paracelsus*; nor of Chance or Casualty, as *Epicurus*; nor of Nature, as *Cardanus*, *Cesalpinius*, and some other Recreants in Religion and Philosophy: But it was the free, powerful, and wonderful Work of the God of Nature, who made all things by his Power and Wisdom; and having made them, lodged in them and for them that pre-ordained Law of their Creation and Existence, which we commonly call Nature: That Nature indeed is the Law or Rule instituted and implanted by the wise and glorious God in things when made; but in the first Effect of Mankind God Almighty, not Nature, was the Author. As in my Watch, the Law and Rule of its Motion is the Constitution and Position of its Parts by the Hand and Mind of the skilful Artift; but the Author or Efficient of my Watch is the Artift himself, and not that Motion that is as it were the Law or Rule of the Engin.

S E C T.

S E C T. IV.

C A P. I.

Concerning the last Opinion, attributing the Origination of Mankind to the immediate Power and Will of Almighty God.

IN the foregoing Section and Chapters I have performed these things:

1. I have removed the Supposition of an Eternal Existence of the Humane *Species*, as altogether incredible, and indeed impossible.
2. I have established consequently this Truth, That the *Species humana* had a beginning; and this I have done principally upon natural Evidence of the impossibility of an Eternal Existence of successive Generations.
3. I have considered those Evidences of Fact, or Moral Evidences of the Inception of Mankind, and removed such as seem more fallible and less concludent, and subjoined such as seem to be of greater weight.
4. Among these of the latter sort, I have considered the general Tradition thereof, both of the unlearned and learned part of Mankind, wherein among others I have considered the Opinion of those Famous Sects of Philosophers, the *Platonists*, *Epicureans*, *Peripateticks*, and *Stoicks*.
5. Though I have made use of their common Suffrage, in order to the Proof of the Origination of Mankind, yet I have not allowed all their several Notions, or *Hypotheses*, touching the Method or Manner of their admitted Origination of the Humane Nature. And therefore,
6. I having thus established the *Thesis* in general, I have descended to the Examination of the particular *Hypotheses*, taken up by various Philosophers, touching the same Origination: And those I have distributed into these three Ranks, 1. Those that suppose an accidental or casual Production of Mankind, which was principally the Opinion of the *Epicureans*: This Opinion I have examined, and rejected as vain.
2. Those that suppose this Production to be Natural, or by the bare Concurrence of Natural Causes, as *Avicen*, *Cardan*, and some others; which I have likewise examined, and rejected as utterly inevident and false.
3. There remains therefore the third Opinion, that attributes the Origination of Mankind to the immediate Power and *Beneplacitum* of the Supreme Intellectual Being, namely, Almighty God; and this was the Opinion of divers of the *Platonists* and *Stoicks*.

This Opinion is in the general true; and agreeth not only with the Divine Doctrine of *Moses*, but with the exactest Measure and Rule of Reason, and the Light of Nature it self; and as it is utterly impossible, that Mankind should be without a beginning, so it is utterly inconceivable, that he should have any other Original but this.

But although this general Supposition be thus consonant to Truth and the Light of Reason, yet since the Manner of this Origination of Mankind by the Power of God depends meerly upon His own *Beneplacitum*,

placitum, which might put forth and exert this Act of His Power, Wisdom, and Goodness, in the production of Mankind according to His good Pleasure, and the *Arbitrium* of His own Will. And since Mankind, having their Existence after this production, could never by his own Sense perceive or understand perfectly the Manner of his own production, and consequently the particular Method or Manner thereof could neither be attained by Humane Experience nor Ratiocination; we must necessarily either be utterly ignorant of the Manner and Order of the Divine Procedure in the Origination of Mankind, or we must know it only by Divine, or at at least Angelical Revelation, and not otherwise. So that though the general *Thesis* of the Origination of Mankind by Almighty God, be a Conclusion deducible by Reason, partly by the remotion of all other means as incompatible and insufficient for such a production, and partly by the observation of the Events and Effects in Nature; yet that this production of Mankind was in this or that particular manner, is a Truth distinctly cognoscible only by Revelation.

And hence it came to pass, that those great Searchers into Truth among the Heathens, being either not acquainted with the History of *Moses*, or not acquainted with the Divine Authority by which it was written, either delivered their *Thesis* generally, that Almighty God produced Mankind by His Power and Will, not explicating the particular manner thereof; or if they attempted a particular Explication of the manner, they ran out into very uncertain, various, and contradictory Explications thereof; which must necessarily be the consequence of such particular determinations, where Man hath not sufficient light to guide and direct him. *Zeno Citiculus*, the Founder and Prince of the Sect of the *Stoicks*, a wise and a good Man, contented himself with this general Assertion touching this matter, as it is delivered us by *Censorinus*, in *Die natali*, cap. 4. *Zenon Citiculus Stoica sectæ conditor, principium humano generi ex novo mundi constitutionem putavit, primosque homines ex solo adminiculo Divini ignis, id est, Dei providentia, genitos.* Plato, as far as we can collect his Opinion out of his *Timæus*, attributes the Origination of Mankind to the immediate Causality of an Intelligent Nature: But going further into particulars, falls into conjectures, attributing the Effect of the Soul unto the Great God, but the Fabrication of the Body to the *Dii ex Deo*, or Angels; it seems according to the Tradition of the *Egyptians*. And this hath been ordinarily the unhappiness of Mankind, without the light and guidance of Divine Revelation, that if they have at any time happened upon some sound and substantial Truth, they commonly fix unto it Explications and Additions of their own, which many times, by their inevidence, absurdity, or incongruity, draw in question the Truth it self to which they are appendicated: Therefore to settle, and fix, and quiet the Minds of Men touching their own first Origination, and the Origination of this World, it hath pleased the Divine Wisdom and Goodness by the Hand of *Moses* to reveal unto Mankind, not only that the World and Mankind had their Original, and that they had their Original from Almighty God, as its Efficient both of the Matter and Form thereof; but also he hath therein declared the *Series*, Order, and Method of the production of all Things.

It is true, the two former, namely, That the World had an Inception, and

and had an Inception from God, is a Truth that by the diligent Improvement of natural Light and Reason is attainable; but the Manner and Order of this Effect is, as before is said, discoverable only by Divine Revelation: But yet though the Manner thereof is not discernable barely by the light of Nature or Reason, without the help of Divine Revelation; yet that Method and Manner once revealed, as it stands so revealed to us by *Moses*, carries a very great congruity to Reason; which though it cannot at first discover the Method or Order, yet it cannot choose but suffragate to the reasonableness and convenience thereof, being so discovered.

I shall therefore in what follows do these things; 1. I shall give an Account of that Method of the Formation of all things, and particularly of Mankind, as it is rendered to us by *Moses*. 2. I shall shew the reasonableness and congruity of the Scheme of *Moses* touching the Effect of Mankind, both in the general and particular notion thereof, and the prelation that it justly hath above all other the *Hypotheses* of other Men. 3. I shall deduce from the whole certain evident and necessary Conclusions, against those that deny the Existence and Providence of Almighty God. 4. I shall also deduce some Conclusions evincing the Reasonableness of an intended End for Mankind, or the Design of Almighty God in his Creation, and what may be reasonably concluded touching the same.

C A P. II.

The Mosaical History touching the production of the World and of Mankind, and the Congruity and Reasonableness of the Mosaical Hypothesis.

IN that short yet admirable History of the Creation delivered by *Moses* in the first Chapter of *Genesis*, he gives us an exact Account of the Origination both of Mankind and of the whole World, and therein and thereby he resolves all the Doubts and Difficulties which troubled the Heads of the wise and learned Heathen touching the same, and resolves and extricates all those inconveniences and perplexities under which the various *Hypotheses* of the Heathen World infinitely laboured.

1. He resolves us, That the World in that Constitution as now it is, was not Eternal, no not that part to which the Ancients attributed Eternity most, namely, the Heavens; whereby all the Foundations of *Aristotle*, *Ocellus Lucanus*, and others touching the same, and all their subtilties and struglings to support that Eternity, and to deliver themselves from those inconveniences that attended that Supposition are in a few words rendered vain and frivolous.

2. He resolves us, That as the World in its present form and structure was not eternal, so neither was the matter thereof eternal; which troubled *Plato* so much, who though he supposed an inception of the formation of things into their present order, yet could not digest an origination of Matter.

3. He gives us an account, That Time or successive Duration was not eternal, but had a beginning; and that Motion, whose Measure Time was, had a beginning, before which it was not; because no *Mobile* was more ancient than the beginning of Time.

4. He gives us an account of a kind of production that the learned Philosphers knew not, a production *ex nihilo*, by Creation, by the Almighty God; which breaks and tears in pieces all those petite Axioms and superstructions thereupon, which they had been long time in weaving, and by which they formed much of their Philosphical Speculation: As the necessity of eternal Matter, because nothing is made of nothing; the necessity of eternal Motion, because every Motion must have some Motion antecedent the nature of possibilities; which, and many more being detained from Generation as it stood in the settled course of Nature, and fitted and appropriated to it, are no way applicable to the first Origination and Production of Being by Creation.

5. He gives us the true Efficient of Being, and the manner of his Operation, namely, Almighty God, a most wise, intelligent, and free Efficient; and one that in the first production of things did not work *per modum nature*, or necessarily, or as a natural or necessary Cause, as the Sun produceth Light; but *per modum intentionis, volitionis, & electionis*; for he was before he created his Creation of the World, was in the beginning, namely of Time, and created Nature; but he was before that beginning, namely, without all beginning. But to pursue a little more distinctly the order of the Creation of things positively, and not barely negatively, the *Mosaical* History touching the Creation seems to be as followeth.

1. That in the beginning, the first *Apex* of Time which began with the Being of Matter, Almighty God created in one indivisible moment the first and common Matter of all this *Mundus spectabilis*, the Heaven and Earth. *Vers. 1.*

2. That in that first Creation, and for some continuance of time or duration after this common Matter of all things lay indistinct and confused together, without any order or distinction, expressed by those words, *Gen. 1. 2. And the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep*: And in this common Mass and *Chaos* were contained the constituent Matter of the Celestial and Elementary World.

Which solves the Dispute touching the disparity of the Matter of the Heavenly and Elementary World, which appears here to be the same in kind.

3. That this common Matter had these deficiencies in it, in and for some time after its production.

1. It was without Form and Order:

2. It was without Light:

3. It was without Activity, Life, or Motion: and

4. All that Superficies which it had, bore the greatest analogy to Water, though in that vast Abyss there was a confused mixture of other Matter.

4. That the Spirit of God moved upon the face of this great Abyss, *[incu-*

[incubavit super abyssi faciem:] What this Spirit of God was, whether the essential Spirit, the Third Person in the Holy Trinity; or whether it were a created Spirit, the Spirit of Nature, or as some will have it, the *Anima mundi*, created by God to digest, inspire, and communicate an active nature to this confused *Moles*, as some earnestly contend; or whether this Spirit of God were any other than the emanation of his Power, I shall not determine: But whatever it was, this Motion of the Spirit upon the face of this Abyss had these great Intentions and Effects upon this confused *Moles*: 1. It derived into it motive Powers or Energies, whereby the parts of it were agitated or moved, or at least rendered more obsequious to the agitation and motion of that active nature which was afterward created, namely, Light or Fire. 2. It did gradually digest and separate its parts, whereby they became more capable of disposition and order, according to their several designed and destined places, positions, and uses. 3. It did transfuse into this stupid, dead, and unactive *Moles* certain activity and vital influence, whereby it did in general affect that which *Aristotle* calls the common Life of Bodies, namely, Motion; and the several parts thereof were impregnated with several kinds of vital influence, varied and diversified according to their several parts and uses: As the gentle heat of the Hen seems to communicate a vital influence to the Egg, only with this difference, that the heat of the Hen seems to excite a pre-existing vital principle in the Egg, rather than to give it: But the incubation of this Spirit of God did not so much excite, as give a new vital power to the several parts of the *Chaos*; as the vital Soul in Nature communicates vitality and activity to the Seminal Particles: And this gives us an account how Activity and active Forms, Powers or Qualities were derived into Matter, namely, not from Matter it self, or such which is merely unactive and passive; but from another Principle, namely, the vigorous influx of this Spirit that moved upon the face of the Water. Whereby it is apparent that the *Vis*, Vigor, Activity or Energy that is in Natural Bodies and in the Universe, as it came from no other Principle than Matter, so it is an Entity of a distinct nature from Matter or material Substance simply as such, and indeed an Entity of a nobler extraction and nature than bare Matter or material Substance. So that in this Description hitherto containing the first *Stamina* or Rudiments of the Universe, we have 1. The Efficient thereof, Almighty God: 2. The manner of his efficiency herein, namely, Creation *ex non preexistentibus*: 3. The Matter of the Universe thus by Creation produced, the confused *Moles*, containing in it self the Matter of all things: 4. The disposition, or rather indisposition of this Matter, dark, stupid, and unactive: 5. The plastick, formative, digesting Principle that pervaded it, the Spirit of God moving upon the face of the Waters.

—— *Totisque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem.* ——

The first Rudiments of the World being thus laid, and thus prepared and influenced by the powerful Energy and Incubation of this Spirit of God; this divinely inspired Historian gives us in the next place the next succeeding order of Almighty God, producing and effectually raising out

out of this Matter the greater Integrals of the Universe, namely, the Etherial and Elementary Nature. *Vers.* 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

As in the order of Reason, it was but fit and convenient that the production and influencing of the Matter should precede the division, and distribution, and orderly disposing thereof; so it was equally reasonable and convenient, that the greater and more extensive parts thereof should be first laid out and disposed into their several Stations and orders, before the smaller and lesser portions of Nature should be either produced or settled; and that the simple parts, of this great *Chaos* should be first extracted, before the mixed and compounded Existences should be settled. For as the *Chaos* and common Lump of Matter was as it were the first Matter of all things; so the more simple and uncompounded parts thereof, the Etherial and Elementary Natures were as it were the *Materia secunda*, or *proxima* of the ensuing Productions, and in conformity to this first Divine Ordination of things, the instituted nature of Corporeal Beings, he did observe the same method or order still in the Generation of things. Wherein we may observe, that the greater and more comprehensive Rudiments and *Stamina* are laid, and in some good measure formed, before the lesser and derivative parts are formed and compleated; as we shall have occasion to observe when we come to consider the *processus generationis* of Man and Brutes.

And now to come to those greater Productions, which are principally these, the Light, the *Aether*, the Air, the Water, the Earth. First therefore touching the Light, *Vers.* 3. *And God said, let there be light, and there was light; and God divided the light from the darkness, and the light he called day, and the darkness he called night: and the evening and the morning were the first day.*

Herein it might be fit to examin, 1. What this Light was: 2. How it was produced: 3. How it was disposed or ordered: 4. In what order and character of time it was so produced and ordered.

Touching these briefly, and first touching the nature of this Light. We may observe in Fire two great operations or effects, first, Heat, secondly, Light: It should seem that active Element, as it is commonly called, or rather, that powerful, vigorous Entity, or *Vis ignea lucida & calefactiva* was produced by the Incubation of the Spirit of God upon the face of the Abyss, and diffused through the confused Particles of the *Materia Chaotica*; and that it was the great Instrument which that Spirit did both communicate and use for the preparation, digestion, and agitation of that Matter: but this fiery nature being mingled and dispersed through the Matter, though it had one of its useful effects, namely, Heat, yet it neither had nor could have Light, at least till it were in some measure disintangled and severed from the *Moles* of gross Matter, with which it was confounded and mingled; and till the lucid and flammeous particles, or rather *Vis ignea & lucida* were lodged in a fit Vehicle for its emission. So that in the work of this day Light was not created, but only a considerable part thereof separated from the grosser Matter, and disposed into an apt Vehicle to contain it. 2. And this answers partly the second Inquiry, namely, How it was produced: not, as it seems, by Creation; but the powerful *Fiat* of Almighty God called the Light out of Darkness, that is, separated and severed the most lucid fiery

fiery nature, and invested them with fit Vehicles desumed out of the *Materia Chaotica*, whereby great part of that flammeous and lucid fiery nature which was created by the Incubation of the Spirit of God, was in a great measure discharged from the bond and incumbrance of the grosser Matter, and rendered useful for the beauty and service of the Universe; but yet so, that there remained still in the parts of the *Moles* a sufficient stock of connatural Fire and fiery Particles for the heating, agitating, and digesting of their several parts for their several uses and ends. As to the Third, it should seem, that 1. This luminous nature was lodged in a suitable Vehicle to derive its Light and Influence to the exterior Superficies of this *Moles Chaotica*. 2. That it was put into a circular Motion, whereby in the space of a Natural Day it visited the whole *Expansum* by successive rotation; so that as by its presence in any part of the Chaotical Horizon it made Day, so by its absence there-from it caused Night, as the Sun doth at this day. And this diurnal Rotation of this luminous Body was really such, because there could not be otherwise that which the Text supposeth, *viz.* separation of the Light from the Darkness, and thereby the distribution of Day and Night; so it was convenient, for the better digestion and preparation of the remaining indigested parts of Nature. For doubtless that Light was of a very great and penetrating Influence, being as it were the *Flos* and Elixir of that most active and powerful Element. 4. The Time and Order wherein this production of Light was, is said to be the first Day: what portion of duration the disorderly *Chaos* had before this first production is utterly uncertain, because not revealed; possibly it might be a very long time, but the perfecting of the World in its formal order and *constitutum* seems to be in the compass of six Natural Days, and the first Days Work is this of Light.

And although we must finally resolve the ordering and methodizing of all things to the *Divinum beneplacitum*, whose Will and Ways are unsearchable and past finding out, farther than he is pleased to reveal them; yet it should seem to be very consonant to the reason of things, that this education and circulation of the Light should begin and be continued at least for the first three Days of the World, without parcelling or distributing into those Luminaries of the Sun and Stars: For doubtless the collection of this lucid, fiery, active nature into so great a Body as probably it was, had even naturally a most forcible energy, influence and penetration into the subjected *Chaos*, and strangely prepared it for its ensuing offices and uses. Although we must ever with all humility acknowledge, that the Great and Omnipotent God needed not the subsidiary Instrumentalities of Nature to compleat his Work, but could do all things immediately, as he did most evidently in many of the productions of Nature; yet if he were pleased to use this order in things, we have reason to believe, that though he needed it not, yet when we see it done, it was certainly so done with most exquisite Wisdom and Reason: He could in the first moment have produced the whole World compleat in all particulars, but he chose not so to do, but did things in a successive order of six Days, and in such a Method as was most agreeable to his good pleasure and infinite Wisdom. What became of this Fiery Luminous Nature and Body, we shall see in the fourth Days Work.

2. The

2. The Second great Integral seems to be that great and vast Body, consisting of the Air and *Aether*, called the Firmament; *Verf. 6.* And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the water, and God made the firmament, and divided the waters which are above the firmament from the waters that are under the firmament, and it was so; and God called the firmament heaven: and the evening and the morning were the second day.

This word that is translated in our *English* [Firmament] is rendred by Linguists understanding the propriety of the word, to be *Expansum* or *Expansio*; and much controversie hath been, what is meant by the Waters above the Heavens, some supposing a real existence of Waters above the Starry Heavens, to cool the heat contracted by them or their rapid motion; others conjecturing it to be the Clouds, which are above the middle region of the Air: both improbable enough, the former a meer imagination, the latter little more; for, at this time, it is apparent there were no Clouds, neither had it rained upon the Earth. *Gen. 2. 6.*

It seems therefore that this *Expansum*, rendred here Firmament, is nothing else but that limit or boundary between the more refined, liquid nature which we usually call Air and *Aether*, and the grosser or fluid Element properly called Water. So the Firmament was nothing else but that *Expansum* of Air and *Aether* that are contiguous to the Superficies of the Water. The Reasons that induce me so to think (which also explicate the Notion of the Supposition) are these:

1. Because frequently both in the Language of the Holy Scripture, and of divers of the ancient Heathen Authors, the whole *Diaphanum* of the Air and *Aether* is in one common appellation called Heaven, which is the denomination here given to this *Expansum*, (God called the Firmament or *Expansum*, Heaven:) thus we have frequent mention of the Fowls of the Heavens, the Clouds of Heaven, which yet are situated in that part of Heaven, which is the Aery Region. And again here, *Verf. 14.* the Sun and Moon are said to be great Lights placed in the Firmament of the Heaven, which are yet placed in a Region of the *Aether*, though above the Atmosphere and the region of the common Air, yet are far below that liquid region of the *Aether* wherein the Stars move: and *Verf. 20.* the Fowls habitation is said to be in the open Firmament of Heaven, which yet fly no higher than the lower region of the Air. So that the Heaven, and the *Expansum* here called the Heaven, seems to be that great *Expansum* of the *Diaphanum* including the more sublime and pure part thereof called the *Aether*; and the grosser and lower part thereof called the Air, and the Waters above the Firmament were that refined, rarified, liquid Matter, which was *Aether* and Air; and the the Waters below the Firmament were those gross and fluid parts of Nature called ordinarily Water.

2. Because it appears, *Verf. 9.* that the Waters which were gathered together in the Constitution of the Air, were the Waters under the Heavens, Waters that were next contiguous to that common *Expansum* consisting of Air and *Aether* called Heaven, there was nothing interposed between that fluid Water which constituted the Sea, and that common *Expansum* called Heaven, consisting of Air and *Aether*.

3. It seems that the great *Moles Chaotica* was in its appearance and external consistency of a waterish nature; for it is said that the Spirit of God

God moved upon the face of the Waters, which though it contained the confused Mass of all things, as well those that grew into a more solid consistence, as the more reformed or subtil Matter; yet in its first deformed exhibition of its appearance it had the shape of Water, and therefore *Plutarch, de placitis Philosophorum, lib. 1. cap. 3.* tells us, that *Thales Milesius* held that Water was the common Principle of all things; which Position he learned partly by the Analogy that he found therewith in things existing, whose first Rudiments and last Resolution seems to be a watry or fluid substance; and partly by Tradition from the *Egyptians*, or rather from the *Hebrews*, whose first habitation was in that Country.

And the manner of the resolution of this Aqueous appearance into *Aether* and Air seems to be this: This great aqueous Chaotical Mass contained in it Particles of various natures, some more feculent and gross, as the Earthy Particles, which floated up and down in it till they were driven down by the Fire and Heat, or otherwise by some disposition or agitation of that Incubation of the Spirit of God, were disposed and subsided in the middle of this Aqueous substance, which became in time the *Moles terrestris*: Other parts less feculent than these resided in a Region or Circle next to that grosser and more feculent Sediment; but by virtue of the Divine Disposal the Incubation of the Spirit and the Energy and Efficacy of that great circulating Fiery Nature, which was maintained in a continued rotation about the *Massa Chaotica*, called Light; and that internal, hot, and fiery Nature that still resided within the Body of the *Massa Chaotica*, the more subtil and pure particles of this Watrish Matter were separated, divided, and exhaled from it, and constituted that Consistency that is called the Air and *Aether*, here called Heaven.

And this diaphanous Body of the Air and *Aether* thus extracted from the Water varied in degrees of Subtily or Rarity, according to the degrees of its elevation; the more high and elevated parts being more pure, according to the degrees of their ascent; and the lower more feculent and thick, and filled with more gross Exhalations and Vapours arising from the contiguously subjected parts; and therefore it is said, *Gen. 2. 6.* There went up a mist from the earth, and watered the face of the ground.

And I am farther induced to think, that those Waters above the Firmament or *Expansum* were no other than this *Aether* and Air raised and separated from the *Massa Chaotica*, upon these Reasons; 1. Because there seems to be a great congruity between the Water and the Air, in their quality of liquidity or moisture. 2. Because there seems to be a more connatural Transmutation of either into other; the Air, and for ought I know, the *Aether*, which is but a purer sublimated Air, by condensation easily re-assuming the nature of Water, and the Water by heat and rarefaction easily assuming the nature of Air, and by the continuance and constancy of that heat containing it self in that consistency. And from hence it is that the Waters were the common material Principle of both the Fishes and Fowls. And if we may conjecture, that great Inundation; *Gen. 7. 1.* was not by a new Creation of Water, but by the wonderful and powerful Condensation of the Region of the Air; which seems to be that opening of the Windows of Heaven, whereby great portions of the Aerial and

Ethereal Matter discovered themselves to be Water. 3. Because we have no other part of Holy History that gives us an account of the production of that vast Continent of the Air and *Aether* out of the Chaotick Mass but this place. And here we must observe once for all, That there was no Creation of Matter after the Beginning; it was all created in that moment of Beginning. 2. That from that Creation till the first Day, wherein Light was produced, there was that continued preparation, impregnation, disposition, and agitation of Matter by the Spirit of God. 3. That all the Productions of the Six Days (except the Creation of the Soul of Man, and Angels) were not by any new Creation, but by separation of the parts of that pre-existing Matter, formation of them, and composition and effecting of Beings out of the first created, disposed, and ordered Matter, by the Power of Almighty God, and the influencing them with those active Principles which we usually call Forms, Energies, and Active Qualities.

3. The Third great Integral of this lower World, especially in the Work of the third day, was the dividing of the Earth and Waters, *Vers. 9.* And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together, and let the dry land appear, and it was so; and God called the dry land earth, and the gathering together of the waters he called seas.

The Divine Historian herein brings us to the Formation of this lower Globe of Water and Earth, and the distinction thereof.

This portion of the lower World seems to be the whole residue of the visible Chaotick Mass, which by the former Rectification was reduced to a small portion, like the *Caput mortuum* after Distillation; for out of it had been before drawn those two mighty and large portions of Matter, namely, the Fiery, and Flammeous, and Lucid Nature imbedded in a Vehicle sufficient to contain and receive it in the Work of the first day; and secondly, the *Expansum*, the vast Body of the Air and *Aether* in the Work of the second Day.

So that this Elementary portion of Earth and Water seems to be as it were the sediment and relique of the *Massa Chaotica*.

And those other two vast Extractions being drawn from it, it seems this lower Region of Nature consisting of an aggregation of Water and Earth by the Divine Disposition of things, either immediately, or partly by the instrumentality either of the ambient Fire, or by the implanted tendency of the grosser Particles to one common Center of this residue of a Chaotick Mass, the gross Terrestrial parts subsided into the middle of the Water; and though it was in bulk far greater than the Water, yet it had there two concomitants with it: 1. The Water by reason of its fluidity and penetration mingled it self, as far as it could at least, with the superficies of the Terrestrial Sediment, to some considerable depth into it, so far as it could pierce, until it were excluded by the denser coagulation of the Earth. 2. The Water did encompass the whole Terrestrial Globe to some proportionable depth or thickness, though not equal to the quantity of the Earth. So that as the circular Scales of a Pearl encompass one another, so did the several extracted great Integrals cover one another.

The first extracted Nature was the Light, the Fiery or Luminous Body, which must needs be uppermost, because first drawn off from the Chaotick Mass.

Mass. The second, the *Aether* and Air drawn off, encompassing the remaining part of the Chaotick Mass. The third, the Watry Consistence, left in a circular subsistence by the subsiding of the Ball of Earth into the common Center of the Universe.

And by this means the Earth was not at all conspicuous, but involved in an *involutum* of Water; so that it must necessarily be, 1. That hereby the whole Superficies of the Earth was covered with Water. 2. That the upper part of it must needs be a moist muddy substance, fluid and lubricous, like Slime or Mud.

The appearance therefore of the dry Land was by the excavation of certain *Sinus* and Tracts of the Earth, and exaggerating or lifting up other parts of the Terrestrial Matter; and by this means the Water subsided into those Caverns and Valleys prepared for its reception: Whether this excavation of the Terrestrial Body, or elevation of other parts thereof whereby the Water subsided, were immediately by the immediate Power of God; or whether he did it by the instrumentality of the Water, working room for it self in the more soft and penetrable part of the Earth, and exaggerating and raising Islands and Continents in other parts by such exaggeration; as we see is done at this day by the Ocean, producing Islands, and enlarging Continents: Or whether by the instrumentality of the Fire, either subterraneous or ambient, raising up the Earth, or what other immediate way it was done, most certainly it was done by the Will, Direction, and Regiment of the Divine Wisdom and Power: so that it is truly said, *Job 38. 10. He brake up for it its decreed place: Prov. 8. 28. He gave the sea its decree, that the waters should not pass his commandment.*

Hitherto the Divine History hath given us an account, 1. Of the *Materia prima* of all Corporeal Beings, the *Massa Chaotica*: 2. The *Materia proxima* or *secunda* of all other Corporeal Beings being the simple Elements, and the next Matter of all Mixtures or Composition: 3. The *Natura ignea*; calefactive, lucid, and penetrating the Elementary Matter: 4. The *Natura aetherea* and *aerea*, the *Expansum*: 5. The *Natura aqua*, or the Water: 6. The *Natura terrestris*, or the Earth. And then he proceeds to those mixed or compounded Natures, drawn out of those or some of those simpler Existences, the Furniture of the Earth and Heaven.

I shall therefore now proceed to his Description of the Production of Mixt Natures and Vegetables, in part of the third day; Celestial Bodies in the fourth day; Fish and Fowls in the fifth day; Brutes and Man in the sixth day.

1. Therefore touching the production of Vegetables, *Vers. 11. And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit after her kind, whose seed is in it self upon the earth; and it was so.*

Here we have the beginning of the Vegetable Nature; and mark, what I say concerning this, will be applicable with some variation to the Brutes and Fish. We have three sorts of Vegetables here described, 1. Some that seem to be of the lowest rank, and such as we do find oftentimes *sponte orta*, the Grass. 2. Those Herbs that are of a more perfect nature, which as they bear Seed, so they do not usually arise but by it. 3. Trees bearing Fruit and Seed, being the nobler sort of Trees;

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but this includes all kind of Vegetables, as well Trees that bear not Fruit or Seed, as those which do.

In the production of these Vegetables, these things are observable:

1. The Supreme Efficient, the Word of Command of the Divine Will was that which was the Supreme productive Efficient.

2. The subordinate Instrument [*germinet terra*] wherein we have these two great Truths delivered. 1. That the Earth yielded the Matter of Vegetables. 2. That the Earth was now impregnated to be an active Instrument to this production, and concurred therein, at least instrumentally, with the Supreme Efficient, and that Activity that was in the Earth did not arise merely from the Matter, for that in the beginning was purely passive, but 1. by the Fecundating Principle, the Spirit of God moving upon the Face of the Chaotick Matter; 2. by the powerful Energy of the Fiery and Luminous Principle, that partly resided in the Earth, partly encompassed it; 3. but principally by the Efficacy of the Word of the Divine Command, which was no other but the determination of His Efficacious Will.

3. But though the more solid Matter of these Vegetable Productions was the Earth, yet it was the Earth conjoined with that vigorous Fire, which was mingled with that active Air or *Aether* that was interspersed in it, and that fruitful Water which remained conjoined with it.

4. That this Production was not by any formed antecedent Seed dispersed in it, but immediately, the Vegetable Individuals were antecedent to any *Semina* that might be productive of it, and according to the true Method of Existence of Things in their first Origination, the Herb and Tree were the Cause, the Original of the Seed, the Seed was not the Original of the Herb or Tree, though in the secondary production by generation the *Semen* precedes the thing generated, according to the Order settled after the first production of things, which doth reasonably solve the Dispute of *Plutarch*, Whether the Hen were before the Egg, or the Egg before the Hen?

And as the Supposition, that the first Principle in the Origination, either of Vegetables or Sensitives, to be *ex praeexistente semine* seems incongruous and unreasonable, I mean as to perfect Vegetables or Animals, so it is idle and needless: For certainly the same Infinite Power, that could form a *Semen univocum*, to be the immediate Principle of an Animal or Vegetable, in the primordial Origination of them, could with equal facility form perfect Individuals of the several *Species*, and endue them with a prolific power of propagation of their kinds, by seminal Principles decised from them; and no lesser Power and Wisdom was required to mold up a specifical operative *Semen*, than to frame the Individual or *Species* to be produced by it.

5. The Supreme Power of the Great Efficient of Vegetables, as well as Animals, was seen in this, in that it determined their *Species*, which, Matter alone, nor any Universal Cause purely natural, could never have done, in respect of their universal common indeterminate Nature, which could never fix nor settle in any determinate specifick production. Therefore, in that the Individuals of Vegetables, Fish, Fruits, and Birds, as well as Men, were made after their kinds, it ascertains us, that this Origination of things was by a Wise, Free, Intelligent Being, full of

of Power and Wisdom, acting *secundum intentionem electionem, & voluntatem*.

6. By virtue of this Divine Intention, Ordination, and Command, these three things were settled touching Vegetable Natures, (which is also true concerning Animals, as to the two latter of them at least) 1. The Earth was endued with prolific vital Energy, whereby it was enabled with the vigorous assistance of the Fiery Nature included in it, and accompanying it, to put out many spontaneous productions of some ordinary Vegetables, and probably of some Insects, and to exhibit a *succus nutritionis* to support all kind of Vegetables and many Animals in their vital existence. 2. The Individuals of Vegetables of all sorts, as also of Animals, Fishes, Fowls, Insects, and Man, were in a moment of time produced in their full and perfect complement, laden with their Fruit and Seed, without ruining the natural gradual process of Maturation, which was to ensue in the course of future Generations; and this could not be done, either by force of any natural fecundity that was then in the Earth, or the bare strength of the formed natural accommodation of Light or Heat; for though it be true, that the natural fecundity and heat of some Climates, and also artificial fecundations of Matter, may conduce much to the acceleration of Maturity, yet it is not imaginable, that these could be ripened into the full growth and burden of Fruit in the period of a Day, but by virtue of a supernatural Efficient and Power, namely, the Energy of the Divine Command, [*Germinet terra, &c.*] 3. The third admirable Demonstration of the Immediateness of the Divine Power, Wisdom, and Ordination, is this, That Vegetables, as also Animals and Mankind, were endued with a Power, Faculty, and a certain Law fixed and radicated in them, to transmit their specifical Nature to succeeding Individuals by propagation and seminal tradition, whereby their *Species* might be preserved, and this was done by force of the Divine Institution and Benediction; the Vegetables were produced with their various *Semina* in them, ready formed for their several specifical productions, in their full and perfect stature, *quasi per saltum*, and endued with a prolific power of multiplication of their kind, by virtue of that Sovereign Institution and Commission [*Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the Earth,*] *Gen. 1. 22, 28.*

2. I come now to the Fourth Days Work, *Verse 14, 15, 16*, [*And God made two great Lights, the greater Light to rule the Day, and the lesser to rule the Night, and he made the Stars also.*] It is true what I before observed, that first Matter of all things corporeal was made, and this only was properly Creation or making out of nothing, and all corporeal things, that were made within the compass of the Six Days, was Creation only *per analogiam*, for it was only separation and distribution of that Matter which before existed in the *Materia Chaotica*, or else an elevation or rectification of some parts of that Matter, or a composition out of it or of some parts of it; it was *effectio* or *creatio secunda*, not *creatio prima*; and though the Word [*Create*] be applied to some things that were thus effected, as *Verse 21*. yet it is not purely *creatio prima*, or *ex nihilo*, but *creatio secunda ex praeexistente materia*.

Now, What was the Matter of these Heavenly Bodies, the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, for in this Fourth Day all the Matter of the *Chaos* was before

before distributed into these four Simpler Natures, Light or Fire, Air or *Æther*, Water, and Earth?

The first Matter of these Heavenly Luminaries therefore was the common *Chaotica materia*; but the *Materia proxima* out of which they seem to be constituted, were principally those two great Natures which were separated from the *Chaos* the first day, *viz.* The Fiery Nature imbodyed in a suitable Vehicle, and the second day the *Æther* or Aery part: these two great Integrals of the first Universe were far greater than all the rest of the Chaotick Matter, and therefore might very well subminister the principal and predominant Matter for those great and vast Luminaries the fixed Stars, the most whereof are far greater than the Globe of Earth and Water: But to the Constitution of the Planetary Bodies, which seem to be more gross than the Stars, there was a greater proportion of more gross and feculent Matter added to the Fiery and Aerial Particles in their coagulation, though in some of them more, in some less, according to the various degrees of subtilty and grossness of their constitution.

And these goodly Bodies being formed and molded, it should seem that that great and mighty flaming Light which was made or produced the first day, and for the two ensuing days had rolled about the rest of the Chaotick Mass, was by the Glorious God distributed into those several Heavenly Vessels of the Sun and Stars, who succeeded unto, and as it were inherited that primitive Light now divided among them, according to their several measures and uses.

For although the Almighty Wisdom and Power could have made all this Fabrick of the World in its full complement and perfection in one moment, and although he produced and perfected Vegetables, Brutes, and Man in one moment, without the gradual procedures through those several stations and degrees which Nature now observeth; and so he could have done in the production of all other the Integrals of the Universe; yet he seems in some parts of this *Processus formativus* of the Universe to use sometimes such Methods, Means, and Instruments, and such Times, Periods, and Orders as might seem to bear in some measure a congruity to a Natural Procedure; thus he used that Motion or Agitation of the Spirit for the ripening and influencing of the vast Mass; he first begins with the production of those more simple constituent Particles of Matter which might yield Matter suited and prepared to Mixt Natures.

And it is not unreasonable for us to think that this great flaming Light in the first three days of the Creation was used as a most suitable Instrument for the Rarefaction, Digestion, Separation, and Distribution of the remaining part of the Chaotical Matter in those greater Agitations that it had in the production of the *Æther*, the separation of the Water, and the arefaction of the Earth, which Processes required a more severe and violent, active Instrument than was necessary, or indeed suitable to those smaller Mutations which were after made; and probably if that piercing and great Lucid Nature had continued its Revolutions about the World, it would have been too strong and violent either to the production, or conservation of those Animals and Mankind that were now to be produced.

And

And so the diffused Light that circulated about the Universe, is now this fourth day distributed into these several Heavenly Bodies; 1. Because now its use in that former state and method of its existence ceased. 2. It was now for the use of the Universe to have it distributed and ordered into those several Vessels, the Sun and Stars, that might with a gentler and better regulated Heat and Motion influence the World. 3. It was now more for the Beauty, Order, and Ornament of the Universe, for the Glory and Honour of the Divine Wisdom, Power, and Goodness to distribute this Light into several Vessels, and according to various measures and proportions, and accommodated with several Motions; than to keep it in one vast and terrible Body circulating the Universe, which unrefracted might have been too penetrating and violent to the other parts of Nature.

And this seems to be the Method of the Origination of the Heavenly Bodies: For though the first Verse tells us, that *In the beginning God made the heavens and the earth*, we have no reason to suppose that the Etherial Bodies and the Heavenly Luminaries were completed in the moment of Time, (whatever may be conjectured touching the *Calum Empyream*;) for it is evident that Light the first-born of the Universe was not made till the first day; the *Expansum* or *Æther* till the second day; nor the Heavenly Host, the Planetary and Fixed Stars till the fourth day.

I shall not here contend much touching the System of the Universe, whether the Earth be the Center thereof, or the Sun, whether it consist of so many several Systems or *Vortices*, whether every Fixed Star hath its *Vortex*, and the Sun the Center of the Planetary *Vortex*; only thus much I shall say, 1. That this Divine *Hypothesis* delivered to us by the hand of *Moses* seems wholly to contradict the Supposition of Solid Orbs, and strongly concludes that the Heavenly Bodies are moved in *liquido Æthere*. 2. It seems rather to countenance that System of the Universe that supposeth the Earth to be the common Center thereof, than the the imaginary *Hypothesis* of *Copernicus*, *Galileus*, *Kepler*, or *Des Cartes*. 3. That it utterly contradicts the *Hypothesis* of *Aristotle* and *Ocellus*, and the *Pythagoreans* touching the Eternity of the World, or of the Heavens; and likewise the Fiction of *Democritus* and *Epicurus* of the casual Coalition of the Universe by the motion or interfering of Atoms.

3. I come to consider of the Fifth Days Work, touching the production of Fish and Fowls; *Vers. 20. And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven; and God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly after their kind and every winged fowl after its kind; and God saw that it was good.*

The great Engin of the Heavenly Bodies being now constituted in that excellent state and order for the use and conservation of animal Life, God Almighty proceedeth in a most exquisite order for the production of Animals; and because the Waters were in themselves a more ductile, and possibly a more fertile Body than the Earth, and also, because *cæteris paribus*, the Fowls and Fishes are not of an equal perfection in their natures to the Brutes or Terrestrial Animals; for these have certainly a more digested constitution, greater variety and curiosity in their bodily texture.

texture, and a higher Spirit and Soul, of nobler Instincts, and more capable of Discipline than the Fowl or Fishes. Therefore, as the production of Vegetables anteceded the production of Animals, so the production of Animals aquatil and volatil preceded the production of terrestrial Animals.

What may else be said in relation to this Days Work, I shall deliver in the Consideration of the next first Part of the sixth Days Work. Therefore,

4. The first Part of the sixth Days Work comprized the production of Terrestrial Animals; *Vers. 24. And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, and cattel, and every creeping thing and beast of the earth after his kind; and it was so.*

The Reasons why Terrestrial Animals had their production after the Fowls and Fishes, have been partly before intimated, and shall be here somewhat farther considered: And they are these,

1. Although Almighty God be not bound or straitned in his Operation to the sequaciousness of the Matter, yet it is not improper for us to suppose that he may pursue the Laws of his own making, where it consists with his design and intention: The production of Vegetables by the Earth was indeed earlier, but then the energy of his Instrument the Light, perchance was stronger than after the distribution thereof into the Receptacles of the Heavenly Luminaries.

2. *Ad plurimum*, the nature of Terrestrial Animals was a more refined nature than that of Fowls and Fishes, and therefore as the Matter might reasonably expect a longer *mora* for its Concoction, so the Method of Creation, *ceteris paribus*, proceeded from the less elaborate Integrals of Mixt Bodies to the more elaborate, concluding with Man.

And this preference of the Brutes above Fowls and Fishes, appears 1. In the manner of their natural procreation, the Brutes being *ad plurimum vivipara*, the others arising *ad plurimum ex ovo*. 2. In the great variety of their bodily compofure, the texture of the Bodies of Brutes being far more curious, and fuller of variety than others. 3. *Ad plurimum*, the animal Faculties of the brutal Soul are far more perfect than those of others, their Phantasies and Memories refined, they have greater and more lively Images of Reason, and more capable of Discipline than either Fowls or Fishes.

Now touching the production of Animals, whether Terrestrial, Aquatil, or Volatil, we may observe that they are in the ordinary course of Nature of two kinds: Some, which arise among us no otherwise, nor in any other manner than *ex semine*, which we usually call perfect Animals, and arising by univocal generation; others there are that be imperfect, arising spontaneously in the Earth, Air, and Water, as Worms, Flies, and some sort of small Fishes and watry Insects.

This being premised, I shall now set down some Suppositions which seem to me truly to explicate the production of these Animals, which are these that follow.

1. Although the predominant Matter in the constitution of Fowls and Fishes were Water, and in the constitution of Terrestrial Animals were Earth, yet that Water nor that Earth were not simply such, but were mixed and impregnated with the other Elementary Principles.

2. That

2. That all the *Species* of perfect Animals of all kinds were constituted in their several Sexes in the fifth and sixth day of the Creation, but yet we must not think that all those kinds which we now see were at first created, but only those primitive and radical *Species*: How many sorts of Animals do we now see, that yet possibly are not of the same *Species*, but have accidental diversifications, as we may observe in the several Shapes and Bodies of Dogs, Sheep, Pyes, Parots: which possibly at first were not so diversified; some variation of the same *Species* happen by mixt Coition, some by diversity of Climates, and other accidents.

3. That the first Individuals in their distinction of Sexes were not produced according to those Methods of Nature which they now hold, nor *ex aliquo preexistente semine*, but by the immediate efficiency of Almighty God, out of the Matter prepared or designed for their Constitution.

4. That they were made in the first instant of their Constitution in the full perfection and complement and stature of their individual and specifical nature, and did not gradually increase according to the procedure of animal augmentation at this day: and the reason is, because those gradual augmentations arise from the Seminal Principle which gradually expands it self to the full growth; but here they arose not from any such Seminal Principle, but the Hen was before the Egg.

5. There was no mean portion of Time between their Formation and Animation, but both were together, they were living Beings, and living Souls, and living Creatures as soon as they were formed.

6. That consequently the Formation of the Body of these Animals was not as now it is, by the Formative Power of the Soul, which must needs be gradual and successive, as we see it is, and must be at this day in all natural Generations; but the Formation and Information of them was by virtue of the immediate *Fiat*, Determination, or Ordination of the Divine Will.

7. That in their Origination, the *Species* of these Animals were determined neither from the Matter, nor from the universal Cause, the Celestial Heat, but by the Divine Intention and Ordination.

8. That by the same Divine Ordination and Intention, the Faculties specifically belonging to every Individual were annexed and alligated to it, especially the power, *conficiendi semen prolificum, & speciei propaganda ex mutua utriusque sexus conjunctione*.

9. That although by the Divine Power and Ordination all these perfect Animals did arise from the Earth, yet that Prolifick Power of propagating of them was never delegated or committed to the Earth, or any any other Casual or Natural Cause; but only to the Seminal Nature, derived from their Individuals, and disposed according to that Law of propagation of their kind, alligated as before to their specifical and individual nature.

And therefore it is perfectly impossible that any of these perfect Animals can be casually, or naturally, or accidentally produced by any Preparation of Matter, or by any Influence of the Heavens, without the miraculous interposition of Almighty Power; because the Earth, or those Influences have not this power concredited to them, but their production is irresistibly alligated to the *Semen innatum*

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and conjunction of Sexes; the Earth can as naturally produce a Sun or a Star, as it can a Man, or a perfect Animal.

10. Whether those imperfect or equivocal Animals were created or no, it is not altogether clear; possibly some might be then produced, whose kinds were likewise producible spontaneously after; but it seems beyond contradiction that all were not.

11. As by virtue of that general Commission or intrinsic Prolifick Power given to the Earth to produce spontaneous Herbs, as Grass, &c. it doth naturally produce such Herbs; so by virtue of that common Commission given by Almighty God to the Earth and Water, and to that Spirit of Nature diffused in it, it doth naturally produce those equivocal insect Animals which arise out of them.

The same Law of the Creator that hath eternally excluded, or rather not committed to the Earth or Water the power of producing perfect Animals, hath given and committed to them by concurrence of that Vital Heat of the Sun and the common Spirit of Nature residing in them, a Productive Power of some equivocal insect Animals in Matter fitly prepared.

Touching therefore the Origination of Insects I shall declare my thoughts as followeth; 1. That by virtue of the Divine *Fiat* the Earth at first did produce some Individuals of several kinds, which is imported under the words [*Every creeping thing after its kind.*] 2. That as I have before shewn, the greatest part of the Insects that are commonly produced, and seem to be spontaneous productions, are yet the univocal and seminal productions of Insects of the same kind. 3. That yet it is a certain Truth, that some Insects are; and have an Origination since the first Creation without any formal, univocal, seminal production; some out of Putrefaction; some out of Vegetables, some by very strength and fracedo of the Earth and Waters quickned by the vigorous Heat of the Sun, which infuseth into some Particles of Matter well prepared and digested a kind of Vital and Seminal Principle. Some have thought the very Sun and Earth are endued with a Vital, yea and with a kind of Sensitive Nature, and thereby enabled as it were to spin some prepared Matter into vital and sentient *Semina* for those insect Animals: But we shall not need to trouble our selves with that incertain Speculation; we are sure that the greatest part of the Superficies of the Earth being daily and hourly impregnated with the corrupted and dissolved Particles of Vegetables and Animals, is at least highly prepared for the spontaneous production of Insects and Vegetables of some kinds; and the benevolent Heat of the Sun hath a great influence thereupon to be the Instrument of Almighty God in these Productions: but it is his Sovereign Institution that committed to the Sun, the Earth, and the Waters and their Particles to produce some insect Animals, and therefore they produce them, as Worms, Flies, Frogs; but he hath not concredited or committed to them that primitive Productive Power of perfect Animals, nay not of some noble Vegetables, *sine praeexistente semine univoco.*

Thus we have considered the History of the Worlds production, and the

the reasonableness thereof. Now to the production of Terrestrial Animals, (for of the Creation of Man I shall speak in the next Chapter.)

It is true that there are two sorts of natural Integrals whose History is here omitted, and yet that omission not without great reason; because it seems their production was in a manner accidental and spontaneous, depending upon the various mixture of Materials formerly created, namely, Meteors and Minerals: the former conflagrated in the Aery Region by the apposition and mixture of divers Excretions and Exhalations of the other parts of Nature; for we neither find, nor have any cause to look for Clouds, Comets, or Meteors in the compass of the first six Days. The latter seem to be Concretions and Digestions in the Bowels of the Earth, either altogether or for the most part begun and perfected after the Six Days Work, by the energy of the external, and Celestial, and internal, and connatural Fire and Heat.

Some Jews and Cabalists there have been that have supposed those six Days to be of different length and extent from these Natural we are acquainted with, and that those six Days, especially the three first and three last thereof, differed exceedingly one from another; and that as the three last were of a far greater length and extension than our ordinary day or night; so the three former were exceedingly larger than the three latter of the six; and the computation of the whole by Six Days was only by a kind of Analogical Expression to give Mankind a distinction of the Order of Production; and they suppose, 1. That the Divine Author by this distribution of Days did not intend any determinate portion of Time, much less days or times conformable to the length of our days, but certain Mysterious Numbers of Times; and therefore Philo Judeus in his first Book *Allegoriarum Legis*, tells us, *Rusticana simplicitatis est putare sex diebus aut aliquo certo tempore mundum conditum, complevit sexto die opera, intelligere non debes de diebus aliquot, sed de senario perfecto numero*; and then takes a great deal of pains in illustrating the Mystery of that Number. 2. Because they would willingly introduce a kind of natural production of things according to a natural method, and gradual and successive procedure, without the Supposition of an immediate concurrence or interposition of a Supernatural Influx or Causation; and therefore because the separation of Light, the first Days Work, naturally required a great time; as also the rarefaction and separation of the *Expansum*, the separation of the Bodies of Earth and Water, and likewise the maturation and production of Vegetables out of it might require a longer time than some of the subsequent days Works, therefore the three first days were much longer than those that follow: And again, since each of these great Works attributed to the three latter days were great Works, required great digestion, and separation, and maturation of the Matter for the Heavenly Bodies; as also for the maturation of living Animals, and their production: that even those days might be conceived of a dimension or computation much larger than our Days, and possibly than our Months, or Years, or Ages. But these seem to be vain Conjectures, introduced meerly to exclude an intermixture of a supernatural concurrence in the speedy production and formation of things, and not warranted by the Holy History, but contradicting

dicting it: For we have no reason to imagin that the sixth day was of any other dimension than the seventh day, wherein God Almighty rested, nor the fifth any longer than the sixth; neither was it at all necessary the days should be protracted to that length of time for two Reasons: 1. Because if we should be so vain as to suppose a long process, somewhat futable to what we now see in Nature, for the separation, disposition, and production of the Six Days Work; yet certainly there was a time intervening between the first Creation of the *Materia Chaotica* and the very inception of its complement into that Order that the Six Days Work exhibit to us; and although that time is not determinately set down, yet we may justly think it a long time: And again, in that long interval there was a powerful Agent subacting, disposing, and influencing the *Massa Chaotica*, expressed by the Spirit of God moving upon the face of the Waters; whereby if it were necessary to have such a preparatory process towards the formation of the World antecedent to such formation, it was not wanting here, and every Particle might thereby be so ripened and prepared that they might successively give their apparences in those portions of time wherein they are ranged by the Sacred History. 2. Although in the Creation of the World and the Integrals thereof, Almighty God seemed something to conform to the reasonable Order of Causes futable or congruous to Effects, and did not put forth such an immediate Activity in the Production of things as he did in their first Creation; this being done in an instant, that successively, gradually, and yet *per moram*: Yet he was not bound to observe all the Ceremonies and Formalities of Natural Effects; neither did he, but by his own immediate Power gave a greater expedition to the first production of things, than that which he instituted for the standing, fixed, and ordinary Method of future production and maturation of things to be generated after their first Origination: And as it was impossible without the apposition of a Supernatural Being and Causation, that the Matter of things should be created out of nothing; or being so created, could without the Operation of a Supernatural Intelligent Being raise it self up to the admirable Fabrick wherein it was finally perfected; so it is not reasonable to deny to such a Supreme, Supernatural, and Infinite Power an effectual maturation and compleating of things in those portions and orders of times that best pleased him, and which his Wisdom judged most agreeable to his Works and Ends. We find every Command of the Divine Will in the Creation of things answered by an immediate *obsequium* in the created Matter: If He say, *Let there be Light*; *Let the waters be gathered into one place*; *Let the Earth bring forth*, &c. the obsequious Matter presently answered the Command with a *Fuit ita*, It was so. Not as if there were any Vocal Command given out to the Matter, but the secret Command and Determination of the Divine Will governed the Matter into an immediate conformable Production, according to the *Idea* residing in the Divine Understanding; *He spake and it was done, he commanded and it stood fast*. This best became the Majesty and Sovereignty of the Lord of all things.

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C A P. III.

Concerning the Production and Formation of Man.

HAVING taken the former brief Survey of the History of the Creation and Formation of the rest of the Universe, I shall now proceed to what I principally intended in the discussion of that History, namely, the Formation of Mankind, *Gen. i. 26. And God said, Let us make Man in our own image, after our likeness, and let him have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth; so God made man in his own image, in the image of God created he him, male and female created he them; and God blessed them, and said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it, and have dominion over the fishes.*

Touching the Creation of Man I shall observe these things.

1. The Efficient of this first Production of Mankind was Almighty God, by the counsel and determination of his own Will: The Creation of Man is ushered in with a Prologue unlike the Creation of other things, *viz.* by a kind of deliberation; not as if the Divine Wisdom stood in need of counsel, advice, or concurrence of others, or of a *mora deliberativa* with himself; for known unto him were all his Works from the beginning, and by one simple, instantaneous, and indivisible Act he foresees what is fit to be done, and judgeth and determineth the same: but it is added as a Mark of Attention, and an Elogy of Prelation of this Work of the Creation of Mankind above the rest of the visible Creatures.

Some of the Ancients have thought this Deliberation was real, and to have been made with the superior World of Heavenly Intelligences; *Nec (si fas sit ita loqui) Deus quicquam fecerit, donec illud expenderit in familia superiori*: and it should seem that the Opinion of Plato in his *Timæus*, That Almighty God did advise with the *Diæ ex Diis*, or the Intelligences or Angelick Natures, and used their assistance in the Creation of the Bodies of Men, though he himself formed their Souls; seems to be derived from the inspection of the *Mosaical* History or Tradition of it, whereof he gave us his Sense or Exposition, that this [*faciamus hominem*] was by the concurrence or subordinate cooperation of Angels.

Others, with far greater evidence, do think it was the Deliberation and Conclusion of the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity.

And some again interpret it to be only a Majestick Expression touching Almighty God, *more regali*, in the Plural Number; but touching these Conjectures I shall say no more but only this, That the first Origination and Production of Man was by the immediate Efficiency of Almighty God, not as if God Almighty used any Manual or Physical Plasmation of a Man, as the Statuary makes his Statue, or as the Poets feign *Prometheus* moulded up his *molle lutum* into the Humane Shape, and animated him by diffusion of Fire into him fetcht from Heaven; but by the Word, or Determination; or *Fiat* of his Omnipotent Will Man was formed and made.

2. The constituent Components out of which he was made were of two

two kinds, 1. His Corporeal and Animal Nature was the same with the Matter of other Terrestrial Animals, namely, the Elementary Matter, whereof Earth was the predominant. 2. His Spiritual Constituent as I may call it (though in union with the Sensible Power it be his constituent Form) was a Spiritual Substance, created and infused by Almighty God, *Gen. 2. 7. And God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul.* This Text gives us briefly, 1. The Matter of his Corporeal and Animal Constitution, the Dust of the Ground, or as elsewhere, Red Clay. 2. The Nature or Kind of this other constituent part, the Breath of Life, a Vital, Spiritual, Intellectual Substance or Nature. 3. The Union thereof to the Body, and Animal Nature breathed into him. 4. The result from that Union, Man became a living Soul, the whole Composition taking denomination from his nobler essential Constituent. And this short History gives us the best account that can be of the true Nature of Man, namely, that he consists of two essential constituent Parts, 1. His corporeal and animal nature, which though it were not only gradually but specifically different from, and advanced above the Brutal Nature both in the Elegance, and Usefulness, and Majesty of his corporeal Fabrick, and in the excellency and perfection of his animal Faculties, as in due time shall be shewn: Yet in his essential part he seemed to have a nature in some way common with them, both being material, and both their Faculties of the Animal Nature directed and subservient to a Life of Sense, and therefore corruptible and mortal in it self. 2. His Intellectual Nature, which is spiritual, immortal, created immediately by Almighty God; that as in his Animal Natures he was the highest of living, corporeal, and visible Creatures, so in his Soul or Intellectual Nature he seems to be constituted in the lowest rank or range of Intellectual and Immaterial Beings, by this means he seemed to be *Nexus utriusque orbis.*

I have before observed in the Order of Natural Beings with which we are acquainted, that there seems to be an admirable gradation in things, and the lower rank of Natural Existences have some rough draughts, and strokes, and shadows of those perfections which are in the superior: Minerals are a degree below Vegetables, yet they seem to have some shadow of the Vegetable Life in their growth, increase, and specifick configurations. The lowest degree of Life seems to be the Vegetables, yet in many of them and their Faculties, they seem to have some kind of rough strokes or draughts of the Sensitive Nature, and the highest advances of the Vegetable Nature seem to come up to the confines and borders of the lowest Form of Sensible Beings, and to participate of somewhat of Sense, which appears not only in the natural production of Insects out of the finest parts and effluxes of most Vegetable Natures, but also that some such things there are that seem in their very nature of Plants to have a kind of lower connexion of the Animal Nature in them; as appears in the Sensitive Plant or *Planta modesta*, and those Canes in the Kingdom of *Angola*, that are filled with a Worm growing from and continuous with it, called *Trombe*. Again, in the Animal Province there are divers sensible Insects, both aquatil, volatilis, and terrestrial, that seem to be in the very next Rank of Nature to Vegetables: and again, some of the superior sort, especially of Terrestrial Animals

Animals have *quandam imaginem & umbram rationis*, and are advanceable by Industry and disciplinable Acts to a great perfection, and seem to be the next rank of natures below the animal nature of Man, as Elephants, Horses, and some others; but the nature of Man; though in the animal part of him he is the highest rank of visible Animals; yet in his intellectual nature he seems to participate of the angelick nature, and is next below them in the specifick existence of Soul, *Psal. 8. 5. He was made a little lower than the Angels*, and participates of the highest degree of Animals and the lowest degree of Intelligences; participating of both natures, to keep as it were a continuity between the upper World and the lower, and to maintain a communion with them and between them.

3. We have here also the *Idea* or Model according to which the Humane Nature was framed, namely, after the Image and Similitude of God; wherein we are to take in Man constituted in his full and compleat nature, namely, in the union of his two Essential Parts, his Animal Nature, and his Intellectual. What this Image and Similitude of God was, or wherein it consisted, is variously disputed, I shall first consider what it was, and then what it is and was.

1. It was not not any corporeal Similitude or Image; for the Divine Nature is incorporeal and invisible, and therefore hath no Image or similitude of that kind.

2. It was not any Image adequate to the Divine Perfection and Excellence, as the Impression in the Wax is the adequate Image or Representation of the Seal, and as large as it: for God's Perfections are infinite both in extension and intention, and no finite Being can be an adequate Image of an infinite Being or Perfection.

3. It was not an Image that takes in all the resemblance of the Parts of Divine Perfections or Excellences, as the little Image upon *Cesar's* Coin resembled *Cesar's* Effigies, or a new born Infant resembles a full grown Man; for neither the Perfections nor the Being of God do *convenire in uno aliquo genere univoco*, with those of Man: the Perfections of God are not representable by any created Being in a true propriety of their nature, no more than in their degree of intention or perfection.

4. Neither do I take it, that this Image or Similitude is only meant of that *Idea* of the Humane Nature in the Divine Understanding, conformable to which Man was made; for though this be true, yet it is not all it says, nor all that is meant; because it would give Man no greater preference than the very Vegetables that were made the Third Day, which were made according to the Ideal Image thereof in the Divine Intellect.

5. Neither do I think it was meant of the Second Person in the Trinity, who was the express Image of the Father, the brightness of his Father and the express Image of his Person; for although Christ assumed Humane Flesh, yet it was many Ages after: and in the Language of the Scripture and the Ancients, in the Creation Man was made like unto God, but in the Work of Redemption the Son of God became like unto Man: *Phil. 2. 7. Made in the likeness of Man.*

6. Neither do I think that the Image of God here meant was the greater World, the Universe, which though it be an excellent Image of the

the Divine Excellency, namely, of his Majesty, Power, Wisdom, and Goodness, and sets it out far more than any single created Nature can; especially if we take the Universe in its full comprehension both of the visible and intellectual World. And though it be true that Man is a kind of Abridgment, a little Abstract of that greater World in his Intellectual Nature, resembling in his Soul the *Mundus intelligibilis* of created Intelligences, and in his Animal Nature bearing an admirable Analogy to the *Mundus aspectabilis*; and so in both Natures conjoined, being the little Image or Portraiture of the great and universal World: for though this is a Truth, yet it seems it was not the Truth intended.

7. Neither do I think it was intended of that resemblance which in his Intellectual Part he bore to the good Angels, who of any particular created Natures best resemble Almighty God; being pure, immaterial, intellectual, powerful, immortal, wise, and benevolent Beings: though this be also a Truth, that the Soul of Man seems to be the lowest rank of Angelical Natures, yet it seems not the Truth that is here intended: for it is plain that the Image of God here meant, is spoken with respect to the intire Humane Nature, and of the whole *Compositum*, as appears in the reason after given by God, upon the interdiction of Murder, *Gen. 9. 6.* which had been an improper reason if applied to the Soul, which is immortal, and incapable of death.

But the meaning of this Image of God seems to be this: That as all Excellency comes from that most Excellent Author of all Beings, in whom all Excellencies are lodged formally, or essentially, or virtually; so this Excellent Author did these things in relation to the Humane Nature: *viz.* 1. He gave him a capacity greater than any other visible, single, created Being to receive the noblest Excellencies: 2. That he gave him as great a Capacity as possibly might be consistent with such a nature to receive Divine Excellencies: 3. That he filled that Capacity with all those Excellencies that he was thus capable of, saving only that of a necessary immutability in the fruition of all those Excellencies.

Now these Excellencies with which the Humane Nature was filled, and which made him, as much as was possible for such a created Being, to resemble his Maker were these:

1. In the structure of his Body and Animal Nature, most singular Majesty, Beauty, Strength, and Usefulness.

2. In his Soul a whole Constellation of Divine Excellencies, *viz.* in the Nature of it, Immortality and Spirituality; in the Faculties of it, a light and clear Intellect, a free and incoacted Will: in all which he highly resembled the most intellectual and freest Being in the Habits of it, Knowledge in the Understanding, enabled by the noblest Object, God himself, and all other Objects of use and conveniency to him: in his Will, rectitude.

3. In his whole *Compositum*, perfect fruition of all that futable good to his nature, wherein he consisted in Happiness, Immortality, or a possible persevering in Life without dying, Power and Authority over this inferior World and all things therein, as God's Vicegerent upon Earth, in which respect Governours are said to be Gods: a sufficient power and strength as well in the Frame of his Animal Life, as in the sagacity and advantage of his Understanding, to exercise that Dominion and

and Sovereignty; and lastly, a due Order, Subordination, and Regiment of all his Faculties.

Of these Perfections some were accidental or adventitious to the Humane Nature by the Benignity of Almighty God, and concredited thereunto upon condition of his Obedience to the Command of God; and upon the breach of that Condition were either utterly lost, as the indissolubility of the Union of the *Compositum*, by one Man's Disobedience Sin entred into the World, and Death by Sin: Others were abated, as the Excellency of his Knowledge, Righteousness, the fruition of Happiness, the Perfection of his Sovereignty over the Creatures, the Gloriousness and Beauty, and much of the Vigour of his Body, the exquisite Order and Subordination of his Faculties; but his Essentials, the Immortality of his Soul, the Faculties of Intellection and Will, and the Natural Beauty and Usefulness of his Body remains, notwithstanding that terrible Concussion; whereof somewhat more hereafter.

4. We have the Method of this Production of Man; it was not by or from any meer Natural Cause, but by the immediate Command of the Divine Will, Wisdom, and Power: it was not from any *Semen* naturally, accidentally, or intentionally formed, and so by a gradual maturation and growth *ex utero terrestribus*, or as the *fetus humanus* is perfected at this day: For it was not possible that any such Seminal Principle should be formed casually, or by any meer Natural Cause, as hath been already shewn: And although the Divine Power could have perfected all, as well Man as the other Animals, by first forming such a *Semen*, and giving it either a gradual or speedy production, as Insects are at this day produced; yet 1. It was utterly superfluous to have used such a *processus formativus ex semine*, because it required no less than an Almighty Power to have moulded and fashioned, or actuated such a *Semen* as to have produced Man by an immediate Supernatural Formation and Production: and therefore since the same Power was requisite in both, it is not at all necessary nor reasonable to suppose so long a process as first to form a *Semen*, and by a Seminal Process to have perfected the Humane Nature, and the Holy History expressly imports the contrary. 2. If we suppose a *Semen* prepared by the Divine Power, that Production that must arise thereupon must either be immediate and sudden, if not absolutely instantaneous; or it must be gradual, and pass through all these spaces of Time, gradual Formation, and accession of Growth and Increase, as we see in *embryone & fetu nuper nato*: We cannot suppose the former but we must suppose it to be otherwise than natural, and call in the Divine Power to effect it, as much as in an instantaneous formation, *sine precedente semine*: And we cannot suppose the latter, because it is expressly contrary to the description of the Humane Production, for it was done within the compass of the Sixth Day; and the formation and perfecting of the Humane Nature was immediately finished after the Omnipotent Command and Determination of the Will of God, it was no sooner said [*faciamus hominem; &c.*] but it was done.

It is true, in that ordinary Law which Almighty God hath instituted in Nature already established by him, there are regular, and successive, and gradual procedures, and it is convenient it should be so: and it is true also, in this short period of the Six Days Work, within which the

Universe was finished, Almighty God observed a certain convenient Order, making that to precede which was fittest and most useful to precede in order to the production of things; but as to the speed and dispatch of Productions, the Almighty God used the Majesty that became the Excellency of his Greatness, and obsequious Matter presently yielded to the Power of his Command, *Fiat, & factum est*; Plal. 33. 9. *He said and it was done, he commanded and it stood fast.*

Therefore although now in settled Nature, and according to the standing Laws of the Divine Wisdom Man is first conceived *ex semine*, then lodgeth 10 Months in *utero muliebri*, wherein during that time he is gradually formed and perfected; and then after his Birth gradually increaseth, passeth through the impotency of Infancy, the weaknesses of Childhood, and the follies of Youth before he comes to a ripe and full age, yet it was not so here; in the same moment the Body is formed in its full and perfect nature, and the Animal Soul and Faculties together with it and the Rational Soul infused in the same moment, without any priority of Time, but only of Order and Nature: So that Man was at the very same moment a perfect Organical Body, with all his Nerves, Veins, *Viscera*, Bones, and Parts conformed, a Vital and Sensitive Nature joyned with it, and a Rational Soul infused, without first living the Life of a Plant, then of an Animal, then of a Man; the whole Scene was performed in one moment, and so it became both the Greatness of the Divine Majesty and Power; and so it was necessary to be in the first production of Man, although in the succeeding procedure of natural Generations it must be and was otherwise, because the supreme Wisdom and Will judged it so.

And although to any Man that will duly consider almost any thing, there must of necessity be another Rule or Law for the first production of things, than there is or may be in the ordinary regiment and governing of Generations when Nature is once established; yet the want of this Consideration hath bred all those vain Errors of those Philosophers that asserted the Eternity of the World; and of those others, who being not satisfied with that *Hypothesis*, but driven by a kind of necessity of Reason to acknowledge an Origination of Mankind, yet could not deliver themselves from fancying that Humane Productions must needs be as like those they now know, as they could well frame them: And therefore according to these Men the Earth must be conceived to be *Mater*, and the Sun *vice Patris*, and the Earth must have her *Uteri* and *Succus nutritivus*, and the Increase of Mankind must be by some such gradual process as we see in natural productions or *sponte nata*; and they cannot easily bring their Minds to believe the instantaneous production of Man by the immediate Power of God, because it hath a gradual process in ordinary natural Generations: and yet the same Men can give themselves leave to imagin, *Hominem oriri posse sicut blitum*; though never Experience of former Ages since the existence of Men upon the Earth give us any Example of it, bating only the Fictions of some Poets.

Maimonides, lib. 2. cap. 27. hath observed this Mistake, and singularly confutes it, by evincing, That if Men go by this Rule of Judgment the nature of things in their Original, as they find them in their Constitution, being constituted, they will disbelieve the most certain Truths. *Neque*

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argumentari licet ullo modo à natura rei alicujus post illius generationem & firmam subsistentiam in perfectione sua ad naturam ejus eo tempore quo movebatur ad generationem; quod si verò his erras, plurima tibi orientur dubia & absurda, ut pro falsis habeas ea que vera sunt, & vice versa pro veris ea que falsa sunt; and gives this Example, Suppose a Child of a ready Wit, whose Mother died shortly after his Birth, should go alone with his Father into some uninhabited Island, where he was bred up without the sight of any Beast or Woman, and there should inquire of his Father, Quomodo & qua ratione facti sumus, existentique nostram accipimus? cui pater, Unusquisque nostrum generatur in ventre cujusdam individui speciei nostre, nobis similimi, quod semina vocatur; in ventre autem existentes exiguum admodum primo corpusculum habemus, movemur, nutrimur, & paulatim crescimus, & vivimus donec ad certam quandam magnitudinem venimus; tum aperitur inferius in ventre porta quedam, & eximus; nec tamen postea crescere desinimus, usque dum ad hanc circiter quam vides quantitatem pervenimus: Puer ille orbis statim iterum quaeret, dum ibi parvi fuimus, ibi viximus & nos movimus & crevimus, an quoque comedimus & bibimus, ac per nares respiravimus an excrementa ejecimus? respondetur ei quod non: ipse sine dubio hoc incipiet negare, & demonstrationes extruere, ex impossibilibus argumentando ab ente perfecto, & dicet, quilibet nostrum si per unam horam careat respiratione, mori cogimur; quomodo credi potest aliquem in utero clauso per tot menses vivere potest? And so goes on with the young Man, forming very strong Arguments against this most certain Truth, meerly by the misapprehension of Inferences from the nature of things in their perfect Existence, to the nature of things in their Original.

It is true, Men must be wary and considerate before they conclude against the Frame and Order of things as they appear in Nature, because otherwise Men may take liberty to conjecture any thing, which is certainly unbecoming a Philosopher, especially who pretends to govern himself by the *Phænomena* of Nature, and it is that which we have before condemned. But on the other side, to suppose that impossible in the Origination of things which we find not in things already settled, is too hasty and rash a Conclusion; especially when we are driven to confess another kind of Origination of Mankind than now is, and do not find any so probable and so free from absurd Consequences, so ancient, so convincingly delivered, as that by the Divine Historian *Moses*.

And this is so much the rather credible, because it is impossible to conceive that Man could have his first Origination but from an intelligent, most wise and powerful Efficient, unless a Man shall offer violence to his own Reason; and certainly to such an Efficient such a Production is not only possible; but futable to be supposed.

5. We have here prescribed and determined the Law and Means of the natural production of the Individuals of Mankind in their future production, according to that Method and Mode which hath in all Ages ever since by the course of Nature been observed, namely, by Propagation by mutual Conjunction of their Sexes, though this could not be the Method of their first production.

And this Prolifick Power of production of Mankind by successive natural generation; was by the Virtue and Efficacy of the Divins Institution and Benediction given to Mankind in his first Creation, and by

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virtue thereof that Power and Faculty is continued in them, and translated to the succeeding Individuals to this day; and accordingly, *Virtute divina ordinationis & institutionis uterque sexus appetitum illum procreandi innatum habent, membra & vasa huic facultati subservientia hucusque obtinent, & diversitate sexuum eidem officio necessaria gaudent, quod non vel casu, vel stupida & caeca natura obtinere poterunt, sine ordinatione, appropriatione, institutione summi & sapientissimi numinis, ejusque volitionis & determinationis*: And as this Law of future Generations was thus given to Mankind, and quasi alligata to them, so it is exclusive of any other either casual or natural way of Generation, except it be by Miracle; and therefore we must now suppose a possibility of an utter abrogation of this natural Law, if we should suppose any other kind of natural production of Mankind should after this first production of the Humane Nature be possible: We may with as fair a Supposition imagin that a Man should be produced by the natural conjunction of Sheep or of Lions, or a Star be produced *ex putri materia terrestri*, as to suppose a Man to be produced accidentally, casually, or naturally in any other Method than this Divine Law of Nature fixed in the Humane Nature by the Divine Institution hath determined, unless as great a supernatural Miracle should happen by the Divine immediate Power, as did in the Conception of the *Messias*.

6. As subservient and necessary to this Law of future Generation, we have here the distinction of Sexes, [*Male and female created he them.*] This distinction and conjunction of Sexes in order to the propagation of Mankind, was part of that Law and Order that the Wise God instituted for this end.

And certainly there needs not any clearer Argument that the production of Mankind was not a Work of Chance or blind necessary Nature, but a Work of a most Wise, Intelligent, Powerful Being, that adapted the discrimination of Sexes to the propagation of Mankind; either Sex without the other being in Nature utterly unprofitable and unuseful to that end, without which the succession of Mankind must have been determined in the first Individual.

And it is no less evidence of the continual active Providence of that Great and Wise God, that the succession of both Sexes is continued in that equal proportion, as that there is no grand disparity in the propagation of Individuals of either Sex.

This diversity of Sexes was not in the same Individual, as if *Adam* had been *Androgyna*, or one double Person conjoined or continued, consisting of both Sexes (till they were after divided and severed) as *Plato in Symposio*, and many of the ancient and modern *Jews* have thought; but the first Creation of *Adam in virili sexu* being perfected, the production of *Eve ex latere Adami* was the very same Day of his Creation miraculously performed by Almighty God; for the Words [*Male and female created he them*] refer to the whole entire complement of the Creation of Man, which was not till the Formation of *Eve*. There may be something mysterious in this business of the Manner of *Eve's* Formation which may be hard to unriddle.

It is enough, that God Almighty before the end of the Sixth Day formed both Sexes of Mankind in order to the common help of each other,

other, and the propagation of the future Generations of Mankind: the History therefore of the Formation of *Eve*, though mentioned in the second Chapter, and after the Benediction of the Seventh Day, must necessarily be referred to the Sixth Day, wherein it is expressly affirmed that both Sexes in distinct Persons were then created, [*Male and female created he them*]; and such transpositions are not unusual, neither in the Holy History nor in other Histories.

The first Chapter gives the brief and orderly Relation of the whole Series of Times, and Things done in them; and the second Chapter is only a fuller and more explicit Declaration of some things that are briefly and compendiously delivered in the first Chapter, as appears not only by the Relation of the Formation of *Eve*, but divers other passages relating to what was transacted in the first Chapter.

7. The Formation of Man was the last Work of the Creation, the last Work of the last Day: and the Reasons of this Order seem to be these; 1. Because in the Method of the Creation of Sublunary Natures Almighty God proceeded from the less to the more perfect and curious Parts of the visible Creation: as first he made Vegetables, then Fishes and Birds, then Brutes, and Man in the last place, as the most perfect, and containing not only the Faculties of Vegetables and Animals, and that in a more perfect nature, but also a superadded, intellectual, spiritual Soul. So he was the noblest part of the Creation, at least of this lower World. 2. Because Mankind should be furnished to his hand with all things convenient and useful to his existence and operation, as the Grass was provided before the Brutes were created, so before the Creation of Mankind Fruits of the Earth were provided for his food and delight, a Paradise for his entertainment and employment of his Senses and Industry, Idleness being not indulged even in Paradise; and the goodly Furniture of the visible World both Celestial and Sublunary, to raise his Admiration, Contemplation, and Delight. 3. Because God Almighty intended him a liberal Patrimony, which he would furnish and complete in all its numbers before Man was created, and as soon as he had created him, gave him this inferior World, as his Usfructuary and Steward at least; but yet withall gave him a subordinate dominion of that whereof he made him his Steward: and this great Benefactor prepared this Gift of this inferior Terrestrial World to be ready for his Creature Man's reception as soon as he had a Being, and accordingly gave it him with all its Furniture. *Gen. i. 28, 29.*

8. That Man was by Almighty God in his first Creation in a state of perfect Felicity and Immortality, but under a condition of Obedience to the Divine Will, Command, and Law; that he had implanted in his Mind and Conscience certain Principles of Moral Goodness and Righteousness, which are the Original of those common Notions of Good and Evil, as so many secret Byasses and Inclinations to the observance of the Good and avoidance of the Evil. And as even the inferior Animals have implanted in them secret Instincts and Tendencies for the preservation and advance of their sensible, individual, and specific natures; so these implanted Notions and Moral Inclinations in the Mind of Man, were therein lodged to guide and lead him in a conformity to his excellent Constitution, and for the attainment of an intellectual and

and eternal Good; and these, though the vigour and brightness of them were much abated by his Fall, yet were transmitted with his nature to his Descendents.

And this is the Original of those common Notions which yet remain in the Humane Nature, though refracted and abated by the Fall of Man; this is that common Light and Law of Nature which to this day in some measure prevails in the generality of Mankind, to the Acknowledgment, Adoration, and Reverence of a Deity and Moral Righteousness; this is that Law of Nature mentioned by the Apostle, *Rom. 1.* written in the Hearts of Men, whereby they do by Nature the things contained in the Law: But of this I shall write somewhat fuller in the ensuing Chapter.

9. Besides this Moral inscribed Law, God Almighty for the tryal of Man's Obedience, gave him a positive Law prohibiting the eating of the forbidden Fruit, under pain of temporal and eternal Death and Curse; and Man was left in the hands of his own liberty, to obey or disobey it.

10. That Man being left to the free liberty of his own Will, though furnished with sufficient abilities to have obeyed Almighty God, yet by the temptation of Satan, his own sensual appetite, and ambitious affectation, violated his Maker's Law, and broke that Condition upon which much of his Perfection and Happiness was conferred upon him; and although he retained his Essentials, namely, his Essential Constitution, this Spirituality and Immortality of his Soul, his Faculties of Understanding and Will, he thereby incurred these unhappy deprivations.

1. A loss of the immortal state of his Composition, being now obnoxious to the separation of Soul and Body.

2. A very great abatement of that temporal Felicity he had in this Life, and obnoxious to the everlasting separation from God, with the Death of the Soul.

3. An abatement and diminution of those Habits of Knowledge and Rectitude of Soul, and a great weakning and decay of the vigour and activity of connatural implanted Notions or Inclinations.

4. A great disorder in the due subordination of his Faculties, and a great confusion and corruption prevailing upon his noble Faculties, and weakning, disordering, and abasing them.

5. An impair of that Sovereignty and Dominion over the Creatures, who rebelled against Man as soon as he forsook his Maker.

6. Diseases, Disorders, Weaknesses, Sicknesses, Harbingers and Forerunners of Death attacking his Bodily Constitution.

7. A transmission of these Hereditary Imperfections and Decays to his Posterity.

And herein and hereby we have an Account of that great *Quæstum* among the Learned Heathen, (where yet for want of this Discovery by the Holy Scriptures, they could never attain the full knowledge and reason) namely, the Original of Sin and Evil, and those many Corruptions, Defections, and Miseries of Mankind.

And thus much concerning the Divine History of the Creation and Defection of Man.

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C A P. IV.

The Reasonableness of this Hypothesis of the Origination of the World, and particularly of the Humane Nature, and the great Advantages it hath above all other Hypotheses touching the same.

THAT the World had a beginning of its Being, at least in that order and consistence that it now holds, I have shewed in the beginning of this Book: Again, if there could be any imaginable doubt or question, whether the great Integrals of the World were eternal, and without beginning, yet I have shewed, that Mankind, or the successive Generations thereof, *ex antegenitis*, is in Nature and Reason impossible, and in Fact and Experience apparently improbable, and therefore that there were some common Parents of Mankind, who had their beginning of existence, and that in some other way than they are now produced.

All that have supposed an Origination of Mankind *ex nongenitis*, have admitted something either of Matter analogous to it, out of which Mankind hath had such his Origination (which we also admit as to all his Constituents at least, but his Soul) and therefore the great Debate hath been touching the Efficient, or that Being, or Nature, (or whatever we shall call it) that first compounded, formed, and constituted the first Parents of Mankind in that essential and individual state, consonant to that specification of Humane Nature which we daily now see.

Every thing that hath a beginning of Being, must either have it from it self, or from some other active, efficient, and constituent Power or Nature, antecedent to it in time, or at least in Nature, or both.

To suppose that the Humane Nature at first constituted it self, were to suppose it to have a propriety of existence to it self, which were a palpable absurdity and contradiction, for then it should be before it was. Therefore it is necessary, that the first Origination of Humane Nature should be from some other beginning or cause antecedent to it, besides the Matter out of which it was constituted.

And whatsoever the Being or Cause originating Humane Nature was; it must be in nature of an Efficient, namely, something that did actively put together the constituent parts thereof, and formed it into that consistence and existence whereby he became Man.

We cannot by any means suppose any such Efficient or Being, or thing that did *subire rationem efficientis*, but one of these four: 1. An uncertain casual conflux of Particles of Matter that casually compounded a *Semen humane nature*, and so though the immediate *Semen*, thus constituted, may obtain the Name or Notion of the immediate Efficient, yet the true Efficient of that *Semen* (if we may be allowed to call it by that name) was Chance or Fortune. 2. An implanted blind determinate something, which we call Nature, which by a fatal and necessary connexion of furd and irrational Causes and Effects produced the first Parents of Mankind, as the like Nature by the like necessity produceth yearly Worms and Flies, and other Insects that have not their existence by univocal Seed: Both these two Suppositions have been before examined and rejected, as *impares huic negotio*.

negotio. 3. The illapse of some pre-existent or animating formative Principle, which we may well call the Soul or *Anima*, that as in the Generation of Mankind by ordinary procreation we see the formative power is some refined active Spirit or Soul *in semine delitescens*, that fashions the Matter, and actuates it with vital sensible Faculties and Operations; so the illapse of some such active substance or powerful Being, illapsing into Matter and united to it, might form it into that constitution which it enjoyed. 4. and Lastly, Or some superior, powerful, wise, and intellectual Being, that did form, fashion, actuate, and constitute the first Parents of Mankind.

The two former being as before laid aside, I shall use a few words touching the third Supposition, of which little hath been before said, and so pass to the fourth and last and true Supposition of the First Efficient of Humane Nature.

3. Therefore touching the third Supposition, concerning the production of Mankind by virtue of such Illapse of Forms, we may suppose it to be intended one of these two ways: 1. Either that with *Origen* we should imagin a *Mundus animarum* that had real and individual Substences: Or 2. that there were some common Element of animate Existence, not divided into individual Existences, but one common rational and vital Nature, whose Particles illapsing into Matter might produce such first Existences of Mankind, and so though in their union to Matter they do *subire rationem formæ*, yet they do likewise *subire rationem efficientis*, as to the formation of Mankind, as the vital Principle in the Egg becomes not only the form of the Chick, but also in the first formation thereof is the disposer of its Organs and exercise of its Faculties, and so doth *subire rationem efficientis immediati* in the formation of the *Fetus*.

As to both these in general, I say, 1. That they are precarious Suppositions, without any just reason to evidence, either that there were such pre-existing individual Souls, or a common reasonable Spirit. Again, 2. The Supposition that these should be the immediate Efficient of the Humane Nature, is likewise precarious and inevident. 3. Even they that suppose either such an individual or common pre-existing Nature, must be forced to suppose them eternal independent Beings, and this will have as many difficulties in it as the Eternity of Mankind; or else if they be supposed created Beings, yet still there will be a necessary recourse unto an infinite uncreated eternal Being that must create them. And 4. consequently the Framers of these Suppositions do with much more difficulty and laboriousness form intermediate Principles of the Origination of Mankind, which with less difficulty and greater congruity may be resolved into the immediate Efficiency of Almighty God, according to the Divine History. 5. And besides all this, if Men will needs suppose a Formation of Man by the illapsing of Souls into prepared Matter, because they see this is the Method of Formation in the ordinary course of Generation now, they must also suppose the progress of the Formation and Maturation of the Humane Nature: This way must be gradual and successive, which will be attended with all those difficulties which are before observed in the Supposition of casual or natural production of Man in his first Origination. But in particular to those several Suppositions, and First, touching the first of these: The Opinion of the pre-existence of Souls

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of Men, and their descent into Bodies, though it hath been countenanced by *Plato* and some that follow him, hath chiefly as it seems been entertained by some of the *Jews*, and some few *Christians*, both recognizing the true God, the Immortality of the Soul, and future Resurrection: For the ancient Jewish Opinion *vide wisdom 8. 19, 20.* [*For I was a witty Child; and had a good spirit, rather being good I came into a Body undefiled.*] Among *Christians*, *Origen* much asserted this Opinion. But whatever may be said touching the truth or falshood of the Opinion it self, it can no way support the primitive Origination of Mankind by the illapsing of such Souls into elementary Matter.

First, It exceeds the power and activity of such imagined, pre-existent Souls, to form and animate Matter into the consistence of a Man without the intervention either of the immediate power of God, or at least without that instituted Method fixed by God in the Generation of Mankind *ex semine*.

And that it doth so exceed the activity of Souls thus to do, appears in this, that although there is according to that Supposition of a *Mundus animarum* a sufficient stock of existing Souls, and if there were not, yet those that once informed humane Bodies survived after the *dissolutio compositi*, and yet we never heard since the first formation of Man that any such new formation hath been made, nor any illapse of any such Soul into any other *Fetus*, but what hath been formed according to the established Law of the successive production of Mankind *ex mixtione seminis utriusque sexus*. Nay the more considerate *Pythagoreans*, and those *Jews* that held the Transmigration of Souls, never supposed any transmigration into any spontaneous production of Man or Animal, but only into such as proceeded *ex univoca generatione*; and what hath never been done, yea never supposed to have been done, we have no reason to suppose possible to be done by any natural and finite Efficient, for such these Souls must be whether they pre-existed or not.

And therefore though in the Resurrection the separated Soul is supposed to reassume his own Body again, yet this seems not to be by any natural power residing in the Soul to form the Body and reunite it self to it, but must be attributed to that Almighty Power of the Glorious God, and to the working of His Mighty Power, whereby he is able to subdue all things to himself, and by the very self-same excess of power, whereby he first created Man upon the Earth, shall he form, raise, and reunite the Humane Nature in the Resurrection, *vid. 1 Cor. 15. 1 Thess. 4. Mat. 13. Mat. 24.* Christ the Son of God raised himself, but in the Resurrection the Dead shall be raised by the Power and Command of the Glorious God.

Secondly, It is not supposed by those, that the Souls of perfect Brutes had any existence antecedent to their first production; for their Souls are not of a self-subsisting nature, they cannot exist out of them, but begin with them, and dye with them; so these in their first production could not arise by any such *illapsus animarum* into elementary Matter, but we must attribute their primitive Formation or Creation to the Command of the Divine Will; and so if we give them any Origination, we shall upon this Supposition give them a nobler Origination, and by a more immediate interposition of the Divine Power and Will, than to that of Man, which seems unreasonable.

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As to the Second, It is true the *Platonists* attributed an Universal Soul to the Universe, the *Anima mundi*, which though they sometimes suppose it a created Intelligent Nature, yet in other places we shall find them attributing so great power and energy to it, that it seems they made it to be no other than God himself. But when they held their Supposition of an *Anima mundi* as a created Existence subordinate to Almighty God, although they attribute many of the great Appearances of Nature, both in their production and government to this Universal Spirit, yet they dare not assert unto it the Efficiency of the first Original of Humane Nature by it; and if they should, yet this their Supposition would have this flaw in it, that they take greater pains, and run the hazard of more difficulties, by supposing the Origination of Man from this *Anima mundi*, than if they should with us suppose the immediate Origination by the Divine Power; neither do they gain any thing by it. But this I may possibly resume again hereafter.

But the Supposition whereof we took notice before is this, That there is a threefold created Universal Nature, viz. a *Natura mentalis*, common to Men and Angels; a *Natura sensitiva*, common to Animals; and a *Natura ignea*, which is the common Principle of Vegetation.

And therefore as the *communis natura ignea* is dispersed through the Universe, and by participation thereof to particles of Matter gives an existence to the Vegetables of several natures, so the communication of the *communis natura sensitiva* might at first give an original to perfect Sensitives, as perchance it now doth to *insecta sponte nascentia*; so the participation of the *Natura mentalis* to some portions of elementary Matter may also give the origination of the first Men and Women in the World.

Two things I should say to this:

First, Although it be true, that the abstraction of the Understanding, ranging the Souls of living things under these Distinctions and generical Notions, hath given us the Notion of one common *Mentalis natura*, and one common *Sensitiva natura*, and one common *Ignea natura*; yet it will be hard to prove, that there are any such real common Natures really existing, but in the Individuals thereof. We have the common Notion of *Natura animalis*, and yet never any Man could make out, that there was any *Animalis natura* but what existed in the Individuals, or that here ever was or can be really existing any Animal with it, not determined in some more contracted existence than an Animal.

Secondly, I must needs confess there is a fair probability of Reason offered by many Learned Men of this triplicity of existing common Natures, and it carries a great analogy with many other *Phænomena* in Nature, and therefore I dare not generally deny it, though the explication of the manner of their Existences, their particular Natures and Uses, be difficult: But if it be admitted (as possibly it may be) that there is some common Element of Mental Nature, another common Element of Sensitive Nature, and another common Element of *Ignea Natura*, and that the several Ranks of Beings, Rational, Sensitive and Vegetable, participate of these respective Natures, as their common Store or Element from whence they are derived, and therefore for instance the Rational Soul in Man were a participation of that common Element or Stock of the

the *Mentalis natura*; yet still we must go higher for the Origination of Mankind, for this would be no other than as it were the *Materia prima* or *communis* of the Souls of Men.

1. Either this *Natura mentalis* is indivisible, and communicated intirely without any distribution of several divided parts of it to all Men, as the common Heat of the Sun is communicated to a thousand Men together, and then all Men will have one common Soul, and there will be no individuation nor principle of individuation between Mankind, for the same universal indivisible Soul reasons and wills in every Man, which would be unintelligible and absurd.

2. Or to uphold Individuation in the Persons and Souls of Men, this common *Natura mentalis* must be either truly several divided Souls, with *Origen's Mundus animarum*; or else, though this common Nature be actually one at first, yet it is divisible, and potentially many: and so the several Souls of several Men must be so many several Particles or *Ramenta* of this *Universalis natura*; and either this portion thereof must be by the superior Activity of Almighty God, or else it must have a kind of natural division of it self, according to the division of Matter qualified and organized to receive it: If the former, still there is *dignus vindice nodus*; for God Almighty must be called in to distribute and participate the portions of this Mental Nature: if the latter, then what shall become of the Individuation of the Soul after Death? It will return back, and be drowned as it were in the *Natura mentalis*, or be annihilated; and if it keeps its Individuation, it must be by the Power and Interposition of Almighty God.

3. But be it what it will, suppose it be the common Matter as it were of the Souls of Men, and therefore now in the ordinary course of Propagation, by a kind of settled Law in Nature may communicate it self or any portion of it self, to the natural productions of Mankind; yet where do we find, that either it ever did, or can of its self form a Body out of Elementary Nature, and unite it self unto it? Or how could that be done without the ordinary method of Generation, to dispose and organize the Recipient or organized Body, or the interposition of a superior Intelligent Nature, that must form and unite it; and if it ever did, or could do the same by its own immediate Activity, why do we not see the same thing done daily without the course of ordinary Generation *ex Semine*, since this *commune Elementum mentale* still is supposed to exist, and of the same efficacy as ever it was?

4. It is observable, that in all these kinds of Suppositions either of one *Mundus animarum individualium* with *Origen*, or of a common *Elementum mentale*, whether divisible or indivisible, nothing can be done without taking in the Power of an Omnipotent God, either in the first Creation of these Souls or Elements, or in the direction, ordering and governing of their illapses into Matter, or of the preparing and organizing of Matter in the first Origination of Men, or in the separating or individuating of these Elements, or in the uniting of them to Matter, or in giving the Law, and Rule, and Institution of their future Regiment, or indeed in all of these: And so Men have needlessly, and without sufficient evidence multiplied *Entia*, and yet such as are not effectual to the solution of the *Phænomena*, nisi *Deus intersit*; and all this plainly expedited with the same ease, and less perplexity and multiplicity, by the immediate Command of the Divine Will and Power in the first production of Things, according to the plain, explicable, and

intelligible System given us by God by the hand of *Moses*, namely, an immediate Formation of Man, an immediate Creation of an Immortal Intellectual Soul, and an immediate Union of both Parts of the *Compositum* by Almighty God.

5. Indeed if it be supposed that one common Mental Nature may be specifically appropriate to the Humane Nature, (not taking in the Angelical) the difficulty of the specification of Humane Nature by that common Mental Principle may be removed, because the Humane Nature is but one *Species*; yet the Supposition of one common Sensitive or Vegetable Nature, as the common Constituent of Animals and Vegetables, leaves us under this perplexity and difficulty, namely, How from that common Sensitive Nature there ariseth diversity of *Species* of Animals and Vegetables, or since the Principles are but of one kind, how comes the *Species* to be several: And on the other side, if the variety of *Species* arise from the different modification or qualification of the Matter, How comes it to pass that there is any fixedness and determination of the *Species* of Animals or Vegetables, or that they are contained and conserved in the same *Species*; since the modifications and qualifications of Matter are various, and irregular, and infinite, neither do they keep in one fixed modification or qualification, but the same is hourly changed. It remains therefore, that although we should admit such a *Natura sensitiva* or *igneae*, either in some common Masses, or interspersed and diffused through the whole Mass of Elementary mixed Matter, we must be fain to suppose something else that must determin these common and Homogeneous Principles into determinate *Species*; or at least, that there are as many Sensitive Natures specifically distinct as there are *Species* of Animals in the World. These Suppositions therefore are not sufficient to explicate the first productions of perfect Animals, at least without multiplication of inevident and unexplicable Suppositions.

6. I therefore come to that true, and plain, and necessary Conclusion, That the first production of Mankind, yea and of perfect Animals, was wrought immediately by the Efficacy of an Intelligent, Wise, and Powerful Being, distinct from the things produced: and this is the great Truth that in all this Discourse I aimed at, and am now arrived at.

And I shall not need go any farther for the evidence of this Truth, than the Contemplation of the Thing it self, (Man,) in which we shall find so many clear Evidences of an Intelligent Efficient, that we need no other, and the common Instances will evidence the Reasonableness of such a Consequence. If I should behold a House with several Rooms and Stories, excellently contrived with all Offices and Conveniences for Use, Doors, Windows, Chimneys, Stairs, and every thing placed and digested with Order, Usefulness, and Beauty, a little Logick will induce me to conclude that it was the Work of an intelligent and skilful Architect, though I did not see him building or finishing it. If I should see a curious Watch, curiously wrought, graven, and enameled, and should observe the exact disposition of the Spring, the String, the Wheels, the Ballance, the Index, and by an excellent, orderly, regular Motion described, discovering the Hour of the Day, Day of the Month, and divers other regular

regular and curious Motions: Or if I should see such a goodly *Machina* as some ascribe to *Archimedes*, whereby in distinct Spheres or Orbs the situation of the Elementary and Celestial World were represented, and all these put into their several Motions, consonant to that we see in the Heavenly Bodies, by the means of Springs or Weights artificially placed, I should most reasonably conclude, that these were neither Casual nor simply Natural Productions, but they were the Work of some intelligent curious Artist, that by design, intention and appropriation wrought and put in order and motion these curious *Automata*.

And certainly, if I or any Man of Reason should in this moment behold a parcel of red Clay, and in a moment should see that arise into the Figure of a Man, full of Beauty and Symmetry, endued with all those Parts and Faculties which I see in my self, and possibly far more glorious, exquisite, and beautiful; and I should observe him presently after this Formation use all the Operations of Life, Sense and Reason, and this kind of production never seen before: That common Reason which should tutor me to think that that Watch, that *Machina* before mentioned was the Work of an Intelligent Nature, would much more enforce me to believe that this admirable and stupendious production of such a Nature unexampled before, would enforce me to believe and confess that this were the immediate Work not only of an Intelligent Being, but of a most Wise and Powerful Being, that could thus in a moment frame, animate, and endow such an excellent Creature as this.

And yet certainly the first created Parents of Mankind were constitute in a Nature specifically conformable unto that Nature which Mankind now hath, and as we have no reason to believe they were any way inferior to the present Perfection of Humane Nature, so we have very great reason to suppose them constituted in a greater degree of Beauty and Perfection than the most perfect Man that hath been ever since their Formation, (except the incarnate Son of God.)

Although I do not intend in this place to take a large Survey of the Perfection of the Humane Nature, because it is in part done already, and I shall reserve it, God willing, for its proper place and season; yet because my Scope here is to evince, that the Supposition of the first production of Mankind is an unquestionable Evidence of the Existence of a most Wise and Intelligent Being, and that the strength of that Evidence rests in the due Contemplation of the Excellence of the Humane Nature and Faculties, and those other Appendices thereunto; and that it is not possible to conceive any other but an Intelligent Efficient (working by Choice, Wisdom, and Appropriation) should be the first Producent, Former, and Constituent of such a Nature. I shall take a short Survey of the Humane Nature, Perfections, and Appendices, which may give any Man a handle to improve it farther to the same end; leaving the fuller Discourse of the Humane Nature as a Reserve, also whereupon a fuller Improvement may be made of this Consideration and Conclusion.

And upon the diligent Observation of this Argument it will evidently appear, That the modelling, framing, compounding, ordering, and endowing the first Prototype and first Copy of the Humane Nature

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was neither an Act or Event of Chance; or of a Surd, Inanimate, Unintelligent Nature, but was a Contrivance and Work of Design, Skill, and Intention, a Transcript of that *Idea* which resided in an intelligent Being, a Work of a wise and powerful Being; yea such a Work as could never have been made by any less than the most intelligent, wise, and powerful Being, exceeding the more single Wisdom and Activity of any created Intelligence at least, unless acting in and by the Commission, Virtue, and Strength of the Almighty God.

Now these Excellencies in Man that demonstrate an Intelligent Efficient are of two kinds, 1. Such as immediately concern his nature: 2. Such as are distinct from it, but relating to it.

1. Therefore concerning those Excellencies that concern immediately his Nature; and these discover themselves and the Wisdom of their Efficient. And these Excellencies are considered either simply in themselves; or 2. *Compositè*, and with the several Subserving and Accommodations to their Ends and Uses.

As to the first Consideration, there are many Excellencies in the Humane Nature which manifest a far more eminent Excellency in his first Efficient.

The Symmetry, Beauty, Majesty, and admirable Composure of his Body, to which there can be nothing added, nor detracted, without a blemish to it.

The admirable Faculties of his Soul, those that concern him in his lowest rank of Life, the Faculty by which he is nourished; those that concern him in his middle rank of Life, Soul and Sensation, Memory and Appetite; those that concern him in his supreme rank of Life, Intellect and Will; those that concern him in his whole *Compositum*, the Generative Faculty.

The admirable Union of his Soul to his Body, whereby he becomes one Intellectual Being, though consisting of Principles of differing natures.

These and such as these would be largely prosecuted, for they do evidence an intellectual, most wise Efficient, that could thus erect, and thus endow such a Fabrick. But that which I most reckon upon, is that admirable Accommodation that is found in the nature of Man, which doth most undeniably demonstrate an intellectual and wise Efficient, working by Intention and Design: for instance, It is indeed a very great evidence of an Artist that can make the Wheel of a Watch, or the Spring, or the Ballance, but the destination of the Spring to the String, and the String to the Fusee, and the accommodation of every Wheel, and their position and fabrick one to another, and the Ballance to correct and check the excess of the Motion, and the Index to the Table, and to fit the Table with Divisions suitable to the Hours, and to put all into such a regular Motion as demonstrates the Hour of the Day: This adaptation of things of various and several Natures and Structures one to another, and all to some common End or Design, is so great an evidence of an Intellectual Being that works by Intention, by Election, by Design and Appropriation, that nothing can be opposed against it: And therefore I rather choose to prosecute this compound Consideration of the Humane Nature, the adaptation and appropriation

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of things therein one to another, and to common Use; which is the most evident Argument of such an Efficient as I have before described in the first Fabrication of Humane Nature.

It were the business of a Volume to pursue all the Particulars of this kind; I shall only instance in some.

1. The admirable accommodation of the several Parts of the Humane Body to make up one *Continuum*, yet consisting of divers Parts distinct in their individuals and kinds, the mortising of the Bones one into another, the binding them together by Nerves and Muscles and Tendons, the Veins and Arteries for the carrying of the Blood diffused by several Ramifications from their Roots to the uttermost extremities of the Body, their differing Coats, *Anastomoses* and means of Communication for the Circulation of the Blood, the distributions and ramifications of the Nerves, indeed the whole Frame of the Humane Body is an Engin of most admirable contrivance and mutual accommodation of Parts, which is so much the more admirable, because many of the Parts are distinct not only in the Roots and Numbers, but in their Nature and Constitution; yet make up one most beautiful *Continuum*, by the mutual accommodation and admirable contignation of the several Integrals thereof.

2. The admirable accommodation of Faculties to the convenience and use of Humane Nature, for Instance, the Digestive Faculty to preserve Life, the Generative Faculty to preserve the *Species*; his Faculties of Sense are accommodated to a Sensible Being, for as much as he is to converse in a Corporeal World, and with Corporeal Beings, there is no one quality of Corporeal Nature that he hath occasion to use or converse with, but he hath a Faculty by one of his five Senses to receive and discern. Again, in his Intellectual Faculty it admirably serves him for the Ends and Uses of his Being; he was appointed to govern, direct, and rule other Animals, and therefore he hath the advantage of a superior Faculty above them; whereby he is able to exercise that Direction and Government: He was made to be the Spectator of the great Work of God, to consider and observe them, to glorify and serve that God that made them; and he is accordingly furnished with an Intellectual Faculty answerable to his condition.

3. The admirable accommodation of Faculties with subministring Faculties, and Organs subservient, appropriate, and convenient for their exercise: For Instance, Local Motion is necessary to Mankind, and accordingly he is furnished with Animal Spirit, Nerves, Muscles, Tendons, and Limbs admirably contrived, and destined, and fitted to Local Motion. The Intellectual Faculty is furnished with the organical Fabrick of the Brain, and the subordinate Power of Sense, Phantasie and Memory, to assist it in its exercise while it is in the Body: *Facultati generativa & prolifica subministrans facultas seminificationis, ac organa eidem deservientia, appetitus naturalis, voluptas quadam alliciens organa generationi dicata, & distinctio sexuum; sine qua juxta legem in natura post primam humane nature formationem insitam, hujusmodi speciei propagatio fieri nequivit.* The Digestive Faculty, furnishing the Blood, the Blood increasing the Body, and supplying the Treasuries of the Spirits, the Spirits again supplying and maintaining the Offices of the Faculties. So that not only the Blood,

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but the whole Corporeal and Animal Nature is in continued motion and mutual subserviency.

I might be endless in this Contemplation, but because it is evident to any Man that considers, and I design a larger discussion of this Business when I come to consider the Parts and Faculties of the Humane Nature, I shall not give farther Instances therein.

And the Use that I make of it is this, That although it might be supposed possible, that either Chance or Nature might in some simple narrow things produce very curious Appearances, as the Configurations of *Asterites*, of Crystals, of Salts in their several shapes; yet when in such a complicated Nature as Man is, consisting of so many various Parts, various in their position, nature, and use, there shall be found such an exact adaptation of every thing one to another, as to serve the whole and every part; this in the primordial Constitution and Formation must needs be the Work of a most wise, intelligent, powerful Being, that operates *secundum intentionem, appropriationem, & intelligentiam*.

2. Let us come then to those Appendices and relative Respects of other things to the Humane Nature, we shall easily find in it this Consideration also, the Footsteps and Evidences of an Intelligent Nature in the Constitution of him, by that admirable accommodation of things without him of different nature from him, to his use and convenience.

In the Operations or Works of Intelligent Agents we may easily see, that according to the degree or perfection of such Intelligence there is variety in their Work or Production: An Intelligent Agent that is but of a narrow Intelligence, as his Prospect is commonly short and weak, so his Work seldom attains more than a narrow and single End. But if the Agent be of a large and comprehensive Intelligence and Wisdom, his ends are great, and most times various and complicated; and the same Operation or Work may have many and divers Ends and Uses.

Almighty God therefore being of infinite Wisdom and Power, foresees and effects great and various Ends in one and the same Work or Operation: Take for Instance that goodly Creature the Sun, What a complication of excellent Ends and Uses there are in that glorious Body? It is the Fountain, communicating Light to the Earth, the Air, and all the Planetary Bodies; it is that which derives Heat, and is the great Instrument of deriving Fruitfulness and Fertility to the inferior World; it distinguisheth Times and Seasons by its Motion; it raiseth, and diggesth, and distributeth the Watry Meteors for the benefit of this inferior World, and infinite more advantages of this kind. And therefore it is the narrowness of our Understanding, that when we see one excellent End or Usefulness in any thing, to conclude, that God Almighty intended no other.

And therefore it is too hasty and vain a Conclusion, to think that the glorious Bodies of the Celestial Host were made merely for the service of Man; and it is also folly and presumption to conclude, that even the things of this inferior World, though principally designed for the use of Man, were merely and only destined for the service of Man: Almighty God hath the Glory of his own Greatness, and the Communication of his own Goodness, as the great End of all his Works: Yea and we have reason to think, that even in these inferior Beings of this lower World which

which are delivered over to the use and service of Men, God Almighty had other Ends that possibly we know not, nay possibly in the Effect of the least minute Animal Almighty God intended a Communication of so much of his Goodness and Beneficence to it, as might give it a kind of complacency and fruition suitable to the capacity of its Existence, though subordinate to other Ends.

And yet not only in these inferior Existences of this lower World, but even in the Fabrick, Order, and Oeconomy of the superior World there is to be found an admirable accommodation of them one to another, and to this Steward and Tenant of Almighty God of this inferior World, called Man.

1. If we look upon the Celestial World, we have an admirable accommodation thereof to the convenience of Mankind; it presents to his View, and thereby to his Understanding, the most noble Spectacle of the Celestial Bodies, their Order, Beauty, Constancy, Motion, Light, conducing to the knowledge and acknowledgment of the Power, Wisdom and Goodness of God: it gives him an account of the progress, and parts, and succession of Time; these are advantages that no Irrational Nature can make use of.

But the Influence of the Heavens are a common Benefit to Man and all Sublunary Natures; but yet the inferior World seems in a great measure directed for the benefit of Mankind, some in common to him and the Brutes, as the Air for Respiration, the Fire for Warmth, the Water for Drink, the Earth for Fruit and Habitation.

But in this lower World there seems many things directed to the special use of Mankind; for besides Domestick Animals especially allowed for his Food, there are some that serve for his Employment, Motion, Exercise, and Food, as the Tillage and Planting of the Earth for his Food, some for his Medicine, as Herbs, and Gums, and Minerals; some for his Clothing, as the Furrs, Wool, and Skins of Beasts; some for his Habitation, as the Timber and Stone; some for his Fuel, as Wood, Coals, and Turf; some for his Defence and Manufacture, as Iron and Steel; some for Commerce, as the Metals of Silver, Gold, Copper, the very Situation of the Seas, the *Magnes*; some for his Ornament, as Silk and Jewels; some for his Journey and Labour, as Horses, Oxen, Camels; some for his Necessity, some for his Delight: Infinite more Instances may be given, whereby it will evidently appear that this lower World is accommodated to the use and convenience of Mankind in a special and remarkable manner; whereby it may be evident to any considerate Man, that the Formation of the World and of Mankind was by the same wise and provident Power; and that as the Humane Nature is accommodated to it self, so this World is accommodated to the exigence and convenience of the Humane Nature.

When I have considered the admirable Congruity of all the Parts of Christian Religion, and how it corresponds, and is adapted to the convenience and condition of the Humane Nature, and how those antecedent Prophecies, Promises, and Directions of Religion in the Old Testament, bear an admirable congruity to the Model of Religion in the New Testament, notwithstanding the vast distances between the manifestations of them, and how all the Scheme of Divine Dispensations

from the beginning of the World bear an admirable accommodation each to other, and to the Evangelical Doctrine; it gives us a strong Moral Evidence that the same one God was the Author of this Religion, that although there seem a diversity and variety in the Administrations, yet when I look upon them together, compare the congruity of what goes before to what follows, it seems one most beautiful Piece, fitted and accommodated in every part to the other; and hereby I satisfy my self that it is the true Religion, that it is all of one piece, and one common Author of it, namely, the God of Truth.

And so when I consider the Humane Nature, and the admirable accommodation that one part thereof hath to the other, and also look upon the *Mundus aspektabilis*, especially this lower World, wherewith we are by reason of its vicinity best acquainted, and observe how admirably the same is accommodated to the Animal Life of Man: And although the Parts thereof are distinct, various, distant, yet there are drawn from it Lines of Accommodations and Communication to the Use of the Humane Nature, so exactly and appositely, that I cannot choose but acknowledge one common Author both of the greater and lesser World, and such an Author, as made and disposed all things by the highest Wisdom and the wisest Choice. If there had been divers Authors of the greater and lesser World, there could never have been an accommodation of things so disparate one to another, unless both had acted in subordination to one common third Being, or by one common Counsel.

Again, it was not possible that Casualty or Chance could have accommodated things of various kinds one to another: If Chance could make a Beam of a House, and could have made Tenents at either end, yet it is not possible to conceive that Chance could cast it to be just of a fit length to answer the congruity of its contiguation to another piece of Timber, or fit the Mortises of other pieces of Timber to those Tenents, or fit the particles and scantlets to answer just one another; this must of necessity require a Workman that works by Understanding, Choice, and Appropriation, because it requires accommodation of several things of several kinds to one End by several Means.

Thus therefore when I see the admirable accommodation of Humane Nature to its own existence and conveniences, the admirable accommodation therein of things of different natures one to another, as Organs to Faculties, Sinews to Bones, Nerves to Muscles, Spirits to Nerves; when I see the excellent accommodation of this lower World, especially to the Humane Nature, although they are in themselves several and heterogeneous, I cannot (without violence to my own Observation, Experience, and Reason) I say I cannot but attribute the first Formation of Humane Nature, yea and of all the Universe, to one most Wise, Intelligent, Powerful Being, who did all things according to the counsel of his Will, after the most wise and excellent *Idea* of his unsearchable Understanding.

C A P.

C A P. V.

Concerning the Nature of that Intelligent Agent that first formed the Humane Nature; and some Objections against the Inferences above made, and their Answer.

HAVING in the foregoing Chapter reduced the Origination of Mankind to an Intelligent Efficient, effecting it *per modum efficientis voluntarii, & per intentionem*, I shall in this place inquire what kind of Intelligent Efficient this was, for among Intelligent Beings there is one *Primum*, the Glorious God, whose Understanding, Power, and Goodness is infinite; there are also acknowledged by the Heathen, *Intelligentia à primo*, those which *Aristotle* calls by the Name of Separate Intelligences, *Plato* calls *Dii ex Diis*, and we commonly call Angels, very glorious and powerful Creatures, which *Plato* takes into the Business of the Creation of Man, as to the Corporeal Frame.

And it seems to be, that the Effect of the Humane Nature in any part thereof, is not attributable to the Angels, neither as instrumental, much less as principal Causes.

1. As to the Soul of Man it seems beyond dispute, for that was a created Substance, and Creation of any new Substance being an infinite Motion, is not within the power of any Finite Nature: the Pretence therefore rests only as to the Corporeal, or at least Animal Nature.

2. Therefore I say that the Formation of the Bodily, much less the Animal Nature of Man, in order to the reception of the Soul, was neither coordinately nor instrumentally the Work of Angels. And the Reasons that seem sufficient to make out this Truth, are these:

1. It seems utterly above an Angelical Power to organize the Body of the Humane Nature: for though it is true, that in the established way of Generation, the Parents, who are inferior in nature to Angels, do organize the Body, at least *mediante semine*, yet that is done in the virtue and strength of the Ordination and Institution of Almighty God: So that as well Man as the *Semen genitale* are the Instruments deputed by Almighty God in virtue of his Supreme Power to propagate the Humane Nature. And therefore since the first Formation of the Humane Nature was a new Formation, not according to the Laws established after in Nature, the first Production of Mankind was immediately by the Almighty Power, and not by the Power of any subordinate Intelligence.

2. Again, it could not possibly be, but that the Humane Nature must be completed in an instant: For how is it conceivable, that first there should be *Corpus formatum*, with all the Organs, Vessels, Blood, and Spirits disposed and ordered in their several Cells and Motions, unless Man had been then at the same time animated as well as organized? For the outward shape or stature of a Man is no more a fit Receptacle of an Animal, much less of a Rational Life, than a Statue of Wax or Stone. The same Hand therefore that animated, formed and fashioned also the

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same Humane Body in the same moment, by virtue of the Volition, Determination, or *Faciamus* of the Divine Will.

3. As we have no manner of evidence of the Angelical concurrence or instrumentality in the Formation of Man or of any of the lower Animals, so there is no necessity at all of such a Supposition. And we are not to multiply Causes without necessity, for as the bare determination of the most powerful and efficacious Will of God was sufficient to bring Being out of Nothing, so the like determination of the same Will was sufficient to form Man out of the Dust of the ground, without taking in a subordination or instrumentality of Angels.

Again, if we should suppose the cooperation of Angels in the Formation of the Body of Man, it must be in the strength, virtue, and efficiency of the first Cause, which as it gave the Angels their Being, so it must give them the efficacy, power, and virtue to be instrumental in this Formation; which as we have no warrant, so we have no probable reason to admit, since the first Cause was all-sufficient for this Effect without their assistance.

4. The admirable Structure of the Body of Man, the accommodation of it to Faculties, the furnishing of it with Faculties accommodate to it, even as its Animal Nature (though we take not in the reasonable intellectual Soul) imports in it a Wisdom, Power, and Efficacy above the Power of any created Nature to effect: If it should be in the power of an Angel, by applying actives to passives, to produce an Insect, nay a perfect Animal, yet the Constitution and Frame of so much of that in Man that concerns his Animal Nature were too high a Copy for an Angelical Nature to write, unless thereunto deputed and commissioned by the Infinite God, which Commission we no where find, and I am very sure a bare Naturalist will not suppose.

5. Again, there is that necessity of a suitableness and accommodation of the Parts of the Body to the Faculties of the Soul, and *è converso*, that any the least disproportion or disaccommodation of one to the other would spoil the whole Work, and make them utterly unserviceable and unapplicable one to the other. It was therefore of absolute necessity that the same skill and dexterity that was requisite to the first Formation of the Soul, must be used and employed in the Formation of the Body; and if an Angel were unequal to the making up and ordering of the Soul, he could never be sufficient to make a fit organical Body exactly suitable to it.

Upon the whole matter I therefore conclude, That not only the Soul, but the very Animal Nature in Man, and not only that, but the Formation and Destination of his Bodily Frame, was not only the Work of an Intelligent Being, but of the Infinite and Omnipotent Intelligent Being, who in the same moment formed his Body, and organized it with immediate Organs and Instruments of Life and Sense, and created his Intellectual Nature, and united it to him, whereby Man became a living Soul.

And this, as the necessary Evidence of Reason, doth first drive us to acknowledge a Being, or first Formation of the Humane Nature *ex non genitis*; and secondly, to acknowledge that this first Formation of the Nature of Man was not by Chance, Casualty, or a meer Syntax of Natural

Natural Causes, but by an Intelligent Efficient; so we are upon the very same and a greater Evidence of Reason, driven to acknowledge that Intelligent Efficient to be the Great and Wise and Glorious God, no other Cause imaginable being *par tali negotio*.

And indeed, if once we can bring Men but to this one Concession, That the original Efficient of the Humane Nature was an Intelligent Being, any Man pretending to Reason will with much less difficulty admit that Efficient to be the Almighty God, than any other invisible, intelligent Efficient, which we usually call Angels or Intelligences: And the Reasons are these, 1. Because though we that are acquainted with the Divine Truths do as really believe that there are Angels as well as Men; yet the Natural Evidences of the Existence of Almighty God are far more evident and convincing, even upon a Rational and Natural account, than that there are Angels; for the former being a Truth of the highest moment and importance to be believed by all, hath a proportionable weight and clearness of evidence, even to Natural Light, more and greater than any other Truth: And hence among the *Jews* the Sect of the *Sadduces* believed the Existence of God, yet denied or doubted the Existence of Angels or separated Intelligences. 2. Because the very Supposition of an Angelical Nature doth necessarily suppose the Existence of a Supreme Being, from whom they derive their Existences. 3. Because the great occasion of Infidelity in relation to Existence of Almighty God is, that sensual Men are not willing to believe any thing whereby they have not a sufficient Evidence, as they think, to their Sense: The Notion of a Spiritual and Immaterial Being is a thing that they cannot digest, because they cannot see or by any Sense perceive it, nor easily form to themselves a Notion of it. He therefore that can so far master the stubbornness of Sense, as to believe such a Spiritual Intelligent Being as an Angel, hath conquered that difficulty that most incumbers his belief of a God, and we that can but suppose or admit the former, cannot long doubt of the latter. He therefore that can once bring his thoughts to carry the first Origination of Mankind to the efficiency of an Angel, must needs in a little time see a greater evidence not only to believe a Supreme Deity, but to attribute the Origination of Mankind and of the goodly Frame of the Universe to the Supreme Being; as necessarily best fitted with Power, Wisdom, and Goodness to accomplish so great a Work, and that without the help or intervention of Angels or created Intelligences, who must needs derive their Being, Power, and Activity from him.

There remains two or three Objections against the force of the Consequence of the Existence of Almighty God, and his Efficiencies in the production of Mankind in their first Individuals, which I shall propound and answer.

1. *Objeç.* What need there be laid so great a stress upon the Primitive Formation of Man, as that it could not be done but by the Power and Wisdom of an Almighty Intelligent Being? since every day's experience lets us see, that by the mixture and coition of Man and Woman, *Et ex semine ab utroque deciso, in utero muliebri per spatium decem mensium ad plerimum producitur hujusmodi natura humana, quem tot elogiis magnificamus*; that which we every day see to be an effect of finite Creatures in the daily

daily production of Individuals of Humane Nature: Why must we needs call in no less than the Wisdom and Power of God himself, to be the immediate Efficient of the first Formation of the Individuals of that nature, which we see every day produced by the common efficacy of Nature and efficiency of the Parents; *Vel ad minus, seminis utriusque sexus in utero foemineo conclusi?*

In Answer hereunto, I shall not at this time or in this place enter into the dispute how far the Divine Efficiency concurs immediately in the ordinary Generation of Mankind, nor how far the entire Humane Nature, as well his Rational Soul as his Body and Animal Nature, is attributable to Parental Generation, these will be proper for another place: but for a full Answer hereunto I say, 1. That there is not the same measure to be taken of the competency or sufficiency of an Efficient in the production of the Humane Nature, as it stands now established, and in the first formation of the first Individuals of that nature *ex non genitis*.

It is true, it is in settled and established Nature, within the compass of the immediate efficiency of both Sexes, & *seminis prolifici ab eisdem decisi*, to form the Humane Nature in that gradual process and method that is now consonant to Nature; but if all the Men on Earth and Angels in Heaven should now go about to form the Humane Nature *ex non genitis*, either out of the Elementary Material, or by the help and direction of the Celestial Influences, or by any Irradiation even from an Angelick Nature, it could not be done: It was therefore a vain piece of madness in Paracelsus to pretend to the formation of a *Homunculus*, when by all his pretended Skill he could not protract his own Life, being already constituted to the common period of an ordinary old age. But 2. This *Potestas generativa* in the Humane Nature is part of that admirable Efficiency which Almighty God exercised in the first Formation of Mankind and of other perfect Animals, and this Faculty is performed in the Humane Nature, and traduced from one to another by the immediate efficacy, virtue, and energy of that first Divine Efficiency. In this Generative Faculty therefore though the Parents are not simply passive Instruments, the *Semen prolificum* is not merely a passive Instrument in the production of Humane Nature, yet both are Instruments, and *Efficientes vicaria & subordinata*, in respect of Almighty God; and the activity that either of these Instruments have, they have from that God that first formed the Humane Nature, and implanted and alligated this activity to them. In the first formation of the first Individuals of Humane Nature this *Vis prolifica* was immediately constituted in them by Almighty God, with power not only to produce their kind, but to transmit this *Vis prolifica* to those they so produced: and although the immediate production now seems to be by the immediate efficiency of the Parents, and their prolific *Semen*, yet it is done by virtue, and in the power of the first efficiency of Almighty God, *Qui cum hanc indidit primis individuis in eorum prima formatione, ac perpetua quadam lege successivis individuis quasi alligavit & connexit*. So that as when I behold a Man at this day, his corporeal Figure, his Faculties, I see but as it were a Copy or Transcript of the first created nature of Man in the first Individuals, I mean as to their Essentials; so I look upon the successive Gene-

Generations of Mankind, to be but a continuation of that first generative Faculty concreated with the first Man, and protracted or extended unto all succeeding descendents from him: And therefore I have all the reason imaginable, when I behold the successive Generations of Men, and the actuating of that Faculty, *retro trahere ad primam originem*; and to acknowledge it to be no less the Efficacy of the Divine Efficiency in the thousandth Generation from Adam, than it was in Adam himself: Just as if I should take a Wedge of Silver of one Inch square, and gild it over with Gold, and should after draw it by Art into a Wire as small as a Hair, to a Mile in length, every Inch of that silver Wire hath the very same tincture which the first Wedge had: Though this resemblance holds not in all things, it serves to explicate what I mean, namely, the *Facultas generativa*, which was by God Almighty given to the first Parents of Mankind, and was bound to their *Species*. And though it be now at a remoter distance from its first efficiency, yet it hath its continuance and efficacy by virtue of that First Efficiency, and the Institution and Ordination of that most Wise and Powerful Being. So that even at this day the univocal generation of Man (yea and of all perfect Animals) is no less the Efficiency of Almighty God than it was in the first production of it, though it be more remote in respect of the intervenience of more successive instrumental Causes. And therefore we are mistaken, if we think that the generation of Men or Animals is purely by virtue of the instrumental Causes, without regard to the first Efficiency of Almighty God; which though it perpetuates it in a settled regular way, now called therefore Natural, yet it is by the Force, Virtue, and continuing Energy of the first wise, powerful, and efficacious Institution of Almighty God. And so nothing is gotten by this Objection, but to remind us to acknowledge and admire the admirable Wisdom, Power, and Goodness of God, in the first establishment and continued protraction of this Law of Seminal Propagation.

And this is the true reason of the constancy and fixedness of the Methods of Generation; and why they do not *transire ultra limites*; why those Animals that are produced *per ovum*, do not, cannot produce *viviparous*, as Birds, and some sorts of Fishes; and why those that produce *vivipara*, or *per vermem*, do not produce *per ovum*; why without extreme accidents all perfect Animals produce Individuals conformable to their own similitude, and specific nature and likeness; namely, this is the true reason, In the first formation of the Individual of these *Species*, the most Wise God, who foresaw what was most fit and convenient, did engrave these several Laws and inviolable Constitutions in the natures of the things first produced, and chained and connected them to their *Species* by an inviolable Law; not regularly changeable by any Power but by his Power that Enacted them: And therefore it is not in the power of an Angel to alter the established Method of the Generation of things; because it is a Law instituted by the Supreme Lord. And although Monstrous Births may casually arise, as in due time may be observed, yet the production of *vivipara per ovum*, or of *ovipara per vermem*, or of Men or perfect Animals, *aliter quam per conjunctionem maris & feminae*, are prohibited by the settled and fixed Laws established by the God of Nature in the first formation of Individuals.

2. Object.

2. *Object.* You lay much stress upon the admirable Fabrick not only of Man but of perfect Animals, the regular and excellent order and composure of their Parts, the accommodation of their Organs to their Faculties, and of their Faculties to the convenience of their Nature: and yet there is scarce the smallest Insect but hath the same Faculties and Organs as exquisitely accommodated to their use as the greatest Animal, nay they are so much the more curious, and the Art of the Artificer so much the more commendable by how much the smaller they are. If a Flea or a Fly hath as exact a Symmetry, organization, and diversity of Faculties as an Ostridge or an Elephant; the curiosity of the Art is more admirable by the smallness of the Volume: And yet these do every day arise spontaneously, and it may be propagate their kind after their spontaneous production, or it may be have only the existence of a Day; neither is it reasonable to think that all these Insects thus spontaneously arising, were first produced in the fifth or sixth Day; or that the *Semina formata* of every Worm or Fly that hath arisen this day or yesterday, were created in the first Creation of things, and lay concealed and unactive for above 5000 Years; and yet in these *sponte nata* we see no necessity nor evidence of any immediate Divine Efficiency, for some are every day produced *ex putri, sine praeexistente semine*. Why therefore is so much weight laid upon the first Origination of Man or perfect Animals, as if it must needs require the immediate interposition of Almighty God, when we are content to refer the Origination of Works possibly of as wonderful a fabrication as many at least of perfect Animals, to a lower Cause?

I Answer, It is true that there is a great curiosity in the Texture and Faculty of Insects, and that there are very many that arise not *ex praeexistente semine*, but either of Vegetables, or of that which we usually call *Materia putris*; and it will be too hard a task for any to maintain that all Insects do arise of univocal Seeds derived from their own *Species*; or that all the *Species* of Insects were created the fifth or sixth Day; neither shall I with *Scotus* affirm that the Forms of such Insects are derived from Heaven, and diffused into Matter, whereby they mould themselves into their distinct Existences.

But as the God of Nature gave a seminal prolific power to perfect Animals and unto Men, and did bind and connex this Method of their future Generations unto their Nature, without which though they had been constituted otherwise in a most perfect Constitution, they could never have multiplied their kind. So as to the production of many Insects, Almighty God hath given such a prolific nature to the Earth and Waters, in a certain due mixture irradiated and influenced by the Sun to produce divers sorts of Insects by virtue of these two great Benedictions given to the Water, *Gen. 1. 20.* and to the Earth, *Gen. 1. 24.* as the two great prevailing Elements in spontaneous generations; and as by virtue of the Divine Benedictions given to Animals and Men, [*Increase and multiply, and replenish the Earth and the Waters;*] *Gen. 1. 22, 28.* so by virtue of that first Command to the Waters and Earth, [*Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life; and let the Earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, and the cattle and creeping thing, and the beast after his kind.*] The spontaneous propagation of Insects

Insects by the Earth is by virtue of this Command as effectual, and in its kind as natural by virtue of this established Law, as the production of Animals *per mixtionem*, though not so perfect.

And from the Efficacy of this Divine Institution it comes to pass, 1. That their Textures and Faculties are curiously disposed; for the Elementary Nature in conjunction with the Heavenly Influence doth produce them as Instruments, and in the virtue of the first Institution of the Glorious God. 2. That though there is a great variety and multiplicity in their *Species*, yet they are not infinite; but determinate. 3. That according to the variety of Climates and various disposition of Matter, Insects are variously produced: this Climate produceth that Insect that another doth not; and this Herb, this Wood, this Flesh, that Insect that another doth not; and the same is observed in Herbs and spontaneous Plants.

And hence it is, that all the Art in the World can never make the meanest Insect out of any other Matter, or any otherwise disposed, or any otherwise irradiated, than what would of it self naturally produce an Insect of that kind: But this shall be farther illustrated in the Answer to the next Objection.

But although it be true that these little Insects discover the wonderful Wisdom and Power of God, in their vicarious productions by the commissioned and influenced Elementary Nature, yet they come exceedingly short of those perfect Animals who have a nobler and more elaborate production by univocal generation, and infinitely short of the excellency of the Humane Nature: And therefore there is no parity of Instance in the first formation of an Insect *ex non genitis*, and the first formation of the Humane Nature: Every Year gives us Instances of a new spontaneous production of Insects, and this by virtue of that primitive commission and vital vigour thereby concredited to the Earth and Waters irradiated by the Sun. But never any Age gives so much as a shadow of an Instance of the production of any perfect Animals, much less of Man by any such spontaneous Method; and that the latter gives a greater and more eminent *Specimen* of a Divine Power in its primitive formation, than the former in its spontaneous production.

3. *Object.* It is evident that the malignant Spirits have power to produce Insects, as appears by the Magicians producing of Frogs in *Aegypt* by their Enchantments, *Exod. 8. 7.* and therefore the resolution of the spontaneous productions of Insects into the Energy of the Divine Command seems unwarrantable. And if he may produce those which are really endued with an Animal Life, why not those Animals that have their ordinary production by univocal Generation, and why not also Mankind.

And the Satyrs and Fauns whereof some of the Ancients write, seems to be productions out of the common road of humane production.

I Answer, 1. Touching the supposed Fauns and Satyrs, they were either Fables or Illusions, and no credit to be given to the Histories of them. 2. Admitting it should be within the power of good or evil Angels to produce Insects, yet it would be no consequence from thence to their efficacy of producing perfect Animals, much less Humane Nature, which is in another superior rank of Being above the noblest

Brutes, and excessively above the rank of Insects: We might as well conclude, because a Man can make a Candle he can make a Star. But 3. As to the efficacy of good or evil Angels in effecting of Insects; 1. It is of no great difficulty to suppose that good or evil Angels may bring or transport the *Semina* or Spawn of Insects to other places, and possibly thus it might be done by the *Egyptian* Magicians. 2. It is very true, that the Angelick Natures have a very great knowledge of Natural Efficacies and Virtues, and a great power of transporting, uniting, and applying Actives to Passives, whatsoever therefore is effectible by the most congruous and efficacious application of Actives to Passives, is effectible by them. And since there are many Insects that arise by the connatural efficacy of Elementary Matter, and by the due preparation of the same, and by the due application thereof unto the incidence of Celestial Heat and Influxes, it may be in the power of these knowing and active Spirits, by a transportation and application of such Matter, and by the position of them in such an Influence as is natural for their production, to be instrumental not only to the acceleration of such productions, but to the productions themselves: But though still the efficacy of the production is not applicable to the efficiency of these Spirits, but to the natural vigour of those Natural Actives and Passives that are by them brought together, and they cannot produce a Fly or a Frog beyond the activity and efficacy of Elementary Matter and Celestial Heat: (And hence it was, that the *Egyptian* Enchanters could produce Frogs out of the Rivers of *Egypt* by the assistance of evil Spirits, because the Waters and temperament of the Soil and Climate was able to have done it, if those parts thereof were transported and united unto one place, where being brought they would probably without the help of a Magician have been formed into that Insect:) Yet when the same Artists were trying to produce Lice out of Dust, a Matter simply unsuitable for such a production, they could not effect it, but acknowledged it was the Finger of God: *Exod.* 8. 18, 19. We see that Man by his little narrow skill and power, by applying Actives to Passives, may do things of not unlike a nature, as the acceleration of the growth of Seeds by Mineral Preparations, the production of Mites in Cheeses by infusing Wine, and many tell us of a strange production and multiplication of some Insects by the juxta-position of several Ashes and Solutions of Insects, and by other means: none of which ways are estranged from the knowledge of those experienced Spirits.

But it seems utterly beyond the power of any Created Nature to produce any Insect, but by the juxta-position and application of that Elementary Body and Celestial Heat that is natural and proper for such a production: and much more is it impossible for any Created Power to produce any Animal, though never so small or inconsiderable, whose production is by the standing and fixed Laws of Nature mancipitated and chained to that common Method of Production settled in Nature, by the Conjunction of Sexes.

And therefore, though an evil Angel may produce a Frog or Snake by the due application of Actives to Passives, as before is declared, yet he cannot with all his power and skill produce a Dog or a Cat, or any other Creature that by the Laws and Institution of Nature is only producible by the Conjunction of Sexes.

And

And the reason is, because these Laws which are instituted and settled in Nature when it is fixed and established, are no other than the Laws of the Sovereign Lord of Heaven and Earth, and although he may dispense with, alter, or suspend his own Laws, yet no created Being hath that power of it self to suspend or alter these Laws settled by the God of Nature, no not in any one individual thing, and therefore it is not possible for Angel or Devil, without the immediate Commission from the God of Heaven, to make any spontaneous production of such an Animal as by the established Law of Nature is to be produced by natural propagation, and not otherwise.

But herein I do not understand, 1. Such Insects as though producible by Propagation, yet are naturally likewise producible *ex putri*, as Frogs, and many other Insects, for Nature hath allowed them both ways of production. 2. Neither of Incubation, for many Animals that are *ovipara*, and cannot produce *ovum fecundum sine utriusque sexus natura*, yet may be excluded by artificial Incubation as well as natural, this is not only within the power of Angels, by applying an artificial Heat, but even of any else. The Eggs in *Egypt* are hatched in the Sun, or by the heat of Ovens or warm Ashes.

CAP. VI.

The Reasonableness of the Divine Hypothesis touching the Origination of the World, and particularly of Man, and the preference thereof before all the other precedent Suppositions.

UPON a diligent Observation of the various Suppositions and special Methods of the ancient Philosophers, touching the Origination of Mankind and of the Universe in general, these improbabilities of their truth and sufficiency will appear to any considerate Man. First, They are destitute of any satisfactory Evidence, to any person that is not strangely and impotently engaged to them, either because they are his own Conceptions, or the Conceptions of some persons of whose Learning or Wit their Disciples or Followers are too fond admirers. There are commonly two Ingredients that make Men fond of a pre-conceived Opinion: 1. Self-love and admiration, when a Man hath fashioned a Fancy or Imagination to some height, he falls in love with it because it is his own, and is with great difficulty drawn from it. 2. Affectation of Esteem, which hath a double effect upon Men, namely, the affectation of Praise and Vain-glory, as having found out some Conception singular, novel, or that may give a Man a name of a high Mercurial Wit, and on the other side, a shame and disdain to retract that which he hath once publickly asserted.

The truth is, that many of the several *Hypotheses* of the *Aristotelians*, *Epicureans*, and of divers of the other Ancients touching the original or fundamental state of the Universe and Mankind, are meer Inventions and Fancies, having no other foundation or evidence of their truth, than meerly their

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their own Fancies and Conceptions. And it is not reasonable to think it should be otherwise, for since the Manner of the Origination of Things must in common Reason be thought to be of some other Mode or Order than what we see now in Nature, and since the particular Manner or Method of this Origination of Things is such a Matter of Fact as cannot possibly lye in the compass of humane discovery meerly by the strength of Ratiocination or a bare humane Tradition, (for it is a Matter of Fact that precedes the supposed existence of Memory, at least of any Man) it must necessarily be that Mankind must be ignorant of it, unless it be revealed unto him by some that might certainly know the Fact it self; and therefore the Conceptions of Men touching it must needs be as confused, roving, uncertain, and inevident, as the Discourses or Conceptions of a blind Man that never saw, touching Light or Colours.

But the *Medium* of the discovery of the first Formation of things delivered by *Moses*, is that which can only give us a true Notion of them, namely, Revelation to a Man that conversed with Almighty God face to face, and the Communication thereof to Mankind by this Man divinely inspired, and informed touching this Fact by him that alone could give him the true account thereof, namely, God himself. Although I do not doubt, but besides this Divine Revelation to *Moses*, there was a Divine Manifestation thereof to the first created Man in that fulness of his first illuminated and perfect state of created Nature, and from him that Tradition was derived, and preserved in that Line of the Patriarchs in which the most important Divine Truths were conserved, and traduced from *Adam* to *Moses*.

That which may illustrate my meaning, in this preference of the revealed Light of the Holy Scriptures touching this matter, above the Essays of a Philosophical Imagination, may be this: Suppose that *Greece* being unacquainted with the curiosity of Mechanical Engins, though known in some remote Region of the World, an excellent Artift had secretly brought and deposited in some Field or Forest some excellent Watch or Clock, which had been so formed, that the original of its Motion were hidden, and involved in some close contrived piece of Mechanism, that this Watch was so framed that the Motion thereof might have lasted a Year, or some such time as might give a reasonable Period for Philosophical Conjectures concerning it, and that in the plain Table there had not been only the description and indication of Hours, but the configurations and indications of the various *Phases* of the Moon, the Motion and Place of the Sun in the Ecliptick, and divers other curious indications of Celestial Motions; and that the Scholars of the several Schools of *Epicurus*, of *Aristotle*, of *Plato* and the rest of those Philosophical Sects, had casually in their walk found this admirable *Automaton*, what kind of work would there have been made by every Sect, in giving an account of this *Phenomenon*? We should have had the *Epicurean* Sect have told the by-standers according to their pre-conceived *Hypothesis*, that this was nothing else but an accidental concretion of Atoms, that haply faln together had made up the Index, the Wheels, the Ballance, and that being haply faln into this posture, they were put into Motion. Then the *Cartesian* falls in with him, as to the main of their Supposition, but

but tells him, that he doth not sufficiently explicate how this Engin is put into Motion; and therefore to furnish this Motion there is a certain *Materia subtilis* that pervades this Engin, and the moveable parts consisting of certain globular Atoms apt for Motion, they are thereby and by the mobility of the globular Atoms put into Motion. A third, finding fault with the two former, because these Motions are so regular, and do expresse the various *Phenomena* of the distribution of Time, and of the Heavenly Motions; therefore it seems to him, that this Engin and Motion also, so analogical to the Motions of the Heavens, was wrought by some admirable Conjunction of the Heavenly Bodies, which formed this Instrument and its Motions in such an admirable correspondency to its own existence. A fourth, disliking the Suppositions of the three former, tells the rest that he hath a more plain and evident Solution of the *Phenomenon*, namely, the Universal Soul of the World, or Spirit of Nature, that formed so many sorts of Insects with so many Organs, Faculties, and such congruity of their whole Composition, and such curious and various Motions as we may observe in them, hath formed and set into Motion this admirable *Automaton*, and regulated and ordered it with all these congruities we see in it. Then steps in an *Aristotelian*, and being dissatisfied with all the former Solutions, tells them, Gentlemen, you are all mistaken, your Solutions are inexplicable and unsatisfactory, you have taken up certain precarious *Hypotheses*, and being pre-possessed with these Creatures of your own Fancies, and in love with them, right or wrong you form all your Conceptions of things according to those fancied and pre-conceived Imaginations. The short of the business is, this *Machina* is eternal, and so are all the Motions of it, and in as much as a Circular Motion hath no beginning or end, this Motion that you see both in the Wheels and Index, and the successive indications of the Celestial Motions, is eternal, and without beginning. And this is a ready and expedite way of solving the *Phenomenon*, without so much ado as you have made about it.

And while all the Masters were thus controverting the Solution of the *Phenomenon* in the hearing of the Artift that made it, and when they had all spent their philosophizing upon it, the Artift that made this Engin, and all this while listened to their admirable Fancies, tells them, Gentlemen, you have discovered very much excellency of Invention touching this piece of Work that is before you, but you are all miserably mistaken, for it was I that made this Watch, and brought it hither; and I will shew you how I made it; first, I wrought the Spring, and the Fusee, and the Wheels, and the Ballance, and the Case, and Table; I fitted them one to another, and placed these several Axes that are to direct the Motions of the Index to discover the Hour of the Day, of the Figure that discovers the *Phase* of the Moon, and the other various Motions that you see; and then I put it together, and wound up the Spring, which hath given all these Motions that you see in this curious piece of Work: and that you may be sure I tell you true, I will tell you the whole order and progress of my making, disposing, and ordering of this piece of Work, the several materials of it, the manner of the forming of every individual part of it, and how long I was about it: This plain and evident discovery renders all these excogitated *Hypotheses* of

of these Philosophical Enthusiasts vain and ridiculous, without any great help of Rhetorical Flourishes or Logical Confutations.

And much of the same nature is that disparity of the *Hypotheses* of the Learned Philosophers in relation to the Origination of the World and Man, after a great deal of dust raised, and fanciful Explications and unintelligible *Hypotheses*. The plain, but Divine Narrative by the hand of *Moses*, full of sense, and congruity, and clearness, and reasonableness in it self, doth at the same moment give us a true and clear discovery of this great Mystery, and renders all the Essays of the generality of the Heathen Philosophers to be vain, inevident, and indeed inexplicable Theories, the creatures of Phantasie and Imagination, and nothing else.

1. This therefore is the first Advantage of the *Mosaical Hypothesis* of the Origination of things above the Philosophical Theories touching the same; the latter are inevident, conjectural, and indeed apparently false; the former contains an Evidence of it self, by its consonancy, to the only manner that can be sufficient for such a Discovery, and the plain, evident, and congruous relation of it.

2. All the Philosophical Theories (except that which carries the Origination of things up to Almighty God) are full of infinite intanglements, difficulties, and inconsistencies, that ever and anon break out and discover themselves; whereby they are enforced by a continual substitution of new Suppositions, to piece up and mend the breaches that arise upon such inconsistencies, and so avoid those intollerable absurdities that their Suppositions do necessarily occasion. And again, sometime are fain utterly to lay aside some of their former Positions, as utterly undisciplinable and ungovernable by any subsidiary Explication, by reason of their gross absurdities and apparent impossibilities. This appears by some of the former Debates touching the *Epicurean* and *Aristotelian* Suppositions, and many more may be given in this matter.

But the first Chapter of *Genesis*, as it is perfectly consonant to it self, so it labours under no difficulties or absurdities, but all parts thereof are easily and apparently reconcilable one with another, and with the common reason of the things delivered upon the account of that common Supposition upon which the whole is bottomed, namely, the Efficiency of the most Wise and Powerful Intelligent Being.

Since therefore it is evident that Truth is ever consistent with it self, and that which contains any irreconcilable absurdity or contradiction with it self or any other Truth, can never be true: we have all the reason imaginable to give the preference to the *Mosaical Hypothesis*, as consonant to it self, and to all other Truths that are; and on the other side, to reject the *Epicurean* and *Aristotelian* Theories in this matter, each of which contains irreconcilable difficulties in themselves, and contradictions to evident and demonstrable Truths.

3. The third observable is this, That the Holy History gives us such an Efficient, and such an Efficiency of things that gives us a plain, and clear, and evident Solution of all those admirable *Phænomena* that we see both in the Universe, in the Motions, Orders, Positions, Influences, and Conveniences of the whole Universe, and of the several great Integrals thereof, and likewise of that admirable Beauty, Order, Symmetry, Use-

fulness

fulness of Parts, and Organs of Faculties and Powers that are to be found in Animals, and especially in Man: of these admirable congruities of Powers, Motions, and Instincts not only in the Animal and Vegetable Province, but also in the very inanimate Bodies; by giving us the Almighty, most Wise, most Bountiful God to be the first Author of the World and of Mankind, and to be the Contriver and Institutor of that Law in things created, which we usually call the Law of their Nature, which is nothing else but the Will, the Rule, the Institution of the most Wise, Powerful, and Intelligent Being. And let Men toyl themselves till their Brains be fired, and study and invent from Age to Age, to give us any other Explication of most of the observable *Phænomena* in Nature, they will toyl in vain, and substitute unto us nothing but empty, watrish, and unsatisfactory Solutions, or meer Whimsies, *Chimæra's*, and Falsities, instead of Truth and Reality: And this is the admirable preference of the Divine History of the Origination of Things, that it gives us a solid, plain, evident, congruous Solution of all the admirable *Phænomena* in universal and particular Beings, wherein our Minds may rest, and quiet themselves; which those Philosophers neither do nor can do, that use any other Method of the Origination of Things. What reason can there be assigned of the position of the Elementary and Heavenly Bodies in that most convenient position and situation, the usefulness, order, and regularity of their Motions, Heat, and Influence? Why the Motions of every thing are directed with the most suitableness to the convenience of the Universe, and to its own? Why a Stone or a Bar of Iron moves downward, what is within it, or without it, that excites or directs it? What reason can there be assigned of that admirable accommodation of Meteors, the Wind and Rain, nay the very Thunder and Lightning, to the use and benefit of the Elementary World? What reason can be assigned of the admirable Fabrick of the Body of Man, that singular beauty, destination, and symmetry, and convenience of Parts and Organs, that admirable constitution and ordination of his Faculties, especially that of his Intellect? What reason can be assigned of the wonderful order and procedure of the generation of Men, yea and of common Animals: All done with that order and uniformity, with that convenience and regularity, that it exceeds the imitation, and even the comprehension of the wisest Man in the World? Touching these and infinite more of these admirable Appearances in Nature, the first of *Genesis* gives us a plain, reasonable, evident Explication, by letting us know that these were the Works of the most Intelligent Being, the Works of the most Wise and Glorious God: And the reason why they are so admirably, wisely, and excellently framed and ordered, is because they were made and ordered by the great Skill, Wisdom, Power, and Design of the Glorious God.

But now if we come to demand of these wise Philosophers a Solution of the admirableness of these *Phænomena*, we shall have such Solutions as must make us first unreason and unman our selves, before we can subscribe to them, or at least we shall have such a Solution as no way countervails the value of the Work, or else shall give a Solution of *Idem per idem*, or else by somewhat else that is utterly unintelligible.

Ask *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, and by their favour, some of their late fry

fry the Atomists will tell us, that all or the greatest part of this is by chance, casual position, and mode; and motion, and figure, and texture of Atoms: and he that believes this whiles he hears it or says it, is in a full capacity of believing any thing, though never so unreasonable. Let any Man but ask his own Reason fairly, whether he can believe this that he thus saith, I appeal to that Man, whether he doth or can really believe himself when he says it. Ask another sort of Philosophers for their Solution of it, they will tell you that Nature is the Cause, and a sufficient Solution of all these things: But what is that Nature, where is it, is it the nature or disposition of the things themselves? Then it explicates it no otherwise but thus, That things have this excellency and order, because it is their nature to be so, or, they are so because they are so: But if by Nature they mean some separate Existence, what then is it? Is it a Body or Spirit, is it a reasonable, an intelligent Being, or is it a furd and stupid Existence, or else is it a Law or a Rule self-subsisting? If it be a reasonable, intelligent Existence, we differ but only *de nomine*; that which I call God they will call Nature, at least unless they suppose it an inferior intelligent Being, and then the difficulty is only made somewhat more, that a subordinate intelligent Being was able to produce such Effects which appear to all Men to be Works of the greatest Power and Wisdom imaginable. On the other side, if they suppose it to be a meer furd unintelligent Being, how comes it to pass that they carry in them the greatest evidence imaginable of the most perfect, and consequently of the most intelligent efficient Agent? Again, will they suppose it a *Norma*, Rule, or Law of a most excellent frame and order, (and indeed in so conceiving, they conceive truly that Nature is such a Law or Rule) but still this doth not explicate the *Phænomena* of Nature, without supposing somewhat more: A Law or Rule is not in it self effective or active, neither can it subsist or exist without an Agent that either gave it, or works by or according to it. The Laws of a State are the Rules of its Government, but this Law must be given by some Power, and some Power there must be that must act according to it, otherwise a Law is a stupid, dead, unactive, and unconceivable thing: And therefore a Law or Rule singly explicates not any the *Phænomena* of Nature without a Being that gives this Law to things, or acts, or makes things act according to it, and then we are in a great measure where *Moses* brings us, only with this difference, the Law by which this great World was made, was no other but the Determination and *Beneplacitum* of the Divine Will, determined or qualified (if we may use that improper word) with the highest and most sovereign Wisdom and Power: And the Law by which things thus made were for the future to be governed, was that instituted Rule and Order which this Sovereign Lord contrived and placed in created Beings; and thus indeed, *Opus natura est opus intelligentia*. Nature therefore may have these various acceptations, *viz.*

1. As it signifies that *Principium activum* that gave every thing its Being, and thus it imports no other than Almighty God, that Supreme Intelligent Being, though improperly called Nature; *viz. Natura naturans*.
2. As it imports the Things or Effects principated or effected by this intelli-

intelligent active Principle, or the Effects or Creatures of God, or *Natura naturata*, and this hath a double import, *viz.* 1. For the first and immediate Productions of that Principle, namely, not only created Matter, which was the *Productum primo primum*, but also the things first produced in their several kinds or natures, or *Producta secundo prima*, as the first Vegetable, Animal, and Humane Individuals: or 2. For those Mixtions and Productions which afterwards had their productions in the World by successive mixtions and generations, which include all Productions, which though in relation to their dependence and first production of their kind, are still the Creatures of God; yet in relation to their immediate Causes, are productions of second Causes.

3. As it imports the Law and Rule and Method and Order, of the production and government and process of created Beings; and this of two kinds, 1. The Law and Rule of the first Creation or Production of Beings; as the production of the first Individuals of Animals, Vegetables, and Men: and herein though Almighty God proceeds with admirable Wisdom and Order, yet he used no other Law or Rule than the immediate Determination of his own most wise and perfect Will, suitable to the Business he had in hand, wherein there was necessary and fit another kind of Regiment and Order than was afterwards instituted. 2. The Laws or Rules instituted and appointed by the same most wise God to things already constituted; this is the common and ordinary and regular Law of instituted Nature: and these two Laws or Rules were different, and necessary that they should be so. In the first Constitutions of Beings God Almighty proceeded by a Law suitable to that Work, namely, according to the wise Counsel of his own Will, that was best and fittest for that Work, he proceeded more suddenly, and by the immediate interposition of his own Power the Vegetables constituted in a moment, or very speedily, and within the compass of a Day came to their full and perfect maturation and growth: so also did the Fowls, and Fishes, and Brutes, and Man, without any considerable *mora* between their first formation and complement or individual perfection: But the Law instituted for things already formed and settled was of another kind; Vegetables, Animals, and Men are in the Laws of their future existence to pass through those gradations and steps and methods which we see now in use, for the formation, production, increase, and perfection thereof. Again, in the first production of things, though sometimes the wise God used in some measure the order of second or instrumental or effective Causes, yet he bound not himself to that Rule; though, as we have formerly observed, the instrumentality of Heat might be used in separating the *Expansum*, and the arefaction of the Earth, and the production of Vegetables; and though the instrumentality of the perfected Celestial Bodies might be some way instrumental towards the maturation of Nature, towards the production of Animals: and though he used the Matter which he had created to be the *substratum* of the Corporeal Natures, even of Man himself; yet the great Energy and Power whereby he compleated all things, was above and beyond the activity of second Causes; yea when he used the instrumentality of second Causes, his own Powerful and Omnipotent Hand was engaged in the advancing of the efficacy of the second Causes, which he used beyond their natural

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strength and efficacy, there was much that was supernatural and miraculous, as well in the first separation, distribution, and formation of things, as in the first Creation of the Corporeal Matter out of nothing. But in the succeeding process and procedure of created Nature he fixed and established certain powers and activities in things, and a certain order and connexion between them and their effects, and governed and regulated the motions and productions of things according to those implanted powers and connexions; and this we call the instituted Law of Nature, namely, the activities and powers placed in created Beings, and the mutual connexions and concatenations of things to such activities and powers: which Law was at first instituted by the God of Nature to be the common and standing ordinary Rule for things, settled and fixed in their created station. And therefore we are far from denying a Law of Nature or Calling in the immediate efficiency of the great God, or a miraculous interposition in all the ordinary procedures of things already fully settled and statuminated by the first Divine Efficiency. That which we only say in relation to Nature already settled is but this, that

1. The primitive and fundamental powers and activities of things were placed in them by the immediate Will and Efficiency of God; it is this that gives the power to Heat and Fire to dissolve, dissipate, rarify, and consume; to Cold to condense; to heavy Bodies to descend; to all the Celestial Bodies their Motions, Influences, and Positions; that gave the Generative Faculty to Men, to Brutes, to Fishes, the Productive Faculty to the Earth and Waters; the Receptivity to *Semen* and Intellection, &c.
2. That he by a continuing Influx doth support and preserve all things in their being, order, and activity.
3. That this which we call the Law of instituted and statuminated Nature, is his Law and his Institution, and the connexion of natural Effects to their natural Causes is his Institution, his Law, his Order.

And therefore we do neither deny a Law of Nature, or a connexion between natural Causes and Effects, but that which we justly blame in these Men that pretend themselves to be the great Priests of Nature, and admirers and adorers of it, is, 1. That they do not sufficiently consider and observe, that this which they and we call Nature, and the Law of Nature, and the Power of Nature, is no other but the wise instituted Law of the most wise, powerful, and intelligent Being, as really and truly as an Edict of *Trajan* or *Justinian* was a Law of *Trajan* or *Justinian*; *Sic parvis magna*: and 2. That they do not warily distinguish between that first Law, *in rebus constituendis*; and this second Law of Nature, *in rebus constitutis*: but inconsiderately misapply that Law and Rule and Method which is ordinary and regular, constituted, and fitted, and accommodate to Nature already settled; as if the same were and ought to be necessarily the Rule and Law in the first formation and settling of things: which is an Error that proceeds from the over-much fixing of our Minds to that which in the present course of things is obvious to Sense, and not adverting, that the first Constitution and Order of things is not in Reason or Nature manageable by such a Law, which is most excellently adequated and proportioned to things fully settled.

Therefore, besides that Law which the Divine Wisdom, Power, and Goodness hath fixed in Nature fully statuminated, we must also suppose a Law

Law and Order of the Divine Wisdom, not rigorously bound either to second Causes or present stated Methods in the first production of things. And this the due Consideration of the different nature of the state of things *in fieri* and *in facto esse*, will easily persuade, that the most wise God that hath established a fixed, regular, ordinary Law in things already settled, which he rarely departs from; yet used another kind of order, namely, the regiment of his own Will and Wisdom, and if I may with humility speak it, a dictatorial power, more accommodate to the first production of things. And thus much for the comparison between the *Mosaical* and *Philosophical* Theories touching things, and the great advantage and preference of the former, as most suitable to the true nature, state, and reason of things. And now I draw towards a conclusion of this long Discourse, and shall therefore in the last place give an account of those Confectaries, Consequences, and Corollaries which are evidently deducible from this Consideration of the Origination of Mankind by the immediate Efficiency of this Supreme Intelligent Being, Almighty God: and indeed, principally for the sake of these Consequences and Corollaries hath all been written that precedes in this Book, and it is the Scope, End, and Use of the whole Book, which I shall absolve in the next Chapter.

CAP. VII.

A Collection of certain evident and profitable Consequences from this Consideration, That the first Individuals of Humane Nature had their Original from a Great, Powerful, Wise, Intelligent Being.

I Now come to that upon which I had my Eye from the first Line that was written touching this Subject, namely, the Consequences and Illations that arise from this great Truth contained in these Conclusions.

1. That Mankind had an Original of his Being *ex non genitis*.
2. That this Origination of Mankind was neither casual, nor meerly natural.
3. That the Efficient of Man's Origination, was and is an Intelligent Efficient of an incomparable Wisdom and Power.

First therefore, we have here a most evident, sensible, and clear conviction of a Deity, and a confirmation of Natural Religion, which consists principally in the acknowledging of Almighty God to be a most perfect Eternal Being, of infinite Wisdom, Goodness, and Power, and a due habitude of Mind, Life, and Practice, arising from that Principle.

It hath been commonly observed, that the particular or instituted Religions since the Creation have had their Proofs by Miracles, which were as it were the Credentials to subdue the Minds of Men to assent to it. Thus the instituted Religion of the *Jews*, given by the hand of *Moses*, was confirmed by the great Miracles done by God by the hand

of *Moses*, in *Egypt* and in the *Wilderness*: and the *Christian Religion* had its Confirmation by the Miracles of *Christ* and his Apostles, who did wonderful things, beyond the reach and power of created Agents or Activities, which were therefore Miracles; such as were governing of the Winds and Seas, healing of the Sick by a touch or word, raising the Dead, &c.

But it is farther said, That Almighty God never used Miracles to evidence the truth of his own Existence, Power, Wisdom, Goodness; or for the establishing of Natural Religion, or the confuting of Atheism.

But I take it, that there are really as many Miracles for the evincing of the truth of Natural Religion, *viz.* the Existing of Almighty God, as there are Works in Nature: For although it be a great truth, that the Laws of Nature, as the Positions of the Heavenly and Elementary Bodies, their Motion, Light, Influence, Regularity, Position, propagation of Vegetables, Animals, Men, and the whole Oeconomy of the Universe is by the Divine Wisdom, Power, and Goodness settled in a regular course; so that now we call things Natural, and Works and Laws and Order of Nature; and being so settled and fixed, cease to be Miracles: yet in their first Institution and Constitution, they were all, or many, Miracles, Works exceeding the activity of any created or natural power, and accordingly ought to be valued, and really are so; and it is nothing else but their commonness, and our inadvertence and gross negligence, that hinders the actual estimate of them as great and wonderful Miracles: As I have often said, if at this moment all the Motions of the Heavenly Bodies should cease, or there should be a general stop of the Propagation of Animals, Vegetables, or Men, if Mens Reason should generally fail them, and for the most part they should become like Brutes, if the Light of the Sun were darkened, or the great Luminous or Planetary Bodies should bulge and fall foul one upon the other, or that disorder or confusion should generally fall upon the Works of Nature, and break that excellent Order that now obtains among them, we should be full of admiration of such a Change, and account them Miraculous: And the reason is, because the sense of the Change is at present incumbent upon us, and we cannot choose but take notice of them as strong, unusual, miraculous Prodigies: When all this while Natures course holds regularly, the Wonder and Miracle is ten times greater in the state of things as they now stand, than it would be in such a discomposure of Nature. The Motion, and Light, and Position, and Order of the Heavenly and Elementary Bodies is a greater Evidence of the Divine Power that put them and keeps them in Motion, than if they all rested. And it is a greater Miracle that a Man was constituted upon the Earth, that he hath a power given him to propagate his kind, that he lives ordinarily such a portion of time in the World, that he hath the use of Reason and Understanding, I say there is more of Miracle in it, than in the want of it: Only there are these three things that abate the value of it among Men, 1. The commonness of the benefit and wonder renders the Observation thereof little. 2. Mankind is negligent in improving his Observation, he never rubs the Corn out of the Ear, and so by inadvertence, supineness, and negligence, suffers things of this nature to slip away without notice. 3. We rarely carry things to their Original, but take

take them as we find them; whereas if we did as by a Clew follow the Works of Nature to their Original, we should find the Divine Omnipotence and infinite Wisdom at the upper end of the Chain, and the Worms themselves no other than Miracles in their first constitution. He that considers the admirableness of the Frame of Humane Nature, especially of his intellectual power, and that is but acquainted with himself, will without arrogance or vain-glory conclude that Man is the most admirable Creature that this lower World affords, a Creature to which all the visible Creatures of this lower World seem in a great measure to point at, as their End. And therefore if the first Individuals, the common Parents of Mankind were at some one time constituted, there was a very great deal of Power, Wisdom, and Intelligence employed to the making up of such a Piece as this: If we see an excellent Picture to the Life, or a Statue, there will not need much Rhetorick or Logick to persuade or evince, that surely it was not done without an excellent, knowing, and intelligent Artist. And certainly that Efficient, who ever he was that did at first compose and make up the admirable Structure of the Humane Body, all the Organs, Nerves, Veins, Arteries, Viscera, Bones and other Integrals thereof; that endowed it with the Faculties of a vegetable and sensible Nature, that gave him a reasonable, intellectual self-moving Soul, with all its subordinate Faculties; that so strangely and stupendously united two such different Essentials of a reciprocal and intellectual nature, was some intelligent Being, and such an intelligent Being that was not only of a far more admirable Wisdom and Power than Man, now the best of the visible Creatures, appears to be; but of such an excess of Wisdom and Power, as cannot be found in any known Being, besides him that we call Almighty God.

And if any Man shall say, as needs he must, that surely it must be granted, that he was of a Power and Wisdom far more excellent and perfect than that Work he thus made; but how are we sure that he must be God? May it not be some Being that admirably surpasseth the perfection of Humane Nature, and yet may it not be something less than infinite, somewhat inferior to God, may it not be some Angel, some separated Intelligence? To this I say, 1. That Man that can be forced by this Work to acknowledge an Intelligent Being transcendently beyond the Power and Wisdom of a Man, a Power that he never saw, but only collected from the eminence of an Effect which surpasseth the activity of any Being that he hath ever seen with his Eyes, a Being that acts by choice, election, and intention: I say, that Man that can once admit an invisible Being of an efficiency equal to such a Work, hath broken the strength of Atheism; since whatsoever can be alledged to evince such an Existence, as the Objection supposed doth, may be alledged efficaciously to prove the Existence of a God; since all that can be said for the Existence of the former, that and much more may and must be said and granted for the Existence of the latter, namely, God. 2. But again, since the measure of any Man's conception touching the infinite, sovereign excellence of an Efficient must needs be the excellence of the Work; if therefore a Man doth not, cannot know any more admirable created Existence than himself, he cannot expect a greater Evidence of a more transcendent Power, Wisdom, or Goodness, than he that was the Efficient

Efficient of such a Being as himself is: 'Tis possible he may suppose some more excellent Inhabitants of the Heavenly Bodies than he himself is, but this is more than he knows; and 'tis true the Sun and Stars are goodly beautiful Bodies, but he doth not know that they are any more than fiery Balls, that naturally give light and heat: but as he hath no evidence, so he hath no evident reason to satisfy, that they are animate, much less intellectual; and consequently, for any thing a Man knows he himself is incomparably a more excellent Being than they: it is true, they last longer, and so doth a piece of Marble, I speak not to disparage those beautiful Beings, but to enforce the Argument *ad hominem*; that to the first formation of a living Intelligent Nature there is as great a Power requisite and conspicuous, as to the formation of the noblest Creature that we see or know: And I should not question, but that that Power and Wisdom which were equal to the first formation of the Reasonable Nature, were equal to the formation and efficiency of the Sun or the brightest Star in Heaven. Since therefore I can judge of the measure or excess of the Power and Wisdom of any Efficient by the nobleness and value of the Effect, and I know not any sensible Being of greater worth, value, and wonder than Man; I have reason to believe that he that first formed Man is a Being of the greatest and most transcendent Power, Wisdom, and Goodness that is imaginable; and that Being which I have reason to believe to be of the greatest Power, Wisdom and Goodness, I have reason to believe to be Almighty God, who is *Optimus Maximus*. And if it be said that the conviction by this Argument is so much the more infirm, because I see daily that Man begets a Man, and so the efficiency no more proves the Existence of God, than it proves the Father to be God that begets a Son of his own likeness and species; I say the Instance is so far from weakening the Inference, that it rather enforceth it: For the first formed Parents of Mankind were also endued with this generative power, by virtue of that first efficiency upon the first individual pair of Mankind; so that the generative power in Man is but an effect of that redundancy of Power that was in the first Efficient of the Humane Nature: Indeed if any Man, or all the Men in the World could constitute a Man in any other way than by natural propagation, it were an Instance that would sufficiently confute the Inference. But the generative power and faculty being but a part of that admirable effect that was wrought in the formation of the Humane Nature, it rather advanceth, than any way depreciateth the Power and Wisdom of the first Efficient of Mankind, that he was formed together with such a power of propagating his kind.

2. From hence we learn not only that there is a God, but in some measure we learn what he is. As this Work, the primitive Effect of the Humane Nature, could never be effected but by an Intelligent Being, so when we see such a Work as this, we cannot choose but acknowledge that he is transcendently wise, transcendently powerful, transcendently good; that such was his Power and Wisdom, appears by his Work, and that such was his Goodness, appears, in that freely without any motive or advantage to himself he formed this excellent creature Man; it was but to communicate his abundant Goodness, and to give Being to an Intelligent Nature that might be capable of the participation of his Good-

Goodness and Bounty commensurate to his nature. We also learn, that as he made an Intelligent Being, so he is a Transcendent Intelligence; *He that made the Eye, shall he not see?* It is very true, the perception of Sense is the lowest kind of perception; and the perception of rational and discursive Intellection is of a higher rank than the perception of Sense; the Intuitive perception is nobler than that of Ratiocination; but the perception, if I may use that word, in Almighty God is of a transcendent perfection above all these, and includeth them all; but not under those allays that render other kind of perceptions less perfect: He sees and hears and knows, without an Eye, without an Ear, without an Object. He that could create an Intellectual Being, doth most perfectly understand and know, for he could not be destitute of any perfection whereof an incorporeal Being could be capable; and since he made a Being capable of Intelligence, certainly he had a greater and more perfect Intelligence. And here I cannot choose but re-mind some things again that I have formerly intimated, viz. 1. That those that go about to attribute the Origination of Mankind to a bare Order or Law of Nature, as the primitive Effector thereof, speak that which is perfectly irrational and unintelligible: for although a Law or Rule is the Method and Order by which an Intelligent Being may act, yet a Law or Rule or Order is a dead, unactive, uneffective thing of itself, without an Agent that useth it, and exerciseth it as his Rule and Method of Action. What would a Law signify in a Kingdom or State, unless there were some Person or Society of Men that did exercise, and execute, and judge, and determine, and act by it, or according to it? And therefore Aristotle, in the Books *de Mundo* attributed to him, though in the description of God, as to the constancy of his working, he stile him *Negus* Lex *equabiliter in nos fusa, nec transpositionem nec correctionem ullam recipiens, praestantior & firmior omnibus quae in tabulis descriptae continentur*. Yet he rests not in that description, but tells us that he is a Being that acts by Empire and Command and Will: *Quod in navi gubernator, in curru auriga, in choro praecentor, in civitate lex, in exercitu imperator, hoc idem in mundo Deus*. So that to the effecting of the Humane Nature a bare independent Law is incompetent; but there must be an Intelligent Being, whose Will that Rule and Law which we call Nature is. 2. That although the Manner and Method that the Divine Power and Wisdom used in the first formation and effecting of the Humane Nature, is not cognoscible by the Light of Nature, without Divine Revelation, because none but Almighty God was acquainted with or present at that Work, and his Power and Wisdom might use various Orders or Methods in its first effecting: yet the Conclusion, that this Work, whatever particular Method it had for its effecting, was the Work of a most powerful, intelligent, wise Being, acting by Intellection, Will, and Intention, is a Truth apparently evident to the Light of Nature and Reason, and as infallible a Demonstration of a Deity, as if a Man could have been present and seen the Work done; as I do most rationally conclude an excellent Watch or other Automaton was the work of an intelligent Artift, though I do not know the particular manner how he made it, unless I am particularly informed thereof by him.

3. From hence we learn, that the Divine Providence extends to this lower

lower World and all the things therein, and is not only confined to things above the Moon, as *Aristotle* would have it.

He that condescended to the effect of not only of Man, but of all the Animals of this lower World, certainly had a regard to them, and would not leave them without the regiment of his Providence, which were the Works of his own immediate Power and Will.

It is true, the ordinary regiment of the Divine Providence in things natural is ordinarily managed by this regular and ordinary Law of Nature whereof we have spoken before. But yet he deals not by the World, as I deal by my Watch; when I have wound it up I take no more care of it, but it moves according to the regular compofure of it; but he communicates a general Influence to it, whereby it is supported in its Being and Order; and as he manifested a more special care in the fashioning of Man, so he affords him a special Providence in his regiment.

4. From hence we learn, not only the Original of those admirable Faculties in Man, especially of the light of his Understanding and the liberty of his Will, whereby he resembles his Maker, but also from whence he had that Intellectual Soul, not out of the Matter whereof his Corporeal and Animal Nature was constituted, but of a higher and nobler extraction, namely, by Creation he breathed into him the breath of Life.

5. From hence we learn to be confirmed not only in the Notion of the Immortality of the Soul, but in some measure the reason of it: It was a created Spiritual Nature, infused into him by the Almighty efficiency and infusion of God.

6. From hence we learn, that Mankind is of kin to both Worlds, the Celestial and Elementary, *nexus utriusque mundi*, capable of a felicity beyond the extent of this inferior World.

7. From hence we also learn from whence these common Notions, especially of the Existence of a God, and these anticipations of some Moral Principles of the Veneration of God, Righteousness, and Justice are evidently to be found in the generality of Mankind; (but where they are impaired by corrupt Customs or Education) from whence those Operations of the natural Conscience are discernible in most Men antecedent to any Instruction or Education, the original of those common Notions that more immediately concern the Intellectual Faculty, and Moral Inclinations that more immediately concern the Volitive Faculty, seem to be two; the first more primitive and radical in the Soul, the second not altogether so radical and primitive, yet such as have also a natural connexion with and to the Soul. First therefore as to the first of these: The Soul of Man, as it came out of the hands of the Glorious God, so it had engraven in it these Impressions and Characters of some great and intellectual Principles and rational Propensions, that serve secretly to direct and incline him to these common Notions and Sentiments. So that whether the Souls of the Descendants from *Adam* were traduced from him, or whether they are immediately created and infused by God, (a Dispute not seasonable in this place) yet those real Characters, Impressions, and rational *Noemata* and Instincts (though weakened by the Fall, and the contracted Corruption of Humane Nature)

Nature) are brought with us into the World, and grow up with us; whereby Mankind hath not only those great excellencies of his Faculties, Understanding and Will, but a certain congenit stock of Rational Tendencies and Sentiments engraven and lodged in his Soul, which if duly attended and improved, are admirable helps to the perfecting and advancing of a Rational Life. And therefore, as the Divine Goodness did not only give the Faculties of Sense and Perception to the Sensitive and Animal Nature, but also lodged in their sensitive Souls certain connatural and congenit sensitive Instincts (not acquired by Experience, but congenit with them) whereby they are directed and inclined to what is conducive to the sensitive good of their Sensitive Nature; so the Rational Nature is furnished with certain congenit Notions, Inclinations, and Tendencies born with him, but improved and perfected by the exercise of Reason and Observation, whereby he is inclined and directed antecedently to the good of a Reasonable Life or Nature.

These differences seem to be in those congenit Inclinations and Instincts of Animals and Men, 1. In the nature of them, those anticipations that are in Animals are merely sensible; those in Men intellectual, moral, and suitable to the Operations of a reasonable Being. 2. In their end, those of Animals are only in order to a sensible good, and the regiment of a sensual Life; those in Men are directed to the use and benefit of a rational Life, and not only so, but in order to the acquirement of a supernatural and eternal Life. 3. In as much as the Sensible Nature is not endued with Intellection and Will, and therefore not properly capable of a Law in the true and formal nature of a Law; therefore those Instincts that are lodged in their nature, are merely Inclinations, or natural Propensions, or Biasses: But the Humane Nature being endued with Intellection, Reason, and Liberty, and therefore capable of a Law in its true propriety and formal nature; those rational Propensions and Inclinations in the Humane Nature, are lodged in him by the great Governour and Law-giver of Heaven and Earth, *per modum legis obligantis*; and the insition and engraving of those Notions, Propensions, and rational Tendencies are in nature of a promulgation of that Law, the inscription thereof in their Hearts, and means, helps, and assistances to their observance thereof. And herein lies the true Root of the Obligation of the natural Law and natural Consciences, so excellently decyphered by the Apostle in the two first Chapters of the Epistle to the *Romans*; and this I call the primitive and radical Insition of the Law of Nature in the Soul. 2. But besides this primitive Insition, there is a secondary yet natural Insition of the Law of Nature in the humane Soul, which expands and improves it self as the exercise of Reason increaseth; which is a certain congruity between the Faculties of the Soul, the Intellect and Will, and those Truths of indisputable importance in the Understanding, especially that of the Existence and Regiment of Almighty God, and those moral Sentiments of Good and Evil that in their discovery concern immediately the Understanding or *Synteresis*, but in their exercise concern more immediately the Will: That as we see by a certain connatural congruity between the visive Faculty and the visible Object, and as we tast by a connatural congruity between the Faculty and the Object of Taste; so there is a connatural congruity between the intellectual and volitive

Faculties in the Soul, and those *communis naturae* of these great important Truths both intellective and moral, whereby the Soul perceives, and relisheth, and tasteth true and good, and inclines to it.

8. From the Consideration of this Effect of Man by the Power and Goodness and Wisdom of the glorious God, we have the discovery of that infinite obligation of Duty, Love, and Gratitude of all Mankind unto Almighty God. To give a benefit to a Being already existing, carries in it an Obligation of the person benefited to his Benefactor, *juxta modum & mensuram beneficii*. But God Almighty is the Benefactor of Mankind in the greatest imaginable amplitude and comprehension: he gave him Being, the vastest and most unlimited Gift, and he gave him such a Being, so advanced, so excellent, and perfect, and accommodate with all the conveniences that his nature was possibly capable of; and although Man wilfully threw away a great measure of his Happiness, yet he hath still so much left as binds him to an eternal Gratitude and Duty to God, both as his Maker and as his Benefactor: and the Posterity of Adam hath still continued upon them the same reason of Duty and Gratitude: I shall not here, as I said, enter into the Consideration of the propagation of the Humane Nature. If the Soul of every person propagated be created and infused by God, then every person seems related unto Almighty God in a way little different from that of the first formed Man: But if the Soul be also propagated as Light or Fire from Fire or Light, by a kind of Irradiation from the Soul of the first Man, yet still we are all his Off-spring, every Man owes more of his Being to Almighty God than to his natural Parents, whose very Propagative Faculty was at first given to the Humane Nature by the only virtue, efficacy, and energy of the Divine Commission and Institution, and the Parents of our Nature are but *vicaria instrumenta Numinis*, in the propagation and formation of our Nature.

9. From hence we learn the true Foundation, and Root, and Extent of that Subjection that the Created Nature owes to Almighty God, namely, on the part of Man there is dependence upon God, as the root and support of his existence, there is the obligation of love, gratitude, and duty, as to his greatest and most sovereign Benefactor: But this is not all the foundation of Subjection on the part of Man, and Authority on the part of God, but there are certain radical foundations of the Divine Authority and Sovereignty over Man, namely, 1. A right of Propriety, nothing can be more a Man's own than that which he gives a Being to: But the propriety that any Man can have in what he makes, is still limited and qualified; first, because he is not himself his own, he owes his Being to God, and therefore without the help of Divine Indulgence his acquiescence is like the acquiescence of a Servant, *acquirit domino*. And besides, the Matter is not his own, whatsoever he makes, he makes out of that Matter that was not his own: But the propriety that Almighty God acquires in his Creatures is absolute, because he himself is a Supreme and Sovereign Efficient, none is above him; and because the Matter out of which he effected Man and all Corporeal Existences was perfectly his own, it was Matter of his own making. 2. A right of absolute Dominion and Sovereignty over his Creature; where the property is circumscribed, limited, or qualified, the dominion is so too; but an absolute

absolute sovereign property carries with it an absolute sovereign dominion in the Proprietor. 3. An infinite irresistible power to exert the right of his Dominion according to his Will: The two former Considerations give him a sovereign authority over his Creature, a right, *jus disponendi*; but authority or right being divided from power to execute that authority and exact obedience to it is lame, but the glorious God hath not only an absolute right of propriety and dominion over his Creature; but an infinite irresistible power to rule, order, and dispose it according to his Will: Almighty God tells us, *Jerem. 18.* that as the Clay is in the Potter's hand, so are Mankind in his hand, yea and in a far greater subordination and subjection to his Power, the power of the Potter over his Clay is a finite limited power, we see in the same place it resisted and disappointed his intention by its untractableness: But the power of God over his Creature is an infinite power, he that by his power made him in an instant, can in an instant dissolve or annihilate him: And yet this infinite Power of God is under the management of a most wise, and holy, and pure, and gracious Will; and therefore though his Propriety be absolute, his Dominion boundless, his Power infinite, yet the exercise of his Dominion and Power is full of Goodness, suitable to the most perfect nature of God: *I am God, and not man, therefore ye sons of Jacob are not consumed.* Here therefore we have that great Question among some of the Ancients satisfactorily answered, namely, What is the Root of all Obligation in Mankind, whence comes the Obligation in the Consciences of Men, what is it that binds Men to keep their Faith, their Promises? It is the Law and Command of him that hath sovereign Authority to command, and infinite Power to exact Obedience, and to punish the want of it; all other foundations of Obligation are but weak and deficient without this, or in comparison to it.

10. In this History of the primitive state of Man, and his defection, we have the Solution of that great *Quaestum* that troubled the ancient Philosophers, especially the *Stoicks*, namely, Whence or how came it to pass, that not only that great disorder happens in things of this World, especially in the nature and practices and customs of Mankind, some would have it from Matter, some from one thing, some from another; we see here a plain Solution of the *Quaere*, That it came not from God, nor from Matter, but by the defection and disobedience of the first Man, which brought Death into the World, and Sin and Corruption and Depravation and Disorder into the Humane Nature, and brought disorder and discomposure upon the greatest part of this lower World; which as it was principally made for the service of Man, so it suffered a great Concussion and Breach by the Disobedience and Apostacy of Man: and from this unhappy root ariseth all the Disorders and Confusions in the humane World; for although the Fall of Man did neither alter the essential Constituents of Mankind, nor wholly raze out the Engravings of those common Notions, Sentiments, and rational Instincts that were in them; yet it did in a great measure impair and weaken them, and brought in a very great deordination and discomposure, setting up the lower Faculties in rebellion against the superior, so that the wiser and more morate part of Mankind were forced to set up

Laws and Punishments, to keep the generality of Mankind in some tolerable order.

11. This reasonableness, congruity, and consonancy to common Light and Reason in the *Hypothesis* of the Formation of the World and Mankind, and the great preference that it hath above those Inventions of the ancient Philosophers touching the same; the admirable Solution of many of those difficulties which are hereby solved; doth give a very great valuation and esteem to the truth and Divine Authority of the Scriptures. It is true, their Authority is above the contribution of Humane Reason, or any Supplies it can bring either to its Truth or Authority: but yet when a Man shall see so great a clearness and plainness and reasonableness in the Holy Scripture touching this great Truth, so many difficulties and absurdities thereby avoided, so great a suffrage and attestation of Reason and common evidence bearing witness to this Truth, and to such a Truth as could never be at first particularly discovered without Divine Revelation, yet being discovered, carries in it nothing of absurdity, but a singular congruity both to it self in the several parts of it, and to the common Reason.

It is true, a great though a Ministerial and Humane Suffrage to the truth and excellency of the Holy Scriptures, strengthens our Faith, which God knows stands in need of all the contributions that may be, to bear up our Souls against that root of Infidelity that is in us; and may be instrumental and preparative to bring those to the belief and veneration of the Scriptures who are without, and hardly persuadable, but by those *media* that bear a congruity to their natural Light and Reason.

12. And therefore we have infinite reason to bless and magnify the gracious God, that hath lent us his Holy Scriptures to inform us in things to be believed and to be done, and to contain and preserve us *infra cancellos certitudinis*. The Lord knows, and we cannot choose but daily observe in our selves a strange mobility and instability in our Imaginative and Intellectual Faculty, roving after every thing and in many things that we know, and much more in things we know not, framing strange *Chimera's*, finding out many Inventions, was the first effect of the departure of Mankind from a revealed Truth, and searching after unknown and forbidden Knowledge.

And this hath been the course and walk and disease of our restless, moveable, unstable, Mercurial Brains ever since in matters of Philosophy, in matters of Religion: The merciful and wise God therefore, to keep in and regulate the extravagant and witless Spirit of Man, and to give us the clear knowledge of things necessary and useful, and to prescribe and fix bounds, and banks, and limits to our moveable, unstable, and unfixed Minds, hath given us these Sacred Oracles both to enlighten and inform us, and to fix and contain us within the bounds and limits of Truth and Sobriety.

13. I have before touched something concerning a common Tradition that might obtain in the generality of Mankind, concerning the Origination of the World and Man; and here we may find a reasonable discovery of something touching the root of this Tradition, namely, the Holy Scriptures, especially that of *Genesis*; for we find very much, among the ancient Heathen especially, touching the Creation of the World, the

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Observation of the Seventh Day, the Flood, *Noah* and his three Sons, though by other Names; and divers other things, wherein though they mingle some of their own wild Notes, yet they bear a great analogy to the Relations in the Scriptures, and seem borrowed from them, or from the *Hebrews*, to whom that great Treasure of the Scriptures was committed. And if a Man consider how many Opportunities there were for the communication of the *Jewish* Learning to the rest of Mankind, even in the ancient times, especially to the *Egyptians*, with whom they long dwelt, and with whom *Solomon* was joyned in affinity; so the *Babylonians* and *Chaldeans* during their Captivity there to the *Grecians*, by the intercourse they had with them after the breaking of the *Persian* Monarchy: it will render it an easy Supposition, that much of the *Jewish* Learning was derived to many of the learned Heathen, though they oftentimes mingled with it some Conceptions of their own: *Plato* and divers other *Grecians* borrowed much of their traditional knowledge from the *Egyptians* and they from the *Hebrews*. *Vide Selden. de Jure Gentium, &c. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

14. Since Man in his first Original is the Work of the most wise intelligent Being, it is evident that Almighty God in this effect of Man did intend an end and scope of this Work: an intelligent Agent acts *ex intentione & volitione*, and therefore proposeth in his Work an end or purpose in it, and the designation of an end in working is the great perfection of an intelligent Agent: Agents that are simply Natural, or that are directed but by implanted Instincts, act by a kind of necessity of Nature, their activity and vigour putting it self forth not by choice or election, but driven by the activity of their nature. And although it is visible that all, even the most necessary operations of unintelligent Causes in the World, are directed unto certain excellent ends, yet the election of and direction to these ends is not in those necessary and natural Causes themselves; but is in that intelligent Efficient that intended and designed that end, and endowed the natural Agent with those active Faculties or Powers which might be proper and serviceable to such ends, and mancipated or bound to them certain Instincts and natural Motions subservient to those ends. As in things that are artificial, my Watch gives me an account of the Hour of the Day, that is the end thereof; but it is an end not designed or intended by the Watch, but of the Artist that made it.

And although in sensible Creatures there seems to be an Image of Intelligence, and they move more perfectly to their several ends of their several operations; as in choice and eating of their food to preserve their individual nature, in generation to preserve their specific nature, yet the truth is, those designations of the ends of these operations, and the furnishing them with instincts in order thereunto, is due still to that Intelligent Being, namely, the glorious God, which hath by his Wisdom determined these sensible Creatures to these ends, and by these means, in the first institution of their natures.

15. And upon the same reason it follows, That since Almighty God is the Maker and Efficient of Man, it is not only reasonable and just, but natural, and in a manner necessary, that the designation of Man to his end should belong to him that was his Efficient. And therefore although

although the supreme intelligent Being, that Efficient of Mankind hath made Man an intelligent Being, endued him with Will, whereby he is in a manner *Dominus suarum actionum*, and a kind of Image of his Maker, yet he is not the Lord and disposer of his own end; for though Man be made an intelligent and free Agent, and therefore in those actions that move from himself he hath the privilege of an intelligent Agent, and propounds his end to himself in those actions: yet he was not the Efficient of himself, and therefore cannot proportion to himself the end of his Being, but that belongs only to that intelligent Efficient that gave him his Being; and therefore that Efficient can only be the Propounder of that end which is commensurate to his Being.

16. Since Almighty God is not only an Intelligent Agent, but the highest, most wise, powerful, and perfect Cause; and since it seems to be most suitable to such a wise Being to proportionate the ends of his Works in some measure suitable to the worth and value of the Work. And since Man is the work and effect of God, and noblest work of his that we see in this inferior World, we have just reason to conclude, That Almighty God made Man for some end, and for some such end as may bear a proportion to the nature, condition, and quality of the Work it self.

There seem to be but two ways to know the end that an intelligent Agent propounds in any action or work, 1. The first is plain, explicit, and clear, *viz.* When that Agent reveals and discovers what is the end he intends in the work he doth: and thus it hath pleased the glorious God to acquaint us in the Holy Scriptures, that his intent in making Man was his own Glory, and to make Man a Vessel of everlasting Happiness. But because in this place we are only making natural deductions from the effect of Man by God, I shall refer the consideration of the former to its proper place. 2. Therefore the second is by collection of natural and reasonable Consequences from the nature of the Efficient, and the worth, value, or condition of the Effect; and this *medium* though it be not so clear, particular, and explicit as the former, yet it doth give us some account touching the nature and kind of the end that is probably propounded by the Efficient: but touching the same in the next Chapter.

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A farther Enquiry touching the End of the Formation of Man, so far as the same may be collected by Natural Light and Ratiocination.

WE may easily observe in general in the Works of Nature, and in every particular thereof, three kinds of admirable Accommodations.

The first is, the Accommodation of every thing to the common beauty and integrity of the Universe: As in a curious piece of Landskip there are

are orderly interspersed Clouds, and Trees, and Flowers, and Rivers, and Houses, and Arches, and Ships, and Fish playing, and Birds of several kinds, some flying, some swimming, some perching, yea various Flies and Worms and Insects, and all contribute to the beauty and ornament and variety of the entire piece, though each hath a particular beauty of its own: So in this great and glorious Frame of the Universe not only the Celestial Bodies, but all the Animals and Vegetables, even to the least Fly, or Worm, or Flower, or Herb, contribute to the beauty, glory, ornament, and variety of the whole; and make up one common demonstration of the admirable Wisdom of that great God, that made it *valde bonum*.

And certainly under this Consideration it is apparently evident, that Man contributes no small portion of beauty and ornament to this goodly Frame of the Universe: For if we should suppose that all the Integrals of the inferior World were as now they are, only destitute of the Creature called Man, it would soon appear that it wanted much of that beauty, and comeliness, and perfection which it now hath by the accession of this excellent Integral of the Universe; which though it hath its residence in the lower region thereof, yet in the common compute and estimate of the whole it contributes to its beauty and integrity.

The second Accommodation of every thing, is to some other part or parts of the Universe; and this though it may be single, or a respect only between some one single part and some other single part of Nature, yet for the most part we shall find every thing in Nature hath an accommodation unto very many other things; the Wisdom of Almighty God being *multifaria sapientia*, hath admirably evidenced it self, in giving almost every thing in its nature a complexed and complicated accommodation to various other things of differing kinds and natures. This is more eminently conspicuous in the Heavenly Bodies; for Instance, the Sun is accommodated to the use and convenience of the Planetary Bodies, and of this inferior World and of every part thereof, by his Position, by his Light, by his Heat, by his Motion it procures Generation for the replenishing of the Earth, raiseth Clouds and Vapours to irrigate and water it, it occasioneth Winds to move and communicate those Irrigations, it gives variety of Seasons, measures of Times, and infinite more accommodations to other things. If we come lower, to the Elementary World, the Air is accommodated as a fit *medium* for the derivation of Light and Influence from the Celestial Bodies; it is the vehicle of the Meteors, the means of Respiration, the food and life of the vital and animal Spirits, and many the like accommodations. If we consider of Animals, we shall find admirable accommodations in them one to another, and especially to Man: the Horse, high-spirited, yet very docible, fitted for swiftness, carriage, and agility, by the make of his Body, his Neck, his Mouth, his Back, his Hoof; the Ox patient, painful, strong, fitted for draught; the Camel fitted for strength, and a natural Saddle for Burthen; the Cow for yielding Milk; the Sheep for Cloathing; the Beasts and Birds of greatest use being most commonly made tame, and affecting a spontaneous subjection to Man: among the Vegetables some are for Food, some for Medicines, some for Smell, some for Taste: nay that seemingly most abject part of Nature, the Insects, even the worst

as well as the best of them, have their accommodation to other things; some for Food to the more perfect Animals, as Flies, Worms, &c. some for Medicines both for Men and Animals; nay the very venomous Insects are accommodated to the salubrity of the Earth and Waters, collecting the unwholsom Juyce of either into their own consistency; and many that are poisonous and hurtful, yet carry with them Antidotes and Remedies, as Vipers, Scorpions, and divers others.

Although in the lower World there are various accommodations of things one to another, yet the chief and ultimate accommodation of things seems principally to terminate in Man. The Grass of the Field is accommodate to the use of Animals for their food, and so are the Insects for the food of Fish and Fowl, but these in their last particular accommodation are for the food or other use of Man. On the other side, Man is accommodate to the convenience and use of the Vegetables and Animals, but not in a way of Subservience or Service, but in a way of Regiment, Order, Empire, and Protection, which he is enabled to exercise over the Creatures of greater strength and bodily force, by the advantage of his Faculties wherein he exceeds them: Thus he is accommodate to the Vegetable Nature, by Planting and Husbandry; to the Animal Nature by subduing the unruly and hurtful, by the disciplining and managing the docile; by protecting the domestick, by providing for their wants. The accommodation of Brutes to Men is an accommodation of an Inferior to a Superior; the accommodation of Man to Brutes is an accommodation of a Superior to an Inferior, an accommodation of Regiment and Protection.

The third sort of Accommodation is of every thing unto it self; either in relation to its proper *Species*, by propagation of its kind; or in relation to its individual nature, which is that which I principally mean to speak of. We may observe at least in every Animal, 1. An accommodation of Faculties suitable to his nature, use, and convenience, which are principally these; Cogitation, Sensation, Phantasie or Imagination, Appetite and power to Move it self, though in various degrees of perfection. 2. That all these Faculties are terminated in a sensitive Life, or Life of Sense, and go no farther. 3. That all those Faculties are exactly fitted with Organs proportionate to their Faculties, and the specific perfection of them: the Organs subservient to the Faculties of the meanest Insect, are as exquisitely accommodated and fitted thereunto, as the Organs of a Horse or an Elephant are accommodate to the specific Faculties of that Animal. 4. That the wise God hath proportioned Objects of the Appetites of every Animal exactly suitable to those Appetites, and a connatural prosecution and dexterity in the affection of them: so that no natural Desire or Appetite is in vain, or notional only, but really fitted and accommodated with an Object proportionable to it. 5. That every Animal hath its highest complacency and contentment in the attainment of the suitable Object of its Appetite, and this is its commensurate Happiness; the Fox, or the Lion, or the Otter hath no greater dexterity in the getting of his Prey, nor greater contentation in his acquiescence, than the Bee hath in getting Honey, or the Spider in catching his Fly.

These things being thus premised, we have therein generally included the

the natural Method whereby we may by the Light of Nature search out the true and special End for which we have reason to believe the great and wise Efficient made Man.

It is true, that some things Man hath in common with the rest of created visible Beings, as that he is a corporeal Being, hath Life and Sensation, and is a beautiful Piece of the Furniture of this lower World. In these things therefore, or by them, we are not to seek that special End for which man was made; because under these and the like Considerations he seems to have a common parity with other created Beings.

But our search must be, 1. Whether there be not some peculiarities in the Humane Nature, some Faculties and Powers, something in his Constitution, and some adaptations and appropriate accommodations therein peculiar to his nature, and of a far more advanced use and perfection than those of the best of other inferior Animals: For if we find such in Man, we have just reason to believe that the most wise Efficient of the Humane Nature, as he raised Man to a greater eminence not only of gradual but of specific perfection above the common Animal Nature, so he designed a more excellent and noble End for this more excellent and noble Work: For thus it became the greatest Wisdom, to design a more noble End to that which he constituted a more noble Being. 2. We are also to search wherein this excellency and preference of the Humane Nature above the Animal consists: For as the former Consideration gives us a general Conclusion, That because the Humane Nature is more excellent than the common Animal Nature, therefore the End or Design of the Constitution of the former is of a nobler kind than the Design of the Constitution of the latter: So this particular Consideration of the excellencies of the Humane Nature above the Animal, gives us some Estimate, *Crises*, or Indications what those Ends may be which the wise Creator intended in the making of Man, namely, such Ends as hold proportions to those eminencies and excellencies wherein the Humane specifically exceeds the Animal Nature.

Plato, though a great Assertor of the Creation of Man by the Wisdom and Power of Almighty God, yet in his 7th Book *De Legibus* seems to have too light an Expression concerning the End of the making of Man, and of those many excellencies in the Humane Nature, namely, *Hominem Dei ludo esse factum, atque id verè ipsius optimum esse*. It is below the Dignity of the Divine Wisdom, to think that he made Men, and endued them with those excellent Faculties, only to behold them as a Play or a Scorn; or as the inconsiderate part of Mankind please themselves with beholding of Interludes, or Cock-fighting, or Bear-baiting: the Comical part of the Lives of Men are too full of Sin and Vanity, and the Tragical part thereof too full of Sin and Misery to be a delightful Spectacle unto the pure and wise God, who certainly propounded more serious Ends than such for so noble a Structure.

The Saying therefore of Plato must be understood only analogically, and Epictetus may be his Scholiast, who wisheth every Man to remember, *Te esse actorem talis fabula qualis Magistro probata fuerit; si brevis, brevis; si longa, longa: si mendicium agere te voluerit, fac eam quoque personam ingeniosè representes; ita si claudum, si principem, si plebeium: hoc enim tuum est, datam personam bene effingere, eam autem eligere, alterius*. Teaching

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us by the similitude, that every Man's Station is subject to the Divine Providence, and every Man's Duty is to be contented with it.

But to return to the Consideration of the specifical Excellence of the Humane Nature above the Animal Nature, and the deduction of those Ends which we may from thence reasonably conclude to be specifical to him, and intended by his wise Creator.

1. It is apparent that Man is the noblest of all the visible Creatures, at least of this inferior World, the Complement and chiefest Ornament thereof, without which it would be destitute of the most glorious Integral thereof: that all the visible Creatures of this inferior World as it were center in him, and are directed to him or his use, as their immediate End: that he is an Abstract or *Compendium* of the greater World, as might easily be evidenced by the induction of particulars: that he hath complicated in him all the excellencies of the Elementary, Vital, and Animal Natures: that he hath superadded thereunto a singular beauty, and majesty, and usefulness in the Structure of his Body, the admirable Faculties of Intellect, Reminiscence, and Ratiocination, the Faculty of Speech, institution of Signs to express his inward Conceptions, Principles, and Habits, Intellectual and Moral liberty and empire of Will, whereby he may, if he please, govern his sensitive Appetite, Passions, and inferior Faculties: So that he is *nexus utriusque mundi*, the common Angle wherein the highest and noblest of Material and Corporeal Nature is joyned to the Spiritual and Intellectual. By all which, and many more Perfections, he is the noblest Instance of the Divine Power, Wisdom, and Goodness in this inferior World.

The Universe indeed is the great and goodly Type and Image of the Excellency and Glory of its Creator, but it is a vast and comprehensive Volume, not comprehensible by any Understanding but his that made it: But this lesser World Man is a more compendious Abridgment, nearer unto us, and more discoverable by us, and though yet it hath exercised the investigation of most industrious Minds and Searches without a full and perfect discovery of the least part of all its Eminencies, yet in respect of its vicinity and obviousness to Observation it yields a distinct and perceptible Evidence to us of the Wisdom of its Maker. Thus the Humane Nature objectively and passively exhibits unto intelligent Beings a wonderful and admirable manifestation of the incomparable Wisdom, Goodness, Power, and Excellency of him that first created it, and this was one End of Almighty God in the Creation of Man. And although it be true, that such is the Self-sufficiency and Happiness of Almighty God, that it is not capable of any accession by all the Instances of his Wisdom and Goodness in the Works he hath made, nor by any Glory or Praise that from them can return unto him, yet it is not an End unworthy of the most perfect Being, to render his Magnificence and Goodness conspicuous, and to receive that deserved Honour and Praise of his Works that is the just Tribute due unto him.

2. The Divine Essential and Eternal Goodness is inseparable from him, and this is the root of the Divine Beneficence, which latter though in its effluxes and emanations it be under the regiment of his own most holy and wise Will, yet it is diffusive and communicative. That the World was at all made, is the Effect of this Divine Beneficence, which

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when it had nothing besides it self unto which it might communicate it self, it made all things, that according to their different natures and receptivities might participate of the Divine Beneficence: To things vegetable he hath given the Faculty of Life, Vegetation, and Growth; this is one participation of the Divine Goodness, *per modum esse viventis*: and again, he communicates to these Faculties suitable Objects answering those Vital Faculties; to Sensitive Nature his Beneficence hath communicated those Faculties of Sense as well as Life, and then communicates to them a farther efflux of his Beneficence, by communicating to them the Objects grateful and useful both for Life and Sense: thus his Beneficence is communicated to them *per modum boni sensibilis*; but to Man his Beneficence is communicated not only *per modum boni vitalis & sensibilis*, which yet he enjoys as other Creatures, but *per modum boni intellectualis & voliti*.

First, by giving him those nobler Faculties of Intellection and Will, and then by communicating to those Faculties Objects suitable to those Powers or Faculties, namely, Intellectual Truths to his Understanding, and Moral, Rational, and Divine Good to his Will; and among all those, *vera & bona*, that are communicated to these Faculties by the Divine Beneficence, God himself, his Goodness, Truth, Will, Perfection, are the chiefest *verum* and the chiefest *bonum*. So that no Creature below Man is capable formally to know, to love, to enjoy God, as the chiefest Truth and chiefest Good: And this also seems to be another End of the Creation of Man, that being made a Creature endued with Understanding and Will, he might be receptive of the *Effluxus* of the Divine Beneficence in a nobler way than the other visible Creatures of this lower World.

3. As under the first Consideration Man is more eminently an objective manifestation of the Divine Glory, than other visible Creatures; and as under the second Consideration Man is more receptive of the Divine Beneficence than other visible Creatures: So upon farther examination we shall find, that Man was made in a capacity to be a more active Instrument to serve and glorify his Maker than other visible Creatures, which was another End of his Creation specifically different from the End of other visible created Natures, which will appear by the farther consideration of those two great distinguishing Faculties, his Understanding and Will.

I shall not go about to make a large Description of those Faculties, or the Operation, but only observe so much touching them as may reasonably evidence the preference that Man hath therein above the inferior Animals, and the Inferences that arise thereupon touching the End of Almighty God in the making Man.

And first for the Intellectual Faculty: As in Animals the Faculties of Sense internal and external, especially the Visive Faculty, placeth Animals in a rank of Being far above the insensible Creatures, and accommodates them exquisitely to a Life of Sense; so the Intellectual Faculty placed in Man puts him into a rank of Beings far above the most perfect Animals, and accommodates the Humane Nature to an Intellectual Life. And the preheminance of this Faculty above the Faculty of Sense, will appear if we consider the Operations thereof; I shall instance but

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in two, namely, intellectual Perception and intellectual Ratiocination or Discourse: 1. For the intellectual Perception, the Understanding perceives many things which are not perceptible by Sense or sensitive Phantasia or Imagination; for Instance, it hath the perception of Substance or Being abstracted from all sensible qualities: it hath the perception of the truth or falsity of a Proposition, it perceives the Conclusion and the Evidence thereof in the Premises, and many more intellectual Objects which never did nor can fall under the perception of Sense or Imagination: And although we cannot clearly understand all the Operations of the Brutal Phantasia, because we are distinct from them, and they have not the instrument of Speech intelligible by us to express their perceptions; yet we may know that this is true by our selves, for we may perceive that we do perceive these Objects not to be perceptible by our Faculties of Sense, but by some other Faculties distinct from that of Sense or sensitive Imagination. Again, in those Objects that are objective to Sense, the intellectual perception discovers somewhat that is apparently unperceived by the Sense or sensitive Imagination; for Instance, the Heavenly Bodies, the Sun, Moon, and Stars are equally objected to the view as well of Animals as Men; but yet by the help of intellectual perception Man perceives that in those Objects which neither the Brutes, nor Man himself by the bare perception of Sense or sensitive Phantasia doth not, cannot perceive: The perception of Sense gives us the Sun no bigger than a Bushel, and the Stars than a Candle, cannot discover an inequality of their distance from us; judgeth the body of the Moon to have as many changes in figure and quality as it hath various Phases or Appearances, the Sun really to set, the Limb of the Heavenly Horizon to be contiguous to the Earth: but the intellectual perception finds the quantity of the Sun and Stars bigger than the Earth, and by the Parallaxes and Eclipses finds the Stars more distant from us than the Sun, and that than the Moon; perceives distinctly their several Motions, Orders, Positions, and makes distinctions and computations of Time and Duration by them; and over-rules and confutes the perception of Sense and Imagination by another kind of perception, above the perception of Sense. 2. Touching Ratiocination or Discursive Operation, the procedure thereof is above the reach of the sensitive Phantasia, though this seems to carry some weak and imperfect Image thereof: For Instance, sometimes not only the *media discursus* and the *processus discursus* are out of the reach of Sense, but the very *subjectum discursus* is imperceptible to Sense: such are that *processus discursus* of the Understanding touching complexed Notions or Universals; touching the abstracted Notions of Being, Substance, Entity, and transcendentals in Metaphysics; such are also the discursives of moral good and evil, just, unjust, which are no more perceptible to Sense than Colour is to the Ear; and yet touching these Subjects the Intellect forms Discourses, deduceth Illations and Conclusions. Again, in matters Mathematical and Physical, though in the concrete, and in their subjects they are objective to Sense, yet the *media* and *processus discursus* whereby the Understanding makes Conclusions, and Inferences, and Illations touching them, are of a range and kind quite above the range of Sense or sensitive Imagination; thus upon certain *data* or *postulata* in Geometry, the Intellect forms Conclusions, which

which though Mechanically and Experimentally true, yet are elicited by a *Processus discursus*, quite above the activity of sensitive Phantasia. And though matters Physical, Bodies, and Tangible qualities, and their several powers, manner of production, and divers other things relating to them are sensible Objects; yet the Intellect useth a *Processus discursus*, whereby it investigates Truths, and draws Conclusions that are quite above the scantlet of Sense or Phantasia, ascending up from the Effect to the next Cause, and thence to the next, and thence gradually to the First Cause of all things. So that though oftentimes the foot or root of the *Discursus intellectualis* be bottomed in some sensible Object, perchance of no great moment and importance, yet by this *Processus discursus* the Intellect riseth higher and higher, and quickly taketh a flight out of the ken or reach of Sense, in Consequences, Discursive Inferences, and Conclusions; and follows the Chain higher and higher, till it come to the uppermost ring thereof, fastened, as the Poets wittily feign, to the Throne of Almighty God.

And thus far of these two excellent Operations of this Intellectual Faculty, namely, Intellectual Perception and Discourse. But besides these operations and active exertions of the Understanding, there seems to be two kinds of accommodations to it, which are admirably serviceable to the improving and perfecting of its operations; the one internal, the other external.

The internal is this; As we find in the Sensitive Nature certain congenit or connatural Instincts, whereby they are secretly and powerfully biased, and inclined, and carried to their proper sensitive Good, either individual or specific, such as are their inclination to that Food that is suitable for them, their *Appetitus procreativus*, their care for their Young, and infinite more; so there seems to be lodged in the Intellectual and Rational Nature certain Rudiments and Tendencies, whereby they are carried to the good of an intellectual Life, certain *communis notitie*, lodged and connaturally implanted in the Intellect, which serve as a kind of connatural inward stock for the Understanding to work upon, and also as a secret bias and inclination to carry him on to the good of an intellectual Life: Such as are a secret inscribed Notion that there is a God, that he is to be worshipped, honoured, served, and obeyed; and certain inscribed common Notices of Moral Good and Evil, that make him propense to Justice, Honesty, to do as he would be done by, and the like. And although evil Customs, and the prevalence of the sensual Appetite may in a great measure weaken and impair those common Notions when they come to particulars and particular applications, yet it is evident in all Ages and Nations, by a kind of connaturality Mankind hath ever retained these two great, and noble, and discriminating denominations, namely, first to be *Animal religiosum*, arising from the energy of those *infinitae notitiae* relating to God; and to be *Animal politicum & sociale*, arising from these *infinitae notitiae* of Moral Good and Evil, and those connatural insitions of Morality implanted in his nature, which are the great and chief support of humane Society.

The external accommodation of the Intellectual Faculty, is that admirable Wisdom and Goodness of God, that hath so ordered things, that first of all Mankind is accommodated with those Faculties of Sense, especially

especially that of Sight, whereby he may perceive all sensible Objects that arrive within the distance of their activity: And secondly, in that he hath exposed a very considerable part of his admirable Works to that Sense of his. Had Man been born blind, though his intellectual Faculty had been excellent, yet that Faculty had been very unactive, in this Life at least, because the *Basis* or Root of much of its operation depends upon the reception of sensible visible Objects: and had he been endued with Sense, yet if the excellent Works of God had been at so great a distance that they had not been perceptible by him, he had wanted a great contribution to the perfecting of his intellectual Faculty. The Divine Wisdom and Goodness hath so ordered things, that he hath not only that receptive Faculty of Sense, especially that of Sight, but hath also presented to his view a great and considerable part of the Universe with great advantage, beauty, and clearness, the inferior or Elementary World with all its variety and store, and the prospect of the goodly Celestial Bodies, their positions, motions, beauty, order, and excellence. And this goodly *Apparatus* of the Universe thus objectively derived to his Understanding, furnisheth it with an outward Stock, upon which it may trade and exercise it self with great delight and advantage; *viz.*

1. The knowledge of things Physical and Natural, the State, Order, and Oeconomy of Nature; the Virtue, Efficacy, and Energy of Second Causes, and their Effects: herein he hath a vast extent of the Inferior and Celestial World to exercise himself in, and certainly this bare knowledge is a thing of excellent improvement and contentation of the Intellect, and far exceeds all sensible Delights, in so much that many wise and knowing Men have chosen to sequester themselves from the common Employments and Contents of Mankind, for the sake of a Life of Philosophical Speculation: But this is the lowest part of that knowledge that is hereby acquirable, there is yet a more noble and excellent knowledge acquirable hereby, that advanceth and improveth the Intellectual Nature to a very great and high perfection.
2. Therefore that knowledge that is hereby acquirable is the knowledge of the Glorious God, the first Creator, and great Conserver and Governour of all things. I have before said, that the Goodness of God had lodged an inward Stock in Man whereby to improve his Intellectual Nature, namely, those *communes notitiae* of the Existence of a God, and that he is to be worshipped, served, and obeyed, the common Root of Religion in Mankind; these are in him like the first Rudiments of the *Fetus*, the *Embryo* of Religion, or the Egg as it were out of which it is hatched. The contemplation of the admirable Works in the World doth exceedingly fortifie and improve those first Rudiments of Natural Religion, digests them into their just formation. In these we see, and admire, and glorify the Power, the Wisdom, the Goodness, the Presence of God; from these we learn his Unity, his Eternity, his Imensity, his Providence, his Justice, his Mercy: And as thus *ascendendo* we learn to know God by his Works, so again *descendendo* we learn our duty to praise, glorify, magnify, honour, love, fear, and obey him, to depend upon him, to delight in him: and by this means Natural Religion arrives to a great advance, and the Intellectual Nature mightily perfected and improved; and Man becomes not only a passive, a receptive Instrument to glorify his

his Maker, but an active Instrument of his Glory; which was, as is premised, another End of Almighty God in the making of Man, namely, That he might be an active intellectual Instrument to glorify God, and in glorifying him, the more fully to enjoy him, and his favour, love, and goodness.

4. As thus the Intellectual Faculties render Man fit actively to serve and glorify his Maker, so also that other Faculty of his Will contributes also in like manner to render him fit for that employment. We shall for this purpose only consider these two Properties in the Will.

1. The liberty of the Will, whereby it hath power to determine it self, and is free from all force and coercion; and upon this account, namely, that Man is not only an intellectual Creature, but also hath liberty of Will, he becomes a Creature properly susceptible of a Law, and capable of Rewards and Punishments: that which acts out of coercion, as bare Instruments, or out of necessity, as bare Natural Causes, or a determined Instinct, as Brutes, are not properly capable of a Law but only analogically, and what they do is not properly an act of Obedience, because they cannot ordinarily do otherwise. Therefore as his Intellectual Faculty gives him the power to know his duty, so the liberty of his Will is that which gives him the power truly to obey.

2. The second property of the Will is, that it is moved and drawn to that which is good, or at least what appears to be so. The sensitive Appetite is a power subservient to a sensitive Nature, and carried to a sensible Good; but the Will is a rational Faculty, a Faculty of an intellectual Nature, and carried to an intellectual Good as its proper Object, and therefore with most earnestness, to the most noble and supreme Good, which is Almighty God. So that as by the liberty of his Will Man is capable to be an active Instrument to serve and obey his Maker, so by this property of his Will he is by a just suitableness drawn to will and desire, and in enjoyment to delight in God as the chiefest Good, the most noble and suitable Object of its choice and motion: And we may observe, that the Divine Goodness and Wisdom, to promote and advance this act of the Will, in choosing and loving Almighty God as his chiefest Good, hath exhibited himself unto Mankind in all the manifestation of Goodness and Beneficence imaginable, hath made him Lord of this inferior World, provides for him, supplies him, and endears him to himself with all those manifestations of Mercy, Goodness, and Bounty that his nature is capable of, whereby he may be won to love God not only as the chiefest Good, but also as his chiefest Benefactor. And thus by the due consideration of both these Faculties of Understanding and Will, we may reasonably conjecture, that the End of Almighty God in creating Man, was to make such a Creature as might actively know, serve, glorify, love, and obey his Creator, and in that his Service, and Obedience, and Love, enjoy the Love and Favour of that God whom he thus loves and obeys, because we find his Faculties admirably fitted for such an end and use; and certainly the wisest Agent must needs be supposed to design such an End to any Work as is suitable and commensurate to the thing he makes: And these seem to be those Ends for which the wise God created this noble Creature Man, which do more specially relate unto God.

5. I shall